

The Final Bivouac

The Confederate Surrender Parade at
Appomattox and the Disbanding
of the Virginia Armies,
April 10–May 20, 1865

Chris Calkins
with Bert Dunkerly and Patrick A. Schroeder



Savas Beatie
California

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Foreword

Chris Calkins is one of kind. The native of Detroit, Michigan, went to school a long way from home at Longwood College (now University) in Farmville, Virginia, and never went back.

The renowned historian and park ranger dedicated his career to preserving and interpreting Civil War history. He served with the National Park Service for more than three decades at several significant historic sites, including Appomattox Court House and Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park before concluding his tenure as the Historian and Chief of Interpretation at Petersburg National Battlefield.

When he retired in 2009, Calkins became the first full-time park manager of Sailor's Creek Battlefield Historical State Park. He dedicated himself to developing and maintaining the park. And what a magnificent job he did.

Chris has made significant contributions to Civil War preservation and scholarship. He played a crucial role in preserving battlefield sites around Petersburg and Appomattox, including Five Forks, White Oak Road, and Sailor's Creek. He shared his knowledge by authoring several books and articles. His "Lee's Retreat" driving tour gained national recognition and became a model for heritage tourism initiatives. His expertise has not passed unnoticed. Chris has been featured on the History and Discovery channels, and in 2014 he received an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History for his dedication to preserving Virginia's Civil War battlefield landscape.

We revised, updated and reprinted two of Chris's earlier works done with the H. E. Howard Virginia Battles and Leaders series in the 1980s. The first, *The Battles of Appomattox Station and Appomattox Court House, April 8-9, 1865*, was issued in 2023 as *"No One Wants to Be the Last to Die": The Battles of Appomattox, April 8-9, 1865*. The second, *Final Bivouac: The Surrender Parade at Appomattox and the Disbanding of the Armies, April 10 to May 20, 1865*, evolved into the book you are now reading. It was time to make them available again for another generation of readers.

Theodore P. Savas, Publisher

Preface

I have often wondered which great event in our country's history I would most want to have witnessed. It would be the formal surrender ceremony at Appomattox Court House on April 12, 1865. One has only to read Joshua L. Chamberlain's description of it in his classic, *The Passing of the Armies*, to understand why. The emotion, respect, and honor that passed between the men of both armies that day make it, in my eyes, one of the greatest moments in the American saga. Whether victor or vanquished, the glory of that day was not monopolized by either side.

During my years at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, I enjoyed the opportunity to converse with thousands of visitors and learn what that place meant to them. Many, particularly Southerners, found it a tragic environment, one they sought to banish from their minds. I have tried to empathize with them, viewing Appomattox as the finale of a way of life for generations long past. I don't share that perspective, but there is tragedy in the story of how we could find no alternative to years of bloody conflict. This war cost mankind the talents of at least 600,000 men who could have served future generations in a better capacity than as cannon fodder.

In a broader sense, I have come to see Appomattox as a symbol of a new national destiny. The questions in dispute, submitted to an arbitration of arms, were settled in that small Virginia county-seat village. On that Palm Sunday, we transitioned from "the United States are . . ." to "the United States is . . ." The concept of "indivisible," first enshrined in a pledge of allegiance a generation later, was reaffirmed in the structure of our government. Most accepted the result and worked to rebuild what had been lost. Robert E. Lee instructed fellow Southerners, "The war being at an end . . . and the questions at issue . . . having been decided, I believe it to be the duty of everyone to unite in the restoration of the country and the reestablishment of peace and harmony. . . . All should unite in honest efforts to obliterate the effects of war and to restore the blessings of peace." For this alone, the story of Appomattox should stand as proud an episode as any in our past for all Americans.

In this second volume covering the campaign and aftermath of Lee's surrender (my first being the 2023 *No One Wants to Be the Last to Die*), the men of both

armies prepare themselves for the long journey home and assimilation into the civilian world. For the former Confederates, this meant returning to a devastated way of life, drastically different from the one they had left. The challenges facing them included resuming their former vocations, living under the rule of an occupation army, coping with the immediate emancipation of the slaves, and contending with the lack of a circulating medium. In many areas of the South, the desolation wrought by the effects of war had to be addressed. Most were able to overcome these odds and began the process of rebuilding not only their lives but also their region.

It would be a month or more before the Federals could hope to go home; Confederate forces remained a threat. Joe Johnston's army in North Carolina would not surrender to William T. Sherman until April 26, and U. S. Grant sent an infantry corps and cavalry there in case they were needed. Meanwhile, in the Commonwealth, everyone in Grant's army was assigned to occupation duty, primarily in the Southside area. Their responsibilities included policing and protection, handling judicial matters, and providing social services for the destitute, both white and black. This was particularly difficult amid the political upheaval in the federal government following President Lincoln's assassination. The dilemma of how to integrate the former slaves into society persisted. The veterans of the Armies of the Potomac and the James bore significant political responsibilities until permanent occupation troops and a reconstruction government could be established.

This story concludes with the last of the Union troops marching through the former Confederate capital, Richmond, on their way to Washington to be mustered out. On May 23, 1865, the Army of the Potomac would pass in grand review down Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House. The following day, elements representing Sherman's western army followed suit. As the regiments boarded trains for home, they left behind the remains of thousands of comrades who had paid the supreme sacrifice in the "Old Dominion." They departed with the knowledge that they had helped, alongside Lee's men, to set an example for everyone on how to conduct themselves now that the war had been settled. With honor, compassion, and dignity, the legacy of Appomattox set the country on the road to peace and harmony.

Acknowledgments

As with the first volume of this study, I could not have completed this work without the generous help of many individuals. Again, and foremost, I wish to thank Ronald Wilson, Historian, Appomattox Court House N.H.P. His review and suggestions added greatly to the thoroughness of the text. I alone assume any responsibility for possible errors that might be present. Mr. Robert K. Krick, Historian, Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania N.M.P., once again graciously accepted the job of editor, meeting hurried deadlines against his own busy schedule. Harold Howard deserves all praise for his continuing efforts to not only document Virginia battles and leaders in this series, but also to memorialize those Virginians who served in the Confederacy. His work is a fitting tribute to those men.

Those who in some way or another contributed to this volume but were not mentioned in the first, include: Mr. Mark Carsley, Appomattox; Mr. Bret Bondurant, Danville; Mr. Howard Gregory, Warrenton; Aubrey Wiley, Lynchburg; Fred R. Bell, Alexandria; Don Benson, Glen Burnie, MD; Ray Lupold, III, Petersburg, and Mark Greenough, Richmond. Mr. Willie Graham, Petersburg offered his expertise by providing some of the photographs included herein.

Special thanks goes to various sources who allowed me to quote from their holdings and publications. Mr. Waverly K. Winfree, Manuscript Division, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond; The Cincinnati Historical Society for the use of the Roger Hannaford Diaries; Mr. Robert H. Rhodes for permission to quote from his great-grandfather's diary, recently published as *All for the Union* (1986); and Professor James C. Mohr, the University of Maryland, for the use of Samuel Cormany's diary published as *The Cormany Diaries: A Northern Family in the Civil War* (1982). To all others whom I might have forgotten and who unselfishly shared their letters and diaries with me, goes a deserving thanks of gratitude.

Again, this effort would not have been possible without the assistance of numerous co-workers at Petersburg National Battlefield. Superintendent Frank Deckert allowed me unrestrained to finish this project even though it did cut into other duties. John R. Davis, Chief of Interpretation, likewise offered his continued

assistance, both in funding and moral support. Historians James Blankenship, Jr. and Donald Pfanz, City Point Unit, Hopewell, both gave their encouragement and constructive criticism in reading over my manuscript.

Several people contributed to this second edition, including Ted Savas and Veronica Kane with Savas Beatie, editor David Snyder, indexer Ryan Quint. Dolly Holmes recreated maps and illustrations that needed to be updated. My special appreciation goes out to Bert Dunkerly and Patrick Schroeder. Bert reviewed the manuscript, making editorial corrections, and also retyped the footnotes in Chicago Manual of Style format. Patrick reworked the photos for the book, discovered the cover image, and provided edits and reviews. Thanks also to Kenny and Mel Bage.

Finally, special credit should be given to my parents. More than 60 years ago they took me to the Gettysburg battlefield thus sparking my interest in the Civil War. They always encouraged my study of that period and nurtured it to a point causing me to pursue a career related to preserving the tangible evidence of that conflict. To them I express a heartfelt thanks.

Chris Calkins
Petersburg, Virginia

Chapter I

April 10: The Confederate Bivouac

By April 9, 1865, the exhausted men of the armies serving under Grant and Lee, traumatized by nine days of hard campaigning, finally had a chance for a good night's rest. Rapid and prolonged marching, harassing attacks supplemented by numerous holding engagements, and scant and untimely rations had pushed Confederate soldiers to the limits of human endurance. Numb minds did not comprehend that the war had finally ended. That realization would not come for a few days. Demoralization and depression were settling in on a grand scale for those who had seen it to the end. An uncertain dawn broke.

The emotions of the Federal soldiers differed markedly. They too had been faced with forced marches, almost daily combat, and inadequate provisions, but victory kept the adrenaline flowing. They had seen the "handwriting on the wall" months before. It was only a matter of time, possibly months or even weeks, until the end would come. On April 3, the Confederate strongholds of Richmond and Petersburg had both fallen. What else was left for the enemy to fight for, or with? The main fear the Northern soldier faced that last week was staying alive, for nobody wanted to die in a war that was almost over. That final day saw for them one last effort which would bring about the long-awaited victory. Exhilaration would be taken over by physical relaxation, as night darkened the countryside around Appomattox. All could be thankful, for they were the survivors.

Although the weather on Sunday the 9th was described as a "pleasant day," Monday morning the men awoke to a chilly "drizzling rain" which had started during the night. "The men began to recover themselves. . . . I heard no word of ill-will against the National Government," wrote a soldier in the 12th North

Carolina, “no suggestion of guerrilla warfare. The universal sentiment was that the question in dispute had been fought to a finish and that was the end of it.” The first thing on the minds of the men was, of course, food. The Federals continued their issuance of rations to those Confederates who had not received any the night before. Confederate diaries described the results: “Rations of one pound of beef to each man were issued by the United States authorities;” “Late in morning, General Grant . . . issued us rations . . . we had real coffee and smoked bacon;” “Drew four crackers;” “We drew rations from the Yankees, consisting of green beef and hard tack;” “Grant sent us two pounds of fresh beef.” To some, these staples only temporarily eased their hunger pangs. A member of the 12th Virginia complained that he still “went to bed hungry.” Colonel Asbury Coward of the 5th South Carolina recalled, “I had been hungry to the point of pain that morning, but when Charles brought me the bread and cheese and a cup of real coffee I was unable to touch it. I spent the rest of the day making out the rolls for parole.” Another remembered, “We were kept in camp five days surrounded by the Yankees and not allowed to hunt anything to eat.” Perhaps some Federals figured one of them might be considered “game” and were not anxious to have any of the Confederates still roaming around with loaded weapons.¹

Even though orders had been issued to the contrary, fraternizing between the two armies was quite prevalent. “All day Hundreds of Yankees, men and officers came into our camps,” wrote one Confederate. “The Yankees camped on the hills, and men from both armies went back and forth on apparently friendly terms. Their wagons, mules, harness and entire equipment was the very best and everything was in perfect condition throughout. All of their wagon covers were white and new.” Artillery officer John Haskell noted, “The Union troops were very friendly, in fact almost oppressively so, turning out the guard constantly as I would ride by, cheering, and talking to my couriers as though they were the best of friends.”

Several tense incidents developed between the former enemy soldiers. Colonel Asbury Coward of the 5th South Carolina remembered:

[M]any officers in blue came riding into our lines, some to renew old acquaintances. . . . One of them brought a fat young lad of about eleven years gorgeously arrayed in

1 John Waldrop, Diary, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library; William H. Stewart, *A Pair of Blankets, War-time History in Letters to the Young People of the South* (New York, 1911), 233; Burleigh Cushing Rodick, *Appomattox: The Last Campaign* (New York, 1965), 104; Walker Burford Freeman, *Memoirs of Walker Burford Freeman* (Richmond, VA, 1919), 50; George Wise, *History of the Seventeenth Virginia Infantry, C.S.A.* (Baltimore, 1870), 239; J. E. Whitehorse, Diary, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library; R. M. Crumpler, War Diary, Box 4, Papers of Miss Georgia Hicks, NC State Dept. of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC; I. G. Bradwell, “After the Surrender at Appomattox,” *Confederate Veteran* (Sep. 1901): 467.

blue velveteen, who stared gapingly at us as though we were wild animals in a menagerie. Suddenly, one of the men shouted: "Go home, you over-fed b---- and take off that dress and give it to your sister!"

A private in the 14th North Carolina recalled that:

The men in blue . . . actually offered us money to help us on our journey home. . . . This is characteristic of the thrifty Yankee, who lives on what he can't sell and gives away nothing. He is taught not to expect anything without compensation. They did not know the hospitality of Dixie. That wherever we went on our long road . . . food would be freely given . . . to assist a veteran of Lee's army.

In the 12th North Carolina a soldier noted:

A Federal cavalryman . . . mentioned that one of his number was captured by some of General Longstreet's men, and that some of the General's staff had taken from the prisoner his housewife [thread and needle case], when a Georgian standing by, not being familiar with the name of the article alleged to have been taken . . . picked up a stone and throwing it, brought his man to the ground. Considerable confusion ensued, and because of that circumstance, an order was issued from Federal headquarters that no Union soldiers would be allowed to visit the Confederate camps without written permission.

Unfortunate encounters were the exception rather than the rule. Civilities were offered by the men of both sides. One Confederate engineer summed up the conduct of the victor over the vanquished: "I assure you that many a bitter thought was burned in oblivion and the remembrance of that day has caused a feeling of unbounded esteem for the distinguished commander [Grant] in the hearts of many who on that eventful day wore the Grey."²

On April 10th, many men took the time to check out their surroundings. A soldier visiting "the little village" of Appomattox noted that it "consisted of a court house, jail, post office and a few scattered houses," although he felt it "was not an interesting spot of the earth." Others took the opportunity to visit the hospitals. The chaplain of the 26th Virginia "visited the wounded and conversed with many

2 Thomas P. Devereux, *Recollections, December 1864 to April 1865*, p. 13, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Spencer Glasgow Welch, *A Confederate Surgeon's Letters to his Wife* (New York and Washington, 1911), 119; Gilbert E. Govan & James W. Livingood, eds., *The Haskell Memoirs: John Cheves Haskell* (New York, 1960), 100; Natalie Jenkins Bond and Osmun Labrobe Coward, eds., *The South Carolinians: Colonel Asbury Coward's Memoirs* (New York, n.d.), 179; William A. Smith, *The Anson Guards, Company C, Fourteenth Regiment, North Carolina Volunteers* (Charlotte, NC, 1914), 300; Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-5*, vol. V (Goldsboro, NC, 1901), 263-264.

on the subject of religion.” Marvel Ritchie of the 28th North Carolina had the sad task of locating his brother, Ivy, who had been killed in the last charge while taking Lord’s Federal battery. “We went with [Rev. Powers] and found Ivy Ritchie killed and buried we opened the grave and found it was him.”

On the morning of the 10th, General Lee ordered his aide Lt. Col. Charles Marshall to compose a farewell order to the men. Marshall had been asked to write it the night before, but because of numerous interruptions he still had not completed it. Finally, at about 10 a.m., Lee directed Marshall to get into the general’s ambulance around which was placed an orderly to prevent anyone from bothering Lee’s military secretary. Marshall submitted his first penciled draft to the general, who struck out “an entire paragraph which he thought might help to keep alive a feeling of animosity between the North and the South and also changed one or two other words.” The colonel then made a corrected copy and gave it to a clerk in the adjutant-general’s office to rewrite in ink. Norman Bill, the clerk who claimed this duty, then made one copy for each corps commander. This address, officially known as “General Order No. 9,” is found in numerous forms. The following version is considered to be the most authentic:

GENERAL ORDER, NO. 9

Headquarters, Army of Northern Virginia

April 10, 1865

After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.

I need not tell the brave survivors of so many hard fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them.

But feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that would compensate for the loss that must have attended the continuance of the contest, I determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen.

By the terms of the agreement officers and men can return to their homes and remain until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, and I earnestly pray that a Merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection.

With an increasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous considerations for myself, I bid you all an affectionate farewell.

R. E. Lee, General

The order was copied by various lower-grade commanders, many of whom had General Lee autograph them, and then read to their troops. Members of Bratton's South Carolina Brigade told what happened:

We were soon ordered to fall in line, and the Farewell Address of General Lee was read; after which the gallant Colonel Coward, of the 5th South Carolina Regiment, made us an address. . . . He told us that General Longstreet had directed him to say to us that he, General Longstreet, did not want us to take any blame of the surrender to ourselves; for with the exception of one other, ours was the only organized division in his corps.

Captain Herman H. Perry remembered:

The General order from General Lee was read to the army on the 10th of April. . . . I sat down and copied it on a piece of Confederate paper, using a brass-drum head for a desk . . . carried this copy to General Lee, and asked him to sign it for me. He signed it, and I have it now. It is the best authority, along with my parole, that I can produce why, after that day, I no longer raised a soldier's hand for the South.

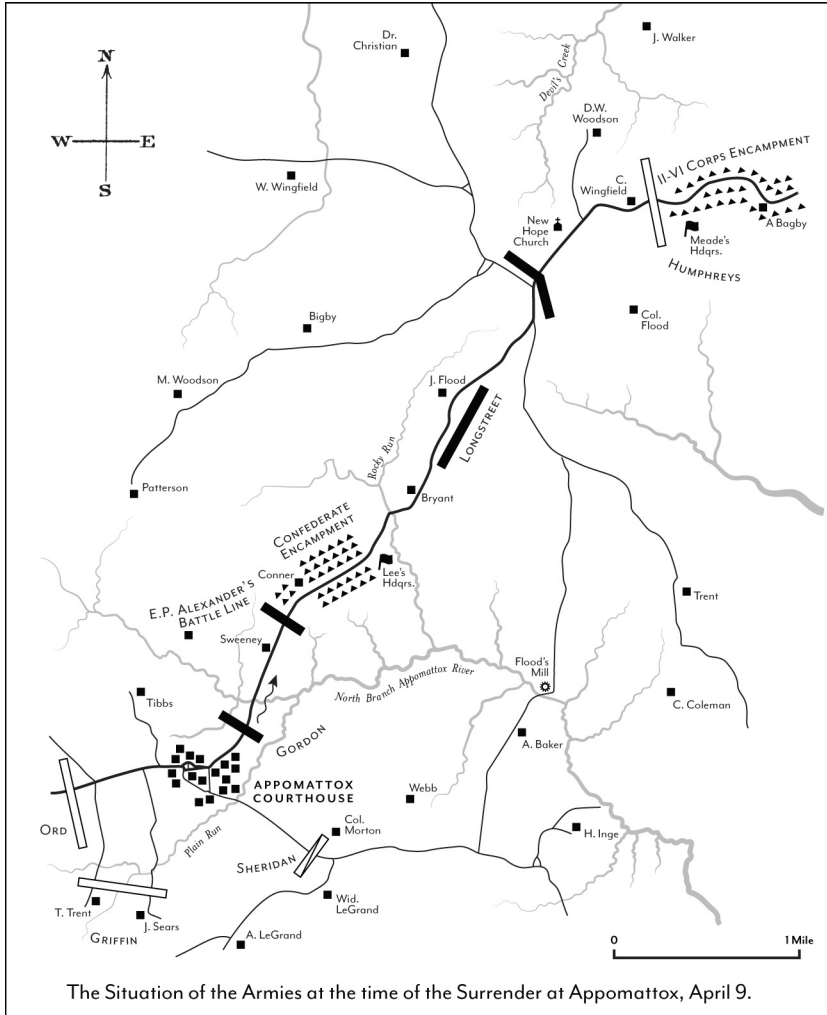
Ordnance officer Joseph Packard said, "I went to General Lee's tent . . . he signed his name to a copy of his farewell address which I had made in my memorandum book, and he also wrote his name in Captain Colston's pocket Testament."

Other officers also took the time to instruct the men to prepare for their journey home. A soldier in the 14th North Carolina stated, "On the morning of the 10th we were in formation and heard Lee's farewell address and leave-taking."

Many took the time to rest and reflect on the events of that tumultuous week. Confederate bandsmen moved around through the camps playing for the men in hopes of building up their spirits. A soldier in Grimes' division recorded:

Both General Lee and General Grimes had their headquarters on the opposite side of the road from our camp and about four hundred yards distant. . . . A band came up and serenaded General Lee . . . played "Parting is Pain," also known as When the Swallows Homeward fly. . . . [It was] the band of the Fourth North Carolina Regiment. Lieutenant Colonel John M. White of the 6th South Carolina would come around and ask us to give our foes some stirring Rebel songs. Soon the night air rang with "Bonnie Blue Flag," "Dixie," "Tenting To-night," etc. Around would gather our foes to listen to the words that had beguiled many an hour of camp life.³

3 Clark, *Histories*, vol. V, 257; William E. Wiatt, *Diary*, April 10; Letter from Marvel Ritchie about his brother Ivy Ritchie killed at Appomattox Court House, Marvel Ritchie Papers, Private Collections #883, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History; Frank Cauble, *The Proceedings Connected With the Surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, April, 1865* (Appomattox Court House



Making Preparations for Paroling and the Formal Surrender

General John Gibbon, one of the commissioners appointed to “carry into effect the stipulation” of the surrender, observed: “No mere man of peace can realize the relief we experienced on awaking [on the 10th], at the thought that we were lying between the picket lines of two great armies without the slightest

N.H.P., 1962), 144–152; James Lide Coker, *History of Company G, Ninth S.C. Regiment, Infantry, S.C. Army and of Company E, Sixth S.C. Regiment, Infantry, S.C. Army* (Charleston, SC, 1899), 174–175; Herman H. Perry, “Appomattox Courthouse,” *S.H.S.P.* (1982), 61; Joseph Packard, “Ordnance Matters at the Close,” *Confederate Veteran* (May 1908): 229; Smith, *Anson Guards*, 302; Devereux, 13.

prospect of having to engage in a fight.” Hearing that Generals Lee and Grant were to have a conference that morning near the eastern edge of the village, Gibbon and others rode to picket lines near the area and halted. A correspondent described the scene:

The country to the southward was open, cultivated land. The Court House stands on a ridge, or a continuation of small hills, extending east and west. Lee’s army lay on a parallel ridge, with a ravine and a little rivulet between, nearly north of our forces. The head of his column was mainly composed of trains and artillery. The infantry and cavalry brought up in the rear. Consequently but a small portion of the rebel army was visible from the Court House.

At 10:00 a.m. the two commanders met and discussed the events of the last few days with hopes that there would be no “more loss and sacrifice of life.” Grant tried to persuade Lee to convince the other Southern armies still in the field to surrender, but the general said he would have to consult with President Davis first. Three agreements that did come out of the meeting and would affect the men in the immediate area were these:

(1) A decision was made to provide the surrendered Confederate soldiers with some evidence that indeed they were “paroled.” General Gibbon offered to arrange a small printing press on which blank forms could be printed for each man to be signed by their own officers. At first General Lee felt that the United States authorities might not honor such a form signed by Confederate officers, but later Gibbon and General Longstreet decided it would be “impractical to have Union officers sign the paroles because of lack of time.”

(2) It was agreed that Confederate couriers, artillerymen and cavalrymen who owned their own horses would be able to keep them. Lee had said to Grant during their conversation at the McLean house, “General, you have excepted private horses from the surrender. Now, most of my couriers and many of the artillery and cavalry own their own horses. How will it be about them?” Grant replied, “They will be allowed to retain them. They will need them in putting in their spring crops!”

(3) Special Orders No. 73 was issued by the Headquarters of the Armies of the United States to the effect that “All officers and men of the Confederate service paroled at Appomattox Court-House, Va., who, to reach their homes, are compelled to pass through the lines of the Union armies, will be allowed to do so, and to pass free on all Government transports and military railroads.”

At some point after the conference, General Grant was seen by a Confederate marine, Lt. H. M. Doak, riding with other Union and Confederate officers. Doak described his impressions:

Whilst lounging about Appomattox I saw Grant for the first time, riding by where I stood, accompanied by his staff, Senator Washburne of Illinois, and a number of badly mounted Confederate officers, among them, General Gordon of Georgia. I heard Washburne say as they rode by: "I am truly proud of my countrymen of both sides—proud of their American grit and courage." General Grant impressed me at the time as a self-contained, self-reliant man—with the massive, solid head and a square jaw. His entire face, from the low brow to the square chin, from the calm clear eye to the inflexible lips—bore a look of intelligent, steadfast purpose; and yet it was a manly, kindly face withal. . . . His face was one a man with a just cause would appeal to with confidence for justice and kind, but ineffusive sympathy, his bearing was that of a modest unassuming man—wearing no air of a proud conqueror, no smile of satisfaction, no look of exultation. His air was that of a man too full of a great purpose brought to a successful issue to think of his own part in it.

Gibbon, along with Generals Griffin and Merritt, then rode through the picket lines, after the meeting, to see General Longstreet at his headquarters. Finding him absent, they called for two other Confederates, Generals Gordon and Pendleton. Their purpose was to get everyone together to arrange the details of the formal surrender terms, as they had been appointed to accomplish. After these two arrived, the party rode back toward the village, attended by Generals Wilcox, W. H. F. Lee, and several staff officers. This group was overtaken along the way by Generals Heth and Pickett, together with Rufus Ingalls and Seth Williams of Grant's staff. Before entering the town they came upon Lee and Longstreet, the latter now joining the group. Those six, who were to work on the document, went immediately to Clover Hill Tavern while the others went on to visit with General Grant. Determining that the tavern "was a bare and cheerless place," they adjourned to the McLean house where the discussion began. The fruits of their efforts came out officially in this form:

APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, Va.

April 10, 1865

Agreement entered into this day in regard to the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia to the United States authorities:

1st. The troops shall march by brigades and detachments to a designated point, stack their arms, deposit their flags, sabers, pistols, etc., and from thence march to their homes under

charge of their officers, superintended by their respective division and corps commanders, officers retaining their side arms, and the authorized number of private horses.

2nd. All public horses and public property of all kinds to be turned over to staff officers designated by the United States authorities.

3rd. Such transportation as may be agreed upon as necessary for the transportation of the private baggage of officers will be allowed to accompany the officers, to be turned over at the end of the trip to the nearest U.S. quartermasters, receipts being taken for the same.

4th. Couriers and mounted men of the artillery and cavalry, whose horses are their own private property, will be allowed to retain them.

5th. The surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia shall be construed to include all the forces operating with that army on the 8th instant, the date of commencement of negotiation for surrender, except such bodies of cavalry as actually made their escape previous to the surrender, and except all such pieces of artillery as were more than twenty miles from Appomattox Court-House at the time of surrender on the 9th instant.

JOHN GIBBON,

Maj. Gen. of Volunteers.

CHAS. GRIFFIN

Brevet Major-General, U.S. Volunteers.

W. MERRITT,

Brevet Major-General.

J. LONGSTREET,

Lieutenant-General.

J. B. GORDON,

Major-General.

W. N. PENDLETON.

Brigadier-General and Chief of Artillery.

The officers then dispersed to carry out the provisions of the agreement. Gibbon immediately had his corps press set to work printing 30,000 blank forms. To keep this operation going around the clock, Gibbon ordered his adjutant "to send out and make a detail of the necessary number of printers to supply relays for the press until the job was finished." The next day (April 11th) some paroles were ready for distribution.

Before the parole slips were all printed, work began to make up parole lists of Confederate troops. These were probably done for artillery and cavalrymen first since their horses were dying for lack of fodder. The cavalry was designated to turn in its accoutrements and sabers on the 10th, the artillery on the 11th. To

Gen. Ranald Mackenzie's troops were given the honor of receiving the remnants of Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry.

HEADQUARTERS TWENTY-FOURTH ARMY CORPS,

April 10, 1865.

Brigadier-General MACKENZIE,

Commanding Cavalry Division:

GENERAL: The major-general commanding directs that you will send, without delay, one brigade of your command to the road north of the Appomattox Court-House, for the purpose of receiving the sabers, accouterments, &c., of the cavalry of the Confederate army surrendered to the United States on the 9th instant. They will be placed in position by Major [Andrew] Embler, aide-de-camp, who will be on the road. The brigade will remain in position all night.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

EDWARD MOALE,

Lieutenant-Colonel and Assistant Adjutant-General

A total of 1,559 Confederate cavalry were paroled at Appomattox, although probably fewer were involved in this ceremony. Some of the troopers on the official parole lists had left the area and returned to the army in the days following the surrender. Colonel Alexander Cheves Haskell of the 7th South Carolina Cavalry "was designated by General Lee to lead the cavalry . . . to the place where they turned their equipment over to the federals."⁴

In the Federal Camps Around Appomattox Court House

At some point during the day, General Orders No. 13 was issued, detailing the duties of the various corps in the area. The men hurried to execute these orders:

GENERAL ORDERS,

NO. 13

HDQRS. ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

⁴ John Gibbon, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War* (1978), 326–333; *New York Herald*, April 15, 1865; Cauble, *Proceedings*, 129–142; U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1880–1901), 46.3, 687, 696; H. M. Doak, *Surrender at Appomattox Courthouse* (Chapel Hill, NC). There is documentation that the press broke down before all the forms were printed and some had to be done in Lynchburg; Govan & Livingood, 119–120; John W. Bone, *Record of a Soldier in the Late War* (Raleigh, NC), Lowrery Shufford Collection, Private Collections #1174, April 10, says "it was considered best to parole the cavalry first, so that they could get their horses away, where they could be fed."

April 10, 1865.

In conformity with orders from headquarters Armies of the United States, the troops of this army, excepting those of the Fifth Army Corps, will move to Burkeville and there encamp.

The following detailed instructions will govern in the execution of this movement:

1. The Fifth Army Corps will remain at or near Appomattox Court-House until the stipulations for the surrender of the Confederate army, known as the Army of Northern Virginia, shall have been carried into effect and captured and surrendered property secured.
2. The commanding officers of the Second and Sixth Army Corps will at once send their ammunition trains, under suitable guards, to Burkeville.
3. All subsistence stores, save those absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the troops on the march to Burkeville, will be left under charge of Capt. L. W. Muzzey, commissary of subsistence of volunteers, to be by him turned over to the Fifth Army Corps. A guard of not more than 500 men will be detailed by the commanding officer Second Army Corps, to protect these stores. This guard will be relieved at the earliest practicable moment by one from the Fifth Army Corps, and will thereupon proceed to Burkeville.
4. Such empty wagons in each corps as may be necessary for the transportation of sick and wounded will be turned over to the chief medical officer of the corps for this purpose; the remaining empty wagons will be turned over to the chief quartermaster Army of the Potomac for the transportation of captured and surrendered ordnance stores.
5. The commanding officer of the Fifth Army Corps will furnish, on the requisition of the chief ordnance officer Army of the Potomac, the fatigue parties necessary to load his wagons with the captured and surrendered ordnance stores. He will also furnish to the chief quartermaster Army of the Potomac, a suitable guard to protect the train till its arrival at Burkeville.
6. The Sixth Army Corps will march at 6 a.m. to-morrow, taking the road direct to Farmville and thence to Burkeville.
7. The Second Army Corps will follow the Sixth Army Corps, moving from camp at 7:30 a.m. to-morrow, and taking the road via Farmville and thence to Burkeville.

By command of Major-General Meade:

GEO. D. RUGGLES,
Assistant Adjutant-General

These were amended the same day with General Order No. 14:

GENERAL ORDERS,

NO. 14.

HDQRS. ARMY OF THE POTOMAC

April 10, 1865.

I. The guard ordered to be furnished from the Second Army Corps, by paragraph 3, General Orders, No. 13, current series, from these headquarters, for the protection of subsistence stores, will not be relieved, as therein directed, by a guard from the Fifth Army Corps. When the necessity for it shall no longer exist it will rejoin the Second Army Corps at Burkeville or elsewhere.

II. Paragraph 5, General Orders, No. 13, current series, from these headquarters, is rescinded. The commanding officer of the Second Army Corps will leave, at its present camp a brigade of the corps, from which will be detailed, on the requisition of the chief ordnance officer Army of the Potomac, the fatigue parties necessary to load his wagons with the ordnance stores captured from and surrendered by the enemy. When this shall have been done the brigade will accompany the train, as guard, to Burkeville. It will then rejoin the Second Army Corps.

By command of Major-General Meade:

GEO. D. RUGGLES,

Assistant Adjutant-General

The Army of the James also received its instructions this day for further activities. General Gibbon was directed, once finished with his assigned duties, to take his two divisions with Mackenzie's cavalry to Lynchburg. The purpose was to "send a summons for the city to surrender," then prevent any destruction of private property. Any Confederate soldiers garrisoned there would also be paroled. Further, the cavalry force was to: (1) take possession of all public stores; (2) use what the command needed, then distribute the balance to the poor of the city; (3) save all rolling stock of the railroads and send it to Farmville (if need be destroying a bridge in the rear of them); and (4) destroy or carry away all "warlike material." Upon completion of these tasks, the commands would return to Burke's Station (Burkeville).

Locally, during the day, Gen. J. W. Turner's division was ordered to relieve the picket line of the Second Division, XXV Corps, which was posted in its front. Prisoners captured by the Confederates during the battle on the 9th continued returning to their regiments. Lieutenant John Walraven, 62nd Ohio, one of those who had been taken, returned to the Confederate lines "to try to get my sword, but was not allowed to cross so I came back without it."

Shaw's Brigade of the XXV Corps arrived on the field during the day, rejoining its division now under the command of Gen. Richard H. Jackson. Shaw described what happened: "We are on the battlefield of yesterday a.m. It is strewn with the debris of the fight, always a horrid sight, but one we have had to see far too often. . . . Our division is again together. General R. H. Jackson is in command. I have been over to report to him, and found orders to return immediately to Richmond." A member of the 7th United States Colored Troops remembered: "During the day, which was wet and disagreeable, we drew clothing and prepared for the return march in good spirits, but very hungry, for 25,000 rations had been sent to the rebels."

Evidently the Army of the James, like the V Corps, was short of rations at Appomattox. A soldier in the 11th Maine recalled, "We were left for about five days with scarcely anything to eat. As a consequence we named the place 'Hungry Hollow,' instead of Appomattox or Clover Hill as we first called it." Foster's division remained encamped "on the Bent Creek [Oakville] Road" from the 10th through the 16th.⁵

In the V Corps encampment, some of the men took the time to write letters home about the events that had just transpired. An infantryman of the 155th Pennsylvania started his:

CLOVER HILL P.O., APPOMATTOX CH., VA.

April 10, 1865

My Dear Wife: Here I am writing on rebel paper and sitting on the chest that formerly contained the P.O. at this place, with 30,000 rebels lying in sight. . . . Gen. Bartlett . . . says, that "200 men of his Brigade brought them to terms."

Others wrote as their letter heads: "APAMATICKS COURTHOUSE, VA," or "Camp at Appomattoxville C.H." Captain John Smith of the 1st Michigan noted: "Last night it rained a little, notified that the mail leaves Hdq in an hour" which probably accounts for the profusion of letters being written on this day. He added that "this is a specimen of Reb paper."

5 *O.R.*, 46.3, 688–689, 694, 696; Turner, *Papers*, April 10; Robert Larimer, *Diary*, Letter "In Bivouac at Appomattox Station, 4/16/65," April 10, Accession 38-239, Alderman Library, University of Virginia; John Walraven, *Diary, Camp Chase Gazette* (Lancaster, OH, n.d.); Joseph Markcoliff, *Record of the Services of the Seventh Regiment, U.S. Colored Troops* (Providence, RI, 1878), 70; James Shaw, "Our Last Campaign and Subsequent Service in Texas," *Personal Narratives*, 6th Series, No. 9, 1905, *Soldiers and Sailors Historical Society of Rhode Island*, Providence; William H. Wharff, "From Chapin's Farm to Appomattox," *First Maine Bugle*, Campaign III (1896): 235; *O.R.*, 46. 1, 1182; Luther S. Dickey, *History of the Eighty-fifth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry* (New York, 1915), 417.

Of interest that day to the V Corps was the issuance of General Orders No. 8. This basically redesigned the command structure, so that General Chamberlain was placed in charge of the 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, trading commands with General Pearson, who took the 1st Brigade. That evening around midnight, Chamberlain was called to division headquarters where he was informed that:

General Grant had appointed me to take charge of [the surrender] parade and to receive the formal surrender of the guns and flags. I went thither directly and found assembled in the tent two of the three senior officers whom General Grant had selected to superintend the paroles and to look after the transfer of property and to attend to the final details of General Lee's surrender. These were General Griffin of the 5th Army Corps and General Gibbon of the 24th. The other commissioner, General Merritt of the cavalry, was not there. The articles of capitulation had been signed previously and it had come to the mere matter of formally settling the details of the surrender. The two officers told me that General Lee had started for Richmond, and that our leader, General Grant, was well on his way to his own headquarters at City Point, so called, in Virginia. I was also told that General Grant had decided to have a formal ceremony with a parade at the time of laying down of arms. A representative body of Union troops was to be drawn up in battle array at Appomattox Courthouse, and past this Northern delegation were to march the entire Confederate Army, both officers and men, with their arms and colors, exactly as in actual service, and to lay down these arms and colors, as well as whatever other property belonged to the Rebel army, before our men.

The general had one day to prepare. The morning of the 12th was designated for the surrender parade of the Confederate infantry.

Although pickets were kept on duty at all times between the two armies, the men continued to come and go as they pleased. This became such a problem that orders were reiterated: "The pickets will be instructed to allow no man to pass the line. It has been reported that a number of our men have already passed over to the camps of the enemy." This situation was verified by a soldier in the 198th Pennsylvania who wrote: "The rebs came in our camp and we in theirs." Colonel Wainwright, commander of the artillery brigade, took this opportunity to ride up into the village and saw Lee and Grant in their meeting:

Another wet, nasty day. I rode in to look at the rebel camp today, found that the lines were not yet open for general passing . . . for I chanced to get down to the lines while Grant and Lee were having their last interview . . . [which] lasted near half an hour. Lee had eight or ten officers with him, and Grant some of his staff. Griffin was also present.

The meeting took place near a small stream [Appomattox River], in the road, and all were mounted. In the Tavern I saw Longstreet, Pickett, Gordon, Heth and a number of their other generals.

Another who visited Appomattox remarked that it included “about a dozen houses of rather ordinary architecture and appearance. A store, court-house, jail, hotel, and a few dwellings, are all it can boast.”

The quest for souvenirs seems to have been quite popular among the troops. The chaplain of the 20th Maine recalled: “We received them kindly, and exchanged pocket knives and sundry trinkets, that each could have something to carry home as reminiscences of the great event. . . . [C]arabines, sabers, and pieces of rebel flags were also carried away, and many of them, I presume, are still preserved in the soldier’s family as sacred reminders of that bloody war.” One of the men of the 198th Pennsylvania added, “The greys, thronged our camp, busy trafficking for tobacco, pipes, knives, hats, shoes, etc.”

At least one enterprising Confederate made his own memorabilia for the occasion by reworking copper artillery shell fuse plugs he found. He traded them to a Union soldier who sent them in a letter home saying, “[Enclosed are] three rings made from a rebel shell fuse; I received them at Appomattox C.H.”

One Federal soldier recorded a compassionate impression of the visiting Southerners:

I remembered how we sat there and pitied, and sympathized with those courageous Southern men, who fought for four long and dreary years all so stubbornly, so bravely and so well, and how whipped, beaten, completely used up, were fully at our mercy—it was pitiful, and hard, and seemed to us altogether too bad.

One Confederate came into the V Corps lines with a distinct purpose:

The day after the surrender General Henry A. Wise sent his aide, Lieutenant Charles J. Faulkner, to General Chamberlain, commanding our brigade, informing him he was anxious to leave. . . . Lt. George W. Williams [aide on Gen. Chamberlain’s staff] was sent to examine his baggage, consisting of two trunks, at the hotel; some pistol cartridges were found, which he was told to keep as he might want to forage on the way home. At the bottom of [the] trunk was found a handsome silk flag. General Wise remarked it had been presented to his regiment by the ladies of Richmond. . . . Williams said: “General, no doubt you have made the usual promise to shed the last drop of blood in your regiment to preserve this flag; as it is without spot or blemish, it would be out of place with those scarred and stained battle-flags surrendered yesterday, and I doubt whether any other Yank has ever had the opportunity of seeing it; you had better return it.”

The wounded and sick in the corps were brought up and placed in a generalized area. Surgeon W. R. DeWitt Jr. noted, “On the 10th of April, enough tents were pitched near Appomattox Court House to accommodate all the sick and wounded on hand in the [first] division. From this place they were shipped in a day or two to Farmville.”⁶

The Federal Cavalry Departs from Appomattox

On the night of the 9th, Sheridan’s chief of staff James W. Forsyth issued marching orders for the Federal troopers. They were to depart at 8 a.m., with the 2nd Division (Crook) leading, followed by Merritt’s command of the 1st and 3rd Divisions. Their route would be “through Appomattox Court-House, via Walker’s Church and Farmville, to Burke’s Station.” “The general commanding would like to have the whole of the cavalry file through Appomattox Court-House in the order above designated. The command will move by fours and well closed up.” In addition, “all trains, except those of headquarters, will follow in rear of the column. . . . The rear division will furnish a small guard as escort for the train.”

At the end of this ride the troopers were to “encamp between Walker’s Church and Prospect Station at such points as may be best for the collection of forage.” Evidently General Merritt decided to press on to the latter place, for it seems that all the cavalry encamped at Prospect. Isaac Ressler, 16th Pennsylvania, recorded in his diary that he “marched through to Prospect Station—went in camp All quiet No pickets out Raining a little.” A fellow cavalryman, also in the 16th Pennsylvania, added, “We moved on to Prospect Station and encamped at 3 p.m. rained at times all day—making matters a little disagreeably joyful—we closed the day ‘after the surrender’ with a sumptuous Ham-eggs and Slap-Jack supper, and other good things. Our mess wagon and our Head Quarters darkies brought up.”

The march that day was uneventful. Roger Hannaford wrote in his reminiscences: “The morning was very dark and cloudy and it was 10 o clock before we moved out of the camp although we had been all ready packed to move

6 D. P. Marshall, *Company “K,” 155th Pennsylvania Volunteer Zouaves* (1888?), 244–245; William H. Berner, “Letters Dated April 10, April 12, April 18, 1865,” Author’s Collection; John L. Smith, “MS Source Material,” Letter Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Cauble, *Proceedings*, 158; *O.R.*, 46.3, 691; Jacob Ogden Wilson, *Diary*, April 10, Petersburg National Battlefield and grandson Dr. Charles F. Wilson, Allentown, PA; Allan Nevins, ed., *A Diary of Battle, Personal Journals of Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, 1861–65* (New York, 1962), 523; J. L. Smith, *History of the 118th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Corn Exchange Regiment* (Philadelphia, 1905), 592–593, 673; Theodore Gerrish, *Army Life, A Private’s Reminiscences of the Civil War* (Portland, ME, 1882), 259, 265; Evan Morrison Woodward, *History of the One Hundred and Ninety Eight Pennsylvania Volunteers* (Trenton, NJ, 1884), 60; Rodick, 160; Joseph K. Barnes, *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion (1861–65)* Appendix, Part I, *Surgical Volume* (Washington, D.C., 1875), 214.

for 2 hours. It began raining just before leaving camp & rained all day . . . found an 'order book' that had belonged to some 'rebel' Battery, the one probably that had stood on the ridge with guns double shotted waiting for us. . . . In leaving camp we took the road [Prince Edward Court House Road] we were on when halted by the flag of truce, going east & over some very rough and rugged country, reaching the broad road we travelled on the Saturday before some time after noon, and it was a little after sundown & beginning to get that we reached Prospect Station & went into camp. . . . It rained nearly all day after 10 o'clock. We camped in a field on the south of the road almost directly opposite the station but as we could now put up tents & fearlessly enjoy them we passed the night quite comfortably."

General Grant Follows to Prospect Station

After the meeting that morning with General Lee east of the village, General Grant returned to Wilmer McLean's house where he met with officers of both armies for about an hour. He then set out at noon with his staff and a small escort for Burkeville Junction "up to which point the railroad had by this time been repaired." That night they made it to Prospect Station.

Newspaper correspondent Sylvanus Cadwallader, accompanying Grant that day, wrote:

General Grant turned the head of his thoroughbred horse "Cincinnatus" towards the Court House; gave directions to the staff quartermaster to take the headquarter train to Prospect Station for that night; to move it from there back to City Point by easy marches; and started with some of his staff for Washington to stop the draft then progressing.

We had some delays along the road in the afternoon, and did not reach Prospect Station till dark. The headquarter train arrived soon after, when tents were pitched, supper prepared and eaten; and all assembled in front of a roaring log fire; ankle deep in mud, but exalted above most earthly discomforts by the crowning success of the campaign.

Before retiring that night we were surprised and gladdened by the arrival of Hon. E. B. Washburne, on his way to the front to witness the surrender of Lee's army, as he supposed. He was a day too late, and returned with headquarters to City Point and Washington. . . . [Elihu] B. Washburne was a member of the House of Representatives, serving as chairman of the Committee on Commerce.

Trooper Hannaford saw Grant passing the cavalry column: "Well do I remember seeing Genl. Grant . . . about 1 o'clock. . . . I saw a single horseman trotting past us, wending his way through the trees as best he could so silently did his horse hoofs fall on the dead leaves that no one heard him coming & it was

only when nearly past when we saw him; not the least mark or insignia of rank was visible covered as he was with a heavy cavalry cape. . . . [H]e would not travel alone, but in a short time & distant behind him at least 150 yards his body guard came trotting past us filing in & out through the wood as best they could.”

That night, General Crook received orders at Prospect to ready one brigade of his division to escort General Grant and party to Burkeville, leaving at 6 a.m. the next morning. Orders were also given for the line of march concerning the rest of the cavalry: 1st, Custer; 2nd, Crook; 3rd, Devin. Crook was also to detail a rear guard to escort and cover the wagon trains.

General Grant sent a dispatch to Secretary of War Stanton from his camp at 7:30 p.m. He stated that the II and VI Corps and the cavalry were on their way back to Burke’s Station. The V and XXIV Corps would remain at Appomattox Court House to arrange the paroles of General Lee’s army after which time the V Corps would rejoin the other corps of the Army of the Potomac. He concluded optimistically: “If advantage is taken of the present feeling in the South, I am greatly in hopes an early peace will be secured.” At 9:05 p.m. he sent another message to Stanton concerning the status of those Confederate prisoners captured before the surrender and again reiterated his feelings on getting other Southern armies to capitulate. General Rufus Ingalls of Grant’s staff also took the time to dictate a message from Prospect to Gen. Montgomery C. Meigs, quartermaster general of the Army. He forewarned Meigs that Col. Abram B. Lawrence, chief quartermaster of the XXIV Corps, would take charge of the Confederate property of the quartermaster’s department and send it to Burkeville. From there it would be turned over to the depot quartermaster. He added that there could be more than 10,000 horses and mules with which to contend.⁷

The II and VI Corps Prepare for the Return March

Although Grant told Stanton that the II and VI Corps were on their way back from Appomattox, that was not actually true. They would not leave the area until the 11th. The II Corps received orders to move at 10 a.m. the next day via New

⁷ *O.R.*, 46.3, 676, 693–694; Isaac H. Ressler, *Diary*, C.W.T.I. Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.; James C. Mohr, ed., *The Company Diaries: A Northern Family in the Civil War* (Pittsburgh, 1982), 541; Washburn spent the night of April 11 in the McLean House with General John Gibbon; Roger Hannaford, *Diary of Roger Hannaford, April 2–14, 1865* (Cincinnati, OH, 1870); Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, vol. II (New York, 1886), 498; Adam Badeau, *Military History of Ulysses S. Grant*, vol. III (New York, 1881), 611–612. Among those Grant met with at McLean’s were Longstreet, Gordon, Heth, Wilcox and Pickett; Benjamin P. Thomas, ed., *Three Years With Grant* (1956), 335; Horace Porter, *Campaigning With Grant* (New York, 1897), 492. It is interesting that Hannaford did not mention riding through the village, which would have actually been out of the cavalry’s way.

Store and the Buckingham Road. DeTrobriand's Division and trains would lead, then Barlow's, Lieutenant Colonel Hazard's Artillery Brigade, Miles' Division, the ambulances, and, finally, a rear guard detailed by General Miles. The pioneers of the 3rd Division would lead the column in advance, with the pioneers of the 2nd and 1st attached to and in front of the artillery. Their purpose was to repair the road if necessary.

General Miles was also ordered to leave a brigade behind to provide "fatigue parties necessary to load [for the chief ordnance officer, Army of the Potomac] his wagons with the ordnance stores captured from and surrendered by the enemy." This brigade would then accompany the train to Burkeville. (See General Orders No. 4.)

To help cart away much of this captured equipment, the men of the corps were asked to replenish their cartridge boxes with 40 rounds of ammunition to allow the ammunition trains extra room for carrying this paraphernalia. Each wagon would be arranged to carry no more than eighteen boxes of captured stores. Assistant Quartermaster Maj. William Cochrane was to superintend this operation, assembling the trains at 4:30 by the roadside in the rear of the corps, between the 3rd Division and the VI Corps. General DeTrobriand was instructed to provide Cochrane with a regiment of 500 men to accompany the wagons to Burkeville.

Because of their encampment position on the Stage Road, the VI Corps would now be in the van and the II Corps the rear guard in this return march. The VI Corps would move at 6 a.m. with Getty's Division leading, then Seymour and Wheaton, and the Artillery Brigade under Cowan in the rear. The headquarters trains and ambulances would follow the divisions to which they belonged.

The brigade that General Miles left behind, to help with ordnance pickup and guard duty, was Col. George Scott's 1st Brigade. They would stay in the Appomattox area until the 13th. A soldier of the 140th Pennsylvania in this group remembered: "In the woods where the rebel army had encamped, muskets were scattered upon the ground in every direction. We found where whole battalions had stacked their arms and left for home, taking no part in the surrender, not even signing their parole."

Others were detached for special service also. Lieutenant John W. Stuart of the 148th Pennsylvania was sent with Colonel Shollenberger, the Corps quartermaster, and his train to Appomattox Court House

to load his wagons with the arms which had been laid down by the Confederates and take them back to Farmville, the then base of our Army's supply. . . . The officer in charge of the exchange would not allow the guns to be removed until their men were paroled and Stuart was . . . obliged to stay two days among the Confederates.

Nothing of great importance happened in the II Corps camps this day except that “it rained most of the day” and “nearly all night.” During the day some of the members of the 5th New Hampshire, captured at Cumberland Church, returned to their regiment. One soldier recalled that “ample rations were issued, which were freely divided with our friends, the enemy.” A member of the VI Corps added that they were “issued two days rations.”

Henry Keiser, 95th Pennsylvania, wrote in his diary about his day in the VI Corps encampment:

It rained last night and this morning . . . told that the mail would go out at five this evening, which is the first chance we have had to write since the campaign commenced. . . . First and Third Brigades of our Division drew rations this afternoon, but our Brigade did not. . . . It rained a little during the day.

Many of the officers took the day to renew old acquaintances with former Confederate soldiers. General Henry Hunt, in command of all siege artillery operations at Petersburg, went to look up his former pupil, Gen. Armistead L. Long, chief of the Confederate 2nd Corps Artillery:

Now, in the quiet of Appomattox, Hunt remarked of his former pupil that the conduct of the Confederate bombardment at Gettysburg—which Hunt understood was under Long’s general control—was not in keeping with the principles he had imparted to his student officers. There had been no convergence of fire on the point of attack as Long had been taught; instead, the effort was scattered over the whole field. Long [remarked], “I remembered my lessons at the time, and, when the fire became so scattered, wondered what you would think about it!”

General Meade, apparently feeling better, also rode into the Confederate camp to see General Lee. He was accompanied by his son, Col. George Meade, and by Col. Theodore Lyman. They were carried to Lee’s headquarters by Gen. Charles Field, leaving their camp at 10:30 a.m. The group found Lee near his camp, which consisted of “one fly [tent] with a camp-fire in front.” When Meade rode up he doffed his cap and said, “Good-morning, General.” Lee, not recognizing him at first, soon remarked, “But what are you doing with all that grey in your beard?” Meade promptly replied, “You have to answer for most of it!”

While the generals talked, the aides stood by the fire in the rain. Colonel Lyman chatted with Col. Charles Marshall, who told him that during the retreat, at one point, he had not slept for seventy-two hours. Consequently, he was not functioning properly when a quartermaster came up to him for directions for the train. Marshall told him in a lucid manner: “Tell the Captain that I should have

sent that cane as a present to his baby; but I could not, because the baby turned out to be a girl instead of a boy!”

General Henry A. Wise soon joined the group. He was Meade’s brother-in-law by his first wife. Lyman described him: “Old, sick, impoverished, a prisoner with nothing to live for, not even his son, who was killed at Roanoke Island, he stood there in his old, wet, grey blanket, glad to accept at our hands a pittance of biscuit and coffee, to save him and his staff from starvation!”

Although Lyman didn’t mention it, evidently Lee and Meade went for a ride together. A Confederate soldier in the 1st South Carolina who witnessed them, said:

General Lee, accompanied by Gen. Meade and staff, rode around. . . . On passing by us we began to cheer and yell. Meade turned to his color bearer, who had his headquarters’ flag rolled up, and said, “Unfurl that flag.” This he did, when an old ragged, half-starved, worn-out Confederate soldier in our lines cried out, “D--n your old rag. We are cheering Gen. Lee.”

Captain William B. Rawle of Meade’s Provost Guard, 3rd Pennsylvania Cavalry, also took the opportunity to visit the Southern camp.

Colonel George Meade, who was an Aide-de-Camp on the staff of his father, General George G. Meade, had taken a light ambulance with food and other necessities over into the Confederate lines for the relief of his uncle, General Henry A. Wise. I determined to try to find and relieve a relative of my own who was a Major and Quartermaster on the staff of the Louisiana Brigade. . . . I cantered out the Lynchburg Road, right in the face of the rebel army, until stopped by a party of “gray backs” on the skirmish line, who informed me that their orders were positive not to allow any Yankees—officers or men—to pass into their camps. I . . . rode back a short distance, and then struck across country to the left to a point beyond the rebel lines, made a wide detour . . . arrived unmolested and unchallenged at the Court House . . . found . . . my rebel cousin, was in our own lines searching for me . . . chatted awhile with the other officers of the staff. I found them glum, indeed rather surly, notwithstanding the good things I had brought with me. This was not the case, I found, with the enlisted men—at least many of those whom I talked were polite, cordial, and in good spirits at the prospect of returning home to their families.

Now that the hostilities were ended, General Humphreys, at least, wanted to make amends with the former enemy populace. Consequently, he issued this circular among his corps:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND ARMY CORPS,
April 10, 1865.

The commanding general learns with regret that farms along the route of our march have been deprived of their horses, mules, &c., not only without authority, but in violation of express orders prohibiting such proceedings. Such conduct will sully the fame of the army, and the commanding general directs that the animals referred to be at once collected through the inspector and provost-marshal's department and turned over to the quartermaster's department for return to their respective owners when practicable.

By command of Major-General Humphreys:

C. A. Whittier,
Assistant Adjutant-General

Colonel Elisha Rhodes, 2nd Rhode Island, summed up the day's activities in his diary:

It seemed queer to sleep last night without fearing an attack, but the Rebels are now all under guard. I have talked with some of them and find that they are as glad as we that the war is over. They all seem surprised at our kind treatment of them, and I think General Grant's way of managing affairs will help on the peace that must come. I do not know just what is going on at the front, as no one is allowed to visit the Rebel camps, but I am satisfied. I have seen all the Rebels I want to see for my lifetime.

Thus the men of both armies spent their first day in peace.⁸

8 *O.R.*, 46.3, 690–692; Robert Laird Stewart, *History of the One Hundred and Fortieth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers* (Philadelphia, 1912), 273; Ranel C. Craig, "Letter dated April 19, 1865, Burkeville, VA," Author's Collection; J. W. Muffly, ed., *The Story of Our Regiment: A History of the 148th Pennsylvania Volunteers* (Des Moines, IA, 1904), 713; William A. Child, *A History of the Fifth Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteers, in the American Civil War, 1861–1865* (Bristol, NH, 1893), 295; James M. Aubrey, *The Thirty-Sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry* (Milwaukee, 1900), 237; John W. N. Schulz and Gilbert Thompson, *The Engineer Battalion in the Civil War* (Washington, D.C., 1910); Stephen W. Gordon, Diary, April 10, Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania N. M. P. Archives; Keiser, Diary, April 10; L. Van Loan Naisawald, *Grape and Canister* (New York, 1960), 534; Cauble, *Proceedings*, 143; George R. Agassiz, ed., *Mead's Headquarters 1863–65: Letters From Colonel Theodore Lyman From the Wilderness to Appomattox* (Boston, 1922), 359–360. See also: Stanton P. Allen, *Down in Dixie: Life in a Cavalry Regiment in the War Days* (Boston, 1893), 461–462. Mahone "On the Road to Appomattox," accuses Marshall of being drunk on the retreat. This could be a possible explanation. Frank M. Mixson, *Reminiscences of a Private Company E, 1st South Carolina Volunteers* (Columbia, 1910), 120; Frederick M. Colston, "Recollections of the Last Months in the Army of Northern Virginia," *S.H.S.P.* (1910), 13; Robert Hunt Rhodes, ed., *All for the Union: A History of the 2nd Rhode Island Infantry & Letters of Colonel Elisha Hunt Rhodes* (London, RI, 1985), 230.

April 11, 1865: Final Preparations for the Formal Surrender Ceremony

The cavalry surrender now out of the way, the Federals chose this day to receive the equipment of the remaining Confederate artillery units. In the morning, General Turner's Independent Division was assigned this duty, although at noon they were relieved by General Bartlett's 1st Division of the V Corps. A soldier of the 34th Massachusetts, under Turner, wrote: "Revallee at 4 AM. Our Division Parade half past six while the Confederate turn over their arms and war materials." The location of the modest ceremony was along the Stage Road just north of the Appomattox River. Artillery battalion commander William Owen remembered, "I had my teams hitched up and moved my three batteries (12 guns) to the main road, where I turned them over to the Federal officer detailed to receive them." General E. P. Alexander recalled:

I was directed to form all the guns and caissons in single column along the road, that the Federal officers might then conduct it to their camps. The artillery horses had already been out of rations for some days. The Federal officers had reported their own supplies of forage exhausted. With a heart full of sympathy for the poor brutes, I formed the column on Tuesday, April 11, and left them standing in the road, which they filled for about a mile. The next morning . . . as I rode off from the scene I saw the mournful column of artillery still standing in the road unattended, but with many of the poor horses now down in the mud and unable to rise.

Colonel John Haskell, whose brother had formally surrendered the remaining cavalry the day before, wrote:

Bartlett was the one to whom I turned over the artillery. . . . I was kept constantly busy with Bartlett, making out lists and turning over guns and supplies, getting receipts and signing papers for our soldiers. Each of the commission was furnished with blanks to fill in for the troops he represented. I signed a good many hundred and came across a lot of the blanks a short time ago.

A total of 2,576 artillerymen were paroled at Appomattox.⁹

In the Confederate camp, the day was spent by many of the officers preparing parole lists. After the parole slips were printed by the Federals and sent to Lee's

9 Cauble, *Proceedings*, 155–6. A rumor spread that the presses broke down but they did not; *O.R.*, 46.3, 706; William Miller Owens, *In Camp and Battle with the Washington Artillery of New Orleans* (Boston, 1885), 391; Edward Porter Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate* (New York, 1907), 613; Govan & Livingood, 98; Gibbon, 332, mistakenly says that Turner received the surrender of the Infantry. What he probably meant was that many of the artillery were formed as infantry upon leaving Richmond/Petersburg and it was possibly these weapons that were stacked.

army, they were distributed and signed “by their immediate commanding officers, generally the brigadiers or colonels of the regiments or battalions.” Rolls of all the officers and men had to be made up in duplicate, with one copy going to a designated Federal officer, the other to a Confederate. General Henry A. Wise remarked that he alone “signed the paroles of more than 5,000 men besides those of my own brigade.” This process lasted through the time the Confederates remained in the area, which would be at least through the 12th.

In conjunction with the paroling at Appomattox, on this day Special Orders No. 74 were issued from Grant’s headquarters (in the saddle) which allowed the Federal forces garrisoning Farmville to parole all prisoners of war there and allow them the same terms as those with Lee at Appomattox.

To further clarify the status of paroled prisoners and their rights, General Gibbon issued General Orders No. 43, which stated:

GENERAL ORDERS, (No. 43) HDQRS. TWENTY-FOURTH ARMY CORPS,
Appomattox-Court House, April 11, 1865.

By agreement between the officers appointed by Generals Lee and Grant to carry out the stipulation of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, the evidence that an officer or enlisted man is a paroled prisoner of war is the fact of his possessing a printed certificate certifying to the fact, dated at Appomattox Court-House, Va., April 10, 1865, and signed by his commanding officer or the staff officer of the same.

All guards, patrols, officers, and soldiers of the U.S. forces will respect such certificates, allow free passage to the holders thereof, and observe in good faith the provisions of the surrender, that the holders shall remain unmolested in every respect.

By command of Maj. Gen. John Gibbon:

EDWARD MOALE,
Lieutenant-Colonel and Assistant Adjutant General.¹⁰

General Grant and staff were up early from their camp at Prospect and on the road to Burkeville Junction. Correspondent Cadwallader wrote:

Grant and staff reached Burkeville Junction about 2:00 o’clock p.m., Tuesday April 11th, and started at 4:00 p.m., by special train for City Point. The road was in a frightful

¹⁰ John Herbert Claiborne, *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia* (New York and Washington, 1904), 297; Colston, 12; *O.R.*, 46.1, 57–58; Henry A. Wise, “The Career of Wise’s Brigade, 1865,” *S.H.S.P.* (1897): 19; W. B. Freeman states “now we were waiting for our paroles, the forms of which had to be printed in Lynchburg.” This was a rumor, in fact the presses did not break down, it just took longer than anticipated to print all the passes; George S. Bernard, *War Talks of Confederate Veterans* (Petersburg, VA, 1892), 267; *O.R.*, 46.3, 703, 709–710.

condition, and in spite of slow locomotion and the utmost care, the cars frequently jumped the track, and had to be got on again at great disadvantage. One locomotive lay hopelessly wrecked and imbedded in mud near Wilson's Station, and derailed cars and trains, stopped us every few miles. Twelve hours were consumed in running the sixty-one miles between Burkeville and City Point.

In anticipation of what actually occurred, I took the precaution before leaving City Point the last week in March, to have forwarded to me from Baltimore a stock of supplies for use on my return. At the risk of incurring the censure of temperance reformers I confess that these supplies embraced one five gallon keg of whiskey, one barrel of bottled Glasgow Ale, and one large pork Tierce filled with bottled champagne. In the forenoon of April 12th, I turned over the whiskey (& by military permission) to the Cavalry and Infantry escort commanders to be carefully issued to their men. The barrel of Tennant's Glasgow Ale, was opened and drank among ourselves in less than thirty minutes! The champagne was used at dinner in drinking confusion to the enemies of the republic; and to the memory of fallen comrades in the Great Rebellion. The occasion was one of mingled joy and exultation, of sorrow and sadness, that can never be fully understood by any except those who have gone through the experiences.

In the afternoon of April 12th Gen. Grant left City Point for Washington.

Staff member Horace Porter added that "the special train bearing the general-in-chief from Burkeville to City Point ran off the track three times. These mishaps caused much delay, and instead of reaching City Point that evening, he did not arrive until daylight the next morning."

Before Grant departed Burkeville, he sent one more dispatch to Appomattox concerning the proceedings there. Grant instructed General Gibbon to use the captured railroad trains to send as much of his supplies as possible to this destination. The reason was due to "the excessive bad state of the roads." Also, if the captured teams were too weak to bring back all the arms and artillery, then the caissons and small arms that could not be moved should be destroyed. "Leave wagons for the country people to pick up, and double team so as to send back the artillery and as many of the wagons as you can with small arms."¹¹

Although this day was another "rainy disagreeable" one, the men of both armies continued visiting with one another. James Whitehorne, 12th Virginia, wrote in his diary:

Heard today Mahone's Division would be the last paroled. . . . A Northern officer came to see Major Jones today. I heard they had been at school together. We saw him come up

11 Thomas, 335-336; Porter, 492; *O.R.*, 46.3, 710.

and hold out his hand—the Major did nothing for so long it was painful. Then he took the offered hand and I had a feeling the war was really over. After all, I never hated any one Yankee. I hated the spirit that was sending them to invade the south. . . . Said they fought the war because the Northern States needed the Southern States to withstand the enmity of foreign nations. Said few of them loved the negroes, but they did think slavery should be abolished.

For Confederate artilleryman A. S. Drewry of the Purcell Battery, the visit across the lines was none too pleasant. He recalled:

We were in front of the Fifth Corps, and here I came in contact with the Sixteenth Michigan Regiment. . . . They came up to us . . . and asked: "Have you chaps anything to eat? . . . Come over to our camp and take supper with us." We accepted, and were soon sitting around their camp fire enjoying real coffee with condensed milk, and many other good things. . . . "Sergeant [Drewry], that's a fine horse you have, and I would like to trade you out of him. . . . You can't take this horse until you get an order from the Colonel. He is in that big tent over there." I said: "I am a paroled prisoner, and came into your camp by the invitation of some of your men to get something to eat; am riding a private horse, which was allowed to me when we turned over our guns and horses." He asked what business I had with a horse, as I was not a commissioned officer. "No, only a noncommissioned; but in our army we have to furnish our own horses, or walk, as our government is too poor to furnish them." I left the tent to find that my horse had been run off with, bridle, saddle, and what clothing I had. . . . I have never forgotten the 16th Michigan Regiment or forgiven this dastardly act of its colonel.

That evening, "many of the troops were marched out and listened to a patriotic & stirring speech by General Gordon." Others "spent the night in various ways, some sang and prayed, some set around the camp fires and told their war jokes, some sung the war songs that had been so familiar with us, others talked of home sweet home that they soon expected to see, and we all slept a little."¹²

The Federal cavalry at this point was preparing its march from Prospect to Nottoway Court House. The route would be through Prince Edward Court House and Burkeville. Originally, they had been ordered to pass through Farmville, but for some reason decided on this other course. A trooper in Custer's Division, leading the column, remembered that "Custar undertook in leaving Prospect Station to go by the main road [to Farmville] but in less than ½ a mile changed his route & countermarched & going back to the Station took the bye road we came on Sat.

12 John Waldrop, April 11; Whitehorne, Diary, April 11, 1865; A. S. Drewry, "Reply to T.R. Lackie," *Confederate Veteran* (October 1900): 445; Wiatt, April 11; Bone, April 11.

[8th] morning before; our Regt. [2nd Ohio] was in the advance this day & I well remember the brave show the bearers of the captured flags made as they passed us on the trot when they countermarched; there were over 30 of them (36 I think).” The cavalry “crossed Sockett’s [Locketts] Creek at Prospect Mill, passed Prince Edward Court House, and went into camp near Rice’s Station.” Before reaching the Court House, the column passed Hampden Sydney College, or as a member of the rear guard in the 16th Pennsylvania put it, “by way of Hamlin City College & Seminary [Hampden Sydney] fine buildings very muddy & hilley Country but good land.”

Of the day’s march, Roger Hannaford had this to say: “It was a chilly raw miserable day, everything covered with mud. We did not keep the road we travelled on Sat. very long, but struck further south through fields & soon came out on a broad road coming into Prince Edward a different route from the one we left it on. . . . It was early when we went into camp in a heavy piece of woods about 2 miles west of Rice’s Sta. & distant nearly a mile from the R. R. which we could see to the N. W. of us.” The rear guard “went into camp close to Sandy Creek at 8 p.m.”

That night from cavalry headquarters at the Venable House orders were issued for the next day’s march: leave at 6 a.m. to Burke’s Station via Sandy Creek Church with Devin first, then Crook and Custer; Custer would detail a rear guard and escort for the trains.¹³

Meade Moves to Farmville

Meade began the march of the contingent he was with (II and VI Corps) at 6:00 a.m. Before leaving Burkeville, Grant had ordered Meade to have supplies sent to Farmville for these men, so that was their immediate destination. The II Corps did not depart until 10:30 and “before leaving we were formed in line and had an order read to us from General Humphreys congratulating us and giving some statistics.” Some of the men were a little disgruntled on leaving. One member of the 7th New Jersey wrote: “Yesterday Gen. Lee visited army Hd. Q.Rs.—a general feeling akin to dissatisfaction that the army is not permitted to see the Rebel force which they have captured.”

13 R. Hannaford, *Diary*, April 11; H. P. Moyer, *History of the Seventeenth Regiment Penn. Volunteer Cavalry, 1861–65* (Lebanon, PA, 1911), 154; Albert Barnitz, *Diary*, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT; Ressler, April 11; Jas. H. Stevenson, *Boots and Saddles: A History of the 1st Vermont Cavalry of the Civil War Known as the First New York (Lincoln) Cavalry* (Harrisburg, PA, 1879), 351; *O.R.*, 46.1, 709. General Robert E. Lee did not go to Farmville so perhaps it was General Fitz Lee, who did venture there, that was seen.

Nothing of great importance took place on this day's march. The continuing rain caused the roads to remain in bad condition. When General Wright's corps reached New Store, it halted two miles beyond for dinner, following the Buckingham Plank Road to Farmville. The column reached the crossing of the Little Willis River (6–7 miles beyond their resting stop) and went into bivouac. A soldier in the 15th New Jersey recorded, "The Roads are almost impassible parked near the covered bridge on the plank road seven miles from Farmtown."

The II Corps reached New Store and went into camp. A member of the 7th New Jersey remembered: "Marched to New Store. The houses and stores have been shamefully sacked. QM Bruen & some men returned from a foraging party—2 horses, chickens, & corn." In the 17th Maine a soldier recalled: "We arrived at New Store about dark. Again we are put under guard, not allowed even to go out for water unless accompanied by a noncommissioned officer." General Nelson Miles spent the night at Keswick, the Jones' home.

A couple of amusing incidents took place that evening while the army was around New Store. George Gibson, 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, had told the story earlier of his dealings with a "venerable colored man." Running into him again on this return march, Gibson recounted this story:

Returning by the same route several days after the surrender, on our way to Burkville Junction, we saw the same individual amidst a crowd of colored people of all ages and sizes. Some of the pickaninnies were dancing on the rocks, being induced to show their talent by sundry gifts of sugar and hardtack from the haversacks of the passing soldiers.

Making my way to the side of my venerable friend I asked him where Gen. Lee ate his breakfast that morning. His face lighted up with the characteristic smile of the colored race, as he replied: "Dunno Massa, Dunno, you kotch him mighty quick."

In another vein, from an interview with a local resident of the area, Joseph Jones, it was learned that

When the Yankees went through the vicinity pursuing the Confederates, they took everything an old man named Bryant had, and he vowed revenge. When some of them began to filter through on the way back from Appomattox, he laid a trap. He killed a buzzard and stewed it in an old iron pot on the roadside. When he saw a group of the Federal soldiers approaching, he got very busy, adding vegetables and stirring away. They said, "Old man, what's in the pot?" and he gave it a fancy name. He begged them not to take it away from him. They got pretty sick, says Mr. Jones.¹⁴

¹⁴ *O.R.*, 46.3, 703, 708; *O.R.*, 46.1, 76; Aubery, 237; Chase C. Mooney, ed., "A Chaplain's Diary," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* LXXV, no. 1 (Jan. 1957): 10–11; Wilson, *Diary*, 324;

Although Turner's Division was occupied throughout the morning receiving the surrendered artillery, the day was relatively uneventful for the Army of the James. General Gibbon reported to Grant that "a lieutenant sent out as a scout by my direction has just come in from Lynchburg, where the mayor of the city delivered over the town to him. I have directed General Mackenzie to at once proceed there." He added to this in a midnight telegram: "A delegation of citizens has just reached [Appomattox Court House] from Lynchburg with a letter from the president of the city council proposing to surrender the town. General Turner with his division and Mackenzie's cavalry will start in the morning to carry out your instructions."

Alexander Neil, 12th West Virginia, wrote in a letter home the same day, "The two thousand prisoners of ours that they had with them even cried with joy when they knew they had been delivered. They came over last night." Robert Larimer, 62nd Ohio, recorded in his diary: "[W]eather very gloomy—rations growing short—drew fresh beef . . . the prisoners captured from the regt. sent to parole camp at Annapolis Md. Rain all night."

William Stark, 34th Massachusetts, who was involved in the surrender ceremony that morning, remembered that during the day:

56 [actual number 54] pieces of heavy Artillery was dug up and brought in today by us. They were buried a few miles back. . . . Our scouts were with them most of the time and some of them assisted in burying them. In many places where these cannon are buried a painted board is placed with the name of some person or Regiment marked upon it in order to deceive people as to the true character.

These were the guns brought in by the 11th Pennsylvania Cavalry from Red Oak Church. He also reiterated what Larimer said: "We are short of rations, Mosby [Fitzhugh Lee] having destroyed 8 miles of our train."

The units from the XXV Corps that marched to Appomattox today began their return march to Richmond. Colonel Shaw wrote, "We have had a cloudy day with a drizzling rain, the roads very bad, but everybody is in good spirits."¹⁵

Gordon, Diary, April 11; Ruth L. Silliker, ed., *The Rebel Yell and the Yankee Hurrah, The Civil War Journal of a Maine Volunteer* (Camden, ME, 1985), 267; Christopher Calkins, *From Petersburg to Appomattox: A Tour Guide to the Routes of Lee's Withdrawal and Grant's Pursuit, April 2–9, 1865* (Farmville, VA, 1983), 35; Alfred S. Roe & Charles Nutt, *History of the First Regiment Heavy Artillery Massachusetts Volunteers* (Worcester, MA, 1917), 279–80; Ralph Happel, Interview, A.C.H.N.H.P. files.

15 *O.R.*, 46.3, 710–711; Rodick, 173; Larimer; William B. Stark, "Petersburg to Appomattox," *Atlantic Monthly* 162 (Aug. 1938): 252; J. Shaw, "Last Campaign," 25, 9. This was just a rumor, that Confederates had destroyed the railroad tracks.

Griffin's V Corps was kept active preparing for the surrender of the Confederate infantry the next morning. With the issue of Special Orders No. 87, General Crawford was to send, from his division, two companies to Appomattox Station "to guard the railroad trains and to go with the train down the road to Farmville." He was also to send one regiment to Appomattox Court House for guarding captured property. This would prove to be a regiment in Coulter's brigade, the 121st Pennsylvania under Maj. West Funk. The rest of Coulter's Brigade was then assigned to report to Lieutenant Colonel Thomas, chief quartermaster, "to accompany the captured transportation to Burkeville."

Before Gen. J. L. Chamberlain attended to organizational matters with his commanders concerning the surrender parade, he issued a farewell address to the men of his old brigade:

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 3) HDQRS. FIRST BRIGADE, FIRST DIV.,
FIFTH ARMY CORPS,
April 11, 1865.

I. The general commanding having been ordered to another command hereby takes leave of this brigade. In parting from troops to whom he has become attached by their soldierly behavior and gallant conduct in battle the general cannot forbear to express his satisfaction that the whole course of this brief campaign found the First Brigade in the front line and at its triumphant close they exchanged the last shots with the enemy. To the officers of the field, staff, and line, he tenders his thanks for their fidelity and courtesy, and to the whole command the assurance of his deep interest in them and of the pride with which he will ever remember that he once commanded the First Brigade.

By command of Brigadier-General Chamberlain:

THOMAS MITCHELL,
Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.

In determining the tone of the ceremony, Chamberlain followed the guidelines requested by Generals Griffin and Grant. They "wished the ceremony to be as simple as possible, and that nothing should be done to humiliate the manhood of the Southern soldiers." Chamberlain regretted that the II and VI Corps could not be part of this undertaking, stating, "We could not but feel something more than a wish that they should be brought up to be participants in a consummation to which they perhaps more than any had contributed."

Originally, word was passed to the officers of the Third Brigade, 1st Division, that the unit would be marched out that evening "to complete the details of the surrender," but this was later rescinded. The men understood the reason for this was

that “Lee had requested [it], to avoid mortification, [and] that these be perfected in the darkness.” Whatever the reason, the time was changed to sunrise the next day and the troops were moved back to camp.

With the shortage of rations, many of the men took the time to go foraging. Ellis Spear, 20th Maine, told of his success:

[F]or two days we had nothing. . . . Some relief came later at Appomattox after the surrender, and . . . some of us were invited to dine with a family living there. To show that we had no hard feeling we accepted the invitation, and consolidated our rations We furnished salt pork and coffee, and the family a chicken miraculously spared for the occasion. There were also hot biscuits. There was not enough of the consolidated provisions to go around in full helpings, but the buckles of our belts were in the last hole, and, being guests, we restrained our appetites. The hot biscuits left a good taste in our mouths.

William H. Berrier, 191st Pennsylvania, in writing a letter home the next day, described his experience foraging:

Apamaticks Court-house Va.

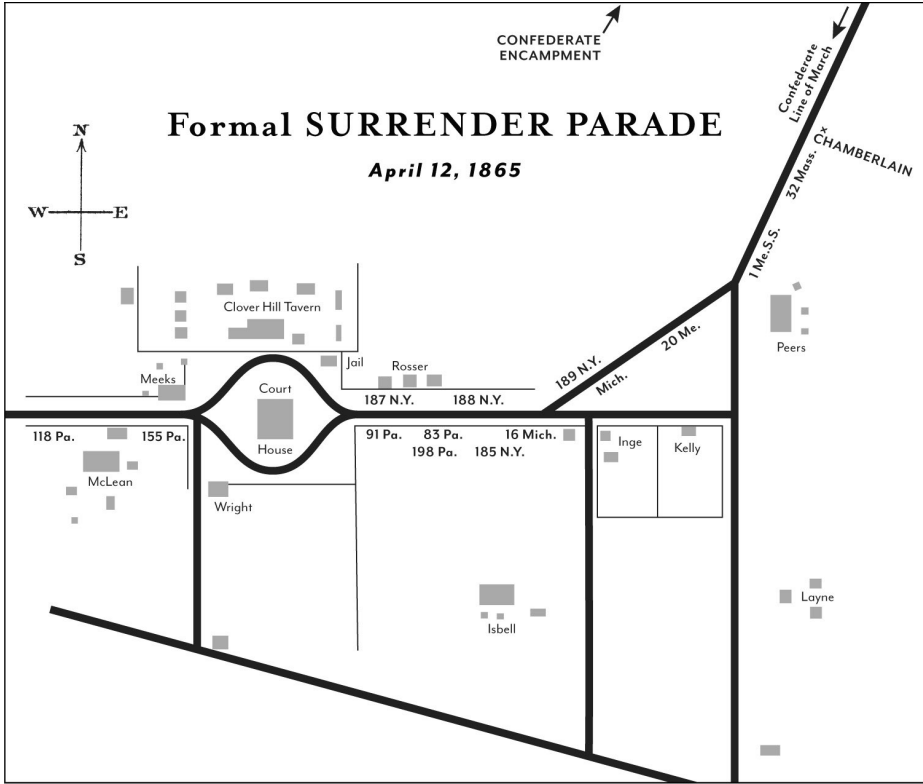
April 12, 1865: Oh Dear Mamly how pleasant it will be to us when We can once more live to-gether and that in peace. . . . [W]e got a great many things through the country We traveled Such as flour corn meal and bacon and chickens &c. . . . [T]he people Still said they had nothing to live on in the South if you hear any person say so tell them that it is a damn lie because every house we come to have plenty of everything though they use a power of corn Meal but I tell you after we passed through there was Mighty little left unless they hid it which a great many did though Our men paid a great many for things that they took.

Sgt. William T. Livermore, also of the 20th Maine, wrote in his diary of the day's activities:

Weather fair. We remained quiet until 12M. We then marched through the town and relieved a part of the 24th corps. We are in plain sight of and close to the rebel camp. Officers and men from both sides go back and forth as they please. Five of our boys went out foraging and brought in Ham, meal, and molasses. We had orders to bivouac, but afterwards fell in on account of mistake in order.

These orders were probably in conjunction with the original plan for an evening surrender parade.

Of some interest this day was the punishment doled out to a member of the V Corps. John Smith, 118th Pennsylvania, recorded: “There was a soldier drummed



around camp for cowardice, with the word ‘coward’ on a cracker box lid, hanging in front of his breast, and ‘skulk’ on another board on his back. Thousands of soldiers and rebs looked on.”

The men of the corps went to sleep that night “on the side hills in sight of the” courthouse, with thoughts of the great honor bestowed upon them by General Grant. Tomorrow they would meet face to face for the last time the veterans of the famous Army of Northern Virginia.¹⁶

16 *O.R.*, 46.3, 706–708; Cauble, *Proceedings*, 158–9; Smith, *118th Pennsylvania*, 592; Ellis Spear, “The Hoe Cake of Appomattox,” *MOLLUS-D.C.*, No. 92, 7; Berner; William T. Livermore, *Diary*, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; Smith, *Letters*; Wilson, *Diary*, April 11.