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EDWARD DORR TRACY: EVOLUTION OF A SOLDIER

by Kenneth R. Wesson

More than one-half million men died in the American Civil War¹, and the large majority of them are little remembered today. Much relevant history about them remains to be written, however, inasmuch as many of the less-renowned Civil War manuscript collections belonging to these obscure Civil War veterans have yet to be transcribed and chronicled. One such collection centers in the letters of Edward Dorr Tracy, a Confederate whose career was punctuated with frequent promotion until he was killed in battle. His knowledgeable correspondence to his wife and associates unfold the development of the man as a soldier, his aspirations and ideals, as well as his prejudices and faults. Collections such as Tracy's merit not only investigation, but also exploitation as an important part of Civil War history.

Information regarding Edward D. Tracy's early life is remarkably scarce, and the sources are often contradictory, but some background is known. Edward Tracy's father, Edward Dorrs, Sr., was trained in the law, and early in the nineteenth century he migrated from Norwich, Connecticut, and settled in middle Georgia.² The elder E.D. Tracy was soon chosen Judge Advocate for the district surrounding Macon, Bibb County, Georgia. In the late 1820's Tracy, Sr., married Susan Campbell, the sister of the prominent Mobile jurist, John A. Campbell;³ Susan was to be the mother of Edward Dorr Tracy, Jr.⁴

Tracy, Jr., was born November 5, 1833, in Macon, Georgia, and his early life was a virtual model of good fortune and achievement. Being a blend of New England and the South, and of the upper-middle class economically, it is not unfair to assume that Tracy was a respected young man within the Macon society. He received his early education at private institutions and later attended the University of Georgia, in Athens, where he was graduated in 1851 with an A.B. degree, at the age of only seventeen. Two years later, he received a Master's Degree.⁵ Tracy studied law in his spare time, was admitted to the bar, and began practice in Macon at the

age of twenty.⁶ Presumably owing to his father's political affiliations, Tracy was able to greatly expedite his career by obtaining a partnership with the established and respected law firm of Judge D.C. Humphreys of Huntsville in 1855.⁷

When Edward Tracy migrated to northern Alabama early in 1855, he was an attractive young man, twenty-one years of age, tall and slender with brown hair.⁸ A promising lawyer, reared in the chivalric tradition of the Old South,⁹ Tracy undoubtedly attracted the attention of many ladies in antebellum Huntsville.

Predictably, he was married (February 19, 1855), to one of Huntsville's prized young socialites, Ellen Elizabeth Steele. Ellen was the daughter of the renowned architect and planter,¹⁰ George Steele, and his wife Eliza. The marriage joining Tracy and Ellen took place in Steele's famous Huntsville home, Oaks Place.¹¹ The Tracys subsequently made their residence in the bride's family home.¹²

During the succeeding five years, the Tracy family grew both numerically and socially. Ellen gave birth to four children; two of the four died in infancy, however.¹³ The Tracys adhered to the Presbyterian faith and were devout in their religion. Edward Tracy had been a member of the Presbyterian church in Macon and he transferred his membership to Huntsville in 1857.¹⁴ He was included on the original Board of Directors of the Madison County Bible Society, organized on July 24, 1859,¹⁵ and he also became a member of the Order of Masons.¹⁶ Socially, the Tracys became closely associated with the Clay family including Clement Claiborne Clay, Jr., and his wife Virginia; and Hugh Lawson Clay and his wife Celestia Comer Clay. Celestia was a native of Macon, and probably was acquainted with Tracy there. Further, Tracy was associated with Leroy Pope Walker, a prominent lawyer of the city, both cordially and professionally. These friendships influenced Tracy politically and otherwise. The family evidently developed materially as well for by 1860 the Tracys owned five slaves.¹⁷

The close association Tracy had with the Clays in social life carried over into politics as well. After the Charleston and Baltimore Democratic conventions, and

the split of the Democratic party in 1860, C.C. Clay, Jr., strongly supported the Breckinridge-Lane "Southern Bolters" ticket as "the only candidates who could preserve the rights of the South."¹⁸ Tracy, though not a candidate for public office during the late 1850's, campaigned diligently for the Democratic party's candidates. After the party divided he also backed the Southern Democrats and was an alternate elector for the State-at-large on the Breckinridge-Lane ticket. During the campaign Tracy acquired a brilliant reputation for oratory while on speaking tours in the northern counties.¹⁹

Not all North Alabamians agreed with the Clays and Tracys, however, and Union sentiment was strong in the area. Most Unionists, also called Loyalists or Tories, lived in the hill counties of the Tennessee River Valley -- "a cancer in the side of the Confederacy."²⁰ These regions contained few slaves, produced little cotton, and would have little to gain from a Confederate victory should a war develop. These people later formed Union units in the state.²¹ They were also torn between Breckinridge and the national Democrat, Stephen A. Douglas. Many feared that should the extremists gain control of the state, the area's commercial relationship with Tennessee would be endangered; to them it was "unthinkable to sever their relations with the Union when their sister state to the north . . . had no intention of seceding."²² There was considerable apprehension that the northern counties might secede from Alabama and join Tennessee. As an indication of their economic fear and their loyalty to the national Democratic Party, Madison County gave 1,300 votes to Douglas and only 591 to Breckinridge in the presidential election.²³

After Lincoln's election and South Carolina's departure from the Union, the secession question reached a point of decision in Alabama. Though the Alabama Convention voted for secession by a large majority, Cooperationists and Unionists in North Alabama met in Huntsville and passed resolutions instructing Madison County delegates to retire from the convention if the Ordinance of Secession were not submitted to popular vote.²⁴ Some leaders proposed civil war rather than submission to the Ordinance.²⁵ Tracy wrote to C.C. Clay, Jr., who was an

ardent immediate secessionist that "Lincoln's inaugural . . . breathes war,"²⁶ and Hugh Lawson Clay predicted: "There will be a successful attempt to excite the people of North Alabama to rebellion against the State and we will have a civil war in our midst."²⁷ Although this intra-state warfare never fully materialized, Unionist opposition continued and was stronger in 1865 than in 1861.²⁸

In early March, however, at a Huntsville mass meeting, the secessionists triumphed and passed resolutions whereby the Unionists pledged to support the new government.²⁹ Tracy was present at this meeting and quite immodestly communicated his role therein to Clay, Jr. Tracy had asked for a reading of the resolutions and pronounced them exceedingly obnoxious":

I told the chairman . . . that I was rather uncertain as to my status in the meeting, the call was addressed to the Freeman and I myself one of 'em, but wished to know of him whether it was a 'free fight.' He said he supposed it was; whereupon I went in. I made fight on the preamble and resolutions, separately and collectively, spoke for more than an hour and . . . made a first rate speech . . . After a vain attempt to harmonize the whole question was put, 'shall /the Unionist/ resolutions be adopted.' The ayes were feeble the naes tremendous.

A decision was called for, and our majority was so overwhelming that the president decided by a glance that the decision was in our favor . . . My resolutions scratched off in the heat of the fight were then put and went like a tornado . . . The action of the meeting is important not so much from what was done, as from what was not done, to wit the meeting refused to censure our state convention format submitting the ordinance of secession back to the people . . .³⁰

By April, 1861, events were moving so rapidly that most Cooperationists and Unionists, though hesitantly, were following the general trend of the Confederacy. Thus, conscious of the direction in which the political currents were flowing, Tracy predictably joined the "rebels"; the Southern cause would play a major role in his life from this point onward.

Even prior to the firing on Fort Sumter military units had been formed throughout Alabama. Early in March, 1861, Tracy wrote to Clay, Jr.: "I am hesitating whether to apply to President Jefferson Davis for a position on his personal staff or to take my chances with the volunteers."³¹ Many volunteer units elected their own officers, more on their popularity than military skill, and named their own units. Representative groups were christened the New Market Rebels, Minute Men, Joe Bradley's Rebels, Madison County Cavalry, and Ward's Battery.³² Tracy joined the North Alabamians and was elected captain of the unit on April 26, 1861, at Huntsville. This unit later comprised Company I of the Fourth Alabama Infantry Regiment.³³ The local populace was proud of its volunteers, newspapers published lists of those who joined and donations were given to outfit the new soldiers. In May, 1861, Madison County political leaders contributed \$1,000 toward equipping the local units.³⁴ These green recruits usually departed in high spirits and in a lighthearted manner, "making it appear much like an excursion."³⁵

Immediately after induction the North Alabamians were transported to Virginia for their military training. They left Huntsville by rail on April 29,³⁶ were delayed in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and reached Dalton, Georgia, on May 1. At Dalton they joined with nine other companies and continued toward Lynchburg, Virginia, for camp and drill.³⁷ From Lynchburg the new recruits traveled to Winchester, arriving at Harper's Ferry on May 14, where they would remain for a month.³⁸

Captain Tracy's first impression of Harper's Ferry was not a favorable one, though he seemed to enjoy the camp life there. To Tracy, the environs resembled "a Washington City on an insignificant and contemptable scale: both hitherto and dependent on Federal patronage and therefore both servile and corrupt."³⁹ Tracy wrote

lightheartedly, however, of the former city lawyer rising early, drilling until night, and sleeping on the ground, "with sword and pistols by his side."⁴⁰ Food at the camp was plain but good, and the captain remained in good health.⁴¹ Too, as more troops arrived from the Southern states, Tracy enjoyed the pleasure of being reunited with many old friends among the Georgians.⁴²

Many of Tracy's letters exhibit patriotism and dedication to the Southern cause. He viewed the Confederate motives as just, based on the principles of liberty (though he failed to mention the slavery issue), and sacred in the eyes of God.⁴³ For ten years he had believed that the North's purpose was to degrade and make vassals of the Southern people. He regretted the recourse to war, but he did not shrink from it. With typical Southern flair he wrote: "We must be prepared in this day of our Country's great peril and distress to submit to individual sacrifices of pleasure, comfort, property and everything except honor."⁴⁴ He also expressed his willingness to die in defense of the South, and asserted that no one would be ashamed of his conduct in battle.⁴⁵ Tracy was confident (perhaps overconfident) of Southern victory, however, and agreed with many others that the war would be a short one.⁴⁶

Though devoted and loyal to the Southern cause, Tracy was also well-informed and he realized the potential destructive power of the industrial North. Still he doubted that the South's subjugation would greatly profit the North, as any surplus of goods on hand in the Northern states would be exhausted in the effort.⁴⁷ He predicted that the Confederacy would emerge from the conflict "exhausted and faint . . . but with the cordials of Liberty in Government and Trade . . . it would recuperate."⁴⁸ Tracy also realized that the war would take many lives, but remained staunch in his opinion that "disunion from such a miserable, fanatic, vulgar race as our grandeur brethren will be cheaply purchased at any cost."⁴⁹

Captain Tracy's fiery patriotism and loyalty remained strong in these early weeks of the war, but the military policy adopted by the Southern leaders disturbed him and made him critical. Actually the captain was ignorant of the exact circumstances, for if he was

aware of the game of military chess being played by the commanding generals he did not reveal such information in his letters. In early June, Tracy expressed doubt that a fight with the Yankees would ever occur, and wished for an end to the war.⁵⁰ He wrote his wife: "the only fights are such as are improvised among our own boys."⁵¹

Even as Tracy expressed his impatience, however, the new commander at Harper's Ferry was engaged in combative exercises. General Joseph E. Johnston did not trust the defenses of the Ferry and declared his wish, to General Robert E. Lee, to command "a movable column, and not one tied by the leg to a stake."⁵² Moreover, Harper's Ferry was in danger of being surrounded by Union forces and in order to avoid this situation Johnston concluded to evacuate Harper's Ferry and remove to Winchester, important for its rail junction and access to General P.G.T. Beauregard at Manassas Junction.⁵³

The departure from Harper's Ferry presented the army's first opportunity for battle. Federal General Robert Patterson crossed to the west bank of the Potomac⁵⁴ and Johnston's troops were held in a line of battle to receive the attack. Patterson re-crossed the river, however, no battle occurred,⁵⁵ and Johnston proceeded toward Winchester.

Early in July, another opportunity for battle was presented when General Patterson's troops gathered at Martinsburg, Virginia.⁵⁶ The Confederates marched to within five miles of the town to meet them, but after four days Johnston chose not to attack the town and on July 6 he ordered the retreat back to Winchester.⁵⁷

Captain Tracy evidently did not understand the military maneuvers, nor the geographic factors involved in these episodes, and he was incensed because the Confederates had not attacked. Concerning the first opportunity he wrote: "We are doing a good deal of hard watching, which men who affect military character called 'strategy', what it really is I will not say, other than that we expected a battle yesterday, and marched in a direction opposite to the enemy."⁵⁸ Tracy summarized the events of early July in a letter to his wife:

It was soon apparent . . . that our General had no intention of advancing on them, and I never had the least idea that they would advance on us. And so we stood for four or five days tantalizing each other . . . Yesterday Gen. Johnston issued an order to the troops complimenting them for their gallantry, saying that for four days we had offered battle to a largely superior force which they had declined, that an attack by us would involve a loss entirely out of proportion to the object to be attained and therefore we would fall back. . .⁵⁹

Tracy lamented that his army was "not even within the sphere of the War Department's ground operations, but rather being employed simply to hold the enemy in check."⁶⁰ He wrote that his only duty was "to obey orders, know nothing and think nothing, and to trust in the wisdom of inferiors."⁶¹ His anxious wait for battle would not be a long one, however.

By mid-July, Federal General Erwin McDowell was ready to move on Manassas and General Johnston's troops were to be involved in the coming encounter. After Midnight on July 17 Johnston received a telegram from Richmond ordering him to evacuate camp at Winchester and to proceed to Manassas Junction, where Beauregard had appealed for assistance and reinforcements.⁶² Johnston called his subordinates together and decided to depart the following day.⁶³ On July 19, McDowell attempted to force a passage at Bull Run Creek (near Manassas Junction), but was repulsed by Confederate artillery, losing forty men in the effort. McDowell stated that he would "hereafter examine the location of the enemy's battery before engaging them."⁶⁴ Meanwhile owing to the general confusion, and his lack of rations and information, McDowell retreated and bivouaced on July 19 and 20,⁶⁵ while Johnston proceeded to the rendezvous with Beauregard.

For Captain Tracy the journey to the battlefield and preparation for the fight were taxing ordeals. In the early morning of July 18 his company had been ordered to prepare for a "long, heavy and forced march."⁶⁶ He

hastily provided for the sick men in his unit and began the advance in the late afternoon.⁶⁷ "We marched all that night and the next day," Tracy wrote, "and arrived at Piedmont after night . . . nearly dead with hunger, thirst and fatigue."⁶⁸ The men were then allowed to break ranks and sleep, amid a steady rain. At 1:00 a.m. the Confederates were aroused and ordered to board a train, which arrived at Manassas Junction at 10:00 a.m. on the morning of July 20.⁶⁹ After a short rest Tracy's company was marched two miles into the country and allowed to recuperate the balance of the day and night. Still skeptical of the "Cry of Wolf," they began the march again on the morning of July 21, "eight or ten miles on double quick time."⁷⁰

This movement must have been extremely difficult for Tracy, for he confessed that he was hardly able to walk, ill with fever and other camp diseases, and his tongue was "furred."⁷¹ Nevertheless, the destination was reached, battle lines were formed, and the soldiers were told to wait. "I was so utterly exhausted," wrote Tracy, "that I was willing to rest immediately in the range of rifle and cannon."⁷² He also remembered his great thirst for water, but there was no time and the soldiers were quickly ordered to advance. Tracy recorded: "We were told to load as we went, and that the enemy were right before us. We marched up a hill, in an open field, and, just at the brow, were ordered to lie down, fire and load, fire and load. . ."⁷³

Captain Tracy's initial exposure to battle proved threateningly fierce. He flamboyantly began a letter to his sister: "I have seen a battle in all its terrible, magnificent horror. I have seen dead men and wounded men. I have heard the roar of cannon, the sound of bomb, the rattling of musketry . . . around and over my head, without being either killed or frightened. . ."⁷⁴ He wrote that his company had been ordered to the "hottest" section of the battlefield, and had been exposed to fire "from front and flank" for an hour and three-quarters.⁷⁵ Federal Colonel William T. Sherman's battery also emerged on their front, supported by a large number of infantrymen, and delivered a constant and murderous fire.⁷⁶ Proudly, Tracy wrote:

I stood up in the front rank, rallying my men when the troops were lying down. I saw man after man of my company fall dead at my side, and others wounded. Our position was a most hazardous one, but well did we maintain it. At last we were flanked on the left, and then from three sides . . . We fell back, our men falling as we retired.⁷⁷

After retreating about one-quarter of a mile, Tracy encountered two wounded comrades and attempted to assist them. He first discovered the colonel of the Fourth Alabama, Egbert J. Jones, who had been wounded twice -- once in each thigh. Tracy attempted to carry the colonel to safety, but found that he did not have the strength to lift him. He called for volunteers to help remove Jones and persuaded three young soldiers to follow "in what was certainly a perilous, and what those who had no stomach for it denounced as a mad enterprise."⁷⁸ When Tracy was returning to the battle he encountered Major Charlie Scott, of the Fourth Alabama, who had also been wounded in the leg. The captain likewise assisted this officer to a wooded area of safety. After the battle both men were retrieved and neither was thought to be mortally wounded.⁷⁹

When Tracy returned to the battle, he found the dissipated troops being reformed by General Barnard Bee. Tracy noted that his company, "or the fragment that remained unkilld, unwounded, or undispersed . . . were like sheep without a shepherd."⁸⁰ General Bee, as he could find no other portion of his brigade, placed himself as acting colonel of the Fourth Alabama.⁸¹ Bee expressed his confidence that the Fourth would stand by him and, locating himself at the head of the reduced column, returned into the thick of battle. Bee was wounded almost immediately and died the following day.⁸² Tracy related that the Fourth was "his (Bee's) pet regiment and I suppose he died as he would have desired, leading a charge."⁸³

After a long and exhausting battle, of which the result was doubtful for most of the day, the Confederates emerged victorious. Generals Johnston and P.G.T. Beauregard had exposed their lives as freely as the common

soldier and by their heroic daring had given confidence to the troops.⁸⁴ Finally, in the late afternoon, the issue was settled and the Federals were retreating.

Tracy recorded the withdrawal of the Union soldiers in illusory terms:

Panic stricken and demoralized, the invading hosts fled in every direction, followed by our cavalry that mowed them down like a ripe field in harvest time. Back and back they fled, throwing away their arms, knapsacks, food, everything that impeded their flight. What a contrast between those terrified and flying, and the grand army so carefully prepared, so admirably equipped for the great advance movement.⁸⁵

Prisoners captured by the Confederates told of congressmen and other notables who had come out from Washington with their wives to rejoice over the certain rout of the Rebels. Tracy commented that the congressmen were said to have been trampled in the dust by their flying army, "their dead Samsons . . . rotting in the sun . . . May the God of battle be praised for their signal and glorious defeat."⁸⁶

But victory had been costly to General Johnston's Third Brigade, with over four-hundred men either killed or wounded -- almost one-third of the regiment.⁸⁷ Tracy wrote that his company had suffered more severely than any other (except the Florence, Alabama, company) with six dead and sixteen wounded. His unit had been exposed to rifle fire eight or nine times and to cannon all day. He wrote, however, that his men had "stood fire most gallantly."⁸⁸

Though Tracy admitted that the dead and wounded were terrible features of battle, his persistent thirst for water seemed overwhelming. He revealed only humanness when he reiterated that "the most excruciating torture was the intolerable, insatiable, and burning thirst for water. Great God how thirsty we were."⁸⁹ They drank from mud puddles, where they could find them, and in the midst of the hottest fire men forgot everything except

their desire for water. "On all sides," he wrote, "from wounded and unwounded, the cry went up, 'water, water, water.'"⁹⁰

Tracy ended his account of First Mannassas with assurances to his sister of his good health, ultimate Confederate victory, and a revealing statement concerning his progressing maturity as a military man. Despite his lengthy exposure to battle action, and fatigue, Tracy wrote that he was "entirely well" at the end of the day. Further, he optimistically announced that complete Southern military success was assured. He wrote that one more similar defeat of the Yankees would enable him to "hang up my sword and return to Blackstone."⁹¹ Earlier in his letter, however, he had expressed himself in such a fashion that only an intimate might realize the statement's importance. Obviously having extensively analyzed his feelings after the battle, he had written: "I felt none of the sensations I've often described of extreme nervousness at the first and indifference afterwards -- I was neither nervous nor indifferent."⁹² Edward Dorr Tracy had become a soldier.

Tracy would continue to achieve militarily throughout his short career as a soldier. Beginning as captain, he was handed steady promotions until he reached brigadier general in August, 1862. Tracy served in Mobile with Leroy Pope Walker, under Braxton Bragg, and was cited for bravery and courage at the Battle of Shiloh. As operations focused around Vicksburg and the west, in early 1863, General Tracy and his five Alabama brigades were sent to Port Gibson, Mississippi, south of Vicksburg, to check General Ulysses S. Grant's movements in the area. Grant crossed to the east side of the Mississippi River and the Battle of Port Gibson ensued. In the early hours of this desperate Confederate attempt Tracy's colonel, Isham W. Garrott, of the twentieth Alabama, wrote: "A little before 8 o'clock our brave and gallant commander, General Tracy, fell near the front line, pierced through the breast, and instantly died without uttering a word."⁹³

Tracy was apparently buried first in Port Gibson, for it was not until after the war that his remains were

transferred to Macon, and there interred near his father in the distinguished Rose Hill Cemetery.⁹⁴ In March, 1913, the Federal Government sponsored a sculptured monument of General Tracy, located in the Vicksburg National Military Park in Vicksburg, Mississippi.⁹⁵ And, consistent with the tendency of Southerners to make martyrs of their fallen warriors, these words have been ascribed to General Tracy:

Snatched, all too early, from that august Fame,
Which on the serene heights of silvered Age,
Waited with laurelled hand.⁹⁶

Edward Dorr Tracy was a gentleman reared in the Old South tradition; a devoted husband and father; ambitious, yet one whose strong sense of duty applied not only to man and country, but to God; and one who harbored firm personal convictions; not the typical Southerner by any means, but not extraordinarily unique for his time.

Such a man was Edward Dorr Tracy.

NOTES

¹The best accounts of Civil War numbers and casualties are Thomas L. Livermore, Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861-1865, new edition (Bloomington, IN: University Press, 1957); and William F. Fox, Regimental Losses in The American Civil War, 1861-1865, (Albany, NY: Albany Publishing Co., 1889). A good discussion of the numbers involved in the war is also found in J.G. Randall and David Donald, The Civil War and Reconstruction, 2nd ed. (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co., 1969), pp. 529-32.

²The background information on the Tracy family was obtained from a letter: Mrs. George D. Wadley to Thomas M. Owen, November 3, 1916, Edward Dorr Tracy Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, AL, (cited hereinafter as E.D. Tracy Papers). Mrs. Wadley was Tracy, Jr.'s daughter.

³John A. Campbell was elected to the Alabama State Legislature in 1841. Malcolm C. McMillan, The Land Called Alabama, revised edition, (Austin, TX: Steck

Vaughn Co., 1975), pp. 121, 155. On March 22, 1853 he was appointed Associate Justice to the United States Supreme Court, replacing John McKinley. After the secession of Alabama, in 1861, Campbell resigned from the court and returned to the South. He later became the Assistant Secretary of War. See James P. McPherson, "The Career of John Archibald Campbell: A Study of Politics and the Law," Alabama Review 19(1966):53-63; Albert James Pickett, History of Alabama, and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi From the Earliest Period (Birmingham, AL: The Webb Book Co., Publishers, 1900); reprint ed., Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Co., 1975), p. 693; Charles Grayson Summersell, Alabama History for Schools, 4th ed. (Montgomery, AL: Viewpoint Publications, 1970), p. 265; Lucille Griffith, Alabama, A Documentary History to 1900, revised ed. (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1972), p. 348.

⁴United States Bureau of the Census, Georgia, seventh census (Washington: National Archives and Record Service), p. 144. Edward D. Tracy, Sr., Papers, Middle Georgia Historical Society, Macon, GA.

⁵A contradiction exists as to Tracy's "law degree" from the University of Georgia. One account, however, states that Tracy received the Master of Arts degree there in 1853: Thomas Walter Reed, "History of the University of Georgia," Personal Papers and Manuscripts No. 934, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Georgia.

⁶Wadley to Owen, November 3, 1916, E.D. Tracy Papers.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Willis Brewer, Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record and Public Men, 1540-1872 (Montgomery, AL: Barrett and Brown, printers, 1872), p. 368; Ezra J. Warner, Generals in Gray, Lives of the Confederate Commanders (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1859), p. 308.

⁹Tracy expressed this chivalric tradition throughout his correspondence.

¹⁰McMillan, The Land Called Alabama, p. 171.

¹¹The Huntsville Times, January 3, 1978.

¹²United States Bureau of the Census, Alabama, eighth census (Washington: National Archives and Record Service).

¹³Wadley to Owen, November 3, 1916, E.D. Tracy Papers.

- ¹⁴Records, 1859, First Presbyterian Church of Huntsville, Huntsville, AL.
- ¹⁵City Directory, 1859, City Court of Huntsville, Alabama, Huntsville, AL.
- ¹⁶Wadley to Owen, November 3, 1916, E.D. Tracy Papers.
- ¹⁷United States Bureau of the Census, Alabama, Slave, eighth census (Washington: National Archives and Record Service).
- ¹⁸Ruth Ketring Nuermberger, The Clays of Alabama, A Planter-Lawyer-Politician Family (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1958), pp. 217-18.
- ¹⁹Wadley to Owen, November 3, 1916, E.D. Tracy Papers.
- ²⁰Hugh C. Bailey, "Disloyalty in Early Confederate Alabama," Journal of Southern History, 23(November, 1957):522.
- ²¹United States War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 4 Ser., 128 vols. (Washington: United States Government as OR, and unless otherwise noted all references are to Series 1); Alabama Tories: The First Alabama Cavalry, U.S.A., 1862-1865 (Tuscaloosa, AL: Confederate Publishing Co., 1960).
- ²²William C. Harris, Leroy Pope Walker: Confederate Secretary of War (Tuscaloosa, AL: Confederate Publishing Co., Inc., 1962), pp. 11-12, 14. Also see William H. Brantley, Jr., "Alabama Secedes," Alabama Review 7(July, 1954):169.
- ²³Harris, Leroy Pope Walker, pp. 14, 17.
- ²⁴Nuermberger, The Clays of Alabama, p. 185.
- ²⁵Harris, Leroy Pope Walker, p. 17.
- ²⁶E.D. Tracy to C.C. Clay, Jr., March 6, 1861, Clement C. Clay Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC (cited hereinafter as Clay MSS).
- ²⁷Nuermberger, The Clays of Alabama, p. 185.
- ²⁸Hugh C. Bailey, "Disaffection in the Alabama Hill Country, 1861," Civil War History, 4(June, 1958):195.
- ²⁹Harris, Leroy Pope Walker, pp. 17-18; Nuermberger, The Clays of Alabama, p. 185; Tracy to Clay, March 6, 1861, Clay MSS.
- ³⁰Tracy to Clay, March 6, 1861, Clay MSS.
- ³¹Ibid.

³²James Record, ed., A Dream Come True, The Story of Madison County and Incidentally of Alabama and the United States, 2 vols. (Huntsville, AL: John Hicklin Printing Co., 1970), 1:132.

³³Tracy's enlistment was for one year. Company Muster Roll, Edward Dorr Tracy Papers, Confederate Division of the National Archives and Records Services, General Services Administration, Washington, DC (cited herein-after as Tracy File, National Archives).

³⁴Huntsville Democrat, May 8, 1861; Record, ed., A Dream Come True, 1:126.

³⁵Griffith, Alabama, A Documentary History, p. 388.

³⁶Tracy missed a meeting with C.C. Clay, Jr., by two hours. The Senator had returned from Minnesota, where he had been advised to go for his health. Clay to Tracy, May 4, 1861, Clay MSS.

³⁷E.D. Tracy to Mrs. E.D. Tracy, May 1, 1861, Edward D. Tracy Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC (cited herein-after as Tracy MSSS).

³⁸Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, May 14, 1861, *ibid.*

³⁹Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, May 20, 1861, *ibid.*

⁴⁰Tracy to Celeste Clay, May 10, 1861, Clay MSS; Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, May 25, 1861, May 29, 1861, June 1, 1861, Tracy MSS.

⁴¹Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, May 18, 1861, May 29, 1861, June 1, 1861, *ibid.*

⁴²Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, June 11, 1861, *ibid.*

⁴³Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, April 30, 1861, *ibid.*

⁴⁴Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, June 4, 1861, *ibid.*

⁴⁵Tracy to Celeste Clay, May 10, 1861, Clay MSS; Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, June 3, 1861, Tracy MSS.

⁴⁶Tracy to Celeste Clay, May 10, 1861, Clay MSS; Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, June 4, 1861, June 11, 1861, Tracy MSS. Also see Clarence C. Buel and Robert U. Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, 4 vols. (New York: The Century Co., 1884-1888), 1:198.

⁴⁷Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, June 4, 1861, Tracy MSS.

⁴⁸Tracy to Celeste Clay, April 4, 1863, *ibid.*

⁴⁹Tracy to Hugh Lawson Clay, December 29, 1861, *ibid.*

⁵⁰Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, June 10, 1861, *ibid.*

⁵¹*Ibid.*; Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, June 11, 1861, *ibid.*

⁵²Bradley T. Johnson, ed., A Memoir of the Life and Public Service of Joseph E. Johnston (Baltimore: R.H. Woodward and Co., 1891), p. 39; Joseph Howard Parks, General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A., (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954), p. 128.

⁵³Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:125; OR, II, 472.

⁵⁴OR, II, 472.

⁵⁵Ibid.; Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:229.

⁵⁶OR, II, 472-73; Parks, Edmund Kirby Smith, p. 131.

⁵⁷OR, II, 472-73; Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:229; Parks, Edmund Kirby Smith, p. 131.

⁵⁸Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, June 18, 1861, Tracy MSS.

⁵⁹Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, July 8, 1861, *ibid.*

⁶⁰Tracy to Mrs. Tracy, July 6, 1861, *ibid.*

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:229-30; T. Harry Williams, P.G.T. Beauregard, Napoleon in Gray (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955), p. 76. For Beauregard's appeals for help see Williams, P.G.T. Beauregard, pp. 71-75; and "Strategic Points, Their Value in the War Between the States, 1861-65, and How Fiercely They Were Fought For," Southern Historical Society Papers 21(1893):337.

⁶³Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:229-30.

⁶⁴Ibid., 1:201. McDowell's quote is cited in the Huntsville Democrat, July 24, 1861. The severe repulse on July 18 probably convinced McDowell to attempt the flanking movement on the Confederate left on July 21.

⁶⁵Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:183, 202.

⁶⁶Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers. Parts of this letter were reprinted in the Huntsville Democrat, August 7, 1861.

⁶⁷OR, II, 982; and Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:252.

⁶⁸Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers.

⁶⁹Parks, Edmund Kirby Smith, p. 132.

⁷⁰Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid. At First Manassas, Tracy and the Fourth Alabama Infantry Regiment were a part of Johnston's Third Brigade, commanded by General Barnard E. Bee. OR, II, 470. Beauregard's original order was for Bee's brigade to stand in reserve. Ibid., 480; Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:202. McDowell's main attack was a flanking action on the extreme Confederate left, however, and General Johnston told Beauregard to transfer Bee from the reserves to protect the left flank. Ibid., 1:246; Parks, Edmund Kirby Smith, p. 133.

⁷⁴Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers.

⁷⁵Ibid. For other accounts see OR, II, 474; Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:247, and Parks, Edmund Kirby Smith, p. 133.

⁷⁶OR, II, 370; Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:209, 247; Richmond Daily Enquirer, July 22, 1861.

⁷⁷Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers. This quote is also collaborated by OR, II, 474; Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:209-10, 247; Parks, Edmund Kirby Smith, p. 133.

⁷⁸Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers.

⁷⁹Ibid. The Huntsville Democrat, July 31, 1861, also gives an account of Jones and Scott being wounded, as does Beauregard's report in OR, II, 490. Colonel Jones died after the battle; see Huntsville Democrat, September 4, 1861.

⁸⁰Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers.

⁸¹Ibid.; see also OR, II, 481.

⁸²OR, II, 495; Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:213.

⁸³Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers.

⁸⁴Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:210, 248; Clement A. Evans, ed., Confederate Military History, 12 vols. (Atlanta, GA: Confederate Publishing Co., 1899),

3:107; Huntsville Independent, August 3, 1861.

⁸⁵Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers. Tracy probably did not witness this scene, but merely exaggerated second-hand information about the retreat. The account has credit, however. See Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1:191; OR, II, 370; T. Harry Williams, Lincoln and His Generals (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., reprint ed.), p. 22.

⁸⁶Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers.

⁸⁷Buel and Johnson, eds., Battles and Leaders, 1: 194-95, 238; OR, II 570; Williams, P.G.T. Beauregard, p. 91.

⁸⁸Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid.; also see OR, II, 504.

⁹¹Tracy to Sallie Tracy, July 25, 1861, E.D. Tracy Papers.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³OR, XXIV (pt.1), 679.

⁹⁴Lucian Lamar Knight, Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends, 2 vols. (Atlanta: The Byrd Printing Co., 1914), 2:390; Ida Young, Julius Gholson, and Clara Nell Hargrove, History of Macon, Georgia (Macon, GA: The Macon Women's Club, 1975), p. 309. There is a small monument dedicated to General Tracy in the cemetery.

⁹⁵C. Bowie Lanford, Jr., to Kenneth R. Wesson, February 13, 1978, Personal Files of Kenneth R. Wesson. Mr. Lanford is Chief Park Interpreter, Vicksburg National Military Park, Vicksburg, Mississippi. The Monument is a bust by Solon H. Borglum.

⁹⁶Edward Dorr Tracy Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, AL.

