

United States Colored Troops

Involvement in the

Battle of the Crater

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Most people interested in the American Civil War are well aware of the Battle of the Crater, which took place at Petersburg, Virginia on July 30, 1864. While the explosion of the mine tunneled underneath Confederate lines by Union forces may sometimes receive the most attention, thousands of United States Colored Troops (USCT) were involved in the Battle of the Crater. USCT forces faced extreme hardships before, during, and even after the battle. Black soldiers were discriminated against, put in very difficult positions to succeed, blamed for losing the battle, and worst of all some black prisoners were murdered during the Battle of the Crater. USCT forces sometimes get little or even no credit for the valor and sacrifice they showed during this brutal battle. The United States Colored Troops ended up being heavily involved in the Battle of the Crater, and they were not responsible for the Union losing the battle.

The Battle of the Crater on July 30, 1864 was a very important battle in the Petersburg Campaign, also known as the Siege of Petersburg. The Siege of Petersburg began when Union forces under General Ulysses S. Grant put the city of Petersburg under siege after failing to capture it in June 1864. General Grant had tried to capture Petersburg after failing to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond earlier in the spring of 1864. Petersburg was a vital road and railroad junction south of Richmond. If Petersburg could be captured the Confederates would likely have to abandon Richmond as well. Of course, the evacuation of Richmond by the Confederates would have a major impact on the war. However, by July Union forces had not made progress toward capturing Petersburg, as both Union and Confederate forces became bogged down in siege warfare. Miles of elaborate trenches were constructed by both sides around the city, as the remnants of them can still be seen today. The Battle of the Crater would be an attempt by Union forces to break through the siege lines and capture Petersburg.

A successful assault at Petersburg could have major political and military ramifications.

Northerners were growing tired of war by 1864. Union forces had made no major breakthroughs in Virginia that could end the war against Confederate forces. President Abraham Lincoln and General Grant were under political pressure for failing to capture Richmond or inflicting a serious defeat on General Lee's army. Union forces had also sustained heavy casualties during the spring of 1864 in Virginia. President Lincoln was also facing an election in November of 1864, and if he lost that election the Confederacy had a better chance of obtaining independence. A successful Union assault at the Battle of the Crater would likely result in the immediate capture of Petersburg and put Richmond in serious jeopardy. General Lee's army would likely suffer a major defeat and President Lincoln's chances of winning the November 1864 election would improve. Also, if black soldiers were involved in a successful assault it could help them gain more respect in the Army of the Potomac.

The United States Colored Troops (USCT) was founded in May 1863. A majority of USCT forces were in the Union Army; 178, 975 were enlisted in that branch of the Union military, while only 9,695 USCT men were in the Union Navy. Out of this total 5,723 men from fifty counties and several towns under Union control in Virginia served in the USCT. USCT units were given some quality firearms for front line combat, including weapons like the M1861 Springfield rifled musket and the M1863 rifled musket. USCT officers were white, and most of them served out of a sense that black troops were vital to the war effort. However, some USCT officers served more out of a sense of patriotic duty, as they were not concerned about emancipation or equal rights for black soldiers. USCT officers should be credited with courage and bravery since the Confederacy treated them as supporting slave insurrection. Supporting slave insurrection was a crime that USCT officers could be put to death for by the Confederacy.¹

Black soldiers, especially ex-slaves, were eager and ready to fight in combat.² Despite

this eagerness black soldiers usually did fatigue duty, including heavy labor and guard duty, because of the misconception that black soldiers were unfit to fight. Not surprisingly and unfortunately USCT soldiers faced discrimination from white soldiers in the Union Army. Black soldiers faced inequalities in supplies, medical care, and pay. The inequality in pay was high as white soldiers received thirteen dollars a month, while black soldiers only received seven dollars a month.³ American citizens in Northern states such as New Jersey also opposed the use of black troops in the Union Army. There were even military commanders in the Army of the Potomac that opposed the use of black troops. Black soldiers did not just face discrimination and racism from Southerners. They faced it from Northerners as well. However, overall during the Civil War the discrimination and racism the black soldiers faced was worse from the Confederacy. By June 1864 black soldiers received no quarter or no opportunity to surrender to Confederate forces. There are, unfortunately, multiple incidents of USCT prisoners being murdered before the Battle of the Crater. Battles where USCT prisoners were murdered include Fort Wagner, SC, Milikens Bend, Fort Pillow in April 1864, Poison Spring, AK in 1864, and Plymouth, NC in 1864.⁴ These incidents of black prisoners being murdered provide evidence that the Confederates were capable of murdering black prisoners in the Battle of the Crater.

As Union generals were planning for the assault at the Battle of the Crater in July 1864, General Ambrose Burnside chose USCT troops to lead the attack.⁵ Army of the Potomac 4th Division commander, Brigadier General Edward Ferrero was chosen by General Burnside to lead the assault.⁶ The 4th Division of the Army of the Potomac was composed of the 1st Brigade, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Joshua Sigfried, and the 2nd Brigade under the command of Colonel Henry Thomas.⁷ Most of the men in Thomas' brigade were ex-slaves from Maryland and Virginia.⁸ The 1st Brigade was composed of four USCT regiments: 27th, 30th, 39th

and 43rd USCT; while the 2nd Brigade was composed of the 19th, 23rd, 28th, 29th, and 31st USCT regiments.⁹ Five of these nine USCT regiments were from non-slave states in the North, while the other four USCT regiments was raised in Maryland with some of the recruits in the Maryland regiments coming from Northern Virginia. The 23rd and 39th USCT was raised in the Washington/Baltimore region, while the 19th USCT was raised in Southern Maryland, and the 30th USCT was raised on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.¹⁰ All of these regions in Maryland border Virginia. Also, there were runaway slaves from the eastern part of Virginia in USCT regiments who fought in the Battle of the Crater.¹¹

The first USCT troops to see combat in Virginia was in the eastern part of the state in Middlesex County. The first time an entire USCT regiment fought in the state was during the Wilderness battle in the Spring of 1864. They successfully defended a Union battery in the battle. The black soldiers that fought in the Wilderness performed well and earned some respect. The 19th and 30th USCT regiments also guarded wagon trains from the battle of the Wilderness to Cold Harbor in the spring of 1864. The 19th USCT also performed well in trench duty and both black regiments fought off two Confederate cavalry attacks.¹² USCT soldiers also did see some action in the Siege of Petersburg before the Battle of the Crater. Litigant Colonel George Zinn of the 84th Pennsylvania Infantry reported that on June 15, 1864 his unit, "...marched to the outer line of the enemy's works in front of Petersburg, which had this day been carried by the colored troops...".¹³ However, the Battle of the Crater would be the first major combat action many black soldiers would see in Virginia.¹⁴

General Burnside did not see black troops as equal to white troops; however, he thought black troops would fight well if properly led. Another factor that may have resulted in General Burnside choosing black troops to lead the attack at the Battle of the Crater was that many Union

regiments were exhausted and decimated from the spring campaign in Virginia.¹⁵ The 4th Division of the Army of the Potomac had suffered little compared to the other divisions of the Army of the Potomac. The black troops were, in the opinion of General Burnside, more able to carry on the attack. USCT troops drilled and trained for the assault by practicing maneuvers they would perform in an actual assault.¹⁶ General Ferrero's initial plan for the assault was for the brigades to form behind one another, and then attack the Confederate entrenchments between where the Crater would be formed and a battery to the south. The 30th USCT would branch off to the left, while the 43rd USCT would branch off to the right of the assault. USCT units had trained for Ferrero's battle plan; however, by July 26th General Burnside had made an adjustment to the battle plan, as now the USCT units would pass through the breach made by the mine by going around the rim of the crater. Despite this change by General Burnside in the battle plan, USCT officers and soldiers remained confident in their ability to successfully carry out their mission.¹⁷

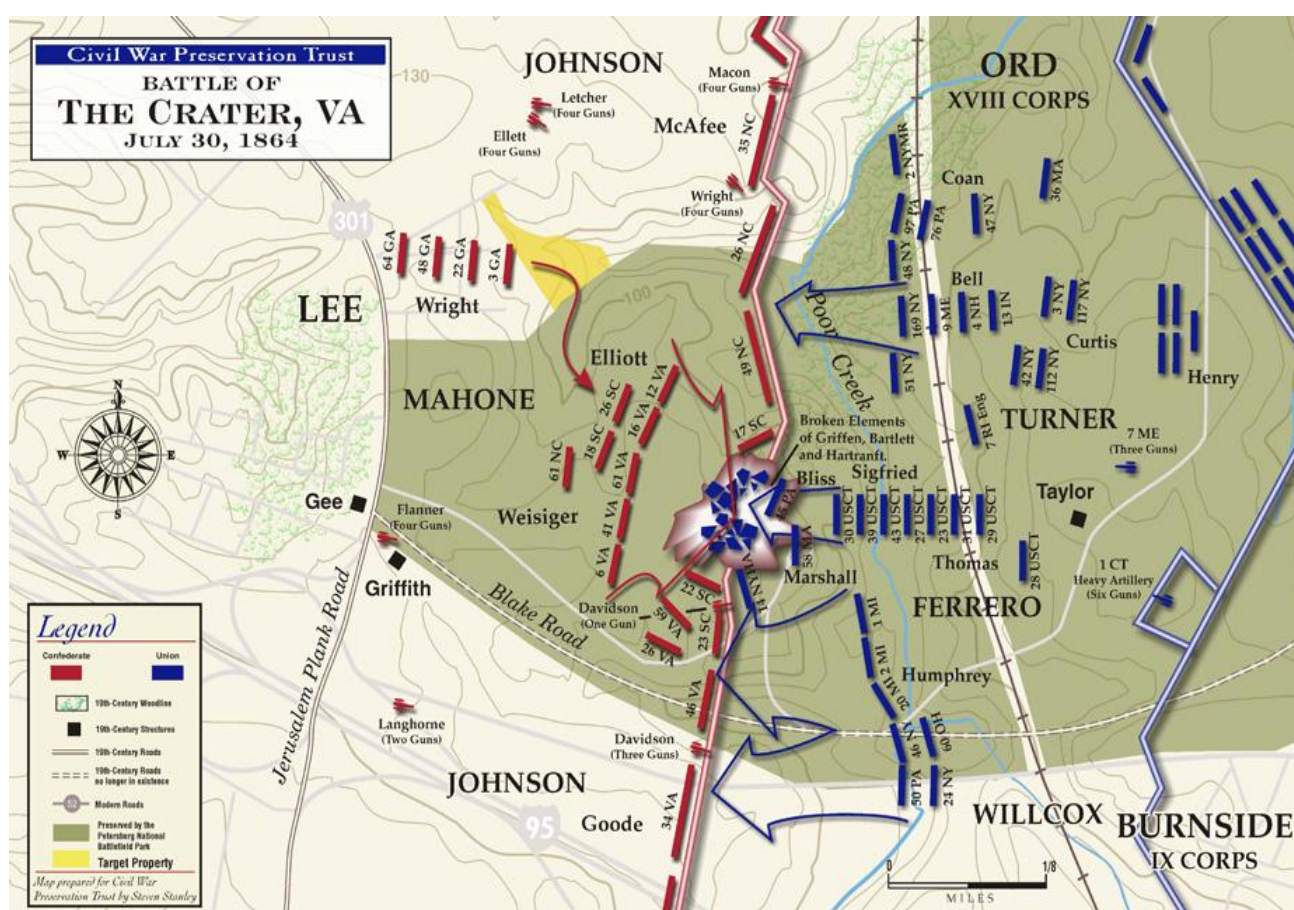
USCT units were ready and prepared to lead the assault at the Crater on July 30th; however, a major change in the battle plan was made by Union command just before the day of the battle. General George Meade drastically changed the battle plan only twelve hours before the assault at the Crater by requiring a white division to lead the attack.¹⁸ In sworn testimony at a court martial after the battle, General Meade stated that since these USCT units, "...had never been under fire; not that they should not be taken for such a critical operation as this, but that he should take such troops as from previous service could be depended upon as perfectly reliable."¹⁹ General Burnside strongly objected to General Meade's decision to not have USCT troops lead the assault at the Crater.²⁰

General Grant agreed with General Meade's decision, as the decision to call off the

USCT lead assault was mainly over political concerns. General Grant was more than willing to sacrifice white soldiers for an objective, but not black soldiers. President Lincoln as well as General Grant had concerns about potential political repercussions if the USCT assault failed and black troops suffered heavy casualties.²¹ General Grant was also concerned that the Northern public would think that he did not care about black soldiers by putting them on the front lines in a brutal battle. General Burnside was unraveled by the decision to not have USCT troops lead the assault, and he chose a white division under the command of James Ledlie to lead the assault.²² While General Meade's and General Grant's reasoning for not having black soldiers leading the assault may be understandable, the decision was made at the last minute. These two competent Union generals should have made the decision to have black troops not lead the assault much earlier than less than a day before such a critical battle. USCT troops had been trained and ready to lead the assault, as now Ledlie's division had less than a day to prepare for the attack. This last minute decision by Union command was a major contributor to the failed Union assault at the Battle of the Crater.

Early on the morning of July 30, 1864 at 4:45 AM the Battle of the Crater began when the mine tunneled by the 48th Pennsylvania exploded, creating the crater for which the battle is named after. The Crater created by the explosion was thirty feet deep, sixty feet wide, and 150 to 200 feet long. The explosion killed or wounded hundreds of Confederate soldiers. This was probably the most successful portion of the battle for the Union, as the battle went downhill from this point. Since the assault was not led by USCT troops, Ledlie's division did not take advantage of the break in the Confederate line. Instead of advancing beyond the Crater toward, "...the vulnerable crest of Cemetery Hill, Ledlie's men dug in on the far side of the Crater."²³ Union soldiers also decided to go into the Crater itself to protect themselves from Confederate

fire; as General Burnside reported, the First and Second Brigades of the First Division, "...filled the crater."²⁴ While the Crater may have protected Union soldiers from enemy fire, the Crater was like a trap. The Crater was not easy to climb out of due to its depth, and Confederate artillery could concentrate their fire on the Crater. The Union troops that went into the Crater also further slowed down the assault. If USCT troops had led the assault as originally planned, they might have not made the same mistake as the white Union divisions did in going in to the Crater.



Source: <http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/the-crater/crater-maps/battle-of-the-crater.html>

Union commanders leading the attack were disorganized, as they were unsure of what their objectives were. The Union attack was not helped at all by the fact that Ledlie was absent during the assault, as he was at a bombproof shelter drinking rum. More Union troops went into

the disorganized assault as General Potter's Second Division came in on Ledlie's right, while General Wilcox's division came in on Ledlie's left. Approximately 7,500 Union soldiers were facing stiff Confederate resistance and defending a small area not much larger than the perimeter of the Crater.²⁵ So the Union assault at the Crater was already not going well even before black troops became involved in the battle.

At 8:00 AM Ferrero's Fourth Division of USCT troops went into the battle under the orders of General Burnside.²⁶ Despite the overall Union assault not going well early on the morning of July 30th, black units did have some early success. Early in their assault the USCT units were able to overwhelm a trench before Cemetery Hill, capturing 150 Confederate prisoners. Early on in the battle some black troops did kill some Confederate prisoners; however, USCT commanders did intervene to stop the killings.²⁷ USCT officers gave "Fort Pillow! No Quarter!" as a battle cry for the black troops. This battle cry may have both enraged and motivated the black soldiers involved in the battle.²⁸ Colonel Sigfried reported after the battle that, "The Forty-third Regiment U.S. Colored Troops moved over the crest of the crater toward the right, charged the enemy entrenchments and took them, capturing a number of prisoners, a rebel stand of colors, and recapturing a stand of national colors."²⁹ Colonel Sigfried did not mention anywhere in his report about USCT soldiers murdering Confederate prisoners.

Initial success for black troops at the Crater continued on the morning of July 30th. Quartermaster Sergeant James Payne of the 27th USCT reported that, "The First Brigade, consisting of four regiments, namely, the Forty-third [USCI] Pennsylvania, Twenty-seventh [USCI] Ohio, and Thirtieth and Thirty-ninth [USCI] Maryland, led in the charge."³⁰ Sergeant Payne continued that, "The first two named regiments drove the enemy from their breastworks, and took possession of the blown up fort..."³¹ Colonel Thomas commanding the 2nd Brigade

also gave sworn testimony in the court martial after the battle in that his units were able to advance beyond the Crater and the enemy's line at one point during the battle.³²

Unfortunately, for the USCT and the Army of the Potomac, the early successes of the black soldiers did not last. The battle was already not going to plan for the Army of the Potomac at large, and the tide of the battle turned badly against USCT troops. Black troops were not well supported by other units or even the generals. In sworn testimony at the post-battle court-martial, Colonel Thomas said that the First Division did not go forward, and three division commanders (Ledlie, Wilcox, Ferrero) were at the bombproof shelter. Colonel Thomas said the bombproof shelter was not a good location to see what was going on during the battle.³³ General Ferrero testified that after the 4th Division of USCT troops had captured around "200-odd prisoners", the officers had trouble reorganizing the men. Then, General Ferrero said, once the USCT troops were reorganized and made a second charge toward Cemetery Hill, they, "...were repulsed by a very severe and galling fire, and, I must say, they retreated in great disorder and confusion back to our first line of troops, where they were rallied."³⁴

As the battle continued the situation continued to deteriorate for USCT troops. At the court-martial Colonel Thomas testified about the retreat of black troops after their initial success earlier in the morning. Colonel Thomas said that his USCT men, "...came back on a run, every man for himself."; however, "...white troops were running back just ahead of them." Brigadier General Robert Potter said in his report, about the retreat of USCT units, that, "Shortly after the arrival of the colored troops the enemy made an assault on us, when these troops fled in confusion, sweeping a portion of my line back into the crater and pits in its vicinity." There were even a couple reports of USCT troops retreating with fixed bayonets toward Union soldiers. Brigadier General Simon Griffin said in his post-battle report that, "A panic seized the colored

troops, and they went pouring through and over men, plunging into the pits with fixed bayonets in frightful confusion.” Colonel Louis Bell said in his post-battle report that, “all the colored troops in my front broke and came back, dashing through my men with arms at a trail and bayonets fixed.”, and also that, “Quite a number of my men were wounded by the bayonets of the retreating troops...”³⁵ While some black soldiers did panic under heavy fire in the latter stages of the battle, the battle was already lost by this point. Black soldiers seeing their first major combat action should not be blamed for losing the battle, especially when Union commanders were at a bombproof shelter instead of being on the frontlines of the battle.

The Battle of the Crater was a major defeat for the Army of the Potomac, and USCT units sustained considerable casualties. Out of the 4,300 USCT troops involved in the battle they suffered 1,327 casualties with 209 black soldiers being killed, which was the highest amount for any Union division involved in the battle. Total Union casualties overall was 504 killed, 1,881 wounded, and 1,413 captured. Death rates for Union soldiers at the Battle of the Crater was especially high as the average ratio for wounded to death in the Civil War was 4.8 to 1, while at the Battle of the Crater it was 3.7 to 1, and it was even worse for USCT troops at 1.8 to 1. These Battle of the Crater casualty figures provide evidence that the 4th Division of USCT troops fought the hardest at the Crater, and also that some black soldiers were murdered in the battle.³⁶

One of the worst parts of the USCT involvement in the Battle of the Crater was black prisoners being murdered by Confederate soldiers, as well as white Union soldiers murdering black troops. Earlier in the paper it was discussed about there being previous massacres of black troops, and that black troops were not expected to receive quarter from the Confederates. It is a little surprising that I was not able to find any Union military accounts or Northern newspaper accounts of black prisoners being murdered at the Crater. It was not surprising that Confederate

newspapers did not report about the massacre, as it could result in retaliation by the Union army. However, after the war Confederate veteran George Bernard served with the 12th Virginia Infantry in the Battle of the Crater. He wrote his personal account of the battle as well as other primary accounts of other veterans in the battle in *War Talks of Confederate Veterans*.³⁷ Bernard provided particularly damaging evidence against some Confederate veterans on the acts they committed against black prisoners at the Battle of the Crater.

One incident Bernard personally witnessed was when he saw a black soldier, "...begging for his life two Confederate soldiers stood by him, one striking the poor wretch with a steel ramrod..." Then later Bernard wrote, "The man with the ramrod continued to strike the negro therewith, whilst the fellow with the gun deliberately re-loaded it, and, placing its muzzle against the stomach of the poor negro, fired, at which the latter fell limp and lifeless at the feet of the two Confederates." Bernard was appalled at the murder of the USCT soldier, and he did not participate in the crime as he described the murder of the USCT soldier, "...a brutal, horrible act..." Bernard also said that, "...I have no doubt, from what I saw and afterwards heard, was but a sample of many other bloody tragedies during the first ten minutes after our men got into the trench, many of whom seemed infuriated at the idea of having to fight negroes..."³⁸ It is important to note that all Confederate soldiers like Bernard did not participate in the massacre of USCT soldiers that had surrendered. There were some Confederate generals who tried to stop the massacre; however, there were some who ignored the crime taking place or even joined in the murder of black prisoners.³⁹

There were other Confederate soldiers that talked about black soldiers being murdered during the battle. Lieutenant Colonel William Pegram mentioned that USCT troops "threw down their arms to surrender, but were not allowed to do so." Robert Evans, who served in the

16th Mississippi, stated that, “Most of the Negroes were killed after the battle. Some was killed after they were taken to the rear.”⁴⁰ One reason some Confederate soldiers murdered black troops is the reason Bernard stated in his book about them being enraged by having to fight black soldiers. Another reason may have been that Confederate soldiers were concerned that if Petersburg fell to USCT soldiers, the city’s citizens might be murdered by them. However, even some white Union soldiers murdered USCT troops out of fear they would be killed if they surrendered with black troops.⁴¹ Official Union military records would probably not report about this; as this would be embarrassing for the Union. However, there is some evidence to indicate that white Union soldiers were willing to save their own lives at the expense of black troops. Union Lieutenant Freeman Bowley said after the war that, “In vain was the cry raised that all would be killed if captured with negro soldiers; they would not stand up. From this time on the fire was kept up, mainly, by the colored troops and officers handling muskets.”⁴² This statement also provides evidence that black soldiers fought longer and harder in the battle than some of the white Union soldiers.

While the exact figure of USCT troops murdered at the Battle of the Crater is not known, Confederate forces did take in some black prisoners. USCT prisoners were taken to a small island in the Appomattox River at Petersburg, where the prisoners received little food. The river water was the first drink some of the men have had in several hours in the late July heat and humidity of Southside Virginia. Black prisoners in Petersburg continued to be treated poorly, as they were paraded alongside white prisoners before hostile crowds in the city. Even white Union surgeons refused to treat wounded black prisoners until Confederate surgeon Dr. Claiborne forced them to. Also, slave owners could go to the prison camp on the island to claim missing slaves, and then the remaining USCT prisoners were sent in boxcars further south to other

Confederate prison camps. Tragically, Federal artillery killed some of their own prisoners, including black prisoners, when the prisoners were mistaken for a Confederate unit.⁴³

The Union defeat at the Battle of the Crater led to both Union generals and black troops facing criticism from the Northern press after the battle. The battle was another major political and military setback for the Union in 1864. Northern newspapers were very critical of the performance of the USCT in the battle to the point of blaming them for the defeat. Chaplain Garland White of the 28th USCT was offended by a New York newspaper as he states, "...colored troops under General [Ambrose] Burnside, who participated in the attack on Petersburg acted cowardly. This slanderous language I first saw in the *New York Herald* of the 6th inst., it being a paper familiar with political corruption."⁴⁴ However, not all Northern newspapers blamed black troops for the defeat. The August 3, 1864 edition of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, for example, stated that, "The charge so currently circulated, that the recent failure at Petersburg was owing to the misbehavior of colored troops is wholly false. They behaved as well as the white troops, and retreated no sooner than they."⁴⁵

Also, as mentioned earlier in the paper the post-battle Court Martial investigated the causes of the failed assault at the Battle of the Crater. The Court Martial, led by Army of the Potomac officers, released on September 9, 1864 its findings on the causes of the failure of the Battle of the Crater. In their finding Generals Burnside, Ledlie, and Ferrero received primary blame for the failed assault at the Crater. They failed to advance troops beyond the Crater before black troops even became involved in the battle.⁴⁶ USCT troops were not blamed or accused of causing the failed assault and Union defeat at the Battle of the Crater. It is very hard to accuse black soldiers of losing the battle when the assault was already going wrong before they went into the battle. As the Siege of Petersburg continued through the summer of 1864, black troops

would continue to serve in Virginia after the battle. USCT troops in General Ferrero's Division were already back occupying trenches along the siege lines at Petersburg in early August 1864.⁴⁷

The thousands of United States Colored Troops involved in the Battle of the Crater are American heroes. They faced extreme hardships before, during, and even after the battle. They faced discrimination from Confederates, white Union soldiers, and the Northern press. However, despite the discrimination and blaming from others, black troops gave their all at the Battle of the Crater. Despite the last minute change by General Meade to have black troops not lead the assault, USCT troops ended up being some of the units to make it farthest toward the Confederate lines. There is little evidence to suggest that USCT troops were responsible for losing the Battle of the Crater. Both black and white Union soldiers retreated in panic under heavy Confederate fire. However, it is important to remember that the Crater was the first major combat action for many black soldiers in the Civil War. General Meade's last minute change of battle plans and General Ledlie drinking rum in a bombproof shelter are more plausible reasons for the Union assault at the Crater failing. Under the most difficult of circumstances USCT soldiers performed very well at the Battle of the Crater, and although the Crater assault was a failure, black soldiers proved they could fight just as well as white Union soldiers.

¹ William A. Gladstone, *United States Colored Troops 1863-1867* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1990), 9, 11, 120, 72; Ervin Jordan, Jr., *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press: 1995), 268; Richard Slotkin, *No Quarter: The Battle of the Crater, 1864* (New York: Random House, 2009), 79-80, 87.

² Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 77-78.

³ Jim Corrigan, *The 48th Pennsylvania in the Battle of the Crater* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2006), 49-50, 103; Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 271; Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 82-83.

⁴ Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 80-81, 96.

⁵ Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 73.

⁶ Alan Axelrod, *The Horrid Pit: The Battle of the Crater, the Civil War's Cruellest Mission* (New York: Carroll and Graf Publishers, 2007) 251; Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 73.

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- ⁷ Axelrod, *The Horrid Pit*, 251.
- ⁸ Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 77.
- ⁹ Axelrod, *The Horrid Pit*, 251.
- ¹⁰ Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 85-87.
- ¹¹ Corrigan, *The 48th PA.*, 121.
- ¹² Jordan Jr., *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 275; Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 88.
- ¹³ United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. ; Series 1 - Volume 40 (Part I)*, Washington: Government Print. Office, 1892, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Library: 406, <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=moawar;idno=waro0080> (accessed March 25, 2012)
- ¹⁴ James Robertson, Jr. *Civil War Virginia: Battleground for a Nation* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 164.
- ¹⁵ Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 71-72.
- ¹⁶ John Cannan, *The Crater: Burnside's Assault on the Confederate Trenches July 30, 1864* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2002), 28, 31.
- ¹⁷ Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 131, 133; Cannan, *The Crater*, 31.
- ¹⁸ Brigadier General Vincent J. Esposito, ed., *The West Point Atlas of American Wars: Volume I 1689-1900* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995), 139.
- ¹⁹ *Official Records*, 46.
- ²⁰ Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 140-141.
- ²¹ Axelrod, *The Horrid Pit*, 98; William Davis, *The Civil War: Death in the Trenches, Grant at Petersburg* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1986), 74; Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 141, 144-145.
- ²² Edwin S. Redkey, ed., *A Grand Army of Black Men: Letters from African-American Soldiers in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 87; Davis, *The Civil War*, 74; Esposito, *The West Point Atlas*, 139.
- ²³ Kevin M. Levin, "The Earth Seemed to Tremble," *America's Civil War* 19, no. 5 (May 2006): 24, Military & Government Collection EBSCOhost, <http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu...> (accessed March 25, 2012).
- ²⁴ Redkey, *Grand Army of Black Men*, 87; U.S. War Department, *Official Records*, 528.
- ²⁵ Davis, *The Civil War*, 78; Levin, *Earth Seemed to Tremble*, 24-25; U.S. War Department, *Official Records*, 528.
- ²⁶ Levin, *Earth Seemed to Tremble*, 25; U.S. War Department, *Official Records*, 528..
- ²⁷ Corrigan, *The 48th Pennsylvania*, 95-96; Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 337.
- ²⁸ Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 337.
- ²⁹ *Official Records*, 596.
- ³⁰ As quoted in Redkey, *Grand Army of Black Men*, 114.
- ³¹ As quoted in Redkey, *Grand Army of Black Men*, 114.
- ³² *Official Records*, 104.
- ³³ *Official Records*, 105.
- ³⁴ *Official Records*, 93.
- ³⁵ *Official Records*, 93, 548, 567, 704.
- ³⁶ Axelrod, *The Horrid Pit*, 232; Cannan, *The Crater*, 147-148; Corrigan, *The 48th Pennsylvania*, 93; Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 336 .
- ³⁷ Find citation; George S. Bernard, *War Talks of Confederate Veterans* (Petersburg, VA: Fenn & Owen, Publishers, 1892), Cornell University Library, <http://archive.org/stream/cu31924032776324#page/n7/mode/2up>, 149; Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 80.
- ³⁸ Bernard, *War Talks*, 159.
- ³⁹ Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 339.
- ⁴⁰ Previous two quotes as quoted in Levin, *Earth Seemed to Tremble*, 26.
- ⁴¹ Axelrod, *The Horrid Pit*, 178; Cannan, *The Crater*, 141.
- ⁴² As quoted in Bernard, *War Talks*, 163.
- ⁴³ Corrigan, *The 48th Pennsylvania*, 121, 126; Slotkin, *No Quarter*, 308-309.
- ⁴⁴ As quoted in Redkey, *Grand Army*, 110.

⁴⁵ Washington, August 2, "Latest from Washington: The Assault on Petersburg," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 3, 1864, America's Historic Newspapers, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu...> (accessed March 28, 2012).

⁴⁶ Davis, *The Civil War*, 89; *Official Records*, 125, 127-128.

⁴⁷ William A. Frassanito, *Grant and Lee: The Virginia Campaigns 1864-1865* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1983), 282-283.