

Epilogue

The guns fell silent along Hatcher’s Run during the freezing night of Tuesday, February 7. No further substantial combat would occur around Petersburg for more than six weeks.

Scale of the Battle

Traditional accounts report that 34,517 Union troops and 13,835 Confederates participated in the three-day battle. However, these numbers are nuanced. The Union value derives from aggregating the strengths of the 5th Corps, two divisions of the 2nd Corps, and the cavalry division. The data does *not* include the reinforcements Meade summoned on February 5. Ramsey’s brigade from Miles’s 2nd Corps division actively supported Mott’s division late on February 5. Parts of Wheaton’s 6th Corps division fought alongside the 5th Corps on February 6 and 7. Finally, Hartranft’s 9th Corps division served as reserves and occupied front-line defenses. Thus, the Hatcher’s Run battle involved *over 43,000* Union troops.¹

Table E.1: Union Troops Involved at the Battle of Hatcher’s Run

Union Force	Troops
2nd Corps (two divisions)	10,988
5th Corps	17,032
Cavalry division	6,497
Ramsey’s brigade	1,100
Wheaton’s division (6th Corps)	4,500
Hartranft’s division (9th Corps)	3,200
Total	43,317

The “absolute” numbers quoted give a false sense of precision; they represent a one-day snapshot from an inspection performed a week before the battle. The “rounded” numbers give more realistic “estimates.”²

¹ The American Battlefield Trust, The Battle of Hatcher’s Run webpage [Hatcher's Run Battle Facts and Summary | American Battlefield Trust \(battlefields.org\)](https://www.battlefields.org/learn/battle-of-hatcher-run). The Union data derives from Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 133, which came from the *OR*. Livermore incorrectly stated that the reinforcements took no part in the battle.

² Data for Ramsey’s brigade (*OR* 46/1:192); Wheaton’s division (Warren and Humphreys both reported 4,500 *OR* 46/1:193, 255; although Maj. Gen. Getty reported 4,400 *OR* 46/2:405); and Hartranft’s division (*OR* 46/1:193).

The conventionally reported Confederate strength is also problematic. The “End of January 1865, Inspection Reports” provided data for the divisions of Pegram, Evans, and Heth. Sadly, no such reports exist for Mahone’s Division. Data for this division came from the “End of December, 1864 Inspection Report.”

Table E.2: Confederate Troops Involved at the Battle of Hatcher’s Run

Confederate Force	Strength
Pegram’s division	2,353
Evans’s division	2,695
Heth’s Division	4,676
Mahone’s Division (Finegan)	4,900
Beale’s cavalry brigade	1,000
Total	15,624

The data comes from the front covers of Inspection Reports.”³

Whether Philip Cook’s Georgia Brigade (Grimes’s Division) participated in the Confederate attacks late on February 5 remains uncertain. I have chosen *not* to include them in this analysis. More problematic is how to represent Rooney Lee’s cavalry division. Inspection Report data exists for this force. However, the strength quoted on the report's front cover (3,093) is at variance with the 4,152 reported as “present for duty” in the body of the report. Furthermore, there is only compelling evidence that Beale’s Brigade fought at the battle. Beale’s Inspection Report gives a strength of either 958 or 1,247, depending on which column one accepts. A figure of 1,000 seems reasonable. Thus, the Confederate forces involved at the Battle of Hatcher’s Run totaled *about 15,600*, around a third of the Union’s strength. Thus, the battle comprised a total of around *59,000* soldiers.

The Butcher’s Bill

As lost and displaced soldiers returned to their regiments and exhausted medics processed the accumulated broken bodies, officials began counting the human cost of the battle.

³ The conventional Confederate data came from Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 134, which were estimated from the *OR*. Mahone’s Division was on a mission at the end of Jan 1865 and hence missed that month’s Inspection Report. That data came from the previous “end of month” report. The numbers inside the reports do not always agree with the cover figure. NARA, M935, Roll 14, 16-P-51, 20-P-51, 19-P-46; Roll 15, 7-P-53, 1-P-58, 3-P-58.

Total Union Casualties

Overall, the Union suffered *1,540 casualties* (171 killed, 1,182 wounded, and 187 missing). Of those, 738 (48%) came from Crawford's division. The other substantial loss (178) came from Pearson's brigade, which fought alongside Crawford's men on February 6. Nearly 150 Union regiments took some part in the fighting; many suffered three or fewer casualties. Over half (54%) of the Union casualties came from 16 regiments, with over a quarter coming from just five regiments: 6th Wisconsin, 11th Pennsylvania, 107th Pennsylvania, 16th Maine, and 1st Maryland. The 6th Wisconsin in Bragg's brigade suffered 103 casualties, the highest for any Union regiment at the battle.⁴

It seems probable that the volume of inadequately trained raw recruits added to the Union losses. Large numbers of draftees in Warren's 5th Corps had never previously fired a rifle. The 6th Wisconsin (see above) entered the fight with about 400 drafted men. The 7th Wisconsin commander, Col. Richardson, reported that "the conduct of officers and men was all that I could ask or expect of the 220 men that went into the engagement. 100 were raw men who had never fired a musket."⁵

Total Confederate Casualties

As no official records exist for the Confederate losses, presenting the equivalent casualty data is limited. Alfred C. Young, III, a well-respected expert on Confederate casualty data, compiled some data for the battle, which he kindly shared. The figures are conservative estimates mainly obtained from the analysis of hospital data and newspaper casualty lists. These data reveal 443 losses for Gordon's Second Corps, 405 losses for A.P. Hill's Third Corps, and 30 losses for Rooney Lee's Cavalry division. This equates to a Confederate loss of 132 killed, 521 wounded, and 225 missing, for a total of *878 casualties*. This conservative figure is consistent with Kyd Douglas's estimated 1,000, a figure all subsequent narratives usually adopt.⁶

⁴ The *OR* gives Union casualties at the regimental level for the entire battle, *OR* 46/1:63-69. Ramsey's brigade (one casualty) is not included in the formal *OR* list. Hartranft's division (9th Corps) suffered no casualties. One should note that the *OR* data are not definitive. As well as accounting errors, some of those listed as "wounded" would die in hospital days later. Similarly, some of the "missing" could be later accounted for as they were found in hospitals or on the battlefield. Others could eventually appear back with their regiment.

⁵ Gibbon, *Personal Recollections*, 229-30; Taylor, *Gouverneur Kemble Warren*, 203 note 1; Reid-Green, ed., *Letters Home*, 108; *ORS* 7:711-13.

⁶ Alfred C. Young III, personal communication; Douglas, *I Rode With Stonewall*, 312; American Battlefield Trust, [Hatcher's Run Battle Facts and Summary](https://www.battlefields.org/learn/education/hatcher-run-battle-facts-and-summary) | [American Battlefield Trust \(battlefields.org\)](https://www.battlefields.org/).

There are some interesting features in the Confederate data. The large number (85) of “missing” from Lewis’s Brigade presumably reflects those captured by the Federals along Vaughan Road on February 6. The eight “missing” for Terry’s Brigade is probably low, given the reports of a significant number from this brigade deserting during the battle. McComb’s 15 wounded also seems low, given that 12 were killed and the ratio of wounded to killed was usually three or more. The large number of casualties (100) in Sorrel’s Brigade is intriguing. The brigade was in the second wave of Finegan’s charge on February 6; the adjacent brigade (Harris) suffered only 15 casualties. Even those brigades in the first wave, which presumably did more of the fighting, lost only half of Sorrel’s number. One possibility is that Sorrel also lost significant numbers on February 5 and 7. At the Battle of Hatcher’s Run, the Confederates could have suffered 1,200 losses, including desertions.

The Immediate Military Aftermath

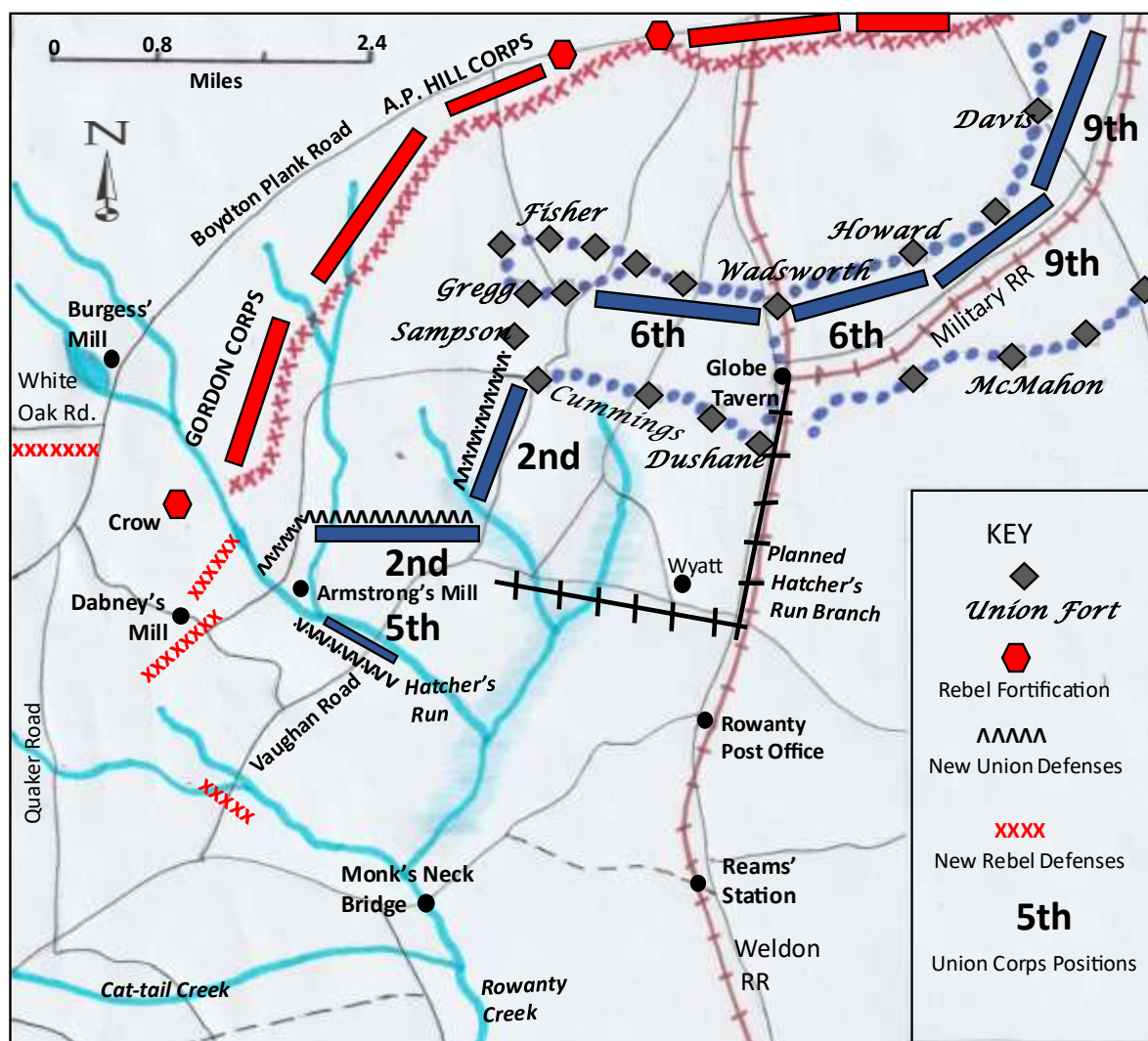
With the bloody battle concluded, this section summarizes what happened militarily in the following days.

The Union Strengthens Its New Positions

Starting on February 8, the Union implemented the directives in Meade’s overnight circular. Acquisition of the Hatcher’s Run crossings at Armstrong’s Mill and Vaughan Road enabled the Union to extend its left flank three miles further west. This extension required a substantial construction of fortifications and corduroy roads. Once constructed, the 6th Corps occupied the line from Fort Howard to Fort Gregg and the 2nd Corps from Fort Gregg to Armstrong’s Mill. The 5th Corps held the line from Armstrong’s Mill to the Vaughan Road crossing and picketed Hatcher’s Run above and below the crossing and along Vaughan Road to the Wyatt’s house.

The Federals quickly started plans for extending the Military Railroad to supply the newly gained territory. On Sunday, February 12, Chief Engineer James J. Moore and his assistant, C. S. McAlpine, arrived to survey the project. The most workable route for the “Hatcher’s Run Branch” involved extending the line from Warren Station (next to Globe Tavern) to the Cumming’s house near the Vaughan Road crossing. Construction began the following day, and the railroad was effectively operational by the month’s end.⁷

⁷ Mike Willegal, *Building a Railroad*, [*hatchers run book-II \(willegal.net\)](http://willegal.net), 2022, 1-37. This public domain essay provides a detailed account of constructing the Hatcher’s Run Branch.



Map E.1: Union and Confederate Positions After the Battle of Hatcher's Run

On the morning of February 8, Kerwin's cavalry brigade rejoined the rest of Gregg's division around Rowanty Post Office. Most subsequently returned to their base on Jerusalem Plank Road. However, after sightings of Rebels, some of Kerwin's men went to picket along the Weldon Railroad near Reams's Station. They only discovered Confederate scouting parties here, so the Yankees returned to their camps early on February 9. To the shock of most of the cavalymen, their beloved divisional commander, David Gregg, departed the service on the same day. As one trooper recalled, he left without even a farewell address.⁸

⁸ Preston, *History of the 10th Regiment of Cavalry*, 243; Crowninshield, *A History of the First Regiment*, 250; Merrill, *The Campaigns of the First Maine*, 319-20; Hyndman, *History of a Cavalry Company*, 278; Mohr, *The Cormany Diaries*, 518-19; Hand, *One Good Regiment*, 195. David Gregg had handed in his resignation on Jan 25.

Confederate Supply Issues

On February 8, Lee wrote to the Confederate Secretary of War John C. Breckinridge, highlighting the extreme plight of his soldiers. “Some of the men had been without meat for three days, and all were suffering from reduced rations and scant clothing, exposed to battle, cold, hail, and sleet.” He promised to send Col. Cole, his chief commissary, to Richmond to see what improvements he could effect. Lee added, “If some change is not made and the commissary department reorganized, I apprehend dire results. The physical strength of the men, if their courage survives, must fail under this treatment.” He also mentioned that he had to disperse his cavalry for want of forage. When President Davis heard the news, he replied, “This is too sad to be patiently considered, and cannot have occurred without criminal neglect or gross incapacity. Let supplies be had by purchase, or borrowing or other possible mode.” Breckinridge had only taken up the Secretary of War post on February 6. He oversaw the removal of the inept Lucius B. Northrop as commissary general and replaced him with Isaac M. St. John on February 16. Although supplies to Confederate troops improved, it was too late to change the war’s outcome.⁹

The Confederates extended their Boydton Plank Road lines south beyond Hatcher’s Run, including the Dabney’s Mill site, to block any direct advance to the Southside Railroad. But with the Federals now controlling the main Hatcher’s Run crossings, they had many options for sweeping around Lee’s right flank. To frustrate these threats, Lee built a defensive line stretching several miles westward along White Oak Road just south of Burgess’ Mill. However, in light of the Hatcher’s Run battle, Lee realized that Grant would eventually get beyond his right flank. By February 22, Lee had plotted a retreat west should the likely evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond occur. He planned to rally his army around Burkeville (30 miles northwest of Petersburg), where the Southside Railroad joined the Danville Railroad. To this end, he moved his surplus materials to Amelia Court House, just north of Burkeville.¹⁰

Confederate Desertions

Desertion from the ANV was already a problem at the start of 1865. However, following the Battle of Hatcher’s Run, the scale of desertion increased substantially. On

⁹ OR 46/1:382. Breckinridge replaced John Seddon who had resigned on Jan. 19, 1865. Breckinridge was a former Confederate field general and a former Vice President of the USA.

¹⁰ Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, 404; Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 234, 246; Chris M. Calkins, *The Appomattox Campaign* (New York, 1997), 10-11.

February 10, President Davis adopted a proposal from Robert E. Lee for a 30-day amnesty for any deserters who returned to their regiments. Those who deserted after that date would receive the full military punishment. Lee believed the root causes were a lack of food, non-payment of wages, and despondency on the home front regarding their cause. Union records show that from February 9 to February 28, they received 1,148 Confederate deserters. A Massachusetts soldier wrote, “Every night . . . brought squads of these men [Rebel deserters] in, whom we saw marched past to corps headquarters.” In addition to these recorded fugitives, many Rebels deserted and returned home.¹¹

To address the stream of Tar Heel soldiers back to North Carolina, Lee had to send valuable troops from his already stretched front line to the state border to round up deserters. Toward the end of February, both Brig. Gen. Johnston’s Brigade (from Pegram’s former division) and the 10th Virginia Cavalry moved to the Roanoke River on the North Carolina border for this purpose.¹²

Delight and Dejection for Some Federals

On Friday, February 10, Union Secretary of War Edwin Stanton ordered Grant to dispatch “several reliable and reduced strength regiments” to Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck (Chief-of-Staff in Washington) for special duties. Grant relayed the order to Meade, adding that the duties entailed guarding camps in the North for draftees before they went to the front. Meade disseminated the order to his corps commanders, and from Warren’s suggestions, he selected Bragg’s brigade for the assignment.

This brigade had taken a battering over the previous two days and had featured actively in recent battles, significantly reducing its strength. The brigade (78 officers and 1,261 men) comprised the 24th Michigan, 6th and 7th Wisconsin, and the 143rd, 149th, and 150th Pennsylvania. Although attached to the brigade, the independent 1st New York

¹¹ Trudeau, *The Last Citadel*, 294-95; Horn, *The Petersburg Campaign*, 217-18; Billings, *History of the 10th Massachusetts*, 395.

¹² Sherrill, *The 21st North Carolina*, 417; Driver, *10th Virginia Cavalry*, 70. Johnston had been absent for the Hatcher’s Run battle, his brigade being commanded by Col. Lea. Upon his return some days later, he temporarily took command of what had been Pegram’s division. Towards the end of Feb Johnston and his brigade were dispatched to North Carolina to round up deserters. On Feb 26, Brig. Gen. James A. Walker took command of Pegram’s division. Johnston’s Tar Heels were called back to Petersburg weeks later so they could take part in Lee’s Ft. Stedman offensive of Mar 25. Vines E. Turner & H. Clay Wall, “The 23rd Regiment,” in Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina, in the Great War 1861-65*. 5 vols. (Goldsboro, NC, 1901), 2:262-63. Walter A. Montgomery, “The 12th Regiment,” in Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina, in the Great War 1861-65*. 5 vols. (Goldsboro, NC, 1901), 1:650.

Sharpshooters were excluded from the assignment because they possessed specialist telescopic rifles deemed essential to the war effort. Bragg didn't want to leave the AOP and miss the approaching conclusion of the war. Reluctant to lose a brigade, Bragg's divisional commander, Crawford, protested the order to Meade. Crawford especially wanted to keep the three western regiments that had initially been part of the famed "Iron Brigade." Meade refused his requests.¹³



Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck
Library of Congress



Edwin M. Stanton
Library of Congress

Oblivious to these transformative events, Bragg's soldiers spent February 10 building corduroy roads. After an early breakfast on Saturday, February 11, they packed up camp and awaited new movement orders, fearing more marching and fighting. Imagine their shock and delight when a staff officer directed them to Warren Station, on the Military Railroad, to board "cars" for City Point and then sail to Baltimore! Bragg and his three Pennsylvania regiments arrived at City Point around 1:00 p.m., boarded the transport ship *Champion*, and set sail. The jubilant Pennsylvanians were leaving the front. The three Western regiments arrived at City Point in the late afternoon and boarded the steamer *George Weems* at dusk. A delay in awaiting baggage and final personnel meant the soldiers spent the night at anchor. The delay proved consequential. Crawford's protests had persisted, and before dawn (Sunday, February 12), officers ordered the two Wisconsin regiments off the ship and sent them back to the front. The ship set sail with just the 24th Michigan.

¹³ OR 46/2:513-14, 519-20; Matthews, *The 149th Pennsylvania*, 206-07; Smith, *The 24th Michigan*, 243-44; John Bennett, *No Word of Them: First Battalion New York Sharpshooters, 1862-1865* (Morrisville, NC, 2008), 83-87.

This turn of events evoked strong emotions. Although ecstatic at leaving the front, the Michigan boys were sad to abandon their Wisconsin comrades and dejected at the breakup of the Iron Brigade association. The Wisconsin soldiers were distraught. Some unfairly blamed “old drunken Bragg” for their cruel misfortune, unaware of Crawford’s influence on the decision.

The sea voyages north proved quite an ordeal, with both ships enduring delays due to storms and thick ice. The Pennsylvania soldiers reached Baltimore late on February 13; the Michigan regiment arrived at midnight on February 15. From Baltimore, the Pennsylvania regiments journeyed to New York, and the 24th Michigan went to Springfield, Illinois, to oversee draftees. Bragg remained in Baltimore, where he supervised the transportation of conscripts until the war’s end.

The two Wisconsin regiments left behind were “homeless” and without affiliation. By the end of the month, they joined what was known as “The Provisional Brigade.” The 91st New York also transferred to the unit. Colonel John A. Kellogg, the 6th Wisconsin commander, took charge of the new brigade, which remained in Crawford’s division throughout the war.¹⁴

Broader Context

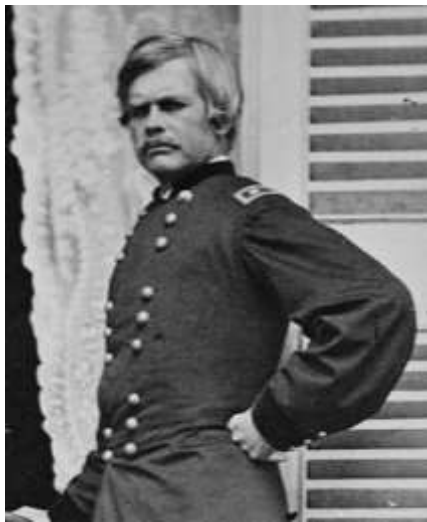
In other theatres of war, the news was all bleak for the Confederacy. On February 17, Sherman’s troops captured Columbia, South Carolina’s state capital, and the city was torched. On the same day, the Rebels evacuated Charleston, a critical port for the Confederacy. The following day, the mayor surrendered the city to Union Brig. Gen. Alexander Schimmelfennig. The capture of Charleston represented a significant and symbolic Union victory as, militarily, the Civil War began with the Confederates capturing Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor. Many Northerners saw the city as the rebellion’s birthplace.¹⁵

Possibly fueled by the three days of bloodletting around Hatcher’s Run, on February 21, Union Maj. Gen. Edward O. Ord, the Army of the James commander, sent a flag of truce

¹⁴ Smith, *The 24th Michigan*, 243-45; Curtis, *History of the 24th Michigan*, 294-96; John W. Nesbit, *General History of Company D, 149th Pennsylvania Volunteers and Personal Sketches of the Members* (Oakdale, CA, 1908), 42-44; Charles A. Frey, *Memoirs*, “Recollections of Army Life,” chapter 21, 1886, *Spared & Shared*, Wordpress.com, [Recollections of Army Life | by Charles A. Frey \(wordpress.com\)](https://www.wordpress.com/recollections-of-army-life-by-charles-a-frey/); Lance Herdegen, & Sherry Murphy, eds, *Four Years with the Iron Brigade: The Civil War Journal of William Ray, Company F, 7th Wisconsin Volunteers* (New York, 2002), Loc 7516-26; Cheek & Pointon, *History of the Sauk County Riflemen*, 156-57.

¹⁵ Long & Long, *The Civil War Day by Day*, 640-41.

across the lines to Lt. Gen. James Longstreet, a prewar acquaintance, and Lee's senior corps commander. The Union general suggested a meeting to discuss a routine matter. Suitably intrigued, Longstreet quickly named a date and place. Nearly three weeks after the failed Peace Conference in Hampton Roads, Ord told Longstreet that Northern politicians feared the peace question and that only the two sides' military leaders could approach the subject. He proposed a cease-fire, then a meeting between Grant and Lee, followed by an exchange of social visits by Northern and Southern senior officers and their wives. He hoped the meetings



Maj. Gen. Edward O. Ord
Library of Congress



Lt. Gen. James Longstreet
Encyclopedia Virginia

would lead ultimately to “terms honorable to both sides.” It transpired that the wives of Ord, Longstreet, and Grant were key authors behind the initiative. President Davis considered the proposal with Secretary of War Breckinridge, Lee, and Longstreet and agreed to pursue Ord's idea. They arranged another Longstreet-Ord meeting, at which Ord asked that Lee write to Grant and propose a meeting. On March 2, Lee wrote to Grant suggesting a military convention to arrive “at a satisfactory adjustment of the present unhappy difficulties.” After receiving instructions from Lincoln, Grant replied on March 4, refusing Lee's offer, adding that he had no authority to meet him other than to accept his unconditional surrender.¹⁶

During this failed attempt to arrange another peace meeting, the Confederates received further bad news. On February 22, the vital coastal port of Wilmington, North Carolina, fell to the Union. This had been inevitable since the fall of the adjacent Fort Fisher

¹⁶ Jamieson, *Spring 1865*, 90-91. Terrianne Schulte, “A Visionary Plan? The Proposed March 1865 Peace Conference,” Parts 1-6, *Emerging Civil War Online*, August 10-15, 2017, [Emerging Civil War](#).

(in January), which protected the mouth of the Cape Fear River. Thus, another significant Confederate city had returned to Union hands. On March 2, Sheridan's Yankees destroyed the remains of Jubal Early's Confederate army at Waynesboro in the Shenandoah Valley.

On March 4, President Lincoln delivered his second inaugural address. His speech, "With malice towards none," became one of the most significant in American history and is inscribed on the Lincoln Memorial. With the Union on the cusp of victory after four years of ghastly bloodshed, Lincoln sought to rise above divisiveness and initiate the process of healing. Lincoln offered conciliatory words to citizens in both the North and the South.

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

On March 25, Lee desperately attempted to break the stranglehold around his army by attacking Fort Stedman. After initial success, the mission ended in total failure. Just 15 days later, following a series of battles, some of which took place around Hatcher's Run, Lee surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9.¹⁷

Three senior Union officers who featured prominently in the Hatcher's Run story perished in those final battles. Brigade commander Frederick Winthrop died at the Battle of Five Forks on April 1. Colonel Hugh Janeway, who briefly led a cavalry brigade at Hatcher's Run, perished at the Battle of Amelia Springs on April 5. Finally, on April 7, near Farmville, a sniper shot division commander Brig. Gen. Thomas Smyth through the mouth, and he died two days later. Smyth was the last Union general killed during the Civil War.

A Return to St Paul's Church

Seated by her husband's coffin, Hetty (Cary) Pegram returned to Richmond by train. John Pegram's casket was taken to St. Paul's, the same church where the couple had been recently married. On Thursday, February 9, exactly three weeks after their wedding day, Reverend Charles Minnigerode, the pastor at their wedding, conducted the funeral service. Predominantly the same congregation that had attended the wedding packed the church. "Bobby" Lee's eldest son, Maj. Gen. G. W. Custis Lee, John Pegram's intimate friend, accompanied Hetty throughout. Along with John's mother and younger brother (artillerist

¹⁷ ["With Malice Toward None...": Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address \(U.S. National Park Service\) \(nps.gov\)](https://www.nps.gov/learn/education/primary-source-documents/with-malice-toward-none.htm); Long & Long, *The Civil War Day by Day*, 641-42, 644-47, 657-671.

Willie Pegram), they led the cortege to Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, where John Pegram was buried.¹⁸

On February 11, Robert E. Lee wrote the following letter to Hetty:

I cannot find words to express my deep sympathy in your affliction, my sorrow at your loss. God alone can give you strength to bear the blow he has inflicted, and since it has been death by his hand I know it was sent in mercy. As dear as your husband was to you, as necessary apparently to his Country and as important to his friends, I feel assured it was best for him to go at the moment he did. His purity of character, his services to the Country and his devotion to his God, prepared him for the peace and rest he now enjoys. We are left to grieve at his departure, cherish his memory and prepare to follow. May God give us his Grace, that through the mediation of his blessed Son, we may be ready to obey his gracious Summons. Truly and affectionately your friend
R. E. Lee¹⁹

John Pegram fell in battle less than ten miles from his birthplace. John and Hetty belonged to Richmond's "high society" and were members of the elite "Mosaics" social group. The Richmond newspapers were awash with heartfelt eulogies, including, "Among the many deaths occasioned by this cruel war none will create a greater void among friends than that of Brigadier General John Pegram of this city." A modern essay on Pegram presented a more forthright appraisal of his life: "While the very model of courage and comportment, style and spirituality, Pegram was a poor leader of volunteers and a mediocre tactical commander."²⁰

This chapter has described the military, political, and personal contexts that followed the Battle of Hatcher's Run. The concluding chapter explores the battle's significance and legacy.

¹⁸ Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay*, 203-05; Bergeron "Three-day Tussle at Hatcher's Run," 36-37; Griggs, *General John Pegram*, 118-20. The Pegram family suffered further tragedy two months later as Willie Pegram was killed in battle.

¹⁹ Kate Helmsworth, *The Tragic Life of a Civil War Socialite: Hetty Cary*, 2022 Owlcation Online Blog. The original letter belongs to the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Mss2 L515 a 21.

²⁰ *The Richmond [VA] Enquirer*, February 10, 1865; Scott Laidig, "Brigadier General John Pegram, Lee's Paradoxical Cavalier," Research Paper, Ohio State University, 1998. After a period of grieving, Hetty and her mother returned to their home in Baltimore, where she taught at the Southern Home School. While traveling in Europe, Hetty met physiologist Henry Newell Martin, a professor at Johns Hopkins University. They were married in 1879. Hetty died in Baltimore on September 27, 1892.