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THE CONFEDERATE CORPS OF MARINES

*A Thesis Presented to
the Faculty of the
Graduate School
Memphis State University*

*In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for
the Degree Master of Arts*



by
Donald Ray Gardner
1973

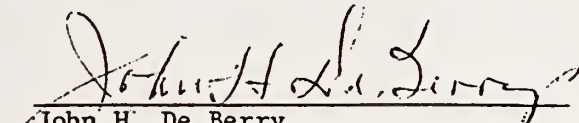
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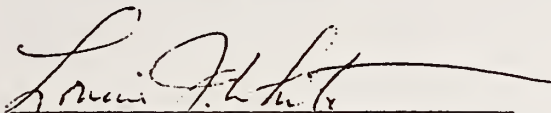


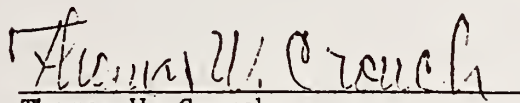
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Donald Ray Gardner entitled "The Confederate Corps of Marines." I recommend that it be accepted for six hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in United States history.

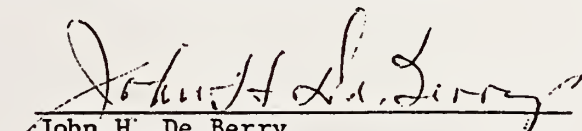

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many individuals for aid in the preparation of this study. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the United States Marine Corps and Professor Aaron M. Boom, Chairman of the Memphis State University History Department, for making graduate study possible through a "Secretary of the Navy Scholarship." I especially wish to thank Professor John H. De Berry for his direction and encouragement and Professors Lonnie J. White and Thomas W. Crouch for reading the manuscript. I am also indebted to Mr. Ralph W. Donnelly of the United States Marine Corps History Division for source material and guidance, and to Mrs. E. M. Trigg of Mobile, Alabama, for her interview concerning her grandfather, Second Lieutenant John Lawrence Rapier.

A special note of thanks is expressed to the staffs of the National Archives, the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina, Emory University Library, the Atlanta Historical Society Archives, the Virginia Historical Society, the Museum of the Confederacy, and the State Library of the Commonwealth of Virginia, as well as the State of Alabama Department of Archives and History, the James Carson Breckinridge Library, the Tennessee State Library and Archives, and the Memphis State University Library. My wife, Elaine, aided me in innumerable ways; without her support, this study would not have been possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER	
I. TO THE COLORS	2
II. OFFICERS' CALL	7
III. ASSEMBLY	23
IV. INSPECTION	31
V. GENERAL QUARTERS	44
VI. TO ARMS	58
APPENDIXES	
I. ROSTER OF OFFICERS	69
II. WICK SHERIDAN	71
III. NOTE ON SOURCES	72
BIBLIOGRAPHY	74

PLATES

Plate	Page
I. George H. Terrett	5
II. Lloyd J. Beall	10
III. Israel Greene	13
IV. Beckett K. Howell	15
V. Henry Lea Graves	16
VI. Henry Melvil Doak	17
VII. John Lawrence Rapier	18
VIII. Edward Crenshaw	19
IX. W. George P. Turner	20
X. Ruffin Thomson	21
XI. Confederate Marine Uniform of H. L. Graves	32
XII. J. Campbell Murdoch	34
XIII. Aboard the C.S.S. Sumter	35
XIV. Francis H. Cameron	36
XV. Confederate Navy Buttons	37
XVI. The Enfield Rifle	42
XVII. Ruben T. Thom	50
XVIII. Fort Darling, Drewry's Bluff, Virginia	62
XIX. Officer's Quarters, Drewry's Bluff, Virginia	63
XX. Interior of Fort Darling, Drewry's Bluff	64
XXI. Chapel at Drewry's Bluff	66
XXII. A. Soldier's Rest	71
B. Grave of Wick Sheridan	71

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Civil War has attracted students since 1865, yet for all the voluminous material on the war, relatively little is known about the Confederate States Marine Corps. Philip Van Doren Stern, prominent historian and author of *The Confederate Navy* declares that "this sadly neglected arm of the Confederate service deserves a full-length study" and that "a good book on the subject would be a welcome addition to the literature of the Civil War." Another well known southern historian, Frank Everson Vandiver, in his study of the Confederate command system, *Rebel Brass*, completely devastates the Confederate Marine Corps by suggesting erroneously that "the Marine Corps, pitifully small, was of little use." The importance of the Confederate Marines and their effect on the conduct of the war is yet to be determined and certainly cannot be reduced to one sentence. The importance of naval power on the outcome of the Civil War is only now being recognized by historians.

The Confederate States Marine Corps was an exceptionally fine and well-disciplined regiment. Their backgrounds were varied, but these men formed an organization that provided naval infantry for the Confederacy. The Marines served in naval and land battles, and assisted in protecting the cities of Richmond, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, Wilmington, and New Orleans. More importantly, the Marines provided sharpshooters, snipers, and raiding parties above and beyond their regular duties.

Although "pitifully small" in number compared with the millions who fought, this corps of Marines is well worth investigating, for its history is that of the small regular units of the Confederacy. This regiment of Marines boasted 59 officers and over 1,200 enlisted men on its rolls during its short existence, and had a record of service that compares favorably with better known regiments in Confederate service. To characterize the Corps as doing less is to do brave men a considerable injustice.

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CHAPTER I

TO THE COLORS

For the newly created Confederate States of America, 1861 was a year of hurried building for defense against impending attack. Out of the precautionary measures emerged the Confederate States Marine Corps. The Confederate Congress passed a resolution on 14 February 1861, authorizing “the Committee on Naval Affairs to procure the attendance at Montgomery, of all such persons versed in naval affairs as they may deem it advisable to consult with.”¹

In his inaugural address as President of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States, Jefferson Davis said, “I . . . suggest that for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas a Navy adapted to those objects will be required” During the next several days, the Navy Department was formally established by an act of the Confederate Congress, and President Davis appointed Stephen R. Mallory of Florida as Secretary of the Confederate States Navy. The Secretary was required to prepare and publish such regulations as might be required to govern the Navy. These would also apply to the Marine Corps.

The Articles of War and Navy Regulations of the United States Navy were adopted by simply changing “United States” to “Confederate States.” *The Regulations of the Navy of the Confederate States* contained no major changes that affected the Marine Corps; all military laws of the United States which did not conflict with the Confederate Constitution were continued in force.²

Mallory was well qualified for his job. Always interested in ships and naval matters, he could point with pride to his 10 years on the United States Senate Naval Affairs Committee, some of that time as chairman. While he did not actively seek the office, he was not one to shirk his duty.³ For the next four years, the problems and challenges of the Confederate States Marine Corps would be his.

On 16 March 1861, 10 days after Congress established the regular Army, it passed *An Act to Provide for the Organization of the Navy*. It was this act that established the regular Marine Corps. Section V of the act read:

There shall be a Corps of Marines to consist of: 1 Major, 1 Quartermaster, 1 Paymaster, 1 Adjutant, 6 Captains, 6 First Lieutenants, 6 Second Lieutenants, 1 sergeant major, 1 quartermaster sergeant, and 6 companies, each company to consist of 1 Captain, 1 First and 1 Second Lieutenant, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 100 men, and 2 musicians, and the pay and allowances of the officers and men of like grade in the infantry in the Army, except that the ration of enlisted Marines shall be the ration allowed by law to seamen.⁴

Section VII of the Act read:

It shall be the duty of the Quartermaster of the Marine Corps to visit the different posts where portions of the Corps may be stationed as often as may be necessary for the proper discharge of his duties.⁵

In contrast, the Army infantry regiment was larger, consisting of a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, a major, and 10 companies. The companies were composed of a captain, a first lieutenant, 2 second lieutenants, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 musicians, and 90 privates.⁶ The strength of the Marine Corps was approximately 20 percent of equivalent grades in the Confederate Navy. The value of the Navy ration mentioned in the above act was set at 25 cents on 1 March 1861.

The United States Marine Corps, in 1861, consisted of 63 officers and had an enlisted strength of 1,892.⁷ The command structure was as follows:

Commandant: Colonel John Harris

General Staff:

Adjutant and Inspector: Major H. B. Tyler, Sr.

Paymaster: Major W. W. Russell

Quartermaster: Major William B. Stark

Assistant Quartermaster: Captain W. A. T. Maddox

1 Lieutenant Colonel

4 Majors

13 Captains

20 First Lieutenants

20 Second Lieutenants⁸

Following the fall of Fort Sumter and the secession of the Upper South, it became evident that the small confederate Marine Corps would need to be expanded to fulfill its function. The six organized companies of the Confederate Marine Corps were located on board naval vessels at sea, at Navy Yards and shore stations, as well as within the coastal defenses manned by the Confederate States Navy forces. Additional demands for Marines were being made by commanding officers of new warships and naval stations. As a result, Secretary Mallory, in a report to Congress on 28 April 1861, declared: "I suggest that another Second Lieutenant be added to each of the companies of this Corps. The companies consist of 100 men each and they must be more frequently called upon to act in small detachments than the companies of any other arm of military service."⁹

The Navy was very active during all of May, 1861. On 13 May, Queen Victoria proclaimed British neutrality and forbade her subjects to endeavor to break a "lawfully and effectually established" blockade, increasing the anxiety of the Confederate Congress for the safety of her ships and shoreline. They were quick to consider Mallory's request and passed on 20 May, *An Act Amendatory of An Act to Provide for the Organization of the Navy* which declared in part:

The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact that from and after the passage of this Act the corps of Marines shall consist of

one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, one major, one quartermaster with the rank of major, one paymaster with the rank of major, one adjutant with the rank of major, one sergeant major, one quartermaster sergeant, 10 captains, 10 first lieutenants, 20 second lieutenants, 40 sergeants, 40 corporals, and 840 privates, 10 drummers, and 10 fifers and two musicians.¹⁰

This new table of organization fixed the size of the Marine Corps for the remainder of the conflict. While a company organization was not prescribed in the amendment, it was clearly to be similar to the original act passed by the Congress establishing the Corps and was intended as an incorporation of Secretary Mallory's ideas. The Corps would henceforth consist of a regiment of 10 companies, each consistent in organization with the infantry companies already outlined with the exception that each Marine company had 84 privates while the infantry companies had 90.

According to General Samuel Cooper, the Adjutant-General of the Confederate States Army, "There are no regular troops authorized by acts of Congress other than those duly enlisted for the regular array of the Confederacy."¹¹ Yet it seems that Congress implied that the Marine Corps was to have the distinction of being part of the regular establishment for it was clearly not to be regarded as part of the Provisional Army, like all other volunteer units in the service of the Confederacy.

Under the new 62d Article of War adopted 6 March 1861, in the Confederate States *Army Regulations, 1861*, command devolved to the senior officer present according to commission and length of service.

If, upon marches, guards, or in quarters, different corps shall happen to join or to do duty together, the officer of highest in rank, according to the commission by which he is mustered, in the army, navy, marine corps, or militia, there on duty by orders from competent authority, shall command the whole and give orders for what is needful for the service, unless otherwise directed by the President of the Confederate States, in orders of special assignment providing for the case.¹²

This provision would be most important to Colonel George Hunter Terrett and other Marine officers who from time to time commanded joint forces consisting of Marines, sailors, and army artillerymen.

The regulations, in the only other time Marines are specifically mentioned, also required:

All guards and sentinels are to pay the same compliments to the officers of the navy, Marines, militia [militia], in the service of the Confederate States as are directed to be paid to the officers of the army, according to their relative ranks. All soldiers are to pay proper compliments to officers of the navy and Marines when in uniform, as to officers of their own particular regiments and corps.¹³

One important act was passed by the Confederate Congress on 21 May 1861, allowing the President to promote regular Army officers to temporary rank in volunteer units. It was under this act that many regular Army officers served as field and general officers. This act was amended late in 1861 to include officers serving with Adjutant and Inspector Generals' Department, Chief of Engineers, and Chief of Ordnance.¹⁴ Although the Confederacy never awarded brevet commissions, a number of Marine Corps officers held dual Army appointments so that this act appears to have been applied to Marines as well.

Fundamentally, the Marine Corps was subject to the laws and regulations established for the Navy, except when detached for service with the Army by order of the President. Additionally, it was commanded by a Colonel-Commandant who came directly under the Secretary of the Navy and issued orders concerning the Marine Corps to officers of the Navy. Operational commanders gave orders to the marine guards and companies assigned to them, but only the Secretary could transfer companies from one command to another.

The Colonel-Commandant, Lloyd J. Beall, established the Headquarters at 115 Main Street, Richmond, Virginia. The paymaster, quartermaster, adjutant, sergeant major, quartermaster sergeant, and two clerks composed the staff.¹⁵ It must be noted that the clerical

PLATE I



*George H. Terrett - Major, CSMC.
Shown in his dress uniform of the United States
Marine Corps prior to the Civil War. Courtesy of
the National Archives.*

help did not arrive until three years later although the Colonel-Commandant formally requested clerical assistance in a letter to Secretary Mallory on 17 December 1861, when the Navy was drawing pay for five Navy Department clerks. The clerks were not funded until 1 January 1864.¹⁶

This headquarters was ideally located, being situated between the popular American Hotel and Secretary Mallory's residence. The Confederate States War Department and Navy Department were only a block away in the old Virginia Mechanics Institute. The Naval or Marine Hospital, Signal Corps, Nitre and Mining Bureau, and Quartermaster Department were nearby. The Confederate Naval Yards were less than two miles away.¹⁷ The acceleration of the already furious activities of government in the new capital did not slow down the organization of the Confederate Marine Corps. It provided the Navy with a small military force to protect ships and stations from external attack or internal disorders, and to carry out other such raids, boarding actions, or amphibious operations as might be directed.

The model used by the Confederacy, as in all its other armed forces, was that of the United States. Because of the unique nature of the foundation of the Confederacy, there were reasonable expectations that at least a part of the United States Marine Corps would form the nucleus of the new Confederate States Marine Corps.

CHAPTER II

OFFICERS' CALL

The first step in organizing the new Corps was the appointment of its officers. Of the 63 officers of the United States Marine Corps, 28 resigned or were dismissed, 19 of them joining the southern Marine Corps.¹ They were encouraged by an act of the Confederate Congress of 14 March 1861, providing that any United States officer who resigned and joined the Confederacy within six months of the passage of the act would be commissioned as of the same date and take seniority by their respective United States commissions.²

A report transmitted to the Honorable Hannibal Hamlin, Vice President of the United States, by Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles on 29 December 1863, provided the following list of Marine Corps officers who left the service between 1 December 1860, and 1 December 1863, by resignation, dismissal, or desertion to engage in the war or otherwise. Those names underlined subsequently joined the Confederate States Marine Corps.

1. Major Henry B. Tyler of Virginia
2. Brevet Major George H. Terrett of Virginia
3. Captain Jabez C. Rich of Maine
4. Captain Algernon S. Taylor of Virginia
5. Captain Robert Tansill of Virginia
6. Captain John D. Simms of Virginia
7. First Lieutenant Israel Green [sic] of New York
8. First Lieutenant J.R.H. Tatnall [sic] of Connecticut
9. First Lieutenant Adam N. Baker of Pennsylvania
10. First Lieutenant Charles A. Henderson of Washington, D.C.
11. First Lieutenant Henry B. Tyler, Jr. of Washington, D.C.
12. First Lieutenant First Lt. Julius E. Meiere of Connecticut
13. First Lieutenant George P. Turner of Virginia
14. First Lieutenant Thos. S. Wilson of Tennessee
15. First Lieutenant Alex'r W. Stark of Virginia
16. First Lieutenant Jacob Read of Georgia
17. First Lieutenant Andrew J. Hays of Alabama
18. First Lieutenant George Holmes of Maine
19. First Lieutenant S. H. Matthews of _____
20. First Lieutenant Robert Kidd of _____
21. Second Lieutenant Geo. W. Cummins of _____
22. Second Lieutenant Calvin L. Sayers [sic] of Alabama
23. Second Lieutenant Henry L. Ingraham of South Carolina
24. Second Lieutenant Becket K. Howell of Mississippi
25. Second Lieutenant J. M. Rathbone of New York

26. Second Lieutenant Oscar B. Grant of _____
27. Second Lieutenant J. M. Reber of Pennsylvania
28. Second Lieutenant D. M. Sells of Iowa³

At the outset, such resignations were accepted as a matter of course. But, starting on 4 March 1861, the United States Marine Corps refused to accept any new resignations and summarily dismissed those officers who tendered them. In contrast to the Buchanan Administration, obviously sympathetic to the South, it appears that the Lincoln Administration intended to create a stigma of dishonor to those who supported the southern cause.

In his letter to the Secretary of the Navy, Captain Robert Tansill of Virginia offered the reasons which compelled him to resign on 17 May 1861, while serving aboard the U.S. frigate *Congress* at Montevideo, Uruguay:

Sir:

I have read the inaugural address of President Lincoln, and it seems to me that, if the policy therein announced is carried out, civil war must ensue.

In entering the public service I took an oath to support the Constitution, which necessarily gives me a right to interpret it. Our institutions, according to my understanding, are founded upon the principle and right of self-government.

The States, in forming the Confederacy, did not relinquish that right and I believe each State has a clear and unquestionable right to secede whenever the people thereof prefer, and the Federal Government has no right or moral authority to use physical force to keep them in the Union.

Entertaining these views, I cannot conscientiously join in a war against any of the States which have already seceded, or may hereafter secede, either North or South, for the purpose of coercing them back into the Union. Such a war, in my opinion, would not only certainly and permanently destroy the Confederacy, but if successful establish an unlimited despotism on the ruins of our liberty. No personal consideration or advantage however great can induce me to aid in a cause which my heart tells me is wrong, and I prefer to endure the most terrible hardships rather than to prosper in the destruction of the freedom of my country, and believing, Sir, that it should be disingenuous in me to retain my commission until the Government might require my services in such a contest, and then decline to serve, I consider it but prudent and just to now tender my resignation as a Captain in the United States Marine Corps.

I am, Sir, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,
Robert Tansill
Captain, U.S. Marine Corps⁴

Captain Tansill would have been dismissed in the usual fashion, but the letter mailed from South America was not received until 24 August 1861, by which time the Civil War was well under way. Upon his return to the United States, Tansill was confined in a Federal prison as a prisoner of war and advised of his dismissal from service. He remained in prison until 10 January 1862, without trial or hearing, when he was transferred to Confederate jurisdiction during a formal prisoner exchange.⁵ Tansill lost no time in reporting for duty with the Confederate States Marine Corps, doing so on 22 January 1862.⁶

This injustice was corrected by the Confederate Congress when, on 11 April 1863, it passed an act providing the following:

Officers of the navy and marine corps who resigning from the navy and marine corps of the United States in consequence of secession, and who are arrested and imprisoned in sequence of such resignation, and who subsequently join the navy and marine corps of the Confederate States, [should receive] leave of absence, pay for and during the term of such imprisonment, and up to the time of their appointment in the navy and marine corps of the Confederate States.⁷

The number of United States Marines who went south were more than enough to fill the first available positions with experienced officers. One former United States Marine officer not commissioned in the Confederate States Marine Corps was Second Lieutenant Alexander W. Stark. Stark rose to colonel in the Confederate Army and for a time commanded an artillery battalion. He deserves special recognition in that he was one of a few Confederate officers who prepared any manuals of military instruction during the war. While a major, he prepared *Instruction for Field Artillery* . . . which was published in 1864 by direction of the Secretary of War.⁸

The Confederate Marine Corps from its conception made a concerted effort to fill the officer ranks with men of high character, promise, and combat experience. Most of the officers, having formal military training, came from the United States Military Academy, the United States Naval Academy, the Military College of South Carolina, and the Tennessee Military Academy. These ranged from seasoned officers such as Colonel George H. Terrett, distinguished Mexican War veteran, to former enlisted men such as Henry M. Doak, the former Sergeant Major of the 19th Tennessee Infantry.

John Thomas Scharf, a Confederate States Navy officer, in his book, *History of the Confederate States Navy*, suggests that more than 100 men of the United States Marine Corps met in Richmond, Virginia, to form the new corps.⁹ Although several officers were known to have been in Richmond in the early weeks after Virginia's secession, there is no historical evidence to support this claim. The organization of the Marine Corps had begun in Montgomery and later continued in Richmond.

The nature of the backgrounds of the regular Marine officers may be gained from examining a few of the officers who will appear later in this narrative. Colonel-Commandant Lloyd J. Beall was a graduate of the United States Military Academy where

he had been a classmate of Jefferson Davis. With 30 years' experience in the United States Army, he had served on the frontier in the infantry and dragoons since 1 July 1830, and brought considerable practical experience to a job that would challenge his best military abilities. On 23 May 1861, Beall joined the Confederate States Marine Corps.¹⁰ His efficiency and professionalism were noteworthy and General J. E. Johnson, in a letter to General Robert E. Lee dated 1862 said, "I respectfully suggest that Colonel Beall of the Marine Corps is eminently qualified for the grade of brigadier-general."¹¹ According to Beall in a letter to J. T. Scharf some time after the war:

The corps was composed of enlisted men, many of whom were old soldiers, and commissioned officers, a number of whom had seen service before in the U. S. marine corps and elsewhere. The corps was thoroughly trained and disciplined, and in all encounters with the enemy the officers and men were conspicuous for their courage and good conduct.¹²

PLATE II



Lloyd J. Beall - Colonel-Commandant, CSMC, Courtesy of the National Archives.

Lieutenant Colonel Henry Ball Tyler of Prince William County, Virginia, had served in the United States Marine Corps since 3 March 1823. He had fought against Creek Indians as a first lieutenant in 1836 and commanded the Marine Guard at the Washington Navy Yard from 1845 to 1853 when he became the Adjutant-Inspector of the Marine Corps. On election day, 1 June 1857, a gang of Baltimore toughs called "Plug-Uglies" arrived in Washington intent on taking over the polls. The government called out the Marines and Major Tyler commanded a two-company battalion.¹³ *The Washington Star* reported the following:

. . . a shot coming from the crowd struck a private in the cheek, making a dreadful wound, and several more, being hit by stones . . . they poured in an answering fire . . . The battalion made a movement as if to pour in another fire, which the rioters seeing, took to their heels and fled.¹⁴

Major Tyler continued in service until the coasts of Virginia were blockaded and resigned 1 May 1861, the most senior United States Marine to so act. He was stricken from the rolls of the federal Marine Corps on 4 May 1861. As the second senior southern Marine Corps officer, he fought until paroled at Lynchburg, Virginia, in April, 1865.¹⁵

Major Tyler's son, Henry B. Tyler, Jr., a six-year United States Marine Corps veteran, who had sailed to Siam and China, won singular recognition for consistency of behavior by qualifying for two dismissals for cause in less than six months, one from the United States Marine Corps and the second from the Confederate Marines. On 21 June 1861, Tyler, Jr. was dismissed from the United States Marine Corps, the same day the following item appeared in *The National Intelligencer*:

Henry B. Tyler, Lieutenant of Marines, was arrested in the city of New York a day or two ago on a charge of uttering foul and seditious language in a boisterous and disorderly manner. He cursed the Stars and Stripes, reviled General Scott, etc. Upon being conducted to the police headquarters, he stated that he was a native of the city of Washington, and was on board the Saratoga when she captured the Slaver Nightingale. He had been sent home on the latter vessel. The lieutenant was detained all night and was sent the next day to the navy yard.¹⁶

Before a General Court Martial convened 29 November 1861, near Pensacola, Florida, First Lieutenant Tyler was tried for "Conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman." It seems that at the Warrington (Florida) Navy Yard Tyler insulted and abused Second Lieutenant J.R.Y. Fendall of Mississippi, who was the Officer of the Guard. Following Fendall into the Mess, he called him "a damn scoundrill [sic], . . . and damned abolitionist." A private on the guard prevented Tyler from making a personal assault. Fendall, who had brothers fighting for the Union, had his loyalty questioned by Tyler in another incident less than a half-hour later. Lieutenant Tyler was also accused of being drunk on several occasions at the Camp of the Louisiana Infantry. The court found Tyler

guilty of all charges and specifications, and he was dismissed by orders of the Departmental Commanding General, Braxton Bragg, on 10 December 1861.¹⁷

George H. Terrett was a former United States Marine officer who had served against pirates and Seminole Indians and distinguished himself during the Mexican War at the *San Cosme Gate* of Mexico City. Captain Terrett with a small force of less than seventy officers and men routed a force of several thousand Mexican lancers. Terrett was assisted at *San Cosme* by a then unknown Army lieutenant of the Fourth Infantry—U. S. Grant. For this action, Terrett was advanced to the rank of Brevet Major.¹⁸ Following the Mexican War, the Commonwealth of Virginia awarded him a sword for his gallant conduct under fire.¹⁹ H. B. Tyler and Terrett were the only field grade United States Marine officers to resign at the outset of the Civil War. His resignation was also denied, and he was dismissed. Terrett became the third ranking Confederate Marine on 20 June 1861, and later held the dual rank of Colonel (temporary) in the Confederate States Army with rank from 23 May 1864. In April, 1864 Terrett relieved Captain Sidney Smith Lee, Confederate States Navy, as commander of the naval batteries at Drewry's Bluff, Virginia, where he had been commanding the Marine battalion for two years. Colonel Terrett was later captured and released on oath, on 25 July 1865, from Johnson's Island in Lake Erie where he had been held as a prisoner of war.²⁰

Richard Taylor Allison was born in Jefferson County, Kentucky, but moved to Baltimore, Maryland, sometime in 1845. On 30 October 1849, he was appointed Purser in the United States Navy by his uncle, President Zachary Taylor. Most of his early naval career was spent with the Pacific squadron. After having accompanied Commodore Matthew C. Perry on the expedition to Japan, he cruised with the squadron off the coast of China. From 1856 to 20 April 1861, when he tendered his resignation to the Navy Department, he was an inspector and paymaster at the Navy Yard in Washington, D.C. Riots in Baltimore, Maryland, caused him to offer his sword to General George H. Stewart, commanding the Maryland State forces there. At the request of Secretary Gideon Welles, he remained on the active list until 1 May 1861, in order that the Navy might properly relieve him and his funds be turned over. A proper relief was effected, but Taylor did not learn until after the war that the Navy Department had dismissed him rather than accept his resignation. As soon as he arrived in Richmond, he telegraphed President Jefferson Davis and was summoned to Montgomery where he was appointed Paymaster with the rank of Major on 10 May 1861. He served in this position until he was paroled at Greensboro, North Carolina, on 28 April 1865.²¹

It is likely that the best known Marine officer was Israel Greene who became the Adjutant with the rank of major after his resignation from the United States Marine Corps. *The Confederate Navy Register, 1864* states that he was born in New York but upon entering the Confederate States Marines he listed Virginia as his home state, his wife being a Virginian. His early years as a United States Marine were spent aboard ships in the Mediterranean where they were engaged in prohibiting unlawful slave trade. As a first lieutenant, he spent the summer of 1857 at West Point gaining a knowledge of artillery in order that he might instruct it to new officers during their basic training.²² On 17 October 1859, First Lieutenant Greene took command of 86 Marines and two 3-inch howitzers. In mid-afternoon, the Marines embarked aboard a Baltimore and Ohio train for

Harper's Ferry, Virginia. The following morning Greene received instructions for a storming party against John Brown's position from Colonel Robert E. Lee, United States Army, sent by the War Department. Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart,²³ who had volunteered to deliver the Secretary of War's instructions to Lee, signaled the assault and instantly Greene led the charge. Armed only with a dress sword, Greene jumped through an opening into the firehouse. The first enlisted man to scramble in, Private Luke Quinn, fell mortally wounded. In three minutes, Brown was wounded and taken prisoner. Lee's official report stated, ". . . I must also ask to express . . . my entire commendation of the conduct of the detachment of Marines, who were at all times ready and prompt in the execution of any duty."²⁴ Brown's slave uprising failed to take place yet this act of rebellion would hasten "the inevitable conflict." Prior to joining the Confederate Marine Corps as a captain, he declined an appointment to colonel in both the Virginia and Wisconsin volunteers. As Adjutant with the rank of major, he served throughout the war at the Richmond Headquarters until he surrendered to federal forces and was paroled at Farmville, Virginia, in April 1865.²⁵

Algernon S. Taylor was born in Virginia and became a second lieutenant in the Fifth Infantry on 1 August 1838, and in February the following year, transferred to the

PLATE III



Israel Greene - Adjutant with the rank of Major, CSMC. Courtesy of the National Archives.

United States Marine Corps. He served in the Mexican War as a first lieutenant in the capacity of Battalion Adjutant. On 27 March 1847, he was advanced to brevet captain for "gallantry and meritorious conduct" during the bombardment and capture of Vera Cruz and capture of Tuspan, Mexico. He served on board a number of United States ships, including the U.S.S. *Constitution* and the U.S.S. *Congress*. In February 1852, in the inner harbor of Buenos Aires, Argentina, Captain Taylor and a small detachment of Marines skirmished with pillagers, killing four while protecting the American consulate. Captain Taylor was commanding Fort Washington, Maryland, on 16 January 1861, when he wrote Colonel-Commandant John Harris regarding the "defenses and pregnable condition" of the fort; Taylor stated that he did "not wish to be placed in a position to detract from the high character of my corps" and requested reinforcements. By 26 April 1861, Taylor had submitted his resignation and, as so many others, was dismissed by Presidential action on 6 May 1861. He joined the provisional Army of Virginia, receiving an appointment as Colonel of Infantry. He established an induction center and school of instruction at Culpeper Court House, Virginia. Following the amalgamation of the Army of Virginia with the Confederate forces, Taylor became the Quartermaster with the rank of major in the new corps and served until paroled in Richmond, Virginia, on 26 April 1865.²⁶

John D. Simms of Virginia joined the United States Marines in 1841. While a member of Captain George H. Terrett's company, he won a brevet for gallantry at Chapultepec, Mexico. He also stormed the Barrier Forts at Canton, China, 16–22 November 1856 in the face of great odds. Commodore A. H. Foote, United States Navy, reported to Commodore James Armstrong on 26 November 1856, that "the Marines being in advance opened fire upon the fugitives with deadly effect, killing some forty or fifty." Simms was commended for his actions as senior Marine officer by Commodore Armstrong. Simms resigned to become the senior company commander in the Confederate Marine Corps. He fought around Richmond and Charleston, and was captured at Saylor's Creek, Virginia on 6 April 1865. Captain Simms was not released from Johnson's Island in Lake Erie until late July the same year.²⁷

John R. F. Tattnall enlisted in the United States Marine Corps on 16 March 1833, and was promoted to corporal the same year. He reenlisted as a sergeant and was discharged 11 November 1840, in order to accept an appointment as a second lieutenant. In 1843, for charges not disclosed in the records, he was tried by a General Court Martial, suspended for three years on half pay and reprimanded. By January, 1847 Lieutenant Tattnall was back in good graces. He was part of a force of Marines landed by Commodore Robert F. Stockton near San Diego, California, from the U.S.S. *Constitution* and U.S.S. *Congress*, who fought a pitched battle on 17 and 18 November against southern Californians of Spanish descent. For "gallant meritorious conduct" in the defense of the town of Guaymas, Mexico, while in command of a party of Marines, he was promoted to brevet captain. He continued to serve on board ship and at Marine barracks until he submitted his resignation from South America and was imprisoned upon his return to the United States.²⁸ Later, as Captain Tattnall explained his resignation as a Confederate Army Colonel and acting brigade commander to accept a position in the Confederate States Marine Corps, he declared he "would rather command a company of Marines than a brigade of volunteers,"²⁹—a sentiment voiced by many a Marine since.

Additional officers were procured from the Confederate States Army and from civilian life. Captain Ruben T. Thom, born in Virginia but appointed from Alabama had served as a second lieutenant in the Thirteenth Infantry from August 1847 to July 1848. Before his appointment on 25 March 1861, Thom had been Quartermaster General for the State of Alabama and an artillery officer in the state militia forces. His initial Marine Corps duty was at the Pensacola Navy Yard and near New Orleans. During the battle of Hampton Roads, Virginia, he commanded the Marine detachment on board the C.S.S. *Virginia (Merrimac)*. Following this assignment, Thom was ordered to Drewry's Bluff and later to duty on the Mobile Station. He was captured and imprisoned in August 1864.³⁰

Captain Alfred C. Van Benthuisen assisted in the defense of Pensacola and later at Fort Fisher, where he was seriously wounded. Before the war, Van Benthuisen had been a mercenary in the employ of Giuseppe Garibaldi during the Italian Civil War. This officer was hot tempered, bickering with the five captains senior to him over their relative ranks in the "old Corps" and the new. Prone to drinking and dueling, he was twice court-martialed for conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman in the Marine Corps. Only his combat record and the Secretary of the Navy kept him from being dismissed. His rank and command were reinstated prior to the end of the war by President Jefferson Davis.³¹

First Lieutenant Beckett K. Howell resigned from the United States Marine Corps on 1 March 1861, joining the Confederate States Marine Corps on 29 March 1861. The brother-in-law of Jefferson Davis, he came from a distinguished family of old Louisiana. He served on the cruiser U.S.S. *Sumter* and the C.S.S. *Alabama*. Lieutenant Howell was wounded in the *Alabama's* engagement with the cruiser U.S.S. *Kearsage*. After being dramatically rescued by the English, Howell returned to the South, but too late to be of additional service.³²

PLATE IV



*Beckett K. Howell - First Lieutenant CSMC.
Courtesy of the National Archives.*

Richard H. Henderson of the District of Columbia was the son of the late Brevet Brigadier General Archibald Henderson, the fifth Commandant of the United States Marine Corps from 1820 to 1859. Marine Corps lore tells that upon his death, General Henderson had been in office so long that he bequeathed the Commandant's house to his son. There was great speculation among officers, one can be certain, as to the course Henderson would have followed had he lived, for he, as Lee, was a Virginian. The question, of course, was unanswerable, but his son Richard was appointed a first lieutenant in the Confederate Marine Corps on 16 April 1861. During the war, he served with the Army of Pensacola and at the Richmond Station. Lieutenant Henderson participated in the naval battle at Hampton Roads, Virginia in 1862. He also served at Charleston and Drewry's Bluff. In the latter part of the war, he served on board the steamers C.S.S. *Raleigh* and U.S.S. *Arctic*. The end of hostilities found him reassigned to Richmond. His brother Charles A. Henderson, a Mexican war veteran, remained in the United States Marine Corps until dismissed 22 July 1863, to accept a Confederate Army commission.³³

Henry Lea Graves of Georgia received his commission on 24 October 1862, following a year in the Second Georgia Battalion of Infantry as a private soldier. Graves was a student at Emory College when the winds of war swept through Newton County. In April 1861, the Emory students, including Graves, organized the Young Guards. Less than a month later, Graves left college and the Young Guards for the Second Georgia Battalion. Lieutenant Graves passed his examinations for a marine commission and reported to Drewry's Bluff. In January 1863, he was transferred to Savannah, Georgia, for duty with

PLATE V



*Henry Lea Graves - First Lieutenant, CSMC.
Courtesy of The Emory Alumnus.*

the Naval Station. He made a number of recruiting trips inland to fill the under-strength company at Savannah. Henry Graves fought in the defense of Savannah and Charleston with General Lafayette McLaws' troops. He also fought in the battle of Saylor's Creek and was paroled on 28 April 1865, at Greensboro, North Carolina.³⁴

Henry Melvil Doak of Tennessee was a virile and versatile young officer who fought the entire war. A descendent of the Reverend Samuel Doak, pioneer preacher and teacher in Tennessee, he was quick to join the fight, enlisting in the Knoxville (Tennessee) Guards on 9 April 1861. Well versed in infantry and light artillery drill, he was soon drilling raw recruits—officers and men. Five months later, Doak got his baptism of fire at Barboursville, Kentucky, where he was acting regimental adjutant for the Nineteenth Tennessee Infantry. Later, on the second day of fighting at Shiloh, he was wounded in the left hand. Sergeant Major Doak was recommended for a commission by D. H. Cummings, the Colonel-Commanding of the Nineteenth Tennessee. He described Doak as having “faithful and meritorious conduct as an officer and gentleman,” and he had distinguished himself by personal courage and recommended that he be promoted to a lieutenant in the Confederate Army. Doak was discharged on 7 July 1862, and was commissioned a Confederate States marine second lieutenant on 12 November 1862. He served in three naval engagements and one land attack against Charleston, South Carolina. His sea duty included duty onboard the ironclad sloop *Raleigh*, where he commanded the broadside guns, and the steamers U.S.S. *Arctic* and U.S.S. *Tallahassee* (renamed U.S.S. *Olustee*). Lieutenant Doak commanded a heavy battery at Fort Fisher,

PLATE VI



Henry Melvil Doak - Second Lieutenant, CSMC. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

North Carolina, in January, 1865, where he was wounded and captured. After being exchanged, he was paroled at Appomattox Court House. After the war, Doak edited several newspapers, including the Memphis, Tennessee, *Avalanche*. He died in Nashville in the autumn of 1928, most probably the last surviving officer of the Confederate Marine Corps.³⁵

John L. Rapier was born at Spring Hill, Mobile County, Alabama, but was appointed to the Marine Corps on 11 July 1863, from Louisiana after having served in the elite *Chasseurs a Pied*.³⁶ He was a company officer at Drewry's Bluff until transferred to Mobile, Alabama in 1864. Lieutenant Rapier was captured at the surrender of Fort Gaines, Alabama, on 8 August 1864, following a fierce engagement with Rear Admiral David Glasgow Farragut's fleet.³⁷

Edward Crenshaw was a well-educated and cultured gentleman from a distinguished old Virginia family. He was born in Butler County, Alabama, in 1842. When the war started he was only 19 years old and a student at the University of Alabama. He was commanding Company B, Fifty-eight Alabama Infantry during the battle of Chickamauga, when he was seriously wounded in the face. Upon his return to duty, he entered the Marine Corps as a lieutenant in July 1864. Attached to Captain Simms' Marine battalion at Drewry's Bluff, he moved with part of that force to Wilmington, North Carolina, where the Marines reported to Flag Officer William F. Lynch. The Marines were to be part of a raiding force to release Confederate prisoners at Point Look-Out, Maryland. When the

PLATE VII



*John Lawrence Rapier - Second Lieutenant, CSMC.
Courtesy of Mrs. Regina Marston, Mobile, Alabama.*

remainder of the Marines returned to Richmond, Crenshaw was assigned to the C.S.S. steamer *Tallabasse*. During the next year, this ship with her Marine detachment would hound Union shipping in the Atlantic from Florida to Halifax, Nova Scotia. During September 1864, Crenshaw was transferred to Drewry's Bluff. He was attached to Raphael Semmes' naval brigade during the retreat south and was paroled at Greensboro, North Carolina on 1 May 1865.³⁸

Two United States Marines stationed at the Navy Yard, Gosport, Virginia, Captain Jabez C. Rich of Maine and First Lieutenant Adam N. Baker of Pennsylvania left their posts on 20 May 1861 to join the Confederacy. They had previously offered their services to Governor John Letcher of Virginia, and Lieutenant Baker was authorized to recruit for the newly established Marine Corps of the Navy of Virginia³⁹ on 22 April 1861. Baker deserted the Confederate States Marine Corps on 13 November 1861, and was listed as "Dropped," along with Rich on 10 October 1862.⁴⁰

Captain W. George P. Turner, a Virginian, was also an officer in the United States Marine Corps. Among the first to join the Marine Corps of the Navy of Virginia, he was granted a commission as a second lieutenant ranking from 22 April 1861. It should be noted that he was not dismissed from the federal Marine Corps until 25 June 1861. Later, he became a first lieutenant in the Marine Corps of the Confederate States in July. After reaching the rank of captain, he was dismissed on 11 December 1862, and saw service in

PLATE VIII



*Edward Crenshaw - Second Lieutenant, CSMC.
Photographed by Tressler from a daguerreotype.
Courtesy of the Alabama Department of Archives and
History.*

PLATE IX



W. George P. Turner - Captain, CSMC. Courtesy of Mr. Ralph W. Donnelly, Alexandria, Virginia. Original daguerreotype in possession Mrs. Jane Keller Caldwell, Louisville, Kentucky.

the Army at Williamsburg, Virginia, under the command of General John B. Magruder. Captain Turner was captured and paroled at Decatur, Alabama on 13 May 1865.⁴¹

Ruffin Thomson of Hinds County, Mississippi, was a student at the University of North Carolina when he joined the Confederate Army as a private in 1861. In June, while at Manassas Junction, Virginia, he was sent to Orange Court House to recover from the measles. A discharge for bad health followed, and through the Chickahominy, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg campaigns, he transported supplies for his old regiment, the Eighteenth Mississippi. In December 1863, he was ordered to appear for examination for a commission in the Marine Corps. He was nominated to President Davis by Secretary Mallory. Mallory advised the Committee on Naval Affairs of the Senate that Thomson had served as a private in the Army since the war started and had participated in most of the engagements undertaken by the Army of Northern Virginia. Letters from Thomson to his father give insight into the strict procedure followed in the selection of Marine officers.

... Secretary Mallory, who ordered me to report to Col. Bell [Beall] commandant of marines in this city. I appear before the Board on tomorrow morning. The Colonel told me the examination would be mainly on a common English education—reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic. He seemed to lay some stress upon the proper representation of the corps in society.⁴²

PLATE X



Ruffin Thomson - Second Lieutenant, CSMC. Courtesy of the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

Five days later he wrote his father again stating that he had been recommended by the board, and the appointment need only be ratified by the Senate. The Board also questioned him on his mathematics and geography as well as his understanding of the governments of England, France, and Russia, and the Crimean War. Some of this examination was written including a statement of war service since the hostilities commenced.⁴³ He served in the Marine Corps at duty stations in Virginia and Georgia. Thomson practiced medicine after the war and in 1888 went to Fort Simcoe, Washington Territory as a clerk to the Yakam Indian Agency.⁴⁴

There was a critical shortage of second lieutenants during the organizational period, and several were obtained from the Confederate States Army. One unique case was that of Second Lieutenant Issac Smith Hyams, Confederate States Regular Army, the son of a former lieutenant governor of Louisiana. As a former cadet of West Point who joined the Confederacy when he reached his majority, he was commissioned and assigned temporary duty with the Marine Corps during the early months of the war.⁴⁵

Second Lieutenant E. C. Stockton of Florida served for a short time as company officer at Pensacola, but, because of a reputation that preceded him, the Senate rejected his appointment on 30 September 1861. It is believed that he had also served in the South Carolina Navy in command of the steam tug *Lady Davis* during April and May, 1861.⁴⁶

An interesting case is that of W. B. Wyman, who was appointed as the Acting Marine Officer by Commander John N. Maffitt, commanding officer of the C.S.S. *Florida*, on authority of Secretary Mallory. Commander Maffitt said Wyman was, "a correct gentleman and good soldier having served in the army under Gen'l [Sterling] Price as a captain of volunteers." The *Florida* did not rate a marine guard, and Mr. Wyman's request for a second lieutenant's commission was denied, and his appointment revoked after several months service.⁴⁷ Admiral Franklin Buchanan, who endorsed Wyman's request, also failed to obtain an appointment for his nephew Daniel Lloyd.⁴⁸

The Marine Corps seemed to demand professionalism and was very selective in the procurement of its officers. *The Regulations for the Navy of the Confederate States* stated that its officers should have ". . . moral character, attainments, and general fitness for service, and he will only be deemed eligible for a commission upon the favorable report of the board."⁴⁹ This was the procedure used in nearly every case and certainly was an improvement over the system of officer election used by state units. One new second lieutenant whose only service had been in a volunteer regiment wrote home shortly after reporting for duty at Drewry's Bluff:

Everything is so different from the Vol. Army to which I have been accustomed. Here all the formalities & Etiquette of the Regular Service are rigidly enforced. I have been so used to treating men as my equals that I find it rather novel to treat them otherwise. However that will all wear off in course of time & the government of men will come natural. All the officers here are very obliging in giving any instructions we juniors may wish. There are only five here [not counting the appointees] and they are old U.S. Marine Corps Officers & Each has served from 15 to 30 years. They are old [hands] though with one exception still young men—have sailed over the greater part of the world—and wedded to their manner of life.⁵⁰

These officers unquestionably brought the famous United States Marine Corps *esprit de corps* south with them and were most influential in the organization and employment of the Confederate States Marine Corps.

CHAPTER III

ASSEMBLY

With most of the officers appointed, the Confederate Navy Department was faced with the more difficult task of recruiting enlisted men for the Marine Corps. An orderly system of recruiting was begun in late March 1861, in Montgomery. By April offices were established in New Orleans and Mobile.¹ Based on Lieutenant Howell's experience on board the *Alabama*, to be discussed later, it was most probable that efforts at "secret recruiting" were also made in attempts to induce United States Marines to join the Confederate service. This effort failed for the enlisted United States Marines, for with very few exceptions, they remained loyal to the Union; few federal Marines requested discharge or deserted for the purpose of aiding the southern cause.²

Initially, the Confederate Marine Corps benefited from the surge of patriotism popular at the time, and recruiting was no problem. In mid-July 1861, Secretary Mallory reported to Congress that the marine recruiting was progressing satisfactorily.³ Before the end of the year, an additional recruiting office was opened in Memphis, Tennessee, by Captain Andrew J. Hays of Alabama.

From a "sea soldier's" point of view, Memphis was ideally suited for the enlistment of Confederate Marines. Memphis furnished a considerable number of soldiers out of its population of 22,500 for the war. When the first call for volunteers was sounded, nearly 4,000 Memphians responded. Squire Preston Young, an authority on Memphis history, has estimated that more than 25 percent of the entire white population flocked to the colors. The Navy Department was quick to move recruiters into Memphis when, on 6 May 1861, Tennessee seceded and Governor Isham G. Harris was raising recruits of infantry and artillery, armed and equipped for field service. Even before the war, 37 military companies were organized. These consisted of the eminent Bluff City Grays, Pillow's Flying Artillery, Raleigh Volunteers, and the Memphis Marine Guard. The *Memphis Daily Appeal* reported that prior to secession, the Marine Guard had been expanded into a battalion of 220 men. Their mission included engaging hostile boats on the Mississippi River from a steam tug, mounted with artillery and manned by Marine Guards.⁴ Between August and 27 November 1862, when the Company "D" was transferred to Pensacola, Florida, 31 men were recruited.⁵

Recruiting was not progressing as well elsewhere. In a report to Congress on 27 February 1862, Secretary Mallory stated that the difficulty in filling the Marine quota was due to the following:

Under the existing laws prescribing the terms of service for Marines, enlistments can be made for only four years. This has retarded enlistments and I recommend that authority be given to enlist Marines for three years or for the war, and that the bounty of \$50 for enlistment in the Army or the Navy be extended to this Corps.⁶

Congress was quick to heed his advice and on 10 April 1862, President Davis signed into law, *An Act to Encourage Enlistment in the Corps of Marines*. Under this legislation, every able-bodied man who enlisted and was sworn into the Marine Corps for either a period of three years or the duration of the war was entitled to 50 dollars. Those who induced a friend to enlist did not apparently receive the two dollar bonus that was common in the regular army.⁷

Six days later, on 16 April 1862, Congress passed the Conscription Act to aid recruiting for the Army. Because of the pressing need for recruits in the Provisional Army, the President was granted the power to draft into the Army all white men between 18 and 35 years old. The Act allowed drafted civilian seamen to transfer to the Navy, but made no provision for the procurement of Marine Corps personnel.⁸

The Conscription Act almost dried up Corps enlistments, and Secretary Mallory was forced to request congressional assistance again on 16 August 1862. His report insisted that if legislation hindering recruiting was removed, the Marine Corps, based on the professionalism and skill of its officers, could be one of the most disciplined and efficient regiments on the active list.⁹ The Colonel-Commandant in a report to Mallory pointed out the following:

Since the passage of the Conscription Act great difficulty has been experienced in obtaining recruits for the Marine Corps. This difficulty would be in a measure obviated if the . . . persons subject to enrollment who are not now in the service under the provisions of the act shall be permitted, previous to enrollment, to volunteer in the companies now in service, or to enlist in the Navy or Marine Corps . . .¹⁰

In October, legislation passed by the Congress allowed soldiers conscripted into the Army to choose the Marine Corps or the Navy as their branch of service or even to transfer after enrollment.

All recruiting stations continued to have trouble with the question of bounty. Secretary Mallory, on Colonel Beall's request, asked the Attorney-General, Thomas H. Watts, to render a decision on the bounty due those Marines who entered the Marine Corps after being drafted into the Army. Were soldiers transferred to the Marine Corps eligible for the fifty dollar bounty being paid volunteer recruits? Watts cited the 10 April 1862, act encouraging enlistment and held that Marines enlisting voluntarily for either the duration or a three-year term were entitled to the bonus, while those drafted and ordered to serve with the Marine Corps were not.¹¹

The foremost problem was the pay that privates in the Marine Corps received. Secretary Mallory requested funds totaling \$11,512 for pay of the Marine Corps for the year ending 4 February 1862. At this time, pay of seamen in the Navy was fixed at 18 dollars per month, putting the Marine, who generally served under the same conditions, at a considerable handicap with his 11 dollars. The pay scale, although reviewed and increased, could never keep up with the rising inflation and high cost of living.

The following monthly pay rate was in effect on 1 January 1864:

Colonel-Commandant	\$195.00
Lieutenant Colonel	170.00
Major	150.00
Paymaster	162.00
Quartermaster	162.00
Adjutant	162.00
Captain	130.00
First Lieutenant	90.00
Second Lieutenant	80.00
Sergeant-Major	21.00
Quartermaster Sergeant	21.00
Orderly Sergeant	24.00
Sergeant	21.00
Corporal	17.00
Drummer and Fifer, each	16.00
Marine	15.00 ¹²

In addition, all Confederate States Marine officers were to receive a nine dollar longevity increase every three years. All field grade and staff officers were allowed forage for three horses, amounting to 24 dollars per month.

By 1864, a private's pay had risen to 15 dollars per month, the rate originally set for a private of infantry in 1861. This, as one might expect, was cause for much complaint. Yet during most of this time, Colonel Beall had remained quiet and content to work with his lot. However, when the pay for army privates was raised to 18 dollars, he sought Secretary Mallory's help. His report of 30 April 1864, to the Secretary of the Navy pointed out:

The organization of the Corps is that of a regiment of infantry to which in pay and allowances it should be assimilated; and as the monthly pay of its non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates is now three dollars less than that of the same grades in the infantry, an increase to this extent is recommended.¹³

However, the request was overlooked and the Colonel-Commandant recommended again in October 1864, that Secretary Mallory approach the Congress.

The monthly pay of the non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates of the Marine Corps being three dollars less than that of the infantry of the Army, I beg leave to recommend that Congress may be asked to increase the pay of Marines to that allowed to infantry.¹⁴

This situation contributed greatly to the Marine Corps' recruiting problems and to a degree ensured that the Marine Corps would never reach the authorized strength of 840 privates set by law. It was not until 13 December 1864, that the House of Representatives passed House Bill Number 274 on the recommendation of the Naval Committee:

The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact that from and after the passage of this act, the pay of the noncommissioned officers, musicians, and privates of the marine corps shall be the same as that received by similar grades in the infantry.¹⁵

After the fall of Memphis and New Orleans, the main recruiting efforts shifted from the Mississippi Valley to Mobile, Richmond, and Greensboro. By the winter of 1863-1864, it was apparent that the Marine Corps could not hold its own against the Yankees. Most people in government called for slaves to be used as a source of manpower.

Second Lieutenant Edward Crenshaw indicated in his diary on 7 November 1864, that there was talk of the government purchasing 40,000 slaves to be used by the military. They were to be promised their freedom and even used as soldiers. As a reward for faithful service, the Richmond government was to intercede with the states in order that the blacks might reside within their boundaries after the war.¹⁶

An act, on 13 March 1865, authorized President Davis to accept slaves from various states for military service. They were to receive the same pay and rations as white troops.¹⁷ Although there is some evidence that criminals were sentenced to serve, there is no information that shows that blacks were enlisted in the Marine Corps.

Some Southern blacks in limited numbers volunteered to assist the Southern war effort. While the Ordnance and Hydrography Bureau of the Navy Department employed the largest number of blacks, the Marine Corps benefited indirectly by this employment. The Rocketts Navy Yard employed several free blacks as blacksmiths and at least one shoemaker to do necessary repair work. Several installations employed blacks as cooks and laborers. The Richmond *Examiner* advertised on 27 January 1863, for two slave "lightermen" to be deckhands on a large flat cargo vessel which operated on the James River between Drewry's Bluff and Richmond.¹⁸ Many times during the war, blacks were impressed to labor on fortifications at Drewry's Bluff and to assist in planting obstructions in the James River to provide defense in depth. As Union forces pressed on Richmond, additional blacks, slave and free, moved dirt and cleared fields of fire to improve the Confederate defenses at Drewry's Bluff.¹⁹ For the blacks, it must have seemed a never ending job where engineer officers could demand hard work and rigid discipline.

Just because they were away from home, though, blacks continued their forced service. Like many other Confederate officers, First Lieutenant Henry Graves carried his black servant Lawrence to war with him. Lawrence, who followed his master from the plantation to Savannah, Georgia, also accompanied him into the trenches defending the city. Lieutenant Graves wrote:

Of Lawrence and his conduct, I cannot speak too highly. He is a brave boy and is very faithful; was with me in the trenches and exposed along with me constantly to a hot, sometime a terrific, fire for the enemy's batteries and sharpshooters and his indifference to danger and [his] coolness often put to the blush some of the reserve troops who were around us. I got a rifle for him and he shot many times at the Yankees, who were at times not over 700 yards from us. I was really quite proud of him.²⁰

Over a cup of coffee and some "hog killings" a few days later, Lawrence voiced his elation to Masters Mate Dutton Graves, Henry's brother, at having shot at the Yankees and was of the opinion that he had hit at least one. Lawrence remained with Graves on the retreat from Charleston with his company of Marines to Fayetteville, North Carolina. In late March, 1865, Lawrence was still doing well and, as was the custom, sent his love to his family in one of Henry's letters.²¹

Despite the additional bodies sometimes afforded to individual officers, recruiting remained a major problem for the Confederate States Marine Corps. In the last strength report submitted to Secretary Mallory on 30 October 1864, aggregate strength of the Marine Corps was 539. Of this number, five officers and 62 enlisted Marines were prisoners of war. Colonel Beall also noted that this figure did not include 32 recruits at the Charleston Naval Station that had just arrived from a conscript camp near Raleigh, North Carolina.²²

Conscriptions were used from time to time to fill the ranks. Lieutenant Graves, shortly after reporting to Savannah, Georgia, for sea duty, set out to enlist 35 or 40 conscripts for his guard. From February to July 1863, he recruited 13 Marines near Decatur, Georgia. His commanding officer, Captain Tattall had obtained authority from the Secretary of War.²³

The profile of the average Marine, either conscript or volunteer, was basically the same. He was between 18 and 30 years old and possessed little education by today's standards. His recruit training was superficial, consisting of little more than drill and marksmanship. A study of the muster and pay rolls reflect a high degree of illiteracy. Only one in 20, including non-commissioned officers, was able to write his name. Most made his mark "X" and the mustering officer or paymaster signed his name for him. It is also apparent that the paymaster sometimes paid the men and completed his paperwork at his leisure.

A large number of Irish composed the enlisted ranks of the Corps. Their desire for a fight, food, and bounty brought them into the service. Ella Lonn's study, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, contends that the bulk of foreigners in the Confederate service appear to have been chiefly Irish and German, but, she concluded, that they were for the most part manual laborers rather than fighters.²⁴ This clearly was not the case in the Marine Corps.

Ruffin Thomson while still in the infantry spent the night of 10 March 1862, near Richmond. He told his "Pa"

. . . there being no hotel there, I had to pass the night in a car surrounded by a company of marines just ordered from Pensacola. They spoke the "rich Irish Brogue." My pocket was not picked. All that have been victims of Richmond rascality agree they would rather risk their pocket-books in their [the Irish marines] hands than with a Richmond hotel keeper.²⁵

Marine Lieutenant Doak stated that "life at Drewry's Bluff was uneventful—chiefly taken up with drilling my Irishmen . . ." After he was wounded at Fort Fisher, he credited "two of my watchful Irishmen" with carrying him through heavy rifle fire to a bombproof shelter.²⁶

All Marines were not heroes or Irish; however, Admiral Semmes, while commanding the *Sumter*, court-martialed a Marine of the ship's guard for sleeping while guarding prisoners. An entry by Semmes in his journal stated that "the Marines, being most foreigners—Germans—are the most difficult set of men I have on the ship. It is difficult to lick them into shape."²⁷

Another group under Marine command resulted from the 1864 enrollment and conscription laws. Mechanics were obtained from the Army and conscript camps to be used by the Navy Department. Part of their monthly pay came from the Army and the remainder from the Navy. These artisans were organized into a military unit supervised by the Marine Corps. There was a perpetual struggle with the War Department to retain these desperately needed craftsmen, who, not desiring service in a line regiment, made no effort to improve their service to the South. Mallory complained on at least one occasion of this situation:

The mechanics and other operatives under this department at Richmond are organized, armed and equipped as a military force: and the repeated demonstrations of the enemy upon the city calling them to the field, have, in all cases, seriously retarded, and in some instances entirely suspended, the progress of important works under its direction. Many of the most skilled are Europeans, who feeling but little interest in our struggle, are unwilling to encounter the perils or privations of war, and desertions among them are frequent. The enemy, it is understood, holds out tempting inducements to this class of our citizens to leave us, and the limited number of experienced artisans in the Confederacy is daily decreasing. It will be found very difficult to supply the places of these mechanics; but as the demand for skilled labour is urgently felt throughout the Confederacy, in public and private establishments, the subject demands consideration.²⁸

As the war wore on, the initial intense patriotism and craving for adventure disappeared; battle casualties mounted; sickness became commonplace; the severe hardships of field service took their toll on the Marine in the ranks. Many endured these miseries and fought with courage and devotion, while others deserted. Officers and men were

deprived of pay for being absent without leave; deserters that were convicted could be executed or imprisoned. But these actions had little effect and each bad turn of the war influenced others to desert. The regulations promulgated by the Quartermaster General's Department of 19 September 1861, dealing with deserters authorized a 30 dollar reward for their apprehension and were applicable to the Marine Corps.²⁹

Admiral Franklin Buchanan, while commanding at Mobile, had occasion several times to complain of desertions. On 2 February 1863, he ordered the sentence in the court martial of Marine Private Patrick Gerlan carried out and in a letter to Secretary Mallory stated:

. . . as there are no public works upon which he can be employed he was directed to clean arms in the yard. . . . Gerlan is an old offender and a mutinous bad character, it is important that an example should be made of him to secure the efficiency and discipline of the marines. I request his trial again by Court Martial, and also the trial of Private Chas. Pitman.³⁰

Later in May, Buchanan advised Commander John K. Mitchell, Chief of Bureau of Orders and Detail:

. . . Private Marine John Burke . . . deserted from the city guard house It is impossible to carry out fully the sentence of Pvt. Gerlan and Joseph Miller who were sentenced to work on public works with ball and chain, as there are no public works upon which they can be employed consequently their punishment is very slight for the offences they have committed.³¹

The Admiral once even wanted one Marine transferred to Richmond and treated as a Yankee prisoner of war as he felt the Marine could not be trusted in the service.

Yet, of the 106 men stationed at Camp Beall near Richmond, the muster roll for August, 1864 carried only two Marines as deserters.³² Many returned to their units after a "spell" at home and faced their punishments. Those gone a short time were required to "wear a band shirt marked 'deserter' for two hours daily for 30 days and forfeit liberty for three months."³³

Other Marines simply joined other units. This was so prevalent in late 1861 that Major General Bragg published an order declaring "no enlisted man of the C.S. *Marine Corps* or the Regiment of Louisiana Infantry, will be recruited, in any new volunteer Regiment now forming." The bounty seems to have been the motivating force behind these desertions.³⁴

In the spring of 1863, Lieutenant Doak was ordered to Charleston to apprehend deserters. He found a number in, of all places, Fort Sumter. Colonel Alfred Rhett, Confederate States Army, the garrison commander, refused Doak's request to inspect the garrison. The Marines, who had enlisted under other names, were not discovered in an inspection of the muster roll, although Doak recognized several. Later, Doak was able to

prove to Rhett that these men were Marines, but Colonel Rhett appealed to Richmond proclaiming that they were serving in a fort from which there was no escape and "they were the best men he had."³⁵

By the close of the war, as was the case with other regiments, the problem was serious. Lieutenant Crenshaw walked a sentry post at Danville on the night of 4 April 1865, around railroad cars. He notes in his diary that, "All the officers were required to stand guard duty around the cars to keep our men together." His sergeant had deserted the previous day.³⁶

To keep this problem in perspective, it is important to note that most of the muster rolls reflect that discipline was "Excellent" or "Good." In November, 1863, the Colonel-Commandant reported to the Department, "The officers and men of the Corps are well-instructed and an excellent state of discipline is maintained. . . ."³⁷ Mallory in late 1864 stated, "Since my last report the marines have displayed their accustomed discipline and gallantry under fire. . . ."³⁸ This was the tenor of all official reports of the Navy Department to Congress. A close study of the problem suggests, that for its size, the Marine Corps had no greater desertion rate than other infantry units and less than most.

It is impossible to ascertain exactly how many Marines enlisted during the war. From the muster rolls and lists of returnees which survived, it appears that there were no more than 600 enlisted Marines serving at any one time and about 1,200, including some who joined for the bounty and immediately deserted, were on roll during the entire period of its existence. Added to these were the 59 officers who received regular Marine Corps appointments or were attached for temporary duty. This total is much less than the authorized strength approved by the Navy Department and Congress.

CHAPTER IV

INSPECTION

“A well dressed soldier has more respect for himself. He also appears more redoubtable to the enemy and dominates him; for a good appearance is itself a force,”— Joseph Joubert.¹ Indeed, as the uniform reflects the man and the regiment, it is no small part of the history of the Confederate States Marine Corps. Little is actually known of the uniforms worn by these Marines. Some limited amounts of information still exist and a sketch of the uniforms and accoutrements, if not a complete picture, can be provided.

The Confederate Marine Corps wore its own distinctive uniform, although it was essentially the same as the Confederate Army dress uniform. *The Uniform and Dress of the Army of the Confederate States* as well as a pamphlet entitled *Uniform and Dress of the Navy of the Confederate States* survived the war and provides excellent detail as to uniform requirements. No published regulations of Marine uniforms have been discovered to date. There seems to have been considerable latitude in the uniforms worn, as was true in all branches of the Confederate service. A General Order from the Secretary of the Navy's office in 1863 stated:

Commanding officers of stations and squadrons, or of vessels acting separately, are authorized for the present to permit such departures from the uniform prescribed as circumstances may, in their judgement, render absolutely necessary; forwarding to this office a copy of such orders as they may issue on the subject.²

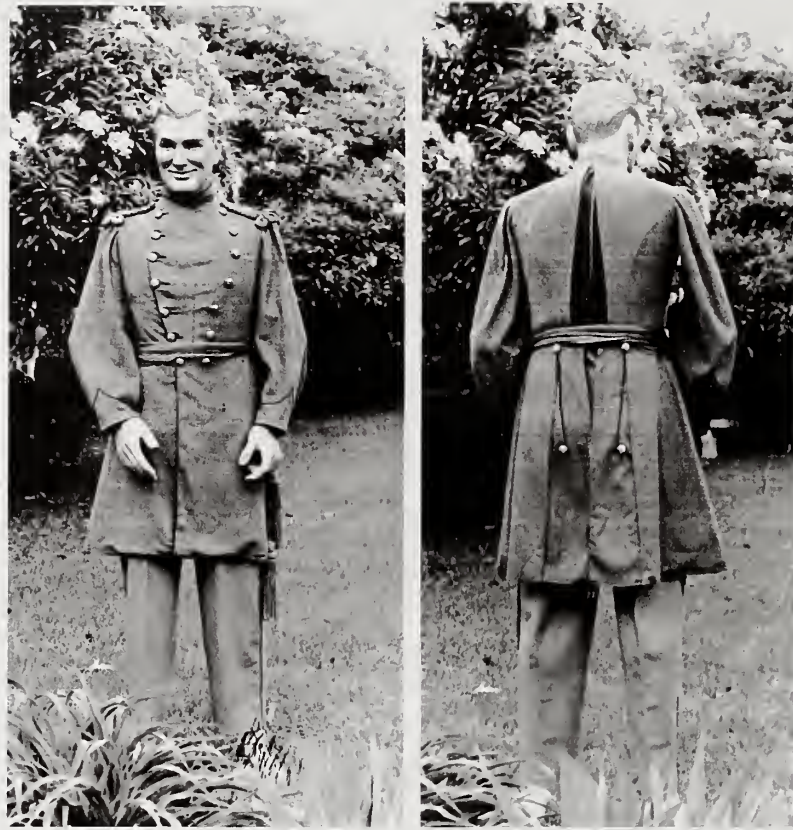
The letters of Henry Graves provide us with a good idea of what was worn after the fall of 1862. In addition to his letters, his uniform is now in the collection of the Atlanta Historical Society and may be seen in the Walter McElreath Memorial Hall. Photographs of the uniform are included in the plates in this study.³ This is the only known Confederate Marine uniform that survives today.

Lieutenant Graves' uniform consists of sky blue trousers, a double-breasted tunic of cadet gray with high collar and a double row of brass buttons. This uniform was worn while he served as commanding officer of the Marine Guard of the C.S.S. *Savannah*. Mrs. John B. Reeves of Brevard, North Carolina, has a photograph of him in his Marine uniform taken at Petersburg and a copy appears in the plates of this study.⁴

On 22 April 1863, Graves wrote his mother:

The coat you sent me the sample of I shall like very much, but am yet in doubt whether I want it made sack like my dress military. Just wait and I will write you when I am in need of it, and then how to make it. . . . I got me a coat and a pair of pants the other day, made of a sort of blue flannel, which is light and will do for the weather yet. The white vests made military – I should like very much.⁵

PLATE XI



*Confederate States Marine Corps Uniform of Henry Lea Graves.
Courtesy of the Archives of the Atlanta Historical Society.*

In November 1863, he again wrote his mother concerning uniforms:

I enclose today to Social Circle the butter bucket with the patterns for duty coat and pants and some buttons for my overcoat and I send 18— you can use them as you think best. If you have not already cut the overcoat, please cut them a little longer than pa's coat (that black sack-looking overcoat of the raglan style is the one I mean) but which I wish them cut exactly [like] in every other respect. I believe I told you about the cape; make it to meet in front, under the throat to be held up by buttons under the collar of the coat. Please make button and eyelet holes to the number of six at regular intervals down the front of the cape so that it can be buttoned up and worn at times by itself; I have buttons for the cape. If you can get it, I would like much to have enough of the cloth for a sack coat and a pair of pants. If you have the cloth to spare now and will send it in the same bundle I will get it cut and made here. If you haven't it on hand, we will wait until I get home if I succeed in that. There is something I do want very much now, and that is some sort of cloth to make me a vest. Have you

any remnants of black cloth or casimer or indeed anything that will make a vest? Or have I any winter vests at home? If not, please send me enough jeans, if you have it, for a vest Also send me a little bottle of hair grease⁶

In another letter he asked his sister to tell her father the following:

I will have to get a pair of shoes made here at once, and have no money for them. They will cost me 60 dollars. If he has 50 he can spare now and will send me I can make out to pay the other 10 and will be very much obliged to him. My pay of \$80 per month barely pays my mess bill and contributes almost nothing towards my clothing. Shoes, and inferior ones at that, are selling in town for 125 dollars; boots for 175 to 200. If the government doesn't raise my pay soon I can't imagine how I am to get along. I am almost persuaded to get married here and go and live with the girl's father.⁷

According to Graves there was continual open season on uniform caps. He had several stolen from the cap rack in the boarding house where he messed. "Common grey caps are worth 12 to 14 dollars here. I got one this morning, a simple glazed cap worth 30 cents and paid \$2.50 for it."⁸

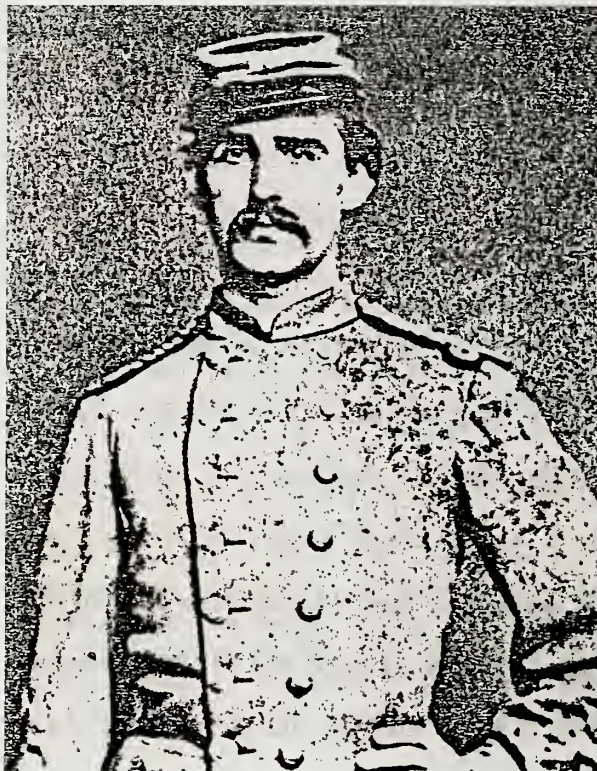
The buttons earlier referred to were not Confederate ones, but were by A.N. Hartsman & Allen for the "old corps," the United States Marine Corps. They bear a design showing an eagle and a fouled anchor surmounted by a semi-circle of thirteen stars.

The shoulder knots on the uniform in the Petersburg photograph appear to be United States Marine shoulder knots without any rank device. The 1859 *Uniform and Dress of the Marine Corps of the United States* called for the following:

All officers shall wear on each shoulder, and undress white linen coat, a shoulder knot of fine gold three sixteenths of an inch in diameter, the shoulder knot to consist of a twisted strap, and an end of a clover leaf shape: the clover leaf end to be lined with scarlet cloth, to show through the opening; the twisted strap to be also lined, only so as to show through the openings; there will be no cushion under the end which rests on the shoulder and the twisted strap extending from thence up to the coat collar; the knot fastened by a small Marine button, and tags at the collar; and at the shoulder two tags; tags to pass through the cloth of the coat and tie on the inside.⁹

In a newly discovered photograph, Lieutenant J. Campbell Murdoch¹⁰ of Maryland is shown prior to the end of the war. While this photograph does not show the length of the coat, it appears to be the same cut as Graves', extending almost to the knee. Both coats are double-breasted and have two rows of buttons, seven in each row, placed in pairs. The buttons were four inches apart at the top and three at the bottom. The coat has

PLATE XII



*J. Campbell Murdoch - Second Lieutenant, CSMC.
Courtesy of The Museum of the Confederacy.*

a stand up collar and three small buttons on the cuffs. In addition, there were four buttons on the back of Graves' coat in the skirt.

On the sleeves of the officers' coats, rank was distinguished by gold braid "extending around the seam of the cuff, and up the outside of the arm to the bend of the elbow."¹¹ The braid was army style and patterned after French *galons*. The collar also carried the rank of the officers. One horizontal bar was worn by second lieutenants, three by captains; Marine field grade officers wore one, two, or three stars.

In a head and shoulders photograph, Lieutenant Beckett K. Howell¹² is shown wearing a double-breasted, roll collared gray coat of navy pattern with Confederate Navy officer shoulder straps. Additional confusion is created by the fact that Howell was wearing Army rank insignia (bars) instead of the stars worn by southern naval officers, suggesting the rank of first lieutenant. Lieutenant Howell is also shown with a number of naval officers including Chief Engineer Miles J. Freeman and Lieutenant Robert T. Chapman on the C.S.S. *Sumter* off Gibraltar in July, 1862.¹³ He is wearing a knee-length, double-breasted, gray frock coat. The coat has a rolling collar and full skirts. Howell is wearing epaulets instead of shoulder knots. These epaulets resemble those described for the United States Marine regulations. The device within the crescent on the center of the

PLATE XIII



Aboard the C.S.S. Sumter, off Gibraltar, July, 1862. Chief Engineer Miles J. Freeman, CSN, Lieutenant Robert T. Chapman, CSN, Lieutenant Beckett K. Howell, CSMC. Courtesy of the National Archives.

strap is not sufficiently clear to describe it; federal Marines wore an infantry bugle with the letter "M" within the ring of the bugle.

Lieutenant Francis H. Cameron¹⁴ also appears to be wearing a double-breasted frock coat of the navy pattern. He, too, has an Army rank distinguishing device on both sleeves. In variance to naval regulations, the cuff of his undress coat shows three buttons instead of four. The cloth could be broadcloth or alpaca.

Ruffin Thomson wanted to have a uniform made to wear on leave and again asked his "Pa" for money:

I can get the cloth for a regulation suit at the Marine Q'Master's Department for \$33.45. Making said suit at a tailor's cost \$200.00; cap \$35.00, boots ad libitum, and everything in proportion; and I shall want all my shirts, drawers and socks, and if I can't get home you will have to send them to me by express. Tell Ma to fix me some nice clothing as soon as convenient. Hickory shirts, etc., will do in the field; but as I shall henceforth be thrown into civilized company, I must dress as becomes my associations. If you can get sufficient fine leather to make me a pair of nice

boots I would like it very much. [Officers wore ankle or Jefferson boots.] You can send the leather with my clothes and I will have them made. I have plenty of sole leather. I shall want two or three pairs of drawers, some shirts and collars and half dozen pair of socks, two pair of them woolen, the remainder cotton. And a pair of nice woolen gloves. I will apprise you immediately if I move. You need not write till I am somewhat located. I am messing with some boys at Miss. Depot [Richmond] and the cost is not much.¹⁵

Five days later, Thomson borrowed one hundred dollars from Doctor C. S. Marshall and purchased cloth from the quartermaster for his uniform.

Mrs. Regina Rapier Marston of Mobile, Alabama, has graciously given the author a copy of a picture of her father, John Lawrence Rapier, taken on 14 January 1864.¹⁶ This is the only known picture of an officer in a single-breasted coat. Rapier's second lieutenant bars are clearly visible on the standing collar. The fabric is probably grey flannel. The design on the brass buttons, while not distinct enough for positive identification, seems to be that of a Louisiana regiment.

Tennessean Henry Doak is pictured with Army rank on the sleeves of his tunic.¹⁷ The tunics of these officers in most cases are identical and provide some insight into the Marine officers' uniform. Doak is also wearing lieutenant's bars. It should be noted that

PLATE XIV



*Francis H. Cameron - First Lieutenant, CSMC.
Courtesy of the National Archives.*

while this is definitely Henry Doak, the uniform appears to have been added later, for the officers' coat did not open from the left. The negative is not reversed for the sword sling is properly on the left side. Doak, in his lone reference to his uniform noted "I was in full uniform—'unicorn'—the boys called it—with sash, sword, and pistols."¹⁸

Several kinds of buttons were used by Marine officers. The buttons shown in this study while not those prescribed in the regulations, are of a pattern often used by the Confederate Navy. These were probably made by Courtney and Tennent of Charleston, South Carolina. Several other navy buttons were made in Richmond and England. As these were all scarce, former infantrymen may have used state buttons or Confederate "I" infantry buttons. Henry Graves' buttons, described earlier, were United States Marine Corps buttons. The buttons on Murdoch's uniform are mixed and contain an unusual pattern in the left row. One known picture of John L. Rapier shows cloth-covered buttons.

An interesting discovery was reported in the *Military Collector & Historian* in 1956—a small plain bell button with the letter "M" on it. No prior record of such a button has been located, although it was manufactured by the English firm "H T & B Manchester" which supplied many Confederate buttons. Lieutenant Colonel H. W. Williams, Jr. offers the opinion that it may be a Confederate Marine Corps button. No further information to confirm or deny this has been reported.¹⁹

"Trowsers" for officers were made to spread over the foot and were light sky blue in color. A black stripe of cloth or piping was worn on the outer seam. Some officers on

PLATE XV



*Confederate States Navy buttons sometimes worn by Confederate Marines.
Author's Collection.*

sea duty are likely to have worn the steel gray trousers used by naval officers. White drill was also used in summer months. Graves' trousers fit this pattern, being tapered, without pleats, and spread well over the shoe. There are no cuffs on the bottom and it has side pockets as well as a watch pocket. There are civilian brass and bone buttons on the trousers arranged for suspenders. On the back of the trousers are two tabs with eyelets and a lace to adjust the waist.

Grey cloth uniform caps of the French kepi design were used. The cap Lieutenant Doak is holding is of a foreign type by its visor, but additional details are not visible. Lieutenant Murdoch's cap is of this style; the crown appears to be a different color, embroidered with gold braid, possibly indicating his rank as a lieutenant. There is no braid on the sides of the band of the cap as was used by the Army. Oil skin covers and havelocks were also used, depending on the weather.

The gloves worn were to be white. From Graves' letters, it is obvious that all types were used. Graves' sash also remains and is red silk net with bullion fringe ends, long enough to go twice around the waist and tie.

Doak is wearing a sword belt of plain black leather. The belt is one and one-half to two inches wide and has slings and a hook to attach the sword. The belt plate is not distinct enough to determine shape, size, or design. Little is known of the sword used by Confederate Marine officers. Graves' sword is "of the pattern adopted by the U.S. War Department, 9 April 1850."²⁰ It is copied after the model used by the French army and has a half-basket hilt. The scabbard is black leather with brass mountings. Many Confederate and Union swords, as well as a number of foreign blades, were used by the South, and it is likely that Marine officers took them where they could find them.

The hair and beard of at least the officers pictured conformed to Army regulations. It was short, and beards or mustaches were "short and neatly trimmed."²¹

A Confederate Marine was entitled to a complete set of uniforms for his four year enlistment. It should be noted that a study of clothing receipts points out that the Government, try as they did, could not always make good. The set of uniforms, generally issued, follows:

- 1 Uniform cap
- 3 Pompons
- 2 Uniform coats
- 1 Pair epaulets or counter straps
- 8 Fair linen overalls
- 4 Pair of woolen overalls
- 16 Shirts
- 2 Stocks
- 24 Pair brogans
- 24 Pair brograns
- 2 Blankets
- 2 Knapsacks
- 8 Pair socks
- 3 Fatigue caps
- 4 Fatigue jackets

- 6 Fatigue overalls
- 5 Linen jackets
- 8 Flannel shirts
- 1 Great Coat ²²

This list indicates that there were three separate uniforms prescribed—winter grey flannel, summer linen, and fatigue. Many of these items such as leather stocks, epaulets, and pompons were not often used and they soon ceased to be issued.

Shortly after the formation of the Corps, Secretary Mallory requested the Navy agent in London, England, on 9 May 1861, to purchase the following:

. . . for the Marine Corps: 2,000 pairs of pants, 2,000 jackets, 1,000 overcoats and watchcoats, 1,000 pairs of shoes, 2,000 flannel shirts, 2,000 flannel drawers, 2,000 pair woolen socks, 1,000 blankets, 1,000 fatigue caps, 1,000 shirts, linen and cotton²³

Part of the problem in obtaining clothing was the fact that the Corps nearly lost its Quartermaster due to Congressional action. Major S. Gonzales resigned on 13 September 1861²⁴ and A.S. Taylor was not appointed Quartermaster with the rank of major until 4 December 1861.²⁵ In December 1861, Colonel Beall cautioned Mallory that there was a bill before Congress to abolish the Quartermaster's billet and to require the Paymaster to take on the additional duty. Colonel Beall felt, and rightly so, that the isolated nature of the Marine guards required that the Marine Corps be "complete within itself." The Paymaster, he pointed out, could not remain in Richmond working closely with the Quartermaster Department if he was to meet payday schedules. He ended by remarking that "the Marine Corps is now embarrassed with a want of clothing in consequence of being some time past without a Quartermaster."²⁶

Mallory responded with a request that the C.S.S. *Nashville* bring the following articles:

I think you had better put . . . the following articles for the Marine Corps on board: 800 overcoats (watchcoats), 1,000 waist belts (such as are used in the British service), . . . 1,000 knapsacks such as are used in the British service with straps to connect with the waist-belt, 20 bugles with extra mouth-pieces and 20 swords for non-commissioned officers. . . .²⁷

By early 1863, inflation was making its mark felt on uniforms and even cadet grey cloth. It was costing the government \$297 to provide uniforms for an enlisted Marine for twelve months; food prices had forced the enlisted ration to a staggering \$2.50 per day.²⁸ Procuring adequate clothing for enlisted Marines plagued Colonel Beall for the entire war. Hardly a muster roll reached Adjutant Greene or the Quartermaster that did not complain of the clothing. Some examples are "Good except shirts & Socks"; "Good"; "Not proper for winter"; "poor fit"; "poor quality"; "insufficient quantity"; "bad"; "one good suit."²⁹ All items of uniform issue had become shoddy and below quartermaster standards. As a result, some items seemed to be issued in excessive quantities.

Admiral Franklin Buchanan commented on uniforms several times “. . . in consequence of hot weather from 1 June to 1 October, officers attached to the Mobile Squadron may wear their grey flannel frock or sack coats with navy buttons, grey pantaloons and vests.”³⁰ Later in September, he also wrote Colonel Beall:

There are now more than 100 marines on this station many of them are fine looking men and would do credit to the Corps, if disciplined and uniformed, at present they are very badly off for clothing. You will oblige me by having them supplied as soon as possible as I require their services on board the various vessels of the squadron.³¹

The letter must have had its desired effect, for there are several receipts for fatigue frocks, overcoats, blankets, and ordnance stores being received by Captains Meiere and Wilson of the Mobile Marine Barracks, the last one being dated 20 September 1864.³²

Newspaper notices of the times give us a hint as to pieces of uniform. The Richmond *Daily Examiner* reported on 26 May 1862, that following a fight between a soldier and a Marine, the local watchman had discovered the Marine's “blue” cloth cap in the possession of the soldier.³³ The Savannah *Republican* notes a deserter “dressed in a grey coat trimmed with black and blue pants”³⁴ and the Mobile *Advertiser and Register* describes another as being dressed in a “grey coat and black pants.”³⁵

A study of the clothing receipt rolls from various stations indicates a grey flannel uniform coat with navy bell buttons; trousers of blue flannel or satinette, white linen or drill, grey flannel, and black alpaca; a uniform kepi cap of grey or blue. They apparently wore their complete and separate fatigue uniforms quite often for they were continually being reissued.

Shoes or brogans must have been inferior with 24 pairs being authorized for a four year tour. Shirts were issued according to the weather, being flannel, linen or cotton. Overcoats, also known as watchcoats, greatcoats, and “talmas” seem to have been readily available.³⁶ Marines on board ship were furnished “slop clothing,” or work clothes, by the paymaster when certified by the officer commanding that they were required.³⁷

There was close control of the quantity and condition of the uniforms and equipment. Inventories were made at each change of command and at the regular muster inspections. Lieutenant Rapier assumed command of the Marine Guard on the steamer C.S.S. *Morgan* on 1 December 1864. His inventory of the clothing and equipment of his guard reflects that each individual Marine had at least 1 uniform cap, coat, pants, several overshirts, 1 or 2 pairs of drawers, and a pair of shoes. Some of the 15 Marines had overcoats, fatigue jackets, and blankets. All except one man had a complete issue of field equipment.³⁸

Inflation was felt in clothing cost for enlisted men as it was with the officers. By mid-1864, shoes and cotton shirts were selling for \$10.00 and \$2.50 respectively, or almost double their 1863 price. It is no wonder that some Marines were selling their uniform issue. On 7 December 1863, Major Algernon S. Taylor purchased advertising space in the Savannah *Republican*, the Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register* and the *Virginia Sentinel* stating:

Notice is hereby given that Marine clothing, found in the possession of any person not of the Corps, will be seized and such person, if belonging to any military organization, will be reported to his commanding officer for infraction of regulation, and if a citizen, he will be prosecuted for violation of the law. Marine clothing is readily known by its material and style.³⁹

By 5 November 1864, the situation had worsened and the Colonel-Commandant issued from the Headquarters, General Order No. 12.

The great difficulty of obtaining clothing and the reduced condition of the supply on hand, makes it necessary to call the attention of the marines to the necessity of strict economy in its use, and to adopt stringent measures to prevent its being sold or improperly disposed of.

Hereafter, officers in command of companies or guards will report to the Adjutant any marine who shall improperly part with the clothing drawn by him from the Government, stating the circumstances connected with the case.

Private Kelly of Lieutenant Stephenson's guard, having repeatedly lost, sold, or otherwise improperly disposed of his clothing, no other article of clothing will be issued to him during his enlistment, except by special order from these Headquarters.⁴⁰

As with the variance in uniforms, the Marine Corps was armed with several types of weapons. During the acute shortages of the early days, weapons of every description were used. At least one Marine was armed with the English Tower musket carried in 1812 by militia units. Other Marine units were armed with the rifle musket issued to the Confederate Army. Captain H. Oladowshi, General Bragg's Chief of Ordinance, issued Company "A", commanded by Captain George Holmes, the following on 8 July 1861, at the Warrington Navy Yard:

- 32 muskets
- 30 screwdrivers
- 32 wipers
- 3 spring vices
- 3 ball screws
- 32 nipples
- 32 cartridge boxes
- 32 bayonet scabbards
- 32 waist belts
- 64 gunslings⁴¹

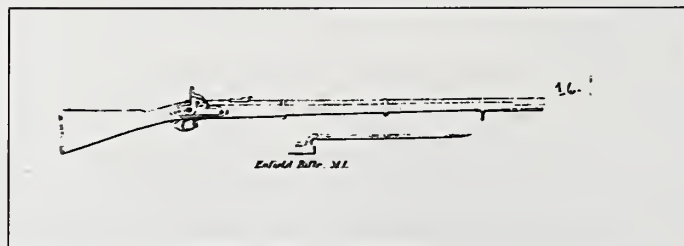
A few months later when these weapons were returned, General Bragg in a General Order was most critical of the Marines' care of these weapons and charged "neglect by officers and men."⁴²

A recruiting notice appeared frequently in the *Mobile Daily Register and Advertiser* promising men who would enlist uniforms, good rations, medical attention, prize money, and “Enfield rifles, with Sword Bayonets.”⁴³ Captain Van Benthuyzen’s Company “B” at Gosport Navy Yard was armed with Enfield rifles on 22 April 1862. He characterized his arms as “excellent” in his muster rolls.⁴⁴ The elite Enfield rifle was a very special inducement used by Marines. Confederate recruiting posters also announced that certain coastal battalions would be armed with the “English Rifles” and “French Boarding Swords.” After 1862, it was not only the most popular weapon in the Confederate service, but also the most effective. This weapon had been used by the British army since 1855. It weighed a little over nine pounds with bayonet and had a bore diameter of .577 inches. It used the “minie” bullet with seventy grains of powder.⁴⁵

Even as late as 20 September 1864, Marines were still being issued field equipment in complete amounts. A receipt signed by Captain T. S. Wilson shows the following ordnance stores were issued by the Quartermaster, Major Taylor, to the Marines at Mobile:

Enf. Rifles and Muskets	48
Cart. Boxes	40
Cap Pouches	35
Waist Belts	37
Cart. Box Belts	18
Sword Bayonets	22
Sword Bayonet Scabd.	21
Sword Frogs	21
Enf. Rifles and Muskets Baynts. And Scabds.	28
Knapsacks	45
Haversacks	30
Canteens	40
Canteen straps	51
Breast plates	1
Enf. Cartridges	5,660
Musket Caps	2,140 ⁴⁶

PLATE XVI



The Enfield Rifle used by Marines. Courtesy of the National Archives.

Marines armed with the musket were expected to wear a waist belt, cartridge box, and bayonet. The waist belt was of buff leather, two inches wide and up to 44 inches long. A brass hook and eyelet holes were used to hold it in place. The bayonet scabbard was of black bridle leather 19.3 inches long and was fastened to the waist belt by a looped frog. A musket cartridge box common to the period was used, made of black bridle leather. Navy boxes had "C.S.N." stamped in an oval on the flaps, and it is likely that "C.S.M.C." was used for Marine cartridge boxes. Shoulder belts for musket cartridge boxes were 5 feet long and 1.5 inches wide. Brass hooks were used with eyelet-holes at one end to hold and adjust the belt.⁴⁷

There is no evidence that either enlisted men or officers used a distinctive belt plate or clasp of any kind. *The Confederate States Navy Ordnance Instructions, 1864* are almost identical to the United States instructions of the Civil War. While Captain Wilson issued one breast plate to one of his Mobile Marines in 1864, this is the only known record of plates being used by Confederate Marines. Therefore it may be assumed that hooks were used to conserve metal and that brass accoutrements were not regularly issued to Marines.

No distinctive sword belt plate was specified for the Confederate Navy and to date none has been found for the Marine Corps. Confederate general service belt plates in either the oval or rectangular pattern or of state origin may have been worn. Undoubtedly, additional Civil War accoutrements remain to be discovered.

Revolvers were also carried by officers, non-commissioned officers, and even enlisted Marines on raiding parties. No details as to the make or models issued are known, however, on 22 April 1863, Paymaster Henry Myers, Confederate States Navy, authorized H.H. Hicks, a lieutenant of the Charleston Police Department to post the following notice: "For reward offered for Recovery of 10 Revolvers stolen from Marine Barracks."⁴⁸

Among southern regiments, the Confederate Marines were for the most part well-armed and well-dressed in their three different uniforms—winter, summer, and fatigue. Henry DuBose of the 21st South Carolina, after observing a detachment of Confederate Marines near Drewry's Bluff, proclaimed: "They did present the appearance of holiday soldiers on dress parade, well-groomed and fed. They did not appear as if they would be very reliable in case of an attack."⁴⁹ We shall see if he was correct.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL QUARTERS

The tradition of Marines on board warships has been one of long standing. The need for sharpshooters to repel boarders, comprise boarding parties, and guard prisoners resulted in its evolution. Continental Marines were organized in 1775 and served aboard the U.S.S. *Bombonne Richard*, helping John Paul Jones defeat H.M.S. *Serapis* during the battle off Glamborough Head in 1779. Eighty-four years later, Admiral David D. Porter declared that "A ship without Marines is like a garment without buttons."¹ The mission of the Confederate States Marine Corps included both duty on board ships and at land installations. In an attempt to organize and clarify the actions in which they participated, each type will be considered separately.

Marine guards served on at least three of the Confederate cruisers, the C.S.S. *Sumter*, *Tallabasse*, and *Chickamauga*; there are also individual references to Marines on the C.S.S. *Alabama*, *Shenandoah*, and *Stonewall*. Although detailed accounts of the Marines are difficult to document, it must be assumed that the Marines shared the successes and failures of their vessels and that their actions were guided by the chapter entitled "Marines when in Vessels" of the *Confederate Naval Regulations*.

It was the custom of the Navy Department to have the Colonel-Commandant assign the correct number of officers and Marines to those vessels rating Marines and for the commanding officer of the naval station at the ship's home port to notify the senior Marine officer of the time and place of embarkation. Marines on board ship were carried separately from the ship's company on the books. The Marines received the same rations and, as conditions called for it, shore allowances as the sailors.

The Marine officer assigned to a vessel had certain duties not required of other naval officers. When returning from a foreign station, the Marine officer and his guard remained on board until all naval personnel had been detached and the ship was turned over to the navy yard's commanding officer. As long as two Marine officers were assigned to a ship, one was expected to be on board at all times, fit for duty. Of course, the captain of the vessel could on occasion make exception to this. The senior Marine officer was required by regulations to see that his Marines were comfortable, clean, and maintained a soldier-like appearance at all times. He was also responsible for the arms chest, arms, and accoutrements of the Marines. With the approval of the ship's captain, the senior Marine officer could reduce non-commissioned officers and effect promotions to fill the vacancies. Such accounts as were required by the Adjutant of the Corps for the Colonel-Commandant were also to be properly supplied.

Each ship's captain was required to furnish the senior Marine officer with a storeroom to protect clothing, accoutrements, and other Marine items. Lockers were also to be constructed and hangers supplied to the berth deck where Marines were to keep uniform caps, pompons, and field equipment not in the store room.

The role of the Marine at sea, during this period, was shifting from sharpshooter in the rigging to other duties. They were regularly instructed by their own officers as to

the proper employment of "great guns." When necessary the captain could assign Marines to serve a gun or as replacements in other divisions where gun crews were short-handed. When not on guard duty, Marines were subject to orders from naval officers just as sailors were. However, all "general orders," for sentries had to pass through the Marine officer, with the exception of "special orders," which could be given by the officer-of-the-deck in case of emergencies. Different from today's navy, Marines could not be diverted from their assigned duties to coal ship, take on stores, or do maintenance, except in cases of emergency. Daily reports were rendered in writing to the commanding officer of the vessel describing the state of the guard and reporting injuries, shortages, or misconduct.²

From the ordnance instructions, it is possible to determine the manner in which Marines were utilized during an attack:

All the Marines who may not be distributed to other divisions for action, are to compose a Division of Marines, to be under the immediate command of the Superior or Senior Marine Officer on board. He will form his division on such part or parts of the spar or upper deck as the Captain may direct.³

Pikemen, one quarter of the gun crew, were armed with muskets with bayonets reversed and pikes to repel boarders.

The Marines with their muskets loaded and bayonets fixed, may be formed behind the Pikemen, or at any other place from which their fire on an assailing enemy may be most effective, and least dangerous to our own men.⁴

On large ships, the Marines were stationed on the spar deck and "when required, the marines may be stationed at the great guns or howitzer," as directed by the captain. On smaller vessels, "they are to be distributed as the Captain of the vessel may direct. Their services, in action, will probably be most needed at the great guns."⁵ In the following discussion of the actions in which Marines participated, it will be assumed that these regulations were adhered to as far as possible.

The *Habana*, a former passenger steamer, was purchased and "fitted out" by the Confederate States Navy. Under the command of Raphael Semmes she was commissioned the C.S.S. *Sumter*. Before striking out at enemy commerce on the high seas, Semmes was joined by First Lieutenant Beckett K. Howe, Confederate States Marine Corps.⁶ Commander Semmes and the *Sumter* ran the Union blockade, out the mouth of the Mississippi River on 30 June 1861, escaping through *Pass a l'Outre* and eluding the U.S.S. *Brooklyn* to become the first Confederate warship on the high seas and the first to carry a Marine guard. The guard on the *Sumter* consisted of 20 Marines and was an unusually large one for a ship of that size.⁷ Commander Semmes required "the Marine Officer to drill his guard once every day when the weather was suitable and the duty of the ship does not interfere therewith."⁸ *Sumter* cruised the West Indies and went south to

Maranao, Brazil, but not before capturing on 4 July 1861, the 200-ton brig *Cuba*, a New England sugar trader under Captain Strout. Semmes assigned Midshipman Albert G. Hudgins as prize officer and gave him two Marines and two sailors as a crew.⁹

Throughout August and September, the *Sumter* and her Marines ranged off the coast of South America. It rapidly became perilous for United States ships to trade in the area. This activity caused the federal Navy to give chase, but to no avail. In November, Commander Semmes and his crew evaded the U.S.S. *Iroquois* near Martinique and steamed for Europe. Before leaving the Caribbean area, two additional U.S. ships were burned off the Leeward Islands. This continued until the *Sumter* went to Spain for repairs. While there, a Marine discovered asleep on watch was tried by court martial, found guilty, and drummed out of the Marine Corps at Cadiz.¹⁰

The anger of the North had been aroused by *Sumter's* victories and on 18 January 1862, the U.S.S. *Rearsage* steamed toward Spain with orders to capture the *Sumter*. Following a serious breakdown of her boilers, the C.S.S. *Sumter* put into Gibraltar. An entry in her log of 7 April records: "Received a telegram from Mr. [J.M.] Mason [Confederate Commissioner in London] ordering me to lay the *Sumter* up and to permit the officers and such of the crew as prefer it to return to the Confederate States."¹¹ By this time the U.S.S. *Tussarora* had blockaded the *Sumter* into port. The Confederate Congress expressed thanks

to Captain Raphael Semmes, and the officers and crew of the steamer *Sumter*, under his command, for gallant and meritorious services rendered by them in seriously injuring the enemy's commerce upon the high seas, thereby setting an example reflecting honor upon our infant Navy which can not be too highly appreciated by Congress and the people of the Confederate States.¹²

In her short but spectacular career, Commander Semmes and the *Sumter* had destroyed or captured 18 American vessels and dealt a costly blow to Union commerce.

Accolades aside, Commander Semmes ordered Midshipman Richard F. Armstrong of Georgia with 10 men, including Acting Masters Mate Joseph G. Hester, to take charge of the *Sumter* until its sale. Semmes and Lieutenant Howell left for London. Armstrong was left with at least one Marine and provisions for nearly a year. After Howell left, Midshipman Andrews took command, relieving Armstrong. On 15 October 1862, Sergeant George Stephenson of the Marine Corps took command of the *Sumter* and advised Mason that Acting Masters Mate Hester had killed Midshipman Andrews.¹³ Sergeant Stephenson served in this capacity until he was relieved by Lieutenant Robert T. Chapman, the second officer, who returned to Gibraltar to investigate the Andrew's murder.¹⁴ Sergeant Stephenson was the only enlisted Marine to ever command a Confederate ship of the line. In December 1862, the ship was disarmed and sold to the firm of Fraser-Trenholm to continue her war service to the South under the British "jack" as the blockade runner *Gibraltar* out of Liverpool.

Lieutenant Howell accompanied Lieutenant John M. Stribling and six Confederate seamen from the *Sumter* to Nassau on board the *Babama*. Apparently Howell with

Captain Semmes, Lieutenant John M. Kell, and Surgeon Francis L. Salt returned to England to assume positions on the C.S.S. *Alabama*.¹⁵

For unknown reasons, there was no Marine guard on the *Alabama*, although Lieutenant Howell, a favorite of Semmes, was on board. In December, the *Alabama* captured the brig-rigged paddle-wheeler steamer *Ariel* out of New York, bound for Colon, Panama, with 700 passengers and a battalion of 150 United States Marines. Commander Louis C. Sartori, United States Navy, was also on board. In a subsequent account of the action the following interesting story is told:

The U.S. Marines were ordered to surrender their weapons and the officers their swords The order being completed, Lieutenant Armstrong, C.S.N., addressed the command, calling for twenty volunteers to fill up the Marine guard on the *Alabama*, offering the best pay . . . Finding that not a man would prove recreant to his trust or a traitor to his country, he withdrew. The *Ariel*, being in possession of a prize crew of sailors, Major Garland, at the request of Captain Semmes, detailed sentinels, although prisoners of war, to guard the spirit room to prevent the Rebel crew from making use of the liquor¹⁶

However, Commander Sartori, in his report of the capture makes no mention of the recruiting efforts of Armstrong.¹⁷

The exploits of Semmes and the *Alabama* for the next two years are among the most colorful in naval history. On 11 June 1864, Howell sailed with the *Alabama* into Cherbourg, France, ending a most remarkable raiding cruise. The *Alabama* stood out of Cherbourg to engage the U.S.S. *Kearsage* with the barometer falling and deteriorated ammunition on 19 June. At ranges of 1,000 yards, action commenced with the *Alabama* firing first. The battle, after an hour, turned against Semmes, who, with his ship sinking, struck his colors. The chain cable, added to the vital spots of the *Kearsage*, had given her the protection she needed.¹⁸

Howell was very active in the engagement and was wounded, but continued to assist in transferring the wounded to the *Kearsage* by small boat. Subsequently, he was able to make good his escape by steering for the English yacht *Deerbound* and, in so doing, kept himself and some of the *Alabama's* crew from being captured.¹⁹ Following the sinking of the *Alabama*, Howell remained in London until the *Ajax*, a small gunboat, was ready for service. He then may have accompanied his friend, Lieutenant John Low, to St. Georges, Bermuda, arriving there on 4 May 1865. Low and Howell were visiting in the home of the local Confederate agent when they learned that the war was over.²⁰

In addition to the *Alabama*, the C.S.S. *Tallahassee*, formerly the *Atalanta*, was considered a most admirable craft. The *Atalanta* had run the blockade several times before being commissioned a warship and given to Commander T.T. Wood, Confederate States Navy. The Marine guard was commanded by Lieutenant Edward Crenshaw. The *Tallahassee* ran the blockade on 6 August 1864, and for the next 19 days, raided off the Atlantic coast as far north as Halifax, Nova Scotia. During this initial cruise, she destroyed 26 vessels and captured seven others which were released or bonded.

Marines joined the ship on 29 July 1864. When Crenshaw attempted to get clothing from Captain Van Benthuisen, none was available; though he did draw 1,000 rounds of musket ammunition. On Sunday, 31 July 1864, Commander Wood told the Marines and ship's company that they were

to cruise against the Yankee Commerce whenever we could find it, and that all who did not do their duty would be punished and no privilege would be allowed them, and that he intended to have strict man-of-war discipline on board. Services were then read and we were dismissed.²¹

The barque *Bay State*, bound for Boston, was captured and burned on 11 August. Lieutenant Crenshaw acted as boarding officer where he retained a small miniature likeness of General P. G. T. Beauregard. The following day, the *Adriatic* was also captured. Upon learning that the ship was to be burned, the passengers became troubled and Captain Wood sent the Marine guard on board to maintain order and silence.

Port of call was made at Halifax to procure coal and new supplies. Crenshaw was "particularly struck by the fine appearance of the English Soldiers . . ." he saw in town. English officials, while friendly, only allowed Wood enough coal to return to Wilmington. The officer and guard were sent ashore to round up the liberty party, but not before presenting his (Crenshaw) recently acquired miniature to a young English girl.

After returning to Wilmington, the *Tallahassee* became the *Olustee* and Lieutenant E. H. Ward, Confederate States Navy, assumed command. On 29 October 1864, she suffered some damage while running the blockade. Off the Delaware coast, the *Olustee* destroyed six more Federal ships before having to return for coal. However, by this time, Lieutenant Crenshaw had been detached, returning to Drewry's Bluff.

Sergeant M. Smith and the remainder of the Marine guard were still on the *Olustee* under the command of Lieutenant Henry M. Doak. When Doak sent duplicate receipts of the ordnance stores, he advised that the ship would be anchored at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. By 13 November, she was back in Wilmington.²²

The C.S.S. *Chickamauga*, originally the blockade runner *Edith*, was purchased by the Confederate government at Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1864. When almost ready for sea, the Confederate Army commander sought to retain her for army use in the defense of the city. Lieutenant David M. Bradford had command of the Marine detachment.²³ On 28 October 1864, Lieutenant J. Wilkinson, Confederate States Navy, ran the blockade and steamed for Long Island Sound. After scuttling seven Union ships, she arrived in St. Georges, Bermuda, for coal and repairs. Under the cover of a heavy fog, Lieutenant Wilkinson ran the blockade again, and on 19 November, anchored under the protective guns of Fort Fisher until she could return to Wilmington.²⁴ On 25 February 1865, the crew burned and sank the *Chickamauga* in the Cape Fear River near Indian Wells, North Carolina. The scuttling was to obstruct the river and to prevent Union naval assistance to General Sherman's army operating nearby.²⁵

The C.S.S. *Stonewall*, a powerful sea-going ram, was built in France for the Confederate Navy. After protest by the American minister, the vessel was sold to Denmark for use in the Schleswig-Holstein War. Before it arrived, the war terminated, and

the builder then sold her to the Confederacy. Earlier, in December 1862, Lieutenant James H. North, the project officer in Europe, had asked specifically for Lieutenant James Thurston to captain the Marine guard that would be assigned to the *Stonewall*. Thurston was a prisoner-of-war from 17 June 1863, to 28 September 1864, and the assignment went to Sergeant J. M. Prior.²⁶ Captain T. J. Page, Confederate Navy, took command and sailed for France to take on stores in January 1865. Her mission was to break the Federal blockade off Wilmington, intercept California commerce, attack coastal cities, and disrupt the Northern fishing fleet. On 24 March, the *Stonewall* tried to engage two United States warships, the C.S.S. *Niagara* and U.S.S. *Sacramento*, off the coast of Spain. They quickly avoided an engagement with her superior guns and retreated to Lisbon. The *Stonewall* arrived in Havana, Cuba, on 6 May 1865, only to learn that the war was over.²⁷

Confederate Marines served on ships other than the raiding cruisers. Before the end of the war, Marines had served on 34 different naval vessels. This absorbed most of the enlisted personnel except for some small detachments at navy yards and stations.

The following is a list of the Confederate Navy vessels on which Confederate Marines served in some capacity:

C.S.S. <i>Alabama</i>	C.S.S. <i>Morgan</i>
C.S.S. <i>Atlanta</i>	C.S.S. <i>Nashville</i>
C.S.S. <i>Arctic</i>	C.S.S. <i>North Carolina</i>
C.S.S. <i>Baltic</i>	C.S.S. <i>Patrick Henry</i>
C.S.S. <i>Charleston</i>	C.S.S. <i>Raleigh</i>
C.S.S. <i>Chickamauga</i>	C.S.S. <i>Richmond</i>
C.S.S. <i>Chicora</i>	C.S.S. <i>Sampson</i>
C.S.S. <i>Columbia</i>	C.S.S. <i>Savannah</i>
C.S.S. <i>Dalman</i>	C.S.S. <i>Savannah (Ironclad)</i>
C.S.S. <i>Drewry</i>	C.S.S. <i>Shenandoah</i>
C.S.S. <i>Fredericksburg</i>	C.S.S. <i>Stonewall</i>
C.S.S. <i>Gaines</i>	C.S.S. <i>Sumter</i>
C.S.S. <i>Gallego</i>	C.S.S. <i>Tallahassee</i>
C.S.S. <i>Georgia</i>	C.S.S. <i>Tennessee</i>
C.S.S. <i>Jamestown</i>	C.S.S. <i>United States</i>
C.S.S. <i>Macon</i>	C.S.S. <i>Virginia (Merrimack)</i>
C.S.S. <i>McRae</i>	C.S.S. <i>Virginia II</i>

Some of the more familiar naval events are well-known, such as the battle between the U.S.S. *Monitor* and C.S.S. *Virginia*, but Marine Corps participation in these actions has been ignored and deserves special attention in this study.

The first major action involving Confederate Marines was the Battle of Hampton Roads, Virginia, on 8 and 9 March 1862. Only a short year after Secretary Mallory authorized the conversion of the *Merrimack*, Captain Buchanan ordered the C.S.S. *Patrick Henry* and the C.S.S. *Jamestown* to be kept in a high state of readiness "to cooperate with the *Merrimack* when she was ready for sea." Both these ships were former passenger steamers that had been seized by the Commonwealth of Virginia and turned over to the

Confederate Navy; both carried Marine detachments of approximately 21 men each. Lieutenant R. H. Henderson, Confederate States Marine Corps, commanded the guard on the *Patrick Henry* and Lieutenant J.R.Y. Fendall, Confederate States Marine Corps, had the guard on the *Jamestown*.²⁸

Work was progressing quickly on the old U.S.S. *Merrimack* that had been scuttled during the evacuation of Norfolk and later, on 30 May 1862, raised, restored, and commissioned the C.S.S. *Virginia*. In late February, Captain Buchanan was ordered to command the James River Squadron on these three ships (*Virginia*, *Patrick Henry*, *Jamestown*) plus three small gunboats, the *Teaser*, *Raleigh* and *Beaufort*. Among the crew of 300 that joined the *Virginia* was a Marine guard detachment of 55 Confederate Marines commanded by Captain Reuben T. Thom.²⁹ So great was the pressure to get the *Virginia* into action that, on what was to be her trial run, she steamed down the James River directly toward Hampton Roads and the waiting Union ships. General action opened about two o'clock on the afternoon of 8 March 1862. Captain Thom's Marines were manning one of the heavy guns on the *Virginia*. Her broadsides made short work of the wooden blockading ships U.S.S. *Cumberland* and U.S.S. *Congress*. By this time, firing had become

PLATE XVII



Ruben T. Thom - Captain, CSMC, Courtesy of Mr. Ralph W. Donnelly, Alexandria, Virginia. Original in possession of J. Bernard Thom, Hopkinsville, Kentucky.

general from both Union shore batteries and blockaders, but their shot had little effect on the Confederate ship. Buchanan's flagship rammed the *Cumberland*, causing severe damage below the water line, and she sank rapidly. Buchanan reported that the *Cumberland* was all the while "gallantly fighting her guns as long as they were above water." The *Congress* was aground and in little position to assist her friends on the *Cumberland*. Moving into position astern of the *Congress*, the *Virginia* subjected her to a heavy enfilade fire, raking her time and again. Ablaze from hot shot and incendiary shell, her captain dead, and guns out of action, the second officer surrendered. The U.S.S. *Minnesota*, in route from Fortress Monroe to assist the ships, was hard aground.

Captain Buchanan was wounded in the thigh and had to turn the command over to Lieutenant Catesby ap R. Jones, Confederate States Navy.³⁰ On the *Patrick Henry*, four engineers had been scalded to death from a shot through one of the boilers.³¹ As night closed in, U.S.S. *Monitor*, commanded by Lieutenant John L. Worden, United States Navy, arrived on the scene.

About eight the next morning, the crews of both ships went to general quarters. Lieutenant S. D. Greene, who assumed command when Worden was wounded, reported the outcome of the battle:

Hove up anchor and went to quarters. At 8:45 a.m. we opened fire upon the *Merrimack* [*Virginia*] and continued the action until 11:30 a.m., when Captain Worden was injured in the eyes by the explosion of a shell from the *Merrimack* upon the outside of the eyehole in the pilot house, exactly opposite his eye. Captain Worden then sent for me and told me to take charge of the vessel. We continued the action until 12:15 p.m., when the *Merrimack* retreated to Sewell's Point and we went to the *Minnesota* and remained by her until she was afloat.³²

Assigned to one of Captain Thorn's guns on the *Virginia* was Captain Kevill's United Norfolk Artillery.³³ Captain Buchanan praised the Marines in his after-action report:

The Marine Corps was well-represented by Captain Thorn, whose tranquil men gave evidence that the hottest fire was no novelty to him The muzzle of their gun was struck by a shell from the enemy but they continued to fire as if it was uninjured.³⁴

The *Virginia* was damaged and did not see action again for almost a month. Her hull was leaking, two of her guns were damaged, and her inner structure was cracked and splintered. On 11 April, under Flag Officer Josiah Tattnall, it appeared again to capture three Union transports. When forced to give up Norfolk, the Navy tried to move the *Virginia* up the James River, but her draft prevented it. Tattnall ran her aground near Craney Island and burned her on 11 May 1862.³⁵

The fall of New Orleans was without question the most important loss in the first two years of the war. By the spring of 1862, the city, which had once been so poorly defended and could have been easily taken, had been strengthened and was thought to

be nearly impregnable. The Federal government placed a high priority on the capture of New Orleans, and a Tennessean, Captain David G. Farragut, United States Navy, was assigned the task.

The Confederate flotilla consisted of several ships, including the steamer *McRae*, formerly the Mexican barque *Marquis de la Habana*. Commanded by Lieutenant Thomas B. Huger, Confederate States Navy, with a Marine guard of 13 men under Sergeant John W. Seymour, it was the flagship of Flag Officer G.N. Rollins. The squadron was assigned the task of defending the lower Mississippi. The Marines gave a good account of themselves in a spirited engagement with ships of the Union blockading fleet on 12 October 1861.³⁶

These Marines fought in their final battle on board the *McRae* in a gallant defense of Forts Jackson and St. Phillip on 24 April 1862. With the aid of several gunboats, the *McRae* attempted to halt Farragut's advance (in the U.S.S. *Hartford*) past the forts. After a breach in the river obstruction had been opened by the U.S.S. *Finola* and *Itasca*, the U.S.S. *Hartford* steamed up the river, was grounded near Fort St. Philip, and was set afire by a Confederate firecraft. Professional leadership and crew discipline are all that saved the flagship. Shortly, two Confederate ships rammed the U.S.S. *Varuna* and sank her. In the close action that followed, nine Confederate vessels were sunk, including the armored ram C.S.S. *Manassas*. Two were surrendered and two were burned to prevent capture, virtually destroying the Confederate Navy at New Orleans.³⁷

On board the *McRae*, several members of the crew and the captain had been mortally wounded. The *McRae*, suffering heavy damage, withdrew up river under a flag of truce on the evening of 27 April 1862, and off-loaded wounded. When Union forces took New Orleans the following morning, they found this gallant ship sunk alongside the city wharf. A more complete report forwarded to President Davis on 16 August 1862, by the Secretary of the Navy states:

Exposed to the terrific fire of many heavy ships, all greatly superior to her in force, torn to pieces by their broadsides . . . they refused to surrender as long as they could keep her afloat and went down without having passed into enemy hands.³⁸

The next major action at sea involving Marines did not occur until the Battle in Wassaw Sound, Georgia, on 17 June 1863. Lieutenant James Thurston, Confederate States Marine Corps, commanded a Marine guard embarked on the C.S.S. *Atlanta*, originally the British blockade runner *Fingal* out of Glasgow, Scotland. She was purchased by the Confederates in 1862 and converted in a Savannah shipyard into an iron-clad ram. From then until the Wassaw Sound battle, she was active on the Savannah station under the command of Commander William McBlair. Commodore Josiah Tattnall, whose son was a Confederate Marine officer, lived ashore in the city, but flew his flag on the *Atlanta*.

In early June 1863, Rear Admiral Samuel F. DuPont ordered Captain John Rodgers and Commander John Downes to take their ships, the U.S.S. *Weebawken* and the U.S.S. *Nabant* to Wassaw Sound. He was of the opinion that the *Atlanta*, now commanded by Commander William A. Webb, was about to attack an old wooden blockade runner, the

U.S.S. *Cimarron*. His insight proved to be correct, for on 17 June, Webb engaged the Union ships in Wassaw Sound. Webb hoped to sink the *Weehawken* with a percussion torpedo he had fitted to the *Atlanta's* bow. Coming into the channel, the ship grounded; when later freed, she failed to answer her helm. The heavy guns of the *Weehawken* poured a devastating blow into the Confederate ram. Webb found himself with two guns out of action, hard aground, and taking mounting casualties. His escorts had been compelled to return upriver and could not offer assistance, so the *Atlanta* surrendered. "There were on board at the time of capture, as per muster roll, 21 officers and 124 men, including 28 marines." Lieutenant Thurston was imprisoned at Fort Warren where he escaped 13 August only to be recaptured. Thurston was paroled in September 1864, and served at Drewry's Bluff.³⁹

The Union maintained a number of shallow draft gunboats for patrol purposes in the inland waters of North Carolina. The sea war was relatively quiet throughout the fall and winter of 1863, and these Union gunboats assisted the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron in its enforcement of the blockade of Wilmington.

This situation changed early in 1864 when Confederates in the region became more aggressive. Probing attacks were made against the defenses of New Bern, North Carolina, and against the gunboats located in the Neuse River. A joint operation consisting of army, navy, and Marine units was being planned. General George E. Pickett was to attack the defensive works of New Bern from the rear, while the navy and Marine forces were to destroy the Federal gunboats and act as a blocking force to preclude reinforcements by water. John Taylor Wood, an aide de camp to President Davis and a Commander in the Navy, was to command the naval contingent. Captain T.S. Wilson, the senior Marine officer, had a detachment of 25 Marines who joined the expedition at Kinston, North Carolina. The attack was planned for the night of 1 February 1864, but before it could be executed, the 250 men had 60 miles to row.

Early on the morning of 1 February 1864, Wood and his sailors and Marines were near New Bern looking for Federal gunboats; none were to be found. Firing from the distance indicated General Pickett was attacking. With daylight approaching, Wood withdrew upstream where the raiding party received additional instructions and rested. Before dark, an enemy gunboat came up the river and anchored. The gunboat was the U.S.S. *Underwriter*, a side-wheel steamer with a crew of 85 officers and men. The raiding party pulled for the steamer and got within 100 yards before being challenged by a sentry. Commander Wood boldly continued and boarded before the *Underwriter's* guns could be brought to bear. Federal infantry added to the danger by opening up with small arms. In a few short minutes of hand to hand combat, during which Acting Master Jacob Westervelt, the *Underwriter's* captain was killed, the boat was in Confederate hands. With the engineers unable to get steam up, and the shore batteries at Forts Stevens and Anderson firing on the captured gunboat, Wood ordered her set afire. The raiding party withdrew upstream to the rendezvous site, mission accomplished. Commander Wood, later promoted for his gallant conduct, sent the Colonel-Commandant a letter stating in part:

Though their duties were more arduous than those of the others, they were always prompt and ready for the performance of all they were called

upon to do. As a body they would be a credit to any organization and I will be glad to be associated with them on duty at anytime.⁴⁰

Another account describing the actions of the Marines reads:

Conspicuous among all was the conduct of the marines, a company of them being distributed through the boats. As the Confederates came up to the ship, the marines rose and delivered their fire, taking accurate aim, reloading still under the heavy fire from the enemy. When on board they obeyed their orders promptly, and, forming on the hurricane deck, not even the explosion of the monster shell fired by the enemy from one of the shore batteries among them could break the ranks or turn a man from his post.⁴¹

The *Underwriter* exploded at five o'clock a.m. The engagement cost the lives of nine Union men, 20 wounded, and 19 prisoners of war. The Confederates had six killed and 22 wounded.⁴² The Congress on 15 February 1864, unanimously passed a "Joint resolution of thanks to Commander John Taylor Wood and the officers and men under his command, for their daring and brilliant conduct."⁴³

This expedition encouraged yet another raid. The U.S.S. *Water Witch*, forced home by yellow fever in the crew, was in the Philadelphia Navy Yard when the blockade was effected. Since early in the war, she had been on blockade duty in Ossabow Sound, Georgia, watching the mouth of the Ossabow River. Inactivity and subsequent boredom made her an excellent target for capture.

On the night of 2 June 1864, Lieutenant Thomas P. Pelot, Confederate States Navy, led a boat expedition of some 130 officers, sailors, and Marines against the *Water Witch*. In pitch darkness at two in the morning, Pelot silently worked his way to the anchored blockader. Acting Master's Mate E.D.W. Parsons had the deck when he sighted the Confederates as near as 50 yards. He gave the alarm and personally tried to repel boarders until help arrived. Before the sailors could get to general quarters, the Confederates had boarded and close combat ensued. The action was "hard, but brief." Although the Southerners outnumbered the Yankees, Lieutenant Pelot and five others were killed and 17 were wounded. Union losses were 2 dead, 14 wounded, and 61 captured. One of those dead was Moses Dallas, a black pilot who guided the expedition from the lead boat. The Marine detachment in this raid came from the Savannah Squadron. Its commander has not yet been identified. The Confederates made good their escape with the *Water Witch* taking her up the Vernon River and anchoring near the city of Savannah. Confederates burned the ship on 19 December 1864, at White Bluff, Georgia, to prevent her capture by the enemy. Secretary Mallory wrote: "The plan and gallant execution of the enterprise reflected great credit upon all who were associated with it, and upon the service which they adorn."⁴⁴ Undoubtedly the valor, risk, and success of these raids against ever-increasing odds bolstered Southern hopes during the dark days ahead.

Confederate Marines from the C.S.S. *Tennessee*, C.S.S. *Morgan*, and C.S.S. *Gaines* assisted in the defense of Mobile Bay, Alabama. Admiral Buchanan's flagship, the

Tennessee, had a Marine guard commanded by Lieutenant David G. Raney. Sergeant John M. Bennett and 28 Marines were on the *Morgan*, and Lieutenant J. R. V. Fendall and Sergeant Charles Jenner had a small guard on the *Gaines*. Admiral David Farragut, U.S. Navy, had been making plans to take the bay since January, 1864; the Union fleet was ready to attack by 5 August. Farragut got underway at daylight with his squadron of 18 ships, including four monitors, to engage the Confederates. The monitors, in column on the enemy side of the wooden vessels, steamed past Fort Morgan at close range. The slow ships were lashed to the faster ones to give Fort Morgan's guns less time to have effective fire. By seven a.m. the action was fierce and general. Buchanan's Confederate squadron moved to engage the enemy. Commander T.A.M. Craven on board the U.S.S. *Tecumseh* steered toward the *Tennessee*; in minutes, the union monitor exploded and sank, the victim of a Confederate torpedo. Craven and 90 of his officers and men went down with the ship. When other Union vessels began to back down to avoid the mines, Farragut, with his characteristic boldness, signaled "Damn the torpedos! . . . full speed!" Confederate Marines, had the smoke cleared, could have seen United States Marines at that point, for Buchanan tried to ram the U.S.S. *Hartford*. Failing this, he tried to ram the U.S.S. *Brooklyn*. All ships were engaged in heavy concentrations of fire; the tide turned against the Confederates. Commander George W. Harrison of the C.S.S. *Morgan* could not maintain his position against greater numbers and saved his ship by running past the Federal ships into Mobile. The C.S.S. *Tennessee* had been rammed and was taking broadsides from the *Hartford* at a distance of 10 feet. By now, command of the *Tennessee* had passed to Commander James D. Johnson, because Buchanan was seriously wounded. Taking water and a terrible pounding, Johnson surrendered the ship's officers and crew. Two Marines had given their lives in the heat of the battle. Lieutenant Raney would later escape from prison.⁴⁵

The *Gaines* operated independently and in a gallant fashion until finally hulled by enemy fire and run aground by her officers to avoid surrender to the Yankees. Two of her crew were killed and three wounded before the crew abandoned ship and withdrew. Lieutenant Fendall and the Marines were ordered to Fort Gaines for duty. With Farragut's fleet upstream, however, Fort Gaines was compelled to surrender on 17 August, providing the Union forces with even more Marine prisoners. Fendall, like his friend Raney, also later escaped at New Orleans, but surrendered on 4 May 1865, at Mobile, the same day Commodore E. Farrand, commanding Alabama naval forces, ordered the surrender of the *Morgan* and her crew of 24 Marines.⁴⁶

It was reported to the Confederate States War Department on 1 October 1864, by Major General John G. Walker, Confederate States Army the following:

I have the honor to inform you that Captain W. F. Brown, of the Marine Department, and Lieutenant Marcus J. Beebee, of the Confederate States Navy, and eight other volunteers for the enterprize, a few days ago captured the U. S. steamer *Ike Davis*, a packet between the mouth of the Rio Grande and New Orleans, and ran her into Matagorda Bay, where she now lies.

These gentlemen entered themselves as passengers for New Orleans, and 12 miles from Brazos rose upon the crew, drove them below, and took possession of the vessel, a steamer of 400 tons and said to be very fast⁴⁷

The last major engagement for Confederate Marines was in the defense of Spanish Fort and Fort Blakely, Alabama, during the period 27 March to 19 April 1865. Rear Admiral Henry K. Thatcher, United States Navy, headed a joint army and navy effort to capture the city of Mobile. Spanish Fort and Fort Blakely were the key to the city's defenses, located near the mouth of the Blakely River. The Union navy was to move against these positions while the army attacked overland. During the first five days of the operation, three Union warships were sunk by mines. The U.S.S. *Milwaukee* while attempting to keep river-transported supplies from reaching Spanish Fort hit a mine and sank stern first without loss of life. Mine warfare continued to be costly to Thatcher when the U.S.S. *Osage* was torpedoed on the 29 March; she was followed by U.S.S. *Rodolph* on 1 April. The Confederates were taking great toll in ships and lives while protecting their defenses. Bombarded by the heavy naval guns of Thatcher's ships and assaulted by army troops, Spanish Fort fell on 8 April 1865. During this entire effort, Confederate defenses were assisted by a squadron under Flag Officer Ebenezer Farrand, including the C.S.S. *Nashville*, C.S.S. *Morgan*, and C.S.S. *Baltic*, all of which carried Marine guards. The senior Marine officer with the squadron was Lieutenant David G. Raney. Lieutenant James R. Y. Fendall commanded the guard on the *Nashville*; Lieutenant John L. Rapier had the one on the *Morgan*; Sergeant Martin Moore led 30 Marines on the *Baltic*.⁴⁸

On 11 April, the fleet with its embarked Marines was forced to flee up the Tombigbee River to avoid capture. Batteries Tracy and Huger on the Blakely River fell to Union forces. Confederate infantry retreated to Meridian, Mississippi, and a final attack was launched on Mobile. The city was surrendered in short order by the mayor. Rear Admiral Thatcher advised Secretary Wells on 28 April that the *Nashville* and *Morgan* were bottled up. He concluded "they must soon fall into our hands or destroy themselves." He was correct for at Hanna Hubba Bluff on 10 May 1865, 112 officers and 285 enlisted men formally surrendered, including 24 Marines.⁴⁹

Why the attack against Mobile was launched so late in the conflict is a question that remains unanswered. The Marines had no influence on the war at this point as neither did Mobile. General Sherman was marching into Carolina, but the few remaining Confederate naval ships did their best as did their Confederate Marine guards.

The last shot of the war was fired in November 1865, by the C.S.S. *Shenandoah* off Siberia. This ship, the last armed Confederate cruiser, carried a Marine guard not assigned by the Colonel-Commandant. The captain of the *Shenandoah*, James I. Waddell, a gallant North Carolinian, organized his own Marine guard after a port-of-call in Melbourne, Australia. Waddell recruited a sergeant, a corporal, and three privates as a nucleus for a Marine guard, and probably completed the contingent.

The Sergeant, George P. Canning, strangely enough appeared to be actually a native of the Southern states. In fact, he represented himself as having been an aide-de-camp to the Confederate general Leonidas Polk. He had

been invalided out of the array, he said, on account of a wound suffered at the Battle of Shiloh, and he had an unhealed wound in his chest to support his story.⁵⁰

Before leaving the Sea of Okhotsk, poor Canning, still suffering from the unhealed wound he had received at Shiloh, asked Past Assistant Surgeon Charles E. Lining to request the Captain to set him ashore on the Siberian coast, from which he could make his way to the Amur River and thence to Europe where he could seek hospitalization. Waddell, however, saw that it was foolhardy and refused. Suffering from the bullethole in his lungs, Canning fell victim to scurvy.⁵¹ Attended by Edward Weeks, he died holding the faithful old servant's hand. It was probable that this Confederate States Navy prayer was said at his burial at sea:

O ETERNAL Lord God, who alone spreadest out the heavens, and rulest the raging of the sea; who hast compassed the waters with bounds, until day and night come to an end; be pleased to receive, into thy Almighty and most gracious protection, the persons of thy servants, the officers and crews of our fleet, and of all other vessels now engaged in active service. Preserve them from the dangers of the sea and from the violence of the enemy; give them victory in their various conflicts, and safety and success in all their undertakings, that they may be a safeguard unto the Confederate States of America, and a security for such as pass on the seas upon their lawful occasions; may they return in safety to enjoy the blessings of the land, with the fruits of their labour, [sic] and with a thankful remembrance of thy mercies, to praise and glorify Thy Holy Name through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.⁵²

CHAPTER VI

TO ARMS

While Marine guard units were fighting actively at sea, the line companies were participating in land campaigns just as important to the war effort. In many instances these Marines fought in joint actions with other military and naval services.

The first land action involving the Confederate States Marine Corps was the seizure of Ship Island, Mississippi, on 7 July 1861, by a provisional company commanded by Captain Reuben Thorn. President Lincoln's blockade of Southern ports from South Carolina to Texas in April 1861, placed a strategic importance on the entrances to the ports of New Orleans and Biloxi, Mississippi. Major General Mansfield Lovell, Confederate States Army, realized the necessity of holding the island to prevent its use as a staging area for amphibious operations against New Orleans. In the face of the Federal fleet, Confederate naval forces boldly landed on 7 July 1861 and occupied the island. The landing force was composed of 140 officers and men.

Captain Thorn and his Marines landed two guns to be used to help fortify Ship Island and defend the position until reinforcements arrived. Commander Melancton Smith of the U.S.S. *Massachusetts*, operating between Pensacola and New Orleans, bombarded the Marines but, failing to drive them off after an exchange of fire, retired. By 15 July with the assistance of Major General David E. Twiggs, Thorn had eight 32-pounders and two navy columbiads mounted on Ship Island.¹

Men from regular companies of the Confederate Army stationed at New Orleans were serving on the steamers *Arrow* and *Oregon* on 25 and 27 July 1861. These ships controlled the Mississippi sound and kept open communications with Ship Island and Mobile. Confederate Marines were also aboard these small vessels and used them to launch the landing party for the seizure of Ship Island. Captain Edward Higgins, First Louisiana Heavy Artillery, assisted Captain Thorn. Work on Fort Twiggs was taken over by Major Martin L. Smith, Corps of Engineers, to complete construction of the fort. The Marines and sailors were replaced by four companies of the Fourth Louisiana Infantry. Their stay on Ship Island was brief. On the night of 16 September, the Confederates abandoned the island, and the garrison equipment and guns were reloaded on the *Oregon* and returned to New Orleans.² The Marine guard of the U.S.S. *Massachusetts* took possession of the island. Later in the war as General Lovell suspected, it became the staging area for Major General Benjamin F. "Beast" Butler for his amphibious operations against New Orleans.

Port Royal Sound in South Carolina is on the inland waterway between Savannah and Charleston; its seizure by the Union would have not only reinforced the blockade but would have threatened Confederate land forces. The War and Navy Departments in Washington agreed on at least one thing—Port Royal must be captured.

With this pressure, Flag Officer Samuel F. Du Pont, with nine warships and 16,000 infantry on transports, left Hampton Roads on 10 October 1861, on the largest amphibious operation the United States had then known. A violent storm struck the convoy off the Carolina coast, scattering the naval vessels. Two of the transports were lost and another

er began breaking up. The following morning, 2 November, Captain Cadwalader Ringgold of the U.S.S. *Sabine*, a sailing frigate, rescued Major John G. Reynolds and all but six of his battalion of U.S. Marines from the sinking *Governor*. On 7 November, Du Pont attacked the Confederate fortifications, bringing Fort Walker under fire.

Meanwhile, Confederate Flag Officer Josiah Tattnall had assembled a flotilla including the C.S.S. *Savannah*, the C.S.S. *Sampson*, and two lesser craft to engage the Union ships. Marine Captain George Holmes was on the flagship *Savannah* and Lieutenant David G. Raney was on the *Sampson*; between the two vessels, there were 30 Marines. Against overwhelming odds, Tattnall withdrew for Skull Creek where the Federal vessels of deeper draft could not follow.

Captain Holmes and the Marines of both ships went ashore to assist the battery commanded by Captain J.R.F. Tattnall, who at the time was on detached duty with the Army. On the third try, Du Pont became aware that the Confederates had abandoned Fort Walker. After a landing party from the *Wabash* reconnoitered the area, Brigadier General Thomas W. Sherman's infantry occupied the fort as well as Fort Beauregard across the harbor. Holmes could perceive that his "company" would be captured if he continued to stay and joined the general retirement to Savannah with the other Confederate and South Carolina troops.³

Even prior to Fort Sumter, on 12 January 1861, the Florida and Alabama militia units had seized the Pensacola Navy Yard from Captain James Armstrong, United States Navy. The Union soldiers and sailors then took up positions at Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island, a fort which remained under Federal control during the entire war, giving the North better command of the entrance into Pensacola Bay. Little action occurred during the early months of the war, but in the morning hours of 14 September 1861, United States Marines from the U.S.S. *Colorado* rowed in small boats alongside the Confederate schooner *Judab*, captured, and burned it. The raiding party also spiked the coastal defense guns at the Pensacola Navy Yard.⁴

In late November, a naval bombardment was commenced against Confederate defenses at Fort McRhee, the Navy Yard, and the civilian town of Warrington, Florida. The "Van Benthuisen Battery" at the Yard was manned by Confederate Marines, commanded by Captain Van Benthuisen. His report reflects that at 10 a.m. on the 22d, the enemy opened fire, and his battery cleared for action. The battery commenced counter-fire against Fort Pickens and rapidly established a reputation as being the quickest and most precise. The first shot burst on the fort's parapet. Confederate Marine fire was reported as being "extremely accurate." The construction of the Marine position precluded casualties to equipment or personnel. By the morning of the 23d, however, the rifled guns of the U.S.S. *Colorado* were beginning to penetrate the Marine position. Captain Van Benthuisen had the defenses improved as the *Colorado* moved to the left of his battery, again trying to inflict damage on the gun.

For these Marines it was the first time they had been under fire and they reacted with "cool and gallant conduct." After two days of bombardment, Flag Officer William W. McKean on the U.S.S. *Niagara* and the U.S.S. *Richmond* under Captain Francis B. Ellison terminated their attack and withdrew. Minor damage was done to both the *Richmond* and the Confederate defenses.⁵

On 8 January 1862, in General Order Number 143, General Bragg communicated to the Army and the Marine Corps:

. . . resolutions of thanks, from the sovereign State of Florida, for the gallantry displayed in the successful defense of our positions, on the 22d and 23d of November 1861, against the combined attack of the enemy's forts, batteries, and ships.⁶

This is the only known time that a state legislature thanked the Marines for their actions. It was also the only time that a Marine Corps unit was attached directly to the Army.

At the end of the first year of the war, three companies, "A," "B," and "C," were stationed at Drewry's Bluff, Virginia, providing part of the Richmond defensive line. Company "E" had reached full strength and was assigned to Savannah, supporting the Confederate Navy Squadron there. The remaining companies, "D" and "F" were at Mobile. Records seem to indicate that Company "F" was used as a replacement company for the Gulf Coast area.

Federal armies were pressing toward Richmond in the spring of 1862. The Army of the Potomac advanced up the Peninsula to within a few miles of the capital. Hard fighting stopped the Union drive, but not before thousands of casualties had turned the city into a vast military hospital.

Early in March, President Davis wanted to ensure that Drewry's Bluff, about seven miles below Richmond, was strengthened. This area was chosen because the river could be blocked to prohibit Union vessels like the *Monitor* from coming up the James River to assist the Union infantry advance. Confederate soldiers, Marines, sailors, and slaves drove pilings into the river channel and filled the area with under water mines. Batteries of well-protected guns were placed along the bluffs to protect the river obstruction. The Confederate Marines contributed in a large part to the effective manning and operation of the big guns, which had been captured at the Norfolk Navy Yard and brought up the river.

In mid-May, Flag Officer Tattnall was forced to order the *Virginia* destroyed to prevent her capture. After the fall of Norfolk, the *Virginia* had no operating base, and her draft was too deep to allow passage up the James. Her destruction allowed the Union fleet to advance up the James River to Drewry's Bluff.

On 15 May 1862, the James River Flotilla, under Commander John Rodgers, United States Navy, found itself facing the mines and obstructions off the Confederate positions. Captain Thorn, following the sinking of the *Virginia*, had moved to Drewry's Bluff. The guns from the C.S.S. *Jamestown* and C.S.S. *Patrick Henry* had been moved to the bluff where sailors and Marine crews manned them. The Confederate forces were under the command of Captain Ebenezer Farrand, who was making ready to halt General George B. McClellan's advance. A number of Marine officers, including Majors Terrett and Taylor, Captains Thorn and Simms, and Lieutenants Henderson, Fendall, Bradford, and Doak were assisting him.

The Union ironclads led by the *Monitor* were tasked with destroying the river forts and supporting McClellan's advance. Their plan met with success until the ships

encountered Drewry's Bluff on 15 May. Terrett had placed two companies of Marines along the river bank below the fort. As the ship approached the pilings, the Marines first poured volleys and then well-aimed musket fire into the pilot houses and gun ports. The shore battery was in position to cover the river bend with devastating fire. The U.S.S. *Galena* on the verge of divulsion and sinking, had to retire downstream.⁷ Captain John D. Simms, in charge of the Marine snipers reported:

On the 15 inst., the enemy gunboats having made their appearance near the battery at Drewry's Bluff, I stationed my command on the bluffs some two hundred yards from them to act as sharpshooters. We immediately opened a sharp fire upon them, killing three of the crew of the *Galena* certainly, and no doubt many more. The fire of the enemy materially silenced at intervals by the fire of our troops. It gives me great pleasure to call your attention to the coolness of the officers and men under the severe fire of the enemy.⁸

Corporal John B. Mackie, a United States Marine on board the *Galena* was cited for gallantry and was later awarded the first Medal of Honor authorized to a United States Marine. The *Galena*, taking plunging fire from the bluff, lost the entire crew of the aft gun. Mackie was quick to man the empty gun with Marines from the guard and continued to fire.⁹

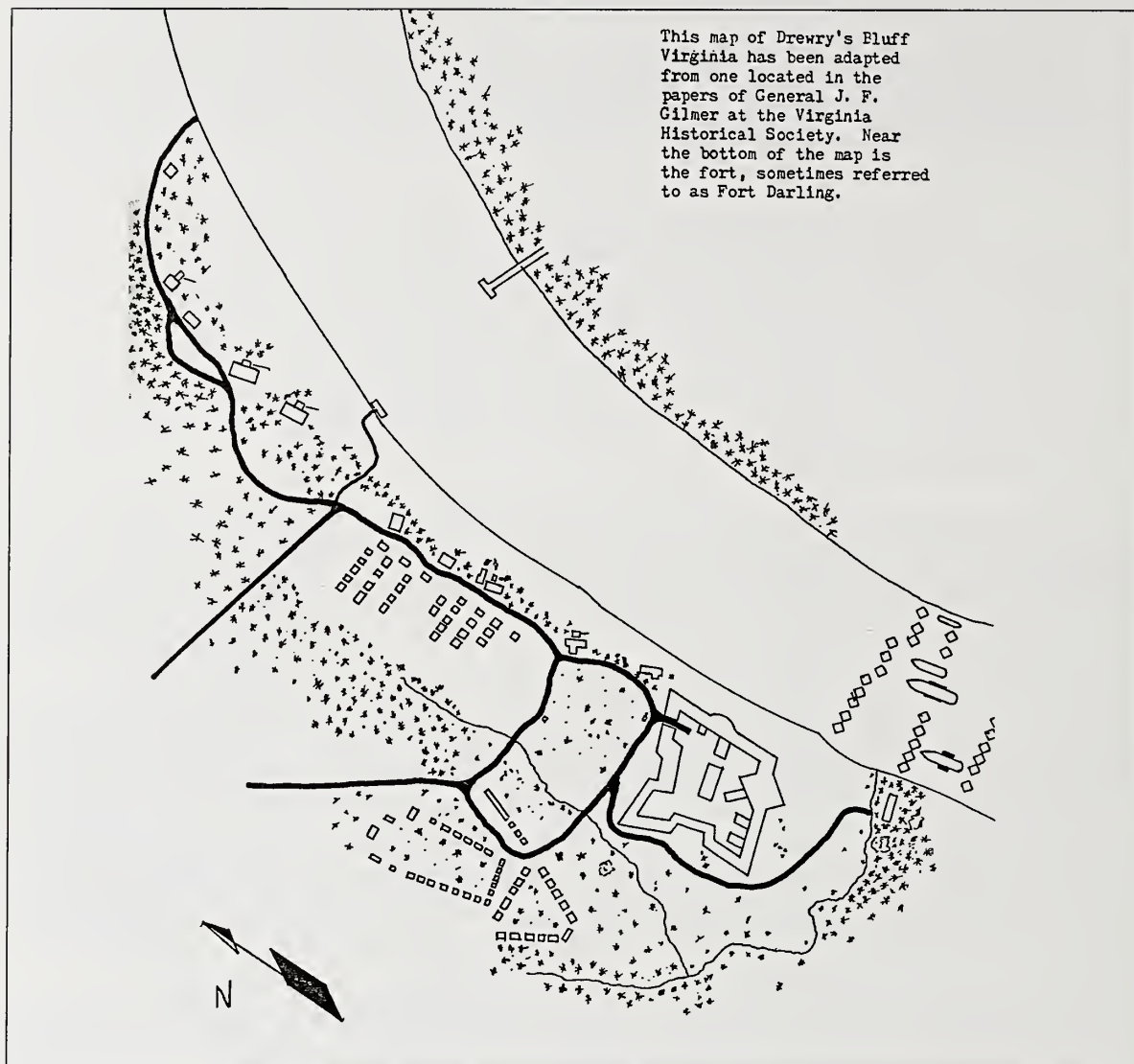
Rodgers had to fall back, convinced that infantry would be required to reduce the fort. Had he been supported by an infantry advance coordinated with his naval attack, Richmond might well have fallen. The end result was McClellan's forced withdrawal from the Peninsula.

The fort, having proven itself, became a strongpoint not to be molested. Training and instruction were the order of the day with the Confederate Marine Corps Camp of Instruction, and the Confederate Naval Academy located there. During the rest of the year, the fort and its supporting squadron occupied itself with shelling the Union soldiers and laborers engaged in building a canal across Dutch Gap.

By spring of 1864, guided by U. S. Grant's concept of total war, Sherman was considering marching into central Georgia and on to Charleston and Savannah. General P.G.T. Beauregard tried to gather his forces to support Lieutenant General William J. Hardee in countering the Union advance into the Carolinas. On 23 July 1864, Union infantry mounted an expedition up the Stono River to cut off the important Charleston-Savannah railroad.

Several Marine Corps officers, including Albert S. Berry, E. R. Smith, and Thomas G. Pratt, were serving at the Charleston Navy Yard. Enlisted Marines accompanied these and other officers in the defense of the naval installations and nearby Fort Johnson.¹⁰ A company of Marines served in the repulse of nearly 8,000 troops attacking south of the city. Official reports acknowledge that the enemy losses were 700 killed or wounded and 141 captured. Confederates defending the positions had 25 wounded and 10 killed. Sherman, ever closing on the west, could not be stopped. When Sherman occupied Columbia, South Carolina, General Hardee evacuated Charleston, which was promptly occupied by

PLATE XVIII



Map of Drewry's Bluff, Virginia

Union troops from Morris Island. With the fall of Charleston, all the Marines stationed there withdrew to Wilmington, North Carolina.

The summer was quiet for the Marine Corps except at Drewry's Bluff. During the week preceding 16 May 1864, Major George Terrett's battalion of nearly three companies were required to assist in repulsing an attack on the Petersburg-Richmond defensive line. Grant had hammered his way south from Spotsylvania, side-stepping his way 20 miles south of Richmond to Petersburg.

Sherman's advance elements arrived near Savannah on 9 December 1864, where they found the city well-fortified by General Hardee with a force of 1,500 soldiers and

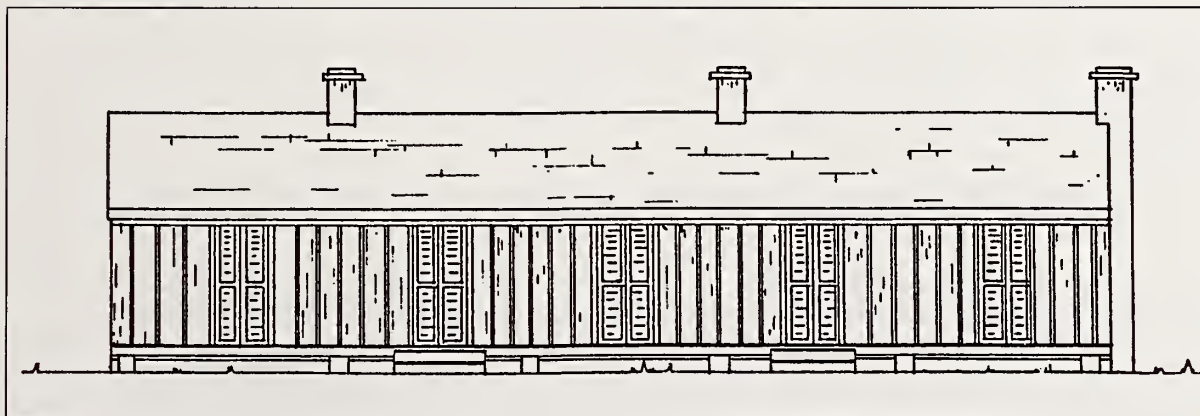
Company "E" of the Marine Corps commanded Captain John R.F. Tattnell. Sherman, having established an operating base and supply line, made contact with Union naval units in Ossabow Sound. Hardee, not intending to be trapped in a besieged city, evacuated Savannah before his lines of communications could be cut. Sherman occupied the city and dispatched his famous telegram to President Lincoln making him a Christmas gift of the city of Savannah. This ended the hostile activities in Georgia for the Confederate Marines as they withdrew north and west by way of Hardyville, Georgia.

The most impressive Marine action came late in the war at Fort Fisher, North Carolina, at the entrance to the Cape Fear River. Colonel William Lamb, Confederate States Army, was instructed to hold the fort at all costs. General Lee did not feel he could maintain the Army of Northern Virginia without the supplies coming in to this last remaining southern port. The key to the defenses of Wilmington was Fort Fisher, one of the strongest fortifications built during the war. Captain A.C. Van Benthuisen and Lieutenant Henry M. Doak assisted in the defense of the fort with a provisional guard company that would feel the brunt of the attack. The fort was garrisoned by 928 officers and men.¹¹

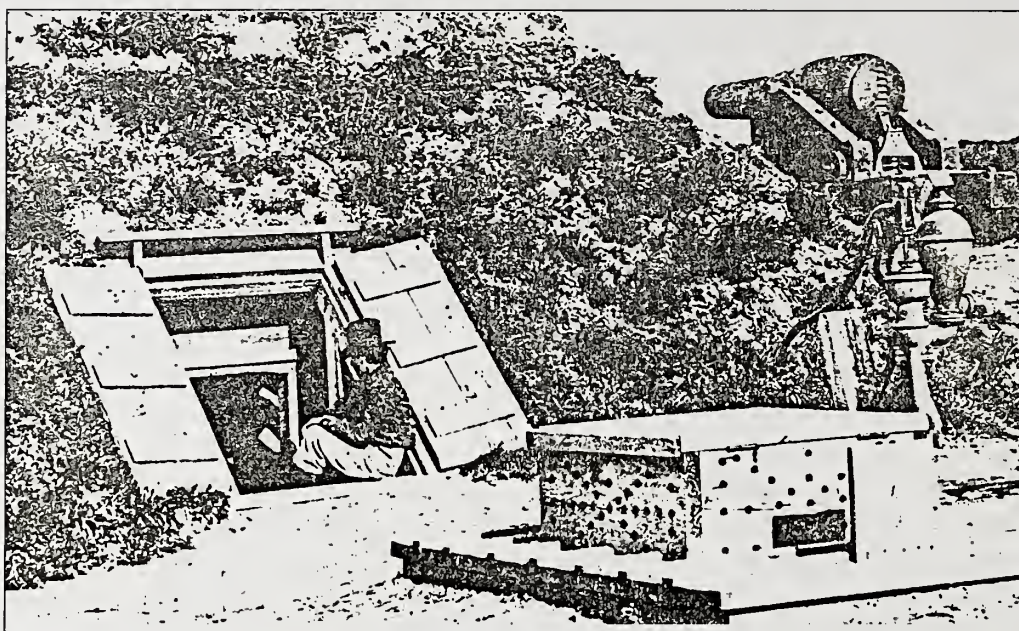
On 24 December, Major General Butler launched an unsuccessful attack on the fort. The Union naval vessels under Rear Admiral David D. Porter, commenced a furious attack. Butler, hoping to bolster his declining military reputation, masterminded a plan for destroying the fort without a fight; he intended to explode a "powder boat" under its wall. After some delays, the "powder boat" exploded with no effect on Fort Fisher. According to Henry Doak's later recollection:

Some time during the night he [Butler] had his famous powder-ship touched off. I was asleep and irreverently—almost insultingly—refused to

PLATE XIX



Officers' Quarters, Dreury's Bluff
Adapted from a sketch by Charles Tayloe Mason



Interior of Fort Darling, Drewry's Bluff, Virginia. Courtesy of the Virginia State Library.

wake up and hear it. It did no damage and the shock was felt more in Wilmington, thirty miles distant, than in the fort.¹²

Butler did not get his landing force into position in time to utilize the naval bombardment, and Porter withdrew to try again the following morning.

On Christmas Day, the attack commenced again. Under the cover of naval gunfire, 2,000 men landed below the fort and attacked. By late afternoon, Union skirmishers were within yards of the fort. Butler considered the works too strongly defended and began to reembark. The landing force withdrew to Fortress Monroe, leaving over 600 soldiers on the beach to be rescued by the Navy.¹³

Colonel Lamb had high praise for the Marines:

I would make mention . . . of the . . . Marines who came as volunteers to join us. Besides the severe bombardment of the enemy from which this detachment suffered their full share, they had another ordeal to try them. . . . Both of their 7-inch Brooke rifles burst . . . wounding quite a number but, undaunted, they asked for other guns to continue the firing which they had so skillfully done throughout the whole bombardment.¹⁴

Porter was critical of Butler's handling of the attack, and Grant rightly relieved him. The expeditionary force, now boasting 8,000 men, returned to attack under the most

capable General Alfred H. Terry. On the early morning of 13 January 1865, the second amphibious assault was started on Fort Fisher. Nearly 60 warships supported Terry. The Navy landing party numbered an additional 2,000 sailors and Marines. Colonel Lamb and his 1,500 defenders were badly out-numbered. By the afternoon of the 15th, a coordinated assault began supported by naval gunfire. Defenders reported incoming shell at the rate of 100 a minute. This terrific bombardment rendered many of the fort's guns unserviceable. When the C.S.S. *Chickamauga* tried to assist, the U.S.S. *Monticello* drove the cruiser out of range. As Terry's troops gained the chevaux-de-frise, bitter hand-to-hand combat ensued, with gallantry being displayed on both sides. Under the diversion of a naval frontal attack, Terry breached the walls and desperate fighting followed inside the fort. Despite reinforcements, late that night, Lamb surrendered 1,900 soldiers and Marines. All the Confederate States Marine officers engaged were wounded and later captured. Captain Van Benthuyzen was seriously wounded, ending his war service.¹⁵ With the fall of Fort Fisher, the fate of Wilmington was sealed. Prior to 22 February, the few remaining Marines, near the city, joined the march to Richmond.

Confederate Marine special operations had continued to provide the Southerners with daring exploits to bolster morale and keep the Union commanders off guard. In July 1864, a raid was planned jointly with the Army. Major John Tyler, Confederate States Army, the Assistant Adjutant General, contacted Major General Sterling Price, proposing an amphibious raid on Point Lookout, Maryland, to release Confederate prisoners of war held there:

The plan is that he [Lieutenant General Jubal Early] shall seize Baltimore and hold it with his infantry while his cavalry proceeds to point Lookout to liberate our prisoners there concentrated to the extent of nearly 30,000. In the meantime, Captain [John Taylor] Wood, of the Navy, proceeds from Wilmington with 5 gunboats and 20,000 stand of arms for the same point by water. If successful in thus liberating and arming our prisoners, Washington will be assaulted and no doubt carried. This I regard as decidedly the most brilliant idea of the war.¹⁶

Unfortunately, the raid was so large in scope that rumors spread, and Lieutenant Moses S. Stuyvestant of the U.S.S. *Minnesota* learned of the daring plan. On 18 July, he warned the Navy Department that Captain Wood had left Richmond with 800 volunteers. Needless to say, considerable excitement was caused in Washington, but President Davis had already advised against the raid on 10 July. Wood wanted to continue, but Davis firmly overrode his aide.¹⁷

By the end of January, Sherman was pressing General John B. Hood and General Bragg with a steady advance. Militiamen were opposing seasoned Yankee regulars; the command and control situations were confused; coordination between the two senior commanders in South Carolina was at a premium. The fall of Fort Fisher, cutting off European food supplies, hurt General Lee inside the Richmond-Petersburg line. The desertion rate was rising.

The conditions on the home front called for an attempt at some ingenious plan to relieve the pressure on Lee. A specially trained boarding party was created of approxi-



Chapel for personnel stationed at Drewry's Bluff, Virginia. Courtesy of the Virginia State Library.

mately 100 sailors and Marines. Each sailor was issued a cutlass and revolver. In other raids of this type, all hands procured cutlasses and revolvers,¹⁸ so it is probable that the Marines were armed with these weapons as well as their usual rifles. It was also the custom for the officers of the expedition to wear white covers on their caps, so as to distinguish themselves. The dashing young naval lieutenant, Charles W. Read, led the expedition against General Grant's supply and communications base at City Point, Virginia. The plan called for the volunteers to march south around Grant's left flank, through Wakefield, Virginia, across the Isle of Wright into Suffolk County. On the James River, the raiders would launch small boats and capture steamers or tugs passing their patrol base. These river vessels were then to be fitted with spars and torpedos for an assault against the Union vessels and monitors anchored upstream at City Point. If successful, General Grant would be denied the river as a resupply and troop transport route from Richmond to Hampton Roads.

On the very cold winter night of 3 February, Read and the expedition departed from Drewry's Bluff overland with four torpedo boats on wagons. By the morning of the fourth, the weather had worsened, and Read and Lieutenant James J. Thurston stopped two miles from the ford on the Blackwater River. Master W. Frank Shippey later indicated in a letter that an unidentified rider reported that their plan had been betrayed by Lieutenant John Lewis, Confederate States Navy, and that a Federal regiment was waiting in ambush at the Blackwater ford. Read, aware that Lewis, although Northern born, had served since 1861 with honor, wanted the report confirmed. He conducted a reconnaissance and determined that the Federal infantry was in place to give him a warm recep-

tion if he continued. Nothing was left to do except to retrace their steps to Richmond at "double quick" time. Their bold attempt to reopen the James River had failed.¹⁹

The war was in its final stages. The Marines regrouped, preparing for the inevitable. On Passion Sunday, 1865, Confederate troops began the evacuation of Richmond, setting fire to supplies they could not transport and to much of the town. Captain Raphael Semmes, recently returned from Europe, assumed command of the James River Fleet, consisting of three iron-clads and five wooden gunboats. Troops were arriving daily from the Carolinas, but there never seemed to be enough for the job ahead. In early 1865, Captain T. S. Wilson and Lieutenant A. S. Berry arrived at Drewry's Bluff. James Thurston had returned from the torpedo raid, and John Van de Graff moved to the bluff from the Richmond Navy Yard. In 1864, Major George Terrett assumed command at Drewry's Bluff. Approximately 300 Marines were at the camp, making it the largest concentration of Marines to assemble during the war. On 2 April, Secretary Mallory ordered the total destruction of Semmes' James River Fleet and directed him to join General Lee with his men in the retreat westward to Danville, Virginia. Semmes armed and equipped his sailors and Marines for field service. The force embarked on the gunboats for Richmond while fuses to the magazines of the ironclads were lighted; a tremendous explosion was heard for miles around.

Blew up and sunk the fleet (except the wooden gunboats) in the obstructions at Drewry's Bluff last night. The blowing up of the "Virginia" was the most magnificent sight I ever saw. We steamed to Richmond in the wooden gunboats and reached the city a little after sunrise, landed on the Manchester side (South side) and set fire to the wooden gunboats. We found all the government buildings, workshops, arsenal &c., and all the bridges in flames. The last of our troops was just passing through. The arsenals were burning, the magazines exploding, and shell bursting and flying through the air, and Richmond presented a sad and terrible sight, though a grand and sublime one. We marched to the Danville Depot, and gathering up some old cars and locomotives that had been left behind, we 'fired up' with pailings and fence rails, and started for Danville a few minutes after 8 A.M. carrying with us besides our own command several hundred sick soldiers and stragglers.²⁰

The naval detachment arrived in Danville on the fourth; Semmes was appointed a Brigadier General and assumed command of the defenses and trench works around Danville on the fifth. For the next 10 days his forces protected the seat of government until he received word of Lee's surrender on 9 April 1865. "General" Semmes, with his 400 remaining men, retreated south to Greensboro, North Carolina, in an effort to join General Joseph E. Johnston. Desertions plagued him every step of the way and by 1 May, when he surrendered, his force was reduced to about 250 men. When Semmes surrendered, he included Majors R. T. Allison and Israel Greene, and Lieutenants Edward Crenshaw and E. T. Eggleston, all Confederate Marine officers.²¹

Commander John R. Tucker's Naval Brigade, including the remainder of the Marines under Major Terrett, was marching to join Major General Custis Lee. The brigade

was attached to General Richard S. Ewell's Corps and caught up with his rear guard in time to take up defensive positions east of Rice's Station, along the general line of Sayler's Creek. Sheridan's cavalry and light artillery flanked the Confederate positions. The frontal attacks of cavalry and infantry were made against the Southern line. General Ewell sent word to surrender, but Tucker's brigade continued a few minutes longer, until dark. As it was later recalled,

The 1st and 3rd divisions charged the enemy's position, carrying it handsomely, except . . . on the right . . . where a column said to be composed exclusively of the Marine battalion . . . made a counter-charge . . . I was never more astonished. These troops were surrendered. . . . Looking upon them as already our prisoners, I ordered the artillery to cease firing. . . . My surprise, therefore was extreme when this force charged upon our fronts; but the fire of our artillery . . . the capture of their superior officers . . . and the concentrated fire of six batteries of our artillery . . . brought them . . . to a surrender.²²

The Confederate States Marine Corps, although hampered by serious problems of supply and personnel, performed its mission on sea and land with honor. Their unique service may well have been the bold and daring ways they tried to assist the South through special operations.

The war was over. The Confederate Corps of Marines maintained spirited resistance to the end. It is to the eternal credit of the officers and men that their courage and conduct was not found lacking. Perhaps the best epitaph to the Confederate Marine is that he fought with the *esprit de corps* characteristic of the "old corps."

APPENDIX I

ROSTER OF OFFICERS

OF THE

CONFEDERATE STATES MARINE CORPS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>State Appointed from</u>
Allison, Richard T.	Paymaster with the rank of Major	Maryland
Baker, Adam N.	First Lieutenant	Florida
Beall, Lloyd J.	Colonel-Commandant	Maryland
Berry, Albert S.	Second Lieutenant	Kentucky
Bradford, David	First Lieutenant	Mississippi
Brent, David G.	Second Lieutenant	Florida
Brown, W. F.	Captain	Texas (?)
Cameron, Francis H.	First Lieutenant	North Carolina
Claiborne, James F.	First Lieutenant	unknown
Crenshaw, Edward	First Lieutenant	Alabama
Doak, Henry Melvil	Second Lieutenant	Tennessee
Eggleston, Everard T.	Second Lieutenant	unknown
Fendall, James R.Y.	First Lieutenant	Mississippi
Fowler, John D.	Second Lieutenant	Alabama
Gonzales, S, Z.	Quartermaster with the rank of Major	unknown
Graves, Henry L.	First Lieutenant	Georgia
Greene, Israel	Adjutant with the rank of Major	Virginia
Gwynn, Thomas P.	First Lieutenant	Virginia
Hays, Andrew J.	Captain	Alabama
Henderson, Richard H.	First Lieutenant	Virginia
Holmes, George	Captain	Florida
Howell, Beckett K.	Captain	Louisiana
Ingraham, Henry Laurens	First Lieutenant	South Carolina
Johnson, Wilbur F.	First Lieutenant	Georgia
McCune, H. H.	Second Lieutenant	Missouri
MacRee, Fergus	First Lieutenant	Missouri
Meiere, Julius Ernest	Captain	District of Columbia
Murdoch, J. Campbell	Second Lieutenant	Maryland
Neufville, Edward F.	Second Lieutenant	Georgia
Pearson, John A.	First Lieutenant	Arkansas
Pratt, Thomas St. George	Second Lieutenant	unknown
Ramsey, R. M.	Second Lieutenant	Tennessee

Raney, David G.	First Lieutenant	Florida
Rapier, John Lawrence	Second Lieutenant	Louisiana
Read, Jacob	Captain	Georgia
Rich, Jabez C.	Captain	Virginia
Roberts, J.D.B.	Second Lieutenant	South Carolina
Roberts, Samuel M.	Second Lieutenant	Louisiana
Sayre, Calvin L.	Captain	Alabama
Shield, W. F.	Captain	unknown
Simms, John D.	Captain	Virginia
Smith, Eugene R.	First Lieutenant	Tennessee
Stephenson, Lloyd B.	Second Lieutenant	unknown
Tansill, Robert	Captain	unknown
Tattnall, John R.E.	Captain	Georgia
Taylor, Algernon S.	Quartermaster with the rank of Major	Virginia
Terrett, George H.	Major	Virginia
Thom, Reuben T.	Captain	Alabama
Thomson, Ruffin	Second Lieutenant	Mississippi
Thurston, James	First Lieutenant	South Carolina
Turner, W. George P.	Captain	Virginia
Tyler, Henry B.	Lieutenant Colonel	Virginia
Tyler, Henry B. Jr.	First Lieutenant	Virginia
Van Benthuyzen, Alfred C.	Captain	Louisiana
Van De Graff, John S.	Second Lieutenant	unknown
Venable, Nathaniel E.	First Lieutenant	Texas
Wilson, Thomas S.	Captain	Missouri
Wyman, W. B.	Acting Lieutenant	unknown
Hyams, Issac Smith	Second Lieutenant, C.S.A. (Attached)	Louisiana

APPENDIX II

WICK SHERIDAN

Many soldiers from both North and South lie in simple graves; their story of sacrifice, patriotism, and courage remains untold. The *Single Grave Record of Elmwood Cemetery*, Memphis, Tennessee, indicates that Private Wick Sheridan is buried in grave number 44 of Soldiers' Rest. He lies with nearly 1,000 other Southern soldiers who fell before their banner was furled. Generally these men were from Memphis or Arkansas, with a few being from other nearby states. Private Sheridan's unit is recorded as "Confederate Marines, Captain Hays' Company." While the official record does not reflect that Captain Andrew J. Hays enlisted Sheridan, it is likely that he joined prior to 27 November 1861, and was transferred to Pensacola, Florida. Little else marks the passing of or is known of this Confederate Marine.

PLATE XXII



A. Soldier's Rest, Elmwood Cemetery, Memphis, Tennessee. Author's Collection.

B. Grave of Wick Sheridan, Author's Collection.

APPENDIX III

NOTES ON SOURCES

The major reason a work has never been published on the Confederate States Marine Corps is the scarcity of records and materials dealing with the military activities of the organization. There are fairly complete records of the Union Forces, and there are considerable materials dealing with the Confederate government, the Army, and to a lesser extent, the Navy. Historians have been unsuccessful in locating many records of the Marine Corps. The Headquarters' records were almost totally destroyed when Richmond, Virginia, was evacuated on 2 April 1865, or soon afterwards. Colonel-Commandant Lloyd J. Beall retained some Corps records, and they too were destroyed by fire at the close of the war. On 21 September 1880, in a letter to Captain Henry Clay Cochrane, United States Marine Corps, Colonel Beall regretted that he could not furnish information on the Confederate States Marine Corps because the records were burned by orders of Secretary of the Navy, Stephen R. Mallory. Lieutenant Nathaniel E. Venable, the Assistant Quartermaster, took the quartermaster records of Danville, Virginia, where they too were destroyed.

Some of the records contained in the Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library in the National Archives provide Confederate Marine Corps material on muster rolls and documents relating to the detachments of Marines that were aboard naval vessels and stations. Certain accounts, receipts, and special orders describing clothing, equipment, and provisions, as well as ordnance stores and transportation requests are also on file in the National Archives. Most beneficial are the mass of documents printed in *The Official Records of Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, while some additional material relating to the Confederate Marine Corps is found in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. The Historical Division, Headquarters, United States Marine Corps, Quantico, VA, is also a valuable source of background and biographical material on some of the better known Confederate Marines who served in the United States Marine Corps prior to the war. Other biographical material is available in the War Department Collection of Confederate Records in the National Archives.

Other records include the Captain Alfred C. Van Benthuisen, Confederate States Marine Corps, papers in the Howard-Tilton Memorial Library at Tulane University, which include a variety of personal and official letters and receipts. A copy of Richard Holt Vaughan's enlistment contract is in the Library of the College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. Mrs. E. M. Trigg of Mobile, Alabama, has letters written by her grandfather, Lieutenant John L. Rapier, Confederate States Marine Corps, from Drewry's Bluff, 1863 to 1864. Captain Edward Crenshaw of the 58th Alabama Infantry also served as a Marine officer and left his diary, dated 4 July 1861 to 19 September 1863 and 1 July 1864 to 19 June 1865, which is held by the Alabama State Library and Archives.

The Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina's Library provides an excellent source of information in that it contains letters written by

Lieutenant Henry L. Graves, Confederate States Marine Corps, to members of his family, as well as letters from Lieutenant Ruffin Thomson, Confederate States Marine Corps. Admiral Franklin Buchanan's letterbook of 1862-1863, in the Southern Historical Collection, contains letters to Colonel Beall relating to the Marine detachments in his command. Limited material may be found about Drewry's Bluff in the Confederate Museum and Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Virginia. A portion of the Savannah Squadron Papers and certain legislative acts affecting the Marine Corps are located at Emory University. John Thomas Scharf's *History of the Confederate States Navy*, while containing inaccuracies, must be considered a primary source, since Scharf himself was a Confederate Navy officer. Less extensive papers are to be found in the records of the Probate Court of Mobile County, Alabama, concerning the Marine guard there from October 1862 to June 1864.

Other sources, generally accepted as representative of the writings on Civil War, were searched but contributed little. They include Fannie Eoline Selph, *The South in American Life and History*; E. Channing, *History of the United States*; D. S. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants* and *Robert E. Lee*; John Bigelow, *France and the Confederate Navy, 1862-1868*; John McIntosh Kell, *Recollections of a Naval Life*; Captain William Harwar Parker, *Recollections of a Naval Officer, 1841-1865*; James D. Horan (ed.), *C.S.S. Shenandoah: The Memories of Lieutenant-Commanding James I. Waddell*; R. U. Johnson and C. C. Bell (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*; *Harper's Weekly, 1860-1880*, and *The Illustrated London News, 1861-1865*.

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The arrangement and indexing of these records often makes it most difficult to find material relating to the Confederate Marines. The following muster rolls, receipts for clothing, and pay rolls are among those containing information on the Marines:

Folder No. 1: Marines at Mobile, Alabama, August 1862–January 1863.

Folder No. 2: Company 'B,' December 1862–December 1864.

Folder No. 3: Company 'C,' December 1861–December, 1864.

Folder No. 4: Marines at Drewry's Bluff, Virginia, May–June 1863.

Folder No. 5: Marines at the Georgia and South Carolina Stations, December 1861–March 1862.

Folder No. 6: Marines in and near Richmond, December 1862–December 1864.

Folder No. 7: Marines at Savannah, January 1863–October 1864.

Folder No. 8: Marines at the Wilmington Station, June 1864.

Folder No. 9: Marines who served under Captain George Holmes at different places, July 1861–July 1864.

The following series in Record Group 45 are also important:

1. Administration and Organization of the Navy Department (Internal).
2. Commandant's Letterbook, 1858–1859.
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4. Medical Records of Confederate States Marine Corps. Miscellaneous Operations Naval Ships and Fleet: Units, 1861–1865.
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6. Miscellaneous Operations of Naval Ships and Stations.
7. Offices of Orders and Detail Files.

8. Records of the First Auditor for the Confederate Government.
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10. Records of Thomas R. Ware, Naval Paymaster at Mobile.
11. U. S. Navy Department Policies Concerning Confederate Navy 1861-1865.
12. War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
13. Records of the Veterans Administration, Record Group 15, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
14. Biographical File of United States Marine Corps Officers, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps, Washington, D.C.
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Tennessee State Library and Archives, Henry M. Doak Papers.

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ENDNOTES FOR CONFEDERATE CORPS OF MARINES

CHAPTER I, TO THE COLORS

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- ² *Regulations for the Navy of the Confederate States* (Richmond, 1862).
- ³ Joseph T. Durkin, *Stephen R. Mallory: Confederate Navy Chief* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), pp. 61, 130.
- ⁴ *Statutes at Large*, 1st Congress, 1st Session, p. 74.
- ⁵ Ibid.
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- ⁷ *Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy including Officers of the Marine Corps, 1861* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861), pp. 76-79. And Robert D. Heinl, *Soldiers of the Sea* (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute, 1962), p. 610.
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ *Official Records at the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 vols. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894-1927), Ser. 2, II, p. 53. Hereafter cited as O.R.N.
- ¹⁰ *Statutes at Large of the Confederate States of America, February 3, 1861-February 18, 1862*, James M. Matthews, ed. (Richmond, 1864), p. 121.
- ¹¹ General Samuel Cooper to the Secretary of War, May 31, 1862; endorsement to letter of Mayor John D. Munford, 1st Virginia Infantry Battalion, Compiled Military Service Records, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives. (Hereafter records in the National Archives will be cited NA.)
- ¹² Confederate States of America, War Department. *Army Regulations*, 1863. Richmond: J. W. Randolph, 1863, p. 2.
- ¹³ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

¹⁴ *Statutes at Large*, Chap. XXX.

¹⁵ *Confederate States Navy Register, 1864* (Richmond: R. M. Smith, Printers to Congress, 1864), p. 34; Henry Graves to Mother, August 20, 1862 from the Graves Family Papers 2716 at the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Hereafter cited as *C.S.N. Register, 1864* and Graves Collection.

¹⁶ O.R.N., Ser. 2, II, pp. 117, 537.

¹⁷ Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate State of Richmond* (Austin, Texas; University of Texas Press, 1971), Map facing p. 22.

CHAPTER II, OFFICERS' CALL

¹ Report of the Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles to the Hon. H. Hamlin, Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate transmitting a list of officers of the Navy and the Marine Corps, who, between the 1st day of December, 1860, and the 1st day of December, 1863, left the service, either by resignation, dismissal or desertion. Typescript copy may be found in the Marine Corps Historical Division, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps, Washington, D.C. Also printed as Executive Document No. 3, Volume I, 1st Session of the 38th Congress. Hereafter cited Sec Nav Report.

² Confederate Congress Act of March 14, 1861.

³ *Sec Nav Report*. The rank shown is the highest grade obtained by officer concerned while on the active list of the United States Marine Corps.

⁴ Letter from Captain Robert Tansill, USMC, aboard the U.S.S. *Congress*, to the Honorable Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D.C. dated May 17, 1861. A signed certified copy of this letter was enclosed to a letter dated October 18, 1887, from Captain Tansill to the Secretary of the Interior applying for a Mexican War pension he had been denied as a result of his dismissal on file in the Historical Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, Washington, D.C.

⁵ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* (Albany, N.Y.: Joseph McDonough, 1894), pp. 769-770. Hereafter cited as *Scharf*.

⁶ *C.S.N. Register, 1864*, p. 38, and *Register of Officers of the Confederate States Navy, 1861-1865*, (Washington, 1931), p. 190. Hereafter cited as *C.S.N. Register, 1861-1865*

⁷ *Scharf*, p. 769.

⁸ *Instruction for field artillery; compiled from standard military authority; embracing schools of the piece, battery, and battalion or evolutions of batteries; with an instructive appendix.* Prepared by Major A. W. Stark. Published by authority of the Secretary of War. Richmond: A. Morris, Publisher, 1864.

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¹⁰ War Department, *Historical Register of the United States Army from its Organization Sept. 29, 1789 to Sept. 29, 1889.* (Washington, D.C.: The National Tribune, 1890), p. 115 and *C.S.N. Register, 1864*, p. 34.

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¹² *Scharf*, p. 770.

¹³ Excerpts from folder marked "Henry B. Tyler" held at Historical Division, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps, Washington, D.C. and *C.S.N. Register, 1861-1865*, p. 199.

¹⁴ *Washington Star* (Washington, D.C.), June 1, 1859.

¹⁵ *C.S.N. Register, 1864*, p. 38.

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¹⁷ Trial record of General Court Martial convened November 29, 1861 held in Captain Alfred C. Van Benthuyzen's papers in the Howard-Tilton Memorial Library at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

¹⁸ Letter from Brevet Brigadier General Archibald Henderson, Commandant, U. S. Marine Corps, to the Honorable John Y. Mason, Secretary of the Navy, dated May 12, 1848, cites George H. Terrett's gallantry and requests he be brevetted. On file in the Historical Division, Headquarters U. S. Marine Corps, Washington, D.C.

¹⁹ Excerpts from folder marked "George H. Terrett," held at Historical Division, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps, Washington, D.C.

²⁰ *C.S.N. Register, 1861-1865*, p. 193.

²¹ *C.S.N. Register, 1861-1865*, p. 7 and *Scharf*, p. 771.

- ²² Excerpts from folder marked "Israel Greene" held at Historical Division, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps, Washington, D.C.
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- ²⁸ Excerpts from folder marked "J.R.F. Tattall" held at Historical Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, Washington, D.C. and *C.S.N. Register, 1861-1865*, p. 190.
- ²⁹ *Savannah Morning News*, August 18, 1907, p. 5.
- ³⁰ *C.S.N. Register, 1861-1865*, p. 193.
- ³¹ *Ibid*, p. 200.
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- ³⁴ Excerpts from the Graves Collection and Richard Harwell (ed.), *A Confederate Marine: A Sketch of Henry Lea Graves with excerpts from the Graves Family*

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³⁵ Extracted from the Henry Melvil Doak papers in the Tennessee State Archives at Nashville, Tennessee.

³⁶ Mrs. E. M. (Adelaide Marston) Trigg, of Mobile, Alabama Private interview June 11, 1973. Mrs. Trigg is the granddaughter of Second Lieutenant John Lawrence Rapier.

³⁷ *C.S.N. Register; 1861-1865*, p. 160.

³⁸ "Diary of Captain Edward Crenshaw," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* (Fall, 1930), (Winter, 1930), (Spring, 1940), (Summer, 1940), (Fall, 1940), (Winter, 1940), entries dated July 4, 1861, to September 19, 1863, and July 1, 1864, to June 19, 1865.

³⁹ Ralph Donnelly, "The Confederate Marines at Drewry's Bluff," *Virginia Cavalcade*, XVI, No. 2 (Autumn, 1966), 42-47.

⁴⁰ *C.S.N. Register; 1861-1865*, pp. 7, 163.

⁴¹ From the papers of W. George P. Turner, Folder T-841 in the Confederate Museum at Richmond, Virginia, also *C.S.N. Register; 1861-1865*, p. 198.

⁴² Letter, Ruffin Thomson to Pa, January 13, 1864, from the Ruffin Thomson Papers #3315 in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Here after Ruffin Thomson Papers.

⁴³ Letter, Ruffin Thomson to Pa, January 18, 1864, from Ruffin Thomson Papers.

⁴⁴ Excerpted from the Ruffin Thomson papers.

⁴⁵ Second Lieutenant Hyams was attached to Company B of the Confederate Corps of Marines by order of Major General Bragg, as shown on the Company Muster Roll, dated December 31, 1861, Van Benthuyzen's papers in Tulane University Library.

⁴⁶ *C.S.N. Register; 1864*, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Letter, Franklin Buchanan to Secretary Mallory, October 29, 1862, and letter to Lt. J. N. Maffitt, Commanding Officer of the C.S.S. *Florida*, November 10, 1862. From Admiral Buchanan's Letterbook, 1862-1863, in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

⁴⁸ Letter, Franklin Buchanan to Secretary Mallory, June 12, 1863. From Admiral Buchanan's Letterbook, 1862-63.

⁴⁹ *Regulations for the Navy of the Confederate States* (Richmond, 1862), p. 150.

⁵⁰ Donnelly, "The Confederate States Marine Corps," *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*, December 1970, pp 14-16, 22-23.

CHAPTER III, ASSEMBLY

¹ O.R.N., Ser. 2, II, p. 53.

² Clyde H. Metcalf, *A History of the United States Marine Corps*, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1939), p. 192.

³ O.R.N., Ser. 2, II, p. 53.

⁴ "Notice," *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 28, 1861, p. [not used]. Also May 1, 1861.

⁵ "Confederate Marine Personnel From Tennessee," Manuscript section, Acquisition Number 809, Tennessee State Archives.

⁶ O.R.N., Ser. 2, II, p. 154.

⁷ A series of letters sent by General Samuel Cooper, A. & I. G.D., Chapter I, Vol. 35, pp. 50, 88, 94-95, 99, 104, 110, & 127, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸ *Statutes of the Confederate States*, 1st Congress, 1st Session, p. 262.

⁹ O.R.N., Ser. 2, II, p. 245.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

¹¹ O.R.N., Ser. 2, II, p. 321-22.

¹² O.R.N., Ser. 2, II, p. 543-48.

¹³ O.R.N., Ser. 2, II, p. 636.

- ¹⁴ Letter, Colonel Lloyd J. Beall, October 30, 1864 to the Honorable S. R. Mallory, folder VN, Box 60, Record Group No. 45, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ¹⁵ Bill No. 274, House of Representatives, Confederate States Congress, December 13, 1864. Special Collections, Emory University Library, Atlanta, Georgia.
- ¹⁶ Diary, Captain Edward Crenshaw, entry November 7, 1864.
- ¹⁷ Scattered information pertaining to blacks and Virginia Naval Installations may be found in Subject File, Record Group 45, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ¹⁸ "Notice," *Examiner* (Richmond, Virginia), January 27, 1863.
- ¹⁹ War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, SLAVE ROLLS Numbers 1-565., National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ²⁰ Letter, Henry L. Graves to Mrs. Sarah D. Graves from Charleston, South Carolina from Graves Family Papers, 1815-1901 #2716 in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina (Hereafter Graves Collection).
- ²¹ Graves Collection, Iverson D. Graves to Mrs. Sarah D. Graves from James Island, South Carolina, January 20, 1865.
- ²² Letter, Beall to Mallory, October 30, 1864.
- ²³ Graves Collection, Henry L. Graves to Mrs. Sarah D. Graves, from Savannah, Georgia, February 5, 1863. Also Muster Roll, Company E, Confederate States Marine Corps, Folder No. 7, Naval Records and Library Section, National Archives, Washington, D. C.
- ²⁴ Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940), p. 215-218, 228-232.
- ²⁵ Letter, Ruffin Thomson to Dear Pa, March 10, 1862 from Richmond, Virginia, from Ruffin Thomson Papers, No. 3315 in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
- ²⁶ Henry M. Doak Papers, Tennessee Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.
- ²⁷ *O.R.N.*, Ser. 2, II, p. 730.

²⁸ S. R. Mallory to Confederate Congress, November, 1864, Folder VN, Box 60, Record Group No. 45, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

²⁹ Circular, Quartermaster General's Department, C.S.A., Richmond, Virginia, September 19, 1861, concerning deserters. Major A. S. Taylor, Quartermaster, C.S.M.C. has written on the bottom of the circular that it is applicable to the Marine Corps. Alfred C. Benthuyesen Papers, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana,

³⁰ Letterbook, Franklin Buchanan to Secretary Mallory, February 2, 1863, No. 97 in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

³¹ Letterbook, Franklin Buchanan to Commander John K. Mitchell, May 8, 1863.

³² Muster Roll, Camp Beall, Richmond, Virginia, August 31, 1864, Naval Records and Library Section, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

³³ Muster Rolls, Confederate States Marine Corps, Naval Records and Library Section, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

³⁴ Circular, Headquarters, Array of Pensacola, Florida. December 16, 1861. Alfred C. Benthuyesen Papers, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

³⁵ Henry M. Doak Papers., Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

³⁶ Diary of Captain Edward Crenshaw, April 4, 1865.

³⁷ *O.R.N.* Ser. 2, II, p. 563.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 744.

CHAPTER IV, INSPECTION

¹ Robert Debs Heinl, Jr., *Dictionary of Military and Naval Quotations* (Annapolis, Maryland: United States Naval Institute, 1966), p. 333.

² General Order from Office of Orders and Detail, C.S. Navy Department, April 17, 1863. *Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Confederate States*, p. 84-85.

³ See Plate Number XI.

⁴ See Plate Number V.

⁵ Graves Collection, Henry L. Graves to Mrs. Sarah D. Graves from Savannah, Georgia, April 22, 1863.

⁶ Graves Collection, Henry L. Graves to Mrs. Sarah D. Graves from Steamer Savannah, Savannah, Georgia, November 3, 1863.

⁷ Graves Collection, Henry L. Graves to Miss Cora Graves from Steamer Savannah, Savannah, Georgia, December 26, 1863.

⁸ Graves Collection, Henry L. Graves to Mrs. Sarah D. Graves from Savannah, Georgia, February 5, 1863.

⁹ U.S. Marine Corps. *Regulations For the Uniform and Dress Of The Marine Corps of the United States*, October, 1859, (Philadelphia, Pa.: Charles Desilver, 1859), p. 7.

¹⁰ See Plate Number XIII.

¹¹ C. S. War Department, *Uniform and Dress of the Army of the Confederate States*, (Richmond, Virginia, Chas. H. Wynne, 1861), p. 4.

¹² See Plate Number IV.

¹³ See Plate Number XII.

¹⁴ See Plate Number XIV.

¹⁵ Ruffin Thomson Papers, Ruffin Thomson to "Dear Pa," from Richmond, Virginia, January 18, 1864.

¹⁶ See Plate Number VII.

¹⁷ See Plate Number VI.

¹⁸ Henry M. Doak, Papers.

¹⁹ H. W. Williams, Jr., "A Confederate Marine Corps Button?" *Military Collector & Historian*, VIII, No. 3 (Fall, 1956), p. 81.

- ²⁰ U.S. Marine Corps. *Regulations For The Uniform and Dress of The Marine Corps of the United States*, p. 6.
- ²¹ *Uniform and Dress of the Army of the Confederate States*, p. 5.
- ²² Recorded on Receipts for Clothing, Confederate States Marine Corps, Naval Records and Library Section, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ²³ *O.R.N.*, Ser. 2, II, p. 65.
- ²⁴ Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy of The Confederate States, p. 38.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34-35.
- ²⁶ *O.R.N.*, Ser. 2, II, p. 116.
- ²⁷ *O.R.N.*, Ser. 2, II, p. 92.
- ²⁸ *O.R.N.*, Ser. 2, II, p. 543-548.
- ²⁹ Muster Rolls, Confederate States Marine Corps, Naval Records and Library Section, National Archives, Washington, D.C. and Alfred C. Van Benthuyzen Papers, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.
- ³⁰ *O.R.N.*, Ser. 2, XXI, p. 899. General Orders No. 23, June 1, 1864.
- ³¹ Letterbook, Franklin Buchanan to Colonel Lloyd Beall, from Mobile, AL. September 17, 1862.
- ³² *Clothing Receipt Rolls of the Confederate States Marine Corps for quarter ending December, 1864*, Naval Records and Library, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ³³ "Police Matters," *Daily Examiner* (Richmond, Virginia), May 26, 1862, p. 2.
- ³⁴ "Notice" *Republican* (Savannah, Georgia), June 2, 1863, p. 4.
- ³⁵ "Notice" *Advertiser and Register* (Mobile, Alabama), January 24, 1863, p. 2.
- ³⁶ *Clothing Receipts Rolls of the Confederate States Marine Corps*, Naval Records and Library, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

- ³⁷ Article 8, *Confederate States Naval Regulations*, p. 146.
- ³⁸ List of Clothing Issued to the Marine Guard of Confederate States Steamer *Morgan*, January 28, 1865. John L. Rapier Papers, in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Regina Rapier Marston of Mobile, Alabama.
- ³⁹ *Republican* (Savannah, Georgia), January 7, 1864, p. 1; *Daily Advertiser and Register* (Mobile, Alabama), January 1, 1864, p. 1; Receipt for \$4.50 Paid to [Virginia] *Sentinel* "for advertising notice warning the public agt. [against] buying clothing from Marines." Signed by Major A.S. Taylor and dated December 8, 1863.
- ⁴⁰ General Order No. 12, Headquarters, Confederate States Marine Corps, Richmond, Virginia, November 5, 1864, Signed by the Colonel-Commanding, Alfred C. Van Benthuyzen Papers.
- ⁴¹ Ordnance stores turned over to Captain T.S. Wilson by Captain George Holmes in Charleston, South Carolina, on March 9, 1863, Naval Records and Library, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ⁴² General Order No. 133, Headquarters, Army of Pensacola, Signed by Order of General Braxton Bragg December 1, 1861, Item 265, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
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- ⁴⁴ Muster Roll of Company B signed by Captain A.C. Van Benthuyzen, dated April 30, 1862, Naval Records Collections, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ⁴⁵ Author test-fired weapon of similar pattern on May 12, 1973 under field conditions and found it accurate up to 700 yards. The weapon was dependable even in adverse weather.
- ⁴⁶ Ordnance Stores Return, signed by Captain T.S. Wilson, dated September 20, 1864, R.G. 45 Naval Records Collections, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ⁴⁷ C.S. Navy Department, *Ordnance Instructions for the Confederate States Navy*, (London: Saunders, Otley and Company, 1864), pp. 160-162.
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⁴⁹ Peter Copeland, *American's Fighting Men* (Greenwich, Connecticut New York Graphic Society, 1971), plate XXIV.

CHAPTER V, GENERAL QUARTERS

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⁵ *Ibid.*, p. IX.

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⁷ Semmes, *Service Afloat*, p. 106.

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¹¹ *O.R.N.*, Ser. 1, I, p. 658. Report of Commander Semmes to Secretary Mallory, June 15, 1861.

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- ¹⁹ Rolls and lists of officers and men of C.S. Navy and Marine Corps, Ships and Stations, Box 24, Record Group 45, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
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- ²² *Ibid.*, (Summer, 1940), entry October 27 and November 3, 1864.
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- ²⁴ *O.R.N.*, Ser. 1, III, p. 713. From the Journal of Lieutenant John Wilkinson, CSN, Commanding the *Chickamauga*, September 26 to December 15, 1864.
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- ²⁶ *Scharf*, p. 804-805.
- ²⁷ Clement A. Evans (ed.), *Confederate Military History* (12 vols. Atlanta, Georgia: Confederate Publishing Company, 1899), Vol XII, p. 106.

CHAPTER VI, TO ARMS

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- 5 Ibid.
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17 Ibid.

18 Admiral Franklin Buchanan to Lieutenant John W. Bennett, Commanding the C.S.S. *Gaines* off Mobile, January 26, 1863, Buchanan's Letterbook.

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