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**WAITING FOR ORDERS**  
*The Civil War Diary of Micajah A. Thomas*

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3 May 2005

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## Waiting for Orders: The Civil War Diary of Micajah A. Thomas

As with all history, researchers cannot draw an accurate conclusion or understanding of a particular historical event, state of mind, or philosophy through mere generalizations. The historian, like any proponent of truth, must seek to understand the individual facts and principles of the subject matter in an effort to inductively form his final thesis on what truly constitutes history. In achieving the full factual record of “Johnny Reb” entrenched in the complex social heritage of the Confederate South with all its various nuances and distinctions, a direct account of a Confederate soldier’s life proves indispensable. Concordantly, the Civil War diary of Micajah A. Thomas gives both the professional and lay historian an enhanced and honest conception of the common Confederate soldier from the peak of his glory to the depths of his drudgery.

Researchers must remember that the world in which a person lives ultimately affects that person in many intricate and unforeseen ways. When seeking to understand the entirety of a Confederate soldier’s life by focusing in on the highly specific, the researcher needs to realize that those specifics have an intricate connection with the whole—they directly influence one another. Consequently, the researcher requires an adequate understanding of the battles and campaigns that occurred during the Civil War when considering the idleness of the individual Confederate soldier. It is not in the scope of this paper, however, to review the entirety of a five-year war.<sup>1</sup> Since Mr. Thomas’s diary only spans May 18, 1864, through December 31, 1864, an

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<sup>1</sup> A plethora of books exists covering the Civil War. Shelby Foote’s authoritative work entitled *The Civil War: A Narrative* (3 vols.; New York: Vintage Books, 1986) gives a complete and engaging history of the war. Researchers can find a narrower account of the war era and how it transformed the Confederate South in Emory M. Thomas’s *The Confederate Nation: 1861-1865* (New York: History Book Club, 1993).

overview of the war around this time, with specific attention given to the conflicts in Mississippi, will suffice.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE CIVIL WAR CIRCA 1864

The Civil War in the late spring of 1864 gave rise to two significant series of battles in the East—the march to Petersburg with its ensuing siege of the city and the operations in the Shenandoah Valley. By the end of the summer of 1864, the Confederate victories in the Eastern Theater had succeeded in giving new optimism to a despairing Confederacy. The hope that had faded by the end of 1863 returned to the South.<sup>3</sup>

General Robert E. Lee's ability to counter the Union's revised strategy under its new general-in-chief Ulysses S. Grant sparked this renewed optimism. Grant had devised a strategy that finally united the five Union armies into coordinated campaigns. Now Union forces would conduct simultaneous attacks with intricately related goals. With George G. Meade's 115,000 strong Army of the Potomac centered on Lee's 64,000 member Army of Northern Virginia, Grant could order two smaller forces under the commands of Benjamin Butler and Franz Sigel to move in behind Lee in order to break his supply lines. Grant commanded General William T. Sherman "to move against [Joseph E.] Johnston's army, to break it up and to get into the interior of the enemy's country as far as you can, inflicting all the damage you can against their war resources."<sup>4</sup> In order to give Sherman support en route from Chattanooga, Tennessee to Atlanta,

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<sup>2</sup> Micajah A. Thomas fought in the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment which remained primarily in the Mississippi, Tennessee, and Alabama region. W. Fred Cox, Jr. "Tippah County Mississippi Confederate Contents Page," n.d., <<http://www.rootsweb.com/~mscivilw/>> (28 September 2003). Hereinafter cited as Cox, *Tippah*.

<sup>3</sup> James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1992), 410. Hereinafter cited as McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 413.

Georgia, Grant ordered Nathaniel Banks to march from Louisiana toward Mobile in southern Alabama in a northeasterly move intended to eliminate Confederate forces in the far South.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE EASTERN THEATER

When Meade and Lee met at Spotsylvania just south of the Rapidan River in northern Virginia on May 7, 1864, Grant decided to engage Lee in hopes that Butler and Sigel would fulfill their duties. Grant's strategy, however, did not have its desired effect in either the East or the West due to the failure of Banks, Butler, and Sigel in their supportive roles.<sup>6</sup> The news of Butler's defeat to General Beauregard at Drewry's Bluff and of Sigel's loss at New Market came to Grant as his maneuvers failed to dislodge Lee from his trenches at Spotsylvania. This disappointment forced Grant to place Meade's army in between Lee and Richmond which would effectively cut off any resources out of the city. Lee anticipated this move and successfully countered Grant's maneuvers. Grant had to move right in an effort to turn Lee's flank, allowing his cavalry under Sheridan to hold the barren Cold Harbor. However, the full Union attack on Cold Harbor did not come until June 3, 1864. Because Lee had time to entrench his thirty thousand men, the siege proved disastrous for the Union army.<sup>7</sup>

Cold Harbor served as an example of how effective the Confederate army could be against a force nearly twice its size; however, this efficacy came on the defensive. Lee realized that he could no longer endure open battles out of the trenches and decided to remain on the defensive in hopes that he could force the North into a truce by inflicting as much damage as

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 411-3.

<sup>6</sup> Banks never started on his campaign toward Mobile because Lincoln ordered him to Texas (where he engaged in the Red River Campaign) to serve as a warning to France, which was "in the process of setting up a puppet government in Mexico." Ibid., 413.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 414, 420-3.

possible. Thus, when the Union failed to lay siege to Petersburg before Lee could reinforce it, the Confederacy succeeded in forcing what would likely become another Cold Harbor due to the strength of the defensive fortifications in the city. Those defenses proved so strong that it took Grant until April of 1865 to finally overcome them.<sup>8</sup>

Similar Union failures were occurring in the Shenandoah Valley at the same time that Grant began his initial maneuver against Petersburg. General David Hunter replaced Sigel and had orders to destroy the Confederate railroad links to Richmond and Lynchburg's supply depot. Sheridan had similar orders to ruin another set of tracks east of Shenandoah Valley. Lee learned of these plans and dispatched over ten thousand infantry and most of his cavalry to intercept Hunter and Sheridan. This maneuver succeeded in forcing the two Union commanders to retreat back east, proving to both the Union and Confederacy that the war would likely not end any time soon.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE WESTERN THEATER

The Atlanta Campaign in the Western Theater produced similar results during the summer of 1864 though in a much different fashion. General Sherman had forced the Confederate general Joseph E. Johnston and his Army of Tennessee back ninety miles to within a short distance of Atlanta by July 10, 1864, while losing fewer men than the opposing force. The consequences of this successful Union maneuver upon the Confederacy included the replacement of the apparently non-confrontational Johnston with the offensively-minded John B. Hood. Hood brought the Confederate lines into a frontal assault on Sherman's army and suffered a miserable defeat upon the Union breastworks that forced him to retreat into Atlanta's

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<sup>8</sup> Mark M. Boatner, III, *The Civil War Dictionary* (New York: David McKay Co., 1959), 647. Hereinafter cited as Boatner, *Dictionary*.

<sup>9</sup> McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 424.

fortifications. Despite these initial losses to Sherman and their considerable damage to the Confederate war program in the West, Hood's ability to check Sherman until the first of September 1864 sustained the Confederate hope that their cause was not lost.<sup>10</sup>

The capability of the Confederate armies to withstand Union advances at Petersburg, the Shenandoah Valley, and Atlanta during the summer of 1864 serves an extremely important role in bolstering the morale of Johnny Reb. The common Confederate soldier continued to have hope in the South's ability to win the war, and this hope significantly affected his attitude and beliefs throughout that year and likely into the next. The researcher will find the Confederate regular within this context of hope and high morale, and he should make his conclusions accordingly.

#### THE CIVIL WAR IN MISSISSIPPI CIRCA 1864

Though the campaigns in the Eastern Theater and in Georgia had significant impact upon every Confederate soldier, many, including Micajah A. Thomas, did not participate directly in these conflicts. Therefore, an accurate analysis of the life of Mr. Thomas must include an overview of the battles in which he did indeed fight. Certain battles in Mississippi during the summer of 1864 are particularly important to the understanding of the diary presented here.

On June 10, 1864, north of Guntown in Lee County, Mississippi, Union general Samuel D. Sturgis led his army against a force half its size under the direction of General Nathan B. Forrest at the Battle of Brice's Cross Roads. After receiving a dispatch concerning Union movements in eastern Mississippi, Forrest and his cavalry successfully beat Union general Andrew J. Smith to Brice's Cross Roads. The fact that the Union knew almost nothing of Forrest's position, coupled with the marshy condition on which the Union soldiers marched, gave

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 429-34.



the Confederates at Brice's Cross Roads distinct advantages. As Forrest predicted, Sturgis dispatched his cavalry to Guntown under Benjamin H. Grierson three hours before his infantry began to march. Grierson met Forrest's reinforced army at Brice's Cross Roads and faced certain defeat. When Sturgis finally arrived, he misread the situation before him and led his troops into a fully prepared, hidden, and reinforced Confederate army. Four hours later Union soldiers started the retreat up the same road on which they came.<sup>11</sup>

General Forrest received word on July 13, 1864, that Union general Andrew J. Smith had retreated toward the town of Tupelo and the Mobile & Ohio Railroad. Forrest decided to pursue him with his escort and a brigade along the Tupelo road while Stephen D. Lee and the other brigades moved parallel to Smith. The Confederates found Smith's force well positioned west of Tupelo that evening; he had not retreated but had instead chosen to move to a better battleground of his choosing. Lee and Forrest attacked Smith from opposite sides the next morning, but Forrest's artillery commenced firing too soon and gave Smith time to reinforce his lines for the main attack, which he successfully repelled. Smith, realizing his supplies had run short, began to march back toward Memphis with Forrest in pursuit. Forrest's force engaged the Union army, but Smith's infantry repulsed the attack and wounded Forrest, allowing Smith to return to Memphis unhindered.<sup>12</sup>

#### BACKGROUND OF MICAJAH A. THOMAS

Researchers must also consider the personal background of Micajah A. Thomas to correctly evaluate his diary. Born on November 29, 1845, Mr. Thomas lived in Tippah County,

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<sup>11</sup> Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, vol. 1, *Red River to Appomattox* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), 366-70. Hereinafter cited as Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*.

<sup>12</sup> *A History of Mississippi*, ed. Richard A. McLemore, vol. 1 (Jackson: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), 485-6.

Mississippi, before and after the war until Mississippi redrew its county lines, dividing Tippah County into a much smaller Tippah County to the east and Benton County to the west. This restructuring located Mr. Thomas' homestead within the new Benton County. Though the 1870 Census places the Thomas residence within the Salem postal district, an exact location is more difficult to determine. Such difficulty should not surprise researchers, however, due to the fact that Mr. Thomas made his livelihood through agriculture—an occupation that would often locate a homestead a good distance from any registered or specified township. Interestingly, the 1870 Census labels Mr. Thomas as illiterate—no doubt a mistake considering the subject of this thesis, an annotation of his hand-written, personal diary! The same census also values the Thomas real estate at \$19,528 with an additional \$1,970 worth of personal possessions.<sup>13</sup> Both appear as relatively large amounts during that period of time. Combined with further evidence from the transferal of numerous deeds between the years 1870 and 1892, it does not seem unfounded to classify Mr. Thomas as having middleclass status.<sup>14</sup>

Micajah Thomas married Ms. Adelia Hurst on February 15, 1875, and they together had one son, Epp H. Thomas.<sup>15</sup> Epp later married Alice Eugenia Hardaway, a twenty-four year old woman from Michigan City, on October 22, 1913. Mr. Thomas died seven years later on October 15, 1920, and was buried within Valley Grove Cemetery in Benton County.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Mississippi State Census, 1870.*

<sup>14</sup> Mr. Thomas both gave and received a number of deeds throughout this period of time including serving as the principle signatory for a \$31,000 deed to the city (Salem?) on March 1873. *1870-1892 Index to Deeds in Benton County, Mississippi*, 120, 171, 175.

<sup>15</sup> Nicholas R. Murray, *Benton County Mississippi 1871-1900: Computer Indexed Marriage Records* (Hammond, LA: Hunting for Bears), 72. Hereinafter cited as Murray, *Marriage Records*.

<sup>16</sup> Georgia Ellison, "The McKenzie/Ellison Family Tree," 2001, <<http://www.theellisons.net/>> (3 September 2003). Hereinafter cited as Ellison, "The McKenzie/Ellison Family Tree"; see also Don Martini and Bill Gurney, *Cemeteries of Benton County Mississippi* (Ripley, MS: Old Timer Press, 1985), 107.

## WAITING FOR ORDERS

Modern perceptions of the Civil War generally consist of battles, troop movements, political decisions, and consequences concerning the war's outcome with little or no attention given to the daily life of the common soldier. Such views give the impression that the war had only active and exciting (though commonly frightening) characteristics. In reality the actual moving and fighting occupied only a small amount of time compared to the long hours the common soldier spent doing monotonous chores. Bell I. Wiley states this succinctly when he asserts that "soldiering can be a very dull job."<sup>17</sup> The drudgery felt by Micajah A. Thomas serves as a recurring theme throughout his diary. Therefore, his own words best represent the monotony that he faced as a Confederate soldier.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 151. Hereinafter cited as Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*.

<sup>18</sup> To more accurately represent the character and time in which Mr. Thomas lived, the editor chose to maintain the majority of the original spelling and grammar. Some minor editorial corrections and interpretative additions appear throughout the paper with necessary symbols to differentiate them from the original material. The diary's opening page dates to May 18, 1864 (though the first five entries date from New Years 1864 to January 4, 1864 followed by the insertion of the name "Major LeBaron" dated that following Friday, January 8) with the last entry dated December 31, 1864.

\* \* \*

DAILY  
MINIATURE DIARY  
FOR  
1864<sup>19</sup>

May 18 morning

I went to Mr. Wellburns from there to the fil... from thence homeward G... to Mrs. Whitlock's and had a [j]acket cut out and went home and my horse broke my saddle

May 19 morning

commenced to scraping cotton and I went to Mr. Cheairs and spent the day / late in the evening walked with my dear to Mr. Hunt's / Joseph Cheairs come home with me<sup>20</sup>

May 20 morning

I went to Mrs. Whitlock's and when I come back Mrs. Hunt and Miss Adelia road here and came with Joe Henry and then came Uncle Elija Moore after Aunt Mary

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<sup>19</sup> The transcription and most inner-textual notes by Fran Taylor. Her editorial comment, which remains significant to the readability of this transcription, deserves noting here: "Because the original diary was written generally without punctuation or capitalization where we would expect them, I have added virgules (/) where I believe a thought is completed; brackets ([ ]) where the writing was unclear or faded, and therefore made my best guess; and ellipses (...) where words or letters were completely illegible." Micajah A. Thomas, *Daily Miniature Diary for 1864*, trans. Fran Taylor (Micajah Thomas Rainwater, 2000), 19. Military issued miniature diaries typically did not exceed the size of a soldier's palm, therefore serving a different function than most modern journals. Researchers naturally expect to find only broad details in these diaries due to the limited space within which to write. This explains why Mr. Thomas consistently omits details and leaves numerous portions of each day unmentioned—he did not have adequate space to fully record his experience as a soldier.

<sup>20</sup> Mr. Thomas refers to a female companion throughout the diary but with greater frequency in the early months. Unfortunately, he makes no apparent reference to her name thus leading to difficulty in identification; however, this woman could possibly be Adelia Hurst, Mr. Thomas' future wife. Murray, *Marriage Records*, 72; cf. Ellison, "The McKenzie/Ellison Family Tree" which names Mr. Thomas' wife as Adelia Hunt, not Hurst. The use of Hunt mirrors Mr. Thomas' own references to that family within this diary.

May 21

I went a fishing down at Smith Mills with the ladies of the neighborhood / went up to Nicks and took dinner and from there to Uncle Thos. Woodsons

May 22 morning

I and Ned Davis went up to Ed Smith's in the evening / returned home and stayed there a while and went home with Joe Cheairs a stayed all night

May 23 morning

beautiful / come home from Mr. Cheairses / went to Mr. Welborns and back in the evening I went to see my lovely girl / come home at night

May 24 morning

beautiful / started to ploughing and Mr. Love came over and I quit and went to Mr. Davises and round by Smiths Mills in the evening late I went to see her<sup>21</sup>

[25<sup>th</sup> May 1861 Robert went to Virginia]<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Smith Mills lies just south of the Grenada County line in Carroll County, Mississippi. This information poses a problem, however, considering that approximately one hundred miles lie between Mr. Thomas's home in northern Tippah County and Smiths Mills. Traveling such a far distance in less than one day would be highly unlikely, if not impossible, for Mr. Thomas even if traveling on horseback George B. Davis, Leslie J. Perry, and Joseph W. Kirkley, *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*, ed., Calvin D. Cowles (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 2003), plate 154. Hereinafter cited as Davis, *Atlas*.

<sup>22</sup> This additional note remains in its original placement within the diary as coming below the reference to May 24, 1864. The reason for such a note remains uncertain though a type of memoir seems probable.

May 25 morning

bright and early I started to College Hill to join Col Chalmers Batalion / rode all day and stayed all night at Uncle Mat Lacys one mile of waterfo...<sup>23</sup>

May 26 morning

left Uncle Mats and went to to camp. Stayed there that evening and all night without anything for my horse to eat but plenty for my[self]

May 27 morning

we left camp and started as we thought to Panola but got orders at twelve oclock not to go there and went on about 25 miles to get some corn / done without corn 36 hrs<sup>24</sup>

May 28 morning

Started back to Oxford / traveled all day through the dust / about twelve we stopped and rested

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<sup>23</sup> College Hill, Mississippi, is located in central Lafayette County approximately five miles northwest of Oxford. Ibid; A Confederate battalion, only existing in cavalry regiments and not in the infantry, contained four companies each commanded by a major. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 612. Colonel Alexander H. Chalmers, brother to Brigadier General J. R. Chalmers who in 1864 commanded the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry Division as well as the entire District of Mississippi and Eastern Arkansas, commanded the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment. In the fall of 1863, Chalmers received orders to increase his command of the then smaller 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Battalion into a regiment by combining his battalion with the 5<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry and Saunders' Battalion to form the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment. Here it appears that Mr. Thomas refers to the regiment by its former name. Cox, *Tippah*.

<sup>24</sup> Panola lies west-southwest of Oxford in north-central Mississippi. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154; The diary speaks repeatedly about a lack of food for both man and beast. According to Wiley, "food was definitely the first concern of Johnny Reb." Soldiers closer to food-producing areas naturally fared better, but overall rations continued to diminish as the war progressed. By 1864, the western Confederate army corps had decreased their bacon and flour or meal rations to one-third pound and one pound, respectively. Livestock suffered more than the soldiers as seen by the attempts of horses and mules to eat "wagon beds, bridle reins, halters and stumps." However, because Negro workers continued to produce bountiful crops during the war, the lack of food was likely due to distribution problems and not production. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 90-1, 96.

awhile and started again / we reached Oxford before night and camped there<sup>25</sup>

May 29 morning

left Oxford and started for camp about twelve oclock and stayed there / this evening went down to the creek/ cut some grass and fed my horse

May 30

Went to Oxford last evening on courier duty / came back in the night / Monday morning beautiful / stayed in camp enjoyed myself finelly withe boys of Co. D.<sup>26</sup>

June 1 Wednesday<sup>27</sup>

Rose early went to roll call then to breakfast after twelve oclock made us a bunch and it rained the balance of the evening went silt raining

June 2 Thursday morning

Got up early / still raining / went to roll call / it rained until about ten o'clock / faired off nicely / I lay around / night came on still cloudy / three days rashion issued / marching orders last night /

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<sup>25</sup> Oxford, Mississippi, lies in the center of Lafayette County and has served as its county seat since before the war. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154; Oxford frequently housed divisions of the Confederate Army throughout the war due to its location on a major north-south railroad and its proximity to the headquarters of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Regiment. Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, 518; Cox, *Tippah*.

<sup>26</sup> Company D of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment, commanded by Captain R. W. Smith and raised in Tippah County, also went by the more informal name "Smith Rangers". Cox, *Tippah*.

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix 4 for a parallel account of June 1, 1864.

morning countermanded / got breakfast / commenced to rain and I went out and got some strawburys and returned to camp and it rained the rest of the day and all night<sup>28</sup>

#### June 4 morning

awaked still raining / I went out May Gordons and got breakfast and returned to camp this evening. Tuesdays rashions issued and 4 days rashion to be carried in the waggon / five days rashions issued to start tomorrow morning.

#### June 5 morning

left camp and are traveling east / we have stopped to rest / column halted at rock ford / I was detailed to go to Ripley on a scout<sup>29</sup>/ the Yankees passed through Ripley on Sunday night / we slept out in the rain before day light / it commenced to rain and we were sleeping out in the woods and got very wet / went on to Ripley / stayed there a little while and are on our way to Rocky ford / Stayed all night at A N McClure's / fared very well there<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Rationing usually consisted of beef or bacon with flour or corn meal and, on occasion, potatoes. According to Wiley, the "general practice was preparation of rations by individuals or small groups" though cooking in mass quantities prevailed during times of siege. Also, Confederate soldiers typically ate what they could either buy or forage for along the countryside. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 102-5. Soldiers carried their rations in cotton bags called haversacks which had straps to enable carrying over the shoulder. Delano, *Arms and Equipment of the Confederacy*, 181.

<sup>29</sup> Mr. Thomas's use of the perfect tense here in relation to its context gives the researcher a better understanding of when he wrote in his diary. This particular occurrence gives evidence that he commonly wrote whenever possible and at numerous times throughout the day. This would explain his scattered and fragmentary thoughts throughout the diary; Ripley, Mississippi, served and continues to serve as the county seat in the center of Tippah County in north central Mississippi. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154.

<sup>30</sup> "Rocky ford" is probably synonymous with "rock ford" mentioned earlier by Mr. Thomas, a post office by that name along the Tallahachie River on the border of Marshall County and Lafayette County. *Ibid*; See Appendix 4; An internal dating problem exists between the diary and the appendix, but the diary likely shows the true date because the appendix appears to cover a minimum of five days under the single date of June 1, 1864.



June 7 morning

left McClure's for Rocky ford got near there and heard that the Brigade had moved east and we are on our way to New Albany/ a part of our battallion was in the fight near Ripley / I was not there / fight near Ripley twelve killed one wounded<sup>31</sup>

June 8 morning

I caught up with the battalion at Kelly's Mills moveing in the direction of Guntown / marched all day / arrived at Baldwin just before night / it rained once and a while during the day / have not had anything to eat today. <sup>32</sup> Left Baldwin this morning / marched through the mud sometimes over the horses mees / reached Boonville about two oclock / two deserters shot this evening/ five days rashions issued / to night marching orders to leave here tonight<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Two or more regiments comprised a brigade and two or more brigades formed a division. Unlike the Union which designated their brigades using a numbering system, "Confederate brigades were known by the names of their commanders or former commanders, a much less prosaic system than that of the Federals, but a very confusing one." Boatner, *Dictionary*, 611; New Albany, Mississippi, in the center of Union County, served as the crossroads of the road connecting Ripley with Pontotoc and the road connecting Holly Springs with Tupelo. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154.

<sup>32</sup> Guntown, Mississippi, in the northern section of Lee County lies on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad connecting Booneville with Tupelo. The location of Kelly's Mills, though uncertain, must have been somewhere east of New Albany and west of Guntown. Though the battalion moves toward Guntown, it passes the city to the northwest en route to Brice's Cross Roads. Baldwyn, Mississippi, also on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, lies five miles north of Guntown. Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Booneville, Mississippi, the county seat of Prentiss County, lies about twelve miles northeast of Baldwyn. Ibid; According to Wiley, "insufficiency of food and non-payment of the troops have more to do with the dissatisfaction...than anything else." Penalty of death for desertion, as seen here, usually had a staged effect to lessen the desire in other soldiers to defect, and it remained common throughout the war. However, the majority of desertion cases required punishments such as branding, flogging, hard labor, imprisonment, or a combination of these. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 227.

June 10<sup>34</sup>

left Boonville / marched in the direction of Baldwin / before we reached that place canonading was heard / we went in double quick to the battle ground / fought all day though many hard struggles we gained the day / persued the enemy all night

June 11 morning

fighting continued / drove the enemy to Rippley / had a skirmish there / repulsed the enemy /drove the enemy beyond Salem / many being killed / several wounded / Rebel loss comparitably small / captured the artillery and waggon train<sup>35</sup>

June 12

I got home last night / this morning went back to the command at Salem / stayed there until evening / our company was sent on a scout on the Ripley and Saulsburg road / stayed near Mrs. Arnets all night / got breakfast at Mrs. Rolens and went to Benjamin Robinsons / met the company / come to Capt McKenzie / stayed there / went by home / left my horse and rode Sophia's horse to Jack Welborn / camped there all night / left Mr. Welborns and a part of the

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<sup>34</sup> The Battle of Brice's Cross Roads on June 10, 1864, served as a major victory for the Confederacy because it enabled Forrest to continue to disrupt Grant's plans in the West by destroying Sherman's supply lines in Tennessee. See "The Civil War in Mississippi Circa 1864" in the introduction for an overview of the battle.

<sup>35</sup> Salem, Mississippi, was in west Tippah County until after the war when the government of Mississippi redrew the county lines which placed the town in Benton County. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154; See Appendix 1: Interestingly, Mr. Thomas later writes another much more detailed description of the Battle of Brice's Cross Roads that occurred on June 10, 1864, along with the Battle of Tupelo and the battalion's march to Memphis. Mr. Thomas includes each of these additions within the diary itself. Two possible reasons for this second parallel record of the Battle of Brice's Cross Roads exist: 1) Mr. Thomas received orders to make a detailed description of the battle for archival use after the war; or 2) Mr. Thomas sought to personally document this event seeing that it was "the greatest cavalry victory that has been achieved since the war." The second option appears as the true reason for this additional material due to its rather informal nature and its existence within Thomas's personal diary and not within the official papers as researchers would expect from an order to record such history. Furthermore, the language and syntax used continues in the same form as the surrounding diary thus attesting to the probability of a personal documentation.

command crossed at Davis Mill / the other came down the meridian road / I am on my way home  
/ got home in the evening / stayed there all night<sup>36</sup>

June 15 morning

left home / home in distress of my conditional affairs and the condition of mother and family /  
got to camp bruised around during the day / before night left there and went to Royals / stayed  
there all night<sup>37</sup>

June 16

morning beautiful / still encamped at Royals / plenty to eat for the soldiers and horses / left  
Royals / I was detailed to arrest Dick Arnet *and* William Rolen but could not find them<sup>38</sup> / we  
went on to Salem / the Battallion encamped there that night / I stayed at Uncle...wall last night /  
feel well and slept well / came to Salem soon / this morning Battallion moved last to Ripley /  
arrived there late in the evening / came about 5 miles south of Ripley and stoped for night / fed  
our horses on wheat and morning put out for guntown / came along by the battle field / great was

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<sup>36</sup> The Ripley and Saulsburg Road ran north from Ripley to Saulsburg, Tennessee; Mrs. Arnette and Mrs. Rowland probably refer to the mothers or female family members of Richard Arnette and William Rowland. See below; the location for Davis Mills remains unknown though it likely existed in the north-central part of Mississippi in or near either Tippah or Marshall County. The Meridian Road spoken of here possibly refers to a major road running north and south from the city of Meridian in Lauderdale County, Mississippi. Ibid; The Captain McKenzie spoken of here likely refers to J. McKinsey in Company D of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment. However, the muster list of this regiment assigns J. McKinsey the exit rank of private, requiring a demotion from captain to private if Mr. Thomas' Captain McKenzie does indeed represent Private J. McKinsey. Cox, *Tippah*.

<sup>37</sup> The actual location for this "Royals" remains unknown. The town of Royal, Mississippi, lies in Smith County in south-central Mississippi—approximately 180 miles from Tippah County thus making this it an improbable equivalent to Mr. Thomas' "Royals". Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154-5.

<sup>38</sup> Mr. Thomas gives no further information concerning Private Richard C. Arnette and Private William T. Rowland. Both served in Company D of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment alongside Mr. Thomas and, according to all available evidence, they both defected thus ensuing the attempt to arrest them. Cox, *Tippah*.

the stench / got to guntown about 4 oclock / evening and will stay here tonight / sending the prisoners down the railroad<sup>39</sup>

June 19 morning

left gun-town / marched south about 12 oclock / arrived at Tupelo / drew two days rashions / late in the evening we saddled up / put out for Columbus / came through Verona a little before night / came on in the night / stoped for the night<sup>40</sup>

June 20 morning

put out again / passed through [Comargo] came an got some fodder / fed our horses / in the evening it rained very hard / crossed [Gr]ubby/ came through Abberdeen/ the ladies were waving there Handkerchiefs and the boys yelling / camped near Aberden tonight<sup>41</sup>

June 21 morning

camp near Abberdeen at the fairground / we are staying there to recruit our horses and to rest / plenty whisky two dollars a drink all lively in camp / plenty to eat / boys all got tight last night / rained very hard

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<sup>39</sup> The battalion has come back to Brice's Cross Roads and smells the decaying bodies left during the battle eleven days earlier. This railroad was part of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad and was possibly carrying the prisoners down to West Point in northeastern Mississippi. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154.

<sup>40</sup> Tupelo, Mississippi, in Lee County, the location of the Battle of Tupelo during mid-July 1864, lies about fifteen miles south of Guntown on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. The battalion left Tupelo first traveling south along the Mobile and Ohio Railroad toward Columbus, Mississippi, about sixty miles south in Lowndes County. Verona, Mississippi, in Lee County is just south of Tupelo. *Ibid*, plate 148, 154.

<sup>41</sup> The location for "Comargo" remains uncertain though it possibly references Chimargo Creek and not a town named "Comargo". See below; Aberdeen, Mississippi, in Monroe County, lies about fifteen miles northeast of West Point. "Grubby" likely refers to Matubby's Creek—a tributary of the West Fork of the Tombigbee River. These two different spellings of Aberdeen give an excellent example of the extensive spelling problem of literate people during the middle to late 1800's. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154.

June 22 morning

all sober and drowsy / had a good breakfast this morning / evening went to town came back night / I went to church and heard a woman preach / she spoke very well / came in from church / heard a piano on the road side / I stoped and heard the girls perform until about eleven oclock<sup>42</sup>

(June 23) morning<sup>43</sup>

have had general inspection of horses / the boys have all gone to the river a bathing. at night went to town heard some nice music and then went to church / we had prayer meeting and returned to camp

June 24

morning and commissary detail/ went up to town drew meat and meal and gave 2 dollars for a drink of whisky / at night I went to a concert up town, 5.00 admittance<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> According to Wiley, men who before the war "took an active interest in church affairs lapsed into a state of indifference after a short time in the army" primarily due to the effect that the war had upon them and the small number of chaplains available. They had an "inclination to lay aside the inhibitions and conventions to which they had been accustomed in order to enjoy thoroughly the respite from quiet civilian life." Here, though, Mr. Thomas at least reveals a continued interest in religious life. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 175.

<sup>43</sup> The actual dating for this entry does not occur within the original diary.

<sup>44</sup> Commissary detail consisted of purchasing or retrieving food from the Commissary Bureau which was "the administrative department of the army responsible for supplying food to the soldiers." McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 610; See Appendix 4 for a parallel account of July 24, 1864. From 1861 to 1865, the Confederacy issued its currency seven separate times with each issue using green colored paper, hence the name "greenbacks". "Civil War Currency History," 2003, <<http://www.civil-war-token.com/civil-war-currency-history.htm>> (18 November 2003); Colm Mitchell, "CSA Currency," 2002, <<http://www.confederate.9f.com/>> (18 November 2003). Boatner mentions the deprecation of Confederate currency as the war progressed. By the end of the war, a Confederate soldier needed six thousand dollars of Confederate greenbacks to purchase sixty dollars worth of gold. This drastic inflation explains the high cost of the concert and whiskey. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 170-1.

June 25 morning

I went up to town / walked around awhile / went to a nice house and was invited to take dinner / I stayed / eat very harty / returned to camp / marching orders issued to start tomorrow morning at 3 ocloc

June 26 morning

we left Abberdeen came through town yelling sorry to leave the place / came on to chimargo and crossed chimagra and stayed all night on the bank of the creek / feel bad and sleep wel.<sup>45</sup>

(June 27) Morning<sup>46</sup>

the bugle sounded to saddle up and to mount / we came to Verona and struck camp / I went out to Uncle John Cobbs and stayed all day and got something good to eat and toward night returned to camp

June 28 morning

moved from Verona out here on the Creek to stay here a while / very warm weather / it is reported that the Yanks are at Lagrange and Saulsbury/ Seargeant Leonard reduced to rank and put on twenty days extra duty for absence without leave<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> These two similar names, "chimargo" and "chimagra", both refer to a certain creek located, according to Mr. Thomas, in Monroe County.

<sup>46</sup> The actual dating for this entry does not occur within the original diary.

<sup>47</sup> La Grange, Tennessee, is fifty miles east of Memphis. Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, 510; Mr. Thomas references the town of Saulsbury, Tennessee, as mentioned above concerning the Ripley and Saulsbury Road; Mr. Thomas refers to Private J. R. Leonard whom the army commissioned as private, promoted to sergeant, and demoted to private for absence without leave. Cox, *Tippah*.

June 29 morning

in camp near Verona reports say that the Yanks are at Ripley / four days rations issued to be cooked up this evening / orders to stop cooking / marching orders issued this evening

June 30 morning

orders countermanded and orders to keep two days rations cooked up ahead and be ready to march at a moments warning. Drew Jackets this evening and forage sacks.

July 1 morning

still in camp. I went to aunt Caroline Cobbs and spent the day there / in the evening I got some vegetables and returned to camp / had speaking at night

July 2

I lay about in camp and slept. Sweet dreams were falling through my mind. In the evening I went to Uncle Cobb and heard some music / got some vegetables and returned to camp

July 3 morning

in camp I wrote to my Dear Mother Sistere brother / lonely time in camp. in the evening we were mustered for pay / we had an excelent supper buttermilk and bread and bread and buttermilk<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Letter writing flourished throughout the Civil War for reasons of loneliness, expression, and mere communication. However, as the war progressed the Confederate soldier saw a scarcity of paper, envelopes, wax, and other necessities for writing which led to creative adaptations used to cope with these problems. Joint letters along with quills or stalks for pens and berry "juice" for ink became a common method for writing. Actually mailing the letters posed another problem that soldiers responded to by having other soldiers deliver the letters when they went home on sick leave or furlough. Micajah Thomas writes to his mother, Susan, his younger sister, Sophia, and his younger brother, Anderson. The death of his father, Elam A. Thomas, in 1855 answers the question of why Micajah never mentions his father. It is important to note that the 1870 Census cites Micajah as the head of household over both his sister and brother, failing to mention his mother Susan. The census also places Anderson in the category of either deaf, dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic though Micajah gives no indication of any such condition. Interestingly, the official document recognizing the transfer of guardianship to Susan Thomas after her husband died mentions two other infant children—E. A. Thomas (Jr.?) and Edwin S. Thomas. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*,

July 4 morning

I went out to Uncle Elija Moores and found Aunt Mary quite sick / stayed there all day / returned to camp at night. My horse valued at \$400, a saddle and rigging \$50.00

July 5 morning

on guard at Verona / 5.00 for dinner & supper / very warm in doors the sun was very warm and I saw some very pretty girls<sup>49</sup>

July 6 morning

came into camp off of guard. All peacefull here in the evening / I went in bathing / came to camp / three days rashions issued and marching orders at six oclock in the morning

July 7 morning

got up very soon after cooking half the night and got breakfast and the bugle sounded to saddle up / stayed saddled until 12 oclock then unsaddled / evening spent in maning...

July 8 morning

still here in camp / I went out to Uncle Cobbs / got my dinner and returned to camp / was detailed for fatigue duty / went to Verona loaded the wagons with meat and [crackers]

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192, 196-9; *Mississippi State Census, 1870*; Tippah County, Mississippi. *Recorded County Record – Inventory Book E*. (19 July 1855), 40, 47.

<sup>49</sup> Wiley provides excellent insight into understanding the soldier's desire for female companionship and, at many times, mere contact with women. He states that "as month after month passed with scarcely a glimpse of a woman, the craving for feminine association became well-nigh intolerable." Mr. Thomas appears to have encountered this same craving. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 270-1.



July 9 morning

marching orders / the Yanks advancing through Ripley / we will meet the boys in a few days / evening has come and it is nearly night time / we are not gone yet / the Yanks are supposed to be in 14 miles of Tupelo last night / came within 8 miles of Pontotoc / <sup>50</sup>

(July 10) morning<sup>51</sup>

McColocks Brigade passed us / we left there about 2 oclock / marched south a few miles a little before night / we turned back toward Pontotoc / heard canonading late in evening / stoped here to camp for the night<sup>52</sup>

July 11 morning

Canonading is heard soon heavy skirmishing at Pontotoc / we were on out past picket. It rained very hard / nothing to eat for 24 hours when we had been on duty 48 hours / at night we was relieved and came into camp<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Pontotoc, Mississippi (in the center of the county that bears its name), lies fifteen miles due west of Tupelo. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154; General A. J. Smith commanded the Union army in and around Tupelo, Mississippi, during these tumultuous months of the war in Mississippi. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 768, 851.

<sup>51</sup> The actual dating for this entry does not occur within the original diary.

<sup>52</sup> McCulloch's Brigade, named after and commanded by Robert McCulloch, served as one of three brigades in J.R. Chalmers's division of Forrest's cavalry corps during the Franklin and Nashville campaign. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 185.

<sup>53</sup> Picket refers to a soldier "assigned to the perimeter of an army encampment or position to give warning of enemy movements." Therefore, Mr. Thomas's battalion had gone past this safety perimeter. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 611.

July 12 morning

we saddled up before daylight ready to march / Skirmishing a little this morning / we went in a line of battle all day / Skirmishing during the day / we have been on picket and in line of battle 3 days<sup>54</sup>

July 13 morning<sup>55</sup>

before day light we were sent on out front and are in wh... of battle / the Yanks in Pontotoc / they left there this morning on the Tupelo road as soon as heard it we marched paralel with them / in the evening our Brigade had a fight about 8 miles from Tupelo / we got 26 of our Battalion wounded / we road nearly all night / this morning we dismounted and went within 2 miles of Tupelo and fought them / we were repulsed and fell back to the crossroad with heavy loss in the evening / we marched toward Verona at night we had a fight lost some men<sup>56</sup>

July 15

on picket near the battle ground / Skirmishing this morning / they charged us and we fell back at the command / marched on back on the Tupelo and Pontotoc road / we have been fighting all day

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<sup>54</sup> These skirmishes took place near the location of "Marses Mills" which Mr. Thomas refers to in Appendix 3. The actual location of these mills remains uncertain, however.

<sup>55</sup> Generals Forrest and Lee pursued A. J. Smith toward Tupelo where they met a well positioned Union army in the ridges west of the city. Smith's forces withstood the Confederate attack the next morning and then marched toward Memphis due to a shortage of supplies. Forrest attacked Smith along the way who once again repulsed him. For a more detailed account of the battle, see "The Civil War in Mississippi Circa 1864" in the introduction.

<sup>56</sup> The cavalry of the Civil War, in contrast to modern understanding, did most of their fighting on foot and used their horses primarily as quick transportation to the battlefield. Though the cavalry did less heavy fighting than the infantry, the Civil War produced a number of improvements in dismounted cavalry tactics with the Confederate cavalry maintaining supremacy over its Union counterpart during the early years of the war. General Forrest served as "one of the principal innovators in this sphere", but by late 1863 the Union cavalry had increased firepower as well as "improved horsemanship, leadership, and experience" that made them equal with the Confederate cavalry in man to man combat. Ibid., 194.

/ they are falling back heavy / the Yanks canoding is heard left Tupelo yesterday evening going north / morning we were in pursuit of them / followed them slowly all day firing into their rear camp...for the night and dismounted / in line of Battle all evening<sup>57</sup>

#### July 17 morning

mounting for another days march / we stayed near Ellistown until about twelve oclock / then we came back to Chesterville / camped near there all night / I went to Uncle John Cobbs<sup>58</sup>

#### July 18 morning

I came back to the command and in the evening The Brigade moved near Verona / I came to Uncle Eliga Moores and stayed all night / feels good and sleep...

#### July 19 morning

I borrowed a horse from Uncle Eliga and went to hunt for mine / I went 8 miles south of Pontotoc but did not find him / someone had stolen him / I returned to Uncle Eliga without a hors

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<sup>57</sup> See Appendix 2; the extra material concerning the Battle of Tupelo covers the missing date of July 16, 1864. However, the reason for its absence in the diary proper remains unknown though it would be understandable if such an omission occurred due to the battle being fought that day. The Tupelo and Pontotoc Road would likely have run directly east to west from Tupelo in central Lee County to Pontotoc in central Pontotoc County, respectively. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154.

<sup>58</sup> Ellistown, Mississippi, lies fifteen miles northwest of Tupelo just across the Lee and Union County line. Chesterville, Mississippi, is approximately ten miles south of Ellistown in Pontotoc County near the Lee County border. *Ibid.*

July 20 morning

I started to catch up with the command / Uncle Eliga loaned me a mule / came on to Uncle Cobbs and got dinner and came on to [Ocolona] and stayed all night near there<sup>59</sup>

July 21 morning

I came on to camp near Gladens mills / we are transfered to McColocks Brigade / the boys are all well satisfied with the trade / the evening passed away in sleepless hours<sup>60</sup>

July 22 morning

I went out in the country and got some buttermilk and bread / stayed there awhile and returned to camp / the day passed off / in the evening Albert Love came to see us and stayed all night

July 23 morning

I went over to 15 Tenn Reg and saw Curtius W. Thomas / stayed until about 12 o'clock and returned to camp / got a good b... of peaches & last night we drew a nice fat [lamb]

July 24 morning

I and Ed Davis went out in the country and bought some watermelons and returned to camp and we drew three days rations of corn for our horses and we have shecked it up<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Okolona, Mississippi, lies on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad in Chickasaw County about fifteen miles south of Tupelo. Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> The location of Gladen's Mills is unknown though it certainly existed near Okolona in the northeastern portion of Mississippi.

<sup>61</sup> Mr. Thomas "shucked" the corn by removing its outer husk in preparation for consumption.

July 25 morning

I got up before day light / got breakfast / saddled my mule and came to Uncle John Cobbs / the command moved toward Oxford / I stayed here all the evening and all night

July 26 morning

I left Uncle Johns in route for Oxford / I went out on the Pontotoc road and found my horse and clothes all right / carried Uncle Eliga's mule back and then came on

July 27

I came to...Pontotoc last evening stayed all night / two miles this side / this morning I came on to Oxford not finding the command here I go on to hurricane creek<sup>62</sup>

July 28

I went out this morning and graised my horse and washed him off good and came to camp / I cooked / today two non-commissioned officers reduced to ranks / their names are Jackson G [and] Moran / Dick Love started home to see his dearest the one that his affections are placed upon / I wrote home to my mother dear / I reckon that I will hear from home soon as we come back<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> The town of Hurricane Creek lies on the Mississippi and Alabama border in Lauderdale County, Mississippi, about 150 miles southeast of Oxford. Ibid, plate 148.

<sup>63</sup> Sergeant W. A. Jackson, Corporal George W. Moran, and Private Richard Love all served in Company D of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment. Cox, *Tippah*.

July 30 morning

cloudy appearance of rain / I went out to graise my horse / took a good map and thinking how many dangers that I have to undergo. it makes me feel sad. I then went back to camp / evening it rained

July 31 morning

beautiful / I am out grazing my horse getting him ready for another raid / came in to camp / got dinner / evening it rained until night / company A came in reported the Yanks preparing for another raid<sup>64</sup>

August 1 morning

I went over to Oxford on detail. evening I came back to camp heard that the Yanks were at Davis Mills & had taken all of mothers horses and cattle cut up in general<sup>65</sup>

August 2 morning<sup>66</sup>

It is reported that the Yanks are at Waterford coming on / we were marched on to Abersville to meet them / stayed here all day / at night I was sent out on picket on Yahatchie<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Mr. Thomas refers to Company A of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment. Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> See Appendix 4 for a parallel account of August 1, 1864.

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix 3; This additional material spans the period of August 2, 1864 to August 15, 1864 and covers the battalion's travels and preparations for Forrest's raid on Memphis on August 21, 1864. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 290.

<sup>67</sup> Waterford lies in Marshall County in northern Mississippi between Oxford and Holly Springs. Abbeville in Lafayette County is just south of the Marshall County line and lies between Oxford and Waterford on the Mississippi Central Railroad. The Tallahatchie River runs through central and west Mississippi and flows into the Yazoo River, a tributary of the Mississippi River. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154.

August 3

the Yanks are in force at Holly Springs and it is confirmed this morning that Capt. Smiths company was captured there / we are expecting them here believed about dark / came on to camp / got here about ten oclock<sup>68</sup>

August 4 morning

we came out to Aberville again / stayed all day and toward night we went back to the old camp / It rained all night / Henry White came in / I heard from home<sup>69</sup>

August 5 morning

we came out before day to meet the Yanks but they have not come yet / we stayed near Aberville all day / at we went out to the river on picket / stayed there all night

August 6 morning

we were relieved and back to Aberville and turned off to the right to wait for farther orders / stayed here all the evening and all night without corn

August 7

we are still here / had inspection this morning / Spent the Sabbath day in camp / in the evening skirmishing at the river / some canonading was heard

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<sup>68</sup> Holly Springs lies at the crossing of the Kansas City and the Illinois Central railroads in Marshall County, approximately fifty miles southeast of Memphis, Tennessee. *Ibid*; Mr. Thomas likely refers to Captain C. T. Smith, commander of Company C of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment. *Cox, Tippah*.

<sup>69</sup> Private Henry White served in Company D of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment. *Cox, Tippah*; As mentioned earlier, most soldiers could not afford postage so they sent and received letters by way of fellow soldiers going on leave or returning from leave, respectively.

August 8

before day light we saddled up for the fight / went out to Aberville / dismounted and marched down to the river expecting to fight every [minute] / Skirmished a little and fell back in the direction of Wyatt moun... / we were on picket / the Yanks flanked around and we fell back to Oxford and Co. D skirmished heavily with them through town / then we fell back five or six miles to a creek and stayed all night<sup>70</sup>

August 10 morning

we are marching south / The enemy in Oxford halted near Springdale / drew corn and rashions / They have not advanced much to day / rainy and muddy to day bad on the...<sup>71</sup>

August 11 morning

the Yanks left Oxford late in the evening / we advanced on Oxford / reach there late in the evening / we were sent on out past near Aberville / the Yanks are still on this side of the river / we moved up near them and camp for the night<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> The town of Wyatt lies five miles west of Abbeville. The apparent reference to a mountain probably refers to the natural landmark that gave the town its name. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154; Mr. Thomas uses "Co D" here as shorthand for Company D of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment.

<sup>71</sup> Springdale, Mississippi, lies near the Mississippi Central Railroad ten miles south of Oxford. Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Mr. Thomas refers to the Tallahachie River just north of Abbeville. Ibid.



August 12

our forces are moving up / we are attached to Maybery[g]s Brigade at present / evening we were sent out on picket near Mosses Mills / the Yanks have not advanced any today / watermelons plentiful<sup>73</sup>

August 13

Still on Picket at Mosses Mills / the evening came on / the Yanks charged on the pickets and drove them in / had heavy skirmishing / we had one killed and ten wounded in the 18<sup>th</sup> Miss / at night we fell back through Oxford

August 14 morning

cloudy and very warm / we stayed all day out east of Oxford in camp expecting to have a fight / soon after night we came over south of Oxford and stayed until morning

August 15

we drew three days rations and march one mile north of Oxford / dismounted and formed a line of battle / built rail breast works and lay there all day long in...and all night hence expecting to fight every minute<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> The location of Mosses Mills is unknown.

<sup>74</sup> In general, breastworks consist of a "barricade of logs, fence-rails, stones, sandbags, or other material to protect troops fighting on the defensive" and "when erected in front of trenches, breastworks are covered with the dirt excavated from the trenches." McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 610.

August 16 morning

still in line expecting the enemy to march on us / about ten oclock we came back to camp south of Oxford / stayed here all day / the Yanks still at the river /night came on / I spent it in sleepless hours

August 17 morning

everything quiet in camp / News from Virginia / Grant retreating / Lee captured fifty thousand prisoners / Sherman has fallen back thirty miles to Maryetta/ heavy rain this evening / everything wet and muddy<sup>75</sup>

August 18 morning

cloudy and raining it rained all day / in the evening at five oclock we left Oxford / marched all night in the rain / the Yanks quiet on the river / we are on our way to Panola

August 19 morning

still raining / in nine miles of town / in the evening we reached this place in safety fed our horses and drew three days rations of meat / crossed the river and marched toward Hernando<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> The news that Mr. Thomas mentions here is dubious. When considering that news from the East typically took at least two weeks to reach the West, mid to late July appears as the most plausible dating for the occurrences of these events. The battles during this period of the Petersburg Campaign include the Battle of Deep Bottom Run (July 27-29) and the Petersburg Mine Assault (July 30, 1864). However, in neither battle did Lee capture fifty thousand prisoners nor did Grant have any need to retreat from the siege. The news could refer to the battle at Cold Harbor on June 3, 1864 because it, too, produced overwhelming results, but its results concerned thousands of deaths, not prisoners. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 229, 646-7. For more information on the Petersburg Campaign, see "The Civil War Circa 1864" in the introduction; Mr. Thomas references the Atlanta Campaign that began on May 1, 1864 and lasted until Hood finally evacuated the city on September 1, 1864. See "The Civil War Circa 1864" in the introduction for more information.

<sup>76</sup> Hernando lies about twenty-five miles south of Memphis, Tennessee, on the Mississippi and Tennessee Railroad in Desoto County, Mississippi. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154.

August 20 morning

we pass through Senatoba and crossed Hicks [haty] at the railroad then on to Coldwater / passed through Hernando about dark on our way to Memphis rejoicing hoping to take the place<sup>77</sup>

August 21 morning

before day light we run in to Memphis / stampeded the Yanks and captured about 250 prisoners and a great many horses / we fought them about four hours and fell back in good order and stayed all night near Hernando / the Yanks persueing slowly<sup>78</sup>

August 22 morning

on picket at Hernando / it is reported that the Yanks are coming / we fell back slowly, 18<sup>th</sup> Miss Battalion in possession of the prisoners / we arrived at Panola about 2 oclock at night / we the prisoners all safe.

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<sup>77</sup> Senatobia in Tate County, Mississippi, lies between Sardis in Panola County to the south and Hernando to the north. The location of "Hicks" is unknown though it would lie in the middle of Tate County between Senatobia and Coldwater. Coldwater, Mississippi, is in Tate County on the Desoto County border to the north. Each of these cities lies on the Mississippi and Tennessee Railroad that connects Sardis to Memphis. *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Memphis served as a Federal camp of the XVI Corps where the Union generals C. C. Washburn, S.A. Hurlbut, and R. P. Buckland were stationed at the time (Hurlbut was awaiting reassignment after failing to keep General Forrest out of western Tennessee). Forrest devised a three-pronged raid on the city in an effort to capture the three generals. However, the plan proved unsuccessful primarily because Washburn and Buckland received warning in time to make it safely to Fort Pickering with its ninety-seven guns and Hurlbut had spent the night elsewhere for what appeared to be scurrilous reasons. The raid, however, did produce 116 prisoners including a number of officers and only cost Forrest 35 men as opposed to Washburn's 80. The greatest consequence of the raid, though, came with Forrest's ability to ride practically unhindered throughout Tennessee. This gave Forrest the opportunity to cut off Sherman's supply line in Middle Tennessee in order to help Hood who laid besieged at Atlanta. Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, 516-9.

August 23 morning

the Yanks are reported to be falling back to Memphis. We are encamped at Panola / Stayed there all day / had inspection this evening / the day passed off in idleness and sleepless hours<sup>79</sup>

August 24 morning

Still here very tired after being on our horses [21] days / the day passed off in idleness / evening came on / two days rations issued / marching orders / I joined Uncle Mat Lacys [mefs] for the [wait]

August 25 morning

bright and early we left Panola and struck a line of march for Springdale / we crossed [Yorkny] in a ferry boat / I was one of the ferry-men at night in fifteen miles of Springdale<sup>80</sup>

August 26 morning

saddled up read to start / we put out and reached Water Vally about 2 oclock and it was very hot / I got very sick on the way / evening we are encamped out east of town<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Though the diary has revealed little this far concerning the common idleness and drudgery that the soldiers experienced during the war, actual fighting usually consisted of a comparatively minute amount of time. Wiley explains that "long hours in camp were wont to bear heavily on the Confederate private, as on soldiers of all armies since the beginning of organized combat." Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 151. Later entries in the diary speak of passing the time by participating in activities such as hunting, performing daily chores, seining for crabs, pitching horseshoes, and throwing pine cones at one another.

<sup>80</sup> Whether or not Mr. Thomas here intends Yocona Creek instead of "Yorkny," he refers to a tributary of the Yohnapatapha River about five miles southeast of Panola. Mr. Thomas' march to Springdale would eventually take him approximately twenty miles southeast of Panola and ten miles south of Oxford. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154.

<sup>81</sup> Water Valley lies approximately five miles due south of Springdale on the Mississippi Central Railroad Ibid.

August 27 morning

we saddled up early and started Southern direction / some of the boys went home and the remainder of the Company to do the duty of the whole Co. / in the evening we passed through Oakland stoped 2 miles south of town<sup>82</sup>

August 28

beautiful morning but nothing to eat / done without all day long about 2 oclock in the evening we started back toward the north / night came we stopped about nine miles of Water Valley

August 30 morning

a Negro Hung near Water Vally for poisoning a family but fortunately none of them died / we moved camp about two miles on a beautiful creek in the evening it rained but we fixed our oil cloths so that we did not get wet<sup>83</sup>

August 31

we got up before daylight and saddled our horses and struck a line of march toward Grenada / stopped six miles from town to camp for a while if nothing should that we should be compeled to move

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<sup>82</sup> This westward march situates Mr. Thomas and the remainder of his company approximately eighteen miles west-southwest of Water Valley on the Mississippi & Tennessee Railroad. A soldier usually had his furlough granted by his superior. He carried his furlough papers detailing his leave dates, assignments and return to duty date. Typically, a soldier on furlough left his arms and accruements behind. Ibid; Brenda Schnurrer, "21<sup>st</sup> Missouri Volunteer Infantry Regiment: Civil War Terminology," 2001, <<http://www.geocities.com/mo21infantry/cwterms.htm>> (13 January 2005).

<sup>83</sup> Though ascertaining the exact "beautiful creek" of which Mr. Thomas speaks remains impossible, his location places him in the vicinity of Otuckalofa Creek and Turkey Creek. Ibid.

#### September 1 morning

we started again very soon cross Yellowbusha and marched through Grenada / we came on pretty fast all day / we crossed another by the name of [ben Bugue] and stopped little before night to camp near an old mill<sup>84</sup>

#### September 2 morning

we started very early again and marched very hard all day only stopped once to rest / it was very disagreeable dusty and hot / we camped all night about twenty miles from West Point

#### September 3 and 4

ready to start again we are in the rear to day / we marched slowly came through Siloe and crossed [Suckatonchy] about three miles from West Point and went into camp at night / we drew a days rashions of hard bread and bacon about twelve oclock at night we came over to West Point and put a part of our Battalion on the cars and they left about daybreak / the other part left about ten oclock and we came south a hooping all day and at night we stopped at Maridian<sup>85</sup>

#### September 5

at Maridian waiting for orders I went to the shop had my horse shod and saddle [worked] / a came to camp stayed all day ... and washed my clothes and dried them ready to march at any time / stayed all night there

---

<sup>84</sup> Here Mr. Thomas refers to the Yalobusha River and Bataupan Boque, respectively. The "old mill" spoken of here could represent Steam Mill—a small settlement about thirteen miles southeast of Grenada. Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Here Mr. Thomas references the small town of Siloam and Chookatoukchee Creek (though other names for this particular creek are applicable here as well). The "cars" mentioned refer to railcars on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad which runs north and south through West Point. Ibid.

September 6 morning

orders to stay in camp and be ready to march at a moments warning. It is confirmed that Atlanta is taken by the Feds / [G.] H. Moorgan killed last Sunday / we left Maridian about dark for Mobile / the cars run all night<sup>86</sup>

September 7 morning

about ten oclock we got to Mobile / come through town in great glee and went in to camps / we have houses to stay in / are fixed up nicely / the Yanks about 5 miles from here

Sept. 8 morning

we are still in camp getting plenty to eat and drink / there has been seventy days drowth and has been raining sixty days / we moved camp this evening 8 miles / got here before night / we are pleasantly situated here on [D]og [R]iver<sup>87</sup>

Sept. 9 morning

we are all right / a little better satisfied with our position / the Yanks are out in the bay / it is thought that they will come out soon at night / about ten oclock we went out west to capture a boat / marched all night<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> The "G. H. Moorgan" referred to here is the Confederate general John Hunt Morgan who died on September 4, 1864 in Greenville, Tennessee. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 566.

<sup>87</sup> The Dog River flows into Mobile Bay approximately ten miles south of Mobile and served in numerous instances as a camp housing Confederate soldiers in the more southern vicinity of the city. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 110.

<sup>88</sup> On August 5, 1864, Union naval forces initiated a battle in an effort to destroy the *Tennessee*—a Confederate ironclad under the command of Admiral Buchanan. Union ships successfully forced the *Tennessee* to surrender, capturing 280 soldiers including Buchanan. Forts Gaines, Morgan, and Powell likewise fell to Union forces. These forts made up the whole of the manned defenses of Mobile Bay with Gaines and Morgan serving the Gulf entrance and Powell the entrance at Mississippi Sound. With Colonel R. L. Page commanding Forts Gaines and Morgan and with D. H. Maury as overarching commander at Mobile, the three forts fell in quick succession by 23 August 1864. to Adm. D. G. Farragut's 5,500 strong onslaught, seriously damaging Confederate naval constructions at Mobile. The "Yanks... out in the bay" thus evidences the Union control of Mobile Bay a month

Sept. 10 morning

about nine o'clock we were farther from the place than we were / then we started and we turned back / got to camp before night / we traveled about 60 miles in 20 hours / got back was very sick

Sept. 11 morning

still in camp we had General review in the evening preparing for review at Mobile / there are Yanks in five miles of Mobile lying around watching our movements

Sept. 12 morning

and order issued to rub up the guns for inspection / in the evening we had review again / at night we had orders to be ready to go to town at day light to general review

Sept. 13 morning

the order countermanded / General [Moony] and his staff came out to camp and reviewed McCulloch's Brigade and was very pleased with it and went back to town<sup>89</sup>

Sept. 14 morning

we had orders to drill every morning at nine o'clock one hour or it would be dealt with severely / in the evening we had dress parade for the first time since I have been in the army

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after its capture. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 298, 558-9.

<sup>89</sup> General Dabney Herndon Maury, Confederate commander of the District of the Gulf, appears to have primarily based his operations out of Mobile. He successfully protected Mobile against the 45,000 strong Union army commanded by General Edward Canby for nearly a month, finally vacating the city on April 12, 1865. *Ibid.*, 519-20, 559.



Sept. 15 morning

we rose early / got Breakfast and at nine o'clock we drilled one hour / came back to camp had a fine dinner of Bread bacon rice and molasses / dress parade in the evening<sup>90</sup>

Sept. 16 morning

bright and early I started to town / got there about 9 o'clock ripped around generally and loaded the wagon and got dinner and little before night started to camp

Sept. 17 morning

raining it continued during the day / heard nothing of importance on Yankee gunboats still in sight of Mobile / tiring out in the bay maneuvering around

Sept. 18

Still quiet / nothing to be heard from home / it does not make much difference whether the world wiggles up or down / evening orders for inspection but it rained so that order countermanded

Sept. 19

on guard at the Sugar cane patch / orders to march at 3 o'clock / at appointed time we marched out to Mobile got on the boat at eleven o'clock at night and came across the bay

---

<sup>90</sup> Though the normal Confederate menu at the beginning of the war did generally consist of bacon, molasses, rice, and various other grains and breads, by mid-1861 a steady string of reductions in rations began to affect not only the amount of food received, but also the type. Thus, as the text suggests, a meal of bread, bacon, rice and molasses in the later half of 1864 would indeed have been a "fine dinner" in comparison to the insufficient, low-quality rations normally received during the last years of the war. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 90-2.

Sept. 20 morning

rains on / it rained all day / 7 o'clock we got on the boat and crossed back to Mobile / we came in sight of the Lincoln gunboats / arrived at Mobile 9 o'clock pm / got off and came to camp, 12 miles from town<sup>91</sup>

Sept. 21 morning

we fixed up again to stay here for a while / it rained very hard during the day / I went to the creek had a fine time bathing / come back and went to bed right

Sept. 22

I got a pass and went to Mobile through the rain / in the evening at 4 o'clock I got on the boat and went to [B]attery [G]ladden and then returned to town<sup>92</sup>

Sept. 23 morning

I found my saddle which was taken at the Harrisburg fight / in the evening came to camp and commenced to build our little hut to shelter us from the wether [weather]<sup>93</sup>

Sept. 24

We worked on until about 12 o'clock finished our house / we are all right for the rainy season / in the evening we went to the creek bathing / came in / night slept fine

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<sup>91</sup> The title "Lincoln" is likely colloquial terminology for "Union" gunboats as opposed to a specific type of gunboat.

<sup>92</sup> Though Union forces controlled most of Mobile Bay, the Confederate defenses at Mobile still controlled certain floating or island batteries in the bay such as the Gladden Battery—an off-shore naval-oriented battery at the mouth of the Mobile River. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 71.

<sup>93</sup> The "Harrisburg Fight" mentioned here corresponds with the Battle of Tupelo that occurred July 14-15, 1864, the town of Harrisburg being just west of Tupelo. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 378; Davis, *Atlas*, plate 154.

Sept. 25 morning

cleared off beautifully / it is very cool / I stayed in camp all day / lonesome dreary day / one company went to town to go to north Mississippi to impress some negroes to work on the Breastworks at Mobile

September 26

I took my clothes and went to the creek and washed them nicely and came to camp to dinner / evening passed away in idleness / orders to call the roll three times a day and drill at 9 oclock<sup>94</sup>

Sept. 27

7<sup>th</sup> Miss. regiment started the mouth of the dog river on / [Bicket] old Bob took 2<sup>nd</sup> Missouri and Willis Bat. and went on a scout to what place I do not know. Oh! 12 months ago<sup>95</sup>

(Sept. 28)

18 Miss Bat. left / alone in camp at nine oclock we drilled / in the evening I enjoyed myself by pitching horse shoes then went to the turpentine distillery

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<sup>94</sup> As the war came to a close, Mr. Thomas appears to have experienced an increasing amount of such idleness and boredom, finding only slight enjoyment/busyness in military drills and movements, guard duty, and rudimentary games.

<sup>95</sup> Also known as the 1<sup>st</sup> Mississippi Partisan Rangers once commanded by Colonel Falkner, the 7<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Regiment now reported to Colonel Hyams. The "old Bob" that Mr. Thomas mentions almost certainly references Colonel Robert McCulloch, Jr.—the commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Missouri Cavalry. The Willis Battalion, though originating in Texas, served in the department of Mississippi and East Louisiana under the command of Colonel Leonidas Willis. Cox, *Tippah; 2<sup>nd</sup> Missouri Cavalry, C.S.A.*, 2004, <<http://members.tripod.com/2ndmocavcsa/>> (10 January 2005); Benjamin L. Bowen, *The Exploits of Waul's Texas Legion*, 2004, <<http://freepages.family.rootsweb.com/~bowen/legion/waulstexaslegion.html>> (10 January 2005).

Sept. 29

I was detailed to go and work on the road / we went with axes and cut poles and fixed it and then came to camp / old Bob came in just before night

Sept. 30

General inspection of horses and arms then drew five days rations of meat & meal and ten days of tobacco and then I went to the creek and went in bathing

Oct. 1 morning

I went to town on corn detail / stayed there all day and then returned to camp / orders to cook two days rations and be ready to march at 7 o'clock in morn.

Oct. 2

at seven o'clock left camp and came to Mobile / got on the boat named / They come across the bay and up the Gensaw river and landed at Blakely / stayed there until nearly night / then went into camp near there<sup>96</sup>

Oct. 3

bright and early we got on a boat named Senator and came back to Mobile / landed there and then came to camp in the evening / it rained very hard

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<sup>96</sup> Though only similar phonetically, Mr. Thomas could be referring to the Tensas River when he writes "Gensaw" (see below under October 29<sup>th</sup>). Geography would make the Tensas River the most direct waterway to travel on when going from Mobile to Blakely (approx. eight miles by water), a small fortified town on the east side of Mobile Bay a few miles up the Tensas River. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 110.

Oct. 4

in camp in the evening I spent my time pitching horse shoes / in the evening engaged my-self by writing letters to send home<sup>97</sup>

Oct. 5 morning

Dr. Shoffner started home and carried the letters / fine time all day pitching horse shoes / just at night we bought a fine buffalo fish<sup>98</sup>

Oct. 6

after dark orders came to camp to cook one day rashions and be ready / start to Verona as quickly as possible / then it was countermanded / our brothers fell / morning came found me sick / I passed lonesome day

Oct. 7 morning

in camp all peaceable and quiet / I nocked around in camp / pitched horse shoes and enjoyed myself as well as possible / there is no other remarks

Oct. 8 morning

very cool and blustry day / my horse missing / about twelve I found him the halter stolen. late in the evening orders came to our camp to cook two days rashions and com one day for our horses

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<sup>97</sup> Horseshoe pitching, in the form of discus throwing, has its distant origins in ancient Greece, but the actual rules for the specific game of horseshoe pitching were not officially developed until 1869 in England. David Sullivan, "History of Horseshoe Pitching," 2004, <<http://www.horseshoepitching.com/gameinfo/history.shtml>> (13 January 2005).

<sup>98</sup> The buffalo fish—"*Ictiobus bubalus*"—is a smallmouth, bottom-feeding fish related to the carp and found mostly in rivers. "Smallmouth Buffalo," 2005, <<http://www.landbigfish.com/fish/fish.efm?ID=19>> (13 January 2005).

Oct. 9 morning

bright and early we started southward / I carried the flag halted about 15 miles from camp / just before night we moved on about three miles and stoped to camp for the night

Oct. 10

before lay light we came back to camp / we were then ordered across the bay / got to mobile / the order countermanded and we returned to camp again

Oct. 11 morning

all in camp waiting for [E]vans to come and pay them off but waited all in vain / he did not come so the boys are doubting his coming

Oct. 12 morning

before day we were ordered to mobile / got there about 12 oc and got on the boat named Senator and She [soon] landed us at Blakely across the Bay

Oct. 13 morning

we left Blakely marched in the direction of Pensacol[a] about 18 miles and went into camps near greenwood with the 15<sup>th</sup> Confederate regt. / nice sport this evening throwing pine burs at one another<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Pensacola, on the western shore of Pensacola Bay, lies approximately forty-five miles southeast of Blakely. Under the command of Colonel Harry Maury, the Confederacy formed the 15<sup>th</sup> Confederate infantry regiment in the spring of 1864 at Mobile and remained in that vicinity until the city's capture. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 110; *Alabama Archives and History*, 2004 < <http://www.archives.state.al.us/>> (10 January 2005).

Oct. 14

in camp near greenwood / I passed the day off in idleness / night came on we had a lively meeting / there was seven [mo...ers] / we had quite a nice time in the pine woods<sup>100</sup>

Oct 15

I am on guard around camp to keep the boys in / Two of Col Maury's men were shot at night for stealing potatoes and sugar cane / were pretty bad but not killed

Sunday, Oct. 16 morning

relieved from guard / came in and went to preaching and have a nice time. I spent the rest of the day in idleness with the exception of going to get grass<sup>101</sup>

Oct. 17

I rose early got my breakfast and had to drill two hours / came to camp / got dinner in the evening I and Capt. [J] W Smith went over to the yellow hammer battery<sup>102</sup>

Oct. 18 morning

sent two of our company to the hospital with chills / we drill heavily this morning nine skirmish

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<sup>100</sup> A small town between Mobile Bay and Pensacola Bay, Greenwood lies within Alabama along the most direct route from Blakely to Pensacola. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 110.

<sup>101</sup> In saying "going to get grass," Mr. Thomas likely means that he went to gather some hay for his horse.

<sup>102</sup> Captain John Waverly Smith served as a field commander of the 18<sup>th</sup> Miss Cavalry Regiment. Cox, *Tippah*.

drill / the rest of the day passed away in idleness<sup>103</sup>

Oct. 19 morning

six of our company are sick with the chills / it seems that our whole company will be sick in the low regions ... Alabama ...<sup>104</sup>

Oct. 20

by sun rise we started a large fire / cook our breakfast and then drew five days rashions of meat meal and other things mixed such sugar and coffee

Oct. 21

our battalion went on a scout / we crossed river Sticks late in the evening we crossed Permedo river in a little flat boat / marched until nearly midnight<sup>105</sup>

Sat. Oct. 22

we started before day light in the direction of the navy yard. after traveling hard until 12 oclock [bruis] around there awhile and then started on our way Back<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Mr. Thomas here mentions a feverish sickness that continually seems to plague himself and his regiment throughout October and into November. Along with the nearing of winter rain and cold, most Confederate soldiers marched without raincoats and rested without shelter. Historians should thus not consider any onslaught of a fever epidemic rare. The epidemic among the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Regiment mentioned here more than likely fits into this category. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 246-7.

<sup>104</sup> The company has probably become infected with diarrhea or dysentery.

<sup>105</sup> Both rivers flow into Perdido Bay with Perdido River serving as the state boundary line between Alabama and Florida. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 110.

<sup>106</sup> Serving as the best harbor on the Gulf of Mexico, Pensacola naturally became home to a Confederate Naval Yard after the seizure of the city in 1861 when Florida seceded from the Union. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 641.



Sunday, Oct. 23 morning

about ten oclock we arrived safely to the river / we then turned our course and marched toward Pollard Alabama / before night we caught up with the Brigade

(Oct. 24)

before noon / we reached Pollard then came out to camp and drank some good coff after having a fever three days and nothing to eat

Oct. 25

as yet sick / I lay in camp on the ground sick as a horse all day with fever

Oct. 26 morning

I am still in camp wallowing around on the ground without medicine or anything to relieve me

Oct. 27 morning

still in the same fix without medicine or anything to eat

Oct. 28

I lay very sick near Pollard. I lay there and wallowed on the ground<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Pollard, Alabama—a city along the Mobile and Great Northern Railroad—lies approximately forty miles due north of Pensacola. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 147.

Oct. 29

two oclock at night I left Pollard / arrived at Tensaw Station about sun rise / There I got on the Boat an it it soon landed in on the [M]obile shore<sup>108</sup>

Oct. 30

beautiful morning / they are cleaning up around here / the Soldiers seem to be doing very well / it was said that Gen. Maury was going to visit us but he did not come

Oct. 31 morning

I feel some better / I asked the doctor for a furlough but he refused me

Nov. 1 morning

no better / it is a beautiful lovely day / I lay in bed until twelve oclock/ got up and wrote a letter

Nov. 2 morning

my fever was off and I was swetting / the dr came around and said that I had no fever / in the evening I wrote two letters and mailed them

Nov. 3 morning

still improveing but I pass a long lonesome day in the Hospital / they white washed the hospital today

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<sup>108</sup> A rail station on the Tensas River approximately ten miles north of Mobile Bay, Tensas Station served as the westernmost station on the Mobile and Great Northern Railroad. Ibid.

Nov. 4 morning

I got up very ... / thinking that I was getting well but I had a fever / I lay down the most of the day / before night it turned cool

Nov. 5 morning

Still in the Hospital but I passed the day of finely / the sick Soldiers still coming in from every direction / two came in from Corinth

Sunday, Nov. 6

morning beautiful pleasant day I am improving rapidly I hope that I soon will be able to go to my command near Pollard

Nov. 7

morning beautiful the Soldiers are complaining about not getting enough to eat. I passed the day off in idleness in the [Nott] Hospital in mobile Alabama

Nov. 8

morning rainy and Sloppy / this is the great day of the Presidential election in the northern States / I got a pass and went up in town walked about awhile<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> As a Confederate soldier, it is highly unlikely that Mr. Thomas is rejoicing in the fact that the Union reelected President Lincoln. Instead, Mr. Thomas is probably using the word "great" to mean "important." The pro-Confederate attitude throughout the rest of the diary attests to such an understanding.

Nov. 9

morning rainy and very bad weather / I got a discharge from the Hospital, and tried to get transportation but failed and I returned to the Hospital

Nov. 10 morning

I got my discharge redated and came down to the boat / I got on the boat and stayed there until about 4 o'clock and then the boat started and the wind blew very hard / we landed at Blakely at 8 o'clock at night

Nov. 11

last night I came to camp got here about 10 o'clock / morning I feel very bad from my ride from Blakely / Stayed in camp all day toward night I feel a great deal better / the boys engage themselves by hunting gofers

Nov. 12 morning

I got up early and was very cold / eat a hardy Breakfast and stirred around camp until dinner and had a gofer cooked nicely for dinner / the day passed away finely

Nov. 13 morning

in camp 6 miles east of Blakely where we can get plenty of sweet potatoes and gofers to eat / we are drawing one third of a pound of meat and a plenty of meal / Some rice and Sugar and coffee

Nov. 14 morning

we are still here Some of the Miss. is gone out hunting gofers / came back Successful found two nice ones We cleaned them nicely

Nov. 15

and had them today for dinner / we cooked them for Like chicken fine / it has been raining all day / we have orders to move about three oclock / we moved to Blakely

Nov. 16

morning we started on our way to mobile / we crossed the Bay got to mobile about twelve oclock drew corn and then down to the mouth of the dog river the sickliest place in world to camp

Nov. 17

we are camped on the bank of the mobile bay ten miles from mobile where there is plenty of fish and crabbs / Some of the boys caught a fine chance of them today

Nov. 18 morning

Lieutenant King went saining but he did not catch but three for his share / two of the went to the 7<sup>th</sup> Miss camp and has returned to camp / I have written three letters today<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Mr. Thomas here comments on the fishing accomplishments of 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant John Z. King of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment, Company D. Cox, *Tippah*.

Nov. 19 morning

it commenced raining and it rained all day / the boys still catching plenty of fish / Three Yankee vessels went up to the picketts this evening

Sunday, Nov. 20

morning Still raining and very muddy. I wrote two letters for the detail to carry home. And it rained all day and all night / I got very wet.

Nov. 21

morning bright and early Capt. Smith, Buck Harrison, Tom Smith and Dr. Bowdon started home on detail and furlough for twenty days / left Mobile 4 oclock PM<sup>111</sup>

Nov. 22

morning it is very cold the wind blow very hard and cold. A big white killing frost / every thing is frost bit / I like to frozed to death last night / my Blanket was wet

Nov. 23

morning another heavy frost / we are here without tent or shelter / it is very hard on us to stay here without anything to shelter us / the tide is very low

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<sup>111</sup> With the exception of Dr. Bowdon, the first three men Mr. Thomas mentions are more than likely Captain J. W. Smith, Sgt. W. H. Harrison, and Pvt. Thomas F. Smith of Company D. The Dr. Bowdon, however, remains uncertain. It is conceivable that either Pvt. J. A. Bowden or Pvt. Pleasant M. Bowden, both of Company D and the only two soldiers by that name in the regiment, could have held the position as doctor for the regiment. However, considering the recent fever epidemic and onslaught of winter, it seems unlikely that the military would allow a doctor, much less a doctor with the rank of private, furlough. If this theory stands correct, then Mr. Thomas appears to suggest that non-military personnel who work with the military (such as physicians) need clearance to leave on furlough—another questionable practice. The identity of Dr. Bowden, therefore, remains at best inconclusive. Ibid.

Nov 24

morning another big frost and it cloudy / I reckon the next thing will be a rain / the Yankee fleet is still in the same place our Artillery are target shooting this evening

Nov. 25

A detail was made this morning to go on a scout tomorrow morning down to the mouth of Pearl river / the weather is beautiful and we get a plenty to eat<sup>112</sup>

Nov. 26

morning the waggons started but the detail did not go to the Scout / was post poned until tomorrow / the Col is in great glee / he thinks that they will have a nice time of it

Nov. 27

the Scout started bright and early. while the tide was up a man floated to the Shore that did not have a leg and but one arm and the top of his head was blown off

Nov. 28

I went up to the Brigade after uncle Mat Lacys negro Jim and got a very nice dinner and then returned to camp / got there about dark

[Entry above Nov. 29 date at the top of the page]

my birth day I had a fever<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> The Pearl River flows into the north of Lake Borgne approximately twelve miles east of Lake Pontchartrain. The distance from Mobile to the river's mouth would measure about eighty to ninety miles. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 156.

<sup>113</sup> Mr. Thomas would be nineteen years old.

Nov. 29 morning

I sent out in the country to get something good to eat on / it is my birth day / about eleven oclock  
a Yankee gun boat came down here and tried to shell us out but failed

Nov. 30 morning

all peaceable and quiet in camp. the Yankee fleet Still lying in front of mobile / in the evening  
we drew two days rashions of Beef and it was very tough

Dec. 1, Thursday

the last month of /64 I had a nice mess of beef for breakfast in an hour or may longer I had a  
very hard chill then came a very hot fever which lasted me until nearly night

Dec. 2 morning

the gun boats very close to us. a [corp...s] came by here puffing and jumping / he was shot at and  
then disappeared / I received one letter and wrote two

Dec. 3

rainy and very bad weather / I have written two letters this morning / it rained all day / I passed it  
of in idleness an sleepless hours



Dec. 4

morning bright and early I started Uncle Mat Lacys negro Jim & pony home by Mr. Philip West / he wants horse back an I am on guard<sup>114</sup>

Dec. 5 morning

I was relieved from guard duty / came to camp it is very cool / I am very lonesome no tobacco to chew / drew two days rashions of Beef

Dec. 6 morning

the brigade is ordered to move but we are not / still on the bay near the mouth of dog river eating beef and potatoes

Dec. 7 morning

we sent the horses to Mobile to be shod to be ready for a march in the evening / we got orders to move and cooking five days rashions

Dec. 8

before day light we started / traveled all day / the Yanks cut the rail road at shoe booty and we are going to meet them

---

<sup>114</sup> This is a puzzling entry. Either Mr. Thomas used his uncle's horse as his military mount and is now returning the horse, or he had a separate horse for his military operations. The latter option remains a more viable option because of his (and the army's) willingness to return the animal.

Dec. 9

it is raining and very cold / we are stopped to hear from the Yanks / we started just at dark and came ten miles and camped

Dec. 10 morning

it is very cold and wet / we are on picket on Chick a holy looking for the Yanks / about 3 o'clock the Yanks charged the 2<sup>nd</sup> Missouri and nearly every man was hit with their sabres and drove them back / we fell back across the dog river<sup>115</sup>

Dec. 11, Sunday

It has cleared off this morning / Still cold, we fell back across Dog river last night / no news from the Yanks at present / evening the feds are reported to have recrossed Chick a saha river / we got

Dec. 12

up at midnight and crossed [D]og [R]iver to go and see the Yanks / we stayed on the other side until evening then came back again / nothing from the Yanks this evening / Stayed all night here<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> The "Chick a holy" and "Chick a saha" Rivers mentioned here and on December 11 probably refer to the Chickasawha River which flows into the Mobile River about five miles north of Mobile. *Ibid.*, plate 147.

<sup>116</sup> Mr. Thomas appears to have made one continuous entry into his diary for the dates of December 11 and 12, 1864. The regiment's midnight movement on December 12 likely caused such an entry.

Dec. 13 morning

have not heard any thing definite from the feds / evening we hear that they have turned back and gone down to the Pascagoula bay / we left [D]og [R]iver and came south / camped for the night 20 miles from Mobile<sup>117</sup>

Dec. 14

morning we started by day light / came through Wheeler ville and on to Halls Mills ten miles South west of Mobile and camped for the night / I am on guard<sup>118</sup>

Dec. 15

morning we are relieved / came to camp stayed here all day / the day passed off in idleness / evening I went to the river and washed and put on clean clothes

Dec. 16

the Yanks are reported to be close by / they are on the Pascagoula bay / we are still at Halls Mills looking for the yanks / the day passed away in idleness / plenty of Oysters are passing the road

Dec. 17 morning

in camp resting easy for the coming raid of yankees expected here to attack Mobile. The boys

---

<sup>117</sup> Pascagoula Bay lies at the mouth of the Pascagoula River, about thirty-five miles southwest of Mobile. Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Mr. Thomas' regiment appears to have made a circle in the western-southwestern vicinity of Mobile. Starting on December 13, the regiment moved about ten miles south of Dog River. The next morning the regiment headed northwest to Wheelerville, a small town about fifteen to twenty miles east of Mobile, and then back southeast to Hall's Mill, a settlement five miles to the southwest of Dog River. Ibid., plate 110.

have a fine time snatching oysters from the traders as they will not sell them<sup>119</sup>

Dec. 18 morning

we left camp by sun up and traveled South west / in the evening our advance drove the enemys pickets in a few rounds of cannon / shots was exchanged and we fell back

Dec. 19

before light we come by the turpentine distillery and crossed Dog river and then into camp / Stayed here all day / Col. Scott in command of all the troops here<sup>120</sup>

Dec. 20, Tuesday

Still here awaiting the move of the enemy but they do not seem to follow with much rappidity / evening rainy and very bad / it rained all day and night

Dec. 21 morning

it has cleared off beautifully and the wind blows pretty cool / no news from the enemy to day all quiet / in front the yanks are reported to be fortifying on Franklin creek<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> The actual Union campaign against Confederate forces at Mobile did not occur until March 17, 1865 when General E. R. S. Canby and 45,000 Union soldiers attacked the city from the east at two points of origin. The first, under General Frederick Steele, came from Pensacola whereas the larger force under Canby came up along the eastern shore of Mobile Bay from Forts Gaines and Morgan. Canby successfully captured the city on April 12, 1865. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 559, 794-5.

<sup>120</sup> The Colonel Scott mentioned here remains unknown.

<sup>121</sup> Though the exact location of Franklin Creek remains uncertain, after considering the previous location of the Union troops at Pascagoula Bay and the Confederate regiment's movements, the creek is likely southwest of Dog River. Davis, *Atlas*, plate 110.

Dec. 22

about ten oclock this morning skirmishing was heard near franklin creek / we were ordered to draw three days rashions and and go and meet the relentless foe that is now marching on our city

Dec. 23 Friday

we were left in camp with the bob tail of the Brigade / we are waiting for orders. evening we were marched out across the river / stayed there about two hours and back to camp

Dec. 24

our horses were inspected and condemed and all that were dismounted and had unservisable horses were organized and put in camp to themselves as infantry

Dec. 25 Christmas

morning raining and a very dull time in camp / nothing but bacon and crackers to eat no whisky to drink / Capt. Cook started for north Mississippi this evening after a part of waggon train<sup>122</sup>

Dec. 26 Monday

I am detailed to go after rashions for the battalion for three days / It is reported that the yanks have evacuated Franklin creek / we have orders to move at a moments warning

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<sup>122</sup> By "crackers," Mr. Thomas likely means "hard tack"—a hard mixture of flour and water used for its slow rate of spoilage. These "crackers" also went by the names "teeth dullers" or "sheet iron crackers." Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 237.

Dec. 27 morning

we are still in camp waiting for orders. Showery, stayed in camp all day / in the evening late I went out to get potatoes / came back after dark the command was moving

Dec. 28

but I stayed / my horse was not able to go / we had a nice time eating oysters and fish only four of us in camp / the rest of the command is gone to the front

Dec. 29

canonading was heard last evening / the command came back worried smartly from the march down to Franklin creek where they skirmished with the yanks

(Friday, 30)

and drove them back to Pascagoula where they were protected by the gunboats / details were sent this evening for the dismounted to go

(Saturday, 31)

to north Miss to get fresh horses / the old ones are all broke down on account of bad forage / they were condemned for the war / Farewell for 1864 farewell for ever / Goodbye<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Mr. Thomas' apparent melancholy toward the end of his diary, if not a direct byproduct of the diminishing Confederate hopes, certainly reflects the growing Confederate attitude across both the military and the civilians from whom it drew supplies and support. Sherman had just finished his infamous, yet psychologically successful, "march to the sea" on December 21, 1864. His subsequent campaign north through the Carolinas, in addition to Hood's loss in the Franklin and Nashville Campaign, would further plunge the Confederacy into psychological despair and a practically inevitable defeat once Grant could overcome Lee at Petersburg. Boatner, *Dictionary*, 509-12.

\* \* \*

The last four months recorded within the diary intensely portray the drudgery that Micajah A. Thomas encountered. Researchers can accurately assess from Mr. Thomas's diary that Civil War soldiers generally awoke to long days of idleness punctuated by fleeting episodes of terror, carnage, and chaos. His personal account of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment's involvement in Western Theater operations functions primarily as a reminder that the Civil War rarely brought long-term excitement to its soldiers. This profuse amount of time spent in idleness thus deserves serious recognition and extensive analysis within any comprehensive history of the Civil War and should significantly influence the scope and content of military literature as a whole.

## APPENDIX 1: The Battle of Brice's Cross Roads<sup>124</sup>

A battle near guntown at Brices'es crossroads / we were at Booneville that morning / we had five days rashions issued for the men and two days rashions for the horses for us to carry on the horses / we started soon on the tenth to meet the enemy about ten oclock / our advance attacked them in the front and drove them back a little and about eleven oclock a regular engagement came on / our company was dismounted and formed on the edge of the field Col. Bueker in command of our Brigade rushed our company in the center of a Tennessee regiment where we made a gallant charge through an open field when the enemy was in ambush we charged up in ten steps of them before they broke ranks / we shot them down like hogs / they reinforced and we fell back to the woods on the left and lay there in ambush for them / but they did not come as the order was to march on / again we charged on them in ambush again heavy crossfiring for five or ten minutes and we fell back about a hundred yards and we were reinforced by Bell's Brigade on the left when we again made a charge on them and commenced to fude / then the Southern boys were cheered up again and continued the charge until we drove them back from the crossroads / the Yanks leaving eight pieces of artillery and casons [caisson]<sup>125</sup> and a great many dead and wounded left there / some of the Yankees crawled under Brices house / we charged them and they retreated and persued them on until after dark and the column halted until the horses came up / I slept a little while and we again started on in persuit of the Yanks / we persued them on all night passing wagons and artillery all the while just at day light we [paked

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<sup>124</sup> The four appendices appearing here were initially interspersed within the main body of the diary. The editor chose to extract them in order to enable a much more comprehensible reading of the diary as a whole, and thus they serve as a form of commentary on the main body of the diary in a manner that remains true to the original construction as made by Mr. Thomas.

<sup>125</sup> A caisson consisted of a two wheeled chariot-like cart drawn by horses that served to transport a large box filled with artillery ammunition; McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 610.



or passed] eight pieces of artillery caissons and a few ambulances with the wounded negroes and yanks in them / among them was a lieut Col. Then the firing commenced firing again

I went to Will Ayres saw Dr. Davis / Joined him as a company of independent scouts and returned home well satisfied and contented fix up for the morning

onward we went in pursuit of the yanks / the order was charge the them / drive the vandals to their dens / we persued them closely / our horses in a gallop all until we reached Ripley / there the enemy formed a line and right heavy firing was confined for a while but they were repulsed again then and there we lost some of our brave boys / among the killed and wounded there was our brave and noble hearted flag bearer [C or G]amel seriously wounded in the ankle and then one of our Company (D) Andrew Jackson nobly bore the colors on through the struggle / we followed them closely on until night having marched 58 or 60 miles in one day the Yankee infantry went in dubble quick one day and night<sup>126</sup> / they first pulled of their shoes then their socks then their jackets hats / some of them pulled off their pants and great was the victory / it was the greatest cavalry victory that has been achieved since the war / there was not an infantry man that took his gun to Memphis / the negroes were slain as we came to them / we were catching them for a week / they subsisted on wheat for a week and some of them longer / some few of them got to Memphis safe / and I pray God that if they ever come back again that we will whip them worse than they were ever whipped and that we may demoralize the whole army and may the lord be with us all having the death struggle.

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<sup>126</sup> Mr. Thomas's "Gamel" probably refers to William R. Gammell of Company B of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment. If so, he survived his serious wounds taken at Brice's Cross Roads and lived until his death in 1916. W. Andrew Jackson served as sergeant for Company D of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Cavalry Regiment. Cox, *Tippah*.

## APPENDIX 2: The Battle of Tupelo

Micajah A. Thomas

Company D 18 Miss.

Batalion Vol

It was on Saturday evening of the 9<sup>th</sup> of July after being under marching orders for three days late in the evening / we started from near Verona with two days rashions for ourselves and horses went out about ten miles on out post Bright next morning McCollack passed us going in the direction of Pontotoc<sup>127</sup> / Then our brigade came up about 2 oclock on Sunday evening we started our company in advance went south west of Pontotoc and stayed night / Monday morning we were sent out on picket and our company were in line of battle all day / just before night we drew corn and rashions for ourselves / stayed all night there Tuesday / We were still on picket in line of battle waiting for the Yanks to come on us / Wednesday morning we were dismounted and we marched about a mile and a dispatch came that the Yanks were marching on the Tupelo road / we marched parallel with them until about three oclock / we cut across to the road and attacked them and fought them for an hour and caused them to burn three wagons and an ambulanche / we rallied again and persued them until about ten oclock then stoped for the night / this fight took place near Zion Church. Thursday morning we saddled up and mounted and then dismounted and marched about two miles to Harrisburg<sup>128</sup> / then and there we had heavy firing of musketry and artilery / lost a great many good soldiers / there we fought them a while and were forsed to fall back / With heavy loss we rested the balance of the day. On Thursday night we marched around on there left wing and dismounted and took a moonlight stroll to hunt them

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<sup>127</sup> Robert McCulloch marched to Pontotoc to head off A. J. Smith who ended up taking the town and clearing it out on July 11, 1864. Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, 510-1.

<sup>128</sup> The locations of neither Zion Church nor Harrisburg are known though they probably lay in the area of Union, Lee, and Prentiss counties in northeast Mississippi.

up and we soon found them and had a tolerable hard fight with them / but there was too many for our little brigade and we were compelled to fall back / we were mounted to leave the place and General Forest called for a volunteer to watch the manovers of the enemy / I volunteered immediately and went out there but the enemy did not advance. Capt. called me and I went to him to go with the command but detailed to watch the movement of the enemy / I stood on post about four hours and was relieved about day break / they charged us and we gave it to them awhile and fell back to the command in order / Friday we were held in rserve about one oclock we moved over on the Tupelo and Pontotoc road / stayed there all evening and all night / the Yanks commenced on Friday / Saturday we followed them up near Elistown / stayed there all night sunday morning the Yanks moving in the direction of New Albany about 12 oclock we started back south / got Chesterville / camped near there all night and that ended the fight Near Oxford

### APPENDIX 3: Onward to Memphis

It was the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of August that we marched out to Abberville to meet the relentless foe / waited there all day for them but they did not come stayed there the 3<sup>rd</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> & 5<sup>th</sup> days and waited for them but did not come on the sixth day we was relieved by another regiment on the 7<sup>th</sup> we stayed in camp / the Yanks crossed the river before day light on the 8<sup>th</sup> / we saddled up and went down to the river in line of battle building breast works every two or three hundred yards / got to the river and Yanks had crossed back and we went back near College Hill. It was on the 9<sup>th</sup> that the Yanks flanked around and we fell back to Oxford and Company D 18<sup>th</sup> Miss. skirmished with them through Oxford and fell back across Yorkney on the 10<sup>th</sup> near Springdale the Yanks fell back from Oxford to the river and Forest came in to town. On the 11<sup>th</sup> we advanced north of Oxford about 3 or four miles / 12<sup>th</sup> picketing near the Yanks at Marses Mills / 13<sup>th</sup> the Yanks charged the pickets and drove us back a peace but we checked them / the 18<sup>th</sup> lost 1 killed 13 wounded. On the 14<sup>th</sup> we were in camp near Oxford / 15<sup>th</sup> marched out 1 mile north of Oxford dismounted formed a line of battle and built rail breast works / stayed there all day and all night slept behind the rails / 16<sup>th</sup> we came back south of Oxford and went in camp

## APPENDIX 4: Memoranda

June the 1<sup>st</sup>

I gave my gun a Burnside Rifle for a Smith's Carbine and five dollars in green Back to boot.<sup>129</sup>  
went on a scout to Ripley was gone 4 days / out 10 dollars confederate/ In camp near Aberdeen  
out 7 dollars for a whiskey treat, three dollars for one dozen apples and a glass of [plum...]

Loaned John Littleton five dollars in confederate money of the old issue on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1864  
AD to go to the concert

August the first 1864

Borrowed twenty Dollars from uncle Mat Lacy in the old issue which amounts to thirteen dollars  
and thirty three and one third cents

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<sup>129</sup> The Burnside Rifle, first patented by Ambrose Everett Burnside in 1856, greatly improved upon the only other existing carbine of the time, the Hall Carbine. Burnside's original design faced four revisions culminating in the Fifth Model Burnside Rifle of which the Union bought 43,940 between 1863 and 1865. Thomas Kelly, "The Burnside Breechloading Carbine," 1996, <<http://www.civilwarguns.com/9606.html>> (18 November 2003). The Smith Carbine, though technologically inferior to rifles using self-contained metallic ammunition, served as the fourth most common rifle during the Civil War. The Union purchased nearly all of these fifty caliber rifles due to their availability at the beginning of the war; therefore, Mr. Thomas's rifle probably came from the plunder off of a dead Union soldier. Linda Adams and Emory Hackman, "Common Guns in the Civil War," 2003, <<http://www.hackman-adams.com/guns/smithcarbine.htm>> (18 November 2003).

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