A COMPLETE HISTORY
OF THE GREAT
AMERICAN REBELLION,
EMBRACING
ITS CAUSES, EVENTS AND CONSEQUENCES.
WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND PORTRAITS
OF ITS PRINCIPAL ACTORS,
AND
SCENES AND INCIDENTS
OF THE WAR.
ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS, PLANS OF BATTLES, PORTRAITS, &C

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PREFACE.

The Great American Rebellion—the second War for our Independence and in behalf also of the Liberties of Mankind, is now happily ended, and Patriots and Philanthropists here and throughout the world, rejoice at its beneficent close.

The conflict, though not long in comparison with most of the great wars of History, has, nevertheless, been attended with losses, sufferings and privations, and with changes for the common good, rarely equaled.

At the opening of the great contest, we began to record its most important events, and have, from time to time, corrected the record from official and authoritative sources. We have taken time. It was not our ambition to issue the first History of the war, but to wait the full development of particular events before we recorded them.

During the four years of conflict, numerous and very significant events have transpired. They have passed rapidly, and been observed with eager interest. We could not dwell upon them; we were engrossed with passing and coming events. The smoke from one field had scarcely risen, before our vision was clouded by that from another. But now the obscurity and din of war being over, we can clearly and calmly survey the field.
PREFACE.

To loyal Americans that survey is of engrossing interest, in view of the awful sacrifice of blood, the vast expenditure of treasure, and the beneficent results flowing, and yet to flow from the contest. There will be few households in our land, into which a History of its great events will not find its way. In this work we have aimed to meet the great popular want; to make it full and complete in matter, neat and substantial in style, and moderate in price,—in size all that the people have time to read, and in cost; within their means to purchase.

Military movements are best explained by the aid of Maps and Diagrams, of which we give a large number, in immediate connection with their descriptions. Accurate Portraits impress upon the reader's mind true images of the distinguished men of the times, and very many of those are also given.
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PART I.

CAUSES OF THE REBELLION.

FROM THE ORIGIN OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.
HISTORY
OF THE
GREAT AMERICAN REBELLION.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

CAUSES OF THE REBELLION.


The recent revolt of the Southern States of the American Union is without just excuse. The impartial historian will seek in vain for an adequate cause. They were enjoying their usual prosperity. They had the full protection of the most liberal and beneficent government the world had ever known. All their rights as individuals and as States had been scrupulously respected, and but one source of difference and alienation existed. The North relied upon voluntary and compensated labor—the South upon servile and enforced labor. This radical difference in the labor of the two sections, produced, necessarily, wide differences in their industrial and social habits, and led to frequent conflicts of opinion and of interest.

It cannot now be successfully disputed that the South was unwilling to submit her system of labor to a free and unrestricted competition with that of the North; but sought, by special legislation in her behalf, to secure for it special protection. In the discussions and controversies which that effort provoked, not only in Congress, but throughout the country and
the world, the merits and defects of the competing systems were freely and fully canvassed, and public opinion became enlightened and vigorous, in approval or dissent.

The practical effect of those discussions was to separate the parties to them more widely, and to produce in each a firmer attachment to its peculiar opinions,—the friends of slavery became more and more exacting, and its opponents less and less disposed to yield to its claims.

The South saw in the growing opposition to her system, and in the rapidly increasing population and wealth of the North and West, her loss of political control in the national councils. She broke away from her alliance with the North, simply because the public opinion of that section, enlightened by discussion, would not admit that slavery was a better foundation for a republic than freedom, and would not secure to it, for all time, an indefinite expansion and full control of the Government.

Earlier in the world's history, the ideas which Southern statesmen sought to diffuse and embody in the laws of this country, might have been received with more favor, and more congenial soils than our own might have been found in which to plant them.

On the question of slavery in the abstract, and of the relative justice or injustice of its former claims, the people of the North have been divided; and from interest, the love of peace, or other causes, a minority conceded, and conceded often disgracefully, to the exactions of its friends, until Secession ended all Concession, and an attack upon the national flag cemented into a united phalanx all parties and all interests.

The terrible rebellion which has inflicted upon us such dire calamities, is the direct off-shoot of slavery. The proof is found on nearly every page of our recent history; and the germ of the mischief was early planted and rooted in the soil, which, in the end, it so bitterly cursed.
A careful and candid review of the leading controversies between the two sections, from the origin of the Government to their dreadful culmination in the rebellion, forms, therefore, a fitting prelude to the tragic scenes which attended its progress.

Our country had a peculiar origin. The world was gray-headed at its birth. It was over five thousand five hundred years old, when the land which is now our fair heritage, was but the abode of

"Wild beasts, or of wilder men."

The old world had, meanwhile, made great progress in the arts of life, and in the science of government. It had risen gradually, through oceans of blood, from barbarism to civilization; and some of its nations were highly enlightened. In the latter, the gross tyranny and abuses of the darker ages had been superseded by a more general equality of privileges, and by better provisions for the improvement and elevation of the masses. But in the best of them, the common people enjoyed but slender means for the improvement of their condition. As a rule, the child was born to a nearly inevitable condition. The governments and laws of society made distinctions irrespective of individual merit, and plenty or penury, eminence or obscurity, were the accidents—the heritage of birth. So fixed and powerful were the governments and ruling classes, and so poor and ignorant the masses, that reforms could hardly be hoped for in the lands in which old abuses had become so deeply rooted, and so widely ramified.

But the discovery of a new Continent, separated from the old world by broad oceans, furnished just the field in which to inaugurate the desired reforms, to found, on the right basis, a new social and governmental system. The experiment begun, with a single exception, most flatteringly. The virgin continent was first peopled mainly from England—the most enlightened and liberal of the old nations, and the emigrants
were among the most enterprising and virtuous of her population. They were friends of Christianity, education and freedom. They came, leaving behind them all the old and consolidated abuses, to found a government in which the people were to be the depositaries of power.

Had such been the disposition and habits of all the emigrants, happy indeed would it have been for mankind, and the History of the Great American Rebellion would not then have been written. But an element of discord, and ultimately of blood and terrible suffering, was also introduced, and the result has been a generation of angry and bitter discussion, to be followed by years of cruel war.

Plymouth Rock, in New England, and Jamestown, in Virginia, were the first points settled in this country. They were not only the earliest settlements made, they were also representative settlements, "each producing fruit after its kind." Plymouth was settled by "a band of Puritans, dissenters from the Established Church of England, persecuted for their religious opinion, and seeking, in a foreign land, that liberty of conscience which their own country denied them."a Jamestown was settled by a company of "noblemen, gentlemen and merchants."b Of the one hundred and five persons destined to form the colony, there were but "twelve laborers and few mechanics; the rest were composed of gentlemen of fortune, and of persons of no occupation, mostly of idle and dissolute habits."c And from the settlement at Plymouth has sprung a race, kindred, in all its nobler elements, to the parent stock. Their descendants have carried with them, throughout New England and the Northern and Western States, that love of liberty, that respect for the dignity and the rights of labor, and those ample provisions for the education and elevation of the masses, which led the old Pilgrims to enact, "in order that

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a Wilson's History.  
b Same.  
c Same.
learning might not be buried in the grave of our fathers, that every township should maintain a school for reading and writing, and every town of a hundred householders a grammar school, with a teacher qualified to fit youths for the University."

From the settlement at Jamestown has sprung a race of directly opposite characteristics, of which Gov. Berkeley, of Va., was an early representative, who, in 1671, said, in a report to the Privy Councils, "I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government: God keep us from both."

While there have been many individual exceptions to the prevailing rule,—some of the noblest minds and hearts that ever adorned the race having sprung from the colony at Jamestown, and who were so, not in consequence, but despite of the institutions and habits which were there established, the rule itself, nevertheless, holds good; and two widely differing orders of society were then planted upon our soil. The social usages, and the individual habits and interests of those two orders were so diverse, that when they came to act under a common government, conflicts of opinion and of interest at once arose, and which the progress of time immeasurably increased; until the most bitter and violent discussions were succeeded by violence to individuals, outrage upon territorial rights, and, finally, a deadly thrust at the national life.

The true nature of these inherent differences, and the sources of our national disorders, are thus forcibly traced in a recent work:

"When, in the eventful year 1620, the ocean bore on its turbulent bosom a band of Puritans to Massachusetts and a cargo of negroes to Virginia, it deposited on our soil two hos-

*Barons of the South.
tile elements,—the seeds of two rival social systems,—the
story of whose growth and expansion, of whose competitions
and aggressions, forms the distinctive history of the Republic,
down to this day.

"The May-Flower brought the germ of a civilization in which
thought is free,—learning diffused like the light,—law made
the equal bulwark of every individual,—labor compensated and
honored; a civilization in which the rights of every man are
recognized, the prerogatives of every class and sect protected,
and the largest development of the whole body of society en-
couraged.

"The Dutch ship brought, with its menial cargo, the germ of
a social order radically different,—a social order that regards
the State as existing solely for the benefit of a dominant class,
which it arms accordingly with absolute and irresponsible
power, and to which the other members of the community are
related as cattle are related to their owners,—a social order in
which justice is ignored, learning restricted, genius and enter-
prise discouraged, labor extorted and dishonored, the dictates
of religion contemned, all improvement vetoed, and the organ-
ic forces that are intended to develop and magnify a state
stricken with deadly paralysis.

"It should have been morally self-evident, in the beginning,
that these two social orders could never mature—within the
same national domain—without coming into collision, shock-
ing the government to its centre, and involving the destruction
of at least one of the antagonistic interests. The event was
inevitable as the working of instincts in the blood, its fulfil-
ment only a question of time.

"The antithesis has a yet deeper root. The Puritans who
came to Massachusetts left a sturdy brotherhood in England,
who overthrew the throne of Charles I., reared a Common-
wealth out of the chaos of civil war, and engendered among
the English people a republican spirit, that allowed the king-
dom no rest till bounds were set to the royal prerogative, and the rights of the subject fortified by law. The Cavaliers who settled in Virginia—assuming the charge of that peculiar 'property' brought over by the Dutch slave-trader—were of that effeminate and supercilious nobility that drew the lance in behalf of the oppressive Stuarts; that poured out treasure and life so profusely in defence of a family whose crafty malice was equaled only by its scandalous vices and impotent imbecility; and that resisted with such virulent hostility the spirit of political reform marshalled under Cromwell and William of Orange.

"Thus the two parties—the representatives of liberty and oppression—whose struggles comprise the glory and shame of English history in the seventeenth century, delegated their quarrel to the new empire then rising in the West; and here, accordingly, under modified conditions, we are fighting to reach an issue far grander and more momentous than that which banished James II. and gave a new dynasty to England.

"The two antagonistic systems found congenial soil in the places where they were planted. Freedom was cherished in Massachusetts, slavery was fostered in Virginia. There was a momentary effort, it is true, to establish an aristocracy in the Puritan Colony; but it was found hostile to the temper of the province. It is true, also, that slavery obtained a temporary footing in this Colony, as in all the other Colonies, and that the slave-trade formed an important part of the early commerce of New England. But it was impossible that the system should long survive, in opposition to that intense love of freedom which was the salt of the otherwise unsavory character of the Puritans, and in the face of the institutions they founded and matured. To Massachusetts belongs the honor of having been the first of the States to abolish negro slavery by a solemn judicial decision. In Virginia, the baleful plant of despotism became rooted deeper in her growing polity in the
process of time. In the first instance, negroes were enslaved on the ground that they were heathen; but as they began to be converted and Christianized, it became necessary to base their servitude on their alleged inferiority as a race. Having thus subverted the liberties of the negroes, the Virginia planters proceeded to curtail the rights of the other race, and poor white men were disfranchised by an act of the Provincial Assembly.*

"The political tendencies of the two Colonies were consistent with their antecedents. On the breaking out of the English civil war, Massachusetts indicated her sympathies by dropping the oath of allegiance, and furling, for a while, the red cross of England, while Virginia, with Maryland, adhered to the king, and piously cursed the Roundheads who were prevailing against him.†

"The extreme pertinacity with which the Southern Colonies adhered to the slave system is well illustrated in the early history of Georgia. General James Oglethorpe—a member of the British Parliament, and a man whose enlightened views and humane policy render him worthy of an honorable remembrance—'conceived the idea of opening for the poor of his own country, and for the persecuted Protestants of all nations, an asylum in America.' In 1733, having obtained a grant from the king, he landed at Savannah with one hundred and twenty emigrants, and commenced a settlement. In this infant society, slavery was strictly prohibited, and pronounced, 'not only immoral, but contrary to the laws of England.'

"But, unfortunately for this attempt to plant a free state, most of the first emigrants were not accustomed to labor. 'The Colony did not prosper,' and the colonists began to complain that they were prohibited the use of slave labor. 'The

regulations of the trustees began to be evaded, and the laws against slavery were not rigidly enforced. At first, slaves from South Carolina were hired for short periods; then for a hundred years, or during life; and a sum equal to the value of the negro paid in advance. In this way the insidious system rooted itself in the new State; slave-traders sailed boldly for Africa from the port of Savannah; the trustees, baffled in their humane endeavor, resigned their charter; and Georgia obeyed the fatal gravitation that has carried her sister States into the slough of slavery.

"General Oglethorpe returned to England in 1743, where he distinguished himself by writing against slavery and the impressment of seamen. In a letter to his friend Granville Sharp, he alludes to his former connection with the Colony of Georgia: 'My friends and I settled the Colony of Georgia, and by charter were established trustees, to make laws, &c. We determined not to suffer slavery there. But the slave-merchants and their adherents occasioned us not only much trouble, but at last got the then government to favor them. We would not suffer slavery (which is against the Gospel as well as the fundamental law of England) to be authorized under our authority; we refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime. The government, finding the trustees firmly resolved not to concur with what they believed unjust, took away the charter, by which no law could be passed without our consent.'

"We have heard it argued that the system of slavery at the South was forced upon a reluctant people in the beginning; but facts, we apprehend, will scarcely warrant the plea. The whole system of colonial slavery was illegal under the law of England; and, though it was fostered in some instances by

†Stuart's Memoir of Sharp.
government, it appears that nothing stronger than the cupidity of traders, the propensity to idleness, and the pride of caste among colonists, gave it footing on our shores. In the North, the more enterprising habits and more solid moral qualities of the people,—uniting with a more stimulating and rigorous climate,—prevented slavery from striking its roots deeply into our social system. But at the South, the predilections of the early immigrants led them to welcome slave labor, and their descendants— influenced by temper and by custom—came to esteem it indispensable to their station, their passions, and their existence."

In the earlier history of the country, however, the strong advocates and defenders of slavery were confined to a comparatively few of the Southern States. It was then quite generally regarded as an evil, which would be only temporary, and of which time would rid them. At that early day, it was common for Southern men to speak against slavery, and to criticise it in its economical and social aspects. Alexander H. Stevens, who subsequently became the rebel Vice President, reproached the fathers of the Republic in 1859, for not giving their hearty and unqualified support to slavery. He said "they did not understand it." "I admit," said he, "that all the public men of the South were once against it, but they did not understand it." In March, 1861, he spoke thus in Savannah: "African slavery, as it exists among us, is the proper status of the negro. * * * The prevailing ideas entertained by Jefferson, and most of the leading statesmen, at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was a violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong, socially, morally and politically. * * * Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong." Such were the earlier and prevailing sentiments of the slave-holders of the South, before habit, interest, passion and pride had blinded their judgments to its enormity.
But in South Carolina and Georgia, and with certain influential minds in other States of the South, a very different sentiment prevailed,—a sentiment which manifested hostility to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and those which lay at the foundation, and grew out of the Revolution. That was an aristocratic sentiment, popularly and forcibly enunciated in the proposition, that "Capital should own labor;" or in the later and more audacious phrase of the late rebel Vice-President, that "the foundations of the new government are laid upon the great truth that slavery,—subordination to the superior race,—is the negro's natural condition, that it is the first government in the history of the world,—what astonishing progress!—based upon that great physical, moral and philosophical truth! and that the stone which was rejected by the first builders is, in the new edifice, become the head of the corner!"

South Carolina has always been the guiding spirit of that sentiment, and has manifested her unflinching devotion to it throughout her whole career. In that she has had the hearty sympathy of the political leaders in Georgia. Those two States carped about the phraseology of the Declaration of Independence. The following paragraph in the original draft of that instrument, preferring charge against the king of Great Britian, was stricken out, on motion of the Georgia delegation:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captiving and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep a market where men should be bought and sold, he has at length prostituted his negative for suppressing any legislative attempt to prohibit and restrain this execrable commerce."
South Carolina voted once against the adoption of the Declaration, and finally gave her reluctant assent to it for the sake of seeming unanimity. But that assent was heartless and insincere; for, when doubt hung over the issue of the contest, her Commissioners made propositions to the British Commander, which were equivalent to an offer from the State, to return to the British crown.

Not only was her opposition shown to the Declaration of Independence, and during the progress of the war, but she manifested hesitancy also in regard to the Federal Constitution, in which Georgia also concurred. They both strongly urged that the slave trade should be protected by the Federal Constitution, as an indispensable pre-requisite to its receiving their assent. Said Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, while opposing a tax on the importation of slaves: "The true question, at present, is, whether the Southern States shall, or shall not, be parties to the Union." Mr. Pinckney, also, of South Carolina, said, "South Carolina can never receive the plan of the Constitution, if it prohibits the slave-trade."* For the sake of unanimity, and to organize a complete union of all the States, a compromise was made, by which, for twenty years, no restrictions were to be imposed upon the traffic in slaves.

Here the government committed its great initial error,—made its first important concession to the demands of slaveholders, by which that enormity of enormities, the foreign slave-trade, was continued for twenty years; and South Carolina and Georgia accepted the concession and entered the Union.

"But there was also another sentiment, of a kindred perversity, which prevailed in the same quarter. This is vividly portrayed by John Adams, in a letter to General Gates, dated at Philadelphia, 23d March, 1776: 'However, my dear friend

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Gates, all our misfortunes arise from a single source: the resistance of the Southern colonies to Republican Government.

"And he proceeds to declare in strong language, that 'popular principles and axioms were abhorrent to the inclinations of the barons of the South.' This letter was written in the early days of the Revolution. At a later period of his life, John Adams testifies again to the discord between the North and the South; and he refers particularly to the period after the Federal Constitution, saying: 'The Northern and the Southern States were invariably fixed in opposition to each other.' (See letter to James Lloyd, 11th Feb., 1815, John Adams' Works, vol. x., p. 19.) This was before any question of tariff, or of free trade, or before the growing fortunes of the North had awakened Southern jealousy. The whole opposition had its root in slavery—as also had the earlier resistance to Republican Government.

"In the face of these influences, the Union was formed, but the seeds of conspiracy were latent in its bosom. The spirit already revealed was scarcely silenced; it was not destroyed. It still existed, rankling, festering, burning to make itself manifest. At the mention of slavery, it always appeared full-armed, with barbarous pretensions. Even in the first Congress under the Constitution—at the presentation of that famous petition where Benjamin Franklin simply called upon Congress to step to the verge of its powers to discourage every species of traffic in our fellow-men—this spirit broke forth in violent threats. With a kindred lawlessness it early embraced that extravagant dogma of State rights, which has been, ever since, the convenient cloak of treason and of conspiracy. At the Missouri question in 1820, it openly menaced a dissolution of the Union. Instead of throttling the monster, we submitted to feed it with new concessions. Meanwhile the conspiracy grew, until, at last, in 1830, under the influence of Mr. Calhoun, it assumed the defiant front of nullification; nor did it
yield to the irresistible logic of Webster, or the stern will of Jackson, without a compromise. The pretended ground of complaint was the tariff; but Andrew Jackson, himself a patriot slave-holder—at that time President—saw the hollowness of the complaint. In a confidential letter, which has only recently been brought to light, dated at Washington, 1st May, 1833—and which, during the last winter, I had the honor of reading and holding up before the conspirators of the Senate, in the original autograph, he says: 'The tariff was only the pretext, and disunion and a Southern Confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question.'

"Jackson was undoubtedly right; but the pretext which he denounced in advance was employed so constantly afterwards as to become threadbare. At the earliest presentation of abolition petitions—at the Texas question—at the compromises of 1850—at the Kansas question—at the probable election of Fremont—on all these occasions, the Union was threatened by the angry slave-masters.

"But the conspiracy has been unblushingly confessed by recent parties to it. Especially was this done in the rebel Convention of South Carolina.

"Mr. Packer said: 'Secession is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us. It has been gradually culminating for a long series of years.'

"Mr. Inglis said: 'Most of us have had this subject under consideration for the last twenty years.'

"Mr. Keitt said: "I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life.'

"Mr. Rhett, who was in the Senate when I first entered that body, and did not hesitate then to avow himself a Disunionist, said, in the same Convention: 'It is nothing produced by Mr. Lincoln's election or the non-execution of the fugitive slave law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years.'
"The conspiracy thus exposed by Jackson and confessed by recent parties to it, was quickened by the growing passion for slavery throughout the slave States. The well-known opinions of the fathers, the declared convictions of all who were most eminent at the foundation of the Government, and the example of Washington were all discarded, and it was recklessly avowed that slavery is a divine institution—the highest type of civilization—a blessing to master and slave alike—and the very key-stone of our national arch. A generation has grown up with this teaching, so that it is now ready to say with Satan,

"'Evil, be thou my good: by thee at least
Divided empire with heaven's king I hold;
As man ere long and this new world shall know.'"

We shall see, in future chapters, convincing proofs of these general statements.

*Sumner's oration at Cooper Institute.
CHAPTER II.

ADOPTION OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.


For several years after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, no questions arose especially affecting the interests of slavery; and upon that subject, therefore, there was comparative quiet. During that period, our territory was extended by the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, and Florida in 1819, opening a wider field for slave labor. The invention of the Cotton Gin, and of improved machinery for the manufacture of cotton fabrics, had given a value to that staple, and an increased demand for it, far exceeding all former experience or expectation.

This important addition to the value of the great slave-product, gave a corresponding importance to the institution itself, and led to those energetic and persistent efforts, to extend and consolidate its powers, which have marked its entire subsequent history; and which culminated in the rebellion.

In all the contests which have arisen in this country upon the question of slavery, its friends have always manifested a peculiar jealousy of those whose interests were not identical with their own. Their language and their manner have been marked by a spirit of arrogance and dictation, of which few parallels can be found in the world’s history, and which is due
to the influence of their social system. Jefferson, whose fore-
caste, whose experience of that system, and whose patriotism
made him a safe counsellor, traces the cause in a few memora-
ble words:

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a per-
petual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unre-
mitting despotism, on the one part, and degrading submission
on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it;
for man is an imitative animal. . . . . The parent storms, the
child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the
same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose rein to
the worst of passions; and, thus nursed, educated, and daily
exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by its odious
peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his
manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And
with what execration should a statesman be loaded, who, per-
mitting one half the citizens to trample on the rights of the
other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies,
destroys the morals of the one, and the amor patrie of the
other! And can the liberties of the nation be thought secure,
when we have removed their only firm basis,—a conviction
in the minds of the people that their liberties are the gifts of
God, that they are not to be violated but with his wrath? In-
deed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is
just, that his justice cannot sleep forever."

Prophetic words! fully and most emphatically verified in
the history of the causes which produced, and the events
which attended the horrid rebellion.

The first notable contest, for the manifestation of this
spirit, arose upon the question of admitting Missouri into the
Union as a State. It arose during the month of January,
1819, on a bill introduced by the delegate from that territory,
admitting it into the Union, on an equal footing with the
original States. The bill was appropriately referred, and on
the 15th day of February following, Gen. Tallmadge submitted an amendment to the bill, providing that the introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crimes, should be prohibited within the bounds of the proposed State, and that all children born therein after the admission thereof into the Union, should be free at the age of twenty-five years. This amendment was seconded by John W. Taylor of New York, and laid over for two months. On the fifteenth of that month, Mr. Scott opened the debate in opposition to Mr. Tallmadge's proviso, by assuming the position that Congress had no power to impose any restrictions upon the people of his territory, or to require their assent to such a condition as a pre-requisite to their admission into the Union. Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, followed on the same side, with great warmth, and declared that if the motion should prevail, it would be the death knell of the American Union. Mr. Clay insisted that the constitutional authority of Congress extended no further than to guaranty the incoming States an admission into the Union, whenever it should appear that their form of municipal government was republican; that their sovereignty must remain unrestricted. Mr. Livermore, of New Hampshire, replied in an animated speech, and cited the authority of Mr. Jefferson, that if a slave were entitled to a country anywhere, it was in the land of his birth, and that as well the safety and prosperity of the white population and their children, who learn despotism, rather than the principles of liberty, from the degrading practice, as the interests and happiness of slaves themselves, required the institution to be excluded from all domain not already under its blight. Mr. Colston, of Virginia, replied in a furious accusation, that Mr. L. had been speaking to the galleries, had endeavored to excite a servile war, and deserved the fate of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. Mr. Fuller, of Massachusetts, asserted that slaves were men, and being men, were, under our republican form of government.
ment, born free, and entitled to liberty; that it was a violation of principle to leave slavery in the old States, and would be a violation of the Constitution to permit it in new ones. He maintained that it was susceptible of the clearest demonstration that the implied agreement, in the Constitution, that Congress should not interfere with it in the States where it existed when the Constitution was formed, could not be extended by construction over other territory. The debate was protracted and sometimes violent. It was participated in by others, and finally terminated in the House of Representatives with the following peroration from Gen. Tallmadge:

"My resolution proposes to set bounds to the most cruel and dehumanizing slavery the world has ever witnessed. It looks to the freedom of unredeemed and unregenerated human beings. It is an object interwoven with my existence. My purpose is fixed—I shall not retract. If a dissolution of the Union must take place, let it be so. If civil war, which gentlemen so much threaten, must come, I can only say, let it come. My hold on life is probably as frail as that of any man who hears me; but while that hold lasts, it shall be devoted to the service of my country—to the freedom of man. If blood is necessary to extinguish any fire which I have assisted to kindle, I can assure gentlemen, while I regret the necessity, I shall not forbear to contribute my mite. I have the fortune and the honor to stand here as the representative of freemen who profess intelligence to know their rights, and who have the spirit to maintain them. I know the will of my constituents; and, regardless of consequences, I will avow it. As their representative, I will proclaim their hatred to slavery in every shape. As their representative here, I will hold my stand till this floor, with the Constitution of my country which supports it, shall sink beneath me. If I am doomed to fall, I shall, at least, have the painful consolation to believe that I fall as a fragment in the ruins of my country."
The amendment was adopted in the House by a vote of seventy-three against sixty-seven, and went to the Senate, where the bill was lost. The proviso was advocated in that body by several Senators, among whom was Rufus King of New York, who concluded his able argument as follows:

"Slavery cannot exist in Missouri without the consent of Congress. The question is a new one, it being the first instance in which an inquiry respecting slavery, in a case so free from the influence of the ancient laws and usages of the country, has come before the Senate. The territory of Missouri is beyond our ancient limits, and the inquiry whether slavery shall exist there is open to the arguments which might be employed had slavery never existed in the United States. It is a question of no ordinary importance. Freedom and slavery are the parties which stand this day before the Senate, and upon its decision the empire of the one or the other will be established in the new State which we are about to admit into the Union.

"If slavery be permitted in Missouri, with the climate and soil and in the circumstances of this territory, what hope can be entertained that it will ever be prohibited in any of the new States that will be formed in the immense region west of the Mississippi? Will the co-extensive establishment of Slavery and of new States throughout this region lessen the danger of domestic insurrection, or of foreign aggression? Will this manner of executing the great trust of admitting new States into the Union, contribute to assimilate our manners and usages, to increase our mutual affection and confidence, and to establish that equality of benefits and burdens which constitutes the true basis of our strength and union? Will the militia of the nation, which must furnish our soldiers and seamen, increase as slaves increase? Will the actual disproportion in the military service of the nation be thereby diminished—a disproportion that will be, as it has
been, readily borne as between the original States, because it arises out of their compact of union, but which may become a badge of inferiority, if required for the protection of those who, being free to choose, persist in the establishment of maxims, the inevitable effect of which will deprive them of the power to contribute to the common defense and even of the ability to protect themselves? There are limits within which our federal system must stop. No one supposes it can be indefinitely extended. We are now about to pass our original boundary. If this can be done without affecting the principles of our free government, it can be accomplished only by the most vigilant attention to plant, cherish, and sustain the principles of liberty in the new States that may be formed beyond our ancient limits. But if, instead of freedom, slavery is to prevail and spread as we extend our dominion, can any reflecting man fail to see the necessity of giving to the General Government greater powers, to enable it to afford the protection that will be demanded of it—powers that it will be difficult to control, and which may prove fatal to the public liberties?"

The application was renewed by Mr. Scott, in the next Congress, which assembled in December. The House of Representatives at that time consisted of one hundred and eighty-six members, of which one hundred and fifty-four were republicans, twenty-seven in opposition, and five neutral. The Senate consisted of thirty-eight members, of which thirty-one were republican, and seven in opposition. On the 14th of that month, Mr. Taylor, of New York, after an appropriate exordium, introduced a resolution to raise a committee to inquire into the expediency of prohibiting by law the introduction of slaves into the territories of the United States west of the Mississippi, which was laid over for two days by request of the mover, and then postponed to the second Monday of the ensuing January. On the twenty-fourth of the
same month, Mr. Taylor moved a further postponement of the Missouri bill, which called forth an animated and prolonged debate, in which Messrs. Livermore and Claggett of New Hampshire, and Cushman of Massachusetts, sustained the motion, and Messrs. Scott of Missouri territory, Lowndes of South Carolina, Floyd of Virginia, Cook of Illinois, and Brush and Campbell of Ohio, opposed it, when the question was taken and lost; ayes, eighty-seven; noes, eighty-six. But the House adjourned for the day without further action. On the 26th, the House went into committee of the whole on this bill, when Mr. Storrs of New York introduced an amendment to the second section, prohibiting slavery north of the thirty-eighth parallel of latitude.

On this a debate ensued, in which Messrs. Randolph of Virginia, Lowndes of South Carolina, Mercer of Virginia, Brush of Ohio, Smith of Maryland, Storrs of New York, and Clay of Kentucky, followed each other successively. The question was then taken on the amendment, and decided in the negative. The reading then proceeded to the fourth section, when Mr. Taylor of New York proposed to insert in that section the following proviso:

"And shall ordain and establish that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said State, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided always that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any other State, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid; and provided also that the said provision shall not be construed to alter the condition or civil rights of any person now held to service in said territory." This brought the subject of slavery distinctly before the committee, when it rose and obtained leave to sit again.

On the 27th, the debate was resumed, when Mr. Foot of
Connecticut, moved a further postponement, in order to afford
the opportunity for the House to consider a motion for the
prohibition of slavery altogether, west of the Mississippi. He
desired the adoption of such a prohibition, in order that all
the territories in that quarter might be placed on the same
footing as the north-western territory, under the ordinance of
1787, and so that the question now agitating Congress might
be then left to the good sense of the people of the States to
be formed out of that territory, and afterwards to the judg-
ment of the Supreme Court, to settle any ultimate matters
growing out of it. But the motion did not prevail.

Mr. Taylor then delivered a speech in support of his mo-
tion, in which he said:

"It was reserved for America to exhibit, on an extensive
scale, an example of independent States uniting for the
general welfare, surrendering a part of their sovereignty
to a newly created Government, and authorizing it to con-
stitute other States similar to themselves. The power of
admitting new States into the Union had no more appli-
cation to this territory than it had to Chili and Peru. It
was a foreign province, alien to our laws, customs, and
institutions. It sustained none of the conflicts of the revolu-
tion; it was purchased by no blood of our fathers, but with
the wealth of their sons. If we believe that the power of
admitting this territory into the Union as a State, without
first amending the Constitution, of which there were once
grave doubts, only removed by necessity, we should consider
that as we dedicate the portion now under consideration, we
shall probably decide the future character of the rest. The
acquired domain probably contains more square miles than all
the States of the old confederacy, which, under the guidance
of a wise policy, may yet exhibit the fairest specimens of
American character, and the most perfect models of free
government."
"It is difficult for those who admit slavery to be a malignant poison, to believe that we consider it essential to the prosperity of Missouri that this poison shall not be infused into her civil institutions. And are we not as much bound in our legislation to regard her welfare as if we were elected by her people? The present generation is not alone, nor even principally interested in this question. If the age of States were limited to the period of human life, this subject would be comparatively of little importance. The statesman whose views look not to the future, is unworthy the confidence of the American people. It depends upon us in no small degree whether, fifty years hence, the counties of Missouri shall be cultivated like the garden of Pennsylvania, supporting a population of industrious freemen, and contributing largely to the national wealth; or whether they shall exhibit the cheerless spectacle presented to our view in the neighborhood of this district; whether her portionless sons shall hereafter become companions of plantation negroes, or the independent cultivators of their own fields. If improved land be more valuable to a State than barren wastes; if a compact population be more valuable than that which is dispersed; if a population of freemen be better than hordes of slaves, we cannot hesitate in deciding what is required by the interest of the territory.

"Is not the amendment necessary also to the welfare of the middling classes of emigrants throughout the Union? Can they flourish in a country of slaves? In civilized society, the persons engaged in mechanical arts constitute no inconsiderable portion of its members. But if information derived from old slave-holding States be credited, that class of their free population is constantly diminishing. These arts have been taught to their slaves, who now perform the business in which free citizens were formerly employed. That part of society whose physical power requires to be strengthened is thus diminished, and the mechanic is compelled to abandon
his home in search of employment in a distant land. The admission of Missouri without a restriction against slavery, is opposed by a majority of the States in the Union. These States, it is true, have parted with the power of legislating on the subject; but ought not their judgment and wishes to be respected? In business partnerships what would wisdom dictate in such a case? Although its managers or agents might have power to admit new members, would they be wise to exercise it in a manner hostile to the known opinions of a majority of those, both in number and amount, interested in the concern? What consequence would be likely to follow such proceedings, even if the managers should be able, by the means of votes thus acquired, to retain their places and control the interests of the original partners? Would not contention and distrust unavoidably ensue? And is harmony less desirable in a confederacy of States, than in the little concerns of mercantile profit?

"The adoption of the amendment is necessary to retard the growth of that slave-holding spirit which appears to gain ground in the United States. Notwithstanding the exertions of abolition and colonization societies in various parts of the Union, it is feared and believed that public sentiment in the west is becoming less unfriendly to slavery than it formerly was; no new State has been admitted into the Union since 1791, which has not established slavery by law, unless prohibited by Congress. Alabama, the last State admitted, has not left it to the regulation of law, but has protected it by a constitutional provision. In 1792, when Kentucky was admitted, a powerful combination of talent and influence was exerted in favor of the gradual emancipation of her slaves. Who were then the zealous supporters of freedom in Kentucky? The history of their efforts and the cause of their failure are well known, yet even one attempt to stop the progress of slavery in the west, though unsuccessful, was honorable. It evinced
an elevation of mind, a magnanimity of purpose, to which the citizens of no new State have since attained. Some old States have accomplished for themselves the objects of the Kentucky emancipators; but it has been done in latitudes only where cotton could not be grown, and where the value of slaves was, on that account, comparatively small. The increase of a slave-holding spirit appears not only from these facts, but also from the manner in which the ordinance of 1787 is treated, both in Congress and out of it. That ordinance was passed by the unanimous vote of all the States.

"I have the authority of an honorable Representative from Virginia, when I say, that its sixth article, which prohibits slavery, was proposed by a delegate of that State. Its enactment was then considered by all the States, as well slave-holding as non-slave-holding, not only within the legitimate powers of Congress, but especially recommended by considerations of public policy. Is this sentiment still maintained? No, sir, it is not. Public journals, conducted under the patronage of high authority, denounce it. Distinguished statesmen in both Houses of Congress proclaim it an instance of rank usurpation; and a legislative Assembly of one State, at least, have threatened resistance if Congress shall apply the same principle to Missouri."

He then proceeded at great length to demonstrate the constitutional sovereignty of Congress over the territories, and its right and duty to make such rules and regulations for them as should best comport with the general design of our republican government, the general good of all the members of the Union, and the safety, prosperity, and happiness of the settlers of Missouri in particular. He insisted that calculations for the extension of slavery beyond the limits which then confined it, ought to be at once and forever discouraged. Mr. Taylor was an eminent republican, and his position, therefore, gave to his remarks peculiar significance and force.
Mr. Holmes, of Massachusetts, followed with arguments against the right of Congress to impose prohibitory conditions upon the territories which asked for admission into the Union. Mr. Smith, of Virginia, supported that position. On the 1st of February, Messrs. Reid, of Georgia, and Randolph, of Virginia, delivered arguments against, and Messrs. Claggett, of New Hampshire, and Dowse, of Massachusetts, for the restriction. On the 4th, Mr. Hardin, of Kentucky, opposed, and Mr. Cook, of Illinois, supported it. On the 5th, Mr. Meigs, of New York, proposed a committee to inquire into the expediency of devoting the public lands as a fund for the purpose of employing a naval force competent to the annihilation of the slave trade; the emancipation of the slaves in the United States; and to colonizing them in such a way as should be conducive to their comfort and happiness in Africa. Mr. Hemphill, of Pennsylvania, then argued for, and Mr. McLane, of Delaware, against the Taylor amendment; and on the 8th, Mr. Clay addressed the committee four hours against the restriction. On the 9th, Mr. Foote, of Connecticut, offered a resolution prohibiting slavery in any of the territories, and recommending prohibitory clauses in the constitutions of all future States. On the 11th, Mr. Gross, of New York, supported the resolution, and was replied to by Mr. Anderson, of Kentucky, and was supported by Mr. Pindall, of Virginia. On the 14th, Messrs. Cushman, of Massachusetts, and Wood, of New York, urged the restriction, and were replied to by Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, who, among other things, said:

"The true motive for all this dreadful clamor through the Union—this serious and eventful attack on our most sacred and valuable rights and properties, is to gain a fixed ascendency in the representation in Congress; and all these allegations of the immorality, irreligiousness, impolicy, and inexpediency of slavery, are only flimsy excuses for such a conspiracy, under
which the northern and eastern States take shelter. The charges, also, that they have been hardly treated in the apportionment of representation to this House, and that they have lost the benefit of the compromise they pretend was made, and which I most positively deny, are of the same specious and deceptive character. If, therefore, I can show that all such pretensions are unfounded, and that whilst they are fully represented, they did by force, or something like it, deprive us of a rightful part of our representation, I shall then be able to take the mask from all their pretended reasons and excuses, and show this unpardonable attack, this monster, in its true and uncovered hideousness.

"It has been said that slavery is an infamous stain and blot on the States that hold it, not only degrading to the slave but the master, and making him unfit for republican government; that it is contrary to religion and the law of God; and that Congress ought to do everything in their power to prevent its extension among the new States. Now, sir, I should be glad to know how any man is acquainted with what is the will or law of God on this subject. Has it ever been imparted to the old or to the new world? Is there a single line in the Old or New Testament forbidding it? I answer without hesitation, no. But there are hundreds which recognize it. If we are to believe that this world was formed by a great and omnipotent being; that nothing is permitted to exist here but by his will, and then throw our eyes throughout the whole of it, we should form an opinion very different indeed from that asserted, that slavery is against the law of God.

"In relation to representation for slaves, I ask, who pays the expense, and who, in fact, enables you to go on with your government at all, and prevents its wheels from stopping? The exports during the last year, from Maine to Pennsylvania, amounted to eighteen millions of dollars, whilst those among the slave-holding states to the southward of Pennsylvania,
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amounted to thirty-two millions of dollars, thereby enabling themselves or acquiring the right to import double as much as the others, and furnishing the treasury with double the amount the Northern and Eastern States do. And here let me ask, from whence do these exports arise? By whose hands are they made? I answer, entirely by the slaves. And yet these valuable inhabitants, without whom your very Government could not go on, and the labor of two or three of whom in the Southern States, is more valuable to it than the labor of five of their inhabitants in the Eastern States, the States owning and possessing them are denied a representation but for three-fifths on this floor, while the whole of the comparatively unproductive inhabitants of the Northern and Eastern States are fully represented here. Is this just? is it equal? And yet they have the modesty to complain of the representation as unjust and unequal; and that they have not the return made them they expected, by taxing the slaves and making them bear a proportion of the public burdens.

"I have not condescended to notice the remark that one of the evils of slavery is the lessening and depreciating the character of the whites in the slave-holding States, and rendering it less manly and republican, and less worthy than in the non-slave-holding States, because it is not less decorous than true. It is refuted in a moment by a review of the revolutionary, and particularly of the last war. Compare the conduct of the heroes and statesmen of the North and South in both those wars, in the field and in the Senate. See the monuments of valor, wisdom, and patriotism they have left behind them, and then ask an impartial world on which side the Delaware lies the preponderance; it will answer in a moment, to the South; it will not be a matter of surprise to any one that so much anxiety should be shown by the slave-holding States, when it is known that the alarm given by this attempt to legislate on slavery, has led to the opinion that the very founde-
tions of that kind of property are shaken; that the establishment of the precedent is a measure of the most alarming nature, for should succeeding Congresses continue to push it, there is no knowing to what length it may be carried.

"If you refuse to admit Missouri without this prohibition, and she refuses it, and proceeds to form a Constitution for herself, and then applies to you for admission, what will you do? Will you compel her by force? By whom or by what force can this be effected? Will the States in her neighborhood join in the crusade? Will they who, to a man, think Missouri is right, and you wrong, arm in such a cause? Can you send a force to the westward of the Delaware? The very distance forbids it; and distance is a powerful auxiliary to a country attacked. If, in the days of James the Second, English soldiers under military discipline, when ordered to march against their countrymen contending in the cause of liberty, disobeyed the order and laid down their arms, do you think our free brethren on the Mississippi will not do the same? Yes, sir, they will refuse, and you will at last be obliged to retreat from this measure, and in a manner that will not add to the dignity of your Government."

The debate was continued by Messrs. Hendricks of Indiana, Darlington and Dennison of Pennsylvania, Whitman of Massachusetts, and Rich of Vermont, in favor, and by Messrs. Rankin of Mississippi, Cuthbert of Georgia, Johnson of Virginia, Lowndes and Simpkins of South Carolina, and Tyler of Virginia, against the restriction, until the 19th of February, when it took another direction by reason of the reception by the House of Representatives of amendments of the Senate, by which that body had coupled the Missouri bill with another, for the admission into the Union of the district of Maine, and added thereto a compromise, so called, admitting slavery into Missouri, but prohibiting it outside the State north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes
north latitude. It will now be instructive to pass from the discussion in the House to that which occurred in the Senate.

On the 6th of January, 1820, Mr. Smith of South Carolina, reported to the Senate the bill for the admission into the Union of the district of Maine, with the entire Missouri bill, without restriction in respect to slavery, annexed as an amendment. On the 14th, Mr. Roberts of Pennsylvania, moved to recommit, with instructions to separate the two subjects, and report the Maine bill as it came from the House. The question was taken and decided in the negative. He thereupon offered to the Missouri bill an amendment prohibiting slavery. Judge Thomas of Illinois, pursuant to previous notice, introduced a joint resolution extending the ordinance of 1787 over all territory of the United States west of the Mississippi, and north of latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, and the same was referred to a select committee. The amendment of Mr. Roberts was debated from day to day until the first of February, when it was rejected; ayes sixteen, noes twenty-seven. On this question both Senators of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, and Indiana, and one from New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, voted in the affirmative.

On the 3d of February, Mr. Thomas re-submitted his former proposition to exclude slavery except in Missouri, north of latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, as an amendment to the Missouri bill. On the 11th, Mr. Rufus King addressed the Senate two hours against the admission of slavery in the State of Missouri, and therefore against the proposed compromise. Messrs. Smith of South Carolina, and Pinckney and Lloyd of Maryland, replied. On the 16th, the question was taken in the Senate upon uniting the two bills, and decided in the affirmative, ayes twenty-three, noes twenty-one. Mr. Barbour of Virginia then moved to raise the line of slavery to the fortieth parallel of north latitude, which was
lost without division. On the 17th, the question was taken on Mr. Thomas' amendment, and decided in the affirmative; ayes thirty-four, noes ten. On the 21st, the bill as amended was read a third time, passed, and returned to the House, where it originated.

We now look into the House of Representatives, where, on the 19th of February, the amendments of the Senate to the Maine bill came up for concurrence, and after an animated discussion of three days, were disagreed to. The House bill, with Mr. Taylor's proviso added, was then passed by a vote of ninety-one against eighty-two, and sent to the Senate for concurrence, where the proviso was rejected by a vote of twenty-seven against fifteen, and the compromise of Judge Thomas substituted, without division, in its stead. This resulted in the appointment of a committee of conference, whose report recommended the separation of the bills and the passage of the Missouri act without restriction upon the State, but with an absolute prohibition of slavery in all other territory west of the Mississippi north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes; or in other words, the bill as amended by the Senate. The House finally adopted the report, and concurred in its recommendations, by a vote of one hundred and thirty-four against forty-two. And so the famous act to authorize the people of Missouri territory to form a constitutional State government, and to prohibit slavery in certain territories of the United States, passed both Houses of Congress, and received the approbation of President Monroe, on the 6th of March, 1820.

But the subject was not yet disposed of. It remained for the people of Missouri to form a Constitution and submit it to Congress at its next session, for approval. When it was received, it was found to contain a clause requiring the legislature to enact laws to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from going into or settling in the State, a provision which
many believed to be repugnant to the provision of the Constitution, which declares that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States. However, Mr. Eaton in the Senate and Mr. Lowndes in the House, concluding that it was a point for judicial rather than for legislative decision, reported favorably upon the Constitution, as submitted, and recommended the admission of the State. Perceiving that serious doubts were entertained on that point in the Senate, Mr. Eaton undertook to avoid the difficulty by proposing an amendment, to the effect that nothing therein contained should be so construed as to contravene the clause in the Constitution referred to, which, after much debate, was adopted; and the resolution for admission so amended was agreed to by a vote of twenty-six against eighteen. With the exception of Mr. Macon of North Carolina, and Mr. Smith of South Carolina, all the Senators who voted in the negative were from the free States. All the Southern Senators with these exceptions, two Senators from Illinois, one from New Hampshire, and one from Rhode Island, voted in the affirmative.

This resolution, thus amended, was considered in the House of Representatives on the 29th of January, 1821, when Mr. Randolph of Virginia moved to strike out the proviso, and Mr. Clay urged the passage of the resolution as it came from the Senate. Messrs. Foote of Connecticut, Storrs of New York, Moore of Pennsylvania, and McLane of Delaware, offered resolutions to annul or destroy the force of the offensive clause, but they were all rejected. On the 2d of February, Mr. Clay, who had become fatigued with the subject, made another vigorous effort to settle it, and succeeded in obtaining a reference of it to a committee of his own appointment, to which he was subsequently added as chairman, who, on the 10th, reported an amendment imposing the condition that the State should never pass a law excluding therefrom
the citizens of any other State in the Union, but it was not adopted by the House. Finally, a committee of conference was raised in both Houses, who agreed that Missouri should be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, upon the fundamental condition that the clause referred to should never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, by which any citizen of either of those States in the Union should be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges or immunities to which he might be entitled under the Constitution of the United States; and that, if the legislature, by a public act, should assent to this condition, and should transmit such act to the President before the fourth Monday of November ensuing, the admission should be deemed complete. This recommendation prevailed. On the 26th of February, 1821, the resolution was passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of eighty-seven against eighty-one; and on the 28th, in the Senate, by twenty-eight against fourteen.

Thus terminated, for the time, the memorable controversy respecting the admission of Missouri—a controversy of unprecedented excitement, and which, for nearly two years, and those at a period in our history when the habits of southern statesmen, respecting slavery, were imperfectly understood, continued to menace the integrity of the Union. The whole country, from Maine to Georgia, was deeply agitated upon one of the most important subjects which ever engaged their attention—one which lay at the foundation of our Republican structure, involved the sacred principles upon which it was predicated, and imperiled all the guaranties by which it was sustained. It called up the painful reminiscences of the revolution, all the reluctant concessions of northern rights in the Constitution, and all the resulting influences of slavery upon our claim to the decent respect of other nations, and upon our national peace and prosperity. But it established, and forever, as was supposed, the constitutional power of Con-
gress to restrain the practice of slave-holding in the public territories west of the Mississippi.

And it was regarded, moreover, as a finality—an adjustment in the nature of a solemn compact, which was to bind all subsequent Congresses and the people. It was so declared during the debate upon it by Senators Barbour, McLane, and William Pinckney, and in the House of Representatives by Samuel Smith, of Maryland, Charles Fenton Mercer, of Virginia, and Henry Clay. The National Intelligencer announced it as a question finally settled; and Niles' Register proclaimed, that the circumstances of the case gave this law a moral force equal to that of a positive provision of the Constitution; and that the Constitution existed in its observance. Like the English act of settlement, declaring the rights and liberties of subjects and settling the succession of the crown, it was intended to become, and was generally understood to be, irrepealable by common legislation. Freedom north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, was supposed to be as impregnable as the treaty by which that region of country was purchased.

The passage of the Missouri Compromise, was the first violent contest between freedom and slavery, a contest that lasted over forty years. That was the first strongly contested field which slavery won; and it was followed, as we shall see, by a nearly unbroken series of future successes, her last real triumph being its repeal. That was the boldest dash she had yet made at the liberties of the people; and it was followed by such gross and wanton outrages, that they rose in their might, met the usurpers on the fields of Kansas in bloody strife, wrested the Government from her perfidious devotees, and taught her that hereafter, she should not rule the country. With the perception that her absolute and tyrannical control of the Government was passing away, came the resolve to ruin it,—a resolve, the bitter fruits of which have been a civil war of vast proportions and of terrible horrors.
CHAPTER III.

THE PANAMA CONGRESS—SLAVERY AND THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

Holy Alliance—President Adams' Message—Congress of the South American Republics—Commissioners Recommended—Debate on their Appointment—Opposed by the Slave-holders—They fear Black Consuls, &c.—Commissioners Appointed, but too late to attend the Congress—Heat and Violence of the Debate.

At the first session of Congress, in December, 1825, President Adams called attention to what was denominated the "Holy Alliance"—a combination of the leading monarchies of Europe, to check the progress of liberal ideas, and to the counter project of the Republics of Columbia, Central America and Mexico, to convene a Congress of American ministers at Panama, to consider the question of a united support of what was called the "Monroe doctrine," or the non-interference of foreign nations in the affairs of this country, by establishing colonies therein. Those Republics had appointed their representatives to such a meeting, and had invited the co-operation of this Government. The President recommended the appointment, as Commissioners to represent this Government, of John Sargeant, of Pennsylvania, and Richard C. Anderson, of Kentucky, and as their Secretary, Wm. B. Rochester, of New York.

The message was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who reported adversely to the recommendation. They were unwilling to sanction the Monroe doctrine to the extent suggested. They admitted force in the request that had come up from General Bolivar, that the United States should lend its influence to the new Republics; yet they believed our path
of duty as well as safety lay in the other direction—in avoiding alliances that might entangle our foreign relations. They also dissented from the President as to his right to institute the mission, without the previous advice and consent of the Senate; and claimed for Congress the right to decide directly upon its expediency. They accordingly reported a resolution to the effect that it was inexpedient to send any ministers to that Congress.

An earnest and protracted debate ensued, which, in its course, opened again, as the greater portion of later Congressional debates have done, the slavery question. It was anticipated that there would be colored delegates to that body, with whom ministers from the United States could not associate without tacitly admitting their political equality—a concession which Southern Senators held to be entirely incompatible with the interests and safety of the “peculiar institution.” Our relations with San Domingo would be involved in the proposed deliberations, which could not be in any respect changed because of the impossibility of accrediting from that people any black consuls or ambassadors. The resolution was supported, for various assigned reasons, by Hayne, Benton, Woodbury, Berrien, White, Randolph, Dickerson, and Van Buren, and opposed by Holmes, Robbins, Johnson, and others; and at length negatived by a vote of twenty-four against nineteen.

“I spoke myself,” says Colonel Benton in his “Thirty Years’ View,” “on this question, and to all points which it presented, and on the subject of our relations with Hayti, on which a uniform rule was to be determined, or a rule with modifications according to the propositions of Columbia. I held that our policy was fixed, and could neither be altered nor discussed in any foreign assembly, and especially in the one proposed; all the other parties to which had already placed the two races, black and white, on the basis of political equality. I said our policy toward Hayti, the old San Domingo, has been fixed for
three and thirty years. We trade with her, but no diplomatic relations have been established between us. We purchase coffee from her and pay her for it; but we interchange no consuls or ministers. *We receive no mulatto consuls nor black ambassadors from her.* And why? *Because the peace of eleven States in this Union will not permit the fruits of a successful negro insurrection to be exhibited among them.* It will not permit black consuls and ambassadors to establish themselves in our cities and to parade through our country, and give to their fellow blacks in the United States, proof in hand of the honors which await them for a like successful effort on their part. It will not permit the fact to be seen, and told, that for the murder of their masters and mistresses they are to find friends among the white people of these United States!

"No: this is a question which has been determined here for three and thirty years; one which has never been *open for discussion, at home or abroad,* neither under the presidency of General Washington, of the first Adams, of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, or Mr. Monroe. It is one which *cannot be discussed in this chamber, on this day;* and shall we go to Panama to discuss it? *I take it in the mildest supposed character of this Congress, shall we go there to advise and consult in council about it?* Who are to advise and sit in judgment upon it? Five nations who have already put the black man upon an equality with the white, not only in their Constitutions, but in real life—five nations who have at this moment, at least some of them, black Generals in their armies and mulatto Senators in their Congresses."

Mr. Randolph made a furious, and, as he was wont to do, a sneering opposition to an appropriation for this object, on account of its quasi-recognition of the political rights of the black man. He ridiculed the grave attention which the appeal of General Bolivar had received in high quarters, and particularly from the President, characterized the Central and South American
revolutions as a mere "row among the mixed breeds, negroes, mulattoes, and creoles," denounced their pretended patriotism as a thing as different from the principles of rational liberty as "the frantic orgies of French bacchanals;" and finally moved a resolution inquiring of the President what were the principles and practices of the motley inhabitants of those pretended States touching the subject of negro slavery.

"Let him," said Mr. Randolph, "let the President whose message is before the world, act. Let him act, and upon his own responsibility; but let the American people, and especially that part of them who reside south of the Ohio river and Mason and Dixon's line, know what are the deputies whom hereafter we are likely to receive in return from them, in character and color, to our Congress. That is what I want to see. I want this to open their eyes. I want, instead of public opinion re-acting upon us from uniformed public bodies, however respectable, and from toasts given at public dinners, however respectable the guests, a holy alliance of liberty, or an opposition to a holy alliance of tyrants. I want the good sense of the people of the United States to be informed as to the fact; having the most perfect reliance on their decision when they have the facts, and having a disposition to submit most implicitly to that decision whether it shall agree with my opinion or not. The island of Cuba is in a state of alarm from a threatened invasion from these Spanish American States; and the chief cause of that alarm arises from the principles of those States in reference to this very question.

"Cuba, possessing an immense negro population, which has been increased since the destruction of San Domingo incalculably by importation as well as by natural means—Cuba lies in such a position in reference to the United States, and especially to the whole country on the Gulf of Mexico, as that the country may be invaded from Cuba in row-boats, and in case those States should invade Cuba at all, it is unquestion-
able that this invasion will be made with this principle—this 'genius of universal emancipation,' which gentlemen talk of, but which will rather be a sweeping anathema against the white population in front. And then what is the situation of the Southern States? These are hints; and this is one of the cases in which the suggestions of instinct are worth all the logic in the world—the instinct of self-preservation. It is one of the cases in which our passions instruct our reason."

Mr. Berrien was troubled lest emancipation should be extended to Cuba and Porto Rico. He preferred a conquest of those islands by England or France to the erection of "another Haytien republic in juxtaposition with the Slave States in this Union." He was in favor of notifying the Spanish American States of our determination to repulse their movements in the West Indies. He characterized the movement as a "splendid diplomatic campaign," which endangered the peculiar institutions of the South, and in which the United States were exhibited to the Cabinets of Europe in the character of a "political busy-body." And he insisted upon striking off the existing mesh-work of "diplomatic fetters."

"When we reflect," said Mr. Berrien, "that they (Cuba and Porto Rico) are in juxtaposition to a portion of this Union, where slavery exists, that the proposed change is to be effected by a people whose fundamental maxim it is that he who would tolerate slavery is unworthy to be free; that the principle of universal emancipation must march in the van of the invading force, and that all the horrors of a servile war will too surely follow in its train, commercial considerations are swallowed up in the magnitude of the danger with which we are menaced. Under such circumstances, the question to be determined is this: With a due regard to the safety of the Southern States, can you suffer these islands to pass into the hands of buccaneers, drunk with new-born liberty?"

"What, then, is our obvious policy? Cuba and Porto Rico
must remain as they are. To Europe, the President has distinctly said we cannot allow them to be transferred to any European power. We must hold language equally decisive to the Spanish American States. We cannot allow their principle of universal emancipation to be called into activity where its contagion in our neighborhood would be dangerous to our quiet and safety. The safety of the Southern portion of this Union must not be sacrificed to a passion for diplomacy. If it shall comport with our interest that Cuba should pass into the hands of England or of France, rather than to see another Haytien Republic erected there, we are free to insist upon it. If our interests and our safety require us to say that both Cuba and Porto Rico must remain as they are, we are free to say it. And let me say to gentlemen, these high considerations require the Government to respect our wishes."

Mr. Hayne was opposed to the appointment of commissioners for the same reasons. His perceptions, keener than the rest, induced him to aver that this measure was in effect a direct interference with slavery in the south. He said: "When called upon to given my sanction to the discussion with our ministers, in connection with a foreign Congress, of questions so intimately connected with the welfare of those whom I represent, I cannot consent to be silent. On the slave question my opinion is this: I consider our rights in that species of property as not even open to discussion, either here or elsewhere; and in respect to our duties imposed by our situation, we are not to be taught them by fanatics, religious or political. To call into question our rights, is grossly to violate them. To attempt to instruct us on this subject, is to insult us. To dare to assail our institutions, is wantonly to invade our peace. Let me solemnly declare, once for all, that the Southern States never will permit, and never can permit, any interference whatever, directly or indirectly, in their domestic concerns, and that the very day on which the
unhallowed attempt small be made by the authorities of the Federal Government, we will consider ourselves as driven from the Union."

To this, it was replied, in substance, by Mr. Robbins and others who favored the project, that no one contemplated any interference with slavery in the Southern States, yet if that unfortunate condition of society to which southern gentlemen adhered were incidentally exposed to the influence of the spirit of emancipation which pervaded the country on either side of them, it was an evil for which there was not, and ought not to be, a remedy; that it was an inseparable incident of that local despotism which our southern brethren retained in their midst, to be continually operated upon by the adverse public opinion of the world; that the outcry of slave owners against this reasonable measure of public policy, evinced a criminal hostility to the fundamental principles of our Government; that distinctions among men, founded on color or upon any physical or moral trait other than their intelligence and behavior, had no warrant in any principle which could be recognized by it; that it was fortunately beyond the power of the Slave States in this confederacy, and even of the United States, to turn back the progress of free sentiments in the western hemisphere; that the inhabitants of Mexico, Guatemala, Columbia, Peru, and even of San Domingo, of whatever lineage or complexion, were rightfully free; that they lighted their torches of liberty from sparks which had radiated from our own political system; that they had transcribed their liturgies of freedom from the Declaration of our Independence; that if the administration were to undertake to repulse, according to the suggestions of Mr. Berrien, the advances of Spanish American emancipation, it would only subject it to the contumely of other nations, around; that it was exceedingly presumptuous to suppose that the people whose patriotism had been libeled and whose
COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED.

complexions had been ridiculed by Mr. Randolph, could ever be re-subjugated by the Spanish government; and that as all these facts were unalterable by any conduct of the United States respecting the proposed Congress of Deputies at Panama, it would be well for Senators to consent that such defensive and commercial arrangements should be made between their Governments and ours, as would protect them all against the power of the holy alliance, and ours against possible combinations among them.

The nominations were at length confirmed, and an appropriation to defray the expenses of the embassy voted. But our ministers were unable, from the lateness of the passage of the appropriation bill in the House of Representatives, to reach the place appointed for the Congress in season to attend its meeting. This was, indeed, obvious before Mr. Sargeant and the Secretary reached Washington. Mr. Anderson, who was then minister at Columbia, had received early conditional instructions and commenced his journey, but on reaching Carthagena he was seized with a malignant fever, which terminated his existence. Hence, it so turned out, that this remarkable ebullition of the slave power in the United States, defeated a purpose which was as harmless as it was just in its inception, and which was a prominent administration measure.

"No question in its day," remarks Mr. Benton in his "Thirty Years View," "excited more heat and intemperate discussion, or more feeling between a President and Senate, than this proposed mission to the Congress of American nations at Panama; and no heated question ever cooled off and died out so suddenly and completely. And now the chief benefit to be derived from its retrospect, and that indeed is a real one, is a view of the firmness with which was then maintained by a minority, the old policy of the United States, to avoid entangling alliances and interference with the affairs of
other nations; and the exposition of the Monroe doctrine from one so competent to give it as Mr. Adams."

The demonstration in Congress against any intervention in behalf of those republics, developed and established the anomalous fact, that while representatives of States which practiced negro slavery are habitually opposed to intervention by the constituted authorities, in behalf of other republics in this hemisphere, they claimed for the oligarchy the attributes of an independent sovereignty inside the general scope and circumference of our system, and the right to intervene in all struggles for civil liberty in favor even of a foreign government against our own, whenever it fancies itself to be in danger. This was the import of the declaration of Mr. Berrien, that if the safety of the Southern portion of the Union should require Cuba to pass into the hands of England or France, they would permit the transition rather than suffer the example of another Haytien republic. And a careful observation of the origin, course, and subsequent influence of that heresy upon both the Legislative and Executive Departments, will hardly fail to convince any reader that from the prevalence of the Berrien doctrine against the policy of Presidents Monroe and Adams, and the views of a majority of both Houses of Congress in 1828, proceeded that political demoralization which, in its natural course from the fountain, has so nearly overborne the Federal Government.

It was previously known that slavery was, per se, a despotism—that it existed, by the necessity of its nature, in hostility to the principles of liberty—that it possessed the nature of a poisonous canker-worm lying near the vitals of the republic, which would ultimately destroy them, if it did not, as it was hoped it would, perish in the attempt. All this was understood. But until this demonstration, it was not understood in the free States that it claimed to exist as an independent power, with attributes of sovereignty inside of
our ostensible political structure, and to be invested with the right to intervene against our Government whenever its guar-
antics of perpetuity were supposed to be jeopardized by the prevalence of republican principles in adjacent countries. This was an assumption equally startling, novel, and arrogant — one which introduced a new idea into American politics, and a new element into the workings of the Government. This exhibited slavery in the United States in a more terrible aspect than it had hitherto worn.

Slavery had previously exerted a powerful influence in the Missouri controversy. The States which tolerated it, espoused the cause of its advocates in the territory which sought admission into the Union without restrictions upon the practice. Both the moral and political right to practice it had been boldly defended. But no statesman had previously ventured to assert for it the pretense that it was an independent institution in our midst, whose owners were invested with attributes and inherent rights which belong only to the sovereign. It then set up such a claim; and strange indeed to relate, it pertinaciously adhered to it until it extorted from a majority of the people of the United States a reluctant but respectful recognition.
CHAPTER IV.

THE GEORGIA CONTROVERSY—SOUTH CAROLINA NULLIFICATION.


A controversy with the State of Georgia now occurred, respecting the removal of certain tribes of Indians from that State, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. The principal Chiefs of the Creeks had ceded to the United States their lands in Georgia, and agreed to receive in exchange for them other lands west of the Mississippi, and a certain money compensation—a cession which most of that nation refused to ratify. They were unwilling to leave their improvements. They were the original proprietors. At this time they owned nine and one half million acres in Georgia, seven and one half millions in Alabama, about sixteen millions in Mississippi, and four millions in Florida. This large territory had been secured to them by the Federal Government, and of which they were the true and rightful owners. The government of Georgia insisted upon a forcible fulfillment of the treaty. The Governor convened the legislature, with a view to the passage of laws providing for the survey and appropriation of the lands. And as Senator King, from New York, had, at a previous session of Congress, introduced into that body a resolution proposing, after the payment of the public debt, to appropriate the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to aid in the emancipa-
tion of slaves, and the colonization of free persons outside the United States, and as Mr. Wirt, the attorney general, had about that time, pronounced the law of South Carolina, under which colored mariners, arriving in that port, were imprisoned, unconstitutional, Governor Troup took it upon himself to denounce both Mr. King's resolution, and the attorney general's opinion, as an officious and impertinent intermeddling with domestic concerns; and he admonished the legislature that if they left one such movement by the Federal Executive, or by Congress, unresisted, "all would be lost." "If this matter [slavery] be an evil," said the Governor, "it is our own; if it be a sin, we can implore the forgiveness of it. To remove it, we ask not either their sympathy or assistance. It may be our physical weakness—it is our moral strength. If, like the Greeks and Romans, we cease to be masters, we are slaves. I entreat you most earnestly, now that it is not too late, to step forth, and having exhausted the argument, TO STAND BY YOUR ARMS."

A committee of the Georgia Legislature, sympathizing with all the violent feelings of the Governor, and overlooking most of the business subjects of the message, warmed into furious indignation, and proposed a SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. "The hour is come," they remarked in their report, "or is rapidly approaching, when the States from Virginia to Georgia, from Missouri to Louisiana, must confederate and say, as one man, to the Union, we will no longer submit our retained rights to the sniveling insinuations of bad men on the floor of Congress—our constitutional rights to the dark and strained construction of designing men upon judicial benches; that we detest the doctrine and disclaim the principle of unlimited submission to the General Government." Here, it will be perceived, was started the doctrine since known as NULLIFICATION.

The committee further said of their Northern brethren:—"Let them continue to rejoice in their self-righteousness. Let
them bask in their own elysium, while they depict all south of the Potomac as a hideous reverse. As Athens, as Sparta, as Rome was, we will be. They held slaves, we hold them. Let the North, then, form national roads for themselves. Let them guard with tariffs their own interests. Let them deepen their public debt until a high-minded aristocracy shall rise out of it. We want none of all those blessings. But in the simplicity of patriarchal government, we would still remain master and servant under our own vine and our own fig-tree, and confide for safety upon Him who of old time looked down upon this state of things without wrath." They concluded with resolutions to stand by their arms, and pledging their lives, fortunes, and honor to defend slavery.

It was easily perceived by Mr. Adams that these ill-tempered documents were put forth chiefly for the purpose of exciting opposition in the South to his administration. Since the debate concerning the Panama Congress, Mr. Crawford's friends had been diligent to give all their movements such a direction. Slavery was found to be "a harp of a thousand strings," which was easily struck by any demagogue, and more readily responded to in the Southern States than in any other. And in the wildness of such delusion, Southern men—Southern Republicans even—were made to believe that slavery was menaced or assaulted by nearly every measure of his administration. Even his tender regard for the poor Indians in Georgia, who were reluctant to leave the soil that entombed the bones of their fathers, was thus characterized.

The time stipulated in the treaty for the removal of the Indians, if they were to be removed, had not expired; wherefore the President ordered the projected survey to be suspended, until the right of the people of Georgia to the possession of their lands had matured. Orders to that effect were communicated to General Gaines, who informed Governor Troup that he was authorized to state to the Indians, that the President
had ordered the survey to be postponed. The Governor replied that it was too late—that the laws of Georgia were already extended over the ceded country, and that it would be his duty to execute them. He insisted on continuing his proceedings, notwithstanding the President's orders. Various difficulties between him and General Gaines ensued, and among other things, he asked for his removal, which of course was not complied with. He continued to defy the Federal Government until the Secretary of War, after much anxious effort to settle the controversy, succeeded in negotiating with the Creeks another, and, to them, a more satisfactory treaty.

But the controversy was not yet settled. Unwilling to submit to the terms of the new treaty, Governor Troup ordered the surveys to progress after the 1st of September, 1826. And as the commissioners previously appointed to survey the boundaries between that State and Alabama had been unable to agree, he directed the Georgia Commissioners alone to describe the line. This contumacious opposition to the authority of the General Government, resulted in a communication of the fact by the President to Congress, and of another, that he had ordered prosecutions of the intruders for the penalties incurred.

But Congress failed to agree upon any distinct course of action in the premises, and left the President to pursue the policy marked out by himself. On learning that he had directed his Secretary of War to employ military force, if necessary, the Governor insolently replied that he was determined to resist any military attack which might be meditated by the Government of the United States, and that measures for such resistance were in progress. "From the first decisive act of hostility," said the Governor to the Secretary of War, "you will be considered and treated as a public enemy, and with the less repugnance because you, to whom we might constitutionally have appealed for our defence against invasion, are yourselves the invaders; and what is more, the unblushing allies of the savages whose cause you have adopted."
This extraordinary conduct was followed by orders to the attorney and solicitor general of the State to take the proper measures to effect the liberation of any surveyors who had been or might be arrested by any civil process, under the authority of the General Government, and to prosecute and bring to the justice of that State, any persons who might disturb them in their career. Major-Generals were also commanded to issue orders, to hold in readiness their divisions to repel any hostile invasions of the territory claimed by Georgia under any of the previous treaties. Indeed, it is not conceivable, from a perusal of the correspondence which took place between the two Governments, how it was possible for an unprincipled State Executive to assume an attitude and tone more offensive to the General Government. He ought to have been made an example of in such a manner as would have admonished other offenders.

However, the Executive patiently continued in his purposes to complete negotiations with the Indians for all their remaining possessions in Georgia, and for an amicable adjustment of the various difficulties which had grown out of an attempt to remove them. Governor Troup displayed his valor on paper only; he did not fight. He disgraced himself by blustering treasonable sentiments and anathemas against the national administration, which only served to illustrate the characters of men who are depraved by contact with that despotism which, overlooking all humane considerations, yet insists upon retaining human beings in bondage. The proposed emigration was not effected during Mr. Adams' administration.

On the 4th of March, 1829, Gen. Andrew Jackson succeeded John Quincy Adams in the Presidency. His election had emboldened the nullifiers in Georgia and South Carolina, whose legislature, without waiting for the inauguration of the President, sent up to the second session of the twelfth Congress, their protest to the tariff act passed at the former one. The
Georgia protest denounced it as "deceptive in its title, fraudulent in its precepts, oppressive in its exactions, partial and unjust in its operations, unconstitutional in its well known objects, ruinous to commerce and agriculture; to secure a hateful monopoly to a combination of unfortunate manufacturers," and imperiously demanded the "repeal of an act which had disturbed the Union, endangered the public tranquillity, weakened the confidence of whole States in the Federal Government, and diminished the affection of large masses of the people to the Union itself;" and further demanded "the abandonment of the degrading system which considers the people as incapable of wisely directing their own enterprises; which sets up the servants of the people in Congress as the exclusive judges of what pursuits are the most advantageous and suitable for those by whom they were elected. The state of Georgia expects, that in perpetual testimony thereof, the deliberate and solemn expression of her opinion will be carefully preserved among the archives of the Senate; and in justification of her character to the present generation and to posterity, if, unfortunately, Congress, disregarding the protest and continuing to pervert powers granted for clearly defined and well understood purposes, to effectuate subjects never intended by the great parties by whom the Constitution was framed to be entrusted to the controlling guardianship of the Federal Government, should render necessary measures of a defensive character for the protection of the people of the State and the vindication of the Constitution of the United States."

Mr. Berrien presented the document, and said in substance, that he delivered it to be filed in the archives of the Government, to serve, whenever occasion might require it, as an authentic testimony of the solemn dissent of one of the States in the Union from the act therein protested against, as an infraction of the Constitutional compact by which she is united to the other members of the confederacy. He desired the
Senate to believe that this Government was not a temporary matter. He apprehended a fearful struggle between his State and the Federal Government, in case the latter persisted in the exercise of powers which were thus challenged. He intimated, but did not expressly declare, the purpose of Georgia to resist the act in question.

Mr. Smith then presented a similar protest from the legislature of South Carolina, for the same purpose; and in a violent speech denounced all restrictions upon commerce, such as embargoes, non-intercourse acts, and tariffs on imports, as a wanton invasion of the rights of the South. If his constituents preferred to purchase their goods in foreign countries, in exchange for their rice, tobacco, and cotton, it was a privilege which the Federal Government had no right to embarrass or restrain. His State would not submit to such a policy. He believed there was not a man in the country, not interested in manufactures, who did not desire to see all imported goods smuggled into it. He did not believe a virtuous man would inform against smugglers.

The subject was then dropped, or rather, referred to the succeeding Congress, under the administration of Jackson, in whose Cabinet Mr. Berrien was to have an honorable seat.

On the 29th of December, 1829, Mr. Foote, of Connecticut, introduced a resolution of inquiry as to the expediency of limiting the sale of the public lands, and which gave rise to one of the most protracted, earnest and important discussions in the whole history of the country. It was participated in by Messrs. Foote, Benton, Hayne, Smith, Webster and others. Although the subject itself had no necessary connection with slavery, an incidental allusion by Mr. Webster to the beneficial results of the slavery prohibition in the ordinance of 1787 for the Government of the North-west territory, and the energy which freedom imparted to colonization, brought Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, to the floor on that subject. He insisted
that such allusions, even though they were incidental, were insulting to the dignity of the sovereign States which tolerated slavery; that the propriety or expediency of slavery was a matter of their own, and which they alone had the right to determine, and could not be discussed in that body; that whatever might be the private opinions of gentlemen on that floor respecting it, they were bound by the proprieties of debate to withhold remarks calculated to disparage it and those who practiced it. He had refused to consent to its discussion at Panama; he denied the right of gentlemen to menace the union of States which they so fondly praise, by drawing it into discussion in the Senate. He characterized the allusion as the apparition of the Taylor proviso in relation to slavery in Missouri; and finally accused the north of seeking to evade the constitutional compact, and to extend the power of the Government over the internal laws and domestic condition of the Southern States.

Mr. Foote observed not only the remarkable prescience of Senators who opposed his resolution, but their anomalous positions concerning slavery; that in their seeming disagreement respecting the right of Senators to allude to it in debate, they in fact harmonized; that whilst the Senator from South Carolina protested against any allusion to that topic, he qualified his protest by the words, "calculated to disparage it and those who practiced it;" thereby implying that it was proper for Senators to commend, but improper to condemn slavery in that body. He regretted that the subject had been drawn into the debate, insisted that his resolution did not legitimately involve it, but repudiated the extraordinary view that Senators opposed to slavery might not, whilst those in favor of it might, refer to and even discuss it.

Mr. Webster repelled the accusations of the Senator from South Carolina. "I hope," said he, "I am above violating my principles, even under the smart of injury and false imputa-
Unjust suspicions and undeserved reproach, whatever pain I may experience from them, will not induce me, I trust, nevertheless to overstep the limits of constitutional duty, or to encroach on the rights of others. The domestic slavery of the South I leave where I find it, in the hands of their own Governments. It is their affair, not mine. Nor do I complain of the peculiar effect which the magnitude of that population has had in the distribution of power under this Federal Government. We know that the representation of the States in the other House is not equal. We know that great advantage in that respect is enjoyed by the slave-holding States; and we know, too, that the intended equivalent for that advantage, that is to say, the imposition of direct taxes in the same ratio, has been merely nominal, the habit of the Government being almost invariably to collect its revenues from other sources and in other modes. Nevertheless, I do not complain; nor would I countenance any movement to alter this arrangement of representation. It is the original bargain—the compact; let it stand. Let the advantage of it be fully enjoyed. The Union itself is too full of benefit to be hazarded in propositions for changing its original basis. I go for the Constitution as it is, and for the Union as it is.

"But I am resolved not to submit in silence to accusations either against myself individually or against the north, wholly unfounded and unjust; accusations which impute to us a disposition to evade the constitutional compact, and to extend the power of the government over the internal, laws and domestic condition of the States. All such accusations, wherever and whenever made—all insinuations of the existence of any such purposes, I know and feel to be groundless and injurious. And we must confide in southern gentlemen themselves; we must trust to those whose integrity of heart and magnanimity of feeling will lead them to a desire to maintain and disseminate truth, and who possess the means of its diffusion with
the southern public; we must leave it to them to disabuse the public of its prejudices. But in the meantime, for my own part, I shall continue to act justly, whether those toward whom justice is exercised receive it with candor or with contumely."

Mr. Hayne rejoined at great length, repeating his former accusations against the north, charging northern statesmen with so shaping the policy of the government that southern institutions were oppressed by it, and protesting in the name of his State against the idea that the Federal Government was superior in authority to an individual State. He endorsed the language of the South Carolina manifesto, asserted the right of that State to decide, upon its own responsibility, a law of Congress to be unconstitutional, insisted that no State was subordinate to any superior by virtue of the Federal alliance, and finally declared the right of the State which he represented to resist the operation of a law which its local authorities interpreted to be unconstitutional. In the course of his remarks he declared that South Carolina would interpose and exert its protecting (military) power against the Federal Government, whenever the latter should, by its executive, legislative, or judicial departments, separately or together, undertake to enforce upon her a law which she conceived to be unconstitutional.

Although this startling doctrine then attracted to itself greater public attention than it had previously awakened, and for the first time received the appellation (nullification) which it has since borne, it was not, in spirit and in substance, a novelty. It originated, as we have seen, in the State of Georgia, under the administration of John Quincy Adams, and had been asserted by Governor Troup, with the approbation, as he claimed, of the legislature of his State. It had also been repeated by Mr. Berrien in the Senate. It was grounded, at first, upon a misinterpretation of the third of
the celebrated Virginia resolutions of 1798, concerning the Alien and Sedition laws; but the primitive idea had been greatly transformed in its course through fanatical minds down to that of Mr. Hayne.

It was his reply to this, that rendered the name of Daniel Webster immortal. He bearded the lion in his den. Before delivering his masterly argument, however, he thus announced his understanding of the "five points" involved in the controversy:

"I understand the honorable gentleman from South Carolina, to maintain that it is a right of the State Legislature to interfere, whenever in their judgment this Government transcends its constitutional limits, and to arrest the operation of its laws.

"I understand him to maintain this right as a right existing under the Constitution; not as a right to overthrow it on the ground of extreme necessity, such as would justify violent revolution.

"I understand him to maintain an authority on the part of the States thus to interfere for the purpose of correcting the exercise of power by the General Government, of checking it, and of compelling it to conform to their opinion of the extent of its powers.

"I understand him to maintain that the ultimate power of judging of the constitutional extent of its own authority is not lodged exclusively in the General Government, or any branch of it; but that on the contrary, the States may lawfully decide for themselves and each State for itself whether, in a given case, the act of the General Government transcends its power.

"I understand him to insist that if the exigency of the case in the opinion of any State government requires it, such State government may by its own sovereign authority annul an act of the General Government which it deems plainly and palpably unconstitutional."
According to the version of Colonel Benton, Mr. Haync was unprepared either to admit or fully deny the propositions in the language stated, and that he therefore had recourse to a statement of his own, and adopted for that purpose the third resolve, of the Virginia resolutions of 1798. He arose and read it thus:

"The general assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare that it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact to which States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no farther valid than that they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the States which are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authority, rights, and liberties appertaining to them."

To this, among other things, which we omit to cite, Mr. Webster said: "If this ultra doctrine had been received and acted upon in New England, in the times of the embargo and non-intercourse, they (the Senate) would not then have been together. The Government would have gone to pieces and crumbled into dust. No stronger case can ever arise than existed under those laws; no States can ever entertain a clearer conviction than the New England States then entertained; and if they had been under the influence of that heresy of opinion, as I must call it, which the honorable member espouses, this Union would in all probability have been scattered to the four winds. I ask the gentleman, therefore, to apply his principles to that case. I ask him to come forth and declare whether, in his opinion, the New England States would have been justified in interfering to break up the embargo system, under the conscientious opinions which they held upon it? Had they a
right to annul that law? Does he admit, or deny? If that which is thought palpably unconstitutional in South Carolina, justifies that State in arresting the progress of the law, tell me whether that which was thought palpably unconstitutional also in Massachusetts, would have justified her in doing the same thing? Sir, I deny the whole doctrine. It has not a foot of ground in the Constitution to stand on. No public man of any reputation ever advanced it in Massachusetts, in the warmest times, or could maintain himself upon it there at any time."

He denied that the Virginia resolutions, when rightly interpreted, went the length which was claimed for them. "In the case of the exercise by Congress," he observed, "of a dangerous power not granted to them, the resolutions assert the right on the part of the State to interfere and arrest the progress of the evil. This is susceptible of more than one interpretation. It may mean no more than that the States may interfere by complaint and remonstrance; or by proposing to the people an alteration of the Federal Constitution. This would all be quite unobjectionable. Or it may be that no more is meant than to assert the general right of revolution as against all governments, in cases of intolerable oppression; and this, in my opinion, is all that he who framed the resolutions could have meant by them; for I shall not readily believe that he (Mr. Madison) was ever of opinion that a State, under the Constitution, and in conformity with it, could, upon the ground of her own opinion of its unconstitutionality, however clear and palpable she might think the case, annul a law of Congress, so far as it should operate on herself, by her own legislative power."

He also denied that the doctrine set up had any foundation in the Constitution. He insisted the Constitution was created by the people and acted upon the people, and not upon the States as in the old Confederation; that within their Consti-
tutional limits the laws of Congress were supreme; that it would be treasonable to resist them with force; and that questions relating to their constitutionality were to be decided by the Supreme Court. On this point he said:

"The people erected this Government. They gave it a Constitution; and in that Constitution they have enumerated the powers which they bestowed on it. They have defined its authority. They have restrained it to the exercise of such powers as are granted; and all others, they declare, are reserved to the States or to the people. But, sir, they have not stopped here. If they had, they would have accomplished but half their work. No definition can be so clear as to avoid possibility of doubt; no limitation so precise as to exclude all uncertainty. Who then shall construe this grant of the people? Who shall interpret their will, where it may be supposed they have left it doubtful? With whom do they repose this ultimate right of deciding on the powers of the Government? Sir, they have settled all this in the fullest manner. They have left it with the Government itself in its appropriate branches. Sir, the very chief end, the main design for which the whole Constitution was framed and adopted, was to establish a Government that should not be obliged to act through State agency or depend on State opinion and State discretion. The people have had quite enough of that kind of government under the confederacy. Under that system the legal action, the application of law to individuals, belonged exclusively to the States. Congress could only recommend; their acts were not of binding force until the States had adopted and sanctioned them. Are we in that condition still? Are we yet at the mercy of State discretion and State construction? Sir, if we are, then vain will be our attempt to maintain the Constitution under which we sit.

"But, sir, the people have wisely provided in the Constitution itself, a proper and suitable mode and tribunal for set-
tling questions of constitutional law. There are in the Constitution grants of powers to Congress, and restrictions on these powers. There are also prohibitions on the States. Some authority must necessarily exist, having the ultimate jurisdiction to fix and ascertain the interpretation of these grants, restrictions, and prohibitions. The Constitution has itself pointed out, ordained, and established that authority. How has it accomplished this great and essential end? By declaring, sir, that the Constitution, and the Laws of the United States, made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. This, sir, was the first great step. By this the supremacy of the Constitution and the Laws of the United States is declared. The people so will it. No State law is to be valid which comes in conflict with the Constitution or any law of the United States. But who shall decide this question of interference? To whom lies the last appeal? This, sir, the Constitution itself decides, also, by declaring that the judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States. These two provisions, sir, cover the whole ground. They are in truth the key-stone of the arch. With these it is a Constitution; without them, it is a Confederacy.

"In pursuance of these clear and express provisions, Congress established, at its very first session, in the judicial act a mode for carrying them into full effect, and for bringing all questions of Constitutional power to the final decision of the Supreme Court. It then, sir, became a Government. It then had the means of self-protection; and but for this, it would in all probability have been now among things which are past. Having constituted the Government and declared its powers, the people have farther said, that since somebody must decide on the extent of these powers, the Government shall itself decide; subject always, like other popular Govern-
ments, to its responsibility to the people. And now, sir, I repeat, how is it that a State Legislature acquires any power to interfere? Who or what gives them the right to say to the people, 'We who are your agents and servants for one purpose will undertake to decide that your other agents and servants, appointed by you for another purpose, have transcended the authority you gave them?' The reply would be, I think, not impertinent, 'Who made you judge over another's servants? To their own masters they stand or fall.'"

This was nullification as it was defined by Mr. Hayne, and approved by Mr. Calhoun. This was the treasonable recency to the compact, which the local despotism had resolved to practice whenever its interests should in its own estimation conflict with the Federal Constitution and the laws of Congress. Subsequently, Mr. Calhoun returned to his State, traversed its districts, and those of Georgia, harangued numerous assemblies of the people, instigated the Legislature to resistance of the tariff laws, and advised the election of Senator Hayne to the office of Governor, in which it was expected he would be able to act as Lieutenant-General in the emergencies contemplated. Preparations for a collision with the General Government were now commenced. The Governor convened the Legislature for that purpose, on the 22d of October, 1832. That body promptly enacted a law calling a Convention to consider the subject on the third Monday of the month ensuing. The Convention assembled pursuant to the call, and on the 24th of that month adopted an ordinance declaring the tariff act null and void; declaring it to be unlawful for the authorities of the General Government to enforce the collection of duties within that State; and enjoining the Legislature to convene and pass laws to give effect to the ordinance, by requiring public officers to execute it and all others incidental or supplementary thereto. The Convention further ordained that no sanction should be given
JACKSON'S PROCLAMATION.

to any appeal to the United States from the decisions of the State Courts, involving the authority of the ordinance or the validity of any laws relating to it or of the tariff law enacted by Congress; and that if Congress should authorize the employment of force against that State in consequence of such proceedings, she would consider herself absolved from the compact of Union, and would proceed at once to form a separate Government. The Legislature then assembled and passed the laws recommended; and the same were approved by the Governor.

This ripened nullification, and brought President Jackson to a prompt decision respecting it. On the 10th of December, 1832, he issued a proclamation, declaring the positions taken in South Carolina incompatible with the existence of the Union, derogatory to the express letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed. It re-expounded the Constitution according to the views previously announced in the Senate by Mr. Webster, and combated the several heresies and delusions which had been set up against it. It exhibited the inestimable value of the Union, and the disasters that would inevitably result from the recreancy of any individual State to the compact. It exposed to the people of South Carolina the madness of the leaders who had inveigled and deceived them, and declared disunion with armed forces to be treason. He also firmly and explicitly announced to the people of that State that they would not be permitted to succeed, that his duty in that respect was emphatically pronounced in the Constitution, and would be discharged, and that the laws of the United States would and should be executed.*

*It is said that the original draft of this celebrated proclamation is now in the archives of the State department, at Washington, in the handwriting of Edward Livingstone, but without signature. This able State paper was understood at the time to have been written by him.
This bold and determined stand on this momentous question, fortified as it was by a well-considered argument, corresponded with the public sentiment in every part of the Union, except the Southern, where it elicited anathemas instead of praise. In South Carolina, it was variously characterized as "a declaration of war," as "the edict of a dictator," as "an order in council," as an "impudent missile, and as "a Federal manifesto," which justly provoked the "scorn and contempt" of all honorable men. The President himself was variously denounced, as "a traitor to the South and Southern institutions," as "a political Esau, who had sold himself for pottage," as "a Benedict Arnold," as "an usurper, monarch and tyrant." In the Legislature, both the message and the President were impudently and furiously assailed and defied. "The country and the world," said Mr. Preston, in the House of Representatives, should know how perfectly we despise and defy him and his cabinet; and they should be told that before they plant such principles upon our free soil, the bones of many an enemy shall whiten our shores, the carcasses of many a caitiff and traitor blacken our air. The Governor was requested to issue a proclamation warning the people not to be seduced from their position, and calling on them to sustain the dignity of that State.

Governor Hayne then issued the suggested proclamation, in which he re-asserted all the doctrines set forth in his famous debate with Mr. Webster, and which were then so triumphantly answered, and re-affirmed nullification and secession as the rightful remedy under the circumstances. He adorned his periods with chivalric flourishes, terminating with an allusion to "lives and fortunes," and an invocation to Almighty God, "to inspire them with that holy zeal in a good cause which is the best safeguard of their rights and liberties," which slave owners only know how to make. This document was a finished specimen of those medleys of negro slavery,
chivalry, and religion, which are so eminently characteristic of the writings and speeches of statesmen in the Palmetto State.  

But these popular leaders were unable to bring all the people of South Carolina up to their standard. There were some who remained unconvinced either of the justice, the propriety, or the expediency of resistance to the Federal Government; and there were yet others who, if they were convinced, were afraid of its consequences, not only to themselves, but to the institution of negro slavery, for the defense of which, in fact, the step was taken. They non-concurred in the policy of the nullifier and Governor Hayne, and formed a political party in the State against them; which, although it was too feeble to control, was able, nevertheless, to neutralize in some degree the moral force of the movement. By discouraging enlistments, it held back demonstrations of military forces, under the subsequent mediation of Virginia.

When the proceedings of the Carolina Legislature reached the President, he laid them before Congress, with a message stating that notwithstanding his Proclamation of the 10th of December, there remained no doubt of the determination of the authorities of that State to carry their ordinances into effect, after the first of the ensuing February (1833); that proceedings thus matured and announced were distinguishable from menaces of unlawful resistance, by irregular bodies of people, who, acting under temporary delusion, may be restrained from the commission of actual outrage by reflection and the influence of public opinion; and that as aggression in the case of South Carolina was announced, and the means

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*It now appears from Appleton's edition of the works of John C. Calhoun, that nearly all the manifestoes, addresses, resolutions, and protests containing the nullification doctrine, issued by the Legislature of South Carolina, from 1828, to 1834, were either dictated or written by him; and also the materials out of which he fabricated his treasonable theory, were the Virginia resolutions of 1798.
Nullification resolutions.

therefore provided, it might be regarded as already committed. A bill was therefore reported by the judiciary committee, authorizing the President to employ the land and naval forces of the Union to enforce the collection of the revenue, if resistance should be offered.

Mr. Calhoun introduced into the Senate of the United States, his celebrated nullification resolutions, bearing the imposing title of "Resolutions on the powers of the Government." They were as follows:

"Resolved, That the people of the several States composing these United States, are united as parties to a constitutional compact, to which the people of each State acceded as a separate sovereign community, each binding itself by its own particular ratification; and that the Union of which the said compact is the bond, is a union between the States ratifying the same.

"Resolved, That the people of the several States, thus united by the constitutional compact in forming that instrument and in creating a General Government to carry into effect the objects for which they were formed, delegated to that Government, for that purpose, certain definite powers to be exercised jointly, reserving, at the same time, each State to itself, the residuary mass of powers to be exercised by its own separate Government; and that whenever the General Government assumes the exercise of powers not delegated by the compact, its acts are unauthorized and of no effect; and that the same Government is not made the final judge of the powers delegated to it, since that would make its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that as in all other cases of compact among sovereign parties, without any common judge, each has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of the infraction as of the mode and measure of redress.

"Resolved, That the assertions that the people of these
United States, taken collectively as individuals, are now, or ever have been, united on the principle of the social compact, and as such are now formed into one nation or people, or that they have ever been so united in any one stage of their political existence; that the people of the several States composing the Union have not, as members thereof, retained their sovereignty; that the allegiance of their citizens has been transferred to the General Government; that they have parted with the right of punishing treason through their respective State governments; and that they have not the right of judging in the last resort as to the extent of the powers reserved, and of consequence of those delegated, are not only without foundation in truth, but are contrary to the most certain and plain historical facts, and the clearest deductions of reason; and that all exercise of power on the part of the General Government, or any of its departments, claiming authority from so erroneous assumptions, must of necessity be unconstitutional, must tend directly and inevitably to subvert the sovereignty of the States, to destroy the federal character of the Union, and to rear on its ruins a consolidated Government, without constitutional check or limitation, and which must necessarily terminate in the loss of liberty itself."

With the view of bringing Congress up to some definite action in the premises, the committee of which Mr. Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, was chairman, reported a bill denominated "the force bill," to enable the president to execute the disputed revenue laws; whereupon, Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, introduced in lieu of a pending measure which originated with Mr. Verplanck, a graduated tariff measure, which he denominated a compromise, for two professed objects—one to prevent the entire destruction of the tariff policy—the other to avert a civil war in the country, and to restore peace and public tranquility. The compromise bill proposed to sink the excess of duties above twenty per cent. in ten years by an annual reduction
of one-tenth each year, during the term. During the month of February, 1833, both of these bills were passed.

As this compromise of the tariff policy, was a compromise with South Carolina in arms against the Union, and as a compromise with South Carolina in arms was nothing less than a compromise with the despotism of negro slavery, it forms one of the darkest chapters in our republican history. It was more than a yielding of conservatism to faction; it was a surrender, under the circumstances, of the principles of freedom to the slave power—a capitulation of the General Government to the forces of a revolting State. Whether the duties authorized by the tariff acts of 1828, and 1832, to be levied on imports, were too high, or not, is another and a subordinate question, which it is not the intention of this volume to discuss. An admission that they were so, would not relieve the point. A law—a constitutional law of Congress—was set at defiance by an individual State, for the principal reason that it was supposed to bear heavily upon interests which depended mainly on bonded labor. The people whose interests thus depended on the maintenance and continuance of slavery, prompted by those interests, rose up, not in supplication to Congress to modify the law, but in open and organized rebellion against the General Government, and through their local government assumed the attitude of war. They held that attitude up to, and during the hour, in which the compromise bill was passed; so that Congress really capitulated to South Carolina, whilst she was in arms against the Union; and so also as to warrant her in exulting, as she afterwards did, because of her triumph achieved over the General Government.

Viewed by the light which the long catalogue of resulting evils now reflects upon it, that surrender to South Carolina by Congress, was one, with which Hull's inglorious surrender to the enemy bears no comparison. The Union was confronted
with a power whose every element was intrinsically hostile to free institutions—a power which had opposed and defeated a representation of the United States in the Congress of Republics at Panama, because some of the peoples to be represented there, had emancipated their slaves, had black Generals in their armies, and mulattoes in their Senates, and might wish to hold commercial relations with the United States, which would bring black ministers and consuls into our principal cities and towns—a power which had claimed for itself all the attributes and prerogatives of a separate despotic government inside the Republic—a power which had quarreled with the restrictions imposed on it by the Constitution, and was extending its domain—a power outside and far around South Carolina in three directions, and of which the revolting State was merely a representative in the issue made up and presented—a power with arms in hand, which it threatened to use if its demands were not complied with. Was that a power to be conciliated by such a sacrifice of principle, of honor, and of dignity? Was it one which could be parleyed with, even, without dishonor, so long as it held its defiant attitude? And yet wise men in Congress ignobly surrendered into its hands that which then constituted the moral forces of the General Government. South Carolina exulted at the passage of this compromise, and claimed for it the glory of a triumph. Her State paper, the home organ of Mr. Calhoun and Governor Hayne, declared it to be "the proudest instance on record of the might of Southern principles backed by courage;" that the Palmetto State had "foiled the swaggering giant of the Union; that thirty thousand Carolinians had awed the wild west into respect—(she could not say in '62 what she then said in '32,)
—brought stolid Pennsylvania to its senses, and New York into something like decency;" that "the madness of the General Government had come to a lucid interval;" and that as it was certain that the force bill, so called, would not be submitted
to, its passage by Northern and Western Senators and Representatives was "mere bravado, only to cover the shame of their defeat." Other cotemporaneous publications in that State employed similar language. After a brief silence, Mr. Calhoun began to treat the subject in the same manner, and once upon the floor of the Senate, when the compromise of 1833 was alluded to, he declared that he was the master of Mr. Clay on that occasion. It is recollected that Mr. Clay retorted, that he would not have owned him for the meanest of his slaves; yet the principal fact—the surrender—had gone upon the records of history, and its complexion could not be changed. The compromise of 1833 must forever stand as a surrender, for political purposes, of principles inseparably connected with freedom, to the despotic behests of the power which justifies and upholds the practice of negro slavery.

President Jackson officially approved the compromise, but did not advise its passage. He signed it when it came to him, because it was neither hastily enacted nor unconstitutional. He probably knew that it was a concession to the revolting State, but felt that Congress, rather than himself, would be held responsible for it. It bore on its face nothing to distinguish it from ordinary legislation.
CHAPTER V.

INCENDIARY PUBLICATIONS—RIGHT OF PETITION—ADMISSION OF ARKANSAS.


To show the incongruity of the Slave and Free systems, and the great and insuperable difficulties in the way of their harmonious existence under our liberal Government, it needs but to consider the facts presented in the following chapter. A free press—the liberty to write and publish to the world the honest convictions of their author, amenable only to proper laws, restraining a breach of the privilege, is one of the most sacred rights of an American citizen. With the right to print, co-exists also the right to circulate the matter so printed, in any and every part of the country. The fact that slavery exists in a State, does not preclude any one, or any number of her citizens, from canvassing the wisdom, or the justice of its existence, or from receiving, through the mails, or otherwise, periodicals, pamphlets, or books, which oppose the system. To pretend that any system, any organization whatever, shall exist in this country, so very sacred, so isolated from public criticism, that no one must canvass its merits, or its demerits, under the severest pains and penalties, is, in practical effect, a full restoration of that old maxim of tyranny, that "kings can do no wrong."

A free press must also be accompanied by her inseparable
hand-maid, free speech. Any institution of society which will not bear the light which a free press and free discussion may cast upon it, is unworthy of this age of intelligence and of progress. The early slave-holders were not afraid to discuss the subject of slavery. They did discuss it. They disapproved of it. They looked forward cheerfully to the day when they would be rid of it. It was not then, as at a later day it came to be, regarded as a divine institution, as a "corner stone on which to found a Government."

When the latter idea had taken possession of the minds of leading Southern men, they sought to embody it in the statutes of the country, and for a time, they succeeded. The wisdom, and forecast, and unflattering patriotism of the "old man eloquent," who, so long, so ably, and faithfully, and nearly alone, breasted the storm of opposition which resistance to that measure excited, begin now to share the applause which they so justly merited at the time; but which was then withheld, owing to the demoralization of the public mind which slavery had produced.

In his seventh annual message to Congress, President Jackson recommended the passage of a law prohibiting, under severe penalties, the circulation of what he was pleased to term incendiary (meaning anti-slavery) publications in the Southern States, by mail. Here was the inflammatory subject of slavery again before Congress, by the action of the President, and, as appears from what afterward occurred, with the approbation of Mr. Calhoun also, who, upon the reading of the message, moved that so much of it as related to that subject be referred to a select committee. Senator King, of Georgia, being under the impression that the end could be attained by a post-office regulation, was opposed to such a reference; but it was pressed, and carried to a select committee of five, consisting of Senators Calhoun, King, Mangum, Davis and Linn, who brought in a bill subjecting to penalties any post-master who should
knowingly receive and put into the mail any publication or picture touching the subject of slavery, to go into any State or territory in which the circulation of the same should be forbidden by the local laws, with an elaborate report justifying the measure. Mr. Mangum then moved that five thousand copies of the report be printed. This furnished the opportunity for explanations.

Senators Davis, Linn, and King then announced to the Senate that they dissented from some of the views expressed in the report, yet had consented that the bill might be reported to the Senate; to which Mr. Calhoun replied, that he was aware that a majority of the committee did not concur in all the language of the paper, yet the bill was the principal document, and it was the natural sequence of the argument. The report contained his peculiar doctrines in relation to the rights of individual States which had been compromised with, and a threat of secession, unless the Legislatures of Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania should pass laws suppressing abolition societies! It also falsely assumed that there was immediate danger of the abolition of slavery in all the States—the shedding of oceans of blood, and the destruction of nine hundred and fifty millions of property, in consequence of the efforts of those associations.

Mr. King, of Georgia, justified slavery in the abstract and in the practice, and was quite as unwilling as Mr. Calhoun to have it interfered with, but he was suspicious that the report contained doctrines quite inconsistent with the preservation of the Union. His reflection had brought him to the conclusion that the passage of such a bill, for such assigned reasons, would re-open a controversy which would so agitate the country as to menace the Union with speedy dissolution. He thought it at least impolitic to issue a paper which might occasion another sectional disturbance.

Mr. Calhoun justified the report, by saying that the Legis-
latures of the South, backed by the voice of their constituents, had called in vain upon the non-slave-holding States to repress movements within their jurisdictions which menaced Southern peace and security; that not a step had been taken in that direction, nor a law passed, nor even proposed, nor likely to be proposed in any Northern legislature, on account of the state of political parties in that portion of the country; that Congress, instead of refusing all jurisdiction over the subject of slavery, in whatever form it might be presented, had pursued the opposite course, and, upon most obnoxious grounds, received the petitions of abolitionists, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; that the receiving of such petitions was taking jurisdiction of the subject, in disregard of Southern protests against it; and that the South would never abandon her position on this question, nor the principles contained in the report.

"If you refuse co-operation with our laws," continued he, "and conflict should ensue between your law and ours, the Southern States will never yield to the superiority of yours. We have a remedy in our hands which, in such events, we shall not fail to apply. We have high authority for asserting that in such cases State interposition is the rightful remedy. Let it be fixed, let it be riveted in every Southern mind, that the laws of the slave-holding States for the protection of their domestic institutions are paramount to the laws of the General Government in the regulation of commerce and the mails, and that the latter must yield to the former in the event of conflict; and that, if the Government should refuse to yield, the States have the right to interpose, and we are safe. With these principles, nothing but concert would be wanting to bid defiance to the movement of the abolitionists, whether at home or abroad, and to place our domestic institutions, and with them our security and peace, under our own protection, and beyond the reach of danger."
The great nullifier had not been hung by President Jackson, nor even rebuked. He had, on the contrary, been deferred to, and compromised with, by Congress. He had obtained a position, therefore, which entitled him, in his estimation, to speak more authoritatively and defiantly than before on this subject. This speech was the legitimate result of the policy of compromising with a State in arms against the General Government. This was irrefragable evidence to Congress and the country, that any concession whatever to the slave power would be taken advantage of in precisely the manner which this speech indicated—would stimulate the enemy to further and more flagrant outrages of the same character—and would subject the Government to further, and, if possible, greater, indignities. It were well had this been generally understood.

Mr. Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, supported Mr. Calhoun in the objects of his bill. He insisted that the power to establish post-offices and post-roads was ample to justify the denial of the mail service to all publications which were calculated to endanger the peace and safety of the people of the South. He saw nothing unreasonable in the request from that quarter, to be protected by Congress against incendiary pamphlets, which disturbed the local peace and impaired the security of the people of the South to their private property.

Mr. Webster opposed the bill, on the ground that it contemplated an invasion of the sanctity of private correspondence and an abridgement of the freedom of speech and of the press. He contended that a denial of the use of the public mails to anti-slavery publications, comprehended the right to deny its use to any other communications which an individual State might choose to prohibit; that it was a measure deeply fraught with danger to freedom and all its institutions. He protested against such a system of episonage on the public mails; and insisted that the right of an individual to papers transmitted to him by mail, was secured to him in every free country in the world.
Mr. Clay concurred in the same view. He thought the bill not only unnecessary, but of a dangerous tendency; that it was not directed to the alleged evil, which was the circulation, after they were taken out of the mail, of incendiary publications, and not their conveyance in it; that after they passed from the post-masters' hands, they were within the local regulations of a State; and that if such a limitation upon the mail service were authorized, a designation of the particular persons or parties entitled only to use it, might be made under the same rule. He reasoned well against the measure, which was defeated by six majority.

Simultaneously with the mail question, another kindred one concerning the right of petition for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, was considered. The Society of Friends in the State of Pennsylvania, petitioned Congress, respectfully, to enact such laws as would remove slavery and slave traffic from the seat of the National Government. Mr. Calhoun objected to the reception, by the Senate, of all such communications, not upon their merits after a reading, but beforehand, and at the instant of their presentation. He reiterated his views of the nature of the Government and of the duty of Congress to refuse a hearing to all petitions which touched the subject of negro slavery; and concluded with another threat of secession, unless the wishes of the South on this subject were respected.

It was debated at length, and the question of receiving the petition decided in the affirmative, by a large majority, but the prayer of the petition was denied.

During the pendency of this discussion in the Senate, the same subject was under consideration in the House of Representatives, where similar petitions were presented, and similar opposition to them made, under the lead of Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, who afterwards withdrew his motions against their reception, and substituted another for their refer-
ence to a select committee, with instructions to report that Congress had no authority to interfere with slavery in the States, and ought not to interfere with it in the District of Columbia, which was carried. Mr. Pinckney afterwards reported, as from the committee, three resolutions; the first denying the power of Congress over slavery in the States; the second declaring that Congress ought not to interfere with it in the District of Columbia; and a third, that all subsequent petitions and papers relating to the subject be at once tabled, without any other action upon them.

When the first resolution was taken up, John Quincy Adams, who had presented most of the petitions, said, if the House would allow him five minutes' time, he would prove the resolution untrue; but his request was denied. They were consecutively adopted, by a large majority, Mr. Adams and from sixty to seventy other members voting in the negative, except on the last resolution, when Mr. Adams declined to vote at all, and sent to the Speaker's chair the following declaration: "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, of the rules of this House, and of the rights of my constituents."

This disposition of the subject failed to produce any of the results which the slave power desired. Instead of quieting, it disturbed the public mind throughout all the non-slave-holding States, and largely augmented the number of such petitions to Congress. As Mr. Adams was not only the best surviving representative of Jeffersonian Republicanism then in Congress, but the most intrepid defender of the right of petition, it naturally followed that the greater proportion of subsequent memorials and petitions on that subject were forwarded to him. By general and almost universal consent he at once became the representative man in Congress, not only of the sacred right of petition, but of inflexible opposition to the extension of the local despotism beyond its existing borders.
Always patriotic, incorruptible and firm; ever, after his advent to public life, highly accomplished as a statesman; from the time of Jefferson's embargo, a consistent and inflexible Republican; and now with his country's highest civic honors and the weight of seventy years upon him, standing up in the House of Representatives, amid the frowning contumely of the representatives of the slave power, as the embodiment of a sacred principle, and in defense of the right of petition, the spectacle which Mr. Adams presented was truly sublime. And he seemed to have been reserved by Providence for this particular emergency—for the discharge of this particular duty.

He continued to present petitions. On the 6th of January, 1837, he submitted one from one hundred and fifty women, whom he stated to be the wives and daughters of his immediate constituents, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. Glasscock, of Georgia, objected to its reception. Mr. Parks, of Maine, moved that the preliminary motion on the reception of the petition be laid on the table, which was carried. Mr. Adams then gave notice that he should call up that motion for decision every day, so long as he should be permitted to do so, because he should not consider his duty discharged, so long as the petition was not received, and the House had not decided that it would not receive it.

Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, insisted that it was not in order for Mr. Adams to debate, when no question was before the House; and he raised the question for the decision of the Chair. The Speaker, (Mr. Polk, of Tennessee,) replied that he had understood the gentleman from Massachusetts as merely giving a notice of a motion, thereafter to be made. Mr. Adams said that so long as freedom of speech should be allowed him as a member of that body, he would call up that question from day to day, until it were decided; and while...
on the floor he would have the honor of presenting to the House the petition of two hundred and twenty-eight women, the wives and daughters of his immediate constituents; and as a part of the speech which he intended to make, he would take the liberty of reading it. This met the same objection as the former one. He then commenced the reading of the paper.

Mr. Pinckney raised a point of order on the reading, when the Speaker decided that he had a right, under the rules, to make a statement of the contents of the petition offered by him. Mr. Adams said he was reading, as a part of his speech; and he conceived that to be one of the privileges of a member—a privilege that he would exercise until he was deprived of it by some positive act. The Speaker repeated that the gentleman from Massachusetts had a right to make a brief statement of the contents of the petition; it was not for him to decide in what language such statement should be made.

Mr. Adams then said: "that at the time his friend from South Carolina—" (Here he was interrupted by the Speaker, who said he must proceed to state the contents of the petition.) Mr. Adams assured him he was doing so. The Speaker said he was not, in the opinion of the Chair. Mr. Adams said he was at this point of the petition: "Impressed with the sinfulness of slavery, and keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress possesses exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever, (Here he was interrupted with calls to order) do most earnestly petition your honorable body (Here Mr. Chambers, of Kentucky, raised a point of order) immediately to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, (Here the Speaker directed Mr. Adams to take his seat) and to declare every human being free who sets its foot upon its soil." Amid great confusion, the Speaker now decided that it was not in order for a member to read a petition, whether it was long or short.
Mr. Adams appealed from any decision which went to establish the principle that a member of the House should not have the power to read what he chose. He had never before heard of such a thing. If this practice was to be reversed, let the decision stand upon record; and let it appear how entirely the freedom of speech was suppressed in Congress. If the reading of a paper was to be suppressed in his person, so help him God, he would only consent to it as a matter of record. He proceeded to read: "The petitioners respectfully announce their intention to present the same petition yearly before your honorable body, that it may, at least, be a memorial in the holy cause of human freedom, that they have done what they could." This petition was finally received.

Mr. Adams continued to present hundreds of similar petitions along from day to day, amid similar interruptions from other members, and adverse rulings of the Speaker, until the 7th of February, when more exciting scenes occurred. After having on that day presented several hundred petitions of that character, and as he was about resuming his seat, he took up a paper, and after glancing at it, he remarked, that he had in his possession a petition of a somewhat extraordinary character; and he wished to inquire of the Chair whether it would be in order to present it. The Speaker replied, that if he would inform the Chair as to its character, the question would be answered. Mr. Adams said it was a petition which purported to come from eleven slaves in the town of Fredericksburgh, in Virginia; that it was one of those petitions which, it occurred to him, were not what they purport to be. It was signed partly by persons who cannot write, by their marks, and partly by persons whose hand-writing manifested that they had received the education of slaves. It declared itself to be from slaves, and he was requested to present it. He sent it to the Chair.

The Speaker shrugged his shoulders, gave a nervous hitch
to his chair, and said that a petition from slaves was a novelty, and involved a question that he did not feel called upon to decide; that he would reserve it for further consideration, and in the meantime would refer the paper to the House. The excitement of the Speaker attracted the attention of members, who, in consequence of the confusion attendant upon the presentations of those petitions, were unable to hear what was being said, and among others, of Mr. Dixon H. Lewis, of Alabama, who rose under great excitement, and inquired what the petition was. The Speaker communicated the desired information; when Mr. Lewis turned towards Mr. Adams, and exclaimed, "By God, sir, this is not to be endured any longer!"

A scene of great disorder now ensued. Unbridled passions burst into a paroxysm of rage. Parliamentary order and decorum were superseded by phrensied anarchy. Intermingled anathemas in all the forms of utterance known to our language proceeded from the members from Alabama and Georgia. And this, after the ebullition had measurably subsided, was succeeded by numerous propositions to punish "the old man eloquent," as for misdemeanor.

The Speaker succeeded at length in restoring order, when Mr. Dromgoole, of Virginia, a good parliamentarian, elected by southern members for the purpose, introduced a preambled resolution, reciting that Mr. Adams had presented to the House a petition signed by negro slaves, thereby giving color to an idea that bondmen were capable of exercising the right of petition, and concluding with a resolve that he be arrested and taken to the bar of the House for censure by the Speaker. This resolution gave rise to much debate and numerous suggestions of other remedies.

Mr. Lewis, among others, said he was in favor of punishing severely such an infraction of the decorum, and such a wanton violation of their rules; and he called upon all the members
from the slave-holding States to come up to the demands of the occasion; to insist upon a vindication of their own dignity, and that of their constituents; and to demand peremptorily the punishment of the gentleman from Massachusetts. He further said, if the House would inflict no punishment for such flagrant violations of its dignity, it would be better for the southern members to go home at once. Mr. Alvord gave notice, that if the petition should be presented, he should move, as an act of justice to the South, which he conceived had been treated with indignity, that it be burnt. He added, that such proceedings must be discontinued, or the Union would go to pieces; that the moment the Government was insulted by a petition from slaves praying for emancipation, it should be committed immediately to the flames.

Mr. Waddy Thomson, of South Carolina, introduced a substitute for the resolution offered by Mr. Dromgoole, declaring that the attempt of the member from Massachusetts to introduce a petition purporting on its face to be from slaves, was a gross disrespect to that body; and that its dignity required him to be brought instantly to the bar, to receive the severe censure of the Speaker. He disclosed the superior merits of his resolution over that of Mr. Dromgoole, but the House was unable to perceive them. Mr. Haynes followed with a resolution inflicting the censure of the House, without the agency of the Speaker.

Mr. Adams, unmoved by the tempest which raged around him, and with that serenity and dignity for which he was so remarkable, at length arose. "In regard to the resolutions now before the House," said he, "as they all concur in charging me with high crimes and misdemeanors, and in calling me to the bar, to answer for my crimes, I have thought it was my duty to remain silent, until it should be the pleasure of the House to act on one or the other of these resolutions. I suppose that if I shall be brought to the bar of the House, and
shall not be struck mute by the previous question, I shall then have the opportunity to say a word or two in my defense.

"Concerning what the petition was for, I simply state to the gentleman from Alabama, who has sent to the table a resolution assuming that this petition was for the abolition of slavery, that he is mistaken. He must amend his resolution; for if members of the House should choose to read this petition, they would find in it the reverse of that which the resolution declares. And if the gentleman from Alabama still chooses to bring me to the bar of the House, he will find it necessary to amend his resolution in another important particular; he will have to describe my crime not as having attempted to introduce the petition of slaves praying for the abolition of slavery, but praying that slavery might not be abolished.

"It is well known, that from the time when I entered this House down to the present day, I felt it a sacred duty to present any petition, couched in respectful language, from any citizen of the United States, be its object what it may; be the prayer of it that in which I could concur, or that to which I was utterly opposed. It is for the sacred right of petition that I have adopted this course. Where is your law which says that the mean and the low and the degraded shall be deprived of the right of petition if their moral character is not good? Where in the land of freemen was the right of petition ever placed on the exclusive basis of morality and virtue? Petition is supplication; it is entreaty; it is prayer. And where is the degree of vice or immorality which shall deprive the citizen of the right to supplicate for a boon, or to pray for mercy? Where is such a law to be found? It does not belong to the most abject despotism. There is no absolute monarch on earth, who is not compelled by the Constitution of his country to receive the petitions of his people, whosoever they may be. The Sultan of Constantinople cannot
walk the streets and refuse to receive petitions from the meanest and vilest in the land. This is the law of despotism.

"And what does your law say? Does it say that before presenting a petition, you shall look into it and see whether it comes from the virtuous and the great and the mighty? No, sir, it says no such thing. The right of petition belongs to all. And so far from refusing to present a petition because it might come from those low in the estimation of the world, it would be an additional incentive, if such incentive were wanting. But as I am charged with giving color to an idea, I must admit that when color comes into the question, there may be other considerations. It is possible that this House, which seems to consider it so great a crime to attempt to offer a petition from slaves, may, for aught I know, say that freemen, if not of the carnation, shall be deprived of the right of petition in the sense of the House."

When it came to be understood that the petition concerning which this ebullition occurred, prayed for the perpetuation and not for the abolition of slavery, the chivalry, who had made the principal demonstrations, were greatly chagrined. They perceived that they had not only exposed themselves to ridicule from quarters where its shafts were sharpest, but that they had sunk their cause in the public esteem. And what to them was more humiliating still, they perceived that they had largely augmented the moral and political power of the man whom they had attempted to overbear.

On the question of admitting Arkansas as a State, with a provision in her Constitution forever forbidding her Legislature from emancipating her slaves, a warm debate arose, during which were repeated the same stereotyped threats, and harsh denunciations of the North, which had characterized all former discussions of slavery. Mr. Wise of Virginia, said, "If the North continued to impose restrictions upon the South, her people would be compelled to retaliate, by introducing slavery
To which Mr. Cushing of Massachusetts replied:

"The people of the South," said he, "introduce slavery in the heart of the North? Invasion, pestilence, civil war, may conspire to exterminate the eight millions of free spirits who now dwell there. This, in the long lapse of ages incalculable, is possible to happen. You may raze to the earth the thronged cities, the industrious villages, and the peaceful hamlets of the North. You may lay waste its fertile valleys and verdant hill sides. You may plant its very soil with salt, and consign it to everlasting desolation. You may transform its beautiful fields into a desert as bare as the blank face of Sahara. All this you may do; it is within the bounds of physical possibility. But I solemnly assure every gentleman within the sound of my voice, I proclaim to the country and to the world, that until all this be fully accomplished to the utmost extremity of the letter, you cannot, shall not, introduce slavery into the heart of the North."

The measure was carried, and, so far as constitutional enactments could do it, slavery was made perpetual in Arkansas.
CHAPTER VI.

ADMISSION OF TEXAS—MEXICAN WAR—ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA—COMPROMISES OF 1850.

Texan Revolution—She asks a Recognition of her Independence—Strongly supported by the South—Postponement—Renewal—Treaty of Annexation Proposed—Joint Resolution Passed—War with Mexico—Speech of Gen. Dix—Message of President Taylor—California—Deseret and New Mexico—Debate—Compromise Measures—“Omnibus Upset.”

Texas, a State of the Mexican Republic, after a successful revolution, established an independent Government. Her independence had not been acknowledged by Mexico. She, however, applied to our Government for its recognition. The friends of slavery in the South, seized with avidity this opportunity for its extension; and, led on by Mr. Calhoun, vigorously pressed her acknowledgment by our Government. In debating this proposition in the Senate, in 1837, Mr. Calhoun declared himself not only in favor of the recognition, but of immediate admission of the State into the Union. The safety of the Southern States, having a large slave population, required that there should be no intervening State between them and Mexico. He was for meeting the subject boldly, of acting upon it fearlessly, of acting on both questions simultaneously, of recognizing the independence of Texas, and admitting her into the Union. He was certain that the interests of both Governments would be promoted by the union.

The acknowledgment of Texan independence, was, however, not made at this session. The question was postponed, and renewed in January, 1838, by Senator Preston, of South Carolina, who moved a resolution to annex that State to the United States. The same subject was debated in the House
of Representatives, on which Mr. Adams took occasion to state that he had presented one hundred and ninety remonstrances, signed by over twenty thousand inhabitants of Massachusetts, expressing great alarm at the conduct of the Government thus far in relation to the annexation of Texas; that as early as 1824, the Republic of Mexico passed a law for the emancipation of slaves, and the abolition of slavery; that the real ground of the rebellion of Texas was the passage of that law and a desire to re-establish the system which it abolished; and that this was abundantly proved by the testimony lately published by Dr. Mayo, of Virginia, and by the clause in the Texan Constitution denying to her Legislature even, the power of ever emancipating her slaves.

The proposition was again postponed, and lay dormant until Mr. Calhoun was called to the office of Secretary of State. In that position he sought to accomplish, by a treaty of annexation, what, so far, he had not been able to do by legislation. The treaty was negotiated, but not ratified by the Senate.

Two days after the rejection of the treaty, Colonel Benton, whom the Calhounties sought to place in a false position before the country, introduced a bill into the Senate conferring authority on the President to open negotiations with Mexico and Texas, for the adjustment of boundaries and the annexation of the latter to the United States, the assent of Mexico to be obtained by treaty; that of Texas by an act of her Legislature; and after erecting out of Texas a State not exceeding the size of the largest State in the Union, slavery to be excluded from the Northern half of the remainder; which was ordered to be printed. The subject then went over to the ensuing session.

In his annual message of December 3d, to the second session of the same Congress, President Tyler recommended annexation, especially, and without reservations or conditions,
and averred, that which had not been generally understood in the North, that in the election of his successor, the people of the United States had pronounced in favor of annexation. The mode suggested by the President was a joint resolution, or act, to be perfected and made binding upon the two Governments, when adopted in like manner by the Government of Texas.

In accordance with that recommendation, joint resolutions for the annexation of Texas were offered, and finally passed, and approved on the first day of March, 1845.

The annexation was thus consummated, and with a proviso allowing four more States to be set off from its territory, whenever its population was sufficient, and which, the South was well assured, would be slave States, as they were to be slave or free, as the people might decide.

This led to the war with Mexico. When the news of the annexation reached that Government, the greatest indignation was excited, and all diplomatic intercourse was, at once, suspended.

In Texas, President Jones, on the 4th of June, issued a Proclamation, to the effect, that Mexico was disposed to a peaceful settlement of difficulties by acknowledging Texan independence, if the latter would maintain her separate existence, and directing hostilities against Mexico to cease until the subject could be laid before the Congress, which was ordered to convene on the 16th. This was a manoeuvre to gain time. On the assembling of the Texan Congress he submitted to that body both the proposal of Mexico and the offer of annexation, under the act passed by our Congress, whereupon the former was rejected and the latter accepted. A Convention of the people of Texas was then assembled, on the 4th of July, 1845, at which the action of their Congress was formally ratified and confirmed.

Mexico regarded the annexation of Texas to the United
States as just cause of war, and declared her intention to resent the insult. The President thereupon sent an army of occupation into Texas, and a squadron to the Gulf of Mexico. Finding that Mexico did not resist, he undertook to renew diplomatic relations with her, and sent Mr. Slidell there, to settle the difficulty. But the Mexican Government, on learning that he had not plenipotential powers, declined to receive him as a full minister; and he retired to Jalapa, where he remained awhile, and then returned home. When Congress assembled in December, he submitted the situation of our affairs with Mexico to that body in his message.

General Zachary Taylor commanded the army of occupation, who reported a collision with the Mexican troops in the early days of May, 1846; and on the 11th of that month the President announced to Congress, in a special message, the commencement of hostilities. This was in accordance with the predictions of those who opposed the forcible annexation of Texas. In that communication the President said that war existed by the act of Mexico. It is literally true that Mexico fired the first hostile gun, yet the most heated zealot in that project is compelled to admit that the war was provoked by our own Government, and therefore resulted from its acts. The President then appealed to Congress to recognize the existence of the war, and to vote money and men to carry it on. Ten millions of dollars was thereupon placed at his disposal, to prosecute the war with Mexico.

This placed the Senators and Representatives who, foreseeing all these consequences, had opposed the annexation of Texas, in a very unpleasant position. They felt that the measure was inexpedient, impolitic, and grossly unjust, and that Mexico was doing nothing more than what our Government would have done, with less provocation. And yet, in view of the necessity of preserving the character of our nation for energy, and of our arms for invincibility, a majority of them
brought themselves to the conclusion that it were better to appropriate the necessary funds. But to cover the iniquity in which the project was conceived, the Administration was resolved that the act should be preamed with a declaration that the war existed "by the act of the Republic of Mexico"—an untruth which several of the Senators and Representatives would not endorse.

The details of that war, although abounding in thrilling incidents and brilliant military achievements, do not belong to our sketch. Suffice it to say, that a bloody and destructive conflict ensued, which was attended with the usual concomitants—carnage, death, sickness, bodily and mental suffering, ruptures of domestic relations, sorrows, widowhood, and orphange; and all for the principal purpose of extending the power and augmenting the influence of the slave oligarchy. If the national honor was invaded, it was only a resulting consequence of the object in view, and the violent measures adopted to attain it.

On the 4th of August, 1846, the President intimated to Congress his determination to open negotiations with Mexico, and asked for an appropriation to enable him to negotiate a peace. The professed object for which the money was required, was to enable him to pay for a section of Mexican territory, in the event that he should find a cession of the same feasible, desirable, or expedient. A bill appropriating two millions of dollars for that object was introduced into the House of Representatives and put on its passage, when, on motion of the Honorable David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, a proviso was annexed to it, to the effect that slavery should never be permitted to exist in the territory which might be acquired. But it failed to pass the Senate, for want of time, and so the measure went over to another session of Congress.

In his message to Congress, which re-assembled in December, the President elaborated the subject of the Mexican war, and
assigned various fictitious causes as those which led to it. He asserted the justice and policy of the annexation of Texas, in the precise manner in which it was done, and the unquestionable title of that State to the territory extending to the Rio Grande, notwithstanding the lucid arguments to the contrary delivered by Colonel Benton and John Quincy Adams. And he repeated the charge that Mexico had invaded our soil, and continued to refuse to treat with our minister on the subject of peace.

At this session another appropriation bill, setting apart three millions of dollars for the purchase of peace, was introduced into the House, where it passed, with the Wilmot proviso attached as a rider. In the Senate, a similar bill was reported, to which a similar proviso was offered as an amendment, but it passed without it, and was sent to the House for concurrence; where the Wilmot proviso was attached to it in committee of the whole, but defeated by the House, which ultimately passed the bill, by a vote of one hundred and fifteen against eighty-one. The patronage of the Government was sufficiently potential, in the hands of the President, to overbear the friends of freedom.

The debate on this bill in the Senate was earnest and interesting, as it brought to light most of the secret history of the entire proceeding. Mr. Calhoun, the originator of the scheme, and master spirit in the whole affair, having returned to the Senate for the purpose of lending his aid to the President, was now in a position where he could be fairly assailed, and Col. Benton saw fit to improve the opportunity. He ingeniously defended the President from the blame of the war, and charged it home upon the nullifier.

"History," said the Colonel, "would write him down the author of the calamity, just so certainly as it had made Lord North the cause of the war of the revolution." Colonel Benton developed the whole plot from its inception, exposed the
fact that whilst Mr. Calhoun was Secretary of State, under Mr. Tyler, he had three hundred newspapers in the pay of his department, employed to advocate the annexation of Texas, and to denounce as traitors all who were for peaceable annexation, by settling at the same time the boundary line of Texas with Mexico.

As indicating the sentiments then entertained by Northern democrats, and the demoralizing changes which slavery afterwards produced, we make the following extract from a speech of Senator Dix, on the question of excluding slavery from the territory acquired from Mexico. That the sentiments here avowed, were the honest convictions of a patriotic mind, is evinced by the firm stand afterwards taken by Gen. Dix, in Buchanan's Cabinet, and by the subsequent devotion of his time and talents in the field. He said:

"The course of the non-slave-holding States has been denounced as aggressive. Sir, it has, from the earliest period, been liberal and forbearing. They have acquiesced in all the propositions which have been made from time to time to add southern territory to the Union; they have concurred in appropriating money for the purpose, contributing their own share, and thus bearing a part of the burden of the purchase. They united in the purchase of Louisiana, in the purchase of Florida, and in the annexation of Texas. They have contributed in these cases to the extension of slavery over a geographical area exceeding that of the thirteen original States—equal to that of four-fifths of the original States and their territories. They have voted for the admission of States from Louisiana and Florida, with provisions in their Constitutions not only recognizing slavery, but prohibiting its abolition by the legislative power of those States. They have acceded to all this, upon the principle of leaving the States free to regulate this subject for themselves within their own limits. In Texas, slavery existed only nominally. That Republic had an area of more
than three hundred thousand square miles, according to the boundaries claimed by its Congress. Its population, bond and free, when admitted into the Union, did not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand souls. It was, for the most part, unpopulated. Its admission into the Union with slavery, was therefore a virtual extension of slavery over an area equal to more than half the area of the original thirteen States. We were told that attempts had been made by foreign Governments to abolish slavery in Texas, and that the success of these attempts would endanger the domestic tranquillity of the southern States. The non-slave-holding States were appealed to, on this and other grounds, to unite in the immediate annexation of Texas. They yielded their assent. In all this they have acquiesced. Sir, they have done more; they have contributed to it; for it could never have been accomplished but by the aid of northern votes. They believe they have fulfilled toward the South every obligation of fraternal duty. And yet they are accused of aggression, because they will not consent to the extension of slavery to free territory.

"We have been told by our southern friends, with few exceptions, that they regarded slavery as a moral and social evil, for which they were not responsible—an evil forced upon them by foreign rulers, during their colonial dependence. It is under this view of the subject that they have been sustained by their friends in the non-slave-holding States, not only in the full possession and enjoyment of all their rights over this subject within their own limits under the Constitution, (this is a duty none should be so unscrupulous as to disregard,) but in purchasing slave territory, and establishing slave-holding States. Acquisition has gone on uninterrupted by us, and, indeed, aided by us, until there is no longer any slave territory on this continent to bring into the Union. We have literally absorbed it all.

"The non-slave-holding States are now asked to go further:
to purchase free territory, and leave it open to the extension of slavery; to extend to free soil and to free communities an evil which our southern friends have told us was forced upon them against their wishes and consent. The unanimity with which the legislatures of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other States have acted in reference to this proposition, is but an index to the universal opinion which pervades the whole North and West. They never can give their assent to it. It is regarded by all parties as involving a principle which rises far above the fleeting interests of the day—a principle which they should not be asked to yield; for by yielding it, they would consider themselves instrumental to the extension of what they believe to be wrong, and what, in their opinion, nothing but necessity can justify.

"If the principle by which the non-slave-holding States have been governed in acquiring territory is acquiesced in, this question may be settled in a moment, and without agitation. Let the territory, if any is acquired, be taken as it is found—with the provision of the Mexican Constitution abolishing slavery forever. Apply to it the principle which was applied to Florida and Texas. The non-slave-holding States have never refused to acquire territory with slavery where it actually existed. Let the South not refuse now to take free territory where slavery does not exist, and leave it free.

"We are told that slavery must not be excluded from the territories, because emigrants from the southern States cannot go there with their property, or in other words, their slaves, and that this would be 'an entire exclusion of the slave-holding States.' Sir, I do not so understand it. It is not exclusion to the slave-holder, nor is it exclusion to the free laborer of the South who owns no slaves. The slave-holder who emigrates to a territory where slavery does not exist, may employ free labor. The free laborer of the South who emigrates to free territory, is surely not injured in his condi-
tion. It is not so with the free laborer of the North, in respect to slave territory. He will not go where he is compelled to toil side by side with the slave. He is as effectually excluded as he would be by a positive prohibition. He will not emigrate with his property to territory open to slaves. The property of the free laborer is in himself—in his powers of exertion, his capacity for endurance, in the labor of his hands. To him these are of as much value as the property which the master has in his slaves. I am not very familiarly acquainted with the internal condition of the southern States; but I suppose there is a very numerous class in them, especially in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Missouri—I mean the non-slave-holding free laborers—who will be benefitted by providing, that territory, which is free when acquired, shall remain free. I think I am not mistaken in supposing this class to be far more numerous in some, if not all the States I have named, than the class holding slaves. Am I mistaken in supposing free labor is a powerful, if not a dominant interest in the States referred to? Wherever free labor has gone forth on this continent, the forest has bowed before it; towns and villages have sprung up like magic in its track; canals, railroads, and busy industry, in all its imaginable forms, have marked its progress; civilization in its highest attributes, follows it; knowledge and religion go with it, hand in hand. Obliterate everything else, and you may trace its march by the school house, sowing broadcast the seeds of intelligence, and the spire, "losing itself in air, as if guiding the thoughts of man to heaven." Sir, I speak of free labor everywhere—in the South as well as the North. Even on the hypothesis of an equality in the claims of free and slave labor, (which I do not admit,) the argument of taking this territory as we find it, appears to me unanswerable."

President Taylor, on the 24th of December, 1849, delivered
He deplored the excitement which had arisen out of the subject of slavery; and suggested, as a method of avoiding a recurrence of former difficulties, that Congress should await the action of the people of the newly acquired Mexican territory, (who were free,) and content itself with admitting them, with or without slavery, as they should at the time of their application elect or desire. Concerning the Wilmot proviso, which had been involved in the Presidential canvass, he was entirely silent.

Both Houses of Congress entered at once upon the business of legislation for the newly acquired territories. Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, promptly introduced a bill into the Senate, for organizing territorial governments in California, Deseret and New Mexico, and to enable the people of Jacinto to form a State government, with a view to admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States. An adopted Constitution for Deseret was submitted. Various bills were introduced by other Senators, when Mr. Clay, who was proficient in compromises, to save the Union, introduced eight resolutions, familiarly styled the "omnibus resolutions," declaring 1st, That California, with suitable boundaries, ought to be admitted without restriction in respect to slavery; 2d, That as slavery was not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired from Mexico, appropriate Governments ought to be established in the balance of the territory, without restriction in respect to slavery; 3d, That the Western boundary of Texas should be so established as not to infringe on New Mexico; 4th, That the United States should assume and pay, upon certain conditions, the debt of Texas; 5th, That it was inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, without consent of the people, and compensation to the owners of slaves; 6th, That it was expedient to prohibit the slave trade therein; 7th, That further provision ought to be made for the reclamation and extradition of fugitive slaves;
and 8th, That Congress possesses no power to prohibit traffic in slaves between the people of the slave-holding States.

Upon these propositions, separately and collectively, an earnest and able debate ensued, during which Mr. Calhoun, as usual, declared the Union to be in imminent danger. "The cause of the danger," he said, "was discontent in the South—a discontent which arose from the belief which prevailed among the people of the South, that they could not longer, with honor or safety, remain in the Union." He was opposed alike to the President's plan and to the resolutions of Mr. Clay, as neither of them would save the Union. Nothing, he said, would save it in that emergency but a concession to the South, of an unrestricted right to colonize the acquired territory; the passage of a stringent law for the re-capture and extradition of fugitive slaves; a suppression of abolition societies and every form of slavery agitation in the free States; and such an amendment of the Constitution as would restore to the South the rights she had lost by the ordinance of 1787, and the Missouri compromise.

At this point, Mr. Webster surprised and mortified his friends by descending from his high position before the country, into the ranks of southern politicians, and affecting, with them, a serious concern for the safety of the Union. Whether this somersault was performed for revenge against the Whig party, on account of its omission to nominate him for the presidency, or for the purpose of menacing President Taylor, or as a resulting consequence of physical infirmity, it is difficult to determine. It is enough for the purposes of history to record the change. He went to the aid of the opposition, endorsed its groundless complaints against the North, and declared himself opposed to anti-slavery restrictions upon the newly acquired territory, and in favor of a stringent law for the capture of fugitive slaves.

Mr. Seward stood by the administration, defended its policy,
and insisted upon the admission into the Union of California, as a free State. His argument was an elaborate exposition of the true theory of the Government, of the moral and political tendency of slavery upon civilization, upon the settlement and development of the resources of the country, and the public safety, and of the evils to proceed from further compromises of freedom with the slave power.

A bill embodying the various propositions, was reported in the Senate by a select committee, of which Mr. Clay was chairman, and debated and pruned from time to time, until the last day of July, 1850, when it passed the Senate as a bill to provide for the territorial government of Utah. It was then sent to the House as an "omnibus upset," where it was ultimately passed. The omnibus bill as a whole was defeated, and California was admitted as a State. New Mexico was erected into a territory, the Mexican boundary was adjusted by paying ten millions of dollars to Texas, and Mr. Calhoun's proposition in respect to fugitive slaves was passed into a law. The slave trade in the District of Columbia was prohibited at the same time.

The Texas boundary bill passed the Senate on the 10th of August, by a vote of thirty against twenty. The New Mexico territorial bill passed the same body on the 14th, by a vote of twenty-seven against ten. They were united in the House, and qualified with a proviso, that nothing contained therein should impair the joint resolution for the annexation of Texas, and passed on the 6th of September, by a vote of one hundred and seven against ninety-seven. The bill admitting California into the Union, passed the Senate on the 13th of August, by a vote of thirty-four against eighteen, and the House on the 17th, by a vote of one hundred and fifty against fifty-six. The fugitive slave bill passed the Senate on the 23d of August, by a vote of twenty-seven against twelve, and in the House, under the previous question, without debate,
by a vote of one hundred and nine against seventy-five. The bill for abolishing the slave trade in the district of Columbia, passed the Senate on the 14th of September, by a vote of thirty-three against nineteen, and the House on the 17th, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-four against fifty-nine.

A stringent fugitive slave law was then passed, which was very obnoxious to the people of the north. It deprived the fugitives of the trial by jury, and, under heavy penalties, compelled all citizens to aid in their capture. To defeat the execution of this law, "Personal liberty bills" were passed in many of the States, securing a trial by jury to such fugitives, and refusing the use of their jails and prisons for their confinement. The repeal of those laws was long and earnestly demanded by the south.
CHAPTER VII.
REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE—WAR IN KANSAS—CHARLESTON CONVENTION—ELECTION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.


California was, as we have seen, admitted as a free State, and the South was thus thwarted in securing slave States from the territory acquired by the Mexican war. The North had established a free State south of the compromise line of 36° 30'. To balance this, the South must herself pass that line and secure a slave area north of it. West of Missouri lay an extensive and inviting region, rapidly settling, with a thriving population, but all north of 36° 30'. It was proposed to constitute it into two territories, under the names of Kansas
and Nebraska, and, under the Missouri restriction, they must of course be free. The plan was at once conceived, to remove that restriction and open that vast region to slavery. Under the operation of that compromise, Missouri, Arkansas, and Florida, had been admitted as slave States, with four prospective States from Texas. Five free States had in the same time been admitted, and two others, Minnesota and Oregon, soon would be. Though the balance was still in favor of the South, yet Kansas must be secured, to render assurance doubly sure. The great leader in this scheme was Alexander H. Stevens, Vice President of the Confederate States, who employed northern men as his agents. Mr. Douglass, of the Senate, and Mr. Richardson, of the House, both from Illinois, were the agents employed. The former was ambitious for the Presidential nomination, and wished to so shape his course, as to secure southern votes, and the latter was his friend, anxious to promote his success.

In December, 1853, President Pierce presented his first message to Congress. In that message he distinctly intimated that the compromise measures of 1850, had SETTLED the disturbing question of slavery; and that, if he had the power to prevent it, the repose in which it was then laid should not be disturbed during his administration. How short sighted his vision, or how insincere his profession, a few short weeks unfolded! So far from being settled, the most terrific agitation that had yet occurred in the whole history of the country, was soon to be excited, and its lashing waves were to be calmed only after the most terrible rebellion the world had ever known.

Senator Douglass, soon after those professions had been made by the President, and with his full knowledge and assent, as chairman of the committee on territories, commenced demonstrations, the object of which was to open to slavery the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. We wish we could draw
the vail over this act of Senator Douglass' life, and remember only his sincere and devoted patriotism, when the whirlwind of rebellion was surging through the land. But historic truth compels a complete record; and if Senator Douglass, guided by ambitious aspirations, yielded to the demoralization of the times, and to gain southern support, consented to lend his transcendent talents to their nefarious schemes, he afterwards repented of the folly, and resisted the purposes to which the South sought to apply the measures he had introduced.

To prepare the way for the repeal of the Missouri compromise, he attempted to incorporate an amendment into the bill establishing a territorial government for Nebraska, implying that the compromise of 1850 superceded that compromise, and that such was the understanding of Senators and Representatives at the time of their passage. Such a view, if correct, would, of course, have absolved all parties from any obligations under that old, and, as it had hitherto been regarded, sacred and inviolable compact. This opened the whole subject of slavery again, both in Congress and all over the country; and the acrimony and violence of the discussions which ensued, had never been equaled in any previous controversy.

But before the representatives of freedom in Congress were fairly accoutred for the conflict, the same committee reported another bill—dividing the territory into Nebraska and Kansas. Mr. Douglass opened the debate on the bill, by declaring that the action of Congress in 1850, was based on the doctrine that the Constitution conferred no power upon Congress to legislate slavery into, or out of the territories; that the defeat of a proposition at that time, to extend the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific Ocean, was conclusive evidence of the intention of Congress to abandon it altogether; that it was the defeat of that proposition which suggested another compromise in its stead; and that the doctrine of non-intervention on the subject of slavery in the territories,
was then the settled policy of the Government. Mr. Chase, of Ohio, expressed his surprise, that a Senator who had so severely deprecat ed the agitation of the subject of slavery, and who supported a President who had so recently congratulated Congress and the country upon the general repose of that question, should have been himself the first to break the public peace—the first to renew the controversy. "Let it be understood," said Mr. Chase, "let it be published to the world, that the quietists and finalists—they who told us that all agitation was over—have themselves become agitators. Let it be understood, that it is slavery, insatiable and aggressive slavery, that renews the strife." This was on the 3d of February, 1854.

Simultaneously with this demonstration in the Senate, and by arrangement between the two committees, Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, reported a bill on this subject in the House, similar to the first one reported by Mr. Douglass, and afterward, on the 8th of May, offered the second Senate bill as a substitute, excepting therefrom an amendment proposed by Mr. Clayton; so that both Houses were enabled to move together for the conquest of Kansas. The friends of freedom, and among them, Messrs. Seward, Chase, Wade, Sumner, Gillette, Foote, of Vermont, Hamlin, and Walker, in the Senate, and Messrs. Cullom, Fenton, Giddings, Grow, Hastings, Lyon, Meacham, Morgan, Matteson, Perkins, Pringle, Simmons, Gerrit Smith, and Upham, in the House, contested the movement, at every stage, with distinguished ability and firmness. But they were overborne. The Democratic party was largely in the ascendancy in both Houses, and backed as it was by the President of the United States and his Cabinet, it was irresistible. It wantonly and wickedly broke the national covenant of 1820, repudiated the faith which it had been understood for a quarter of a century to embody, and re-exposed the beautiful plains of Kansas to the terrible sway
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of the blackest despotism that ever disgraced the civilized world.

On the 25th of May, 1854, the act to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, was passed into a law, which was subsequently approved by the President, which, among other things, declared that "the eighth section of the act, preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6th, 1820, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act, not to legislate slavery into any territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way."

About this time the Supreme Court made its memorable decision in the Dred Scott case,—of an alleged fugitive of that name, in which Roger B. Taney, the Chief Justice, gave his opinion, and enunciated a doctrine outside of the case, which excited much indignation and alarm,—that negroes "could not be citizens of the United States, and that they had no right which a white man was bound to respect." A minority, including Justices McLean and Curtis, dissented. This remarkable decision was generally regarded, at the North, as but one link in the chain, by which the South were seeking to bind the North to the car of slavery,—and it was bitterly and unsparingly denounced.

Simultaneously with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in one of the executive departments, with the approbation of the President, was, in connection with ex-Senator Atchinson, engaged in negotiating such treaties with the tribes of Indians occupying eligible districts in Kansas, as would facilitate the settlement
of the territory, and with the understanding that knowledge of such treaties was to be withheld from the inhabitants of the northern States, until southern emigrants could get such a foothold therein as would enable them to control the question of slavery. This was the first movement. After these arrangements were completed, the necessary territorial officers were appointed, who proceeded to the theatre of their duties, and commenced their discharge. The Honorable Andrew H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, was selected for the first Governor.

On the 29th of November, 1854, the day designated for the election of a delegate to represent the territory in Congress, several hundred armed persons went from the State of Missouri into the territory, and overbearing all opposition, voted for such delegate. By this intervention of non-residents, a person was nominally elected who was not the choice of the resident citizens of Kansas, and whose sentiments in relation to the wisdom or expediency of introducing slavery into the territory were entirely variant from their own. On the 30th of March, 1855, an election was held for members of the first territorial legislature, when between four and five thousand armed men from the State of Missouri, under the personal direction of General Atchinson and Doctor Stringfellow, invaded the territory and voted. The result of the election in every district but one was controlled by the invaders. About nine hundred armed men from Missouri, with two pieces of artillery, arrived in the first district the day before the election, and organized as for war, and on the day of election they surrounded and held possession of the polls until late in the afternoon. When interrogated as to the place of their residence by the inspectors, they boldly answered that they resided in Missouri, but would vote notwithstanding, or die in the attempt. In the second and third districts the inspectors of election were driven from the polls by violence, and obliged to flee to preserve their lives; the legal voters were assaulted
and excluded from the polls, and the ballot-boxes in which votes were deposited, were overset and ultimately destroyed. And in every district, anarchy, resulting from the violence of the Missourians, prevailed throughout the day. In this election — one which was to fix the early character of the institutions in the territory, and settle the liberties of the people — the will of the resident citizens of Kansas, was as effectually suppressed as if they had been totally disfranchised.

This was the pre-ordained practical result of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty — a conquest of Kansas by armed force, for the benefit of the slave power. The election being manifestly fraudulent, Governor Reeder issued a proclamation for another one in six of the districts, at which time several hundred Missourians returned again and voted in the twelfth precinct. In the districts which were not invaded, the legal voters were allowed, for the first time, to exercise their political rights.

On the 2d of July, 1855, the first territorial legislature of Kansas assembled in Pawnee, pursuant to the proclamation of the Governor, when the seats of the members elected at the second election, except those in the twelfth precinct, were contested. On the third day of the session, every member whose seat was disputed, although he had a certificate of election from the Governor, was ousted without any investigation of his right to occupy it. They were rejected, under the pretext that the Governor had no right to declare a vacancy and order a new election; when it was as obvious that he was invested by the territorial act with that authority, as with any other appertaining to his office. The majority in place then usurping the authority confided only to the Governor, changed the seat of Government from Pawnee to the Shawnee mission.

Assembling at the Shawnee Mission manual-labor-school, as a legislature, with Doctor Stringfellow from Missouri, as a presiding officer, this bogus Legislature proceeded to enact fran-
chise and sedition laws, among which was one declaring that no term of actual residence in the territory should be a pre-
requisite to qualify any person for a legal voter; and de-
claring it to be a felony, punishable by imprisonment at hard
labor for a term not less than two years, for any free person to
speak, write, assert, or maintain that persons have not the right
to hold slaves in that territory; or to introduce into the territory,
any written, printed, or published book, paper, magazine, pam-
phlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons
to hold slaves in the territory; and another, declaring all persons
disqualified to sit as jurors who did not admit the right and right-
eousness of slavery.

Governor Reeder refused to recognize the persons thus as-
sembled at Shawnee as the Legislature of Kansas, and with-
held his sanction from their proceedings. He would neither
sign nor enforce as law any of their illegal resolves, expecting
of course to be upheld and justified by the administration at
Washington. But in this, as we shall see, he was disap-
pointed.

On the 15th of August, 1855, a large meeting of the in-
habitants of Kansas, irrespective of party distinctions, was
held at Lawrence, for consultation in reference to their politi-
cal and social condition, which resulted in the adoption of res-
olutions requesting the bona fide citizens of the several elec-
tion districts in the country to send delegates to a convention
at Topeka, on the 19th of the month ensuing, to "consider
upon all subjects of public interest, and particularly that hav-
ing reference to a speedy formation of a Constitution, with
an intention of an immediate application to be admitted as a
State into the Union of the United States of America." In
conformity with this resolve, public meetings were held in the
several precincts, at which the grievances of the people were
fully considered, and where the sentiment in favor of a State
organization was found to be almost unanimous. Delegates
were accordingly elected.
On the 19th day of September, 1855, the proposed convention assembled at Topeka. It was attended by delegates of high intelligence and character, who knew their rights, and dared to assert them. It resolved that an election should be held in the several precincts on the second Tuesday of the succeeding October, for members of a convention to form a Constitution, adopt a bill of rights, and to take all needful measures for organizing a State Government, preparatory to admission into the Union. On the 23d day of October, delegates elected by the resident citizens of the territory, pursuant to the above recommendation, assembled at Topeka, to frame a Constitution. On the 15th day of December, the Constitution framed by the convention was submitted to the people for their acceptance, and by a vote almost unanimous, it was approved. But at this ballot for ratifying it, numerous bands of armed and lawless invaders from Missouri invested the polls, not at this time to vote, but to menace the resident citizens, and deter them from voting, and again destroyed ballot-boxes at Kickapoo, Leavenworth, and several other places.

At the election for State officers and members of the State Legislature, under the new Constitution, the resident settlers were not permitted to vote in Leavenworth. The inspectors of election, having authority, postponed the election, and a few of the voters proceeded to Easton. Ruffians from Missouri again assailed the ballot-box, and when the citizens rallied to defend it, a bloody engagement ensued. On their return to Missouri from Easton, they captured R. P. Brown, a member elect to the House of Representatives of the State of Kansas, a man of high character and courage, and ruthlessly murdered him, with hatchets and knives. Late in November, about two thousand armed men from Missouri, with seven pieces of artillery, made an attack upon the town of Lawrence, and held it in siege for about two weeks. They assailed it with the declared intention of destroying it, and
slaughtering its inhabitants; and but for the undaunted courage and firmness of the people, it could not have been saved.

Under the color of laws enacted by the bogus Legislature, the slave power, represented by Atchinson and his confederates, demanded an homage which the tyrant Gessler never dreamed of. It not only indicated as criminal our national manifesto, stifled all freedom of speech and of the press, established a censorship over the sentiments of the people, but it revived, to encrimeon with American blood, the horrid tragedies of the "reign of terror." It assumed the exercise of despotic power, and set over the people a corps of judges, attorneys, and sheriffs, whose judicial proceedings have cast the infamous acts of Lord Jeffries in the shade. To crush at a blow all semblance of a free state party, it resolved to destroy its leaders. It required its courts to cause them to be indicted and imprisoned for treason. By the force of this tyrannical proceeding, some were imprisoned, some were murdered, and others were forced to seek refuge in tents in the uttermost bounds of the territory. It next destroyed three printing presses—one at Leavenworth, another at Lawrence, and a third at Ossawattamie.

A hotel in Kansas, on the borders of Missouri, kept by a free state man, from Massachusetts, and which was a home and an asylum for the northern emigrant, was forced to be sold to a pro-slavery man, on pain of its immediate destruction. Another hotel at Lawrence, was bombarded by Missouri cannon, sacked, robbed, and afterward burned, simply because it was owned by, and offered a temporary refuge to, northern men. It employed hundreds and thousands of drunken and infuriated rowdies, robbers, and thieves, from Western Missouri, to traverse the territory, to waylay and plunder settlers as they were returning to their homes with supplies—to pillage their cabins in their absence, steal their
cattle, insult their wives and daughters, commit every conceivable outrage, in order to prevent free settlers from entering the territory, and to drive from it those already there. The people were kept in constant fear. The territory was desolated by civil war, and all its most brutal attendants—larceny, robbery, arson, murder! and strange to say, all those horrid atrocities, had either the passive or active countenance of the General Government itself! Humiliating and shameful as had been the previous subserviency of the Government to the behests of the slave power, nothing that had hitherto been done, would compare with the outrages inflicted upon the people of Kansas, and which the Government either suffered or abetted. It was equaled only by that superlatively deep and damning demoralization, into which the Cabinet of President Buchanan subsequently fell, and which was represented by the Floyds, and Cobbs, and Thompsons of 1860, who aimed not simply to root out freedom from a new territory, but to drive it from the continent and the world.

Whilst these violent proceedings for the conquest of Kansas were going on in the territory, the President and his Cabinet at Washington were in familiar correspondence with General Atchinson, and assuring him and his associates that the power of the General Government should be employed to enforce the laws of the bogus Legislature. And as Governor Reeder was an obstacle in the way of the President's plans, he removed him, and appointed Wilson Shannon, of Ohio, in his place. He then directed orders to be issued to the commandant of the United States troops in that vicinity, to aid this official in subduing the free state party. In obedience to those orders, the military power of the nation has been employed from time to time against unoffending citizens of the territory, and ultimately to disperse their State Legislature. Finding that even Wilson Shannon was not equal to the dire emergency, the President removed him, also, and commis-
sioned one Colonel Geary to proceed to that bloody theater, and, if possible, complete the conquest.

Meanwhile, also, notwithstanding this dark and dreadful array of crimes against Kansas, the people of the territory, hopeful, nevertheless, of ultimate protection, and with a fortitude which has no parallel in history, continued, by their chosen representatives, steadily knocking at the door of the Capital for admission into the Union. They found the same slave power which murdered their neighbors, demolished their dwellings, and desolated their towns, on the floors of both Houses of Congress, also, and there, too, with bludgeons, and firelocks, and other implements of death. And with them it brutally assaulted editorial advocates of freedom in the public streets, slew unoffending servants at the public hotels, and struck down upon the floor of the Senate one of their most distinguished advocates—the Honorable Charles Sumner.

Those open, violent and alarming demonstrations, necessarily aroused the people of the North, and led to the organization of the Republican party, composed of men of anti-slavery sentiments from all the former political organizations. That party organized in the autumn 1855, and in 1856 put John C. Fremont in nomination for the Presidency. His Democratic competitor was James Buchanan. The contest was violent and bitter, and resulted in the election of Mr. Buchanan. At one time, the indications favored the election of Fremont, and in view of that contingency, movements were made in South Carolina, Virginia, and other Southern States, to effect their secession, in case of his election.

President Buchanan was inaugurated March 4th, 1857. Four members of his cabinet, Mr. Floyd, Secretary of War, Mr. Toucey, Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, were allied in sympathy and feeling with the South, and ready to do its biddings. The composition of this Cabinet,
read in the light of subsequent events, was clearly made for a purpose—to aid in the then contemplated work of secession—to make full preparations for it. The plan was, no doubt, fully settled in the secret councils of the southern leaders, to secede. They must prepare the minds of their friends for it, both in the South and the North. For this purpose, a secret Association was organized, denominated "The Knights of the Golden Circle," whose principal purpose was to support and defend slavery. It had its degrees, and none but those who attained its honors, were permitted to know its full designs; and not until complete assurance was obtained, that they could be fully trusted with its real purposes. Such associations were widely organized throughout the South, and in many of the Northern and Western States. Among the initiated, and active promoters of its designs, were Cabinet officers, and others holding important positions in the civil, military, and naval service.

The composition of Buchanan's Cabinet, favored the schemes of the conspirators, and enabled them to mature their plans secretly, and yet most efficiently.

Arms were among the most indispensable wants of the South, in case of secession, and the War Secretary, under the pretense of distributing to the States their proper quota of the Government arms, industriously shipped to the South, immense quantities of muskets, ordnance, and military stores, and loyal officers were dispatched to distant posts. The Head of the Naval department sent the principal vessels of our Navy to distant and inaccessible stations, and the Secretary of the Treasury aided the conspirators with the money and credit of the Government.

While those Government officials were thus weakening the Government, and strengthening the hands of its enemies, politicians were skillfully enacting their part of the programme,—were artfully framing the pretext for secession.
The hour of triumph for the people of Kansas, however, came. They were admitted into the Union with their own free Constitution. The star which she added to our national banner, has floated over scores of battles with that foe, from which she had suffered so much and so long. Her own sons have borne conspicuous parts on many bloody fields, and may they long enjoy the blessings of liberty, for which they have so long and so manfully contended. The war in Kansas, was but the first chapter of that bloodier war for the Union, and to whose ensanguined pages the reader will soon turn.

Amongst the memorable men, whom the events in Kansas brought into conspicuous notice, was John Brown. He was among the earlier emigrants to that territory, from New York. He was an earnest and zealous opponent of slavery, and opposed its extension into Kansas, and its existence in the country, as a religious duty. Brave, enterprising, and earnest, he was the especial object of hatred of the slavery propagandists, whom he resisted sternly, and "Ossawattamie" became famous, as the theatre of his daring exploits. His possessions were plundered, frequent attempts were made to burn his buildings, and to murder himself and family. One of his sons was cruelly slain, and those repeated outrages upon himself, his family, and the people of Kansas, raised his hatred of slavery to a pitch of frenzy, which could only be allayed by bold assaults upon the institution of slavery itself. He conceived the bold design of organizing an expedition to free the slaves of Virginia. He kept his plans a profound secret. He solicited funds from various parties in the North, some of whom responded, under the belief that the funds were to be employed in support of freedom in Kansas, but which were used in the purchase of arms and the manufacture of pikes—the latter for the use of the slaves, whom he and his few followers were to liberate and set free. He designed not to incite insurrection, but to run off slaves, and the arms and
pikes were designed for use, only in case of resistance to his main design. He hired premises in the vicinity of Harper’s Ferry, Virginia, which became the rendezvous of himself and a small party, comprising seventeen white men and a few negroes. On the 16th of October, 1859, they made an attack upon the Arsenal at Harper’s Ferry, and succeeded in capturing it without bloodshed. Several prominent citizens were arrested and held as hostages, and Brown issued a proclamation, addressed to the slaves, inviting them to rally and assert their freedom. This he evidently thought they would do, but in that he was disappointed.

This lawless and unjustifiable assault upon the people of Virginia, created, for a short time, intense excitement and alarm. How far the plot had extended, and to what tragic scenes it might lead, suddenly and very justly, haunted the imaginations of the people of the invaded State. The then Governor of the State, Henry A. Wise, called out a large militia force, and issued violent and exciting proclamations. The force called out by the Governor, rapidly concentrated in the vicinity of the Arsenal, and the President dispatched thither a body of marines. The latter attacked the Arsenal, wounded Brown, and killed and wounded several of his party, when he and those who could not escape, surrendered. The leader, and seven of his captured followers, were handed over to the authorities of Virginia, were tried and convicted of treason, and sentenced to be executed. Assiduous and influential efforts were made, for the pardon of the misguided men, but the Governor firmly resisted all appeals, and the criminals expiated their offences on the gallows. The evident sincerity of the leader of this raid, his courage and Roman firmness, in the severe trial through which he finally passed, won for him many admirers, even among his enemies, and posterity, while condemning the rash and deeply criminal act, will award to him the virtues of courage and constancy, and of suffering heroically for his misguided convictions.
The advocates of slavery extension, and of its permanent domination in the Government, were thus foiled in their desperate, and, as events have proved, their final effort to hold control of the united Government. Henceforth their plans and energies were to be directed to its overthrow, and to the erection upon its ruins of a Southern Confederacy. That had long been a favorite measure with the extremists of the South. They had held it as a rod of terror, with which to lash the North into a compliance with their wishes.

Had they succeeded in foisting slavery into Kansas, it would, almost inevitably, have been also established in the Indian Territory and New Mexico, and their purpose would then have been accomplished without revolution. They would have secured permanent political control of the Government, present and prospective. But losing the field in Kansas, with it was also lost that coveted political control.

It is true, that had they exerted their full political power in the canvass for President in 1860, they might have held, for a limited period, such control of the Government, as would have prevented any legislation especially unfriendly to them; but they gave up all hope of realizing their extravagant expectations, and nothing less would satisfy them. They saw the hand writing upon the wall—the inevitable effect of the rapidly increasing population and progress of the North and West, upon their relative powers in the Government, and that very soon their old prestige and former dominance would be gone. Every year the actual disparity between the free and slave section would become greater; and, as they could no longer bend the Government to their special interests, the sooner they separated from it, and assumed the sole guardianship of their peculiar institution, they deemed the easier and the better.

Their purposes were soon fixed, and all their future efforts directed to their adroit accomplishment. A pretext was
wanted, and one was devised. The prophesy of Jackson which was made in 1833, that "the next pretext would be the negro, or slavery question," was emphatically fulfilled.

The South had already strong political prejudices against the anti-slavery men of the North. They were already violent, the growth of many years of ex-parte and intemperate political discussions, and of unsparing misrepresentation and abuse. Those prejudices must be the agency to accomplish the work. They must be increased. The southern heart must be fired to phrenzied madness, before it would make the awful plunge, into the gulph of secession. The means resorted to for the purpose, were, at once ingenious, and effectual to the end in view.

They were nothing less than to divide, and thus to secure the certain defeat of the Democratic party, and to bring into power an administration especially obnoxious to the South, that they might thus unite in opposition to it all the pro-slavery elements of the country.

The programme was elaborate, embracing careful details, and was carried out with singular energy and fidelity. Delegates, representing those extremists, were carefully selected to the presidential nominating Convention, which convened at Charleston, in May, 1860. They had selected for their candidate, one of the most talented and influential men of the border States, the Hon. John C. Breckenridge; his rival was the late Hon. Stephen A. Douglass, of Illinois. The platform on which the ultraists had determined to place their candidate, had been purposely made so intensely pro-slavery, that they knew in advance, that the friends of Mr. Douglass could not accept it. The result was, as had been artfully pre-arranged, the rupture of the Convention, and the nomination of each of the rival candidates by their respective friends. Thus two Democratic candidates were placed, and continued, in nomination, resulting in the election of the Republican nominee, the
Hon. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, by a minority of the votes cast. The candidates, and the votes cast for each, were as follows:

Abraham Lincoln, Republican candidate, received 1,857,610
Stephen A. Douglass, Northern Democrat, " 1,365,976
John C. Breckenridge, Southern Democrat, " 847,953
John Bell, Union, " 590,631

4,662,170

If the Democratic vote had been united upon a single candidate, he would have received some 400,000 more votes than the Republican nominee. As it was, however, Mr. Lincoln received 180, of the 303 electoral votes cast, being a majority of 57 votes over all the opposing candidates. Of the 33 States voting, he received the electoral vote of 17, and votes were cast for him in 23 States of the Union—thus divesting his election of the sectional character, which had been attributed to it by his political opponents.

By the election of an anti-slavery candidate, the friends of secession had secured the desired pretext for it, and which was too rapidly followed by scenes of deeper, and more tragic interest.
PART II.

HISTORY OF THE REBELLION.

FROM THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN TO THE ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER.


Demonstrations for the dissolution of the Union, which we have seen had been continually threatened for over thirty years, began to assume practical shape immediately after the election of President Lincoln. His election had evidently been desired and sought by the extreme pro-slavery men of the South, as a means to unite that section in their long-indulged scheme of secession. It was, therefore, hailed by them with evident satisfaction.

The secessionists had prepared for such a result; and as soon as it was known, immediate steps were taken to carry their plans into execution. South Carolina, the mother of nullification, opened the ball. On November 10th, a bill was introduced into the Legislature of that State to raise and equip 10,000 men for its defence. Her Senators in Congress, Chesnut and Hammond, resigned their seats. Large and enthusiastic secession meetings were held in Charleston and elsewhere. A Convention was called together, which was composed
entirely of immediate secessionists, and by which, on December 20th, an Ordinance of Secession was unanimously passed, and a declaration of the causes of secession adopted. On December 25th, the Convention adopted a resolution to form a Confederate Government of the slave-holding States. About the same time, South Carolina sent Commissioners to Washington; but they were not received by the President. Meanwhile, the State authorities proceeded energetically in raising and arming troops, and in erecting strong fortifications, bearing upon the National forts in the harbor of Charleston, and commanding its approaches. They had the audacity to demand of the Government that those forts should be evacuated and surrendered to the State, and gave the clearest evidence of a settled and earnest purpose in making that demand, by continuing the erection of heavy offensive works, immediately under their guns.

On the 28th of December, they seized the Custom House, Post Office, and Arsenal in Charleston, the latter containing a large quantity of arms and military stores. They sent Commissioners to other slave-holding States, with a view to the formation of a Southern Confederacy.

So energetic had been the work on the batteries in the harbor of Charleston, that before the end of December, they had become so formidable as to render there-enforcement of the national forts there extremely hazardous.

Thus, in less than two months after the election of President Lincoln, were those open, undisguised and violent proceedings taking place in South Carolina. She was in open revolt. She had done, or was doing, everything possible to destroy the government, and to organize and array against it the forces of Treason. It was not the rash and tumultuous proceedings of an excited mob, acting from sudden and violent impulses; but the cool and deliberate execution of a long contemplated, and fully developed plan. She proceeded in the
work of treason with that system and order, which indicated the fullest preparation, and the widest concert of views and purposes.

While South Carolina was engaged in those violent and high-handed proceedings, kindred events were transpiring in Georgia and other Southern States. The Legislature of Georgia voted one million dollars to arm that State. She called a Convention to consider the question of secession, and an Ordinance, dissolving her connection with the Union, was passed on the 19th day of January, ayes 208, noes 89.

During that month, similar ordinances were passed by the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida and Alabama. The passage of those secession ordinances was followed immediately by the resignation of the Senators and members of Congress, and by the openly avowed and active treason of most of the naval and military officers from the seceded States. The Legislature of Texas voted their State out of the Union on the fifth of February, and which was subsequently ratified by the people, Arkansas and North Carolina in May, and Tennessee in June.

Thus, all except the "Border States" proper, in rapid succession, left the Union. In those movements, a pre-concerted plan and order were observed;—those States first leaving, in which the least opposition existed, and their example, influence and powers were strenuously employed to drag other States into the same vortex. The State governments, and nearly all holding official or influential positions, were in the the plot, and pledged to secession. The plan of seizing all the military positions and property, of whatever description, of the United States, lying within their States, seemed to have been early agreed upon, and, with but few exceptions, it was carried out. Over 300,000 muskets, it is said, were thus stolen, with vast quantities of cannon, mortar, powder, ball and shell, and about six million of treasure, to say nothing of the value of
CHARGE OF THE IRISH BRIGADE.
The seven days' Fight before Richmond.
the forts, buildings and ships thus appropriated. In that way, most of the important military and commercial stations in the entire South were seized and occupied without resistance.

The fortresses thus seized, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>No. of men</th>
<th>No. of guns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fort Calhoun,</td>
<td>Hampton Roads, Va., 1,664,000</td>
<td>1120</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Macon,</td>
<td>Beaufort, N. C., 400,000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Johnson,</td>
<td>Wilmington, N. C., 5,000</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Caswell,</td>
<td>Oak Island, N. C., 511,000</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Sumter,</td>
<td>Charleston, S. C., 677,000</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Castle Pinekney,</td>
<td>Do., 43,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Moultrie,</td>
<td>Do., 73,000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Pulaski,</td>
<td>Savannah, Ga., 923,000</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Jackson,</td>
<td>Do., 80,000</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Marion,</td>
<td>St. Augustine, Fla., 51,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Barrancas,</td>
<td>Pensacola, 315,000</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Redoubt,</td>
<td>Do., 109,000</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; McRea,</td>
<td>Do., 384,000</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Morgan,</td>
<td>Mobile, Ala., 1,212,000</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; St. Phillip,</td>
<td>Mouths Miss. Riv., 143,000</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Jackson,</td>
<td>Do., 817,000</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Pike,</td>
<td>Rigolets, La., 472,000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Macomb,</td>
<td>Chef Monteur, La., 447,000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Livingston,</td>
<td>Barataria Bay, La., 342,000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These seizures, as well as the general direction of the secession movement, were guided by the secession Senators and Representatives in Congress, pending the organization of a general government, which the conspirators had planned. Delegates from the seceded States met at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 11th of February, and organized a Provisional Government, and adopted a Provisional Constitution, which were to continue for one year. Jefferson Davis was elected President, and inaugurated on the 16th day of February. The policy of the new Government was thus avowed:

"It will be the policy of the new Government to preserve the status quo of affairs until the 4th of March, when the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln will enable him to indicate the course his administration will pursue towards the Southern
Confederacy. The hope is not yet entirely relinquished that more rational counsels may prevail at Washington, and that, 'making a virtue of necessity,' the Republicans will abandon their idea of coercion, and by a peaceful and conciliatory policy, endeavor to preserve all that their folly has not entirely lost to them—commercial relations with the South. It is probable that one of the first acts of the new Government will be to send a commission to Washington, to treat for a peaceable and equitable arrangement of matters between the two Republics—the acknowledgment of our independence, the surrender of the forts, a fair division of the public property and of the public debt. Until it is known how our Commissioners will be received, and whether the Federal Government is willing to treat for a peaceable and equitable adjustment of these matters, it would be unwise to take any steps that would be likely to precipitate hostilities. We should prepare for the worst, while we hope for the best. As the moral sense of a very large portion of the North is on our side, we should do nothing rashly to forfeit our just claim to the fair judgment of that portion of our late confederates, who are blameless for the causes which led to the disruption of the Union and forced the South to assume her present attitude toward the Federal Government."

Active military preparations were carried on in all parts of the South. Powder mills were set actively at work, shot and shell were being cast as rapidly as possible, and recruiting for the army was very active, every man tendered being accepted, and the first recruits were concentrated at Charleston and other points most likely to be first assailed. The Provisional Congress authorized the raising of 100,000 men; and as most of the officers of the army, whose residence was in the South, proved traitors to their Government, little trouble was found in supplying officers for the new recruits.

All the Government property seized by the respective States
was ceded to the Confederate Government, which assumed the direction of all civil and military affairs. Early in March, Commissioners were sent to France, Russia, England and Belgium, to solicit the recognition of the Confederate States, and to establish commercial relations with them, and John Forsyth, Martin J. Crawford and A. B. Roman were sent to Washington to settle the matters of difference between the United, and the Confederate States. All official intercourse with such Commissioners was, however, refused by the Governments to which they were sent.

The Confederate Congress adopted the Constitution of the United States, with the following amendments:

Alterations.—1st. The Provisional Constitution differs from the Constitution of the United States in this: That the legislative powers of the Provisional Government are vested in the Congress now assembled, and this body exercises all the functions that are exercised by either or both branches of the United States Government.

2d. The Provisional President holds his office for one year, unless sooner superseded by the establishment of a permanent Government.

3d. Each State is erected into a distinct judicial district, the judge having all the powers heretofore vested in the district and circuit courts; and the several district judges together compose the supreme bench—a majority of them constituting a quorum.

4th. Wherever the word "Union" occurs in the United States Constitution, the word "Confederacy" is substituted.

Additions.—1st. The President may veto any separate appropriation without vetoing the whole bill in which it is contained.

2d. The African slave trade is prohibited.

3d. Congress is empowered to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this Confederacy.
4th. All appropriations must be upon the demand of the President or heads of departments.

Omissions.—1st. There is no prohibition against members of Congress holding other offices of honor and emolument under the Provisional Government.

2d. There is no provision for a neutral spot for the location of a seat of government, or for sites for forts, arsenals and dock yards; consequently there is no reference made to the territorial powers of the Provisional Government.

3d. The section in the old Constitution in reference to capitation and other direct tax is omitted; also the section providing that no tax or duty shall be laid on any exports.

4th. The prohibition against States keeping troops or ships of war in time of peace is omitted.

5th. The Constitution being provisional merely, no provision is made for its ratification.

Amendments,—1st. The fugitive slave clause of the old Constitution is so amended as to contain the word "slave," and to provide for full compensation in cases of abduction or forcible rescue on the part of the State in which such abduction or rescue may take place.

2d. Congress, by a vote of two-thirds, may at any time alter or amend the Constitution.

Temporary Provisions.—1st. The Provisional Government is required to take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the States forming it and their late confederates of the United States in relation to the public property and the public debt.

2d. Montgomery is made the temporary seat of government.

3d. This Constitution is to continue one year, unless altered by a two-thirds vote, or superseded by a permanent Government.

The Courts were re-organized, a Patent Office established, postal and revenue laws enacted, $50,000,000 twenty year
bonds, and $20,000,00 treasury notes were authorized to be issued. A permanent Constitution was adopted, under which the President and Vice-President were to hold their offices for six years, and all the various details of a permanent Government organized.

The rapidity and system manifest in all those proceedings, conclusively prove, if other evidence were wanting, that secession was the result not of any recent cause, but of a long indulged, widely ramified and fully matured plan.

Congress was in session while these active rebellious movements were in progress, and its time was mainly engrossed with their consideration. But instead of taking for their guide the prompt and heroic conduct of the patriot Jackson, on a former and not dissimilar occasion, instead of adopting strong measures at first, to repel the deadly assault upon the Government, they dallied with the traitors, and gave them ample time to perfect all their plans. They resorted to the old, and often-tried measure of compromise—to those misnomers entitled "Peace Propositions." Senator Crittenden, early in the session, introduced his famous "compromise resolutions," the substance of which was, "To renew the Missouri line of 36° 30'; prohibit slavery North, and permit it South of that line; admit new States with or without slavery, as their constitutions provide; prohibit Congress from abolishing slavery in States, and in the District of Columbia, so long as it exists in Virginia or Maryland; permit free transmission of slaves by land or water in any State; pay for fugitive slaves rescued after arrest; repeal the inequality of commissioner's fees in the Fugitive Slave act, and to ask the repeal of Personal Liberty bills in the Northern States. These concessions to be submitted to the people as amendments to the Constitution, and if adopted, NEVER TO BE CHANGED."

Those resolutions found many supporters in both branches of Congress, but failed to become a law. The debates in Con-
gress, from the Southern extremists, clearly showed that no compromise would be satisfactory to them, which did not give them, for the present and the future, entire local and general control of the question of slavery. That, however, they knew was a foregone conclusion in a united government; and they had fully resolved to break the Union, in order that they might "manage their own domestic institution, in their own way," and they therefore took little interest in the various Peace offerings which emanated from the friends of compromise. Seventeen different propositions were made during the session, to so amend the Constitution as to "pacify" the South, but they turned a deaf ear to them all. The Southern members would neither support them, nor vote for them, nor offer any propositions of their own. The truth clearly appeared, that they had resolved to leave the Union, that they scout and contemned any and all compromises.

On a motion to refer President Buchanan's Message, Mr. Singleton, member of Congress of Miss., refused to vote, and declared that his State had called a Convention to consider the question of secession, that he was not sent here to patch up any compromise, but left the "Sovereign State" of Mississippi to determine her present Federal relations. Mr. Hawkins, of Florida, for the same reason, avowed that he and his State were opposed "to all and every compromise." Mr. Clafton, of Alabama, declined to vote, for a similar reason, and declared that the only remedy for the present difficulties was secession. Mr. Pugh, of Alabama, said, that as his State would be out of the Union by the 1st of June, he should "pay no attention to the action taken in this body."

Southern representatives waited only for the occurrence of certain preconcerted events to occur in their own States; when they would formally resign their seats, coolly pocket their pay, foreswear their allegiance, and enter into the common crusade against the Union. On leaving their seats,
many of those senators and representatives made violent secession speeches, which should have led to their prompt arrest; but they were quietly permitted, in the capital of the nation, to kindle and fan the fires of treason, until they attained such force and violence, that hundreds of thousands of lives, and thousands of millions of treasure must be sacrificed before they could be extinguished.

While the government thus hesitated, traitors were sleeplessly active. They had, at the time, a President who, in their hands, was the merest automaton. Old, infirm and irresolute,—long schooled in the arts of the mere partizan, he was governed more by his political associations and prejudices than by any convictions of justice or of right. He was, it is now evident, placed in that position for the especial contingency, which the rebels anticipated might occur, to be used in consummating their hellish designs.

While those high-handed measures were being enacted, the Government was relatively passive. We blush to record, as an example of the imbecility or depravity of the head of the Government, that President Buchanan was opposed to re-enforcing the feeble garrison in Fort Moultrie, in Charleston, while traitors were erecting strong batteries to open upon it! The fort was occupied at that time by Maj. Anderson, with about eighty men. It was surrounded by rebel batteries, and was not in a condition, with its feeble garrison, to resist the strong works with which it was threatened. He therefore, on the night of the 26th of December, quietly withdrew his small force to Fort Sumter, a heavy and important fortification, situated upon an artificial island in the harbor; difficult of access by the rebel forces, and whose reduction by them would have been impossible, had the Government re-enforced and supplied it, which at one time might easily have been done. But instead of doing so, it hesitated.

The traitors raved furiously at the gross affront of withdraw-
ing that feeble band from under the direct sweep of their guns, as otherwise their chivalrous natures might have had the sublime satisfaction of sweeping it out of existence, or of forcing an ignoble surrender without hazard to themselves. The veteran Secretary of State, Gen. Cass, was so disgusted with this weak, or vile dalliance with treason, that he resigned his position. One month later, when the President had consented that provisions might be sent to the nearly starved garrison in the beleaguered fort, so tender was he of the sensibilities of the rapacious rebels, that an unarmed boat must be sent on that errand, and which, of course, would prove a bootless mission; for those batteries were erected to reduce the forts to submission, and if hunger should compel the garrison to surrender, that would be the easier conquest. Would the rebels then permit us to feed them from an unarmed vessel, and thus compel the contest? Such foolish absurdity could hardly have found a place in any sane mind. But the unarmed boat was sent; it was fired upon and returned from its fruitless mission.

The whole rebel plot had been skillfully planned, and was as skillfully executed. The disunionists in Congress and the Cabinet, it is now clearly apparent, were only playing skillful parts, adroitly shaping events so that, when the time to strike should come, the Government would be unprepared to parry the blow; and that, with a divided North, and European opposition, it would accede to their demands, rather than encounter the terrible struggle which otherwise would be inevitable. In the judgment of the disunionists, the opportune moment had come. For over thirty years they had been making constant progress in moulding the ideas and the interests of the nation and of the world, so as to secure their sympathy and co-operation, when required. The political and commercial interests of the North had been largely committed to their schemes; and with these two potential interests, were also secured two others, of scarcely less importance—the pulpit and the press—
many of which were openly committed to the advocacy of their cause, and in that, represented the great demoralization of the Northern public sentiment.

Their ambitious plan embraced other and stronger aid. They confidently counted on the concurrence of France and England. The commercial cupidity and the political ambition of those two powerful monarchies were relied upon to aid in putting down the only Government which was at once their wonder, their envy and their dread.

In England, they succeeded in creating quite a marked sentiment in their behalf, founded mainly on the sordid motives of commercial avarice on the part of the people, to which, on the part of the Government was added the ignoble sentiment of political jealousy. It was clearly the desire of both England and France to institute and maintain free commercial intercourse with the South,—a privilege openly proffered to them by the insurgents, should they succeed in effecting a separation from the North. The heavy duties which had been levied by the Morrell tariff upon foreign importations, increased that desire. The agents of the Rebel Government in Europe had made that subject the key-note of their hopes, depending upon it as the means through which to secure foreign sympathy, possibly recognition, and final intervention. With cotton and commerce, they thus hoped to purchase the efficient aid of those two powerful nations, in destroying the unity of the Government.

It cannot be doubted that the sympathy of the English Government and aristocracy was warmly enlisted in behalf of the rebel cause, and that much material and moral support was given to it by them. They clearly desired the success of the insurgents, and were anxious to render them all the aid in their power, short of provoking actual hostilities with the North.

That it should be so, was at once a disappointment and a
marvel to the people of the North; and it engendered much bitterness and acrimony of feeling. But nations and communities are similarly influenced, and controlled by similar causes; and the prophecy uttered twenty-eight years ago, by the observing Coleridge, in his Table Talk, during nullification times, is fully verified by the conduct of foreign nations during this rebellion. He then said:

"Naturally one would have thought that there would have been greater sympathy between the Northern and North-western States of the American Union and England, than between England and the Southern States. There is ten times as much English blood and spirit in New England as in Virginia, the Carolinas, &c. Nevertheless, such has been the force of the interests of commerce, that now, and for some years past, the people of the North hate England with increasing bitterness, while among those of the South, who are Jacobins, the British connection has become popular."

We should, however, not blame too strongly the conduct of those nations which suffered severely in their commerce and their industry by our rebellion, and which foresaw, in the triumph of the North, increased restrictions upon their future trade. Could they divide us, and secure the establishment of the Southern Confederacy, they would accomplish at once two important objects;—weaken the power of a commercial and political rival, and secure in the South a market for the unrestricted sale of their goods.

Nations often yield to the strong temptations of interest, and shape their international policies more by the dictates of selfishness than by those of justice. We have seen at home, and in our own Northern commercial cities, how powerful the interests of commerce have been in moulding the political actions of men, and how much the nation has suffered from that cause, in suppressing the rebellion. In its incipient stages, and so long as any hopes of gain to them remained, where were
the sympathies of many of our Northern merchants? Those sympathies were only changed when it was for their interest to do so, or when the influence of public sentiment or the power of the Government compelled it. If our own citizens, then, could so merge patriotism in pelf as to go to the very verge of treason, need we wonder that rival nations were governed by the same selfish motives?

Our national experience, in that respect, has taught us an important lesson,—that, as a Republic, we cannot look for the sympathy of the monarchists, or secure from them respect for our rights, any farther than we ourselves are able to maintain and enforce them. The example of a united, strong and prosperous Republic, on this continent, was, and is, regarded as dangerous to the peace of European thrones. The republicans and agitators of Europe had long pointed to our prosperity as illustrating the advantages of Free Government; and up to the occurrence of the rebellion, their position could not be refuted. That event, however, was likely to give the friends of strong government the advantage, and enable them to prove, by our failure and disintegration, that Republics must be ephemeral, lacking coherent power and the elements of permanent existence. That the monarchies nearest to us, and most affected by our example, earnestly desired this, the history of the times clearly proves, and that they would lend to the rebellion all the aid which prudence and safety would permit, ought to have been anticipated by our Government.

The rebels, then, in courting the aid of foreign Governments, addressed willing and attentive ears. Their entire programme was at once bold and extravagant, and they proceeded in its attempted performance with vigor and confidence.

"The Capital and the national archives were to be seized as early as March; the Plug Uglies of Baltimore were to bring in Mr. Lincoln's head upon a charger, while the daughter of Discord danced before the embodiment of Despotism; on the
Fourth of July, the insurgents were to hold high carnival in Independence Hall; and the early autumn was to behold them hanging Abolitionists on Bunker Hill,—while the Christian nations of Europe, converted by the gospel of the London Times, were to render homage to King Cotton, by recognizing the gigantic usurpation.

"Fortunately for the country, there was an invisible agency—never absent from human affairs, but of which bad men make no account—that was silently thwarting the atrocious plot. Jefferson Davis and his satellites were born too late by five hundred years. The providence of God, which develops out of successive cycles an ever-augmenting sum of good for man, could not allow a type of government indigenous to the Middle Ages to become interpolated into the nobler text of the nineteenth century. We owe our rescue from the greatest crime ever meditated against civilization, to the simple fact that the Divine order could not tolerate so violent an anachronism.

"A change in the rebel programme may be traced to 'the sudden act of Major Anderson in removing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and the sympathetic response of an aroused people.' In that apparently trivial circumstance, the rebellion received its first check. Washington was saved. The President elect, passing in disguise through seditious Baltimore, eluded the assassins, and reached the Capital in safety. There the veteran Scott, beset by spies and traitors, was rallying the 'forlorn hope' of the nation. There the retiring chief magistrate, bending under the contempt of his country, having prostituted every official prerogative to further the conspiracy, declared himself willing to ride with the new President to his inauguration. There were assembled excited citizens from all the loyal States, to witness the national ceremony, which all felt was liable to end in tragedy.

"Never before had Washington presented so mournful and
impressive a scene. 'Around that tall, ungainly figure, which stood upon the steps of the Capitol above the multitude, more of fear, anxiety, and hope clustered, than above any former President.' He was himself penetrated by the solemnity of the moment. He had entered upon a course, 'the issues of which were hidden by the darkest clouds which had ever hung over his country. He saw the Union dismembered, full of disension and full of fear, and realized that upon him more than upon any other man rested its future destinies. He saw arrayed against his rule a band of rebellious States; he saw that during his administration the strength of the Government would be tested,—that Providence had called him to preside over the changes of a great historical epoch, and that the eyes of the civilized world were upon him. For the first time in American history, bayonets bristled and cannon frowned around the Federal Capitol. Familiar faces were seen no more; friends whose presence had lent lustre to many preceding inaugurations, in distant States were ranged in the malignant attitude of foes; and every ear was strained to hear whether

'The long, stern swell
Which bids the soldier close',

were coming up on the soft southern breezes. Seven States had seceded, others were hanging to the Union by a thread;—forts, arsenals, mints, sub-treasures, had been seized; Forts Sumter and Pickens were beleaguered;—insurgents were in possession of nearly every stronghold on the Atlantic, from North Carolina to the Texan frontier; and a hostile Congress and President, sitting at Montgomery, were providing the sinews of war, and threatening an appeal to the bloody arbitration of the sword.'

The inauguration of President Lincoln passed without violence; and the heavy task of reorganizing a loyal Government was commenced. In the utter confusion in which the conspirators had left it, much time must elapse before it could act
with much energy or efficiency. All the subordinate departments were filled with covert traitors and spies. All its movements and plans were known to them, and their movements were governed accordingly. They knew well their men, knew whom to trust, while the Government could not rely upon professions of loyalty, which were constantly assumed as cloaks for treason.

An investigation of a committee of Congress, presented the following result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Known Seccessionists</th>
<th>Suspected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treasury Department</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of the Interior</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Office Department</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Department</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy Department</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney General's Office</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of State</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment about the Capitol</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>143</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At this period, out of fifty-two men belonging to the Watch-Guard, only two were known to be Union men. Workmen in the foundry of the Arsenal, and servants at the White House, were secessionists.

The section of the Constitution relating to treason may be appropriately quoted:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to some overt act, or on confession in open court.

"The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted."

In addition to all the other difficulties surrounding the new
administration, the public treasury was empty and the public credit mistrusted. In June, 1860, a government loan of $20,000,000 at 5 per cent. had been taken at a premium, but the money had not all been paid before the secession panic had affected credit, and some of the bids were withdrawn, and on Jan. 1st, 1861, the Government was without funds to meet the interest upon its public debt. The attempt to negotiate a new loan but showed the great mistrust into which the Government credit had fallen. Few bids only were made, and some as low as thirty-six per cent. discount. Five million dollars were finally taken by the creditors of the Government, at 12 per cent., but on the condition that it was to be applied to the payment of the interest upon the public debts, due chiefly to parties who took the loan.

This was a very humiliating condition for a Government whose national credit had never before been impeached, and which but five years before had paid a premium of 22 per cent. to get its own six per cent. stocks out of the market.

This embarrassing condition of the treasury compelled a resort to every possible means of relief. A loan of $25,000,000 at 6 per cent. was authorized in February, a part of which was taken at 16 per cent. discount. A new tariff bill—the Morrell tariff—was formed and passed on March 2d, which raised the average rate of duties upon imports from nineteen and one half per cent., to about thirty-four. This increase of duties was obnoxious to the South, and was seized upon by the secessionists to increase the southern excitement. It was also employed by the enemies of the Government in Europe to prejudice the cause of the North.

While the Government was in this state of disorganization, indecision and alarm, the rebels were confident and reliant; and were pressing forward their military movements with the greatest vigor. Formidable batteries had been erected, cover-
ing all the approaches to the harbor of Charleston, and which Gen. Scott had declared to be invulnerable to any force which the Government could bring to bear upon them, and a large army was encamped to man and support them. The singular and humiliating spectacle was daily presented of a small national garrison, hemmed in by rebel batteries and dependent upon those who manned them, for food! The iron batteries, and the portentous muzzles of their heavy ordnance, which, without opposition, the insurgents had planted within easy range of Fort Sumter, were clearly intended for a purpose quite different from that of sending food to a famishing garrison.

When the insurgents had completed their batteries and had every thing fully ready to assail the fort, and, knowing that the supplies in the fort were light, and that hunger would soon force the garrison to surrender, they withheld the supplies of food. This was on April 7th, and the very day on which the steamer Atlantic left New York with troops and supplies for the fort. On the 8th, official notification was sent to the rebels that supplies would, at all hazards, be sent to Major Anderson. On the 9th, the steamers Illinois and Baltic left New York, under sealed orders, and their destination was concealed. Commissioners from the Confederate Government, which had been provisionally organized at Montgomery, on Feb. 8th, were then in Washington, and on learning that it was the purpose of the Government to provision Fort Sumter, had the audacity to protest earnestly against so great an outrage! They declared the attempt to do so would be regarded by them as a declaration of war! What a pretext this for plunging a prosperous and happy nation into all the horrors of civil war!

The excitement at this time throughout the country was most intense, and news from the South was sought for with eager interest. A conflict with the insurgents now appeared
to be inevitable. Gen. Beauregard, then in command of the rebel forces, put his batteries in perfect order, and made every disposition for the attack. The fleet was soon expected to arrive to co-operate with the fort, but a violent storm prevented it. Gen. Beauregard did not deem it entirely safe to wait for the fleet, and on the afternoon of the 4th of April demanded of Gen. Anderson its formal surrender. Gen. Anderson replied that his sense of honor and his obligation to his Government prevented him from acceding to the demand. After farther correspondence, Gen. Beauregard, at 20 minutes past 3 A. M. of the 12th, notified Major Anderson that he should open his batteries on the fort in one hour from that time; at which hour was to open the first tragic scene in the terrible drama, whose subsequent effects were to agitate and thrill the civilized world and extend to unborn generations.

"The blood of brothers was to be shed by brothers' hands! Oh America! And must the blood of thine own sons be shed in civil strife? Land of great discovery, of noble pioneers, of revolutionary glory and of universal plenty! Thou brightest star in the galaxy of nations! thou home of enterprise! thou hope of Liberty! Must traitors drag thy flag in the dust, where thine elder patriots died for it? Must thy just and equal Government be assailed? Must thine invincible sword win thy liberties anew? Sad for thee—sad for the world—sad for history, that this must be so! But far down the line of ages, behold the monuments of thy achievements; in the meridian day of intelligence, behold thy genius keeping Christendom in awe; when the dark places of oppression shall all be lit up, behold thy work gloriously accomplished! With this destiny to hew from the future—with this advance toward the goal—with this vast power for human good, O America! lift up thine arm, and fight! Thy foes are enemies to mankind! Thy victories will be the triumphs of Law and Right!"
CHAPTER II.

OPENING SCENE OF THE REBELLION—ATTACK UPON AND FALL OF FORT SUMTER.

At one half-past four o'clock, on the morning of the 12th of April, 1861, opened the great contest of the American Rebellion. At that fatal hour was seen the first flash, and heard the first boom, of rebel cannon, aimed at the defenders of the flag, which for eighty-five years had honored and protected a Continent! At that hour fire was opened upon Fort Sumter by the batteries surrounding it. The enemy employed in the attack, 17 ten-inch mortars, and 33 heavy guns.

It was not yet fully light, and Major Anderson, wishing to husband the energies of his feeble garrison, gave them time to breakfast, before replying to the assault. The enemy had an excess of men, and were therefore able to work their powerful batteries with the greatest energy. The heavy shot crashed against the walls of the fort with terrific violence, or flew over the parapet in a continuous shower, rendering it utterly impossible to man the guns upon it.

Captain Doubleday, and Lieutenant Snyder, first opened fire upon Fort Moultrie, Cumming's Point Battery, and Sullivan's Island. Fort Moultrie was badly damaged by our fire, and the notorious iron-cased floating battery, on which much time and money had been expended, was penetrated by many of our shot, though most of them glanced harmlessly from its angular iron sides. We dismounted two of the guns in the Cumming's Point Battery; but the precise effect of our fire upon the enemy's work has not been ascertained,—for misrepresen-
tation and concealment were here inaugurated by the enemy, a course that has been persistently and systematically followed in the subsequent events of the war.

The labor required of the small garrison was very severe in working its heavy armament. In that, they were aided by the few laborers in the fort who rendered valuable assistance; yet at no time could they man one-tenth of its guns. The defense, therefore, which the fort was able to make, was comparatively feeble. The enemy, however, were protected by the most complete works which time, money and skill, could erect, within easy range, supplied with the best ordnance, with an excess of gunners. They were therefore able, throughout the entire day, to rain a perfect shower of missiles against, or into the fort, aimed especially at the barracks and officer quarters. The former were repeatedly fired by hot shot and shell, during the first day's bombardment, but were as often extinguished. The first day's firing had badly injured, though it had not breached the Fort. The only casualties was the wounding of four men slightly, by shots that entered the fort through the embrasures. The night that followed, was so very dark that no aim could be taken or object seen, and Major Anderson closed his batteries. The enemy, however, kept up a slow fire. Toward the close of the day, the fleet outside of the harbor was seen to dip its flags, and the signal was responded to from the fort. The plan had been to throw 250 men and supplies into the fort that night, by means of boats. But the Baltic ran aground the night before, and the plan, in consequence, failed. The small and famishing garrison was therefore left to defend and support itself, as best it could.

On the morning of the 13th, when Major Anderson again opened his batteries, he was responded to by a perfect tornado of heated shot and shell. So thickly flew the fiery missiles that the air of the fort was fairly scorched by them, as they
passed through it. About nine o'clock, A. M., the southeast portion of the barracks took fire, and as the attempt to extinguish it would have been the almost certain destruction of the men, it was not made, and the fire raged from building to building with uncontrollable fury. Seeing this, the enemy, as if actuated by fiendish hate, redoubled his fire. At this time the main gates of the fort took fire and were speedily consumed. A very small force might have entered, despite any resistance which we could have made to it. The fire spread on all sides, filling the area of the fort with suffocating smoke, and fears were entertained that it might affect the walls of the magazine, and explode it. An attempt was made to remove the powder from it, but when ninety-six barrels had been removed, they were compelled to close it, leaving
in it about two hundred barrels. This shut off the supply of ammunition and the means of continuing a long defense.

Thirty-six hours before, the garrison had eaten their last biscuit! The smoke from the burning buildings compelled the men to lie prostrate on the ground, and to cover their faces with wet handkerchiefs, to avoid suffocation, and from which they were only saved by the favorable direction of the wind. The air was intensely heated, like that from a blast-furnace. The scene now was horrible beyond description,—the roar and crash of shot and shell, the raging, crackling flames, the tumbling walls, the suffocating smoke and scorching heat, all conspired to form a scene of unequaled peril, and calculated to appall the stoutest hearts. Yet the old flag, torn by rebel shot, still floated upon the ramparts, and firm and patriotic hands still held to its defense.

With the ammunition yet remaining, the garrison kept up a steady fire until early in the afternoon. At that time, Senator Wigfall, of Texas, appeared at one of the embrasures, and exposing a white flag upon his sword, entered the casemate. He sought, and had an interview with Major Anderson. He introduced himself saying: "I am Gen. Wigfall, and come from Gen. Beauregard. Let us stop this firing. You are on fire, your flag is down. Let us quit this." Lieut. Davis replied, "No sir! our flag is not down. Step out here, and you will see it waving over the ramparts."

"Let us quit this," said Wigfall. "Here's a white flag, will anybody wave it out of the embrasure?"

One of the officers replied, "That is for you to do, if you choose."

Wigfall responded, "If there is no one else to do it, I will," and jumping into the embrasure, waved the flag towards Moultrie. The firing, however, still continued from Moultrie and the batteries of Sullivan's Island. In answer to his repeated request, one of the officers said that one of our men might
NEGOTIATIONS.

hold the flag, and Corporal Binghurst jumped into the embrasure. The shot continuing to strike all around him, he leaped down again, after having waved the flag a few moments, and said, "They don't respect this flag, they are firing at it."

Wigfall replied, "They fired at me two or three times, and I stood it, and I should think you might stand it once."

Wigfall then said, "If you will show a white flag from your ramparts, they will cease firing."

Lieutenant Davis replied, "If you request that a flag shall be shown there, will you hold a conference with Major Anderson, and for that purpose alone it may be done."

At this point Major Anderson came up. Wigfall said, "I am General Wigfall, and come from General Beauregard, who wishes to stop this."

Major Anderson, rising to his full height, replied, "Well Sir!" "Major Anderson," exclaimed Wigfall, "you have defended your flag nobly, Sir. You have done all that it is possible for men to do, and General Beauregard wishes to stop the fight. On what terms, Major Anderson, will you evacuate this fort?"

Major Anderson's reply was, "General Beauregard is already acquainted with my only terms."

"Do I understand that you will evacuate upon the terms proposed the other day?"

"Yes, Sir, and on those conditions only," was the reply of the Major.

"Then, Sir," said Wigfall, "I understand Major Anderson that the fort is to be ours?"

"On these conditions only, I repeat."

"Very, well," said Wigfall, and he retired.

A short time afterwards a deputation, consisting of Senator Chesnut, Roger A. Pryor, Captain Lee, and W. Porcher Miles, came from General Beauregard, and had an interview with Major Anderson, when it came out that Wigfall had no
authority to speak for General Beauregard, but acted on his own responsibility. "Then," said Lieutenant Davis, "we have been deceived," and Major Anderson, perceiving the state of the case, ordered the American flag to be raised to its place.

The deputation, however, requested him to keep the flag down, until they could communicate with General Beauregard, as matters were liable to be complicated. They left, and between two and three hours after, the garrison meanwhile exerting themselves to extinguish the fire in the barracks, another deputation came from General Beauregard, agreeing to the terms of evacuation previously proposed. This was on Saturday evening. That night the garrison took what rest they could. Next day the Isabel came down and anchored near the fort. The steamer Clinch was used as a transport to take the garrison to the Isabel, but the transfer was too late to allow the Isabel to go out with that tide.
The terms of evacuation were that the garrison should take their individual and company property, and that they should march out with their side and other arms, with all the honors of war, in their own way and at their own time, and that they should salute their flag and take it with them.

The enemy agreed to furnish transports, as Major Anderson might select, to any part of the country, either by land or by water. When the baggage of the garrison was all on board of the transport, the soldiers remaining inside under arms, a portion were told off as gunners, to serve in saluting the American flag. When the last gun was fired, the flag was lowered, the men cheering. At the fiftieth discharge, there was a premature explosion, which killed one man instantly, seriously wounded another, and two more not so badly. The men were then formed and marched out, the band playing “Yankee Doodle” and “Hail to the Chief.”

The force in the fort, officers, musicians, and privates, consisted of only 79 men, who had the aid of 30 laborers. That small force could man but ten, of the one hundred and forty guns of the fort. When this feeble force is contrasted with that of the enemy, numbering 7000 men, no other result could have been expected.

During the terrible contest, in which over 4000 shot and shell were fired by the assailants, not one of the garrison was killed, and only five slightly wounded. The casualties on the part of the enemy have never been ascertained. They deny that any of their men were killed; yet it is alleged, on the authority of soldiers who were engaged in the conflict, that large numbers were slain in Fort Moultrie, and Cumming’s Point Battery.

The appearance of the fort, after the bombardment, is thus described by a correspondent who visited it:

“Without being materially injured, the walls give evidence of a most terrific fire. The several faces exposed are so thor-
EFFECTS.

oughly pitted, that the stronghold looks as if it had but just recovered from an attack of small-pox. Every place where a ball struck, the brick-work has been torn away by the bushel. Portions of the edge of the parapet are crumbling into ruins. The traverse there erected to prevent the raking fire of Fort Moultrie upon the guns en barbette seems just ready to fall, while fragments of mortar, granite, brick and broken shells lie upon water-wasted rocks outside. In only one place was a breach commenced, and this was at the base of the narrow or south-east angle, which was exposed to the fire from Cumming's Point. This would have required at least two days to complete.

"On the parapet, another scene of desolation presented itself. Aside from the destruction by fire, balls have struck everywhere. The parapet is torn away in numbers of places; and the guns are knocked into all positions imaginable. Some lie on their sides, others are driven from their places; several point upwards in the air, while the few that doggedly retained their places are warped and cracked so as to be utterly useless. The largest gun on the parapet, and one which was most feared, was dismounted by its own recoil, at the first fire, and thus Providence interposed to prevent the destruction which might have resulted from its use.

"Hand grenades, shells, balls, fragments of missiles, ram- mers and wipers, and other paraphernalia of the battle still lay in profusion, just as they had been left, but the marred and ragged features of everything upon which the eye rested showed at a glance how utterly impossible it was for any human force to resist the tremendous fire poured into the devoted fortress."

The garrison was conveyed by the steamer Isabel to the Atlantic, then lying outside of the harbor, which immediately steamed for New York. On their arrival there, they were received with marked demonstrations of enthusiasm, for their
persistent fortitude and courage, in so long defending our flag, under such perilous and utterly hopeless circumstances.

Thus Sumter fell, and with it all hopes of a peaceful solution of the pending controversy. The threat to dissolve the Union, had been so often before made, and with such apparent earnestness of purpose, and had still as often, for the time, ended in discussion, or in compromise, that the North could not be made to believe that the South really meant earnest, decided war. Yet as soon as the guns which had opened upon Sumter, boomed over the North, the firm footfall, the compressed lip, the earnest manner, told plainly that the die was cast—that discussion and compromise were ended—and that the sword, thus drawn by the rebels, must now decide the issue.

At once, and as if by magic, the public sentiment of the North buried its former political differences, and united in common, and decided measures for the defense of the Union. So full and strong was this flow of patriotic feeling, that all counter sentiments were merged in, or overborne by it. Every man of doubtful loyalty, was forced to "show his colors," and to "keep step to the music of the Union."
CHAPTER III.

FALL OF SUMTER—IMMEDIATE RESULTS.


Night closed upon Fort Sumter. The American flag had been hauled down, and in its place floated that bastard conception of traitorous minds, the Palmetto of South Carolina. The rebels in and about the city of Charleston, were jubilant over the victory; and as the telegraph carried the news to Savannah and New Orleans, guns were fired in honor of the event. In Richmond, and other cities of the Border States, the news was received with similar demonstrations. But those who were thus triumphant, little dreamed of the retribution that was to follow them so closely. Could they have seen the grand uprising of the North in defence of the old flag, and the old Union,—could they have seen the thousands of strong men marching from the east, the west, and the center, to the defense of the Capital, could they have seen in the future their own silent and deserted cities, ruined by an effective blockade,—could they have seen the bloody battle fields, where the best blood of the South was poured out like water,—could they have seen all this, we cannot but be-
lieve that they would have paused, ere they ventured so far. But all this was hidden from them. They could not lift the veil which concealed the future; and so the day on which Sumter fell, was one of general rejoicing throughout the South.

The effect upon the Border States was electrical. It aroused the secession element into activity. The Union men were silenced by force or terror, and soon North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas, arrayed themselves in open hostility to the Government.

So far all was well with the traitors. But immediately following the congratulations of Virginia, came news of a different nature from Washington and the North. The President issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas, The laws of the United States have been for some time past, and now are, opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law; now therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

"The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities, through the War Department. I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured. I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces
hereby called forth, will probably be to repossess the forts, places and property, which have been seized from the Union; and in every event, the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of, or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid, to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, within twenty days from this date.

"Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both Houses of Congress. The Senators and Representatives are therefore summoned to assemble at their respective chambers at 12 o'clock noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this fifteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.  

ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

This proclamation was responded to by all classes and parties, with the wildest enthusiasm. Men had looked on quietly, while State after State seceded, not approvingly or indifferently; but because they knew that with the imbecile and corrupt Administration then in power, all remonstrances were useless. But now, roused by the insult to the flag, all men rallied to its protection, animated by a common purpose, and that, the preservation or restoration of the Union, and the punishment of those who had attempted its overthrow.

It is estimated that within fifteen days from the date of
this proclamation, no less than 350,000 volunteers offered themselves, to supply the contingent of 75,000 called for!

The Government was without funds, and Congress not in session, so that the cost of mustering, equipping, and arming the recruits, must, in the first instance, be borne by the individual States, trusting for reimbursement to the future action of Congress. The response of the States was most prompt and hearty. New York voted to raise 30,000 volunteers for two years, though her quota was but 13,000, and organized a Military Board to superintend its military affairs. She authorized a loan of $3,000,000, and vast sums were subscribed by citizens and corporations, to aid the families of volunteers, and to promote enlistments. New England and the West were equally prompt and liberal, as were also all the free States.

In the South, the President's proclamation, and the reports of the popular excitement at the North, were received with astonishment and indignation. But, confident of their superior prowess, and believing the storm at the North to be but a sudden ebullition of popular excitement, which would subside as soon as it was brought into actual contact with the realities and horrors of war, they were not discouraged; but immediately prepared for the approaching contest. Enlistments in the southern army rapidly increased; and soon large bodies of armed men were moving towards Washington, and the Potomac.

The rebel Congress was summoned by President Davis to meet at Montgomery, on the 29th day of April, in extra session, at which time he delivered a long message, assuring the Congress that the permanent Constitution had been ratified by the several Confederate States, and that it only remained to elect the officers under it, to complete the organization of the Government. The special cause of convening the Congress in extraordinary session, he stated, to be "the declaration of war made against their Confederacy by Abraham
JEFFERSON DAVIS,
President of the Rebel Confederacy.
Lincoln, in his proclamation, issued on the 15th inst.” He reviewed, at length, the relation of the two sections, from the origin of the Government to the present time, as they related to the system of slavery, and recounted the history of his efforts with the Buchanan Administration, to secure peaceable secession. He advised the acceptance of the offer of privateersmen, and the instant organization of an army of 100,000 men.

The recommendation of the President met the approval of Congress, and the 100,000 men were authorized to be raised, and bonds and treasury notes of the Confederacy, issued to the amount of $70,000,000. The rebel Congress having made the necessary provision for the establishment of the new Government, and for the prosecution of the war, adjourned, on the 22d day of May, to meet in Richmond, Va., on July 20th, which was fixed upon as the permanent seat of Government.

The insurgents were greatly encouraged by the refusal of several of the Governors of the Border States, to respond to President Lincoln’s call for troops.

The Governors of several of the States, insultingly refused to furnish their quotas of troops upon the requisition of the President. Gov. Magoffin, of Kentucky, replied thus: “Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister southern States.” Gov. Letcher, of Virginia, replied, “The militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington, to subjugate the South.” Gov. Ellis, of North Carolina, that “he could not respond to the call for troops, as he doubts the legality of the call.” Gov. Harris, of Tennessee, that “Tennessee will not furnish a single man for coercion, but 50,000, if necessary, for the defense of our rights, or those of our southern brothers.” Gov. Jackson, of Missouri, that “the requisition is illegal, unconstitutional, revolutionary, diabolical, and cannot be complied with.”

The secession of Virginia, which occurred on the 17th of
April, was immediately followed by an attempt to seize the Arsenal at Harper’s Ferry. This, however, was defeated by the prompt action of Lieut. Jones, then in command; who burned the Arsenal buildings and destroyed the arms stored there. He then retreated with his small force to Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The following is his official report:

"Immediately after finishing my dispatch of the night of the 18th inst., I received positive and reliable information that 2,500 or 3,000 State troops would reach Harper’s Ferry in two hours from Winchester, and that the troops from Halltown, increased to 300, were advancing, and even at that time—a few minutes after ten o’clock—within twenty minutes’ march of the Ferry. Under these circumstances, I decided the time had arrived to carry out my determination, as expressed in the dispatch above referred to, and accordingly gave the order to apply the torch. In three minutes, or less, both of the Arsenal buildings, containing nearly 15,000 stands of arms, together with the carpenter’s shop, which was at the upper end of a long and connected series of workshops of the Armory proper, were in a blaze. There is every reason for believing the destruction was complete.

"After firing the buildings, I withdrew my command, marching all night, and arrived here at 2 1-2 p. m. yesterday, where I shall await orders."

The day after this, the 19th of April, an event occurred which intensified the popular excitement, and largely increased the number of enlistments. This was the attack on the Massachusetts troops, as they were passing through Baltimore, on their way to Washington. For several days previous to this outrage, the Baltimore secessionists had been greatly excited by the transit of troops through the city, and on the entrance of the Massachusetts men, this excitement reached such a height, that it was impossible to control it. The 6th Massachusetts, consisting of about 700 men, on reaching the
MAP OF CENTRAL VIRGINIA.
depot, were immediately transferred to the horse cars, to be carried through the city. They occupied eleven of these, and though assailed by brick-bats and stones, which broke all the windows, and wounded several men, the first nine cars passed through, and reached the depot on the south side of the city, where the troops entered the cars and proceeded to Washington. The remaining two, however, were stopped by obstructions placed on the tracks, and the men in them, numbering only about one hundred, finding it impossible to advance in that way, left the cars and proceeded on foot. In the words of an eye witness, they formed in a solid square, advancing with fixed bayonets, upon all sides, in double-quick time, all the while surrounded by the mob, now swelled to the number of at least 10,000, yelling and hooting. The military behaved admirably, and still abstained from firing upon their assailants. The mob now began throwing a perfect shower of missiles, occasionally varied by a random shot from a revolver or one of the muskets taken from the soldiers. The poor fellows suffered severely from the immense quantity of stones, oysters, brick-bats, paving-stones, etc., the shots fired also wounding several. When two of the soldiers had been killed, and the wounded had been conveyed to the centre of the column, the troops at last, exasperated and maddened by the treatment they had received, commenced returning the fire singly, killing several, and wounding a large number of the rioters; but at no one time did a single platoon fire in a volley. The volunteers, after a protracted and severe struggle, at last succeeded in reaching the station, and immediately embarked.

The following is a more particular account of the severest portion of the conflict, in which the troops were almost swallowed up in the vast mob which pressed upon them.

"From Gay to South street, on Pratt, the fight with the soldiers who marched, or rather ran, through the town, was
terrific. Large paving-stones were hurled into the ranks from every direction, the negroes who were about the wharf in many instances joining in the assault. At Gay street, the soldiers fired a number of shots, though without hitting any one, so far as could be ascertained. After firing this volley, the soldiers again broke into a run, but another shower of stones being hurled into the ranks at Commerce street, with such force as to knock several of them down, the order was given to another portion of them to halt and fire, which they did, firing some twenty shots into the crowd. Here four citizens fell, two of whom died in a few moments and the other two were carried off, supposed to be mortally wounded. As soon as they had fired at this point, they again wheeled and started off in a full run, when some three or four parties issued from the warehouses there and fired into them, which brought down three more soldiers, one of whom was carried into a store and died in a few moments. The others succeeded in regaining their feet, and proceeded on with their comrades, the whole running as fast as they could, and a running fire was kept up by the soldiers from this point to the depot, the crowd continuing to hurl stones into the ranks throughout the whole line of march.

"In the meanwhile, the Pennsylvanians remained in the cars at Baltimore depot, awaiting transportation through the city. This soon became impossible, in consequence of the excitement, and the placing of other obstructions on the road.

"General Small then made every effort to have the troops sent back out of the city beyond the reach of danger, as his men were entirely unarmed. The confusion which prevailed, prevented as prompt action as was necessary, and before the cars could be removed, they were assailed by the mob, returning from the conflict with the Massachusetts troops. The windows of the cars were broken by missiles thrown in, and a number of the men injured.
MAJ. GEN. BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,
Pioneer and Prince of Rebel "Subjugators."

"The Pennsylvanians behaved gallantly, and many of them sprang off the cars upon their assailants, and engaged in a hand to hand conflict with them. It was impossible, however, to distinguish friends from foes, as the mob were composed of Union men and Secessionists, who were fighting among themselves; and the Pennsylvanians, not being uniformed, could not be distinguished from either.

"This state of things continued more than two hours, when Marshall Kane, the Chief of Police of Baltimore, appeared upon the ground, restored something like order, and placed the Pennsylvanians in cars ready to be returned North."

The immediate effect of this attack was to place the city completely in the hands of the secessionists, who commenced driving Union men from the place, and tearing up the railroad tracks, and burning bridges on both sides of the city, thus cutting off the direct communication with Washington. The result of this might have been serious, had it not been for the prompt action of Gen Butler, who moved the troops
to Annapolis, in transports, and then took possession of the Washington and Annapolis rail road. This road was in the hands of active secessionists, who tore up the tracks and destroyed the bridges, but the exertions of the New York Seventh, and the Massachusetts Eighth, soon removed all obstacles, and prepared the road for travel. Over the route thus opened, troops began to pour into Washington with such rapidity, that by the 1st of May, the city was garrisoned by a force of no less than 25,000 men; a force sufficient to hold it against any attack from the rebels.

On the 19th day of April, the President issued a proclamation, declaring the ports of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas, in a state of blockade, and on the 27th, this was extended so as to include North Carolina and Virginia.

On the 20th, an immense Union meeting was held in New York city, which deserves notice here, as an instance of the sentiment which animated the people. The meeting was held in Union Square, around a bronze statue of Washington, from the top of which floated the torn flag of Fort Sumter. Major Anderson and the officers of the fort were present, and the meeting was addressed by a large number of distinguished speakers from five different stands. All the places of business in the city were closed, and, it is estimated, that no less than 250,000 persons were present. Strong Union resolutions were passed, and a Union Defense Committee appointed, consisting of twenty-five of the first citizens of New York.

On the same memorable day, Gosport Navy Yard was burned, to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels. This was done under the orders of Commodore McCauley, the commander of the station, and was rendered necessary by a plan formed by the secessionists for its capture. The amount of property destroyed was immense, including the following ships of war:
NAMES.    | WHEN AND WHERE BUILT. | TONNAGE. | GUNS.  
Pennsylvania, | Philadelphia, 1837. | 3,241 | 120  
Columbus, | Washington, 1819. | 2,480 | 80  
Delaware, | Gosport, 1820. | 2,633 | 80  
New York, | On the stocks. | 2,683 | 84  
United States, | Philadelphia, 1797. | 1,607 | 50  
Columbia, | Norfolk, 1836. | 1,726 | 50  
Raritan, | Philadelphia, 1843. | 1,726 | 50  
Merrimac, | Charlestown, 1855. | 3,200 | 40  
Plymouth, | Charlestown, 1843. | 989 | 22  
Germantown, | Philadelphia, 1846. | 989 | 22  
Dolphin, | Brooklyn, N. Y., 1836. | 224 | 4  

Total | 31,398 | 606  

All of these were burned except the Merrimac and Germantown, which were scuttled and sunk. The value of the property destroyed was estimated at $25,000,000. Two thousand heavy guns in the yard were spiked, and fell into the hands of the rebels. The Merrimac was subsequently raised, and converted into a formidable iron-clad, from which we afterwards seriously suffered. But her career was of short continuance, and her destruction by her own commander relieved our navy of much apprehension.

The coveted prizes, which had been relied upon as the foundation of the Confederate navy, were beyond their reach, or utterly consumed. Thus were the rebels defeated in their two main points of attack—Gosport Navy Yard, and Harper's Ferry. They were destined to be equally disappointed, in their attempt to seize Fortress Monroe. This fort, as it commanded the entrance to the Chesapeake, was a place of great military importance; and as it was but feebly garrisoned, they hoped to easily obtain possession of it. But very soon after the Baltimore riot, it was largely re-enforced, and placed beyond all danger.
Such were the operations in the immediate vicinity of Washington. On the coast, measures were rapidly taken to secure the efficiency of the blockade, and on the 30th, flag officer Pendergrast issued a proclamation, warning all vessels from the coast of Virginia and North Carolina.

In Western Virginia, the people, being mostly non-slave-holding, and having few interests in common with the slave States, objected to being thrust out of the Union, and made several decided demonstrations in favor of the General Government. At a meeting in Harrison county, it was resolved that each county in North Western Virginia, should appoint five delegates, to meet at Wheeling, on the 13th of May, to consider the project of separation. The operations in the West were of but little importance during the month of April. On the 20th, the arsenal at Liberty, Missouri, was seized by the secessionists, and the arms stored there, consisting of 1300 muskets and 12 pieces of cannon, were distributed among the rebels in the adjoining counties. A similar attack being apprehended on the arsenal at St. Louis, on the 25th a company of Illinois Volunteers, acting under orders from the Government, proceeded to that place, seized a large quantity of arms, and conveyed them to Chicago.

Such were the operations during the month of April, and at the close of that month, the situation was as follows: All the slave States, except Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, were in open rebellion, and even in those States which remained neutral, the secession element was so strong as to threaten open revolution.

The people of the North were united almost as one man, and the conflict for empire between the opposing forces had fairly commenced. The two armies were rapidly collecting on either bank of the Potomac, and the time was rapidly approaching when the contest was to be waged, not by discussion, or compromise, but by the sterner arbitration of the sword.
CHAPTER IV.

SECESSION OF VIRGINIA—CAMPAIGN IN THAT STATE.


The Virginia State Convention as early as the 17th of April, had adopted an ordinance of Secession, and submitted it to the people for adoption, or rejection. The vote was to be taken on the 23d day of May. In the intervening time, the forces of the Confederate States poured into Virginia, giving support and courage to the resident secessionists, and, by the union in that State of foreign and domestic traitors, the union sentiment, which, at first, was clearly in the ascendency, was overawed, and its manifestation prevented. While the utmost efforts for disunion were openly and unblushingly made, and the press bought or coerced into its earnest advocacy, the unionists were compelled, by the fear of violence, to remain quiet; such was the prevailing phrenzy and madness of the hour, that they were forced to advocate secession, remain silent, leave the State, or die. When the vote was taken, very little opposition was shown to the measure.

In Western Virginia, however, where a free expression of opinion could be safely indulged, it received but few votes. The preponderance of population being largely in Eastern Virginia, the ordinance of Secession was declared to have been ratified by the people.
The Federal Government remained entirely passive while the question was pending, being unwilling to interfere with the free expression of the wishes of the people of the State. The justice and wisdom of this decision have been often challenged; and, it must be admitted, with much pertinency. Had the people been left really free to express their honest opinion upon the question submitted, without interference from any quarter, there would have been more propriety in the course adopted. But, with strong rebel forces occupying the State, collecting at the points at which the votes were to be cast, threatening with violence all who should not vote for secession, and evidently ripening their plans for seizing the property of the United States within their limits, it must be regarded as culpable negligence not to have perceived the danger, and, as far as possible, to have guarded against it. Had that been done, it is clearly apparent that the large destruction of property at Harper's Ferry, and the millions upon millions destroyed at the Gosport Navy-Yard, and the valuable ships and the 2000 heavy guns which fell into rebel hands at that place, might have been saved. It is not improbable that the retention by the Government of those two important points might have given an entirely new turn to the war, shortened its duration, and lessened, immeasurably, its horrors and its cost.

But the lenient policy of the Government, at first adopted to satisfy and hold the "Border States," was a terribly fatal mistake, pre-eminently so to those States themselves, making their soil the theatre of the war, and bringing upon them the terrible devastations which follow in the track of contending armies. The awful sacrifice made by us at Bull Run and before Richmond, are among the terrible penalties which we have paid for our mistaken forbearance in Virginia.

As soon, however, as the farce was enacted and the people had voted for secession in Virginia, the "sacred soil" was in-
vaded. And the very next day the Union Armies—13,000 strong, commanded by Maj. Gen. Sanford, moved across the river and occupied Arlington Heights. A force was also dispatched to occupy Alexandria, consisting of two regiments, the Fire Zouaves, commanded by Col. Ellsworth, the 3d Michigan, Col. Wilcox, and Sherman’s Battery. The former proceeded by steamer, and the latter marched down the left bank of the river. It was intended that both regiments should act in concert upon the town. The Zouaves, however, arrived in advance, and at 5 o’clock in the morning advanced upon the place. On their approach, the rebels fired their pieces and fled by railway. Before this was fully accomplished, the Michigan 3d had arrived, coming in the rear of the town, and succeeded in capturing 37 of the enemy’s cavalry, and horses and equipments.

The occupation of Alexandria was thus effected without loss. But a sad event soon after transpired. Col. Ellsworth, the young, accomplished and gallant leader of the Zouaves, and an intimate friend of the President, was assassinated by a miscreant by the name of J. W. Jackson, the keeper of the Marshall House in Alexandria. His loss filled the entire North with gloom. Gifted with extraordinary military genius and enthusiasm, happily uniting all the higher qualities of the man and the soldier, he had already won a reputation which was full of future promise.

Col. Ellsworth, with a small party, was proceeding to the Rail Road and Telegraph Office, to break the connection with Richmond, when, on passing the Marshall House, a Secession flag was seen floating from its top. The party, headed by Col. Ellsworth, entered, took down the traitorous emblem, with which they were descending, private Brownell leading, and Col. Ellsworth, bearing the flag, immediately in the rear. As they neared the foot of the stairs, at the first landing place, a man suddenly sprang from a dark passage, and leveled
a doubled barrel gun directly at the Colonel's breast. Private Brownwell, by a quick motion of his own piece, sought to dash the weapon aside, but it was discharged, the slugs entering the Colonel's heart, and he died instantly. The murderer then sought to discharge the second barrel at private Brownwell, but the ready Zouave thrust it aside, and planted the contents of his own rifle into the assassin's brain; and both the murderer and his victim, at the same instant, lay writhing in the struggles of death. Lieut. Col. Farnham succeeded to the command of the Zouaves.

On the occupation of Alexandria, thorough defensive works were at once commenced, and those for the protection of Washington were extended and strengthened. The latter finally became of immense extent, occupying a line of some 30 miles in length, and mounting over 300 guns of various calibre. The forces employed in erecting and defending these works were from time to time much increased.

The entire line of communication between Virginia and Washington was guarded by those elaborate defensive works, on which a vast amount of time and labor was expended. This was rendered necessary for the defense of the National Capital, whose capture was the early and earnest purpose of the rebels. Into Virginia they rapidly pressed all their available forces, which they had, during the preceding winter, been mustering, drilling and arming, while the national hands were tied by imbecility and treason. Those forces clustered about and occupied positions in close proximity to the Capital, which for many months they threatened with attack.

Early in May the rebel forces in Virginia exceeded 90,000, posted at Norfolk, on James River, Petersburg, Richmond, Lynchburg, Gordonsville, Staunton, Lexington, Fredericksburg, Culpepper, Acquia Creek, Leesburg, Harper's Ferry, and Point of Rocks. Those forces were under command of Gen. Robert E. Lee.
A FORAGING PARTY.
The rebels also occupied and fortified, from time to time, every available point on the Virginia side of the Lower Potomac, in order to blockade that river, and which, to the shame of our authorities, they had, at one time virtually accomplished. Feeble and comparatively inefficient efforts were made to remove the blockade, but with little success.

Soon after the rebels obtained possession of Norfolk they erected batteries at Sewell's Point, which is a low point of land opposite and about four miles from Fortress Monroe. Its chief military importance is the advantage it would afford for landing troops in the rear of Norfolk. On the 18th of May an unsuccessful attempt was made to dislodge the enemy from this point, by the United States steamer Star, and the transport Freeborn. The batteries were, for the most part, destroyed by the first attack, but were immediately rebuilt, and a second attack made upon them produced no decisive results. The enemy continued to occupy and strengthen the position.

Gen. Butler, on the 27th of May, with 2500 men occupied Newport News, ten miles above Fortress Monroe, and intrenched his position. This post commands Sand Island in the middle of James River and to some extent the peninsula between James and York Rivers.

The rebels had early fortified Acquia Creek, about 55 miles southwesterly from Washington, on the west bank of the Potomac. The rail road to Richmond terminates here, and the communication thence to Washington is by steamers. It was therefore an important point, and one which the Government sought to regain. For this purpose a naval attack was projected upon the batteries, which was unsuccessfully made on the 31st of May and 1st of June, of which Capt. James W. Ward, in command of the Flotilla, gives the following official account:

"I have the honor to report a renewal of the bombardment
at Acquia Creek, commencing at 11 o'clock and thirty minutes in the forenoon this day, and terminating, from the fatigue of the men (the day being very warm, and the firing on our side incessant) at 4:30 in the afternoon, being a duration of five hours. The firing on shore was scarcely as spirited at any time as yesterday. The heights were abandoned, the guns apparently having been transferred to the earthworks at the railway terminus, in replacement of the batteries there silenced by us yesterday. During the last hour of the engagement, only two or three shots were thrown from the shore, by a few individuals seen stealthily now and then to emerge from concealment, and who hastily loaded and fired a single gun. The bulk of the party had left half an hour before, and squads were observed from time to time taking to their heels along the beach, with a speed and bottom truly commendable for its prudence, and highly amusing to the seamen. I did not deem it advisable to permit so feeble a fire to wear out my men. Therefore, I discontinued the engagement. Several shots came on board of us, causing the vessel to leak badly, and, besides other injuries, clipping the port wheel, the wrought iron shaft being gouged by a shot, which would have shattered it if of cast iron. Fortunately I have again neither killed nor wounded to report, though the shot at times fell thick about us, testing the gallantry and steadiness of my men, which I consider of standard proof for any emergency. I proceed to Washington to repair damages and refill my exhausted magazine. The Pawnee remains, meantime, below, to supply my place in the blockade. Captain Rowan, of that ship, joined me last night, replenishing my exhausted stores, and most gallantly opened the fire this morning, having followed my lead in shore towards the batteries. His ship received numerous wounds, both below and aloft, inflicted by the enemy’s shot. On account of her size, she being more easily hit, she appeared to be their favorite mark, and was
herself often a sheet of flame, owing to the rapidity of her repeated charges. I have instructed Capt. Rowan to report circumstantially direct to the department. The enemy set fire to the large passenger and freight depot at the end of the long pier, as we were approaching, probably to remove it as an obstruction to their aim, but were not permitted to extinguish the flames during the whole five hours' cannonade. Consequently nearly the whole pier is destroyed, leaving only the charred piles remaining above the water to mark its former position. * * * * More than one hundred shots have fallen aboard and around us, any one of which would have struck a frigate. We have had more than a thousand shots discharged at us within range, and have ourselves fired upward of three hundred shots and shells, with seventeen hundred pounds of powder. What damage we have inflicted remains to be seen. That we have received none, not easily repaired, is truly remarkable. The Anacosta and Reliance were not permitted to come under damaging fire, their support having been necessary to embolden those engaged, by giving them confidence that if disabled in the machinery, assistance was at hand to drag them out."

Gen. G. T. Beauregard assumed command of the rebel army in Virginia on the first of June, and on assuming command issued the following proclamation, which is a tissue of bombast and misrepresentation.

A Proclamation to the People of the Counties of Loudon, Fairfax, and Prince William.

"Headquarters, Department of Alexandria, Camp Pickens, June 1st, 1861."

"A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal and constitutional restraints, has shown his abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of
REBEL MAJ. GEN. ROBERT E. LEE,
Commander-in-Chief of the Rebel Army in Virginia.
violence and outrage too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated.

"All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by their acts, if not on their banners, that their war-cry is 'Beauty and Booty.' All that is dear to man—your honor and that of your wives and daughters—your fortunes and your lives, are involved in this momentous contest.

"In the name, therefore, of the constituted authorities of the Confederate States—in the sacred cause of constitutional liberty and self-government, for which we are contending—in behalf of civilization itself, I, G. T. Beauregard, Brigadier-General of the Confederate States, commanding at Camp Pickens, Manassas Junction, do make this my proclamation, and invite and enjoin you by every consideration dear to the hearts of freemen and patriots, by the name and memory of your revolutionary fathers, and by the purity and sanctity of your domestic firesides, to rally to the standard of your state and country, and by every means in your power compatible with honorable warfare, to drive back and expel the invaders from your land.

"I conjure you to be true and loyal to your country and her legal and constitutional authorities, and especially to be vigilant of the movements and acts of the enemy, so as to enable you to give the earliest authentic information at these headquarters, or to the officers under this command.

"I desire to assure you that the utmost protection in my power will be given to you all.

"G. T. Beauregard,"

"Brigadier-General commanding."


At this time, throughout the section of Virginia occupied by the rebel army, the most active conscription was enforced. Three-tenths of the citizens between eighteen and fifty were
drafted and forced into the rebel service, and by which their military strength was much increased.

While the insurgents were thus active in organizing a powerful army, the Federal Government had not been inactive. It had at this time in field and camp the following forces:

At Washington,  
Brig. Gen. Mansfield, 20,000

" " South of Potomac,  
" " McDowell, 16,000

" Fortress Monroe,  
Maj. Gen. B. F. Butler, 12,000

" Philadelphia,  
" " Robert Patterson, 3,000

" Annapolis,  
" " N. P. Banks, 5,000

" West Penn,  
" " W. H. Keim, 16,000

" West Va. and Cincinnati,  
" " G. B. McClellan, 20,000

" Cairo,  
Brig. Gen. B. N. Prentiss, 4,000

In camp at different points 96,000

The close proximity, at the time, of the Union and Rebel forces, led to frequent skirmishing, and to displays of personal prowess and daring. Prominent among these was the dash made through the village of Fairfax Court House, about 18 miles south-west of Washington, on the 31st of May, by Lieutenant Tompkins, in command of Company B, 3d United States Cavalry, consisting of 47 men. He approached the town early in the morning, captured the enemy's pickets, dashed twice through it, confronting a force of full 1500 men, of which he killed and wounded from 20 to 25, losing 3 men killed, 3 slightly wounded, and six horses.

On the 17th of June, a deplorable disaster befell a regiment of Ohio troops, under command of Col. McCook, at the village of Vienna, 15 miles from Alexandria, on the Loudon and Hampshire rail road. But the day before a reconnoissance had been made, and the road was found clear for two miles beyond Vienna. Gen. McDowell, having learned that the rebels intended to destroy the bridges on that road, ordered Brig. Gen. Schenck of Ohio, to protect them. The latter dispatched Col. McCook, with a force of 697 men, on that duty.
They proceeded in cars, and left detachments on the way to protect the road and bridges. He had thus disposed of all but 275 of his men, when, on rounding a curve in the road near Vienna, a battery of three pieces opened upon him, with shot, shell and canister. The soldiers were on platform cars, and the fire was fearfully destructive. The train was immediately stopped, and the men withdrawn, who with their dead and wounded retired back upon the rail road. In this affair, 8 men were killed and 12 wounded.

Gen. Schenck thus reports it:—

"I left camp with six hundred and sixty-eight rank and file, and twenty-nine field and company officers, in pursuance of Gen. McDowell's orders, to go upon this expedition, with the available force of one of my regiments. The Regiment selected was the First Ohio volunteers. I left two companies — Company I and company K, in the aggregate one hundred and thirty-five men—at the crossing of the road. I sent Lieutenant-Colonel Parrott, with two companies of one hundred and seventeen men, to Fall's Church, and to patrol the roads in that direction. I stationed two companies—Company D and Company F, one hundred and thirty men—to guard the rail road and the bridge between the crossing and Vienna. I then proceeded slowly to Vienna, with four companies—Company E, Captain Paddock; Company C, Lieutenant Woodward, (afterwards joined by Captain Pease); Company G, Captain Barclay, and Company H, Captain Hazlett; total, two hundred and seventy-five men. On turning the curve slowly, within one quarter of a mile of Vienna, we were fired upon by raking masked batteries of, I think, three guns, with shells, round shot, and grape, killing and wounding the men on the platform and in the cars before the train could be stopped. When the train stopped, the engine could not, on account of damage to some part of the running machinery, draw the train out of the fire. The engine being in..."
the rear, we left the cars and retired to the right and left of the train, through the woods.

"Finding that the enemy's batteries were sustained by what appeared about a regiment of infantry, and by cavalry, which force we have since understood to have been some fifteen hundred South Carolinians, we fell back along the rail road, throwing out skirmishers on both flanks, and this was about 7 o'clock p.m. Thus we retired slowly, bearing off our wounded, five miles to this point, which we reached at 10 o'clock.

"The following is a list of the casualties:—Captain Hazlett's Company H—two known to be killed, three wounded, five missing; Captain Bailey's Company G—three killed, two wounded, and two missing; Captain Paddock's Company E—one officer slightly wounded; Company C—Captain Pease and two missing.

"The engineer, when the men left the cars, instead of retiring slowly, as I ordered, detached his engine, with one passenger car, from the rest of the disabled train, and abandoned us, running to Alexandria, and we have heard nothing from him since. Thus we were deprived of a rallying point, and of all means of conveying the wounded, who had to be carried on litters and in blankets. We wait here, holding the road, for re-enforcements. The enemy did not pursue.

"I have ascertained that the enemy's force at Fairfax Court House, four miles from Vienna, is now about four thousand.

"When all the enemy's batteries were opened upon us, Major Hughes was at his station on the foremost platform car. Col. McCook was with me in one of the passenger cars. Both these officers, with others of the commissioned officers, and many of the men, behaved most coolly under this galling fire, which we could not return, and from batteries which we could not flank or turn, from the nature of the ground. The approach to Vienna is through a deep cut in the railway. In leaving the cars, and before they could rally, many of my men
lost their haversacks or blankets, but brought off all their muskets, except it may be a few that were destroyed by the enemy's first fire, or lost with the killed."

Much annoyance had been experienced by our camps, from a body of rebel troops stationed at Little Bethel, eight miles from Newport News, and about the same distance from Hampton. An expedition to dislodge them was dispatched from Fortress Monroe, on the night of June 9th. The force consisted of about 3,000 men, commanded by Brig. Gen. Pierce. The plan of the advance, and of the attack, were judiciously arranged, and probably would have been successfully executed, but for the occurrence of a lamentable blunder. Owing to causes not fully explained, Col. Bendex, commanding a German regiment, mistaking in the dark, Col. Townsend's regiment for the enemy, opened fire upon it, both with artillery and musketry; and in the darkness and confusion, the fire was returned by Col. Townsend, who immediately retired to a better position, in the belief that he had met the enemy, but in what force, he was, in the darkness, unable to discover; and thus farther sacrifice of life was prevented. The mistake was discovered, and mutual explanation followed. In this sad encounter two men were killed, and four officers and twenty privates slightly wounded.

The effect of the collision was to give the enemy full notice of our approach; but which had been intended for a surprise. They immediately retired from Little Bethel and joined the main force, about 2,200, strongly intrenched at Great Bethel. Without reconnoitering that position, and in utter ignorance of its strength, the decision was at once made to march upon it. The order to advance was therefore given, and the vicinity of the place reached about 10 o'clock. An advance was at once made upon it, without the precautions of sending out scouts. As might have been expected, they encountered masked batteries, which swept the road upon which they were
advancing. This compelled our force to deploy to the right and left, and Lieut. Greble advanced his three pieces of artillery directly in front of the enemy's batteries; and, with no other support than that of the gunners, was exposed for over two hours to their raking fire. It was a terrible ordeal—one through which no prudent general would have compelled him to pass. A cannon ball now struck the gallant Lieutenant, carrying away the entire back part of his head, leaving his face unmutilated. Their ammunition being exhausted, and most of the men either killed or disabled, the guns were removed by others. Repeated attempts were made by the infantry columns to storm the works by different approaches, but without success. The works were protected in front by a deep stream and a marsh, at other points by a ditch, to pass which ladders were required. Col. Blenker's regiment and the Zouaves repeatedly charged up to those defences in the face of the batteries, and were gradually flanking the position, when the order to retreat was given.

It is believed that at the time this order was given, the rebels were about abandoning the position, and that view is strengthened by the fact, that as soon as our forces withdrew, the enemy fell back to Yorktown; showing that they were in no position to repel an expected increase of our forces.

Additional forces had been ordered forward, and were near at hand; but did not arrive in season to participate in the fight.

The Union loss in this engagement was 16 killed, 34 wounded and 5 missing. The rebel loss has never been ascertained. Among the killed was the accomplished Major Theodore Winthrop, of New Haven, military secretary of General Butler.

The following will show the position of affairs when the order to retreat was given:

"Our forces had been closing in upon the battery of the
enemy, and had obtained important points with little loss, when the order for retreat was given. At this time Captain Clark, of the Massachusetts Rifles, with his two companies, lay on the left flank, in such a position that the enemy's works and movements were in full view. The First Vermont regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Washburn, had outflanked the rebels and gained a position in the rear, and poured a hot fire into the battery, and silenced it. Our troops in front of the enemy thought that they were out of ammunition, when, in reality, they could not stand against the well-directed fire of the Vermonters. Just at this time, General Pierce gave the order to cease firing, and retreat. Not a man was hurt of the Vermont regiment until the rebels resumed their firing, after which the Federal troops began to retreat, which they did in fine order. The Vermonters behaved nobly. They flanked the enemy, marched down one of their ditches almost to within five rods of the breastwork, and opened a galling fire upon them. The rebels, taken by surprise, were perfectly panic-struck, and left the ditch. As fast as they left, they were picked off by the Massachusetts Rifles. Before they attempted to escape, and before the Vermont regiment had gained their important position, Captain Clark's men had done such good service with their rifles that the rebels dare not show their heads above their breastwork, but discharged their rifles at random. A large number of the enemy are known to have been killed by Captain Clark's men. The dead and wounded of the enemy were removed in horse-carts in the ditches. When our troops retreated, the chaplain of the Massachusetts Rifles was cut off from the main body, and narrowly escaped being arrested, by hiding in the woods near the meeting-house. That gentleman states that the meeting-house was used as a hospital—that is, was filled with the dead and wounded, and estimates their loss at from fifty to seventy-five killed, and about a hundred wounded.
The smallness of our loss, when exposed to the terrible fire of the rebel battery, is explained by the fact that our men fell on their faces when they saw the enemy about to fire, jumping up and firing in the intervals. Our men are a noble set of boys, praised by everybody. They charged up, by the right flank to the enemy's batteries, and drove them out of the lower section. One of the Massachusetts men ran up on top of the intrenchments, and actually seized and brought away a Sharp's rifle out of the hands of one of them, escaping unharmed.

"While the Vermonter were passing the house of Adjutant Whiting, of the rebel troops, on their retreat, the Adjutant came to his door and deliberately shot at Orderly Sweet, of the second company, the ball passing through the tail of his coat. Adjutant Stevens and Colonel Duryea, with two or three of the Zouaves, at once arrested Whiting, and Adjutant Stevens gave him a severe kicking. The house was then fired by Colonel Duryea and Adjutant Stevens, and burned, together with the costly furniture and contents. The whole was worth about $8,000. Adjutant Whiting was then taken to Hampton and placed under arrest."

Harper's Ferry has become memorable in our annals as the scene of the John Brown invasion, and various important events during the war. It is a position easily defended, and commands the communication between the Chesapeake and the west, by the way of the Baltimore and Ohio rail road. The situation and peculiarities of the place, will be understood from the following description:

"Harper's Ferry is situated in Jefferson County, Virginia, at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, on a point just opposite the gap through which the united streams pass the Blue Ridge on their way toward the ocean. The Ridge here is about twelve hundred feet in height, showing bare, precipitous cliffs on either side of the river, and exhibi-"
ting some of the most beautiful and imposing natural scenery to be found in the country. The town was originally built in two streets, stretching along a narrow shelf between the base of the bluff and the rivers, meeting at the point at nearly a right angle, and named respectively Potomac and Shenandoah streets. To accommodate its increasing population, the town has struggled up the steep bluff, and, in detached villages and scattered residences, occupies the level ground above—about four hundred feet above the streams.

"It has altogether a population of five thousand; is distant from Richmond 173 miles; from Washington City, 57 miles by turnpike road; and from Baltimore, 80 miles by rail. Here the Baltimore and Ohio rail road crosses the Potomac by a magnificent covered bridge, 900 feet long, and passes along Potomac street westward, its track lying 40 feet above the river. The Winchester and Harper's Ferry rail road, running along Shenandoah street, connects with the Baltimore and Ohio at the bridge."

Before Virginia seceded, she, like the other rebel States, determined to seize the important strategic points in the State, of which she regarded Harper's Ferry as one. It was seized while the question of secession was pending before the people of Virginia, on the 19th day of April—the day of the attack upon the Massachusetts troops in the city of Baltimore. Of the seizure, we have given an account in another place. The town was occupied by the rebels and strongly fortified. They concentrated here at one time, full 20,000 men.

These strong demonstrations were regarded as menacing the invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the city of Washington. By means of the Baltimore and Ohio rail road, the rebel control extended westward about 150 miles.

To drive the rebels from this important position, Gen. McClellan was ordered to advance his forces from the west, co-operating with Gen. Patterson from the north, and Gen.
Stone, who was to proceed up the Potomac. Those movements were carried forward, and as the lines of investment were concentrating upon the rebel positions, its commander withdrew his forces to Winchester.

On evacuating the place, the rebels committed the most wanton acts of vandalism, in the destruction of property, both public and private; including the magnificent rail road bridge, and much of the rail road itself. The evacuation occurred on the 13th of June, the place having been occupied by the rebels for nearly two months. Though the enemy left the place on the 13th, our forces did not immediately occupy it. On the 19th, a squad of the enemy returned and completed the work of destruction, of which the following are the details:

"They set fire to the fine bridge over the Shenandoah—a costly, uncovered structure, built about two years ago. They completely destroyed it, though it was all on Virginia soil. They next went to the Potomac, (Baltimore and Ohio rail road) bridge, and threw into the river a fine and very large locomotive that had been left, (because too large to be carried off on the Winchester rail road) when Johnston's army retreated, on the only span of the bridge-work that was not burned on the morning of the evacuation—it being an iron span, it will be recollected. They accomplished that work of destruction—throwing the locomotive into the river—by the use of crowbars, etc. They next arrested Mr. E. H. Chambers, surrounding his house and ordering him to surrender, which he refused to do. An order was then given to shoot him, when he surrendered, and was taken off on horseback, without even permitting him to get his hat.

"They next went to the residence of Nathaniel Allison, and arrested him pretty much in the same way, and afterwards Mr. John Chatman, Armstead Roderick, Adam Ruleman, and Mr. Abram Herr, who owns and carries on the great flouring mills there. All these gentlemen were highly
respectable citizens, and strong Unionists. In all, they arrested and hurried off about twelve. They next went to the Halls' rifle works, and removed the gun-stocks that had been left there undestroyed; they were worth about $25,000, and it was understood they were preparing to send them to Richmond via the Winchester rail road.”

After the rebel Gen. Johnson evacuated Harper's Ferry, on the 19th of June, Gen. Patterson, instead of occupying it, proceeded up the Maryland side of the river about 25 miles, to Williamsport, where he crossed into Virginia. Gen. Johnson's force was in the vicinity, and four regiments and a battery of artillery, were ordered forward to engage it. They met near Falling Waters. The force of the enemy consisted of four regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a battery of artillery.

The attack was made by our forces, at nine o'clock in the morning of July 2d. The vigor of the attack compelled the rebels to flee precipitately, and with slight resistance, joining their main force, then at Bunker Hill. Gen. Patterson, on the following day, proceeded to Martinsburg. Between fifteen and twenty of the enemy were killed, and about 50 wounded. We lost 3 killed and 10 wounded. The following are the details of the contest:

“The battle commenced about 9 o'clock, as no other battle probably ever commenced in the history of war. Colonel Perkins' battery was in advance, and the Colonel himself a quarter of a mile in the lead of his men, when, upon making a turn in the road, he came suddenly upon two mounted officers. Military salutes were passed, hands were shaken all round, and the strangers asked Colonel Perkins what company he belonged to, and when he had got in. The Colonel replied that he belonged to company C, and had just arrived. One of the strangers observed reflectively, 'Company C! Company C!' and just then the first piece of the battery showed
itself around the turn when he exclaimed, 'Artillery, by God!' and fled for his life with his companion. Colonel Perkins immediately shouted to his men, 'Now boys, come on, we've got 'em.' In less than a minute the battery was in operation, and blazing away right and left, while the rebels could be seen in all directions, trying to form their men.

"The 2d Cavalry, Philadelphia City Troop, McMullen's Rangers, the Wisconsin Regiment, and the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment, immediately formed to the support of the battery, and a general running fire commenced, our men advancing and the enemy falling back for about a mile, when they attempted to form and make a respectable resistance, but this they found utterly impossible. Twice their cavalry was formed and came up for a charge, and twice they were broken and scattered by the 11th Regiment. At this point, on the farm of a Union man named Porterfield, the heaviest fighting took place. The enemy fought altogether as guerillas, and would never present a front to our men. They were lying down in the wheat, hid behind trees and logs in every place that afforded concealment. Once a party of them took shelter in Porterfield's barn, but in a few minutes Col. Perkins had thrown so many shells into it that it caught fire and burned.

"The action lasted altogether near an hour, during which time we lost three men, viz: Geo. Drake of Company A, Wisconsin Regiment, shot through the heart; one man out of the 11th Regiment, and one out of the 2d Cavalry."

On the 16th of October, Col. Geary was stationed at Harper's Ferry, with about 1,000 men, and was attacked by Col. Ashley, with 3,000 rebels, from a commanding eminence called Bolivar Heights. A constant fire was kept up for some time, when three companies of the Wisconsin 3d crossed the river, drove back the enemy and captured one of their heavy guns. The enemy, however, soon rallied in much superior
force, before which the Wisconsins were compelled to retrace their steps, leaving behind them the captured gun. Being re-enforced with three other companies, and headed by Col. Geary, they returned to the contest, and after a sharp action, drove back the enemy a second time, and secured the gun. Our loss was but 4 killed and 8 wounded; that of the enemy not ascertained.
CHAPTER V.

attempted subjugation of western virginia.


Simultaneously with movements in Eastern Virginia, rebel forces had been advanced into the western part of the State, to overawe and silence the loyal feeling, which in that section was strongly in the ascendancy. That section had voted with great unanimity against secession; and when it became inevitable, resolved to cut lose from the disloyal portion of the State. A convention convened at Wheeling on the 11th day of June, in which thirty-nine of the western counties were represented. That convention passed an ordinance re-organizing the State government, all the officers being obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. Francis H. Pierrpont was unanimously elected Governor, and other State officers chosen. A Legislature was chosen, which assembled at Wheeling, on the first day of July, 1861. The United States officially acknowledged the new State, which chose two United State Senators.

The convention on the 20th of August, passed an ordinance creating the new State of "Kanawha." Thirty-nine counties were included in its limits, with provisions for the admission of others. In October, the people voted on the question of forming a new State, and affirmed it by very decided majorities.
Formal application was made to Congress, for admission into the Union as a State, which was much discussed during the session of 1861 and '62, and a bill for that purpose passed the Senate; but it was postponed in the House. The latter body, however, early the next session, adopted the bill.

The Federal Government early adopted energetic measures to maintain its authority, and protect its loyal citizens. The rebels speedily occupied Grafton, Philippi, and other points. Gen. McClellan was placed in command of the Ohio troops, and charged with the duty of protecting Western Virginia, and of co-operating with Gen. Patterson, who was advancing towards Harper's Ferry.

On Monday, May 27, Col. Kelly, commanding the loyal Virginians, who had rallied with alacrity to the Union standard, advanced toward the rebel position at Grafton. The 14th and 16th Ohio regiments made, at the same time, supporting movements—the 14th occupying Parkersburg. The expedition was under the command of Gen. McClellan. On May 26th, he issued the following, "To the People of Virginia," to which they responded by large enlistments, and by as signal bravery as has marked the action of any troops in the service:

"Virginians,—The General Government has long enough endured the machinations of a few factious rebels in your midst! Armed traitors have in vain endeavored to deter you from expressing your loyalty at the polls. Having failed in this infamous attempt to deprive you of the exercise of your dearest rights, they now seek to inaugurate a reign of terror, and thus force you to yield to their schemes, and submit to the yoke of the traitorous conspiracy, dignified by the name of Southern Confederacy.

"They are destroying the property of citizens of your State, and ruining your magnificent railways. The General Government has heretofore carefully abstained from sending
troops across the Ohio, or even from posting them along its banks, although frequently urged by many of your prominent citizens to do so. It determined to await the result of the State election, desirous that no one might be able to say that the slightest effort had been made from this side to influence the expression of your opinion, although the many agencies brought to bear upon you by the rebels were well known. You have now shown, under the most adverse circumstances, that the great mass of the people of Western Virginia are true and loyal to the beneficent Government under which we and our fathers have lived so long. As soon as the result of the election was known, the traitors commenced their work of destruction.

"The General Government cannot close its ears to the demand you have made for assistance. I have ordered troops to cross the river. They come as your friends and brothers—as enemies only to the armed rebels who are preying upon you. Your homes, your families, and your property are safe under our protection. All your rights shall be religiously protected.

"Notwithstanding all that has been said by the traitors to induce you to believe that our advent among you will be signalized by interference with your slaves, understand one thing clearly: not only will we abstain from all interference, but we will, on the contrary, with an iron hand, crush any attempt at insurrection on their part.

"Now that we are in your midst, I call you to fly to arms, and support the General Government; sever the connection that binds you to traitors; proclaim to the world that the faith and loyalty so long boasted of by the Old Dominion are still preserved in Western Virginia, and that you remain true to the stars and stripes."

At the same time, he issued to his soldiers, the following spirited and patriotic address:
MAJ. GEN. GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.
"To the Soldiers of the Advancing Column:—You are ordered to cross the frontier and enter upon the soil of Virginia. Your mission is to restore peace and confidence, to protect the majesty of the law and to rescue our brethren from the grasp of armed traitors. You are to act in concert with the Virginia troops and to support their advance.

"I place under the safeguard of your honor the persons and property of the Virginians. I know that you will respect their feelings, and all their rights. Preserve the strictest discipline—remember that each one of you holds in his keeping the honor of Ohio and the Union.

"If you are called upon to overcome armed opposition, I know that your courage is equal to the task, but remember that your only foes are the armed traitors, and show mercy even to them when they are in your power, for many of them are misguided. When, under your protection, the loyal men of Western Virginia have been enabled to organize and arm, they can protect themselves, and you can then return to your homes with the proud satisfaction of having preserved a gallant people from destruction."

The soldiers advanced by the way of the Baltimore and Ohio rail road, and were much delayed in their progress by broken bridges and other damages to the road, which had been done by the rebels. Though delayed, to build bridges and re-lay tracks, they had the cordial sympathy and active aid of a loyal people, not only in those labors, but their ranks were swelled by constant enlistments.

When Col. Kelly reached Grafton, the 29th of May, the rebel forces, 1500 strong, retired. Here he was joined by two Indiana regiments. The force now consisted of four full regiments and a part of the 7th Indiana.

On the night of the 7th of June, the troops left Grafton in two divisions, under the command of Colonels Kelly and Lander, to surprise the rebels at Philippi, twenty-two miles
CAPTURE OF PHILIPPI.

distant. The march was therefore a long one, the roads were very bad, the night was dark, and the rain poured in torrents. Those obstacles so delayed the division under Col. Kelly, that the full fruits of the expected victory—the capture of the rebel force—was not secured, since he did not arrive in season to intercept their retreat on the opposite side of the camp. Col. Lander, however, succeeded in capturing the stores in the enemy's camp, to the estimated value of $25,000. We had no casualties, except a severe wound received by Col. Kelly, who arrived as the enemy were leaving. His wound was at first thought to be mortal, but he has since nearly recovered from its effects, and rendered the country important service. The loss of the rebels was 15 killed, and a large number wounded. The following is an accurate description of the engagement:

"The attacking party consisted of two divisions, the first comprising the 1st Virginia and part of the 16th Ohio and 7th Indiana regiments, under Colonel Kelly, and the other the 9th Indiana and 14th Ohio regiments, under Col. Lander, of wagon road celebrity. Col. Kelly's division moved east by railroad to Thornton, and thence marched to Philippi, twenty-two miles. The Indiana regiment moved to Webster, where it was joined by the Ohio regiment, and marched on Philippi, twelve miles. Both divisions toiled along all night through darkness and storm, soft earth yielding to their feet, until the gray-dawn found them in the neighborhood of the enemy.

"Colonel Lander reports that he arrived on the hill across the river below Philippi, and commanded the town before daylight. He prepared to open on the rebels at the appointed time, four o'clock, when Col. Kelly was to attack them in the rear and cut off their retreat. Colonel Lander assailed them in front, but Colonel Kelly's division was behind time, owing to the terrible fatigue of the forced march, and being misled by guides."
"When the day began to dawn on Colonel Lander's impatient forces, it discovered to them the camp below, in a state of commotion, and evidently in great alarm and preparing for fight. Fearing the rascals, now almost in his grasp, should escape without smelling powder, he ordered the artillery to begin the attack at a quarter past four. Four guns were unlimbered, and dropped the first messages of terror into the rebel camp.

"Simultaneously with the roar of the first gun, Colonel Kelly and command came in sight across the river, below the camp, and rushed forward in its direction. In the meanwhile, the battery, having got accurate ranges, played upon the camp with marked effect, tearing through the tents and houses at a fearful rate. The enemy scattered like rats from a burning barn, after firing a random volley, which did no damage. Kelly's command was close after them, and at the same time Lander's force came marching down the hill, yelling like Indians. After chasing them a few miles, the already exhausted men returned to the evacuated camp.

"Colonel Kelly, who with bravery amounting to rashness, was foremost from the first to last, was rallying his men in the upper part of the town, the enemy all having apparently fled, when he fell by a shot from a concealed foe. The attempted assassin was an assistant quartermaster named Sims, who was immediately seized.

"The rebels left behind them forty horses, all the provisions and camp equipage, many handsome uniforms, and 460 rifles."

The military operations in Western Virginia, have partaken more of the "rough and ready," than the "wait and get ready" spirit, and have produced their legitimate results—the utter rout and discomfiture of the enemy. There was also another powerful element of success, which has not been sufficiently considered, in estimating the general disadvantage under which the north has labored in prosecuting
this contest. In Western Virginia, the population was generally loyal, and gave as much aid to the friends as to the enemies of the country—resulting in the prompt and easy expulsion of the latter.

The battle at Philippi was the opening of a series of successful military movements, which effectually relieved that part of the State from the further presence of the rebels, except the marauding guerilla bands.

After that battle, our forces advanced to Cumberland, on the easterly slope of the Allegany Mountains. Amongst the forces sent to that point was a regiment of Indiana Zouaves, —11th Indiana—commanded by Col., afterwards Major General Wallace, who bore upon their banner "Remember Buena Vista"—a motto implying that they meant to wipe out the disgrace which the State had suffered from the shameful retreat of one of its regiments from that memorable field, during the Mexican war. Col. Wallace, learning that the enemy had concentrated quite a force at Romney, about fifty miles distant, resolved to disperse them; and accordingly started on the 11th of June, with 600 men, on that expedition. Twenty-eight miles of the distance was accomplished by rail road, leaving a march of twenty-two miles. He reached the vicinity of Romney at 8 o'clock, on the following morning, and at once made dispositions for the attack. The rebel force was fully twice his own, yet they offered but slight resistance, and soon fled in confusion.

The following is a spirited account of the affair:—

"The Zouaves carried nothing but their rifles and cartridge-boxes, and started at midnight, with the intention of taking their breakfast at Romney. The road winds through the mountains and is full of narrow passes, where a small number of determined men might have stopped their progress, or cut off their retreat. It was, therefore, necessary to send scouting parties in advance, and march with caution."
"Colonel Wallace reached the neighborhood of Romney about eight o'clock A. M., and was not surprised to find that the enemy had got the alarm, there having been time enough for horsemen to give warning. Picket guards had been placed on the heights commanding the road, at a distance of about one mile and a half from the town. These fired their pieces at the advance of the Zouaves, and as the fire was promptly and effectually returned, they immediately and gallantly withdrew, losing one man killed and getting a large fright. Romney is situated on a bluff, on the south bank of the Potomac, and contains about one thousand inhabitants. The Secessionists, according to the account of the citizens, numbered 1200 men. On approaching the bridge over the Potomac, Colonel Wallace noticed a cannon placed on an eminence in front of the town, commanding the road and bridge. He therefore ordered the Zouaves to cross in companies, at a short distance apart. Immediately beyond the bridge stands a large brick house, the residence of Colonel Gibson, and from here a heavy fire was opened on the advancing companies, which was returned with a hearty good will, and induced the members of the F. F. V.'s to evacuate the premises in a great hurry, leaving an excellent breakfast and a choice variety of wines and liquors at the mercy of the invading hordes. The battery on the hill awaited the coming of the Zouaves with great gallantry, but Col. Wallace, not taking the plain and narrow path marked out for him, but running his men double quick over the meadow under the bluff, with a view to reach an opposite hill and picking off the brave artillerists, they remounted the howitzer and left in disgust.

"The battle continued in the same style into town, the hot-blooded Southerners firing from dark corners, and running. Their nerves not being very steady so early in the morning, only one Zouave was struck. His comrades, seeing the blood
on his breast, gathered around him in alarm, but when, after investigating the damage, he swore terrible vengeance to the infernal fellows for tearing his suspenders all to pieces, he was considered in no immediate danger. The ball had struck the buckle of his suspenders, and glanced off.

"The Zouaves entered Romney at half-past eight o'clock A. M., in time to partake of the breakfast which had been prepared for the rebels. They captured one Major, ten horses, tents, medical chests, camp utensils, two flags, eight or ten rifles, and a number of uniforms. They occupied the place until 11 o'clock, spending the time in missionary efforts, by convincing the women (fifty of whom were found locked in one house) that they were civilized beings. At the house of Colonel Gibson, whence the heaviest fire came, the silver ware was on the breakfast-table, none of which was touched. One Zouave found a valuable gold watch in the house, and immediately took out a piece of paper and addressed a note to the proprietor, assuring him that the Zouaves did not come to steal and commit outrages, as had been reported. At eleven o'clock, after taking dinner, they commenced their return, and arrived at New Creek at twelve o'clock at night, and were conveyed back by rail road, reaching camp by day-break, having ridden upwards of fifty miles by rail, marched forty-five on foot, and fought a battle, all without sleep, and in a little over twenty-four hours."

The next important military operation in Western Virginia, occurred on the 11th day of July, at Rich Mountain, seven miles from Buckannon, on the road to Stanton. It resulted in the complete rout of the rebel force. This success was the result of a combined series of movements, projected by Gen. McClellan, to cut off the retreat, and secure the capture of the rebel force in that quarter. His plans were, for the most part, executed with admirable success by those under his command.
The rebels, under the command of Col. Pegram, were discovered by the scouts of Gen. McClellan, on the morning of the 10th of July, occupying a strongly entrenched camp, on the western slopes of Rich Mountain, about two miles west of Beverly. Their principal camp was at Laurel Hill. Gen. McClellan ordered Col. Rosecrans, to advance by a circuitous route, upon the forces of Col. Pegram, with 1,600 men, while he, with the main division, advanced upon the enemy at Laurel Hill. Col. Rosecrans' movements, though intended to have been a surprise, were nevertheless discovered by the enemy, and his long and wearisome detour, was therefore useless, as a surprise to the enemy. They had made every preparation to receive him. He advanced, nevertheless, to the attack with great vigor; and after an action of forty minutes, the enemy fled in great consternation. All their cannon, supplies and equipments, fell into the hands of the victors. They lost about 150 killed, and over 300 wounded and prisoners. About 600 of those that escaped immediate capture, subsequently returned and surrendered themselves prisoners. Union loss 11 killed, 35 wounded. The particulars of this important contest are thus detailed:

"The enemy were strongly intrenched at the foot of the mountain, on the west side. They had rolled whole trees from the mountain side, and lapped them together, filling in with stones and earth, from a trench outside. General McClellan, after reconnoitering their position, sent Colonel Rosecrans with the 8th, 10th, and 15th Indiana regiments, the 19th Ohio and the Cincinnati cavalry, to get in their rear. I went with him as guide. We started about day-light, having first taken something to eat, (but got nothing more until six o'clock next night, when some of them got a little beef,) and turned into the woods on our right. I led, accompanied by Colonel Lander, through a pathless route in the woods, by which I had made my escape about four weeks before. We
pushed along through the bushes, laurels and rocks, followed by the whole division in perfect silence. The bushes wetted us thoroughly, and it was very cold. Our circuit was about five miles. About noon we reached the top of the mountain, near my father's farm. It was not intended that the enemy should know of our movements; but a dragoon, with despatches from Gen. McClellan, who was sent after us, fell into the hands of the enemy, and they thus found out our movements. They immediately despatched 2,500 men to the top of the mountain, with three cannon. They intrenched themselves with earth-works on my father's farm, just where we were to come into the road. We did not know they were there until we came on their pickets, and their cannon opened fire upon us. We were then about a quarter of a mile from the house, and skirmishing began. I left the advance and went into the main body of the army. I had no arms of any kind. The rain began pouring down in torrents, while the enemy fired his cannon, cutting off the tree-tops over our heads. They fired rapidly. I thought from the firing, they had 25 or 30 pieces. We had no cannon with us. Our boys stood still in the rain about half an hour. The 8th and 10th then led off, bearing to the left of our position. The bushes were so thick we could not see out, nor could the enemy see us. The enemy's musket balls could not reach us. Our boys, keeping up a fire, got down within sight and then pretended to run, but they only fell down in the bushes and behind rocks. This drew the enemy from their intrenchments, when our boys let into them with their Enfield and Minie rifles, and I never heard such screaming in my life. The 19th in the meantime advanced to a fence in a line with the breast-works, and fired one round. The whole earth seemed to shake. They then gave the Indiana boys a tremendous cheer, and the enemy broke from their intrenchments in every way they could. The Indiana boys had previously been
ordered to fix bayonets. We could hear the rattle of the iron very plainly as the order was obeyed. Charge bayonets was then ordered, and away went our boys after the enemy. One man alone stood his ground, and fired a cannon, until shot by a revolver. A general race for about three hundred yards followed through the bush, when our men were recalled and re-formed in line of battle, to receive the enemy from the intrenchments at the foot of the mountains, as we supposed they would certainly attack us from that point; but it seems as soon as they no longer heard the firing of the cannon, they gave up all for lost. They then deserted their works and took off whatever way they could. A re-enforcement, which was also coming from Beverly to the aid of the 2,500, retreated for the same reason. We took all their wagons, tents, provisions, stores, and cannon, many guns which they left, many horses, mules, &c. In short, we got everything they had, as they took nothing but such horses as they were on. We found several of these in the woods. One hundred and thirty-five of the enemy were buried before I left. They were for the most part shot in the head, and hard to be recognized. Some six hundred, who had managed to get down to the river at Caplinger's, finding no chance of escape, sent a flag of truce, and on Saturday morning they were escorted into Beverly by the Chicago cavalry, which had been sent after them, General McClellan having in the meantime gone on there with his main column."

The rebel General Garnett, retreated from Laurel Hill, and attempted to escape to St. George. Gen. McClellan had, however, so disposed his forces as to prevent this. A detachment under Capt. Benham pursued the retreating enemy, and, being joined by Gen. Morris' division, the combined forces overtook Gen. Garnett at Carrack's Ford. Here ensued a sharp action, which resulted in the total rout of the enemy, and was a fitting sequel to the fight at Rich Mountain.
It was expected that the scattered fugitives would be met and captured by Gen. Hill, before they could cross the mountains; but owing to some unexplained cause, this was not done, and they made good their escape. The following description of the particulars of this engagement possesses permanent interest:

"Gen. Morris' command entered the camp at Laurel Hill at 10 a.m. on Friday, the 12th, and at 11 o'clock the 14th Ohio and 7th and 9th Indiana regiments started on in pursuit. The command pushed on about two miles south of Leedsville that night, and halted to rest from 11 p.m. till 2 a.m. At that early hour on Saturday morning, the force pushed forward in a pitiless rain storm, guided by the baggage, tents, trunks, blankets, haversacks, knapsacks, and even clothing, of the flying enemy. It was found by our advanced guard that the enemy, in striking off on the "Leading Creek" road, had felled trees across it as they fled, to retard the movement of our artillery. Fortunately, a guide directed our men into a cross-road, which, though extremely rough, led again into the route of the enemy, at some distance from the Beverley road, and this road for that distance was unobstructed. Reaching the enemy's track again, it was found necessary to keep relays of axe men at work in advance to clear the road, and yet, in the face of the terrible storm, our gallant men literally cut their way through, handling their axes like heroes, and gaining on the enemy sensibly every hour.

"The road was a terribly rough one, and was rendered extremely muddy by the rain, and the passage of several thousand troops in front had not improved its condition; but when it was found that the enemy had left the turnpike and struck off to the right over a mere wood-path, up and down the roughest hills, over rocks, and through a dense forest, hoping to discourage pursuit, there was still no flinching. The boys had no time to eat or rest, and thought nothing of such
things—*they were after the enemy*, and with this incentive and the prospect of a fight ahead, they performed one of the most severe marches of the war with an eager alacrity exhilarating to behold. This route led across the branches of the Cheat River several times, the men plunging through the streams with a dash, and hurrying forward with renewed zeal, as the articles thrown away along the road began to indicate that the foe was so hard pushed that he must soon endeavor to make a stand.

"At the fourth ford, known as Carrack's Ford, we caught sight of the enemy. Some thirty or forty wagons were discovered in the river, and at the banks of the ford, apparently stuck fast. As our column pushed rapidly forward across a level space, the 14th Regiment, Colonel Stedman, in front, the teamsters called out that they would surrender. The position, however, looked so suspicious that the men were disposed in proper order, and skirmishers were thrown out toward the ford, the line moving down in fine order. Just as our advance was near the stream, and only about 200 yards from a steep bluff rising on the other side, an officer was seen to rise from the bushes and give an order to fire, and immediately a volley, coming from the brow of the hill, followed by a very rapidly delivered fire from their artillery, announced the fact that the enemy had taken a stand on his own ground. The 14th and 7th Indiana formed under the fire, and with the utmost rapidity began to return it, our sharp-shooters picking off numbers of the enemy, whose fire went almost entirely over the heads of our men, the shot from three rifled guns cutting off the trees from two to four feet over the heads of the troops in position. The 14th Ohio, being nearest the ford, were almost exclusively aimed at, and for a while the iron hail above them was terrible, the roar of the guns across the river, the crashing of trees, shells bursting, and volley upon volley of musketry, making 'war's fell music' for at
least twenty minutes. Yet the men stood like stones, and returned fire with the greatest rapidity and the best of order. Not a man flinched. Meantime, Burnett's artillery came up and opened, and, under cover of their well-directed fire, the 7th Indiana was directed to cross the river, and climb the steep, almost perpendicular face of the bluff, on the enemy's right. The order was in process of execution, and two companies had nearly scaled the cliff, when they were ordered to return, and Captain Benham directed them to take down the bed of the stream, under the bluff, and between, but below, the fire of both armies, and turn the enemy's right flank. No sooner said than it was undertaken. Colonel Dumont led his men down the stream so rapidly, that the enemy were unable to bring their guns to bear upon them until they were concealed by the smoke, and out of reach of the depression of the guns on the bluff. Meantime, the 14th Ohio and the 9th Indiana, with the artillery, kept up a brisk fire in front, until, with a cheer, Colonel Dumont's men scaled the lower bank on the enemy's right, and poured in a volley. No sooner were our boys seen coming over the brink of the river bank than the entire force of the enemy, variously estimated at from 3,000 to 4,000, fled in the wildest confusion.

"On came the regiments and artillery from beyond the river, and our whole force joined in a hot pursuit. After leading along about a quarter of a mile, the road again crosses the stream, and at this point General Garnett endeavored vainly to stop his routed troops and rally them around him. Major Gordon, of the 7th Indiana, leading the advance, reached the bank in pursuit, among the first, and, discovering a point from which fire could be effectively delivered, called up Capt. Ferry's company of his regiment, and ordered them to fire. Garnett stood near the river bank, and fell, shot through the heart. A Georgia boy was the only one who fell near him. The panic-stricken forces of the enemy abandoned the dead
body of the general, and fled up the hill in utter rout. They were pursued about two miles, when our exhausted men were recalled."

Gen. McClellan laconically reported these brilliant events in the following manner to Assistant Adjutant Gen. Townsend:

"General Garnett and his forces have been routed and his baggage and one gun taken. His army is completely demoralized. General Garnett was killed while attempting to rally his forces at Carrack Ford, near St. George. We have completely annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia. Our loss is but thirteen killed, and not more than forty wounded, while the enemy's loss is not far from two hundred killed, and the number of prisoners we have taken will amount to at least one thousand. We have captured seven of the enemy's guns in all. A portion of Garnett's forces retreated, but I look for their capture by General Hill, who is in hot pursuit. The troops that Garnett had under his command are said to be the crack regiment of Eastern Virginia, aided by Georgians, Tennesseans and Carolinians. Our success is complete, and I firmly believe that secession is killed in this section of the country."

Gen. McClellan's address to his soldiers, after their fatiguing marches, and the successes which we have recorded, is, at once, a model of style, and a deserved compliment to noble and heroic deeds:

"Soldiers of the Army of the West:—I am more than satisfied with you. You have met and annihilated two armies, commanded by educated and experienced soldiers, intrenched in mountain fastnesses, and fortified at their leisure. You have taken five guns, twelve colors, fifteen hundred stand of arms, one thousand prisoners, including more than 40 officers. One of the two commanders of the Rebels is a prisoner, the other lost his life on the field of battle. You have killed
more than two hundred and fifty of the enemy, who has lost all his baggage and camp equipage. All this has been accomplished with the loss of twenty brave men killed, and sixty wounded on your part. You have proved that Union men, fighting for the preservation of our Government, are more than a match for our misguided and erring brothers. More than this, you have shown mercy to the vanquished. You have made long and arduous marches, with insufficient food, frequently exposed to the inclemency of the weather. I have not hesitated to demand this of you, feeling that I could rely on your endurance, patriotism, and courage. In the future I may have still greater demands to make upon you—still greater sacrifices for you to offer. It shall be my care to provide for you to the extent of my ability; but I know now that by your valor and endurance you will accomplish all that is asked. Soldiers, I have confidence in you, and I trust you have learned to confide in me. Remember that discipline and subordination are qualities of equal value with courage. I am proud to say that you have gained the highest reward that American troops can receive—the thanks of Congress and the applause of your fellow-citizens.”

Ten days after this, Gen. McClellan was called to Washington, to re-organize the army of the Potomac, and Col. Rosecrans was promoted to the rank of Brig. General, and placed in command of the Department of the Ohio.
CHAPTER VI.

BATTLE OF BULL RUN.


Having traced the military operations in Western Virginia, until the rebels were virtually driven from that section of the State, we now return to the National Capital, to note the operations of the Army of the Potomac, and to describe the first great battle of the war.

Up to the battle of Bull Run, the engagements of the war had been between comparatively small divisions of the contending forces. When the large numbers in the field are considered, the engagements, hitherto, except in Western Virginia, though exhibiting rare cases of individual courage and prowess, must be regarded rather as skirmishes than as decisive contests. Their effect upon those engaged, was beneficial as a means of discipline, but had little influence upon the issue of the war.

Hitherto the army of the Potomac had been chiefly employed in preparations. The men had been suddenly raised,
were generally ignorant of military science; and much time and skill were requisite to convert them into reliable soldiers.

The first seventy-five thousand men were unwisely called into service for but three months; and it was soon evident that their term of service would expire before they could be properly armed and equipped. The President, therefore, on the fourth of May, issued his call for volunteers to serve for three years, or during the war.

The response to this call was at once prompt and patriotic, and 208 regiments had been accepted under it by the first of July following. Of this number, 155 regiments were in active service at that date. The total force at the command of the Government, at this time, was 307,875 men, of which 77,875, were three months' men, whose terms of enlistment would soon expire, leaving but 230,000 of three years' men. Of these, 42,000 were of the regular army.

Much previous discipline was necessary before these fresh levies could be relied upon in involved and intricate contests. Officers and men were alike inexperienced and unskilled. The former must learn, before they could teach. Nor was this all; arms and equipments for so vast a force could not be at once procured, and delays occurred on that account.

The loyal people, not properly appreciating the gigantic preparations requisite for the work in hand, were exceedingly impatient of delay, and anxious for prompt and effective demonstrations upon the enemy. He had long hovered near and menaced the Capital; and it is not surprising that the wish should be general, to relieve ourselves from the disgrace of his immediate presence. Much complaint was therefore made of the inactivity of the army, and its advance was often and earnestly demanded.

The army of the Potomac at this time, comprised three principal divisions, namely: That in the city, commanded by Gen. Mansfield, that of Gen. McDowell, whose left exten-
The rebel forces, under Gen. Beauregard, were at Manassas Junction, and its neighborhood, and he states their number, on the 20th of July, at 21,833 men, and on the 21st, at 27,000 men.

The rebel Gen. Johnson was confronting Gen. Patterson, near Martinsburgh.

The plan had been to attack the forces of Gen. Beauregard, at Manassas, with the army in front of Washington, while Gen. Patterson should watch and detain Gen. Johnson.

The order for the advance of the army of the Potomac, was issued on the 8th of July; but a delay of eight days occurred, before a sufficient number of horses could be procured, for the artillery and transportation trains,—a deficiency indicating
much lack of energy and system, in the previous preparations for the advance. It was not until the 15th day of July, that the final arrangements for the advance were so far completed, that the army of the Potomac was ordered to move from its camps opposite the city of Washington, in five divisions.

The first Division, was commanded by Brig. Gen. Daniel Tyler.

The second Division, by Col. David Hunter.

The third Division, by Col. S. P. Heintzelman.

The fourth Division—Reserves—by Brig. Gen. T. Ruayan.

The fifth Division, by Col. Dixon S. Miles.

The aggregate force thus moved forward, comprised about 55,000 men, although but 18,000 of these crossed Bull Run, and engaged in the fight of the 21st. The enemy in front occupied various positions, including Fairfax Court House, twelve miles from the Potomac, Centreville, ten miles beyond, Bull Run, four miles from Centreville, and Manassas Junction, about seven miles from Centreville. All those forces were in the fight, besides the heavy re-enforcements of Johnson; and numbered, according to Beauregard's own showing, over 27,000 men, while the entire force we had engaged, was but 18,000 men.

Our forces advanced over four different roads—Gen Tyler's Division over the Georgetown road—Col. Hunter, the Leesburg and Centreville route—and the remaining forces over the Little River Turnpike, and the Old Braddock road.

The movements of the troops were necessarily slow and cautious, for the enemy had obstructed the roads, and fortified various positions, at which we expected resistance to be made. For three miles before reaching Fairfax Court House, the route was barricaded by fallen trees, and here an encounter had been looked for. But those obstructions were removed, or roads made around them; and the army advanced without opposition, the enemy retreating as our forces advanced. On re-
treated, they left in their camps, numerous supplies, which they might have removed, and which was intended to disguise the plan and point of their main defense.

Gen. Tyler's Division encamped at Vienna, on the evening of the first day, and resumed its march at 5 o'clock on the following morning—the other Divisions also advancing. No important opposition being made, they gradually concentrated in the vicinity of Centreville. Gen. Tyler, on the 18th, made, with a small force, a partial reconnoissance of the Bull Run Valley, some three miles from Centreville, and soon after a reconnoissance in force, with his 4th brigade, Ayer's Battery, and four companies of cavalry. He advanced on the road from Centreville to Manassas, towards the crossing of the Bull Run, at Blackburn's Ford, about two miles, when, on coming to an opening in the timber, he discovered a strong body of the enemy. Ayer's Battery was placed in position, and opened fire on the foe, but it was very soon replied to by a battery of the enemy down the road, hitherto undiscovered. A spirited exchange of shot was maintained for a short time, when the enemy withdrew to the woods. Skirmishers were then deployed on the left of the road, and ordered to scour the woods; between whom and the enemy a lively exchange of shots was soon heard, followed by volleys, from heavy bodies of men. The three remaining regiments, comprising the whole force at hand, were then ordered forward, and drawn up in front, and at the right of the woods. Additional skirmishers were sent into the timber, and two howitzers put in position to rake the enemy's position, and which threw among them shot and shell. This caused a hearty response from the enemy in their covert, upon our troops in the opening; and heavy volleys were rapidly discharged at them. Grape and canister were also thrown toward them from a battery.

This unexpected development of the enemy's force caused our forces to retreat behind the cover of their battery. Here
they were joined by the 3d brigade, commanded by Col. Sherman, the 69th New York, Col. Corcoran leading. The contest was renewed, and continued for about one hour. Gen. McDowell then ordered a retreat, as the purpose of the reconnoissance was accomplished. Our loss in those reconnaissances was 100 killed and wounded.

The two following days were employed in strengthening our positions, in reconnoitering those of the enemy, and in completing dispositions for attacking them.

Beauregard clearly expected Johnson to join him. Gen. Scott, on the 17th, had telegraphed Patterson to prevent this. He had repulsed Johnson at Bunker Hill on the 16th, and the
latter fell back on the following day to Winchester, and on the 18th to Strasburgh, which brought his forces in direct rail road communication with Manassas Junction. Patterson, instead of obeying orders, fell back to Charleston. Johnson fulfilled the expectation of his commanders. Patterson grievously disappointed his. The latter thus excuses himself, under date of Harper's Ferry, July 22:

"General Johnson retreated to Winchester, where he had thrown up extensive intrenchments, and had a large number of heavy guns. I could have turned his position and attacked him in the rear, but he had received large re-enforcements from Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, a total force of over thirty-five thousand rebel troops, and five thousand Virginia militia. My force is less than twenty thousand men. Nineteen regiments, whose term of service was up, or would be within a week, all refused to stay an hour over their time, but four, viz: two Indiana regiments, Frank Jarrett's (the eleventh Pennsylvania,) and Owens' (the twenty-fourth Pennsylvania.) Five regiments have gone home. Two more go to-day, and three more to-morrow. To avoid being cut off with the remainder, I fell back and occupied this place."

Gen. McDowell's army consisted largely of three months' men, and who would leave the service between the 18th and 30th of July. This was a very embarrassing state of things, in the face of an equal, or greater force, and on the eve of an important battle.

Gen. McDowell, in his official report, thus sums up the orders for the movements of the various divisions:

"On Friday night a train of subsistence arrived, and on

*Major General Charles W. Sanford, second in command under General Patterson, testified before the Committee on the conduct of the war, that the services of none of the troops had expired when Patterson fell back; that Johnston's force, instead of being 35,000, did not exceed 22,000 men, and that it was his firm conviction, with a proper disposition and use of his forces, that Patterson could easily have prevented Johnston from joining Beauregard.
Saturday its contents were ordered to be issued to the command, and the men required to have three days' rations in their haversacks. On Saturday, orders were issued for the available force to march. As reported to you in my letter of the 19th ultimo, my personal reconnaissance of the roads to the South had shown that it was not practicable to carry out the original plan of turning the enemy's position on his right. The affair of the 18th, at Blackburn's Ford, showed he was too strong at that point for us to force a passage there without great loss, and if we did, that it would bring us in front of his strong position at Manassas, which was not desired. Our information was, that the Stone Bridge, over which the Warrenton road crossed Bull Run, to the west of Centreville, was defended by a battery in position, and the road on his side of the stream impeded by a heavy abatis. The alternative was, therefore, to turn the extreme left of his position. Reliable information was obtained of an undefended ford about three miles above the bridge, there being another ford
between it and the bridge, which was defended. It was therefore determined to take the road to the upper ford, and after crossing, to get behind the forces guarding the lower ford and the bridge, and after occupying the Warrenton road west of the bridge, to send out a force to destroy the rail road at or near Gainesville, and thus break up the communication between the enemy's forces at Manassas and those in the valley of Virginia, before Winchester, which had been held in check by Major General Patterson.

"Brigadier General Tyler was directed to move with three of his brigades on the Warrenton road, and commence cannonading the enemy's batteries, while Hunter's division, moving after him, should, after passing a little stream called Cub Run, turn to the right and north, and move around to the upper ford, and there turn south and get behind the enemy. Colonel Heintzelman's division was to follow Hunter's as far as the turning-off place to the lower ford, where he was to cross after the enemy should have been driven out by Hunter's division; the fifth division (Miles') to be in reserve on the Centreville ridge.

"I had felt anxious about the road from Manassas by Blackburn's Ford to Centreville, along the ridge, fearing that whilst we should be in force to the front, and endeavoring to turn the enemy's position, we ourselves should be turned by him by this road; for if he should once obtain possession of this ridge, which overlooks all the country to the west to the foot of the spurs of the Blue Ridge, we should have been irretrievably cut off and destroyed. I had, therefore, directed this point to be held in force, and sent an engineer to extemporize some field-works to strengthen the position.

"The fourth division (Runyon's) had not been brought to the front further than to guard our communications by way of Vienna and the Orange and Alexandria rail road. His advanced regiment was about seven miles in the rear of Centreville
“The divisions were ordered to march at half-past two o'clock A. M., so as to arrive on the ground early in the day, and thus avoid the heat which is to be expected at this season. There was delay in the first division getting out of its camp on the road, and the other divisions were, in consequence, between two and three hours behind the time appointed—a great misfortune, as events turned out. The wood road leading from the Warrenton turnpike to the upper ford was much longer than we counted upon, the general direction of the stream being oblique to the road, and we having the obtuse angle on our side.”

Gen. McDowell expected to meet the main force of the enemy, not at Bull Run, but at Manassas, some three miles beyond, and where he believed were their main defensive works. He knew they had a battery at the crossing of Bull Run, and that its passage would be disputed, but the principal resistance was looked for at Manassas. The position near Bull Run was so favorable for concealment in the wooded slopes, and so carefully had the enemy hidden his works and forces there, that our officers were deceived.

At one-half past two o'clock, on the morning of the 21st, Gen. Tyler's division, with the exception of Richardson's brigade, moved forward to attempt the passage of the Bull Run, at the bridge on the Warrenton turnpike, called the “Stone Bridge.” Col. Keyes' brigade was detached about two miles from the Run, to watch the road leading to Manassas. The two remaining brigades, under command of Col's Schenck and Sherman, accompanied by Ayres and Carlisle's batteries, arrived near the bridge about six o'clock in the morning. The position was examined and proper dispositions made for attack, and the signal gun indicating the fact, was fired at one-half past six, from a thirty pound Parrott gun. The enemy's battery consisted of eight six pounder guns, but was too remote to reach the position then occupied by Gen.
Tyler. As the plan was merely to threaten the passage of the bridge, such disposition of the forces and batteries was made, as would best effect that object, where they were ordered to await the arrival of the divisions of Col's Hunter and Heintzleman, on the opposite side.

The second division had been so delayed, that it did not leave Centerville until one half past four, and did not reach the Run until one-half past nine, at which time the Confederate troops had concentrated a heavy force in front.

Much of our force had already been in line for seven hours, were weary and thirsty, and a short time was spent in resting and refreshing the men, to whom, on that intensely hot day, the shade and the cooling drink were especially welcome.

Meanwhile the enemy continued to concentrate heavy columns in front, and on the lines over which our forces were expected soon to advance. The column soon moved, the leading brigade being Col. Burnside's, of the second division, which crossed at Sudley's Spring, where the Run was fordable, and which is three miles from the Stone Bridge. The rattle of musketry and the crash of heavy shot were soon heard, indicating that the battle had commenced. The line of our advance was covered by several batteries of the enemy, from which a terrific shower of projectiles was poured upon our troops. Geo. Wilkes, Esq., who was himself an eye witness, thus graphically describes the incidents of the field:

"The Rhode Island cannon were the first in position, and opened with good effect, upon the battery that was peppering us, with heavy cross-fire upon the left. The howitzers of the 71st were next in play, and, between their heavy roar, the muskets of the brigade replied with interest, to the similar salutations of the enemy. But the fire was most galling to us from our exposed position, and among those of the brigade who fell before it was General Hunter, sufficiently hurt to require his removal from the field. Burnside lost his horse at
the same time; while the charger of Governor Sprague had his entire head taken off with a shell, as his gallant rider was spurring him up and down the field. Captains Hart and Ellis, of companies A and G of the 71st, were likewise wounded in this fire, while bravely cheering on their men. "Cornelius," the faithful servant who had accompanied Colonel Vosburg from New York, and who, more lately, adhered to his successor, sank gently down by the side of Colonel Martin, and died from a rifle stroke just below the chest. Many others fell, under that fearful hail, but the regiment sternly stood its ground — such bold spirits as Captains Coles and Meschutt, Commissary Borrowe, and Lieutenants Oakley, Embler, Maynard, Denyse, and others, giving cheer, by their staunch coolness, to the entire line. While the regiment was thus standing under fire, it came very near being thrown into confusion by the reckless conduct of Griffin's West Point Battery, which, without any sort of notice, tore through its line in the rear at top speed, in order to take up a position in the front, and thus actually cutting it in two. This discourtesy, to say the least of it, sprang, doubtless, from the contempt which the regulars are rapidly evincing for the volunteers, and, under ordinary circumstances, would have justified the 71st in firing on them in retaliation. The fire of the enemy came doubly hot just at this moment; the regiment wavered slightly under it, and threatened for an instant to fall back. At this critical moment, an American flag suddenly appeared within the redoubt that had done us our greatest damage, and that still kept up its storm. But, seeing the signal, an order was given to cease firing, as we were shooting our friends. A further order was then made to advance our colors to the front, but, as it seemed to be certain death to stand exposed to the tornado which swept over the brow of the hill, the color-bearer naturally hesitated for a moment; whereupon several of company F sprang quickly forward, with the exclamation, "Give us the
colors!" But Captain Coles, of company C, was the foremost in the effort, and seizing the flag, he ran with it fully fifty paces to the front, and held it at arm's length, high in the air, and then planted it into the earth. Its folds were hailed in the rebel battery with a demoniac yell, and in the next instant the bright banner was riddled with a shower of balls. Providentially, the gallant captain was untouched.

"Beholding that starry challenge, the Alabama 1st, which had long ago expressed, in print, their desire to meet the New York 71st, deployed from a wood upon the right, and formed in full force, to charge up hill upon the flag. The 71st, recognizing them, answered the challenge with a shout, and, springing forward, delivered a volley of musketry, strengthened with a dose of grape and canister. They then charged down the hill upon them with tremendous vigor, intending to take them with the bayonet. But the Alabamians did not like the war whoop nor its prologue, so, after a volley and a short pause, they took back to cover, leaving sixty-two of their dead upon the field. We had a chance to count them, for we never afterward lost the brow of that hill till the general conclusion. In turning from the Alabamians, one of their wounded drew his pistol, and, steadying it upon his arm, was leveling it upon Lieutenant Oakley, when that gallant officer, catching sight of the performance, ran quickly forward, and, with his sword, ran the rebel through. The howitzers of the 71st and Rhode Island battery all the while kept in play, and in ten minutes more, the rebel battery was silenced.

"The enemy's lair being thus swept of its cannon and its forces in this quarter, and the enemy being pretty well exhausted with the strife and heat, Burnside came forward and ordered the 71st to fall back into the cool shadow of the wood, with the remark that the brigade had done its full portion of the day's work, and was now entitled to refreshment and repose. The 71st most gladly obeyed the order, and left the
field with as much regularity as if on dress parade. The cost of the strife thus far was seventeen killed and twice that number wounded, but its consolation was the consciousness that it had done its duty, and made twice that number of the rebels bite the dust. Under that cool and grateful covert, congratulations were exchanged, and compliments paid to those who had earned them most. Among them, the brave chaplain and the gallant Colonel Thomasson, formerly member of Congress from Kentucky, who had come upon the field as a volunteer for the occasion, received their share, and enjoyed the admiration of the regiment. Privates Dustan, Winthrop, Kettletass, Clarke, Storer, Emmett, Udell, and a large number more who had signalized themselves, were likewise well rewarded.

"While the 71st thus refreshed itself, the 69th, which, with the Scotch regiment, the Wisconsin men and the New York 13th, had been wading through batteries since their arrival on the field, marched past in splendid order, their banners flying as if upon review, and their faces sternly set on the advance. They passed down the hill obliquely to the right, on their road to support Griffin's battery, which was within two hundred yards of the artillery of the foe. Though silent as they passed, a shout rose in a few seconds afterward from the direction they had taken, which every listener could mark for theirs; and the spiteful one which responded from the rebel battery was soon quelled by the volume of their musketry. Most prominent among them was Meagher, the Irish orator, who frequently, during the contests of that turbulent day, waved the green banner of his regiment up and down the hottest line of fire.

"The Sherman brigade has thus worked its way deep into the enemy's position, no part of it doing better service than the 2d Wisconsin and the staunch 13th. Wherever they, or any of them had met the foe on foot, they had hurled him back,
and driven him headlong to his cover, with disgrace. Indeed, this superior prowess of the Northern rank and file was the feature of the day, and in no portions of the field, and under no circumstances, could their exposed unsupported infantry stand for five minutes against the dash and hardihood of ours."

"I must now turn back to the general progress of the flanking column, from which the Burnside brigade had been the first to curve in to the attack. Porter's brigade, which came immediately in its rear upon the march, passed further on, and leveled itself against the triangle of the enemy, at a higher point. The brigade of Wilcox, composed of the New York 8th, Michigan 1st, New York 38th, and the Fire Zouaves, made the widest flanking circuit of them all, and consequently struck the enemy’s broadening bank of batteries to the extreme right. The brigade of Franklin and Howard, comprising respectively the Massachusetts 5th and 1st Minnesota, and the 3d, 4th, 5th Maine, and 2d Vermont, acted for a time as supporting forces, but soon became plunged in with the rest, selecting each for itself, in the general confusion and want of order, its series of batteries to attack, and its isolated perils to endure.

"Porter's brigade made the flank attack immediately to the right of the 71st, going into the battle about 11 o'clock, (half an hour later than the Burnside brigade), and performing its first duty by driving the enemy out of a piece of woods, and pursuing him, with loss, to a heavy battery which had partly raked the position of the 71st. The 14th particularly distinguished itself in this attack, and received its highest ecomiums from the rebel prisoners, who said wherever those fellows in red breeches went, they strewed the earth with dead. In one of their charges, their standard-bearer was shot down, and their general loss heavy. Colonel Wood, Major Jordan, and Captain Butt, of the Engineers, behaved with especial
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gallantry; and all the rank and file exhibited the utmost steadiness and valor. The impetuosity, however, which chased the rebels to their holes, was severely taxed by a scorching volley that forced it, like all its comrades of the day, to fall back from those terrific covers, for temporary shelter.

"They soon emerged again, however, and with their entire brigade, in which the 8th and 27th struggled to emulate the 14th in its daring, charged altogether on a new battery, to the left. The attack was brilliant, but staggering with fatigue, the poor fellows were forced to recoil from the overwhelming storm, losing again a number of their men. It was the same story on all sides—reckless and desperate attacks on roaring and blazing barriers, with an inevitable recoil of the inadequate and unsupported columns. It was noticeable that in all these perfectly desperate and almost frantic charges, there was seldom any flanking or sustaining force, and generally an entire absence of all division orders when the regiments were required to fall back. Each Colonel had to hive, shelter, and manage his own men, and to say the truth, the rank and file, but too often, from the deplorable incompetency of their immediate officers, were required to do the thinking, the fighting, and the manœuvering for themselves.

"Never was there a great battle fought more pell-mell since war began; never was valor so completely thrown away. In fact, instead of being conducted upon its plan, or upon any plan whatever, it became, through the incompetency of its chiefs (perhaps caused by their despair) a mere succession of desultory fights, in which small brigades, isolated from all general command, were trying the hardness of their heads against the toughness of iron and deeply matted walls.

"The Porter brigade made still another charge, but, unsupported in the effort, it was forced, after this further useless display of valor, to fall back in the neighborhood of the resting place of the 7th.
We now come to the attack of the Wilcox, or Fire Brigade, consisting of the 1st Michigan, 38th New York, and the far-famed Zouaves. This brigade, as I have before stated, made the widest flank circuit of the whole, and consequently did not take up its line-of-battle until half an hour later than the brigade of Porter, making its actual arrival on the field about 12 o'clock; all the worse for it, as it gave it a more weary march, and (under the excitement of the roll of battle) urged the last two miles at a most exhausting 'double quick,' or run.

The brigade took up its position along a fence running east and west, with the 18th Michigan occupying the extreme left; the Scott Life Guard, or 38th New York, under Colonel Ward, occupying the centre, supporting Griffin's Battery, and the Zouaves holding the extreme right. No sooner had the brigade taken this position, than a rapid raking fire opened from a large battery on the left, while a heavy shot from the same quarter knocked over one of Griffin's guns, and killed five or six men. Upon this success, a body of sixty or seventy horse, with the view of taking advantage of the temporary confusion thus occasioned in our ranks, issued from the rear of a small clump of woods in front of the Zouaves, and, circling to the front, made an attempt to break the ranks of the brigade.

The movement, however, was seen by our men in sufficient time to meet it, and the entire of the three regiments leveled a united volley on its ranks. With the flash and the discharge, every rider of the troop, but five or six, reeled from the saddle to the earth, and the horses, such as were not desperately wounded, madly ran away. One of them, a fine fellow, black as coal, who was not in the least hurt, came tearing toward the 38th, when it was caught, and immediately mounted by Captain McQuade.

At this moment, Gen. Heintzelman, who already had been wounded, rode up, and looking with pride up and down the face
of the battalion, ordered the 38th and the Zouaves to clear the woods before them at the point of the bayonet, while the 1st Michigan took a protecting position on the hill. The scene of this charge could be clearly observed from the rise which overlooked the battery that had been silenced by the Rhode Island brigade, and all who looked on, held their breath to see the 11th and the Life Guard going in. On receiving orders, they gave a tremendous shout, and moved forward at a double-quick, but just as they got fairly on their way, an infernal hail was turned loose upon them from the battery that had disabled Griffin's gun, and the entire line wavered and threatened to fall back. The most tremendous efforts were, at this juncture, made by Colonels Ward and Farnham to steady the men, and poor McQuade, who rode, cheering up and down on his new found horse, was particularly prominent in thus inspiring the 38th. Alas, while thus gallantly employed, his evil fortune triumphed, and he reeled to the earth in the midst of his task, struck mortally in the breast with a piece of shell. The sight of the loss of this favorite officer, and the auxiliary efforts of Farnsworth, Brady and Potter, of the Life Guard, and of Captains Jack Wilday, Leverich, Murphy, and others of the Zouaves, steadied the line again, and with another whoop, the red shirts and the Life Guard rushed into the wood. They were not long in finding what they sought, for, in grim array, there stood the Alabamians and Mississippians in full force, their line resting on a barn and their right supported by a brace of cannon. As the 11th and 38th approached, the rebels opened a severe and well directed volley, which our people, pausing to fire, instantly returned. Two or three line exchanges were then heard within the covert; the smoke rose densely through the interstices of the wood, and, in a few minutes, the Zouaves and the 38th could be seen pouring forth, in considerable disorder, unable to withstand the fierceness and compactness of the Confederate fire
They continued their retreat until they regained the line of fence which had been their original position, several red shirts dropping and dotting the ground on the road back. The full loss of the Zouaves, however, turned out to be small. It being now after 2 o'clock, they remained in their position and did not charge again.

"It was at this point of time, while the Zouaves, like the Rhode Islanders and 71st, lay out of the immediate tide of the battle, that the 69th and 79th came sweeping along, with its green banner waving (the only one of theirs left) to the relief of Griffin. Flushed with their success within the woods, the Mississippians watched them from within their covert, and let fly a heavy volley, and then charged. They were bravely met and checked; but while being driven back, a sudden desperate rush of a company of rebels, who had a fancy for hanging up the green banner as a trophy for their armory at home, succeeded in tearing it from the standard-bearer's hands, and bearing it away. The turmoil of the fight was very thick, and but few saw it who were in its midst. Luckily, however, Captain Jack Wilday, of the Fire Zouaves, observed the misfortune from a distance, and summoning a handful of his company to follow, came tearing forward for its rescue. With an irresistible vigor, he and his comrades penetrated to the centre of the retreating rebels, and by a number of well-delivered shots and blows, succeeded in wrestling the talisman from its possessors. In this fine exploit, Wilday killed two of the rebels with his own hand, and plucked from the side of one of the retreating captains, a sword for his mantel-piece at home.

"It was now nearly 4 o'clock p. m., and the general battle seemed to have subsided; nay, almost entirely to have ceased; and nothing but an occasional great gun, and isolated flirt of musketry, proclaimed its continuance in any quarter. In their ignorance of the extent of the field, the Federal forces
imagined they had won a victory. They had shown greater dash and steadiness than the enemy, from first to last; and while, by far, the most exposed, had inflicted a much heavier slaughter than they had undergone themselves. The whole aspect within our lines, or rather within the boundaries of our brigades, wore the look of triumph. Our enemies, wherever we had met them hand to hand, in anything like open opportunity, had sunk before us; all their batteries immediately within our reach had silenced; but, what was infinitely more conclusive to our green appreciations, General McDowell, our Commander in Chief, now came jingling on the field, waving, first his kid gloves, then his hat, calling us 'Brave boys,' and telling us with a grand air of Caesar, that we had won the day. 'A big thing.'"

But the shouts of the tired legions had scarcely died away, when the roar of battle was again heard, and the terrific yells of the enemy startled our wearied men to their feet. Johnson's re-enforcements, had reached the field, and began the attack from the woods. Gen. McDowell thus describes the scene in his report:

"It was at this time that the enemy's re-enforcements came to his aid from the rail road train, understood to have arrived from the valley, with the residue of Johnson's army. They threw themselves into the woods on our right, and opened a fire of musketry upon our men, which caused them to break and retire down the hillside. This soon degenerated into disorder, for which there was no remedy. Every effort was made to rally them, even beyond the reach of the enemy's lines, but in vain."

Col. Burnside reports his part of these transactions thus:

"When the general retreat was ordered, the First Rhode Island passed on to the top of the hill, where it was joined by the remainder of the brigade, and formed into column. Large bodies of stragglers were passing along the road, and it
was found impossible to retain the order which otherwise would have been preserved. Yet the brigade succeeded in retiring in comparatively good condition, with Arnold's battery of artillery and Captain Armstrong's company of dragoons bringing up the rear. The retreat continued thus until the column was about emerging from the woods and entering upon the Warrenton turnpike, when the artillery and cavalry went to the front, and the enemy opened fire upon the retreating mass of men. Upon the bridge crossing Cub Run, a shot took effect upon the horses of a team that was crossing. The wagon was overturned directly in the centre of the bridge, and the passage was completely obstructed. The enemy continued to play his artillery upon the trains, carriages, ambulances, and artillery wagons that filled the road, and these were reduced to ruin. The artillery could not possibly pass, and five pieces of the Rhode Island battery, which had been safely brought off the field, were here lost. The infantry, as the files reached the bridge, were furiously pelted with a shower of grape and other shot, and several persons were here killed or dangerously wounded. As was to be expected, the whole column was thrown into confusion, and could not be rallied again for a distance of two or three miles."

While the fugitives thus made the best possible time toward Washington, Gen. McDowell resolved to take thither, as speedily as possible, what remained of his army. The movement began about nine o'clock, from Centreville, and by midnight, all able to move were on the march. A sad contrast, however, was presented, between the grand army of the Potomac, as it had moved to contemplated victory, and the routed and dispirited fragments, which were now in retreat. The Confederate forces did not pursue the fugitives, and it was well for the latter that they did not. Had the pursuit been vigorously pressed, the capture of all their trains, at least, would have been an easy matter. The rebel Gen. John-
son, ignorant of material facts, thus excuses himself for not following up his successes:

"The apparent firmness of the U. S. troops at Centerville, who had not been engaged, which checked our pursuit, the strong forces occupying the works near Georgetown, Arlington, and Alexandria, the certainty too that Gen. Patterson, if needed, would reach Washington with his 30,000 men sooner than we could, and the condition and inadequate means of the army, in ammunition, provisions, and transportation, prevented any serious thoughts of advancing against the Capital. It is certain that the fresh troops within the works, were, in number, quite sufficient for their defense; if not, Gen. Patterson's army would certainly re-enforce them soon enough."

Gen. McDowell excused the disaster, by the delay of the advance from the 8th to the 16th of July, by the want of previous drill of his force in masses, the weakening of his force to re-enforce Gen. Patterson, that the trains were drawn by undisciplined animals, and driven by awkward men, and unexpectedly slow and lingering in their movements, that the consequent delays gave the enemy three days' notice of his intention, and enabled them to concentrate an immense force—all indeed which they had transportation to convey; that he moved at the earliest possible moment, and with all possible dispatch; that as the best part of his force were three months' men, he could not delay, for their time was nearly out, and in a few days ten thousand of his best troops would return; and that he crossed Bull Run with only 18,000 men, all told, the balance being at Blackburn's Ford, on the road near Stone Bridge and at Centreville.

The engagement began at one half past ten in the morning, and was vigorously continued until after three in the afternoon. Our men had been on their feet, in the march and the battle, full thirteen hours, on an oppressively hot summer day.
At one time the enemy was confessedly beaten, and his utter rout was only prevented by the arrival of the large command of Gen. Johnson, which, having come on by rail road, was fresh and vigorous, and was dashed furiously against our wearied and weakened columns, which produced that shameful and humiliating rout which sent a thrill of sadness to every loyal heart. That the enemy was badly beaten, is conclusively proved, by the fact that, even with his large number of fresh troops, he dared not pursue our flying and utterly disorganized forces.

Our loss, in this disastrous battle, was, killed 481, wounded 1,011, missing 1,216,—total 2,708.

We also lost 17 rifled, and 8 smooth-bore guns, 150 boxes small arm cartridges, 87 boxes rifled cannon ammunition, 13 wagons loaded with provisions, 30 boxes old fire-arms, 2,500 muskets, 8,000 knapsacks and blankets. Gen. Beauregard states the loss of the rebels as follows: Killed outright, 269, wounded, 1,483, total, 1,852.

Thus the first great battle of the war ended, in the utter discomfiture of the loyal forces. As the intelligence flew over the country, the greatest disappointment and depression were manifested by the people, by whom the possibilities of severe reverses had not been entertained. But the subsequent events of the war taught them to unlearn the error, and to respect at least the reckless earnestness of the foe, however they might regard the cause in which he was fighting, and the depraved and brutal spirit with which he waged the contest.

Immediately after this reverse, troops were rapidly concentrated at Washington, in large numbers, the Army of the Potomac was thoroughly re-organized, and something like military order and discipline were enforced. The war was seen to be an earnest affair, and not to be ended by the mere mustering of troops, by dress parades and reviews, or the exhibition of gaudy uniforms in drawing rooms or on gala occasions.
CHAPTER VII.
RETIREMENT OF GEN. SCOTT—CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN VIRGINIA.


When, by the treachery of the rebels, the National Capital was imperiled, Gen. Scott came forward, and patriotically offered his services to the Government, to aid in repelling their threatened assaults. Though, from age and infirmity, he needed quiet and repose; yet he felt that the peculiar perils of the time, demanded of him, and of every loyal citizen, the devotion of his time and talents to the salvation of his country.

As soon, therefore, as the rebellion was manifest, he devoted all his time and energies to its suppression; and, it is believed, that had more attention been given by the Government to his early and sagacious advice, the rebellion might have been strangled before its development. In the laborious duties of organizing, arming, supplying and directing the movements of our armies, he continued, until his failing health absolutely compelled him to retire, and which he did by transmitting to the Secretary of War the following letter:
The Hon. S. Cameron, Secretary of War.

Sir:—For more than three years I have been unable, from a hurt, to mount a horse, or to walk more than a few paces at a time, and that with much pain. Other and new infirmities, dropsy and vertigo, admonish me that repose of mind and body, with the appliances of surgery and medicine, are necessary to add a little more to a life already protracted much beyond the usual span of man. It is under such circumstances, made doubly painful by the unnatural and unjust rebellion now raging in the Southern States of our so lately prosperous and happy Union, that I am compelled to request, that my name shall be placed on the list of army officers retired from active service. As this request is founded on an absolute right, granted by a recent act of Congress, I am entirely at liberty to say, it is with deep regret that I withdraw myself in these momentous times from the orders of a President, who has treated me with much distinguished kindness and courtesy; whom I know, upon much personal intercourse, to be patriotic, without sectional partialities or prejudices; to be highly conscientious in the performance of every duty, and of unrivaled activity and perseverance; and to you, Mr. Secretary, whom I now officially address for the last time, I beg to acknowledge my many obligations, for the uniform high consideration I have received at your hands, and have the honor to remain, sir, with high respect, your obedient servant,

Winfield Scott.

Gen. George B. McClellan had been called by the Lieutenant General, immediately after the defeat at Bull Run, to aid in the re-organization, discipline, and command of the army. He had been the virtual Commander of the army of the Potomac, from the first of August. On the retirement of Gen. Scott, he was placed in the position thus made vacant, and on assuming which, he issued the following general order:
Head-Quarters of the Army, Washington, November 1st, 1861.

General Order No. 19.—In accordance with General Order No. 94 from the War Department, I hereby assume command of the armies of the United States.

In the midst of the difficulties which encompass and divide the nation, hesitation and self-distrust may well accompany the assumption of so vast a responsibility, but, confiding as I do, in the loyalty, discipline, and courage of our troops, and believing as I do, that Providence will favor ours as the just cause, I cannot doubt that success will crown our efforts and sacrifices. The army will unite with me in the feeling of regret that the weight of many years, and the effect of increasing infirmities, contracted and intensified in his country's service, should just now remove from our head the great soldier of our nation, the hero, who, in his youth raised high the reputation of his country in the fields of Canada, which he sanctified with his blood; who in more mature years proved to the world that American skill and valor could repeat, if not eclipse, the exploits of Cortez in the land of the Montezumas; whose whole life has been devoted to the service of his country, whose whole efforts have been directed to uphold our honor at the smallest sacrifice of life; a warrior who scorned the selfish glories of the battle-field, when his great qualities as a statesman could be employed more profitably for his country; a citizen who, in his declining years, has given to the world the most shining instance of loyalty, in disregarding all ties of birth, and clinging still to the cause of truth and honor. Such has been the career and character of Winfield Scott, whom it has long been the delight of the nation to honor, both as a man and a soldier. While we regret his loss, there is one thing we cannot regret—the bright example he has left for our emulation. Let us all hope and pray, that his declining years may be passed in peace and happiness, and
that they may be cheered by the success of the country, and
the cause he has fought for and loved so well. Beyond all
that, let us do nothing that can cause him to blush for us;
let no defeat of the army he has so long commanded, embitter
his last years, but let our victories illumine the close of a
life so grand.

George B. McClellan,
Major-General Commanding U. S. A.

General Rosecrans succeeded Gen. McClellan in command
of the Department of the Ohio. The insurgents in Western
Virginia, were commanded by General Wise, whose adminis-
tration was marked by the greatest cruelty to the Unionists,
whom he thus expected to force into submission. But it had
the opposite effect. It only increased their hatred of the
tyrant, and their love for, and devotion to, the old Union.
Though Gen. Wise sent out numerous guerillas, to harass, plunder, and burn, and to impress and murder the people, yet they remained firmly loyal.

The population of the thirty-nine counties comprising Western Virginia, was, in round numbers, 280,000, of which but 10,000 were black, or but one black to 28 white. In such community, slavery and its bloody propagators, found little support; and though Gen. Wise plundered the people of their horses, cattle, and grain, and emptied their stores and shops of all he could seize, destroying all the bridges and public property wherever he went, he could not silence the expression of loyal sentiments, nor gain recruits to his plundering bands.

On July 10th, a collision occurred at Scareytown, between a body of rebels, and about 1000 Ohio and Kentucky troops, the latter under command of Colonel Lowe. Scareytown was but four miles from Gen. Cox's camp, and on the opposite side of the Kanawha River. The enemy was intrenched and protected by woods, on the sides of elevated hills, and log huts, composing the village, also afforded additional protection. The enemy were attacked in their defenses, both with artillery and infantry, but his numbers and favorable position forbid success, and our forces were compelled to retire, with a loss of nine killed, thirty-eight wounded, and three missing.

Five officers of Gen. Cox's command, who came toward the field as observers, and, under the impression that our troops were victorious, crossed over, were all taken prisoners. They were Colonels Woodruff and DeVillers, Lieutenant Col. Neff, and Captains Austin and Hurd.

On July 26th, Gen. Cox advanced, to put a stop to the plundering bands of Gen. Wise, and hoped to meet him at Gauly Bridge. But the chivalrous Virginian fled precipitately on the approach of our scouts, leaving 1500 muskets, and a large amount of other stores in our hands. He retired
eighteen miles to the White Sulpher Springs, destroying all the bridges in his rear. His force was about 3500 men.

Gen. Rosecrans at this time, was at Grafton, and the forces under his command, consisted of four brigades, and about twenty regiments, four companies of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery. The brigade commanders were Gen's S. J. Reynolds, U. F. Hill, Col. R. L. McCook, and Gen. J. D. Cox.

While Col. Tyler's regiment, the seventh Ohio, Gen. Cox's brigade, were encamped at Cross Lanes, a position in the mountains near Summerville, eighteen miles from Gauly Bridge, they were surprised and attacked by three thousand infantry, four hundred cavalry, having ten guns, on the morning of the 26th of August. The position was extremely perilous, and prompt and resolute action, or immediate surrender, were the only alternatives. Col. Tyler at once formed and met the enemy's host, but as soon as he saw their overwhelming number, he sent back his approaching baggage train, eighteen miles, to Gen. Cox's position, and prepared for the desperate effort to cut his own way through, and save what he could of his command. After a desperate struggle, he succeeded, and with much smaller loss than, under the circumstances, might have been expected. He lost fifteen killed, forty wounded, and thirty prisoners. Rebel loss severe, though not accurately known.

On the 10th of Sept., Gen. Rosecrans, after a march of about seventeen miles, came upon a strongly intrenched position of the enemy at Carnifax Ferry, numbering 5,000 men, and commanded by the notorious rebel Gen. Floyd. Our forces numbered 4,500 men.

The position of the enemy was on the right bank of the Gauly river, about eight miles south-west of Summerville, Nicholson Co., Virginia, at the only point for several miles where the river can be crossed, owing to high banks which line its shores. On the arrival of Gen. Rosecrans' forces, about
three o'clock in the afternoon, he ordered a reconnoissance in force of the enemy's position, and found it very strong, and surrounded by a thick wood. The reconnoissance led to a conflict lasting until night, when Gen. Rosecrans withdrew his forces over the crest of a ridge, and rested on his arms, intending to renew the attack in the morning. But the rebel thief and traitor, feeling probably here, as he afterwards did at Fort Donelson, that his "relations to the Federal Government were so peculiar" that he could not afford to run the risk of capture, ignominiously fled, during the night, destroying the bridge behind him, to prevent pursuit. Our loss was fifteen killed and eighty wounded, including Col. Lowe; that of the enemy, not ascertained. The battle lasted about four hours.

After Gen. McClellan had driven the rebels out of Cheat Mountain Valley, he fortified Cheat Mountain Pass, an important route over the main chain of the Alleghanies, between Eastern and Western Virginia. The rebels had not yet fully abandoned the idea of gaining sway in Western Virginia, and were anxious to regain that Pass.

Early in September, Gen. R. F. Lee, who had succeeded Gen. Wise, and was one of the best Generals in the rebel service, was dispatched at the head of 9,000 men, to take that Pass. He was well supplied for the work in hand, and had a large park of field artillery. Gen. Reynolds was in command of the position, which was well prepared for defense. He thus describes, in his official report, the events and issue of the contest:

"On the 12th instant, the enemy, 9,000 strong, with eight to twelve pieces of artillery, under command of General R. F. Lee, advanced on this position, by the Huntersville pike. Our advanced pickets—portions of the 15th Indiana and 6th Ohio—gradually fell back to our main picket station, two companies of the 17th Indiana, under Colonel Hascall, checking the enemy's advance at the Point Mountain turnpike, and then falling
back on the regiment, which occupied a very advanced position on our right front, and which was now ordered in. The enemy threw into the woods on our left front three regiments, who made their way to the right and rear of Cheat Mountain, took a position on the road leading to Huttonville, broke the telegraph wire, and cut off our communication with Colonel Kimball's 14th Indiana cavalry, on Cheat Summit. Simultaneously, another force of the enemy, of about equal strength, advanced by the Staunton pike, on the front of Cheat Mountain, and threw two regiments to the right and rear of Cheat Mountain, which united with the three regiments from the other column of the enemy. (The two posts, Cheat Summit and Elk Water, are seven miles apart by a bridle path, over the mountains, and eighteen by the wagon road via Huttonville, Cheat Mountain Pass, the former head-quarters of the brigade being at the foot of the mountain, ten miles from the Summit.) The enemy, advancing toward the Pass, by which he might possibly have obtained the rear or left of Elk Water, was met there by three companies of the 13th Indiana, ordered up for that purpose, and by one company of the 14th Indiana, from the Summit. These four companies engaged and gallantly held in check greatly superior numbers of the enemy, foiled him in his attempt to obtain the rear or left of Elk Water, and threw him into the rear and right of Cheat Mountain—the companies retiring to the Pass at the foot of the mountain.

"The enemy, about 5,000 strong, were closed in on Cheat Summit, and became engaged with detachments of the 14th Indiana, 24th and 25th Ohio, from the Summit, in all about 300, who, deployed in the wood, held in check and killed many of the enemy, who did not at any time succeed in getting sufficiently near the field redoubt to give Dunn's battery an opportunity of firing into him. So matters rested at dark, on the 12th, with heavy forces in front and in ulam sight of both posts, communication cut off, and the sup-
ply train for the mountain, loaded with provisions which were needed, waiting for an opportunity to pass up the hill. Determined to force a communication with Cheat, I ordered the 13th Indiana, under Colonel Sullivan, to cut their way, if necessary, by the mail road, and the greater part of the 3d Ohio and 2d Virginia, under Colonels Morrow and Moss respectively, to do the same by the path, the two commands starting at 3 o'clock A. M. on the 13th, the former from Cheat Mountain Pass and the latter from Elk Water, so as to fall upon the enemy, if possible, simultaneously. Early on the 13th, the small force of about 300 from the Summit engaged the enemy, and with such effect that, notwithstanding his greatly superior numbers, he retired in great haste and disorder, leaving large quantities of clothing and equipments on the ground; and our relieving forces, failing to catch the enemy, marched to the Summit, securing the provision train and re-opening our communication. While this was taking place on the mountain, and, as yet unknown to us, the enemy, under Lee, advanced on Elk Water, apparently for a general attack. One rifled ten-pound Parrott gun, from Loomis' battery, was run to the front, three-fourths of a mile, and delivered a few shots at the enemy, doing fine execution, causing him to withdraw out of convenient range. Our relative positions remained unchanged until near dark, when we learned the result of the movement on the mountain, as above stated, and the enemy retired somewhat for the night.

"On the 14th, early, the enemy was again in position in front of Elk Water, and a few rounds, supported by a company of the 15th Indiana, were again administered, which caused him to withdraw, as before. The forces that had been before repulsed from Cheat, returned, and were again driven back by a comparatively small force from the mountain. The 17th Indiana was ordered up the path, to open communication and make way for another supply train, but, as before,
found the little band from the Summit had already done the work. During the afternoon of the 14th, the enemy withdrew from before Elk Water, and is now principally concentrated some ten miles from this post, at or near his main camp. On the 15th, he appeared in stronger force than at any previous time, in front of Cheat, and attempted a flank movement by the left, but was driven back by the ever vigilant and gallant garrison of the field redoubt on the Summit. To-day the enemy has also retired from the front of Cheat, but to what precise position I am not yet informed. The results of these affairs are, that we have killed near one hundred of the enemy, including Colonel John A. Washington, Aid-de-Camp to General Lee, and have taken about twenty prisoners. We have lost nine killed, including Lieutenant Junod, 14th Indiana, two missing, and about sixty prisoners."

On the 25th of September, the rebels, under Col. Davis, numbering 500 men, were attacked at Chapmansville, Logan Co., Virginia, by a detachment of 560 men, under Col. Pratt, of the 34th Indiana. The rebel loss was twenty-nine killed, and more than twice that number wounded, including Col. Davis, mortally. Our loss was four killed, and nine wounded. The following is a spirited account of the fight:

"The Zouave, 34th Regiment, Ohio, have had a chance to show their metal. This was on Wednesday, on Kanawha Gap, near Chapmansville, Va. After marching forty-two miles, they came upon the enemy, who were behind breastworks, but could not stand our boys' steady fire; for they retreated in utter consternation, their Colonel, J. W. Davis, of Greenbrier, Va., (but the traitor is a native of Portsmouth, Ohio), mortally wounded. We killed twenty, took three prisoners, a secesh flag (twenty feet long, with fifteen stars), four horses, one wagon, ten rifles, twelve muskets, and commissary stores. We lost three killed, nine wounded, one since died. The rout of the enemy was complete,
although they had a brave and a skillful commander, and strong position, with two days’ information of our intentions. They fled the moment their commander fell. The fight lasted about ten minutes opposite the breast-works, but a running fire was kept up previous to that, by the ‘bush-wackers’ and rebel cavalry for two hours. At every turn of the road over the mountains, they would fire upon our advance men, wheel round, and gallop away. This kind of fight was kept up until we came suddenly upon their breast-works, immediately in line of our entire column. It was made on the side of a knoll, between two mountain sides, the road running between the knoll and the mountain on our left. The wily rebel commander had adroitly cut down the brush on the right, placing a force of one hundred men on the mountain top on our right, who raked our column from the front to the centre. This was to draw our attention from their breast-works. Our men naturally fired upon the rebels on their right, steadily advancing up the road, until within twenty feet of the enemy’s works, when the rebels suddenly opened fire, from the right, left, and centre. The order from Colonel Pratt, and Lieutenant-Colonel Toland, to flank right and left, was immediately responded to by the Zouaves with a hurrah, a Zouave yell, and a cry of “wood up” from Little Red; a dash by our boys upon the enemy’s right, left, and centre; a fire from the enemy’s breast-works, above which about three hundred rebel heads suddenly appeared, unknown by our own men till that moment. They sent a perfect storm of bullets around, over, and into our men. A few minutes more, and our boys were inside the breast-works, chasing them over the mountains, the enemy running away like cowards, as they proved to be. They left twenty-nine dead behind. Their force was 450 infantry and 50 cavalry. Our force was 560.”

General Reynolds, with a detachment of about 5,000 men, from Cheat Mountain Pass, started on the 2d of October, to
reconnoiter the position of the enemy on the Greenbriar river, twelve miles distant. Here General Wise had established a strong camp, named camp Defiance, in consideration of its strength, on the summit of Sewall Mountain. His force was 7,000 men, with eleven pieces of artillery. Gen. Floyd, with 1,500 men, remained at Meadow Bluff. Gen. Lee took command of camp Defiance on September 24th.

Gen. Reynolds commenced his march at one o'clock in the morning. The enemy was found in very strong force and advantageously posted, on a high declivity known as Buffalo Hill, and which could only be approached by coming directly under the guns placed in terraces one above the other. The attack was made in front, and entirely with artillery. The enemy was driven from his lower positions, but his large force and great advantages, enabled him to hold his position, and after a spirited cannonade of four hours, and when our ammunition was nearly exhausted, our forces withdrew, having accomplished the object of the expedition. We lost eight killed, and thirty-two wounded. Rebel loss not ascertained.

On the 26th of October, Gen. Kelly, with the Virginia and Ohio Volunteers, numbering 2500 men, left New Creek on an expedition against Romney. A supporting movement was, at the same time, made by the 2d Maryland Regiment, Col. Thomas Johns, consisting of 700 men. The latter was to threaten an attack upon the north side of the town, which he did with great gallantry and efficiency, having one killed and six wounded, while the former was to make the principal attack from the west. But Gen. Kelly encountered the enemy, some five miles from the town. A sharp and obstinate conflict ensued, but a bold charge of infantry and cavalry upon the enemy's batteries, caused them to beat a precipitate retreat, abandoning to the victors, three cannon, three wagon loads of new rifles, tents and other supplies, and about fifty prisoners. Our loss was but two men killed, and fifteen wounded, that
of the enemy twenty killed, and fifteen wounded. The rebels fled toward Winchester, and held the pass between Staunton and Cheat Mountain.

Guyandotte, a small village in Western Virginia, of about 1000 inhabitants, was made the theatre of one of the most inhuman butcheries of Union soldiers, of which this barbarous war has furnished an example. Most of its inhabitants were open and avowed rebels. On the 10th of November, it was in the possession of about 150 Union troops. No apprehensions of an attack were entertained, and no suitable precautions had been taken to guard against it. Many of the men at the time, were scattered about the town, at various residences, whither they had gone on the treacherous invitations of those who were in the plot to consummate their butchery. They were unarmed guests of those base assassins. It is said that concerted signals had been arranged, to give information of the houses at which such soldiers were visiting, so that their murderous assailants would know just where to strike. About 8 o'clock in the evening, a force of 400 rebel cavalry dashed into the town, and commenced the work of slaughter. The Union forces rallied as soon as possible, but few only could get to their guns, and for a time maintained a resolute defense, but were overpowered, slain, captured or dispersed.

The news spread rapidly, and the Union troops nearest the point, were ordered to advance upon the town, which they reached the next day, but the rebels had fled, before their arrival. When our troops appeared, the treacherous inhabitants fawned about the landing, displaying white flags, hoping in that way to shield themselves from that punishment which their brutality had so justly provoked. But their duplicity was understood, and their depravity punished. The town was fired, and about three fourths of it consumed—a fit retribution for the treacherous assassins. The property of Union men
was spared, though some of it was burned in the general conflagration.

On Thursday morning, December 12th, the Union troops, under the command of Brig. Gen. R. H. Milroy, took up their march for the enemy's camp, on the Greenbriar River, called camp Allegany. The forces thus advanced numbered about 1750 men. The enemy's force was 2000. The design was to surprise the camp early on the following morning; which was but partially successful, for before the attack could be made, the enemy had formed, and were ready to receive them. A severe, and for the numbers engaged, a very bloody contest, of six hours ensued, at the close of which, our troops were compelled to return to camp, with the loss of 20 killed, 107 wounded, 10 missing. The rebel loss 25 killed, 97 wounded, and 30 prisoners. Col. Jones thus details the contest:

"One company of the 13th Indiana, being in advance, was conducted by Lieutenant McDonald, of General Reynolds' staff, until we arrived at the edge of the woods, in full view of the enemy's camp. Finding them already formed, and advancing with a large force to attack us, Lieutenant McDonald halted the company of the 13th Indiana, and ordered it to deploy into line. Immediately he formed the 25th Ohio on his left, and the other two companies of the 13th Indiana on our left, and a detachment of the 32d Ohio formed on their left. The fire was already opened on the right, and was carried through the lines. After a few rounds, the enemy retreated in great confusion, with great slaughter, leaving their dead and wounded. They now again rallied, and commenced to advance, returning our fire with great vigor. Some of the men commenced falling to the rear all along the line. Captains Charlesworth and Crowe, of the 25th Ohio, Lieutenant McDonald, Captains Myers and Newland, of the 13th Indiana, and Captain Hamilton, of the 32d Ohio, rallied them, and brought them up into line in a few moments."
"The enemy fell back, and attempted to turn our right flank, but was immediately met and repulsed. Our men by this time had become broken, but were again rallied by the officers of the different companies, who conducted themselves nobly. The enemy again attempted to advance upon us, but shared the same fate as before, and after making several attempts to drive us from the woods, deployed to the left, to turn our left flank and get into our rear. I ordered a portion of the command to advance and attack them, which was done in a gallant manner, the enemy retiring to their cabins. They soon appeared again, however, and our men finding that they were not receiving the support of the 9th Indiana and 2d Virginia, quite a number commenced retreating, and it was with great difficulty that they were rallied. Some did not return, but disgracefully left the field. The remainder of the command fought like veteran soldiers, and drove the rebels again to their cabins; but they were soon rallied by their officers, and renewed their attack with a larger-enforcement, pouring a galling fire into our thinned ranks, yet our men held their position, and returned the fire with great energy and slaughter, the officers of the different detachments urging and cheering them on. Many of the men had left the field with the wounded, and some without cause, which had very much reduced our number, and our ammunition was almost exhausted. Their artillery was turned upon us with shot and shell, but without any effect, and the enemy was again compelled to retire to their cabins, with great slaughter, as usual. Our ammunition being exhausted, I thought it prudent to fall back to the head-quarters of the commanding General, which was done in good order."

The rebels set fire to their camp, and retreated to Staunton.

The rebel depot of military stores, at Huntersville, to the amount of about $30,000 was captured and destroyed, by
Major Webster, on the 3d of January. Gen. Kelly dispatched Col. Dunning, of the 5th Ohio, on the 7th of January, to attack the Confederate force, 2,000 strong, at Blue Gap, east of Romney. The enemy were defeated, with the loss of sixty-five killed, twenty prisoners, two cannon and all their camp stores.

The rebels concentrated their forces at Blooming Gap, for a final stand, but were met and routed by Gen. Lander, with thirteen killed and seventy-five prisoners. This cleared the Department of the rebels, which gratifying fact, Gen. Lander reported to his Government.
CHAPTER VIII.

RE-ACTION IN MARYLAND—THE CONGRESSIONAL BODIES—BATTLE OF BALL'S BLUFF.


On the memorable 19th day of April, when the blood of the sons of Massachusetts dyed the pavements of Baltimore, Marshal George P. Kane sent a dispatch to a notorious rebel, in active resistance to the Government, in which he said of the northern troops, "We will fight them, and whip them, or die." Yet for more than two months after this open declaration of treason, he was permitted to hold his official position, in which he could, and did, render important aid to the rebellion.

On the 27th of June, however, he was arrested by the order of Major General Banks, and confined in Fort McHenry. His arrest gave great offense to the Police Commissioners, who sought resentment by attempts to disorganize the police force. A Provost-Marshal was appointed, to take the general oversight of municipal affairs, until some loyal citizen should be chosen by the Commissioners to fill the place vacated by Kane. A new police force was organized, composed of loyal and reliable citizens; and the government of the city was then taken out of rebel hands.

These energetic acts, on the part of the Government, toward reckless and lawless traitors, were equally new and surprising; and produced great excitement among the Baltimore rebels. They had, with impunity, so long and so un-
HON. EDWIN M. STANTON
blushingly defied and trampled upon all law and authority, that they manifested extreme indignation at this, as they deemed it, presumptuous interference. The old Police Commissioners were especially turbulent, and anxious to excite disorder and violence.

Gen. Banks kept himself fully informed of their movements; and was aware also that they were liable to arrest, for previous treasonable acts. He therefore arranged for their prompt and simultaneous arrest; and, to guard against any resistance which might be attempted, large bodies of troops were stationed in various quarters of the city. The Commissioners, by concerted arrangements, were at the same time quietly arrested and conveyed to Fort McHenry.

These measures defeated the schemes of the rebels, and restored comparative quiet and order to the city, in which trea-
son had no longer the aid of a large, organized, and influential police.

It is now well established, that at this time, a thoroughly organized conspiracy existed in Baltimore, and that when Gen. Banks took military possession of the city, it was rapidly approaching its denouement. Apropos of their hopes and plans at this time, is the following, from a Richmond correspondent of the Charleston Courier:

"Thirty thousand men are said to be under arms, waiting concerted action. Silently and stealthily they have been preparing for the event, which they knew must come. The mercenaries have sought to deprive them of their weapons, but where one has been made a prize, a hundred have taken its place. I learn this fact from a well informed Baltimorean now in Richmond, and from another source I have ascertained that not less than 8,000 muskets are at this moment concealed, and vigilantly guarded, night and day.

"I think I telegraphed to you, that in the Eighth Ward—an Irish district, by-the-way—a Confederate flag was flying over a house, in which loaded swivels were mounted at the windows, and that the inmates would die before they would allow the flag to be struck. This is the spirit which prevails in every part of the city. Women, not less than men, participate in it; and, as I wrote you from that point some weeks ago, should a battle ensue in the streets, you will find their fair hands dealing death and destruction from the windows of their dwellings. The Government has gone too far to retrace its steps. Baltimore must either be wiped out of existence, or the demands of its people conceded. Property, with them, is no longer a matter of consideration. Fort McHenry may burn and bombard their homes, but with life and principle at stake, they will sleep upon the ashes, before they yield one jot or tittle to the usurpers.

"My informant believes that a battle there is imminent."
Affrays between the citizens and soldiers take place frequently. Already, several on both sides have been killed and wounded. Should a fight result, we shall hear of scenes that only find a parallel in the bloody records of French revolutions, when the people fought and conquered the trained soldiers of their King, behind barricades. The blow may be precipitated in less than a week."

The following are the particulars of the arrest of Marshal Kane:

"The arrest was made just before day-break. Eighteen hundred troops from Fort McHenry marched silently into the city, in a double column, with a space between the files. Their muskets were loaded with ball, and their bayonets fixed. The men wore their cartridge boxes, in which were a few rounds more, but no knapsacks. They knew, therefore, that serious work was expected, and that they had not far to go to find it. They had marched a square, when a policeman, in his cool summer uniform, and swinging his long baton, was observed crossing the street ahead. Instantly the head of the column opened, the body swept on, and the policeman, riveted to the ground in astonishment at this manœuvre, unknown to the tactics of either Matsell or Vidocq, found himself swallowed up and borne along in the resistless advance. Two squares ahead, another policeman was discovered. Again the column opened and another was engulfed. By the time the column reached the residence of the Marshal, not less than fifty-seven of the vigilant guardians of the night had been thus swallowed up; but when they found that their captors had halted at the door of the Marshal's house, they began to smell a rat of the largest possible dimensions. An officer now rang the bell. After some delay, a night-capped head popped out of the window, and the well known voice of Marshal Kane inquired, in a rather gruff tone, what was wanted. The officer blandly replied, that he himself was the article just then in
demand. "Hum, hum," said the Marshal, never at a loss for a joke. "I'll supply that demand."

On Marshal Kane's premises, after his arrest, were found the following articles: Two six-pound iron guns; two four-pound iron guns; half ton assorted shot; half keg shot for steam gun; one hundred and twenty flint muskets; forty-six rifles, three double-barreled shot guns; eight single-barreled shot guns; nine horse pistols; sixty-five small pistols; one hundred and thirty-two bullet moulds; four hundred weight balls; eight dirk knives; five swords; eight kettle drums; one lot of screw drivers; one box of musket cartridges; thirty-three gun coats; forty-four copper-flasks; eighteen muskets; one hundred and seventeen canisters; one lot flannel bags; twelve old muskets; twenty-five Minie muskets; forty-eight Hall's carbines; one lot of slow matches; forty-eight thousand percussion caps; two kegs ball cartridges; one hundred rifle ball cartridges; seven hundred and thirty-five Hall's rifle cartridges; three thousand one hundred and sixty-two round ball cartridges; six thousand five hundred and twenty long ball Minie cartridges; seven canister shot; twenty small flasks; one ball, twelve-pounder, labeled, "from Fort Sumter to Col. Kane."

There were afterwards found between twenty and thirty revolvers, between the ceiling and flooring of the second story, and more, in one of the out-houses. Some were identified as those belonging to Massachusetts troops, who had been assaulted in Pratt street. Other military weapons were found hidden upon different parts of the premises.

Baltimore was the great centre of treason in Maryland. The popular elections have shown that out of that city, a very large majority of her people were resolutely devoted to the Union. Yet the old Legislature, composed largely of the principal slave-holders, and selected, it is now believed, with reference to the contemplated rebellion, were decidedly and
actively disloyal; and were only prevented from adopting the most extreme measures, by the prompt and energetic interference of the Government.

The effect of the decided action of the Government, was to encourage the loyalists, and to cause the rebellious to hesitate. The latter, in large numbers, left the State, and joined the Virginia rebels; while the former, assured of support, had the courage to avow their honest convictions, and to take their stand on the side of the Union. Gov. Hicks was a friend of the Union cause, yet he was hardly equal to the peculiar difficulties and responsibilities of his position, and at times seemed to shrink from the stern duties incumbent upon him. It must, however, be admitted, that his position was one of extraordinary delicacy, and required at his hands, peculiar prudence and discretion.

A decided re-action followed. A Union delegation to Congress, with a single exception, was elected, and the legislative power of the State, was also placed in Union hands, by which, in May, 1862, ten thousand dollars was appropriated, for the benefit of the representatives of those who fell in the riot of the 19th of April, and of the surviving sufferers.

One of the many marvels with which the history of this rebellion abounds, is the singular conduct of the people of Baltimore, in their opposition to the Union. That city was essentially northern in its interests, and had really little alliance with slavery, other than what grew out of its commercial relations with the South. Those relations, in other cities than Baltimore, and in those much farther north, had made many advocates of southern rights, many supporters of the merely political claims which that section had, from time to time, put forth—advocates and supporters, whose principal objects had been to thus secure the confidence and the business patronage of that section. Hence, in the large commercial cities, to defend and support the South, was one way to
secure patronage and extend business, in which there was an active competition. Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, were the great competitors in the disgraceful contest. But the blockade and non-intercourse laws, put a sudden stop to the hopes of commercial gain in that quarter, and, either from the consideration that their true interests would henceforth be promoted by sustaining the Union, or from the higher motives of patriotism and love of country, the three latter cities, with almost entire unanimity, came forth the active and decided friends of the Union.

Baltimore, however, persistently sought to join her fortunes with the rebel South. No doubt at all exists, that she was saved from the direful plunge, only by the presence of Union troops, and by the frowning batteries of Fort McHenry, which held at their mercy the immense property interest of the city. That consideration held her back. She, however, will forever share the disgraceful distinction, of having done all she could do to effect her purpose—of having deliberately planned the assassination of the President elect, on his way to the Capital, and of having, in her own streets, shot down the brave defenders of their country's unity.

Pursuant to the Proclamation of President Lincoln, of April 15th, the Federal Congress convened on the 4th day of July. There were eight Senators present from the Border States, and Kansas was, for the first time, represented in the National Senate. Western Virginia, having organized a separate State government, was, subsequently, represented.

The President, in his message, reviewed the condition of the country, and, to "make the war a short and decisive one," asked for four hundred thousand men, and four hundred millions of money. He reiterated the sentiments of his inaugural address, as to the doctrine of secession.

The peculiar crisis in which secession had involved the country, had compelled the President to exercise unusual
powers, and he relied upon the intelligence and patriotism of Congress and the country, to justify and legalize his acts. This was done with great unanimity and alacrity, by the passage of laws endorsing his acts, and for the raising of five hundred thousand men, and five hundred million dollars. There were but four negatives in the Senate, and an equally decisive vote in the House. They were opposed chiefly by such men as Messrs. Breckenridge of Kentucky, and Polk of Missouri, both of whom lingered in the National halls, only to stab more effectually the nation's life, and who a few months later, were leading the rebel forces against the Union—or their warm sympathizers, from the free States, a few of whom still held seats in Congress.

Congress was in session but thirty-three days. Yet in no session were ever before passed equally important acts. Immense sums of money must be provided; an immense army must be raised and fitted for the field; a navy must, virtually, be created; the President must be entrusted with important, yet well guarded trusts; and treason must be defined, and traitors punished. Bills for all which purposes were perfected and passed.

A confiscation bill was enacted, of which the provisions in relation to the slaves of rebels, were as follows:

"That whenever hereafter, during the present insurrection against the Government of the United States, any person, claimed to be held to labor or service, under the laws of any State, shall be required or permitted, by the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due, or by the lawful agent of such person, to take up arms against the United States, or shall be required or permitted, by the person to whom such service or labor is due, or by his lawful agent, to work or to be employed in or upon any fort, navy yard, dock, armory, ship, or intrenchment, or in any military or naval service whatever, against the Government and lawful author-
ity of the United States, then, and in every such case, the person to whom such service is claimed to be due, shall forfeit his claim to such labor, any law of the State or of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding; and whenever thereafter the person claiming such labor or service shall seek to enforce his claim, it shall be a full and sufficient answer to such claim, that the person whose service or labor is claimed had been employed in hostile service against the Government of the United States, contrary to the provisions of this act.’’

This was an initiatory measure only, and all, it was believed, for which the country was then prepared. The subsequent progress of the war, rapidly educated the people and their representatives, until, in the early part of 1862, a much more stringent confiscation bill was enacted, to be followed by the positive emancipation of all the slaves in the rebel States, by the Proclamation of the President, on January 1st, 1863.

It was not at all doubted, but that the North would promptly furnish the men called for; but many doubted its ability to raise the vast amount of money needed to support, arm, and equip the immense force. Hundreds of millions must be promptly raised from but a section of the country, engaged in a war of terrible proportions, and whose termination no one was wise enough to foresee. Yet the head of the Financial Bureau was equal to the emergency. He personally met, and conferred with the leading bankers and financiers of the principal commercial cities, and devised, and carried out a system of finance, by which the Government was amply supplied with all the means it needed; and, averaging all the credits it obtained on its various issues of notes and bonds, at about 4 per cent, interest.

All the vast means required, were furnished by the capitalists of the country. The want of European sympathy, which was early shown, repelled all attempts to negotiate foreign loans; and, although it was at first regarded as a misfortune,
it was soon seen to be greatly to our advantage. The capital of the Country became closely allied with its success; all its financial force was interested in the successful prosecution of the war, and, in such a conclusion of it, as would not materially impair its ability to redeem its obligations. Moreover, this system of domestic credits kept within the country, and available to its use, all its resources.

This liberal action of the capitalists, was a great source of popular confidence, and the national securities maintained full credit. In nothing else were the resources of the North more conspicuously shown, than in its ability to furnish the funds necessary for the successful prosecution of a war of such gigantic proportions, in the face of the many derangements and disorders inseparable from civil strife. The South, which heretofore had been a large customer of the North, had of course withdrawn its patronage, and had, in addition, repudiated its entire northern debt, of about $200,000,000. The South also passed stringent laws, confiscating to the use of the State, the property which Northern residents had in the South, or that of "alien enemies," men who would not take the oath of allegiance to the Confederate Government.

The Confederate Congress assembled at Richmond, on the 20th of July. Among its acts was that compelling all male citizens of the United States, over the age of fourteen years, who adhered to the Union, to leave the Confederate States on forty hours' notice, by proclamation of the President, take the oath of allegiance, or submit to the sequestration of their property, under the following act:

"Be it enacted by the Congress of the Confederate States, that all lands, goods, rights, and credits within these Confederate States, owned by any alien enemy since the 21st day of May, 1861, be sequestrated by the Confederate States of America, and shall be held for the full indemnity of any citizen and a resident of these Confederate States, or other
person aiding said Confederate States, in the prosecution of the present war, and for which he may suffer any loss or injury under the act of the United States to which this act is retaliatory, authorizing the seizure or confiscation of the property of citizens or residents of the Confederate States, and the same shall be seized and disposed of, as provided for in this act."

The President was authorized to accept the service of four hundred thousand men, in addition to the two hundred and ten thousand which official reports showed that they then had in the field, for a period of not less than twelve months, nor more than three years. Missouri was admitted into the Confederacy, and her defense provided for. The issue of $100,000,-000 of Treasury notes was authorized, payable to bearer, six months after the conclusion of peace. The following resolution was passed respecting the rights of neutrals, the object of which was to secure the favor of England and France:

"Whereas, it has been found that the uncertainty of maritime law, in time of war, has given rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents, which may occasion serious misunderstandings, and even conflicts; and whereas, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, and Russia, at the Congress of Paris of 1856, established a uniform doctrine on this subject, to which they invited the adherence of the nations of the world, which is as follows:

"1. That privateering is and remains abolished.

"2. That the neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

"3. That neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag; and

"4. That blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

"And whereas, it is desirable that the Confederate States of
America shall assume a definite position on so important a point; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Congress of the Confederate States of America accept the second, third, and fourth clauses of the above-cited declaration, and decline to assent to the first clause thereof."

The exportation of cotton was prohibited, except through Confederate ports. Sixty millions were appropriated for the army, and four millions for the navy.

All the important questions which came before this Congress, were considered in secret session, the first instance in the world's history, when a representative body thus shut out its constituents from all knowledge of its deliberation and acts.

Following the defeat at Bull Run, there had been, in the Army of the Potomac, a long period of comparative inaction. The enemy had hovered near the Capital, and continually threatened an attack. Either bank of the Potomac, from near the Capital to Harper's Ferry, was occupied by the contending forces—the Union troops on the Maryland, and those of the rebels on the Virginia shore. Nearest the Capital was the division of Gen. Banks, next that of Gen. Stone, while Colonels Lander and Geary, held the positions thence to Harper's Ferry. On the opposite side, the enemy held, among other positions, Dranesville and Leesburgh.

Early in October, the enemy abandoned his purpose of invading Maryland, and commenced withdrawing his forces. On the 18th of October, Gen. McCall was directed to make a reconnaissance in force in the vicinity of Dranesville. The enemy had evacuated the place, and the town was occupied by our forces. It was believed that Leesburgh also had been abandoned.

Gen. Stone was instructed to watch the effect of those demonstrations, and to aid them by slight co-operative movements. On the 20th, he made a feint of crossing the river at Edward's
Ferry, and occupied, with four companies, Harrison's Island, on the Potomac, between Edward's and Conrad's Ferry. A reconnoissance of Leesburgh exhibited but few tents, or pickets. This led to the belief that only a small force of the enemy was at that place, and dispositions were at once made to attack them on the following morning. Col. Devens was directed to proceed, during the night, with four companies, to the Virginia shore, and attack the enemy's camp at dawn. Col.
Baker was ordered to move the 1st California regiment to Conrad's Ferry at sunrise, and follow promptly with the rest of his brigade. A battalion of the 15th Mass., Lieut. Col. Wood, was also to rendezvous opposite Harrison's Island, at daybreak.

The means of crossing the river, which at this point is rapid, were quite inadequate. There were available, in all, five scows, a small boat, and a ship's yawl, with which only about one hundred and twenty men could be crossed per hour. The two Ferries were opposite the upper and lower ends of Harrison's Island, and about three miles apart. Between the landings on the Virginia shore rises a high Bluff, called Ball's Bluff. From the landing, the road is steep and difficult, until it opens into a field containing about six acres, entirely surrounded by a forest. The latter, at the time of the attack, was occupied by the rebel forces. In this field the battle was fought; and it is difficult to conceive a more favorable position for the enemy, or one more disadvantageous to the assailants.

The plan of attack was attempted to be put into execution. Col. Devens, had reached the shore at day-break, with four companies, which were formed on the Bluff, near the edge of the field. Here they were attacked by the enemy, and irregular skirmishing maintained for most of the forenoon, the enemy shrewdly withholding any great show of force, in order to draw a larger force into the net which they had spread for it. Col. Baker had been given the field command during the forenoon, and pressed his re-enforcements over as fast as his transportation would permit. They were concentrated in the fatal field, ignorant of the force of the unseen foe, and of the terrible ordeal through which they were soon to pass. But the dread reality was soon to be known. Three thousand rebels lay carefully hidden in the adjacent wood, and about half-past two p. m. made their presence known by the discharge of
fierce volleys, upon three sides of the Federal position. Our forces were in the very "jaws of death"! sharp-shooters were hidden in the trees, and our officers were the first victims of their murderous fire. From the forest belched forth volumes of smoke, and sheets of fire, attended with terribly fatal results.

Never were soldiers in a position more critical, and never has unflinching valor been more sternly shown. For a full hour, the unequal contest raged. On the right, the gallant 20th Massachusetts, and on the left, the equally heroic Californians, manfully resisted the cruel odds. But such a contest could not long be maintained. The effect of the enemy's fire was rapidly diminishing our power of resistance, and increasing fearfully the original disparity of force. The enemy now had full four effective men to our one, with the added advantage of position, and the certainty of victory. Our columns were shattered. Nearly one half the officers were killed, or wounded, and the crisis had come! The rebels, confident and reliant were boldly pushing their advantages, and the slaughter, or capture, of the entire command, appeared inevitable. They closed in upon our forces. Gen. Baker was shot with a revolver by a rebel, four balls entering his body; but the slayer was speedily sacrificed by the heroic Captain Beiral. The enemy hovered over the spot, to bear off the body of the slain hero; but the resolute firmness of Adjutant Harvey, aided by the prompt action of the brave spirits near him, beat back the ravenous horde, and safely bore the sacred relic to Harrison's Island.

The death of the brave commander was speedily followed by the order to retreat. This had been anticipated by many wandering and wearied men, who crowded the landing. Hundreds attempted to swim the cold and rapid river, in which many were drowned.

But what a terribly hopeless retreat it was! Headlong they
rushed down the steep declivity, followed by the exultant foe, dealing deadly volleys upon the disordered crowd. And what was their hope? Even with proper transportation, it would have been difficult to use it, but with the slender means at their command, the case was indeed most desperate. Into the frail skiff, the men rushed, the well and wounded, in the frantic pursuit of safety. Overloaded with the living freight, the craft springs a leak, sinks, and the flood claims what the field had yielded. Nearly one hundred were thus drowned, including about sixty wounded men.

The surviving officers nobly did their duty in this trying emergency. They resolutely refused to surrender, and sternly kept back the foe until nearly midnight, before they surrendered the remnant of their commands.

The total Federal force engaged, were eighteen hundred and fifty-three officers and men, of whom two hundred and twenty-three were killed, two hundred and fifty wounded, and five hundred taken prisoners. Rebel loss, two hundred, in killed and wounded.

The rebels concentrated in force soon after the battle at Leesburgh, and threatened offensive movements. Gen. Stone held the Virginia shore, opposite Edward's Ferry, with four thousand men. An examination made by Gen. McClellan, convinced him that the position of Gen. Stone was untenable, and his command was withdrawn, on the night of the 23d of October.

On the 20th of December, 1861, Gen. Ord's brigade, of McCall's Division, comprising four regiments of infantry, among them the Bucktail rifle regiment, Col. Kane, a force in all of about four thousand men, were sent on a foraging expedition in the neighborhood of Dranesville, about midway between Lewinsville and Leesburgh. The point was thought to be unoccupied by hostile forces, and a large quantity of forage was known to be in that neighborhood. The expedition was
well prepared for the work in hand, and also to repel an assault, should the foe venture to make one. The vicinity of Dranesville was reached about noon, when, upon a neighboring hill, a large number of rebels were discovered, and other work than gathering hay and grain appeared now quite evidently at hand, and for which immediate preparation was made, by the formation of the line of battle.

The enemy soon opened fire from a battery of six pieces, posted nearly a mile distant, and sheltered by a wood, from which shells were vigorously discharged, passing entirely over the Union forces, and, upon the alteration of the range, falling short of it. But Gen. Ord's brigade had two twenty-four and two twelve pounders, commanded by Captain Easton, who promptly responded. The speedy slackening of the enemy's fire, indicated a retreat, or some new movement. They were soon discovered, attempting to turn the right flank. Col. Kane's regiment occupied that part of the line. Near him was a brick house, in which he posted twenty men, and, sheltered by its walls, they inflicted severe chastisement upon the advancing rebel columns, which here consisted of three regiments. The boldness of the rebel advance, subjected them to a very destructive fire from the Federal line, before which they soon recoiled, and fell back to the protection of their battery. They were vigorously pursued, and a charge of the battery ordered. But while the order was being executed, the enemy had fled, removing his guns.

The attacking party consisted of four regiments of infantry, a battery of flying artillery, and two squadrons of cavalry, which were also out on a foraging expedition. The rebel loss was seventy-five killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, and thirty prisoners. Federal loss, seven killed, and sixty-one wounded.
CHAPTER IX.

OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTH-WEST—WAR IN MISSOURI.


Cairo, at the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi river, in the extreme south part of the State of Illinois, was the first point occupied by our forces in the west; and it, with Bird's Point, on the opposite side of the Mississippi, effectually commands those two rivers.

Several camps of instruction were established at Cairo, early in May, and on the last of that month, a force of 6,000 men was stationed there, under command of Brigadier Gen. B. M. Prentiss; and other camps, embracing nearly forty thousand men, were formed in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri, the troops in which could reach Cairo within twenty-four hours. The place was strongly fortified, and heavy guns were put in position, by which a strict blockade of the Ohio and of the Mississippi was maintained. The enemy, however, never made serious demonstrations upon the place,
and it interposed an effectual barrier to the raids which the rebels had contemplated, into Illinois, Kentucky, and adjoining States.

In Missouri, a rebellious spirit was early manifested, on the part of the Governor, and other officials. The former had contumaciously refused to comply with the requisition of the President, to furnish her quota of troops; and in doing so, used the following insulting language: "Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary, in its objects; inhuman, and diabolical. Not one man will Missouri furnish to carry on the unholy crusade!"

The terrible consequences to the people of Missouri, which followed, from this rash and reckless decision of its Governor, were beyond description. From a high condition of prosperity and happiness, her people were suddenly plunged into the worst horrors of civil war,—members of the same family were arrayed against each other in deadly strife,—neighbor against neighbor; murder, arson, robbery,—every conceivable form of atrocity, for many long months, were universally prevalent. Thousands upon thousands were reduced from affluence to beggary; pleasant homes, fruitful fields, thriving towns, were made deserts; and countless widows and orphans mourn the sad desolation caused by a few mad and unprincipled leaders. How can such men ever atone for the horrid crimes which they have committed; what punishment can be a sufficient retribution for the awful offense!

Governor Jackson, on the second day of May, called the Legislature together, and, in his message, took strong grounds against the action of the President. He expressed warm sympathy with the rebellious States, and recommended appropriations to arm the State. The Legislature were in sympathy with the Governor, and were proceeding with measures for raising means for military purposes, when they were alarmed by the active movements of the loyalists in St. Louis. The
regulars there were under the command of Capt. Lyon, whose loyalty has been attested by his blood. Col’s Blair, Sigel, and others, had raised four regiments of volunteers, armed and equipped, and mustered them into service, in one week, and they were in camp when the Legislature convened. Captain Lyon was directed by the Government to raise and equip ten thousand men. Enrollments proceeded rapidly. The rebels were also organizing forces, under the specious guise of “State troops,” and had established a camp of eight hundred men, near St. Louis, which, in honor of the traitor Governor, they called camp Jackson. It was under the command of the rebel Gen. Frost. Captain Lyon deemed it his duty to break up this camp, and on the 15th of May, at the head of a body of regulars, and five thousand volunteers, he surrounded it, and demanded its surrender. The demand was complied with, and the eight hundred secession troops there collected, were surrounded, without resistance, and marched to the arsenal. Here, the following pledge was made by them, and they were discharged:

“We, the undersigned, do pledge our words as gentlemen, that we will not take up arms, nor serve in any military capacity against the United States, during the present civil war. This parole to be returned, upon our surrendering ourselves, at any time, as prisoners of war. While we make this pledge, with the full intention of observing it, we hereby protest against the justice of its exaction.”

This singular pledge, made under protest, was not kept. The wisdom of the extreme leniency of the Government, in this, and in most other cases where prisoners were taken in the early events of the war, has been much criticised. Simply taking an oath, under constraint and protest, was regarded generally, by those who took it, as of no binding force, and was certainly a very easy mode of atonement for active treason.

All the guns, ammunition, and war material of every de-
scription, in the camp, fell into our hands. When the soldiers were returning to the city, they were attacked by a mob, with stones and fire arms. The soldiers fired upon the rioters, and several of them were killed and wounded, when they dispersed.

The soldiers then returned to their quarters, without further molestation. The excitement in the city was intense, and various conflicts occurred during the following night, between the loyalists and rebels, in some cases with fatal results.

Gov. Jackson had been inaugurated on the 4th of January preceding. In his message, he had recommended the calling of a State Convention, to ascertain the will of the people on the great questions of the times. In accordance with his suggestions, a Convention was called, to meet at Jefferson City, on the 28th of February, following. It was provided that no act, ordinance, or resolution, of such Convention, should be valid, unless first submitted to, and approved by, the people.

At this time, a very large majority of the people were in favor of peace and the Union, and the Convention was composed principally of their Representatives. It assembled at the time and place designated, but subsequently adjourned to St. Louis. The most strenuous efforts were made, by the few secession members, to secure secret sessions, to favor the secession of the State, and to oppose coercion of the revolted States; but they signal failed. Resolutions were adopted, by overwhelming majorities, declaring that there was no cause for the separation of Missouri from the Union; that she desired only an amicable and fair adjustment of the pending difficulties; approving of the Crittenden resolutions; desiring to avoid civil war, and recommending the withdrawal of the Federal forces from those forts, where collisions were likely to ensue.

Unlike the Convention, the Governor and the Legislature were disloyal, and they desired to secure the secession of the State.
The Legislature passed what was denominated, "The Military Bill," by which the Governor was empowered to call out, arm and equip, the militia of the State. The fund, hitherto devoted to education, and all other available resources, were, by this bill, devoted to military purposes. State bonds, to the amount of one million of dollars, were also pledged to the same use, and heavy taxes were imposed, to place the State in an attitude of defense. Every able bodied man in the State was made subject to military duty, and the forces raised, were placed under the sole command of the traitor Governor, on whom extraordinary powers were conferred. Each soldier was compelled to take an oath to obey him alone! To speak disrespectfully of the Governor, or of the Legislature, was declared to be treason!

These high-handed measures, at the Capital, created fear for the safety of St. Louis; and efforts were at once made to arm the Home Guard, and to place the city in the best possible condition of defense.

On the 11th of May, a body of these Home Guards were returning to the city from the arsenal, whither they had been for arms, when they were assailed by a mob, and several were killed and wounded on both sides. A terrible excitement followed, which was checked, only, by the declaration of the Mayor, that the most vigorous measures would be employed to enforce order, and that the regulars, then at the arsenal, were on the march to quell the riot.

Gen. Harney, who had been at Washington, returned to his post, and assumed command of the Military Department of the West, on the 12th of May. He at once issued a judicious proclamation, the effect of which was to restore public confidence, and to quiet the great anxiety that prevailed. In a second proclamation, issued but two days after, he took occasion to criticise the acts of the Legislature, especially the "Military Bill," closing as follows:
"I regard it as my plain path of duty, to express to the people, in respectful, but at the same time, decided language, that within the field and scope of my command and authority, the 'supreme law' of the land must, and shall be maintained, and no subterfuges, whether in the forms of legislative acts, or otherwise, can be permitted to harass or oppress the good and law-abiding people of Missouri. I shall exert my authority to protect their persons and property from violations of every kind; and I shall deem it my duty to suppress all unlawful combinations of men, whether formed under pretext of military organizations, or otherwise."

At this time, imposing military demonstrations were being made on the border of Missouri, in Kansas, Illinois, and other States, which, with the decided policy of the Government, as indicated in the Proclamation of Gen. Harney, had the effect to change the tactics of the Missouri rebels. They found they were not then ready to meet the overwhelming force, which could be brought against them; and needed more time. Hence the following ruse:

Gen. Price, commanding the State militia, and a leading rebel, sought and obtained an interview with Gen. Harney, the object of which was, professedly, to allay the public excitement, and restore peace and quiet to Missouri. Gen. Harney was caught in the trap thus set for him, and on the 21st of May, entered into a compact with Gen. Price, to the effect, that Gen. Price should maintain the peace of the State, having the full control of the militia of the State for the purpose; and Gen. Harney, thus assured that the peace of the State would be maintained, agreed to abstain from military movements.

This compact did not meet the approval of the Government, and accomplished no other result, except to give the rebels time to perfect their plans of resistance to the authority of the United States. The work of organizing the State
was steadily pursued, and Gen. Lyon, who had been promoted, and had superseded Gen. Harney, was stimulated to corresponding activity. Aided by prominent citizens, he did everything he could, to circumvent the schemes of the rebels, and was not deluded by their "peace propositions." Wherever rebel organizations were found, they were dispersed.

With surprising effrontery, Gov. Jackson still proposed to Gen. Lyon, a compact, similar to that which Gen. Price had made with Gen. Harney. It would have been a fine game, could the Governor have won it. It would have given time for the rebels within the State, to have joined their associates on its borders, and those without, to have perfected their plans of attack. Gen. Lyon, however, saw through the veil, and promptly repelled the offer. He insisted "that the Federal Government should enjoy the unrestricted right, to move and station its troops throughout the State, whenever and wherever that might, in the opinion of its officers, be necessary, either for the protection of loyal citizens, of the Federal Government, or to repel invasion." That was sound statemanship. Such doctrines, early proclaimed and followed by acts of suit-
able vigor and energy, both in Virginia and Kentucky, would have saved much of the terrible devastation of the war in those States, and the country, the loss of many men and much treasure.

Gov. Jackson very soon saw that he had nothing to hope from Gen. Lyon, and hastily departed for Jefferson city—the State capital. On his way, he secured the destruction of the rail road bridges, and of the telegraph. He now threw off all disguise, and the day of his arrival at Jefferson city, issued a long and carefully prepared proclamation, which was evidently written before his interview with Gen. Lyon.

The latter promptly met the challenge of the treacherous rebel. He at once dispatched a force of fifteen hundred men, suitably provided for a long march, up the river, to arrest the Governor, and disperse any forces which he might have collected. On reaching the capital, on the 18th of June, he found that Jackson had fled to Booneville, forty-eight miles distant, and that Gen. Price was at the latter place, with several thousand men. Leaving Col. Boernstein with five hundred men, in command of Jefferson city, Gen. Lyon pursued, and on the 19th, engaged the rebel force at Booneville, which he routed, after a sharp engagement. The number of the rebel troops engaged, was about two thousand, and these were attacked and routed, by Gen. Lyon’s advance of five hundred men. We lost, in the engagement, two killed, and nine wounded; the loss of the rebels is estimated at twenty-five killed, and fifty wounded. We captured fifteen hundred stands of arms, a large quantity of camp equipage, a large number of horses, and several prisoners. The latter were sworn, and suffered to renew their efforts against the Government. The rebel Governor made good his escape, and fled to parts unknown.

The most active military preparations were now made, and on the last of June, over thirty-five thousand men, were judiciously posted in various parts of the State. At Cairo
and vicinity, there were about seven thousand men; at Bird's Point in Missouri, one thousand men; St. Louis, including the United States reserves of five regiments, about eight thousand; Hannibal, three thousand, Hannibal and St. Joseph rail road, one thousand; on the North Missouri rail road, three thousand six hundred; at Fort Leavenworth, two thousand; at St. Joseph, six thousand; besides the forces gathering at Springfield, and small detachments at other exposed points. The Government then held control of the entire section of the State north of the Missouri River, of its principal rail road lines, and in the south-east, to the Kansas border.

Gen. John Pope had been sent from St. Louis, and entrusted with a command of about seven thousand men, in north-western Missouri. His head-quarters were at St. Charles, yet his command was so posted as to protect Lexington, Booneville, Jefferson City, and most of Northern Missouri.

The principal State officers, who had fled with the Governor, returned on the 25th of June, took the oath of allegiance, and resumed their former duties. Jefferson City was fortified, and the Home Guard were drilled by Col. Boernstein, for its defense. The Governor, Lieut. Governor, the President pro tem. of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House, were all rebels, were absent from their posts, and the State executive departments had, therefore, no head. The State Convention was, therefore, again called together by the Committee, which had been charged with that duty, and re-assembled at Jefferson City, on the 22d day of July. The Convention promptly repealed several of the obnoxious acts of the disloyal Legislature, including the Military bill, and that by which the School fund had been diverted to military uses—declared vacant the offices of Governor, Lieut. Governor, Secretary of State, and of the Members of the General Assembly. Hamilton R. Gamble was chosen Provisional
Governor; Willard P. Hall, Lieut. Governor; and Mordecai Oliver, Secretary of State. The election of the State officers by the people, was fixed for the first Monday of the ensuing November. Thus the State government was re-organized, and prepared to resist the traitorous assaults of those who had sought to carry the State into rebellion.

The insurgents, under Gov. Jackson and Gen. Rains, in large force, were concentrated at Kupe's Point, whence they moved, on the third day of July, to Murray's, on the way to Carthage. At Dry Fork Creek, eight miles from the latter place, Col. Sigel met, and gave the enemy battle, on the 5th of July.

The Union forces under his command, numbered only about twelve hundred men; while the rebel forces were six thousand strong, under the command of Gen's Price and Rains. In this engagement, full details of which follow, the remarkable military genius of Col. Sigel was strikingly exhibited; and it has seldom been equaled in the annals of military achievements. To conduct a retreat of so small a force, for ten consecutive hours, before numbers five times his own; to bring off all his baggage and stores, and to inflict signal chastisement upon the pursuing foe, before which he retired in perfect order; and all with comparatively small loss on his part, is such conclusive proof of superior military skill, as to place its possessor in the front rank of his profession. To hold that proud position, he needed not the additional, and even higher honors, afterwards won on the brilliant fields of Wilson's Creek and Pea Ridge. To this noble German, and his brave followers, the country owes a debt of gratitude, which it will be difficult to fully repay. The following particular account of this gallant affair, will be read with especial interest:

"Early on the morning of the 5th, Colonel Sigel, (encamped at Neosho, in Newton county, in the extreme south-western corner of Missouri, near the Indian frontier,) was ad-
vised that the rebels had been seen a few miles south of Carthage, Jasper county. Colonel Sigel immediately ordered all troops under arms, and after a short march, had the good fortune to find the report confirmed, by meeting the enemy on an open prairie, about ten miles north of Carthage. Colonel Sigel's command consisted of eight companies of his own (Third) regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hasendeubel; seven companies of the Fifth regiment, Colonel Solomon; and two batteries of artillery, consisting of eight field-pieces, under Major Backhoff. The force of the enemy numbered five thousand five hundred, at least three thousand of which were mounted, and a battery of artillery—four six-pounders, and
one twelve-pounder. Generals Price and Rains commanded the State troops in person.

"The position of the State troops was well chosen, and gave them a great advantage, which was more than balanced, however, by our superior artillery. Three flags floated over their ranks, two secession flags, which our splendid artillerists soon made to lick the dust, and in the centre, the State flag of Missouri.

"At half-past ten o'clock the attack commenced, by our artillery opening a strong fire against the centre of the enemy. The aim was so effective that in less than one hour the enemy's twelve-pounder was dismounted, and by noon the whole battery of the State troops was silenced. Repeatedly the columns of the enemy gave way under the heavy fire, but rallied again, until our infantry, which had heretofore remained in security behind the batteries, were ordered to advance, when the centre of the enemy at once was broken. To remedy this disaster, about seventeen hundred of the enemy's cavalry were ordered to fall back, and by a side movement, try to get possession of Colonel Sigel's baggage train, which had been left some three miles behind, on the road, and thus encircle and cut him off from retreat. But this maneuver did not succeed. The moment that Colonel Sigel saw what was intended, he ordered his men to retreat, which was done in the greatest order, at the same time giving word to the baggage train to advance. Before the enemy's design could be carried out, Colonel Sigel had his baggage train in safety. The wagons were placed in the centre of his column, protected in the front by Major Backhoff's artillery and Colonel Solomon's battalion, and in the rear by Colonel Sigel's eight companies.

"By this time it was four o'clock, p. m. Our troops had suffered a loss of only about twenty killed, and forty wounded, while the enemy's loss, as was stated by some of their officers who had been taken prisoners, amounted, at least, to two or
three hundred. The difference in the list of killed, is mainly
due to the efficient use of our artillery, which mowed down the
enemy, while our troops were scarcely hurt by the fire from
the miserable battery on the other side.

"Having thus placed his baggage train in a sure position,
Colonel Sigel followed the enemy, who had now taken posi-
tion on the south side of a creek, cutting through the only
road leading to Carthage. Here General Price thought his
State troops could cut off all further advance of Colonel
Sigel's forces, and at the first show of a retreat, fall in their
rear and cut them to pieces. To Colonel Sigel, it was abso-
lutely necessary to pass the creek, and clear the road to Car-
thage, as he could not run the risk of being surrounded by an
army of such a numerical superiority, by remaining where he
was, or by retreating. To dupe the enemy, he ordered his ar-
tillery to oblique, two pieces to the right and two to the left,
following the movement with part of his force.

"The enemy, supposing it to be Sigel's intention to es-
cape them by cutting a road at their extreme sides, immedi-
ately left the road leading over the bluffs, south of the creek, to
Carthage, and advanced to the right and left, to prevent
Sigel's force from crossing their line. But scarcely had they
advanced within four hundred yards of our troops, when our
artillery suddenly wheeled around and poured a most terrific
volley of canister on the rebel cavalry, from both sides. Sim-
ultaneously, our infantry was ordered to advance at double-
quick step across the bridge, and in a few moments the whole
body of State troops was flying in all directions. Not a show
of resistance was made. Eighty-one horses, sixty-five double
shot-guns, and some revolvers, fell into the hands of our
troops. Some fifty prisoners were taken, and from them the
number of killed and wounded, was ascertained to amount to
nearly three hundred. Very few on our side were lost.

"After his splendid achievement, Colonel Sigel proceeded
to move toward Carthage, the road to which place was now open. But all along the road, squads of the State troops kept at the side of our forces, though not daring to attack, and were occasionally saluted, by a discharge from the rifles of our infantry. Arriving at Carthage, Colonel Sigel found it in possession of the enemy; a secession flag waving from the top of the Court-House, was quickly shot down by our troops.

"Colonel Sigel now found it necessary to retire to Sarcoxie, eight miles south-west of Carthage, as his ammunition was beginning to give out, and it was necessary to connect again with the balance of our south-western army, concentrated at Mount Vernon and Springfield. The road to Sarcoxie passes around Carthage, and is covered with heavy woods, which it was Colonel Sigel's object to gain, since the State troops at Carthage, almost altogether cavalry, could not follow him there.

"Fully aware of this, the enemy had taken his position on the road leading into the woods, prepared to dispute Colonel Sigel's advance to the last. The most desperate conflict now commenced; the infantry on both sides engaging for the first time. Our troops fought splendidly, and for the first time, the rebel troops screwed up some courage. But their arms were very inefficient, and their cavalry could be of little use. The battle raged for over two hours, from a quarter past six to half-past eight o'clock, and was, altogether, the most hotly contested encounter of the day. Over two hundred rebels bit the dust; our loss was eight killed, and about twenty wounded. One officer, Captain Strodmann, was wounded. Our cannon fired ninety-five rounds. When the enemy retreated to Carthage, about a mile from the place of engagement, Colonel Sigel had got his troops into the wood, where they were secure from any further attack.

"Although exhausted by ten hours' severe fighting in the heat, and suffering intensely from thirst, Colonel Sigel ordered his forces to press on towards Sarcoxie, where they ar-
rived on Saturday morning. On Sunday afternoon, the retreat was continued to Mount Vernon, Lawrence county, where he has since been re-enforced by Col. Brown's regiment of Home Guards, and General Sweeny, with another detachment of Home Guards."

The rebel loss in this engagement was three hundred and fifty killed and wounded; Union loss thirteen killed, and thirty-one wounded.

On the third of July, Gen. Fremont was placed in command of the Department of the West. He did not, however, arrive at St. Louis, his head-quarters, until the 26th of July.

On the 10th of July, Col. Smith, with about six hundred men, of the 16th Illinois, made a very spirited and successful defense, near Monroe Station, thirty miles west of Hannibal. He was here attacked by about one thousand six hundred rebels, commanded by Gov. Harris. He protected his men in the stone Academy buildings, from which they poured upon their assailants a very destructive fire. He sent for re-enforcements, successfully maintaining his position in the interval, his sharp-shooters picking off the gunners manning the two pieces of artillery employed against him by the enemy. Re-enforcements of infantry, cavalry, and artillery arrived, and fell upon the rear of the enemy, compelling a speedy retreat, with a loss of thirty killed and wounded, seventy-five prisoners, one gun, and several horses. None of the Federal forces were killed, and but four or five severely wounded.

Military preparations were continued with great vigor, and all the available troops were sent to St. Louis, or other exposed parts of the State. At the same time, equal vigor was displayed by the Confederates, who were largely re-enforced from the south-west, and they boldly declared their intention to capture St. Louis. In the fulfillment of their purpose, they threatened Springfield. On the first of July, there was at that place, only a small Federal force, under Gen. Sweeny.
The rebel demonstrations in its vicinity, induced Gen. Lyon to move his forces thither, which he reached on the 16th of July, being joined by the forces under Gen. Sturgis. On the 1st of August, he advanced his troops ten miles south, to Crane's Creek, and on the following day encountered, and dispersed a band of rebels, at Dug-Springs, in which forty were killed and wounded, with a Federal loss of but nine. He continued his march to Curran, twenty-six miles from Springfield, but the shortness of supplies, the intense heat of the weather, and the concentration on his front, of hostile forces, determined him to fall back to Springfield, where he arrived on the 5th of August. He soon learned, that Ben. McCulloch had united his forces with those of Price, and that they were advancing, in overwhelming numbers, to attack him at that place. Their combined army numbered about twenty-three thousand men, while Gen. Lyon could oppose them with only three thousand two hundred men, and one regiment of the force were three months men, who had already stayed nine days over their time. The situation of Gen. Lyon was exceedingly hazardous. The enemy was within ten miles of him, had heavy squadrons of cavalry, before which it was folly to hope to conduct a safe retreat. He therefore decided to attack the enemy in his camp, and the reasons which induced this apparently rash movement were, to gain such an advantage over the enemy, by a surprise, as would enable our generals to retire their small force, from the presence of such formidable odds. This it was believed could only be done, by a movement similar to the one adopted. If Gen. Lyon should decide to await an attack from such an overwhelming force, operating against his position at Springfield, which they could completely invest, the issue of the contest was quite certain to be against him, and in that case, successful retreat would be impossible. Should he attempt to retire without a contest, the close proximity of the enemy, would enable them to fall
upon him in positions most favorable to themselves, and capture, or destroy his force. The only hopeful alternative left to him, therefore, was to attempt to surprise the enemy in his camp, by a night march upon it. The conception was a bold one, and worthy the brave and noble spirits from whom it emanated. It was arranged that the army should leave Springfield, the evening before the contemplated attack, and surprise the enemy, early on the following morning. Accordingly, on the evening of the 10th of August, the army started in two divisions, taking different routes, the right under the command of Gen. Lyon, and the left under that of Gen. Sigel. The points, and the times of attack by each division, had been mutually arranged. Sigel was, by a detour, to reach the extreme rear of the enemy's camp, and the signal for him to commence the attack, was to be the roar of Gen. Lyon's artillery in front. That plan was carried out. Lyon's division drove in the enemy's pickets about 5 o'clock in the morning, and the valley in which the enemy was encamped, was thickly dotted with thousands of tents and camp fires. Gen. Lyon's division passed over a spur of high land, and here Capt. Wright, of the mounted Home Guards, and Captain's Plummer and Gilbert's companies of Regulars, had some skirmishing, with greatly superior forces of the enemy. While this was going on, the hill opposite had been stormed and taken by the Missouri 1st, and Osterhaus's battalion, and Totten's battery of six pieces; from its summit, they rained upon the enemy such a destructive shower of balls, as to start them into full retreat. East of this, Lieut. DuBois' battery, of four pieces, created a similar stampede, and the foe were flying to the cover of a battery near by. Capt. DuBois seeing the danger in which Capt. Plummer, and his gallant band, were placed, in their contest with such fearful odds, threw shells into the midst of their pursuers, which created awful havoc amongst them, and forced them to retire to places of
greater security. The gallant Missouri 1st, having already encountered and driven one regiment from the hill, encountered in the valley beyond, a formidable Louisiana regiment, and maintained with it a sharp conflict, for forty-five minutes, and which, aided by Capt. Lathrop, with his company of Rifle Regulators, they drove back and scattered. Meanwhile, Totten and DuBois were using their batteries effectually upon the enemy in the south-west angle of the valley, and upon the batteries on the opposite hills.

The gallant 1st Missouri, which had already met, and defeated two fresh regiments, still moved forward, though with ranks greatly thinned by combat. On ascending a second hill, they met a third fresh regiment, which poured upon them a terribly destructive fire. Without yielding an inch, they pressed their foes backward, mingling their own dead and wounded, with those of the enemy. Lieutenant Col. Anderson, though wounded, still kept his position, and gallantly urged on his men. All the officers of this brave regiment, vied with each other in heroic deeds; and when re-called to give place to a fresh regiment, many of their faces were blackened with powder, and dripping with blood.

At this time, the roar of artillery from all parts of the field was really terrific. It was one continuous boom; while the incessant hum of rifle and musket bullets filled the air, like the buzz of summer insects.

Up to this time, Gen. Lyon had been in all parts of the field, and had been twice wounded, yet he still kept his saddle as actively as at first.

The Iowa 1st, and a battalion of the Kansas troops, were ordered forward to relieve the Missouri 1st, whose chivalrous deeds we have just recorded. They acquitted themselves gallantly in the repeated onsets in which they were engaged, and kept the enemy effectually at bay in that portion of the field, whose defense they undertook. The following, from the
official report of Major Sturgis, on whom the command devolved after the death of Gen. Lyon, gives a graphic account of the subsequent events in this part of the field, including an account of the death of Gen. Lyon:

"Early in this engagement, while General Lyon was leading his horse along the line on the left of Captain Totten's battery, and endeavoring to rally our troops, which were at this time in considerable disorder, his horse was killed, and he received a wound in the leg, and one in the head. He walked slowly a few paces to the rear and said, 'I fear the day is lost.' I then dismounted one of my orderlies and tendered the horse to the General, who at first declined, saying it was not necessary. The horse, however, was left with him, and I moved off, to rally a portion of the Iowa regiment, which was beginning to break in considerable numbers.

"In the meantime the General mounted, and swinging his hat in the air, called to the troops nearest him to follow. The 2d Kansas gallantly rallied around him, headed by the brave Colonel Mitchell. In a few moments, the Colonel fell, severely wounded; about the same time, a fatal ball was lodged in the General's breast, and he was carried from the field a corpse. Thus gloriously fell, as brave a soldier as ever drew a sword—a man whose honesty of purpose was proverbial—a noble patriot, and one who held his life as nothing, when his country demanded it of him.

"In the meantime, our disordered line on the left, was again rallied, and pressed the enemy with great vigor and coolness, particularly the 1st Iowa regiment, which fought like veterans. This hot encounter lasted, perhaps, half an hour.

"After the death of General Lyon, when the enemy fled and left the field clear, so far as we could see, an almost total silence reigned for a space of twenty minutes. Major Schofield informed me of the death of General Lyon, and reported theers. The responsibility which now rested upon me,
was duly felt and appreciated. Our brave little army was scattered and broken; over twenty thousand men were still in our front, and our men had had no water since five o'clock the evening before, and could hope for none short of Springfield, twelve miles distant. If we should go forward, our own success would prove our certain defeat in the end; if we retreated, disaster stared us in the face; our ammunition was well nigh exhausted, and should the enemy make this discovery through a slackening of our fire, total annihilation was all we could expect. The great question in my mind was, 'Where is Sigel?' If I could still hope for a vigorous attack by him on the enemy's right flank or rear, then we could go forward with some hope of success. If we retreated, there is nothing left for us also. In this perplexing condition of affairs, I summoned the principal officers for consultation. The great question with most of them was, 'Is retreat possible?' The consultation was brought to a close by the advance of a heavy column of infantry from the hill where Sigel's guns had been heard before. Thinking they were Sigel's men, a line was formed for an advance, with the hope of forming a junction with him. These troops wore a dress much resembling that of Sigel's brigade, and carried the American flag. They were therefore permitted to move down the hill within easy range of DuBois' battery, until they had reached the covered position at the foot of the ridge on which we were posted, and from which we had been fiercely assailed before, when suddenly a battery was planted on the hill in our front, and began to pour upon us shrapnel and canister—a species of shot not before fired by the enemy. At this moment, the enemy showed his true colors, and at once commenced along our entire lines, the fiercest and most bloody engagement of the day. Lieutenant DuBois' battery on our left, gallantly supported by Major Osterhaus' battalion and the rallied fragments of the Missouri 1st, soon silenced the enemy's battery on the
hill, and repulsed the right wing of his infantry. Captain Totten's battery in the centre, supported by the Iowas and regulars, was the main point of attack. The enemy could frequently be seen within twenty feet of Totten's guns, and the smoke of the opposing lines was often so confounded as to seem but one. Now, for the first time during the day, our entire line maintained its position with perfect firmness. Not the slightest disposition to give way was manifested at any point, and while Captain Steele's battalion, which was some yards in front of the line, together with the troops on the right and left, were in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by superior numbers, the contending lines being almost muzzle to muzzle, Captain Granger rushed to the rear and brought up the supports of DuBois' battery, consisting of two or three companies of the 1st Missouri, three companies of the 1st Kansas, and two companies of the 1st Iowa, in quick time, and fell upon the enemy's right flank, and poured into it a murderous volley, killing or wounding nearly every man within sixty or seventy yards. From this moment, a perfect rout took place throughout the rebel front, while ours on the right flank continued to pour a galling fire into their disorganized masses.

"It was then evident that Totten's battery, and Steele's little battalion were safe. Among the officers conspicuous in leading this assault, were Adjutant Hezcock, Captains Burke, Miller, Maunter, Maurice, and Richardson, and Lieutenant Howard, all of the 1st Missouri. There were others of the 1st Kansas, and 1st Iowa, who participated, and whose names I do not remember. The enemy then fled from the field. A few moments before the close of the engagement, the 2d Kansas, which had firmly maintained its position, on the extreme right, from the time it was first sent there, found its ammunition exhausted, and I directed it to withdraw slowly and in good order from the field, which it did, bringing off its wounded, which left our right flank exposed, and the enemy
renewed the attack at that point, after it had ceased along the whole line; but it was gallantly met by Captain Steele's battalion of regulars, which had just driven the enemy from the right of the centre, and, after a sharp engagement, drove him precipitately from the field. Thus closed—at about eleven and a half o'clock—an almost uninterrupted conflict of six hours. The order to retreat was given soon after the enemy gave way from our front and centre, Lieutenant DuBois' battery having been previously sent to occupy, with its supports, the hill in our rear. Captain Totten's battery, as soon as his disabled horses could be replaced, retired slowly with the main body of the infantry, while Captain Steele was meeting the demonstrations upon our right flank. This having been repulsed, and no enemy being in sight, the whole column moved slowly to the high open prairie, about two miles from the battle-ground; meanwhile our ambulances passed to and fro, carrying off our wounded. After making a short halt on the prairie, we continued our march to Springfield.

"It should here be remembered that, just after the order to retire was given, and while it was undecided whether the retreat should be continued, or whether we should occupy the more favorable position of our rear, and await tidings of Colonel Sigel, one of his non-commissioned officers arrived, and reported that the Colonel's brigade had been totally routed, and all his artillery captured, Colonel Sigel himself having been either killed or made prisoner. Most of our men had fired away all their ammunition, and all that could be obtained from the boxes of the killed and wounded. Nothing, therefore, was left to do but return to Springfield, where two hundred and fifty Home Guards, with two pieces of artillery, had been left to take care of the train. On reaching the Little York road, we met Lieutenant Ferrand, with his company of dragoons, and a considerable portion of Colonel Sigel's command, with one piece of artillery. At five o'clock, p. m., we reached Springfield."
The part borne in the action by Gen. Sigel's division, on the opposite side of the field, and the masterly conduct of the retreat, can in no way be so well given, as in the gallant hero's own words. We extract from his official report:

"It was 5 1-2 o'clock, when some musket firing was heard from the northwest. I therefore ordered the artillery to begin their fire against the camp of the enemy, (Missourians,) which was so destructive that the enemy was seen leaving their tents and retreating in haste towards the north-east of the valley. Meanwhile, the 3d and 5th had quickly advanced, passed the creek, and traversing the camp, formed almost in the centre of it. As the enemy made his rally in large numbers before us, about three thousand strong, consisting of infantry and cavalry, I ordered the artillery to be brought forward from the hill and formed there in battery across the valley, with the 3d and 5th to the left and the cavalry to the right. After an effectual fire of half an hour, the enemy retired in some confusion into the woods and up the adjoining hills. The firing towards the north-west was now more distinct, and increased, until it was evident that the main corps of General Lyon had engaged the enemy along the whole line. To give the greatest possible assistance to him, I left position in the camp and advanced towards the north-west, to attack the enemy's line of battle in the rear.

"Marching forward, we struck the Fayetteville road, making our way through a large number of cattle and horses, until we arrived at an eminence used as a slaughtering place, and known as Sharp's farm. On our route we had taken about one hundred prisoners, who were scattered over the camp. At Sharp's place we met numbers of the enemy's soldiers, who were evidently retiring in this direction; and as I suspected that the enemy, on his retreat, would follow in the same direction, I formed the troops across the road by planting the artillery on the plateau, and the two infantry regiments on
the right and left, across the road, whilst the cavalry companies extended on our flanks. At this time, and after some skirmishing in front of our line, the firing in the direction of the north-west, which was during an hour's time roaring in succession, had almost entirely ceased. I thereupon presumed that the attack of Gen. Lyon had been successful, and that his troops were in pursuit of the enemy, who moved in large numbers towards the south, along the ridge of a hill, about seven hundreds yards opposite our right.

"This was the state of affairs at 8 1-2 o'clock in the morning, when it was reported to me by Dr. Melchior, and some of our skirmishers, that 'Lyon's men were coming up the road.' Lieutenant Albert, of the 3d, and Colonel Solomon, of the 5th, notified their regiments not to fire on troops coming in this direction, whilst I cautioned the artillery in the same manner. Our troops in this moment expected with anxiety the approach of our friends, and were waving the flag, raised as a signal to their comrades, when at once two batteries opened their fire against us—one in front, placed on the Fayetteville road, and the other upon the hill upon which we had supposed Lyon's forces were in pursuit of the enemy, whilst a strong column of infantry, supposed to be the 'Iowa regiment,' advanced from the Fayetteville road and attacked our right.

"It is impossible for me to describe the consternation and frightful confusion which was occasioned by this important event. The cry, 'They (Lyon's troops) are firing against us,' spread like wildfire through our ranks. The artillerymen, ordered to fire, and directed by myself, could hardly be brought forward to serve their pieces; the infantry would not level their arms until it was too late. The enemy arrived within ten paces of the muzzles of our cannon, killed the horses, turned the flanks of the infantry, and forced them to fly. The troops were throwing themselves into the bushes
and by-roads, retreating as well as they could, followed and attacked incessantly by large bodies of Arkansas and Texas cavalry. In this retreat we lost five cannon, of which three were spiked, and the colors of the 3d, the color-bearer having been wounded, and his substitute killed. The total loss of the two regiments, the artillery and the pioneers, in killed, wounded and missing, amounts to two hundred and ninety-two men."

Our forces were withdrawn without molestation by the enemy, with all their supplies of every description, and fell back upon their re-enforcements at Rolla, in good order.

Thus ended the battle of Wilson's Creek, one of the severest contests ever had on the continent, and in which, though our losses were very severe, the enemy suffered much more severely. It saved our small army from capture, or annihilation, and greatly dispirited the enemy. The Union loss in the battle was two hundred and twenty-three killed, seven hundred and twenty-one wounded, and two hundred and ninety-one missing—total nine hundred and ninety-four, or twenty per cent. of the whole number engaged. The rebel loss is not accurately known, though they admit it to have been eight hundred killed, and twelve hundred wounded, which is believed to be much less than their real loss.

In the northern counties of the State, the spirit of revolt was again manifested, and Union troops from Illinois, were sent into the State to hold it in check. The State troops destroyed much property, and inflicted gross and wanton outrages upon the adherents of the Union. Collisions and bloody skirmishes soon ensued, between the Union forces and State troops. Although the rebel generals claimed to have won a great victory at Wilson's Creek, yet its effect upon their plans was exceedingly disastrous. They did not advance, and it cooled the previous ardor among their sympathizers. Pillow remained inac-
MAJ. GEN. JOHN C. FREMONT.
tive at New Madrid, and Gen. Hardee at Greenville, while the Union forces were being rapidly augmented and fitted for active duty. Recruiting for the rebel service was, however, actively carried on in the western part of the State, and the intention to advance was still entertained. At this time, Gen. Fremont issued the proclamation of martial law, containing the following in reference to the slaves of rebels:

"The property, real and personal, of all persons, in the State of Missouri, who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men."

This proclamation was modified by the order of the President, as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., September 11, 1861.

"MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN C. FREMONT:

"SIR: Yours of the 8th, in answer to mine of the 2d inst., was just received. Assured that you upon the ground could better judge of the necessities of your position than I could at this distance, on seeing your proclamation of August 30, I perceived no general objection to it; the particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves, appeared to me to be objectionable in its non-conformity to the act of Congress, passed the 6th of last August, upon the same subject, and hence I wrote you expressing that wish that that clause should be modified accordingly. Your answer, just received, expresses the preference on your part that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do. It is therefore ordered that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held and construed as to conform with, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress entitled 'An act to confiscate property used for insurrection-"
ary purposes,' approved August 6, 1861, and the said act be published at length with this order.

"Your obedient servant,

"A. Lincoln."

The month of September was mostly occupied by Gen. Fremont, in perfecting his plans, and preparing a large force to drive the rebels from the State. But he encountered many difficulties. Cairo and St. Louis were threatened by Confederate forces, concentrated at, and near Columbus, and they must be strongly guarded. Extensive fortifications were commenced at St. Louis, so that a smaller force would guard that important point. Though recruits concentrated at St. Louis in large numbers, they were raw, undisciplined, poorly armed, and unfit to take the field. Active efforts were made to supply those defects, and to counteract the bold movements of the rebels. Artillery and cavalry were greatly needed, but could not be promptly supplied. The drilled troops—three months' men, were waiting to be mustered out of service, and no adequate force was, for some time, in a condition to repel the audacious foe. The whole line of the Osage river, was in their hands. They held Warsaw, Tuscumbia, and Osceola; and Kansas City, Lexington, and Booneville, were exposed to capture. Jefferson City, Cairo, and St. Louis, engaged the chief attention of the Federal commanders; and the points from which the enemy could be most successfully assailed, were Rolla, Ironton, and Cape Girardeau. Rolla was held by only about six thousand men, the remains of Gen. Sigel's army, while Cape Girardeau could not be re-enforced. That was the only force, with which to resist the advance of the Confederates. Gen. Grant was at Jefferson City, with five thousand men. Gen. Sigel was engaged at St. Louis, in organizing the new recruits. Meantime, the rebel forces were slowly advancing, occupying Warsaw and Lime Creek, and on the 29th of August, surrounded, and attempted the capture
of Lexington, but were repulsed by the Home Guards, and a few U. S. troops, numbering four hundred and thirty men, and occupying intrenched positions. The assailants had no artillery, and retired with a loss of eight killed, and twenty wounded. Gen. Pillow still remained at New Madrid, with a Confederate force of twenty-two thousand; Gen. Hardee at Greenville, with eight thousand, and Gen. Jeff. Thompson at Piketon, with seven thousand. Occasional skirmishes had occurred between detachments of the rebel and Union armies. On the 19th of August, an engagement took place at Charleston, between two hundred and fifty of the 22d Illinois, Col. Dougherty, and a Confederate force of over six hundred men, in which the latter were completely routed, with the loss of forty killed and seventeen prisoners, while the Union loss was but one killed, and eight wounded, Col. Dougherty, slightly.

Missouri has become memorable as the theatre of desperate battles, sustained with unflinching courage by small numbers of Union troops, against superior forces of the enemy. The first of these was at Carthage, the second was at Wilson’s Creek, and the third, was the gallant stand made by Mulligan at Lexington. On the 1st of September, Col. Mulligan, then in command of the Irish Brigade, at Jefferson City, was ordered to proceed to Lexington, and re-enforce the Home Guards and Illinois troops at that place. He arrived there on the 9th, and finding an attack imminent, immediately proceeded to fortify the place in the best manner possible.

The town of Lexington contained about five thousand inhabitants, and was a very important strategical position, as it was on the route to Santa Fee, and also controlled the communication with Kansas by the Missouri river. The town itself was in two portions; the old town about a mile from the river, and the new town situated on the river bank. Between these two, and about equally distant from each, was a large brick building erected for a College. It was around this
building, that Mulligan commenced to erect his fortifications. A small breast-work had already been thrown up, which Mulligan ordered to be extended, by the construction of an earthwork ten feet high, bordered by a ditch eight feet wide, around a space capable of containing ten thousand men.

The troops set to work vigorously, the heavy muscle of the Irish Brigade telling well, as they toiled in the trenches. On the 12th, the portion assigned them was nearly completed, while on the west side, where the Home Guards had been at work, the defences were still weak. Col. Mulligan made the large college building his head-quarters, and at the beginning of the fight, stored his ammunition there, but finding it too much exposed, soon removed it to a safer place. He also removed about eight hundred thousand dollars, which had been taken from the rebels on the first occupation, to the same place. The Union forces numbered only twenty-seven hundred and eighty men, while the attacking force, was about thirty thousand.

The attack commenced on the 12th, by the enemy driving in Mulligan's scouts and advanced pickets. This was soon followed by an assault upon the weakest side of the intrenchments. This attack was led by Gen. Rains in person, and was supported by nine pieces of artillery. They were bravely met, and after severe fighting, were repulsed, with heavy loss.

"The hospital had been located on the bank below the new town, and contained about twenty-four patients. The attacking party did not spare or respect this building. They were met by the Montgomery Guards, Captain Gleason, who made a brave resistance, but were driven back with the loss of twenty-five of their men, killed and wounded. Captain Gleason was shot through the jaw, and badly wounded. The gallant Montgomery made many of the Texans bite the dust. This fight was very fierce. Some of the sick were actually bayoneted or sabred in their cots. Rev. Father Butler, an esteemed Cath-
olic clergyman of this city, and the chaplain of the Irish Brigade, was wounded in the forehead, by a ball which passed across it, laying open the skin. He was taken prisoner, as also was Dr. Winer, Surgeon of the Brigade, thus depriving the regiment of the valuable services of both, during the dark and trying days that followed, preceding the surrender.

"The issue of the 12th, warned the enemy that they had a task before them, which was no easy one, and they commenced on Friday morning a new system of approaches. They scoured the entire region for its staple, hemp in bales. These were thoroughly wetted, as a safe-guard against red-hot shot, and then were skillfully used, to mask the batteries of the rebels, and rolled forward, as they made their advance.

"The fight went on thus for several days, the enemy bringing more of their artillery into action. Following the skirmish of the 19th, Mulligan ordered a portion of the old town on the east to be burned, to prevent the rebels from gaining therefrom, the advantage of shelter. Meanwhile, the little garrison, already worn by labor on the intrenchments, began to look eagerly for the coming re-enforcements.

"On the 10th, Colonel Mulligan had sent Lieutenant Rains of Company K, of the brigade, with a squad of twelve men, on the steamer Sunshine, to Jefferson City, one hundred and sixty miles distant, pressing the necessity for re-enforcements. Forty miles below, the Sunshine was captured, and Rains and his men brought back to New Lexington and lodged as prisoners in the old Fair Ground. Other messengers were sent off, to guard against the failure of any one.

"The enemy were in sufficient force to throw out parties to intercept the Federal troops en route for the relief of Colonel Mulligan. Thus, a detachment of five thousand strong, met, and turned back, one thousand five hundred Iowa troops from Richmond, sixteen miles from the river, they retreating, it is said, to St. Joseph."
"The situation of the Federal troops grew more desperate, as day after day passed. Within their lines were picketed about the wagons and trains, a large number of horses and mules, nearly three thousand in all, now a serious cause of care and anxiety, for as shot and shell plunged among them, many of the animals were killed and wounded, and from the struggle of these latter, the danger of a general stampede was imminent. The havoc in the centre of the intrenchments was immense. Wagons were knocked to pieces, stores scattered and destroyed, and the ground strewn with dead horses and mules.

"On Wednesday, the 17th, an evil, from the first apprehended, fell upon Colonel Mulligan's command. They were cut off from the river, and their water gave out. Fortunately, a heavy rain, at intervals, came greatly to their relief. But to show how severe were the straits of the men, the fact may be stated, of instances occurring, where soldiers held their blankets spread out until thoroughly wet, and then wrung them into their camp dishes, carefully saving the priceless fluid thus obtained. Rations, also, began to grow short. The fighting at this time, from the 16th to the 21st, knew little cessation. The nights were brilliant moonlight, and all night long the roar of the guns continued, with an occasional sharp sortie and skirmish without the works.

"From the first, but one spirit pervaded our troops, and that was, no thought or word of surrender, except among some of the Home Guards, who had done the least share of the work and the fighting. The cavalry behaved nobly, and could the full details be written up, some of their sharp, brave charges on the enemy's guns, would shine with any battle-exploits on record.

"General Price sent Colonel Mulligan a summons to surrender, to which the gallant commander sent a refusal, saying, 'If you want us, you must take us.' But the defection and
disheartenment of the Home Guards, intensified daily, and on Friday, the 21st, while Colonel Mulligan was giving his attention to some matters in another portion of the camp, the white flag was raised, at his own instance, by Major Becker, of the Home Guards, from the portion of the intrenchment assigned to him.

"Captain Simpson, of the Earl Rifles, called Colonel Mulligan's attention to Major Becker's action instantly, and the Jackson Guard, Captain McDermott, of Detroit, were sent to take down that flag, which was done. The heaviest part of the fight of the day followed in a charge upon the nearest battery of the enemy, the Illinois cavalry suffering severely.

"The Home Guards then left the outer work and retreated within the line of the inner intrenchments, about the college building, refusing to fight longer, and here again raised the white flag, this time from the centre of the fortifications, when the fire of the enemy slackened and ceased. Under this state of affairs, Colonel Mulligan, calling his officers into council, decided to capitulate, and Captain McDermott went out to the enemy's lines with a handkerchief tied to a ramrod, and a parley took place. Major Moore, of the brigade, was sent to General Price's head-quarters, at New Lexington, to know the terms of capitulation. These were made unconditional, the officers to be retained as prisoners of war, the men were to be allowed to depart with their personal property, surrendering their arms and accoutrements.

"Reluctantly this was acceded to, and the surrender took place. At four p.m., on Saturday, the 21st, the Federal forces having laid down their arms, were marched out the intrenchments to the tune of 'Dixie,' played by the rebel bands. They left behind them their arms and accoutrements, reserving only their clothing. The boys of the brigade, many of them, wept to leave behind their colors, each company in the brigade, having its own standard presented to it
by their friends. At the surrender, the muster-rolls of the companies were taken to General Price's head-quarters, the list of officers made out, and these ordered to report themselves as prisoners of war.

"The scenes at the capitulation were extraordinary. Colonel Mulligan shed tears, the men threw themselves upon the ground, raved and stormed in well-nigh frenzy, demanding to be led out and 'finish the thing.' In Colonel Marshall's Cavalry Regiment the feeling was equally great. Much havoc had already been done among the horses, during the siege, and but little more than half of them remained. Numbers of the privates actually shot their horses dead on the spot, unwilling that their companions in the campaign should now fall into the enemy's hand." Our loss was forty-two killed, one hundred and eight wounded, and sixteen hundred and twenty-four prisoners. The rebel loss was twenty-five killed, and seventy-five wounded.

The privates were first made to take the oath, not to serve against the Confederate States, then they were put across the river and marched to Hamilton, a station on the Hannibal and St. Joseph rail road. They reached this place on Sunday, and were then declared free to go where they pleased.

This unfortunate disaster was made the ground of severe censure of Gen. Fremont, for not re-enforcing Col. Mulligan; yet the facts, when afterwards fully understood, remove all just grounds of complaint. He had dispatched full three-fourths of his available force to relieve Lexington, but the capture and destruction of Ferry boats, left a force of four thousand men without the means of crossing the river, and other divisions ordered there did not arrive in time. The gallant Col. Mulligan, himself, acquits the Commander of the Department of all blame. Gen. Fremont thus telegraphed the event to the War Department:
DEPARTURE OF FREMONT.

"Head-Quarters, Western Department,"
"St. Louis, Sept. 23, 1861."

"Col. E. D. Townsend, Adjutant-General:

I have a telegram from Brookfield, that Lexington has fallen into Price's hands, he having cut off Mulligan's supply of water. Re-enforcements, four thousand strong, under Sturgis, by the capture of the ferry boats, had no means of crossing the river in time. Lane's forces from the south-west, and Davis' from the south-east, upwards of eleven thousand in all, could also not get there in time. I am taking the field myself, and hope to destroy the enemy, either before or after the junction of the forces under McCulloch. Please notify the President immediately.

"J. C. FREMONT, Major-General Commanding."

The disaster at Lexington, hastened the departure of Gen. Fremont, and on September 23, he left St. Louis for Jefferson City, at which place he concentrated two thousand men, for an advance upon Lexington. The sudden and rapid advance thus made, disconcerted the plans of the rebels, which had been the destruction of the North Missouri rail road, and the occupancy and plunder of that section of the State. But, by their spies in St. Louis, they were advised of the danger of leaving their rear exposed, and on the 28th of September, an order was given by Gen. Price, for a retrograde movement of his forces.

Gen. Sturgis closely followed the retreating forces, shelling their rear as they left Lexington, Gen. Hunter advanced his troops from Rolla, Fremont crossed the river at Warsaw, and Gen. Sigel was rapidly approaching Springfield, from Bolivar.

Fredericktown, a small village in Madison county, in southeastern Missouri, is in the mineral region of that State, and in its vicinity are important mines of iron, lead, and copper. These metals were, at this time, of especial importance to
the rebels. They therefore projected an expedition, the purpose of which was to possess themselves of those mines. Accordingly, Gen. Jeff. Thompson, and Col. Lowe, in command of about five thousand rebel troops, were sent forward, about the 15th of October, to occupy the place. On the 17th, Colonels Plumer and Carlin, were sent to watch the movements of the enemy. They met and engaged them on the 21st, and routed them, after a severe action, in which the rebel Col. Lowe, and a large number of his men, were killed. We buried one hundred and fifty-eight of their dead on the field, which was only a part of their loss. Their wounded were several hundred, and we captured eighty prisoners. Our loss was but six killed, and sixty wounded.

One of the most heroic achievements of the war was the recapture of Springfield, Missouri, by one hundred and fifty men of the Fremont Body Guard, on the 25th of October. The place had been in possession of the rebels ever since the bloody encounter at Wilson's Creek, on the 10th of August. At the time the Body Guard made their bold dash into the town, it was occupied by full two thousand rebel troops.

The Guard was composed of picked men, who were equipped, mounted and drilled in the most perfect manner. They were commanded by Major Zagonyi, a Hungarian officer of fine military talents, and of much experience.

The order to occupy the town, was given by Gen. Fremont, under the belief that it was occupied only by about three hundred of the enemy, so that the rashness with which Gen. Fremont has been charged by his enemies, in thus throwing a handful of men against such fearful odds, if rashness it be, is the fault rather of the heroic Zagonyi, than of Fremont. Yet the brave Hungarian knew his men, and was assured what they could do with the undisciplined mass against which he hurled them. He knew the enemy was more than ten times his own force, yet he believed, and the event justified
it, that the discipline, courage and prowess, of his little band, would throw into confusion, and disperse even that large force, and they did it. The attack was no surprise. It was made upon a foe, expecting, and prepared to receive him. The attack, however, was so furious, so compact and irresistible, that the enemy fled before it, like leaves before the blast of Autumn. The war cry of "Fremont and Union," rang from trumpet throats, and the united effect of words and deeds, filled the rebels with terror, and they fled in all directions. The Guard entered the city, provided for their wounded, secured over four thousand dollars in gold, and about sixty prisoners. They killed between fifty and sixty of the enemy, and wounded over one hundred. The guard lost fifteen killed, and twenty-three wounded.

To attempt to occupy the place, in the face of such superior forces, would have been fool-hardy; and Zagonyi prudently fell back upon his re-enforcements. The advance of Gen. Fremont's army, occupied the town, without resistance, on the following day.

At the same time that Gen. Price was retreating, Gen. McCulloch was advancing, to effect a junction of their forces, and which they accomplished. Their united army again threatened Springfield.

The emancipation proclamation of Gen. Fremont, had created much excitement in Missouri, and had been one of the causes of estrangement, between the General and the Hon. Francis P. Blair, Jr., member of Congress from St. Louis, who was prominently connected with the military movements in that city. Col. Blair labored industriously to effect Fremont's removal from command, and greatly embarrassed, by his opposition, the military plans of the former. For this strenuous and persistent opposition, Col. Blair was very properly arrested by Gen. Fremont, but released, on the request of Montgomery Blair, the Post Master General, and brother of
the Colonel, and ordered to the command of his regiment. But he would not hold a command under Fremont, and proceeded to prefer formal charges against him. He alleged that Fremont unreasonably delayed the assumption of his command; that he had unjustifiably neglected to re-enforce General Lyon and Mulligan; that he retained in command a General of intemperate habits—Gen. Hurlburt; that he was inaccessible to the public, and important interests were, in consequence, neglected; that his emancipation proclamation violated the President's orders; that he had, without just cause, suppressed the St. Louis Evening News. The friends of Col. Blair, and those desiring to crush Fremont, including the secessionists, were active in fomenting the differences. The public journals were filled with unfriendly criticisms, charging him with reckless extravagance of expenditure, of favoring St. Louis at the expense of other points, of pampering California adventurers, of extravagance in the construction of gunboats, &c.

No formal trial was ever had upon these charges, though their effect upon the public usefulness of Fremont, was damaging in the extreme. He breasted the storm, however, with manly fortitude, and continued his efforts, not against his own, but his country's enemies. The Secretary of War, Hon. Simon Cameron, in company with Adjutant General Thomas, made a hasty visit to St. Louis, and examined rapidly, some of the grounds of complaint; the result of which, was the following letter, foreshadowing Fremont's removal:

"St. Louis, Mo., October 14th, 1861.

"General:—The Secretary of War directs me to communicate the following, as his instructions for your government:

"In view of the heavy sums due, especially in the Quarter Master's department in this city, amounting to some $4,500,000, it is important that the money which may now be in the
hands of the disbursing officers, or be received by them, be applied to the current expenses of your army in Missouri, and these debts to remain unpaid until they can be properly examined and sent to Washington for settlement; the disbursing officers of the army to disburse the funds, and not transfer them to irresponsible agents—in other words, those who do not hold commissions from the President, and are not under bonds. All contracts necessary to be made, to be made by the disbursing officers. The senior Quarter Master here has been verbally instructed by the Secretary as above.

"It is deemed unnecessary to erect field-works around this city, and you will direct their discontinuance; also those, if any, in course of construction at Jefferson City. In this connection it is seen that a number of commissions have been given by you. No payments will be made to such officers, except to those whose appointments have been approved by the President. This, of course, does not apply to the officers with volunteer troops. Colonel Andrews has been verbally so instructed by the Secretary; also not to make transfers of funds except for the purpose of paying the troops.

"The erection of barracks near your quarters in this city, to be at once discontinued.

"The Secretary has been informed that the troops of General Lane's command, are committing depredations on our friends in Western Missouri. Your attention is directed to this, in the expectation that you will apply the corrective.

"Major Allen desires the services of Captain Turnley for a short time, and the Secretary hopes you may find it proper to accede thereto. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

L. Thomas, Adjutant-General.

"Major-General J. C. Fremont,

"Commanding Department of the West, Tipton, Mo."

Though this letter plainly indicated the disapproval
of the Government, and his speedy removal from command, yet he did not relax his efforts in the pursuit of the flying foe, until the order reached him at Springfield, on the 2d of November, to transfer the command of his department to Gen. Hunter, and to report at Washington. The order caused great excitement in the army, and many of the officers declared they would serve under no other commander. Gen. Fremont, however, issued a patriotic address, the effect of which was to check all insubordination, and to maintain the army in tact. It was complimentary to the brave and generous spirits of the soldiers. He anticipated for them a brilliant career, besought them to yield to his successor the same cordial and enthusiastic support which they had given to him, and hoped ever to remain proud of the army which, with much labor, he had brought together. He left them with regret, thanked them for their regard and confidence, desired the honor of leading them to the coming victory, claimed the right to share in their triumphs, and hoped to be remembered by his companions in arms.

The command was transferred to Gen. Hunter, and Gen. Fremont returned to St. Louis, where an enthusiastic welcome was extended to him, and to the cordial address presented to him on that occasion, he made a feeling reply.

Thus, after having raised and supplied, with prodigious labor, and under peculiar embarrassments, a large army, before which the public enemy was rapidly retreating, with every prospect of the complete success of the expedition, he is suddenly arrested in his career, and deprived of his command. It is due to truth, and to the reputation of Gen. Fremont, to state, that the Government subsequently became convinced of the injustice of the principal charge, and restored him to the command of the Mountain Department.
BATTLEFIELDS IN MISSOURI.
CHAPTER X.

NEUTRALITY OF KENTUCKY—CAMPAIGN IN THAT STATE.


Governor Magoffin, of Kentucky, was, from the first, a decided sympathizer with secession. Not even Governor Jackson, of Missouri, himself, exhibited such sympathy any more distinctly than he. All his public acts, speeches, letters and papers, which were numerous, long and able, proved this. He remained, with his State, in the Union, not from motives of patriotism, but that he might use his official position to aid the rebel cause, and to embarrass that of the Union, which he did in every possible way.

Such being his known sympathies, little surprise was therefore manifested, when the following reply was made to the first requisition of the President upon his State, for its quota of troops: "I say, emphatically, that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister States," nor, when the congratulations of the rebel Secretary of War were sent to him, for "that patriotic response," and intimating that if Kentucky had aid to give, Virginia needed it, with the request to send at once a regiment to Harper's Ferry.

On the 24th of April, Governor Magoffin issued his Procla-
mation, convening a special session of the Legislature, on the 6th day of May following, and urged, as a reason for it, that the Government was making vigorous efforts to prosecute a war against the seceded States. In that message, the rankest treason was avowed. He said of the Government of the United States:

"Powers, not conferred by the Constitution, have been usurped by the President of the United States; a standing army, of gigantic proportions, gathered exclusively from one section, and mad with sectional hate, is being rapidly organized, without authority of law; the Federal Capital is become a military camp, and martial law practically reigns in the District of Columbia; the Southern coast is blockaded by the armed vessels of the Federal Navy, and the commerce of the western rivers is arrested by military force; large bodies of armed men are collected in military posts along the line of our northern frontier, impeding the lawful trade, and menacing the safety of our peaceful citizens; in a word, the President of the United States has, without the advice or sanction of either branch of Congress, declared a war of subjugation or extermination against the people of ten or more sovereign States; and is, with extraordinary energy, gathering his strength for the unnatural conflict."

Of the Confederate States, he said:

"It is idle longer to refuse to recognize the fact that the late American Union is dissolved; that the slave-holding States are now politically united in a separate and independent government, and that war exists between those States, so combined, and the non-slave-holding States, acting under the United States Government. The avowed purpose of the United States Government is to compel the allegiance of the people of the seceded States, and enforce the supremacy of its jurisdiction throughout their limits. The achievement of this end involves the armed invasion of the seceded States,
and the unlimited slaughter of their citizens. The sole object of the Confederate States, as authoritatively announced, is to maintain their independence and govern themselves. The condition of peace, as avowed by the President of the United States, is the overthrow of the Confederate State Government, and the reduction of the people of the South to unresisting submission to the United States Government. The Confederate States make no other condition to the cessation of hostilities, than 'TO BE LET ALONE.'"

"To be let alone," interpreted by the key afforded by subsequent events, clearly meant, "let us alone until we are ready."

When the Legislature convened, though containing many traitors, it had not the courage to endorse the treasonable designs of the Governor. It passed a law organizing the State Militia, which compelled all its members to take an oath to support the Constitution and laws, both of the State and National Governments.

The Governor, finding that he could not, by the forms of legislation, carry his State out of the Union, or hope to bring the people into that measure, after seeing, as they all had seen, the utter desolation and ruin which it was certain to bring upon them, changed his tactics. Like Governor Jackson, of Missouri, he artfully sought, under the specious plea of neutrality, to keep out the forces of the Union, until the rebel troops could be concentrated upon the borders of the State, and, by sudden and stealthy movements, seize all its strategic points, and take full possession, at least, of its southern parts; thus overawing, as was done in Virginia, and carrying the people with them.

That policy was adopted. On the 24th of May, Governor Magoffin issued a proclamation, forbidding either the Federal or Confederate States to station any forces in Kentucky, for any purpose whatsoever.
To complete the parallel between Governor Magoffin, in this case, and Governor Jackson, of Missouri, it is only necessary to state, that as the latter sought and obtained "terms of peace," by the Price-Harney compact, and afterwards, when that sham peace was repudiated by the Government, renewed similar propositions to Gen. Lyon, by whom they were promptly and decidedly repelled; so Gov. Magoffin sent Gen. Buckner to effect, if possible, "terms of peace" with Gen. McClellan, then in command of the Department of the Ohio, and the hero of Western Virginia. Gen. Buckner, on his return, made what, in view of Gen. McClellan's subsequent denial, must be considered a very singular report, and which was as follows, under date of the 18th of June, 1861:

"On the 8th instant, at Cincinnati, Ohio, I entered into an agreement with Major-General G. B. McClellan, Commander of the United States troops in the States north of the Ohio river, to the following effect:

"The authorities of the State of Kentucky are to protect the United States property within the limits of the State, to enforce the laws of the United States, in accordance with the interpretation of the United States Courts, as far as these laws may be applicable to Kentucky, and to enforce, with all the powers of the State, our obligations of neutrality as against the Southern States, as long as the position we have assumed shall be respected by the United States. General McClellan stipulates that the territory of Kentucky shall be respected on the part of the United States, even though the Southern States should occupy it; but, in the latter case, he will call upon the authorities of Kentucky to remove the Southern forces from our territory.

"Should Kentucky fail to accomplish this object in a reasonable time, General McClellan claims the same right of occupancy given to the Southern forces. I have stipulated in that case, to advise him of the inability of Kentucky to com-
ply with her obligations, and invite him to dislodge the Southern forces. He stipulates that if he is successful in doing so, he will withdraw his forces from the territory of the State as soon as the Southern forces shall have been removed. This, he assures me, is the policy which he will adopt towards Kentucky.

"Should the Administration hereafter adopt a different policy, he is to give me timely notice of the fact. Should the State of Kentucky hereafter assume a different attitude, he is, in like manner, to be advised of the fact. The well-known character of General McClellan is a sufficient guaranty for the fulfillment of every stipulation on his part."

This was published by Magoffin, and on June 26th, Gen. McClellan thus denies the averments of the report, in a letter to Capt. W. Wilson, United States Navy:

"My interview with General Buckner was personal, not official. It was solicited by him more than once. I made no stipulation on the part of the General Government, and regarded his voluntary promise to drive out the Confederate troops as the only result of the interview. His letter gives his own views, not mine."

In carrying out this scheme of neutrality, the secessionists managed with great adroitness, and secured the co-operation of such prominent Union names as those of Hon. J. J. Crittenden, James Guthrie, and others; and in an address to the people, emanating from a body of which Mr. Crittenden was president, the singular doctrine was avowed, that the proper course for Kentucky to pursue, was to remain neutral, and all that she was required to do, was to act the part of mediator and intercessor. The use thus made of the highly respectable names of Messrs. Crittenden, Guthrie, and others, is but one of many instances, of the artful duplicity of the rebels.

Simultaneously with these movements, to secure the pre-
tended neutrality of Kentucky, large bodies of troops were recruited in the State for the Southern army, and arms, in transit through it, for the use of the loyal Tennesseans, were seized by the State authorities. The rebels also took possession of, and began to fortify important military positions on the Mississippi river, below Columbus, with the knowledge and consent of the State; thus exposing the utter insincerity of their professions of neutrality.

A Congressional election soon followed, at which the voice of the people was expressed, and that voice was so emphatically for Union, that loyal members of Congress were elected, by large majorities, in every district but one; and at a subsequent election of members of the State Legislature, even a more decided Union feeling was manifested.

The recruiting of Union forces, and the formation of Union camps, were actively commenced; and Gen. Robert Anderson, the hero of Sumter, was placed in command of the Union forces, and issued a patriotic proclamation on the 21st of September. The Governor was greatly incensed at these proceedings, and sent agents to Washington, to demand the evacuation of the State by the Federal troops; and, to conceal his actual purpose, sent similar demands to the rebel government. The President refused to accede to the insulting demand, and in his reply, gave the traitor Governor the following delicate, though cutting hint, of his own disloyalty:

"Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment, I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that this force shall be removed beyond her limits; and with this impression, I must respectfully decline to so remove it. I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my own native State, Kentucky; but it is with regret I search, and cannot find, in your not very short letter, any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union."
The following is from the reply of the rebel President, and is an unblushing misrepresentation of the facts:

"The Government of the Confederate States has not only respected most scrupulously the neutrality of Kentucky, but has continued to maintain the friendly relations of trade and intercourse which it has suspended with the people of the United States generally. In view of the history of the past, it can scarcely be necessary to assure your Excellency that the Government of the Confederate States will continue to respect the neutrality of Kentucky as long as her people will maintain it themselves. But neutrality, to be entitled to respect, must be strictly maintained between both parties; or if the door be opened on the other side for the aggressions of one of the belligerent parties upon the other, it ought not to be shut to the assailed, when they seek to enter it for the purpose of self-defence."

The Legislature met early in September, and evinced a decided Union spirit. By a vote of more than three to one, they ordered the old flag to float over their Capitol, and all secession papers were at once tabled. The only documents of the sort, to which they gave any attention, was the message of their Governor, which was a long argument against the authority of the General Government, to quell insurrections within the States.

Gen. Polk was, at this time, in command of the rebel forces stationed at Memphis, Tennessee, and when it was clearly seen that Kentucky would not secede, nor resist the occupancy of the State by Union troops, that officer at once proceeded up the river and occupied Columbus, an important military position on the Mississippi, a short distance below Cairo, on the Kentucky side of the river. This place he proceeded to fortify, and garrison in force. Our forces were ordered to occupy Paducah, on the Kentucky side of the Ohio, at the mouth of the Tennessee river, a movement, the importance
of which has been clearly shown, by the subsequent achievements of Gen. Foster’s flotilla, up the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. It was occupied on the morning of September 6th, by forces dispatched thither by Gen. Grant, then in command of our forces at Cairo.

The following resolutions, passed by the Kentucky Legislature on the 12th of September, by a vote of about three to one, will show its feelings respecting the rebel invasion of their State:

"Resolved, That Kentucky’s peace and neutrality have been wantonly violated, her soil has been invaded, the rights of her citizens have been grossly infringed by the so-called Southern Confederate forces. This has been done without cause; therefore,

"Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That the Governor be requested to call out the military force of the State, to expel and drive out the invaders.

"Resolved, That the United States be invoked to give that aid and assistance, that protection against invasion, which is granted to each one of the States, by the fourth section of the fourth Article of the Constitution of the United States.

"Resolved, That General Robert Anderson be, and he is hereby requested, to enter immediately upon the active discharge of his duties in this military district.

"Resolved, That we appeal to the people of Kentucky, by the ties of patriotism and honor, by the ties of common interest and common defence, by the remembrances of the past, and by the hopes of the future national existence, to assist in repelling and driving out the wanton violators of our peace and neutrality, the lawless invaders of our soil."

The Governor, true to his rebel instincts, vetoed the resolutions; but they were, nevertheless, triumphantly passed, over his veto.

The Governor, during the entire controversy, had reiterated
his firm determination to "follow the fortunes of his State;" and now that she had committed herself unreservedly to the cause of the Union, he was reluctantly compelled to decide, between adhesion to his profession, or open rebellion. From motives of policy, he chose the former; and to show the feebleness of his Unionism, it is only necessary to contrast the following brief, mild and inoffensive message, which he was compelled to issue by request of the Legislature, with the long, earnest, argumentative papers, which he had before issued in behalf of the rebels:

"In obedience to the resolution, adopted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, the government of the Confederate States, the State of Tennessee, and all others concerned, are hereby informed that Kentucky expects the Confederate, or Tennessee troops, to be withdrawn from her soil unconditionally."

The length and spirit of this paper, show fully the degree of his loyalty. The Legislature adopted resolutions, accepting her quota of the burdens of the war, and planting the State, in all respects, firmly on Union ground. Gen. Anderson had authority given him, to raise sufficient force to expel the rebels.

Thus ended the neutrality of Kentucky, the only result of which was to enable the rebels to possess themselves of important strategic points in the State, to gather into their armies the disloyal citizens, to collect large supplies for their support, to enable rebel emissaries to overawe, plunder, imprison, or murder Union men, and to inflict untold hardships and sufferings upon her own citizens, and the country at large. But, thanks to the sagacity and promptness of military men, to the bravery of her own sons, and of the co-operating forces, the rebels were driven from the State, with comparatively small sacrifice of life.

With this action of the people, and of the constituted authorities of the State, the secessionists were not content.
They had counted on the co-operation of Kentucky in the rebellion, and if they could not secure the substance, they were resolved at least to have the shadow. An informal meeting was, therefore, held at Russellville, a small town in the south part of the State, on the 29th day of October, at which the rebels in attendance ventilated their grievances, by arraigning the action of the State authorities, and sought redress by calling a convention of delegates, to be selected in any way the people might choose, to meet at that place on the 18th of November following. At that time, about two hundred persons assembled, drawn together by sympathy with the objects of the meeting, but without any delegated powers. They, however, passed a "Declaration of Independence, and an Ordinance of Secession," and organized a Provisional Government, and this bogus State was admitted as a member of the Confederate Government! It was, however, productive of no results, except the proof it gave of the facility with which the rebels could declare a State out of the Union, and add it to the Southern Confederacy.

The die was now cast, the neutrality of Kentucky was soon to be broken by both parties, and her soil to become the scene of bloody combats. Gen. A. Sidney Johnson, commander of a Confederate Department, issued a proclamation from Memphis, offering the aid of his forces to expel the "invaders." The Legislature authorized a loan of another million for the defense of the State, called out forty thousand volunteers, and debarred all her citizens, who should enter the rebel service, from holding real estate in Kentucky, unless, within sixty days, they returned to their allegiance. They requested the resignation of Messrs. Breckenridge and Powell, United States Senators from that State. The banks were liberal in their contributions to the State loans, and the State thus promptly placed herself in a position to aid the loyal cause with liberal contributions of men and money.
The Confederates entered the southern part of the State, and the section on the Mississippi, in large forces. Thirteen regiments of infantry, with six batteries of artillery, and several battalions of cavalry, were at Cumberland Gap, under Gen. Zollicoffer, and at Columbus, under Generals Polk and Pillow. Gen. Buckner threatened Louisville, but not securing the expected re-enforcements, he retired to Bowling Green, which he strongly fortified. Early in October, the rebels were said to have stationed at Hickman, under Gen. Polk, at Bowling Green, under Gen. Buckner, at Cumberland Gap, under Zollicoffer, in Owen county, under Humphrey Marshall, at Warsaw, Hazel Green, Bloomfield, &c., over twenty-four thousand men, while the Union forces in the vicinity of Louisville, were twenty thousand strong. Re-enforcements from Ohio and Indiana, were concentrating at Covington. Large bodies of Home Guards had been organized, chiefly by the secessionists, whose officers were, for the most part, in favor of secession, though the pretense of their organization had been to protect the neutrality of the State. Most of them joined the rebel army.

The rebels in the vicinity of Cumberland Gap, had committed various outrages, resulting in an unimportant skirmish at Barboursville, Sept. 18th, between Zollicoffer's force and the Home Guard. On the 1st of October, they fortified Cumberland Ford, fifteen miles from the Tennessee line. This gave them possession of the important salt works in this region, and also commanded Cumberland Gap, the key of Eastern Tennessee and Western Virginia, through which passes the East Tennessee and Virginia rail road, over which the chief supplies for the rebel army in Western Virginia, must come. Meanwhile, the Federal forces were advancing, to check these movements of the enemy.

The "neutrality" of Kentucky, was first broken by a severe engagement at the Union camp,--Wild Cat, Eastern Ken-
BATTLE OF CAMP WILD CAT.

Kentucky,—between six thousand Tennessee rebels, under Gen. Zollicoffer, and three Union regiments, under Gen. Schoepf, and Col. Garrard, on the 21st day of October, 1861. Repeated attacks were made upon our camp by the enemy, each of which was repulsed with terrible slaughter. In these fruitless attempts, the enemy occupied the day; but retired under cover of the night, to Barboursville, in confusion and disorder. Captain Standart's Ohio battery won prominent distinction in this engagement. The people on their route had been plundered and maltreated by the rebels, and being Unionists, they were glad of the opportunity to punish their oppressors, which they did, by shooting large numbers of the stragglers from their retreating force. The loss of the rebels in this day's fight, and on the retreat, was severe, but not accurately known. The Union loss was four killed, and twenty-one wounded.

On Dec. 10th, the insurgents were heavily re-enforced, and advanced to Somerset, Gen. Schoepf retiring. Gen. Zollicoffer encamped and fortified his position at Mill Spring.

Gen. Nelson had command of a small Federal force on the border of Virginia, with which, on the 2d of November, he occupied Prestonburgh. He next moved towards Piketon, and on the 8th of November, a part of his command had a short, but sharp encounter with the rebels, at Guy-Mountain. The rebels were defeated, with a loss of ten killed, and fifteen wounded. We lost six killed, and twenty-four wounded.

The enemy retreated from that part of the State, and Gen. Nelson issued to his troops, the following congratulatory address:

"I thank you for what you have done. In a campaign of twenty days, you have driven the rebels from Eastern Kentucky, and given repose to that portion of the State. You have made continual forced marches, over wretched roads, deep in mud. Badly clad, you have bivouacked on the wet ground, in the November rain, without a murmur. With scarcely
half rations, you have pressed forward with unfailing perseverance. The only place that the enemy made a stand, though ambushed and very strong, you drove him from, in the most brilliant style. For your constancy and courage, I thank you, and, with the qualities which you have shown that you possess, I expect great things from you in the future."

This ended the campaign in Eastern Kentucky, but the southern part of the State was in the undisputed possession of the Confederates.

The failing health of Gen. Anderson, compelled him to resign, and on Oct. 8th, Gen. W. T. Sherman, of Ohio, was placed in command of the Department of the Cumberland, but ill health, also, prevented him from discharging his duties, and Gen. Don Carlos Buell succeeded him in that command, on Nov. 8th.

A long and severe battle was fought at Belmont, on the Missouri side of the river, opposite Columbus, on the 7th day of November, between a body of rebels stationed at the former place, and about three thousand Union men under Gen. Grant.

Columbus, on the Kentucky shore, opposite to Belmont, was occupied by Gen. Polk, with a rebel force of about twenty thousand men. The bluffs on that side, which rise from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five feet high, were strongly fortified, and mounted with heavy guns, which completely commanded the river. Belmont was on low ground, and its vicinity is thickly wooded. It was Gen. Grant's object to surprise and capture the rebel force, at the latter place, and thus occupy the attention of the rebel Generals, and prevent them from parting with any of their force, to strengthen Buckner, in Kentucky, or Price, in Missouri.

Gen. Grant's forces were taken in boats, and landed some two and a half miles above Belmont, and thence were marched upon the place. Here they engaged the enemy in a conflict, of two hours' duration, and which ended in the defeat
and expulsion of the rebels. The purpose of the advance was thus accomplished, and the victors should at once have retired to their boats, as rebel re-enforcements might certainly have been looked for, from Columbus, on the opposite shore. But instead of doing so, the troops scattered about the rebel camp, gave themselves up to plunder, and became unmanageable. For this folly, which cannot but be attributed to the negligence of the officers, they were severely punished. It was soon seen that Gen. Polk was throwing heavy re-enforcements over the river, with the evident design to cut off their retreat. Thus it became necessary, in order to reach their boats, to cut their way through the fresh forces which were already in their rear. A bloody and desperate contest ensued, during which our forces succeeded in reaching their boats, and effecting their escape, though they paid dearly for their imprudence and lack of discipline. Our total loss in this unfortunate affair was eighty-four killed, two hundred and eighty-eight wounded, and two hundred and thirty-five missing.

The loss of the enemy was even greater than our own, and was estimated at one thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners. Belmont was evacuated on the following day.

On the 17th of December, the picket force of Gen. Johnson's command, stationed at Munfordsville, on the south bank of Green river, was attacked by the forces of Gen. Hindman. The picket force consisted of a part of the 32d Indiana, a body of veteran German troops, numbering only four hundred and fourteen men. This feeble force confronted and defeated full four times their own number; killed sixty-three, and wounded sixty, with a loss of but ten killed and seventeen wounded.

During the month of November, vast preparations were made on both sides, for a vigorous campaign in Kentucky, and the Federal force in that State, on December 1st, was stated to be seventy thousand strong, of which twenty thousand were Kentuckians.
Gen. Marshall was sent into Kentucky, to threaten the rear of Gen. Buell's army, and thus prevent its advance. Gen. Zollicoffer held, at the time, a strong position on the Cumberland, in the vicinity of Mill Spring, and by which he closed the approaches to Eastern Tennessee. Col. Garfield was ordered forward to disperse the forces of Marshall, and thus to open the way for our forces to advance upon the lines held by Zollicoffer.

Accordingly, on the 7th of January, Col. Garfield moved forward with a force of about fifteen hundred men, to the vicinity of Paintville, where Gen. Marshall had an intrenched camp of three thousand men. Without waiting for re-enforcements, which were soon expected, Col. Garfield at once decided to attack the camp. The rebels, however, did not await the attack, but fell back toward Prestonburgh, destroying a large quantity of grain. They were harassed in their retreat by Col. Garfield's cavalry, and many of them killed, or taken prisoners. In their retreat, they abandoned a large amount of stores and equipage.

The following day, Col. Garfield being re-enforced, started again in hot pursuit of the flying enemy, and lay on his arms the following night, in his immediate vicinity. The next day he overtook and engaged Marshall's forces, about one o'clock, p. m. The engagement continued until near nightfall, when Col. Garfield was joined by a re-enforcement of seven hundred men, and he speedily drove the enemy from the field. They burned most of their stores, though we captured a large amount. The object of the expedition was fully accomplished, and on the 16th of January, Col. Garfield occupied Prestonburg.

This signal success liberated the long-bound Unionists of Eastern Kentucky, and opened the way for the safe advance of Generals Thomas and Schoepf, which, a few days later, resulted in the more brilliant success at Mill Spring.
The enemy carried off all of their wounded, and most of their dead, leaving but twenty-seven of the latter on the field. Our loss was but four killed, and twenty-six wounded.

On January 19th, 1862, was fought the very important battle of Mill Spring, or Logan's Cross Roads, at the latter place, in Pulaski county, Kentucky. The Union forces were commanded by Gen. Thomas, and were less than three thousand strong. The rebels under Zollicoffer, amounted to over eight thousand men. The engagement resulted in the complete rout of the rebels on the field, from which they fled to their camp on the Cumberland river in great disorder. This camp they abandoned during the night, leaving in the hands of the victors all their stores, camp supplies, artillery, tents, horses, wagons, &c. The enemy was so effectually beaten, that they continued their retreat for nearly eighty miles. The property taken on the field and in the camp, was of great value, including twenty-one cannon, one hundred four-horse wagons, over twelve hundred horses and mules, and six hundred muskets. Our loss was thirty-nine killed, and one hundred and twenty-seven wounded; that of the rebels was one hundred and fifteen killed—including Gen. Zollicoffer and Baillie Peyton—large numbers wounded, and over two hundred prisoners. Large numbers of rebels were drowned in crossing the river, and are not included in the foregoing list.

After Zollicoffer's defeat at Camp Wild Cat, he retired to a position on the Cumberland river, opposite Mill Springs. Here he had been engaged in fortifying a naturally strong position, and in recruiting and organizing a formidable force, for operations in Eastern Tennessee. On the sixth of January, the rebel Gen. Crittenden arrived at this position, with several regiments, and by other re-enforcements, the effective force of the enemy was raised to nearly ten thousand men. Early in the same month, Gen. Buell, having at his disposal a force large enough for offensive operations, directed Gen.
Thomas to move with his division, against Crittenden's position at Mill Spring. With the two brigades under his command, Gen. Thomas broke up camp at Lebanon, and on Thursday, Jan. 16th, pitched tents near a fork of country roads, upon what is known as Logan's place, a very extensive plantation of several thousand acres. Here they were joined by a portion of Gen. Schoepf's command, under Gen. Carter, consisting of three regiments, and Capt. Standart's battery.

On Saturday, Gen. Crittenden received information of the movement of Gen. Carter's brigades, and being ignorant of the fact that Gen. Thomas' division was at Somerset, believed that it was intended only as a scouting expedition. He accordingly formed a plan for an advance upon Carter's small force, with his whole command. This movement was strongly opposed by Zollicoffer, but his superior insisting upon it, on the night of Saturday, the 18th, the whole rebel army moved from its intrenchments. At six o'clock A. M., they came upon the Union advance, consisting of a portion of Wolford's Kentucky cavalry, and at 8 o'clock the battle fairly commenced. The 10th Indiana, the 2d Minnesota, and the 4th Kentucky, Col. Fry, sustained the brunt of the battle, and kept the enemy in check until about eleven o'clock, when the 10th Ohio—German—under Col. McCook, decided the day by a successful charge upon the enemy's left. Just before this, Gen. Zollicoffer had been killed by Col. Fry, of the 4th Kentucky, on their right; and upon the repulse of the left wing, the enemy's fire slackened, and a retreat commenced. They were now closely pushed by the 10th Kentucky, and the 14th Indiana, until the retreat became an utter rout.

The pursuit was continued under a heavy fall of rain until nightfall, when the troops were recalled to camp, to await the final attack on the enemy's works in the morning. At early dawn, the Federal guns in position, opened upon the rebel intrenchments, but receiving no reply, the infantry, with the 10th
Kentucky in advance, were ordered forward. On reaching
the rebel batteries, they were found entirely deserted, the
rebels having fled across the river in the utmost confusion.
A flight which can only be accounted for, by the fact that
they were utterly demoralized by the unexpected result of
Sunday's fight, and imagined that they were pursued by a
force of twenty or thirty thousand Federals. Such was the
haste in which they left the field, that they carried little with
them, except the clothing upon their persons.

The rebels still held the important positions of Fort Henry
on the Cumberland, Fort Donelson on the Tennessee, Bow-
ling Green—centrally situated on the rail road, between
Louisville and Nashville, and connected with Memphis by a
branch rail road, and Columbus on the Mississippi. All these
positions were strongly fortified, heavily garrisoned, and re-
garded as impregnable to any assaults which the Union force
could make upon them. But the events detailed in the fol-
lowing chapter, will show the sore disappointment in store
for them.
CHAPTER XI.

MISSISSIPPI FLOTILLA—CAPTURE OF FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON.


To re-open the navigation of the Mississippi, which the rebels sought to close, by lining it with batteries from Columbia to Memphis, and to operate also on the important tributaries of that river, a fleet of gun and mortar boats was early projected, and put under contract for rapid completion. The largest of the gun-boats is about one hundred seventy-five feet long, and fifty feet wide, and when loaded, draws about four feet of water. About three feet in thickness of oak timber, firmly bolted together, form the bows and bulwarks; the sides are not so heavily timbered. The sides, from the water line, incline each way, at an angle of $45^\circ$, and can only be injured by plunging shot from high bluffs. They are sheathed with the best quality of iron plates, two and a half inches thick. The largest sized boats carry thirteen guns each. The forward or bow guns, are eighty-four pounder rifle guns, the others eight inch columbiads. The great proportionate width of the boats, gives them much steadiness in action. They are so constructed as to fire with the bows on, and in that position are more invulnerable than in any other. Each boat has five boilers, so connected that, in case of injury to one or more, the others can still be used.
The boats which were first finished and brought into use, were the St. Louis, thirteen guns, the Cincinnati, thirteen guns, the Carondolet, thirteen guns, the Essex, nine guns, the Canes-toga, nine guns, and the Tyler, nine guns. The latter two were not iron-plated.

Unexpected delays occurred in finishing the river flotilla, and its movements afterward, were, of course, controlled by the general plan of the campaign, as the army and the river navy must act in concert. Excepting reconnoitering service on the river, no important movement was made until the expedition up the Tennessee river was projected.

The battle of Mill Spring had occurred on the 19th of January, and was the turning point in the fortunes of the war. It inaugurated a series of successes, scarcely paralleled in the annals of war; to which the river flotilla, commanded by Commodore Foote, contributed its full share.

It was decided early in February to make a concerted land and naval attack upon Fort Henry, situated upon the Tennessee River, near the northern boundary of the State. The fort had been built during the preceding summer, and was intended to protect the river from the passage of our boats.

The principal fortification was a common bastion fort with nine bastions, and inclosing three and a half acres within the ramparts. The trench is twelve feet wide and seven feet deep, making the top of the parapet, which is fourteen feet high, twenty-one feet above the bottom of the ditch. The slope is twelve feet thick at the top. Outside of these is a series of rifle pits or trenches, upwards of three miles in length. The armament of the fort was, one ten inch columbiad (one hundred-twenty pounder,) smooth bore; one twenty-four pounder, rifled; twelve thirty-two pounders, smooth bore; one twenty-four pounder, siege gun; two twelve pounders, upon siege carriages. The guns are mounted variously, on siege, barbette and casemate carriages.
Gen. Grant and Com. Foote had arranged the plan for the combined attack. The land forces under the former, were to have been so placed as to have prevented the escape of any rebel force in or near the fort, while the latter was to attack the fort with the boats named above, from the river. Gen. Grant gives the following reasons for not making a complete investment of the fort:

"Owing to dispatches received from Major-General Halleck, and corroborating information here, to the effect that the enemy were rapidly re-enforcing, I thought it imperatively necessary that the fort should be carried to-day. My forces were not up at 10 o'clock last night, when my order was written, therefore I did not deem it practicable to set an earlier hour than 11 o'clock to-day to commence the investment. The gun-boats started up at the same hour to commence the attack, and engage the enemy at not over six hundred yards. In little over one hour, all the batteries were silenced, and the fort surrendered at discretion, to Flag-Officer Foote, giving us all their guns, camp and garrison equipage, etc. The prisoners taken are General Tilghman and staff, Captain Taylor and company, and the sick. The garrison, I think, must have commenced their retreat last night, or at an early hour this morning.

"Had I not felt it an imperative necessity to attack Fort Henry to-day, I should have made the investment complete, and delayed until to-morrow, so as to secure the garrison. I do not now believe, however, the result would have been any more satisfactory."

From Com. Foote's official report, we extract the following description of the first thorough test of the ability of the iron-clad river fleet to withstand the heavy batteries of the enemy:

"The fire was opened at seventeen hundred yards distance from the flag-ship, which was followed by the other gun-boats, and responded to by the fort. As we approached the fort, slowly steaming till we reached within six hundred yards of the
rebels batteries, the fire from both gun-boats and the fort increased in rapidity and accuracy of range.

"At twenty minutes before the flag was struck, the Essex, unfortunately, received a shot in her boilers, which resulted in the wounding and scalding of twenty-nine officers and men, including Commander Porter.

"The Essex then necessarily dropped out of line, astern, entirely disabled, and unable to continue the fight in which she had so gallantly participated until the sad catastrophe.

"The firing continued with unabated rapidity and effect upon the three gun-boats, as they continued still to approach the fort with their destructive fire, until the rebel flag was hauled down, after a very severe and closely contested action of one hour and fifteen minutes.

A boat, containing the Adjutant-General and Captain of Engineers, came alongside, after the flag was lowered, and reported that General Floyd Tilghman, the Commander of the
fort, wished to communicate with the Flag-officer, when I dispatched Commander Stembel and Lieutenant-Commanding Phelps, with orders to hoist the American flag where the secession ensign had been flying, and to inform General Tilghman that I would see him on board the flag-ship. He came on board soon after the Union had been substituted for the rebel flag on the fort, and possession taken of it. I received the General and his staff, and some sixty or seventy men as prisoners, and a hospital ship containing invalids, together with the fort and its effects, mounting twenty guns, mostly of heavy calibre, with barracks and tents capable of accommodating fifteen thousand men.

"The armed gun-boats resisted effectually the shot of the enemy, when striking the casemant.

"The Cincinnati, the flag-ship, received thirty-one shots, the Essex fifteen, the St. Louis seven, and the Carondolet six, killing one, wounding nine in the Cincinnati, and killing one in the Essex, while the casualties in the latter, from steam, amounted to twenty-eight in number. The Carondolet and St. Louis met with no casualties.

"The steamers were admirably handled by the commanders and officers, presenting only their bow guns to the enemy, to avoid the exposure of the vulnerable parts of their vessels.

"Lieutenant-Commanding Phelps, with his Division, also executed my orders very effectually, and promptly proceeded up the river in their further execution, after the capture of the fort. In fact, all the officers and men gallantly performed their duty, and, considering the little experience they have had under fire, far more than realized my expectations.

"Fort Henry was defended with the most determined gallantry by Gen. Tilghman, worthy of a better cause, who, from his own account, went into the action with eleven guns of heavy calibre bearing upon our boats, which he fought until seven of the number were dismantled, or otherwise rendered useless."
Before the attack on Fort Henry, Com. Foote had given instructions to the effect, that as soon as the fort was captured, the gun-boats Canestoga, Lexington, and Tyler, should proceed up the river, and render the Bowling Green and Memphis railroad bridge impassable, and capture whatever boats or other rebel property they could find in their ascent. This expedition advanced some two hundred miles, to Florence, Alabama, destroying the rebel fleet upon the river, and capturing large supplies. This was the first sudden movement that had been made into the very centre of the rebellion, and the decided and general manifestation of Union feeling, was equally unexpected and gratifying.

Toward the close of February, the rebels commenced the erection of fortifications on the Tennessee, at Pittsburgh, one of the best points for the purpose on the river; and afterwards famous for the terrific and bloody engagement of April 6th and 7th, 1862. Hearing of which, Lieutenant Gwinn, with his boat, the Tyler, accompanied by the Lexington, proceeded there, and demolished the enemy's works with little trouble, or loss.

The Tennessee river, with the immense and important region bordering upon it, was thus reclaimed to the Union, in a few weeks, and at a very trifling loss. The importance to the Union cause, of this success, can hardly be over-estimated. The river itself, was an important acquisition. It has its course chiefly in the State of Tennessee, and is the largest tributary of the Ohio. Its most remote sources are Clinch and Holston rivers. It has other branches, which uniting, form the Tennessee proper, at a point forty-five miles southwest of Knoxville. From Knoxville, it pursues a south-west direction across the State, and enters Alabama, when it pursues a westerly course for one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles, and then turns north, and enters Tennessee again, crossing the State and the western portion of Kentucky, and
entering the Ohio, eleven and a half miles below the mouth of the Cumberland, and forty-seven and a half above the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi. The whole descent of the river, from its source to its mouth, is about one thousand seven hundred feet. Its whole length, by the course of the river, is one thousand two hundred miles. It drains a surface of forty-one thousand square miles. There are no falls, and few rapids obstruct navigation through its whole course. The greatest obstruction is at Muscle Shoals — Alabama — two hundred and fifty-seven miles from the mouth, to which point steamers ascend. A canal, thirty-six miles in length, has been built around these shoals, and above, the navigation for boats is unobstructed for two hundred and fifty miles. It opened a cotton producing region, to the commercial enterprise of the North.

Lauderdale county, of which Florence is the capital, produces from ten to twelve thousand bales of ginned cotton, of four hundred pounds. Franklin county, on the other side of the river, produces over fifteen thousand bales. Cotton is also produced to some extent in Tennessee, on the line of the river. There are two large cotton factories on Cypress Creek, three miles from the place, having a capital of forty-five thousand dollars each. Shoal Creek, nine miles distant, also gives motion to a cotton factory, which cost sixty thousand dollars. It proved also the efficiency of the gun-boats, which gave the North confidence and hope, and filled the South with fear and dread. The boats proved themselves to be all that was ever claimed for them. For almost the first time in the history of modern warfare, a little fleet of gun-boats has been able to reduce a large land work, fully armed and garrisoned.

Fort Donelson on the Cumberland river, in Tennessee, surrendered to the forces under Gen. Grant, on Sunday, the 16th day of February, after a siege of three days. No previous event in the field, had been of equal importance to the Union
cause. An army of twenty thousand men, strongly intrenched, was captured, or dispersed, producing the most marked results. The full possession of the Cumberland river was secured. That river traverses a rich, productive, and cultivated district, of which Nashville, the capital, and most important city of the State, is the centre. Its entire length is about six hundred miles, and it drains an area of seventeen thousand five hundred square miles. It is navigable from its mouth to Nashville, two hundred and three miles, for large steam boats, and for boats of one hundred and fifty tons, three hundred miles farther. During high water, vessels of four hundred tons, ascend it four hundred miles. On its borders are nineteen furnaces, nine forges, and two rolling mills, which produce, annually, about fifty thousand tons of iron.

The loss of this important line of communication, with the
manufacturing facilities which fell with it, was a serious one to the insurgents. It was the last link in the rebel line of defenses in that quarter, and forced them to fall back from Kentucky, and Middle and Western Tennessee, upon Memphis, cutting them off from important lines of railway communication and supplies, and removing the seat of the war from the Western Border, to the Cotton States.

The importance of the point to be gained or lost at Donelson, gave to the attack and defense, resolution and persistence. The contest at Fort Donelson was to be no holiday affair. If that fort fell, Nashville, Clarksville, the whole line of the Cumberland, indeed the State of Tennessee itself, were lost to the insurgents.

After Fort Henry fell, on the 6th of February, the greatest efforts had been made to render Donelson impregnable, and to strengthen its garrison. The fort was judiciously located, and its natural and artificial means of defense were very strong. It was in a very sharp bend of the river, on a fine slope, one hundred and fifty feet high. It mounted on the river side sixteen heavy siege guns, in three batteries, the first had six thirty-two and sixty-four pounders, twenty feet above the river; the second a similar battery, sixty feet above the water; the third on the top of the bluff, mounted four one hundred and twenty-eight pounders. The earth works were of great extent, and exceedingly formidable. The whole country in its neighborhood, is wonderfully broken and irregular—a gigantic corrugation of the earth's surface, with as many separate hills in the same space, as can be found in equal area. These are not very high, but frequently so steep as to task to the utmost, the powers of the artillery and baggage trains.

In order to prevent a lodgment on the hills just back of the fort, it became necessary to construct a line of defenses around the fort, at the distance of a mile, and in some places
more than a mile, from the principal work. This outwork extended from a creek on the North side of the works, to another which entered a quarter of a mile below. Both of these streams were filled with backwater from the swollen river, for the distance of three-quarters of a mile from their mouths. This chain of breast-works and the miry bed of the creeks, formed a most complete impediment to the marching of an artillery force within sight of the main fort. This line of works, it is estimated, was not less than three miles in length, breast high, and formed from a ditch on either side of them, so as to answer the purpose of rifle pits and parapet. At intervals, on every elevation, platforms had been constructed and mounted with howitzers and light field pieces. Such were the works, defended by from twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand men, that the National troops marched to take by assault.

As in the attack upon Fort Henry, it had been arranged between Com. Foote and Gen. Grant, that the land and naval forces should co-operate; so also was a similar plan arranged for the reduction of Fort Donelson. But unforeseen delays robbed Gen. Grant of the honor of sharing in the former triumph, and unexpected casualties, prevented Com. Foote from participating in the latter.

Everything having been put in order for the contemplated expedition, both by the land forces, then mainly at Fort Henry, fourteen miles distant, and the flotilla which had rendezvoused at Cairo, Gen. Grant issued the order to move from Fort Henry, early on the morning of the 12th of February.

Early on the morning of that day, the National troops left Fort Henry, with two days' rations in their haversacks, without tents or wagons, except such as were necessary to take along a surplus of commissary stores and ammunition, and ambulances for the sick.

The expedition under the command of Brigadier-General
U. S. Grant, was divided into three columns—the division under Brigadier-General McClernand, taking the road from Fort Henry to Dover, running to the south of the enemy's position; the 2d division, under command of Brigadier-General W. C. Smith, U. S. A., taking the direct or telegraph road to the fort; the 3d division, subsequently placed under the lead of Brigadier-General Wallace, being sent round by Paducah and Smithland, ascending the Cumberland under the escort of the gun-boats. Each of these divisions consisted of about ten regiments of infantry, batteries, and cavalry.

At about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the advanced skirmishers of McClernand's division, came in sight of the enemy's tents, stretching between the hill on which the fort is situated, and the next, or Dover ridge.

The advanced pickets were discovered on the hill facing their tents, when the 8th Illinois drove them off in gallant style. Three of their wounded fell into our hands; several more were carried off. Two or three rapid volleys were fired at them, as they fled. Gen. Grant at once ordered up the rear of the column. Dresser's battery was posted on an eminence, overlooking the tents, and a few shells thrown into the camp. There was a general and promiscuous scattering of the men from the camps, into the earth-works on the right and left. Gen. Grant immediately ordered the division of Gen. Smith into line of battle on the ravine back of the main elevation. A column of men was pushed up on the left of the fort. Scouts returned, saying that the breast-works could be discovered on the extreme left. An hour or two was then spent in reconnoitering along the various hills surrounding the enemy's position.

The enemy having fallen back within his intrenchments, the whole line was ordered forward, so as to invest the place. Gen. McClernand moved over the Dover road, Col. Oglesby's brigade on the hill to the south, Gen. Smith on the left, ex-
tended his line to the creek on the north of the fort, which was completely surrounded.

The enemy made a sortie early on Thursday morning, on the right of our line, producing some confusion, but was repulsed, and retired within his works. About sunrise the sharp-shooters began to exercise their skill, while the batteries were being placed in favorable positions. About 8 o'clock the heavy thunder of artillery, and the rapid and sharp crack of rifles, indicated the general commencement of the battle. Before the position occupied by Schwart's and Taylor's batteries on the left, the range was clear, and their play was lively and vigorous. The enemy made a resolute attempt to capture the latter, but a rapid discharge of canister beat them back, with severe loss, and they were driven into their works by the 20th Illinois.

In front of the centre of the right, the enemy had a formidable redoubt, which was sorely annoying us. Three regiments were detailed by Gen. McClernand to storm this redoubt—the 48th, 17th, and 49th Illinois. Between them and the work lay a ravine. Col. Morrison led the attack. The redoubt was some two hundred and fifty feet above the ravine. Through that ravine, and up the ascent, in the face of a terrible fire of musketry, grape and shell, the gallant band unflinchingly pressed. When near the works, their gallant leader fell, producing some disorder, but the 17th resolutely pushed to the face, the work, where they met the most formidable abatis, through which it was impossible for any force to penetrate. They were therefore compelled to retire, which they did in order, but with severe loss.

While this heavy firing had been heard on the right, Gen. Smith had ordered the enemy to be kept engaged on the left. The 25th Indiana, at the head of a brigade, led the way. They had reached a position on the brow of a hill, where the successful assault was afterward made, and were met by the
enemy in force, who swarmed behind the works, pouring into them a deadly hail of bullets and grape. The attempt failed. The leading regiment broke in disorder, after sustaining a hot fire, and the whole line fell back out of range. The object of the sortie had been accomplished, and the enemy’s forces drawn from the other side, but the advantage did not result, as might have been anticipated, in the occupation of the fort on the right by Gen. McClernand.

The firing gradually slackened, and, for the remainder of the day, no other important movement was made. The weather had been mild, but during the evening it began to rain. The wind changed to the north, and a rapid change of temperature followed, snow began to fall, and ice was rapidly forming. A sad time for the weary, wet, and especially the wounded men. Many of the soldiers who had been separated from their overcoats and blankets during the day, could not return to get them. Not a tent, except hospital tents, in the command. Provisions growing very scarce. The muddy, wet clothing, freezing upon the chilled forms of the hungry soldiers. Ah, what a night was that in which to bivouac! Not five houses could be found within as many miles, and these were used as hospitals. Various expedients were resorted to, to ward off the icy foe. Saplings were bent down, and twigs interwoven into a shelter; leaves piled up, made a kind of roof to keep off the snow. Large fires were kindled, and the men laid with their feet to the fire. The victims to cold and exposure, hunger and neglect, on this night, will fill up a long page in the record of mortality of this eventful siege.

Dawn was ushered in by the crack of the enemy’s rifles; but little was done during the day. The division of Generals McClernand and Smith, aggregating about twenty thousand men, had so far maintained the investment. A third division had been expected to arrive on Wednesday night, but Friday had come, and it had not yet arrived. But soon
after ten o'clock, the troops came pouring in, and the decision was made to complete, during the day, the dispositions for the assault on the following morning.

Much reliance had been placed upon the aid of the gun-boats. About two and a half o'clock, p. m., on the 14th, they made their appearance before the enemy's batteries, and their heavy thunder cheered the Union troops. The action between the boats and the batteries, was kept up, at short range, for over an hour, in which time the lower battery had been silenced, and the enemy's fire perceptibly slackened.

Three of our principal boats had received temporary injuries to the steering apparatus, and had become unmanageable in the strong current. Com. Foote was, therefore, reluctantly compelled to withdraw his boats for repairs, leaving the task of reducing the forts entirely with the land forces. On the gun-boats, nine were killed, and forty-five wounded.

New dispositions of forces had been made during the day and night, and Saturday was to witness the desperate struggle for the possession of the fort.

During the night, the enemy had quietly placed several of his batteries, and a force of about twelve thousand men, within a few hundred yards of the right Federal wing, and in front of Col. Oglesby's brigade. At early dawn, these batteries opened a furious fire, while, at the same time, twelve thousand infantry, and a regiment of cavalry, fiercely assailed the little force in front, by columns of regiments. They dashed upon them from three different points, from two to four rebel regiments, assailing each regiment of Col. Oglesby's brigade. But the brave Illinoisans were ready, and held this immense force at bay until they had expended their last cartridge, when they were succeeded by the brigade of W. H. L. Wallace, which, with the aid of Taylor's and Schwarts' batteries, drove the enemy back. But they were desperate, and, after about an hour, renewed the attack. They were
met by fresh troops, and an hour of desperate and involved fighting maintained, when the foe again retired. A short lull succeeded, when the enemy again appeared, and, as the horses attached to Captain Schwarts' battery were killed, and his ammunition expended, the battery fell into the enemy's hands. But at the critical moment, when the rebels were about to turn the guns upon the Federal lines, Captain Willett's Chicago battery poured upon them such a destructive shower of canister, that they fled in confusion to the fort, taking with them the captured guns.

Preparations were now made for the assault, and the difficult task was assigned to General Smith. The assaulting force comprised ten regiments, divided into two brigades, commanded by Col's Cook and Lauman.

Colonel Cook took the right of the attack, menacing the centre of the enemy's position. Opposed to them were six Tennessee regiments, commanded by Colonels Saggs, Bailey, Head, Quarles, Brown and Coombs, with the 2d Kentucky regiment. Colonel Cook took his men straight up the side of the hill, at the highest portion of the fortifications, and the farthest removed from the river. The regiments went gallantly up the sides of the hill, and then encountered the barricade of felled timber and brushwood. The enemy's infantry kept a rain of fire upon them. A thirty-four pound gun in battery poured down grape and shell upon them, not, however, with very fatal effect. The men stood it without flinching, the lines remaining unbroken. In accordance with the plan of attack, it was decided that the brigade of Col. Cook should engage the enemy on the right, while the brigade of Colonel Lauman should make the entree into the works further on the left. He kept up an incessant fire of infantry, engaging the Tennesseans who were safely esconced behind the earth-works.

On the right, however, lay an open space, up which climbed the brigade of Lauman. The 2d Iowa led the charge, fol-
The sight was sublime. Onward they sped, heedless of the bullets and balls of the enemy above. The hill was steep, the timber cleared, and the rebels had left a gap in their line of rifle pits on this crest of hill. Through this gap our men were bound to go. Right up they went, climbing on all fours, their line of dark blue clothing advancing regularly forward, the white line of smoke from the top of the works opposed by a line from our front.

They reach the top! Numbers fall! The suspense is breathless! See, they climb over the works! They fall—they are lost! Another group, and still another and another, close up the gap! All is covered in smoke! The lodgment is made—the troops swarm up the hill-side, their bright bayonets glittering in the sun. The firing slackens.

What is more wonderful is, that Captain Stone's battery of rifled ten-pounders close behind the brigade, is tugging up the hill, the horses plunging and riders whipping. Upward they go, where never vehicle went before, up the precipitous and clogged sides of the hill. No sooner on the crest, than the guns are unlimbered, the men at their posts. Percussion shells and canister, are shot spitefully from the Parrot guns at the flying enemy. The day is gained—a position is taken—the troops surround the guns, and the enemy has deserted his post. The thirty-four pounder which had caused so much havoc, is silenced by Col. Cook's brigade, and the rebels fly to the main fort in alarm. The day is gained! The foe is running! Cheers upon cheers rend the air, and in a few minutes all is hushed.

In the midst of all this warm work, there rode the white haired General Smith, his snowy moustache standing out like bristles, his hand waving majestically, his bearing erect and proud—undaunted by the deadly hail, and unmoved by the brilliant success. Sure of his point, his batteries placed, the enemy's guns turned upon them, and he ordered his reserve
into line, with all the coolness of a Hannibal. An offer comes to him of more troops. "Thank you, gentlemen, I think we have already more than enough," calmly replies the General, and in fifteen minutes the lines were disposed of for the night. The loss, to our forces, was small, compared with the amount of firing. Our loss, in the storming of the works, will not exceed two hundred killed and wounded. That of the enemy must have been at least that number, notwithstanding that they were intrenched behind breast-works.

What followed may be told in few words. The enemy seeing that we had gained one of his strongest positions, and successfully repulsed him in his most daring attempts to raise the siege, took advantage of the darkness, called a council of war, in which it was determined to surrender. With all the haste possible, some seven thousand troops were dispatched up the river by night. The rebel Generals Floyd and Pillow made their escape. The fort, with all its contents, fell into our hands,—more than thirteen thousand prisoners, Brigadier-General Buckner, with twenty Colonels and other officers in proportion; sixty-five cannon, (forty-eight field and seventeen siege,) a million and a half in stores, provisions, and equipages—a glorious result, purchased at comparatively small loss, when the duration, and nature of the fight are considered. Our loss was four hundred and one killed, one thousand five hundred and fifteen wounded, and two hundred and fifty prisoners. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded, was equal to, if not greater, than our own, and about thirteen thousand prisoners. Large numbers of the wounded of both armies, died from exposure to the sudden and extreme cold.

The correspondence between Generals Grant and Buckner, which ended in the unconditional surrender of the fort and garrison, was commenced by a note from the latter, early on Sunday morning, asking an armistice until two o'clock of that day, to settle the terms of capitulation. To this, Gen. Grant
replied, "No terms, except immediate and unconditional surrender, can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." To this Gen. Buckner responded:

"The distribution of the forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms yesterday, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms which you propose."

The Department of the Army and Navy, issued the following complimentary order:

"The President, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, returns thanks to Brigadier-General Burnside and Flag-Officer Goldsborough; to General Grant, and Flag-Officer Foote, and the land and naval forces under their respective commands, for their gallant achievements in the capture of Fort Henry and Roanoke Island.

"While it will be no ordinary pleasure for him to acknowledge and reward, in becoming manner, the valor of the living, he also recognizes his duty to pay fitting honor to the memory of the gallant dead.

"The charge at Roanoke Island, like the bayonet charge at Mill Spring, proves that the close grapple and sharp steel of loyal and patriotic soldiers must always put rebels and traitors to flight. The late achievements of the navy, show that the flag of the Union, once borne in proud glory around the world by naval heroes, will soon again float over every rebel city and stronghold, and that it shall forever be honored and respected as the emblem of liberty and union, in every land and upon every sea.

"By order of the President,

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.
"GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of Navy."

Gen. Pillow, in his official report of the siege, after stating
that he had lost a "large proportion" of his force in the three battles, thus concludes:

"In this condition, the general officers held a consultation, to determine what we should do. General Buckner gave it as his decided opinion that he could not hold his position one-half hour against an assault of the enemy, and said the enemy would attack him next morning at daylight. The proposition was then made, by the undersigned, to again fight our way through the enemy's line, and cut our way out. General Buckner said his command was so worn out, and cut to pieces, and demoralized, that he could not make another fight; that it would cost the command three-quarters of its present number to cut its way through, and it was wrong to sacrifice three-quarters of a command to save a quarter; that no officer had a right to cause such a sacrifice. General Floyd, and Major Gilmer, I understood to concur in this opinion.

"I then expressed the opinion that we could hold out another day, and in that time we could get steamboats, and set the command over the river, and probably save a large portion of it. To this, General Buckner replied, that the enemy would certainly attack him at daylight, and that he could not hold his position half an hour. The alternative of these propositions was a surrender of the position and command. General Floyd said, that he would neither surrender the command, nor would he surrender himself a prisoner. I had taken the same position. General Buckner said, he was satisfied nothing else could be done, and that, therefore, he would surrender, if placed in command. Gen. Floyd said, he would turn over the command to him, if he could be allowed to withdraw his command. To this General Buckner consented. Thereupon, General Floyd turned the command over to me. I passed it instantly to General Buckner, saying I would neither surrender the command, nor myself a prisoner. I directed Colonel Forrest to cut his way out. Under these circumstances, Gen-
eral Buckner accepted the command, and sent a flag of truce to the enemy for an armistice of six hours, to negotiate for terms of capitulation. Before this flag and communication were delivered, I retired from the garrison."
CHAPTER XII.

RESULTS OF THE VICTORIES—BATTLE OF SHILO—OPERATIONS OF GEN. MITCHELL.


The fall of Fort Donelson was followed, the same evening, by an advance of the gun-boat St. Louis, up the Cumberland toward Clarksville, situated on the river, about thirty miles above. On the way, they destroyed the Tennessee Iron Works, in which John Bell was a large proprietor, and which had been engaged in manufacturing iron for the Confederates.

The St. Louis was followed, on the 19th, by Com. Foote, with the gun-boats Canestoga and Cairo, with which, on the afternoon of the same day, he reached and occupied Clarksville, without opposition.

The rebels abandoned the town, and the works erected for its defence, burned the expensive railroad bridge over the Cumberland, at this point, and fell back, panic-stricken, upon Nashville, in the vicinity of which it was believed they would make a stand. Clarksville was occupied by a sufficient force, and preparations were made for a further advance.

The sudden and unexpected reduction of the rebel barriers—Forts Henry and Donelson,—on which they had relied to completely blockade the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, produced in their armies, and among their people, violent terror. Nothing was now in the way of an advance into the
heart of Tennessee and Northern Alabama, of those monsters of terror,—the iron gun-boats, or of the advance of the Federal forces. The rebel army, now under the command of Gen. A. Sidney Johnson, retreating, by forced marches, from Bowling Green, passed through Nashville on the same day that the anxious and frightened people received intelligence of the fall of Donelson, and Gens. Buell and Mitchell were following closely in their rear.

Gen. Johnson retired to Murfreesboro, leaving the renegade Floyd to direct the future operations in Nashville. As soon as he received information that the Federal gun-boats had passed Clarksville, he directed his engineers to destroy the two beautiful bridges that spanned the Cumberland, one a railroad bridge, of wood, with an immense draw of two hundred and eighty feet, and two stationary spans, each two hundred feet. This bridge was finished in 1859, at a cost of $240,000. The other, a wire suspension bridge, of more than seven hundred feet span, and one hundred and ten feet above the water. It was begun in 1850, and cost about $100,000.

On Monday, the 24th, Floyd and his Staff left for Murfreesboro, and on the same evening Gens. Buell and Mitchell arrived at Edgefield, a village on the opposite side of the river from Nashville. There they were met by a committee of the prominent citizens, including the Mayor, the result of which was the formal surrender of the city.

Troops were rapidly concentrated at Nashville, which was made the base for further offensive operations. Little further resistance was made by the insurgents, to the occupation of Tennessee by the Federal forces. The gun-boats swept away all opposition from the borders of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, and the forces of Generals Grant, and Buell, and Mitchell, were crowding the enemy upon the line of the Memphis and Charleston rail road, and it soon became manifest that they intended to make a stand at Corinth, which place
CORINTH AND PITTSBURG LANDING.
they were said to be strongly fortifying, and supplying largely with stores. Gen. Beauregard, then in command, had selected Corinth as the most feasible point at which to defend Memphis, from which it is distant ninety-three miles. Here, it was represented, he posted some forty heavy guns, a great number of field batteries, and constructed extensive redoubts, abatis, rifle-pits, and other defensive works.

As early as the 6th of March, the expedition commanded by Gen. Grant, began to leave Fort Henry, Paducah and Cairo, for Savannah, Tenn., and vicinity. There were five divisions under the respective commands of Generals Sherman, Hurlburt, McClernand, Lew. Wallace, and Paducah Smith. The men were embarked on fifty-seven transports; two gun-boats, the Tyler and Lexington, accompanying the expedition. The flotilla was the largest and most imposing of any ever seen on the inland waters of this continent.

Within a few days after the departure of the advance of this army, the entire division had concentrated at Savannah and Pittsburg Landing, on the Tennessee river, and prepared for active movements. The bridge crossing the Mobile and Ohio rail road at Purdy, Tenn., was destroyed, and the track for some distance torn up by Federal troops, on the 13th of March. This was intended to cut off communication with Jackson, Tenn., which is the point of rail road communication with the Northern division for Columbus, &c. Here a division of the enemy under Cheatham, were supposed to be concentrating.

About the 25th of March, Gen. Lew. Wallace, with fifteen thousand men, proceeded to Florence, Ala., and destroyed the communication on the Memphis and Charleston road, at Tuscumbia, on the opposite side of the river. Thus the enemy, who were supposed to be at Decatur and eastward, composing the retreating party from Nashville,—were cut off from communication with Beauregard at Corinth.
Gen. Grant, who took command on the 17th, appears to have employed his time in preparing his command for active operations. These were delayed unavoidably, by reason of the necessity for a co-operation of Gen. Buell's forces with his own.

Gen. Thomas had the advance of this movement, and left Nashville on the 20th of March, arriving at Columbia, Tenn., on the 22d. He was preceded by a part of Gen. McCook's brigade. This officer, on arriving at Columbia, discovered that the rebels had burned the bridge, and while repairing it, was fired upon, when he shelled the town.

The other divisions under command of Gen. Buell, were those of Gens. Crittenden, Wood, Nelson and Mitchell. The route was overland entirely, and attended with some delays, but Gen. Buell finally reached the vicinity of Savannah on the 5th of April.

The forces under Gen. Grant exceeded sixty thousand men, and those of Gen. Buell were probably not much less than fifty thousand, making a grand army for operations in the south-west.

The rebel force has been variously estimated, and probably was not far from seventy thousand men. This strength, combined with the position behind breast-works, required the utmost caution on the part of the attacking Generals in conducting the engagement.

There can be little doubt, that our Generals, relying on their superior forces, did not expect, or suitably provide against offensive operations on the part of the insurgents. The latter were thought to have a strongly fortified position at Corinth, in which they were awaiting our attack, and from which it was too confidently believed, they would not come out and assail us in the open field; a confidence which, in the end, cost us dearly. Relying too fully on the defensive policy of the rebels, Gen. Grant had advanced his divisions over the river, before the other divisions had come within sup-
porting distances, and by thus exposing a part of our forces, to the attack of the entire rebel army, committed an indiscretion which it is difficult to reconcile with prudence and good generalship.

Gen. Buell had only reached Savannah, where Gen. Grant had his head-quarters, late in the evening of the 5th, and had not had an interview with the latter, up to the time when the firing was heard from Pittsburg Landing, early on the following morning. As soon as the firing was heard, Gen. Buell sent back word to hasten the advance of his rear divisions, and sought the quarters of Gen. Grant. That General, however, had left for the scene of the probable conflict, with the sound of the first guns, leaving orders for Gen. Nelson to advance at once to the river, opposite Pittsburgh Landing, to be there ferried over. Gen. Buell at once proceeded by steamer to the land-
ing, where he met Gen. Grant. At that time there were between four thousand and five thousand fugitives, who had fled in disorder to the river, and all attempts to rally them were unavailing. The enemy, at this time, had so pressed our forces back, that the shots of the former reached the landing itself. The events on the field, which had preceded the arrival of Gen. Buell, are thus detailed:

"Almost at dawn, Sherman's pickets were driven in, a very little later Prentiss' were; and the enemy were in the camps almost as soon as were the pickets themselves.

"Here began scenes which, let us hope, will have no parallel in our remaining annals of the war. Many, particularly among our officers, were not yet out of bed. Others were dressing, others washing, others cooking, a few eating their breakfasts. Many guns were unloaded, accoutrements lying pell mell, ammunition was ill-supplied—in short, the camps were completely surprised—disgracefully, might be added, unless some one can hereafter give some yet undiscovered reason to the contrary—and were taken at almost every possible disadvantage.

"Into the just aroused camps thronged the rebel regiments, firing sharp volleys as they came, and springing forward upon our laggards with the bayonet; for while their artillery, already in position, was tossing shells to the further side of the encampments, scores were shot down as they were running, without weapons, hatless, coatless, toward the river. The searching bullets found other poor unfortunates in their tents, and there, all unheeding now, they still slumbered, while the unseen foe rushed on. Others fell as they were disentangling themselves from the flaps that formed the doors to their tents; others as they were buckling on their accoutrements; others as they were vainly trying to impress on the cruelly exultant enemy their readiness to surrender.

"Officers were bayoneted in their beds, and left for dead,
who, through the whole two days' fearful struggle, lay there gasping in their agony, and on Monday evening were found in their gore, inside their tents, and still able to tell the tale.

"Such were the fearful disasters that opened the rebel onset on the lines of Buckland's brigade, in Sherman's division. Similar, though perhaps less terrible in some of the details, was the fate of Prentiss' entire front.

"Meantime, what they could do, our shattered regiments did. Falling rapidly back through the heavy woods till they gained a protecting ridge, firing as they ran, and making what resistance men thus situated might, Sherman's men succeeded in partially checking the rush of the enemy, long enough to form their hasty line of battle. Meantime the other two brigades of the division, (to the right) sprang hastily to their arms, and had barely done so when the enemy's lines came sweeping up against their fronts too, and the battle thus opened fiercely along Sherman's whole line on the right.

"Buckland's brigade had been compelled to abandon their camps without a struggle. Some of the regiments, it is even said, ran without firing a gun. Col. Appler's 53d Ohio is loudly complained of on this score, and others are mentioned. It is certain that parts of regiments, both here and in other divisions, ran disgracefully. Yet they were not wholly without excuse. They were raw troops, just from the usual idleness of our 'camps of instruction,' hundreds of them had never heard a gun fired in anger, and their officers were for the most part equally inexperienced; they had been reposing in fancied security, and were awakened, perhaps, from sweet dreams of home, and wives and children, by the stunning roar of cannon in their very midst, and the bursting of bomb shells among their tents—to see only the serried columns of the magnificent rebel advance, and through the blinding, stifling smoke, the hasty retreat of comrades and supports, right and left. Certainly, it is sad enough, but hardly sur-
prising, that under such circumstances, some should run. Half as much caused the wild panic at Bull Run, for which the nation, as one man, became a loud-mouthed apologist.

"But they ran—here as in Prentiss' division, of which last more in a moment—and the enemy did not fail to profit by the wild disorder. As Buckland's brigade fell back, McClellan threw forward his left to support it. Meanwhile Sherman was doing his best to rally his troops—dashing along his lines, encouraging them everywhere by his presence, and exposing his own life with the same freedom with which he demanded their offer of theirs, he did much to save the division from utter destruction. Hildebrand and McDowell were compelled to retire their brigades from their camps, across the little ravine behind; but here, for a time, they made a gallant defense, while what was left of Buckland's was falling back in such order as it might, and leaving McClellan's left to take their place, and check the wave of rebel advance.

"Suddenly a broad, sulphurous flash of light leaped out from the darkening woods; and through the glare and smoke came whistling the leaden hail. The rebels were making their crowning effort for the day, and, as was expected, when our guns were hastily placed, they came from our left and center. They had wasted their fire at one thousand yards. Instantaneously, our deep-mouthed bull-dogs flung out their sonorous response. The rebel artillery opened, and shell and round shot came tearing across the open space back of the bluff.

"Very handsome was the response which our broken infantry battalions poured in. The enemy soon had reason to remember that, if not

"Still in their ashes live the wonted fires," at least, still in the fragments lived the ancient valor that had made the short-lived rebel successes already cost so dear.

"The rebel infantry gained no ground, but the furious
cannonading and musketry continued. Suddenly new actors entered on the stage. Our Cincinnati wooden gun-boats, the O. A. Tyler, and the Lexington, had been all day impatiently chafing for their time to come. The opportunity was theirs. The rebels were attacking on our left, lying where Stuart's brigade had lain on Licking Creek, in the morning, and stretching thence in on the Hamburg road, and across toward our old centre, as far as Hurlburt's camps. Steaming up the mouth of the little creek, the boats rounded to. There was the ravine, cut through the bluff, as if on purpose for their shells.

"Eager to avenge the death of their commanding General, A. Sidney Johnson, (now known to have been killed a couple of hours before,) and to complete the victory they believed to be within their grasp, the rebels had incautiously ventured within reach of their most dreaded antagonists, as broadside after broadside of seven inch shells, and sixty-four pound shot soon taught them. This was a foe they had hardly counted on, and the unexpected fire in flank and rear, sadly disconcerted their well-laid plans. The boats fired admirably, and with a rapidity that was astonishing. Our twenty-two land guns kept up their stormy thunder; and thus, amid a crash, and roar, and scream of shells, and demon-like hiss of Minie balls, that Sabbath evening wore away. We held the enemy at bay; it was enough. The prospect for the morrow was foreboding, but sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

"Stealthily the troops crept to their new positions, and lay down in line of battle on their arms. All through the night, Buell's men were marching up from Savannah, to the point opposite Pittsburg Landing, and being ferried across, or were coming up on transports. By an hour after dark, Lew. Wallace had his division in. Through the misdirection he had received, he had started on the Snake Creek road proper, which would have brought him in on the enemy's rear, miles from support, and where he would have been gobbled at a mouthful. Get-
ting back to the right road had delayed him. He at once ascertained the position of certain rebel batteries, which lay in front of him on our right, that threatened absolutely to bar his advance in the morning, and selected positions for a couple of his batteries, from which they could silence the one he dreaded. Placing these in position, and arranging his brigades for support, took him till one o'clock in the morning. Then his wearied men lay down to snatch a few hours of sleep before entering into the valley of the Shadow of Death on the morrow.
"On Monday morning, Nelson moved his division, about the same time Wallace opened on the rebel battery, forming in line of battle,—Ammon's brigade on the extreme left, Bruce's in the center, and Hazen's to the right. Skirmishers were thrown out, and for nearly or quite a mile, the division thus swept the country, pushing a few outlying rebels before it, till it came upon them in force. Then a general engagement broke out along the line, and again the rattle of musketry, and thunder of artillery, echoed over the late silent fields. There was no straggling this morning. These men were better drilled than many of those whose regiments had broken to pieces on the day before, and strict measures were taken, at any rate, to prevent the miscellaneous thronging back, out of harm's way. They stood up to their work and did their duty manfully.

"Till half past ten o'clock, Nelson advanced slowly, but steadily, sweeping his long lines over the ground of our sore defeat of Sunday morning, forward, over scores of rebel dead, resistlessly pressing back the jaded and wearied enemy. The rebels had received but few re-enforcements during the night, their men were exhausted with their desperate contest of the day before, and manifestly dispirited by the evident fact, that, notwithstanding their well laid plans of destruction in detail, they were fighting Grant and Buell combined.

"Gradually, as Nelson pushed forward his lines, under heavy musketry, the enemy fell back, till about half past ten, when, under cover of the heavy timber, and a furious cannonading, they made a general rally. Our forces, flushed with their easy victory, were scarcely prepared for the sudden onset, where retreat had been all they had been seeing before. Suddenly the rebel masses were hurled against our lines with tremendous force. Our men halted, wavered, and fell back. At this critical juncture, Captain Terry's regular battery came dashing up. Scarcely taking time to unlimber, he was loading and
sighting his pieces before the caissons had turned, and in an instant was tossing shells from twenty-four pound howitzers to the compact, and advancing rebel ranks.

"Here was the turning point of the battle on the left. The rebels were only checked, not halted. On they came. Horse after horse from the batteries was picked off. Every private at one of the howitzers fell, and the gun was worked by Captain Terry himself, and a corporal. The rebels seemed advancing. A regiment dashed up from our line, and saved the disabled piece. Then for two hours were artillery and musketry, at close range. At last they began to waver. Our men pressed on, pouring in deadly volleys. Just then, Buell, who assumed the general direction of his troops in the field, came up. At a glance, he saw the chance. 'Forward at double quick, by brigades.'

"Our men leaped forward, as if they had been tied, and were only too much rejoiced to be able to move. For a quarter of a mile the rebels fell back. Faster and faster they ran, less and less resistance was made to the advance. At last the front camps on the left were reached, and by half past two, that point was cleared. The rebels had been steadily swept back over the ground they had won, with heavy loss, as they fell into confusion; we had retaken all our own guns lost here the day before, and one or two from the rebels were left as trophies, to tell us in after days how bravely that great victory over treason in Tennessee was won.

"Next to him came Crittenden. He too, swept forward over his ground to the front, some distance, before finding the foe. Between eight and nine o'clock, however, while keeping Smith's brigade on his left, up even with Nelson's flank, and joining Boyle's brigade, to McCook on the right, in the grand advance, they came upon the enemy with a battery in position and well supported. Smith dashed his brigade forward, there was sharp, close work with musketry, and the rebels fled.
"For half an hour, perhaps, the storm raged around these captured guns. Then came the reflex rebel wave that had hurled Nelson back. Crittenden, too, caught its full force. The rebels swept up to the batteries—around them, and on down after our retreating column. But the two brigades, like those of Nelson, to their left, took a fresh position, faced the foe, and held their ground. Mendenhall's and Bartlett's batteries now began shelling the infantry that alone opposed them. Before abandoning the guns so briefly held, they had spiked them with mud, and the novel expedient was perfectly successful. From that time till after one o'clock, while the fight raged back and forth over the ground, the rebels did not succeed in firing a shot from their mud-spiked artillery.

"At last our brigades began to gain the advantage again. Crittenden pushed them steadily forward. A rush for the contested battery, and it is ours again. The rebels retreated toward the left. Smith and Boyle held the infantry well in hand. The fortune of the day was against them, as against their comrades in Nelson's front, and they were soon in full retreat.

"Just then Brigadier General Thomas J. Wood's advance brigade from his approaching division came up. It was too late for the fight, but it relieved Crittenden's weary fellows, and pushed on after the rebels until they were found to have left our most advanced camps.

"In speaking of the opening of Monday's battle, we mentioned Major General Lew. Wallace's opening the ball at seven o'clock, by shelling, with enfilading fires, a rebel battery. A few shots demonstrated to the rebels, that their position was untenable. The instant Sherman came to protect his left, Wallace advanced his infantry. The rebel battery at once limbered up and got out of the way. The advance had withdrawn the division from Sherman, making a left half wheel, to get back into the neighborhood of our line; they advanced
some two hundred yards, which brought them to a little elevation, with a broad open stretch to the front.

"As the division halted on the crest of the swell, there passed before them a rare vision. Away to the front were woods. Through the edge of the timber, skirting the fields, the head of a rebel column appeared, marching past in splendid style, on the double quick. Banner after banner appeared; the 'Stars and Bars' formed a long line, stretching parallel with Wallace's line of battle. Regiment after regiment appeared, the line lengthened, and doubled and trebled; the head of the column was out of sight, and still they came. Twenty regiments were counted passing through these woods. The design was plain. The rebels had abandoned the idea of forcing their way through our left, and now the manifest attempt was to turn our right.

"Batteries were now ordered up—Thompson's and Thurber's—and the whole column was shelled as it passed. The rebels rapidly threw their artillery into position, and a brisk cannonading began. After a time, while the fight still rested with the artillery, the rebels opened a new and destructive battery to the right, which our men soon learned to know as "Watson's Louisiana Battery," from the marks on the ammunition boxes, which they forced it from time to time to leave behind.

"Batteries, with a brigade of supporting infantry, were now moved forward over open fields, under heavy fire, to contend against this new assailant. The batteries opened, the sharpshooters were thrown out to the front to pick the rebel artillery, the brigade was ordered down on its face to protect it from the flying shell and grape. For an hour and a half the contest lasted, while the body of the division was still delayed, waiting for Sherman. By ten o'clock, Sherman's right, under Colonel Marsh, came up. He started to move across the fields. The storm of musketry and grape was too much for
him, and he fell back in good order. Again he started on the double, and gained the woods. The Louisiana battery was turned; Marsh's position left it subject to fire in flank and front, and then fled. The other rebel batteries, at once, did the same, and Wallace's division, up in an instant, now that a master move had swept the board, pushed forward. Before them were broad fallow fields, then a woody little ravine, then corn fields, then woods.

"The left brigade was sent forward. It crossed the fallow fields, under ordinary fire, then gained the ravine, and was rushing across the corn-fields, when the same Louisiana steel rifled guns opened on them. Dashing forward, they reached a little ground-swell, behind which they dropped like dead men; while skirmishers were sent forward to silence the troublesome battery. The skirmishers crawled forward, till they gained a little knoll, not more than seventy-five yards from the battery. Of course, the battery opened on them. They replied, if not so noisily, more to the purpose. In a few minutes the battery was driven off, with artillerists killed, horses shot down, and badly crippled every way.

"'Forward!' was the division order. Rushing across the corn-fields under heavy fire, they now met the rebels, face to face, in the woods. The contest was quick, decisive. Close, sharp, continuous musketry, for a few minutes, and the rebels fell back.

"Here, unfortunately, Sherman's right gave way. Wallace's flank was exposed. He instantly formed Col. Wood's 76th Ohio, in a new line of battle, in right angles with the real one, and with orders to protect the flank. The 11th Indiana was likewise here engaged in a sharp engagement with the enemy attempting to flank, and for a time the contest waxed fierce. But Sherman soon filled the place of his broken regiments; again Wallace's division poured forward, and the enemy gave way."
"By two o'clock the division was into the woods again, and for three-quarters of a mile it advanced under a continuous storm of shot. Then another contest or two with the batteries—always met with skirmishers and sharp-shooting—then, by four o'clock, two hours later than on the right, a general retreat, and the battle of Shilo was ended."

The route of the retreat was over ground unfavorable to the operation of cavalry, and our officers, moreover, were ignorant of the topography of the country, and in the exhausted and wearied condition of the army, General Buell did not deem it prudent to press the pursuit to any great distance, and the army bivouacked on the field from which it had been driven in the fight of Sunday.

"The best opinions of the strength with which the rebels attacked, place their numbers at sixty thousand. They may have been re-enforced five to ten thousand, Sunday night. "Grant had scarcely forty thousand effective men on Sunday. Of these, half a dozen regiments were utterly raw—had scarcely had their guns long enough to know how to handle them. Some were supplied with weapons on their way up. "Buell passed three divisions that took part in the action, Nelson's, Crittenden's, and McCooks. They numbered, say, twenty thousand—a liberal estimate. Lew. Wallace came up on Monday, with, say, seven thousand more. That gives us, counting the Sunday men, as all effective again, sixty-seven thousand on Monday, on our side, against sixty to seventy thousand rebels. It was not numbers that gained us the day, it was fighting. All honor to our northern soldiers for it."

After such terrible losses and protracted contests as those of Sunday and Monday, much time was required to make up the returns of casualties. The full reports of those contests, alone, are over one hundred in number, and would fill a volume of the size of this. The tabular reports of casualties, as finally made up, are as follows:
### GRANT'S ARMY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIVISIONS</th>
<th>KILLED</th>
<th>WOUNDED</th>
<th>MISSING</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 — General McClelland,</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>1,351</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>1,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 — General W. H. L. Wallace,</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>1,003</td>
<td>1,163</td>
<td>2,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 — General Lew. Wallace,</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 — General Hurlburt,</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>1,449</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>1,995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 — General Sherman,</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>1,275</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>2,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 — General Prentiss,</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>1,802</td>
<td>2,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,349</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,297</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,870</strong></td>
<td><strong>11,596</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### BUELL'S ARMY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIVISIONS</th>
<th>KILLED</th>
<th>WOUNDED</th>
<th>MISSING</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 — General McCook,</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 — General Nelson,</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 — General Crittenden,</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>265</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,794</strong></td>
<td><strong>93</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,152</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,614</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,721</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,963</strong></td>
<td><strong>13,508</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No reliable data of the rebel loss exists. In the Sunday’s fight, they occupied the ground on which their dead fell, and although the reverse was true on Monday, and we buried such of their dead as they did not remove in their retreat, yet the returns are too partial for accurate estimate. From the data at hand, it is estimated that at least four thousand of the enemy were killed.

After the battle, Beauregard telegraphed in cyphers, from Corinth, to Gen. Cooper, at Richmond, as follows:

“All present probabilities are, that whenever the enemy moves on this position, he will do so with an overwhelming force of not less than vrzole xriy lohkjonap men, by wna ahc vkjlyi hate nqhlk lorite xrmv lohkjonap yx31 wrlmqj mna phia may possibly shjak ran xyc pnejerlo nqhlk xrlly 5a lohkjonap vhmy. Can we not be re-enforced xrhv dyvzgihaj nive. If defeated here cy thjy lov vrjv mnt3yc nap dchqn4te hki wnkjy whereas, we could even afford to lose for awhile wonilylha nap inmzu5yl for the purpose of defeating qkylt4j nive, which would not only insure us the valley of the Mississippi, but our independence.”

Gen. Mitchell had rapidly, and unexpectedly to the rebel
commanders, descended upon Huntsville, Alabama, and when this dispatch was transmitted, had possession of the telegraph office at that place. The dispatch was received, interpreted, and answered by Gen. Mitchell. The translation is as follows:

"All present probabilities are, that whenever the enemy moves on this position, he will do so with an overwhelming force of not less than eighty-five thousand men. We can now muster only about thirty-five thousand effective (men.) Van Dorn may possibly join us in a few days with fifteen thousand more. Can we not be re-enforced from Pemberton's army? If defeated here, we lose the Mississippi valley, and probably our cause; whereas, we could even afford to lose for awhile, Charleston and Savannah, for the purpose of defeating Buell's army, which would not only insure us the valley of the Mississippi, but our independence."

This shows, conclusively, the terrible losses to which his army had been subjected in the fight at Shilo, amounting, it is believed, to fully one third more than our own.

In connection with the operations in the vicinity of the Tennessee river, the brilliant services of Gen. Mitchell are entitled to special mention. He left Nashville simultaneously with Gen. Buell, and while the latter advanced by the way of Columbia toward Savannah, the former proceeded to Murfreesboro, and thence by such rapid movements that he was in Huntsville, Alabama, before his presence in that quarter had been expected. From Huntsville, with equal celerity, boldness and success, he proceeded to occupy Decatur and Florence, thus cutting off the enemy's connection with the east by the Memphis and Charleston rail road, and compelling him to draw all his supplies from the south and west.

In performing these important movements, Gen. Mitchell had thrown his forces between those of the enemy at Corinth, on the west, and at Chattanooga, on the east, and it required much skill and caution to avoid surprises. His entire force was
small, and in occupying Decatur, Florence, Tuscumbia and Huntsville, they were necessarily much scattered. The left wing of our army investing Corinth, was soon able to prevent any attack upon him from that direction; yet he was in the heart of the enemy's country, and surrounded by desperate and vigilant foes, and the utmost watchfulness and circumspection were at all times necessary; qualities which Gen. Mitchell exercised in an eminent degree. He avoided surprises and was uniformly successful in all his enterprises. This was owing to his extreme vigilance, and the great celerity of his movements. If danger threatened him, he cautiously withdrew to positions of greater safety, only to return to them at the proper time. He then withdrew from Decatur and Tuscumbia, while those positions were in danger of attack from a division of Beauregard's army. His generals burned the bridges and retired to Huntsville. Gen. Mitchell was at the same time building a bridge beyond Stevenson. His operations here are thus described:

"While his two Generals were engaged in destroying the bridge at Decatur, Generals Mitchell and Siel were engaged in building another at a point beyond Stevenson—the division commander having determined to contract his lines and hold the positions gained north of the Tennessee more strongly. It must be understood that Gen. Mitchell did not hold the whole of this part of the rail road north of the river. His left was at Stevenson, or rather a few miles east of it, but the rebel right was north of the Tennessee, and advanced to the very left of General Mitchell. They thus had the bridge at this point by which to cross the river, and were only separated from us by a stream three hundred feet wide, and which is fordable in half a dozen places near the scene of action. In contracting his line by drawing in his right, he appears to have purposed extending his left, and placing the river between himself and his foes at Chattanooga."
"General Mitchell was aware of the movements from Chattanooga to Bridgeport, and the work of intrenching going on at both places. The enemy's force consisted of two regiments of cavalry, amounting to one thousand six hundred men, five regiments of infantry, and a battery of light rifled pieces. These had advanced to the west end of the bridge at this point, ten miles from Stevenson, and had thrown up a long rifle pit, at the right of which was an unfinished fort. This position defended the approach to the bridge which spans the Tennessee. These works were on the crest of a hill which ran at right angles with the bridge, and which the rail road passed with a slight cut."

Gen. Mitchell, on the 21st of April, finished the bridge four miles east of Stevenson—the same day on which that at Decatur was burned. He built this bridge, three hundred feet long, in twenty-four hours, over water about twenty feet deep. As soon as the bridge was completed, he commenced his movement on Bridgeport, and advanced by rail road within four miles of that place, where he left the cars and marched the remaining distance. The rebel force was stationed at a point commanding the rail road, over which Gen. Mitchell was expected to advance. But that was not his purpose. By a detour he reached the main road to Bridgeport, dragging his artillery by hand, and after a rapid and toilsome march of two hours, he threw his forces into that very dangerous position between two bodies of the enemy. On his right, and one mile in his rear, were one regiment of infantry and two of cavalry. About the same distance in front were four regiments of infantry in line of battle, and hidden from view by a hill, on the right a thick wood, and on the left an open field.

At the foot of the hill, Gen. Mitchell formed his line of battle, his two pieces of artillery, charged with shell, in the centre. The order for advance was given, and the line proceeded to the crest of the hill. The artillery dropped two shell into
the enemy’s camp. It produced the utmost consternation. The rebels in front, concluded that the infantry and cavalry in their rear had been taken, and at once made the most vigorous efforts to save themselves. Our forces followed them at double quick, but they were resolved to leave the stream between them and ourselves, before they wasted any time in a battle. The bridge was crossed and fired, but the fire was extinguished. The cavalry and infantry which we had flanked, hearing our fire, came hastily on down the railroad. We had then possession of the late position of the enemy. Our artillery was turned upon them, and not discovering that their friends had left, and that the northern vandals were in their places, they dashed boldly on, until within about three hundred yards. Here they paused, undecided what to do; but a discharge of grape and canister among them, threw them at once into confusion, and induced a very rapid flight, becoming soon a perfect rout. Our cavalry pursued and captured many prisoners.

This success gave Gen. Mitchell a clear field. The capture of Bridgeport was a severe loss to the insurgents. It heralded the capture of Chattanooga, which soon followed, and gave us full control of the Tennessee.

The energy of Gen. Mitchell, and his fertility of invention in emergencies, are thus attested:

“When we reached the stream, over which the bridge was to be built, on Sunday—Muddy creek, as it is called—we found that the back-water had flooded it, until it was three hundred feet wide, and at least twenty feet deep. How to cross it, was the question; and when put to Gen. Mitchell, he replied:—‘Oh, I have a bridge in the cars.’ A road was quickly made to the edge of the stream, and down this was rolled a pontoon bridge—that is, the men unloaded and rolled down the bank sixty-six bales of cotton. They were placed in the stream, two wide, and guy ropes stretched from
tree to tree through the water. Rails were run through the the ropes of the bales, and thus bound them together. Then planks were laid from one bale to another, placed as the boats for pontoon bridges are placed, and the bridge was complete. General Mitchell stated that he had calculated the buoyancy of a bale of cotton, and discovered it to be four hundred and eighty-six pounds. Some idlers, who knew their weight, added that of four of themselves together, five hundred and three pounds, and stepped on a single bale on the water. It sunk to within an inch of being submerged, and proved the calculation of Gen. Mitchell to be correct.

"On the march from the point at which we left the rail road, Gen. Mitchell was always in the rear. On reaching the road leading to Bridgeport, he asked of a stranger what road it was. 'To Bridgeport,' said the man. 'Can you guide us?' asked Gen. Mitchell. 'Oh, you can not travel it,' said the man, 'for a bridge is burned and the timber fallen in.' 'Show me the route,' said the General. The man refused. 'Take him prisoner.' A half-dozen cavalrymen had him in an instant. 'March him along!' and away they went far ahead of of the party. Directly, we saw the whole party returning. Gen. Mitchell brought the column to a halt, and they closed up. The men were ordered, not to 'bear each a bough,' but each one carried a rail, and, demolishing fences, they threw them into the bridge on the works of the old structure, and passed over it. Imagine three thousand men, each bearing a musket on one shoulder and a rail on the other.

"At another place, miry and muddy, we found Gen. Mitch- ell, with his coat off, engaged with his body guard in com- pleting a similar bridge, and the men passed over dry-shod, as were Moses' men crossing the Red Sea."
CHAPTER XIII.

SIEGE OF CORINTH—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF ISLAND NO. 10—BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE.


After his defeat at Shilo, as recorded in the previous chapter, Beauregard fell back to his intrenchments at Corinth, which, it was believed, he at once proceeded to strengthen and extend, at the same time massing at that point, all his available forces. The divisions of Generals Price and VanDorn were withdrawn from Arkansas, those of Gen. Bragg from Pensacola; and when our fleet and land forces captured New Orleans, the army under Gen. Lovell, that had been posted for its defense, also joined the insurgents at Corinth. The vigorous execution of the conscription act added still farther to that force. It seemed evident, from this large array, that a resolute and desperate stand would be made by the enemy at that point. It was generally believed that they had there massed an army of nearly two hundred thousand men. They constructed defensive works, which our Generals believed to be very strong.

The Federal Generals met these extensive preparations of the enemy with corresponding vigor. All the operations were directed by Commanding General Halleck, who took the field
immediately after the battle of Shilo, on the 11th of April, ably assisted by his various division commanders and their subordinates. An array of martial force was here concentrated, superior to any that had yet been massed during the war, upon an equal area.

The vastness of the force which was thought to be confronting our own, the extent and strength of the position occupied by the enemy, his known desperation, and the vast influence upon the issue of the war which a contest here would probably exert, impressed our Generals with the necessity of the greatest caution, and the fullest preparations. Time was therefore taken to consolidate an ample force, and the decision was made to invest the place by fortified approaches. Thus the assailing army gradually pushed forward its lines of approach, which at one time were full twelve miles in extent.

As our lines were pushed forward, they became by degrees contracted, so that when, on the 18th, the left rested at Farmington, the front was about four miles long. At first, they formed a sort of semi-circle, the right and left out-reaching the centre, but on the stated day the front presented a nearly straight line. Corinth being then approached within four miles, and the enemy showing himself in greater numbers, and simultaneously, at more points than heretofore, the presumption of his continued presence in full strength was natural, and hence our advance became attended with better guaranties against sudden attacks in the shape of field works. Double lines of elaborate breast-works were constructed in front of the right and left, and a single one in that of the center, and the several batteries of siege guns, so placed as to sweep every road leading out from Corinth, and completely protect the fortifications.

A strong point d'appui and safe retreat in case of repulse being thus secured to each portion of the army, forward move-
ments were again resumed. The advance henceforth was more laborious. Heavy timber, varied only in few places by farms, with a thick undergrowth, impenetrable to infantry as well as cavalry and artillery, encompassed our whole line. Roads had to be cut and clearings made in these Mississippi jungles. So great was the difficulty of working through them, that during the last week, scarcely a few hundred yards were daily gained upon the enemy. Previous to advancing from point to point, the woods in front were regularly shelled along the line. At times, the rebels replied with a few rounds from undefinable positions, but most of our firing remained unretracted.

On the 27th, our lines were carried forward to within a short distance of Two-Mile Creek, a water-course, forming an arc from the Corinth and Purdy road, to the Memphis and Charleston rail road, running almost parallel to, and about half a mile north of the rebel breast-works, and crossing the Farmington and Corinth road about two miles north of Corinth, from which its name is derived. It is bridged at this crossing, and it was generally supposed that its passage would be hotly contested, and that an attempt to cross it would certainly bring on a general engagement. On the morning of the 28th, three strong columns of infantry—one from each wing, and one from the center—with powerful complements of artillery, moved toward the creek. The purpose of those from the left and center was to reconnoiter, and, if practicable, secure the crossing. The column starting from the right, was intended to occupy the attention of the enemy in that direction, while the demonstrations to the left were being made.

As conjectured, their approach to the creek was severally opposed by large bodies of the enemy, and an action of some duration ensued, conducted on both sides principally with artillery, and resulting in the retreat of the rebels behind the works, and the occupation of the crossing by the force from
Gen. Pope's corps. The loss of his column was some thirty killed and wounded, but that of the two other columns trifling.

During the night, several brigades threw up a new line of breast-works along the creek, for protection from the fire of the enemy's artillery, which was now presumed to be in close range from behind his works. The reserves of the several divisions, the main one under Gen. McClernand, were also moved up, and the whole army got in readiness for the battle, which was surely expected for the following day.

The enemy failing to open the ball at that time, Gen. Pope commenced shelling with his battery near the bridge. After a few minutes, he replied, and continued a brisk fire for half an hour, when he ceased, and withdrew his battery beyond our range.

During the day, a lively shelling of the woods in front was kept up at intervals along the line. Skirmishers were also sent to within easy range of the rebel breast-works. The rebels made but a slight show of resistance. This gave rise to a wide-spread apprehension that the enemy, if at all disposed to fight, would at least not accept battle this side of Corinth.

Our entire front was now so close to the enemy's works that the next step had to be an effort to carry them by assault. This seems to have been, indeed, Gen. Halleck's purpose, as orders were given in the course of the evening for a general advance on the coming morning. The long-delayed battle would thus have come off that day, had it not been for the strange developments of the forenoon.

The whole of Wednesday night and the next day, the cars were heard running south of Corinth. Some believed that the enemy was leaving; others that he was being re-enforced.

With daybreak, rumors of the evacuation were already circulating through the army. A general eagerness to ascertain
the truth in the premises became manifest. Gen. Pope's corps being somewhat nearer to the breast-works than the other portions of the army, was the first to solve the question. His avant guard moved upon the rebel breast-works at about 6 o'clock, and shortly afterward entered them unresisted. Being now satisfied that the enemy had really abandoned Corinth, the whole corps pushed on in quick step, and the head of the column, the 39th Ohio, entered the town a little after seven.

The divisions moving upon the town from the center and left over the Hamburgh and Corinth, Pittsburgh and Corinth, and Corinth and Purdy roads severally, reached the outskirts of the place between 8 and 10 o'clock, when they were halted, and afterwards returned to their encampments.

Gen. Nelson was met a short distance from town, while advancing over the Hamburgh road, by the Mayor, who came to surrender the town, and ask the protection of private property—a request, the fulfillment of which was, of course, promised.

The roads to the place were in the best possible condition, and were in no way obstructed by the rebels. A good deal had been said about a formidable swamp in front of the enemy's fortifications, but nothing of the kind was noticed. The "fortifications" hardly deserved the name. They were the simplest description of breast-works, hardly affording protection for infantry from musketry, not to speak of artillery. They were not half so strong as those constructed by our troops in a single night. Their appearance indicated that they were hastily thrown up some time since—probably after the retreat of the rebels from the battle-field of Shilo, as a means of defense against an immediate attack by our forces—and could not have possibly been expected to prove a serious impediment to us. At several commanding points, the ground had been seemingly prepared for heavy artillery, but there were no positive indications of such ever having been placed
in position. There were, however, embrasures for light pieces near the roads, and such seemed to have been put to use to cover the former. On the whole, the "fortifications" afford the best possible evidence that Beauregard had no idea of running the risk of a battle before Corinth.*

Our captures were exceedingly meagre. We took no artillery, with the exception of two useless and discarded iron pieces; we took no munitions of war, and the only supplies that have come into our possession, are a few lots of provisions, mostly in a damaged condition.

Thus ended the siege of Corinth, and with it the rebel control of the south-west. We had not found the strong fortifications, nor evidence of the heavy force which we had anticipated. In those respects, a skillful deception had been practiced upon our officers, kindred to that at Manassas—though it lacked the feature of the Quaker guns, found at the latter place.

The severe losses resulting from over-confidence at Pittsburg Landing, caused our Generals to be over-cautious here, by which we lost the great fruits of the victory, which a more rapid and bolder advance would doubtless have secured.

While the slow and cautious advance of our army in the face of so formidable a force as was presumed to confront it, may be justified and even commended; yet the utter ignorance of that force, and of the enemy's works at Corinth, in which our Generals remained up to the last moment, appears inexcusable. Our force was about one hundred and twenty thousand men, and had as fine a park of artillery as was ever seen upon the field. It must be clear, to the commonest understandings, that to make no reconnaissances, by which the facts so easily obtainable could have been known, and to suffer the

*Gen. Halleck in his dispatch, stated the enemy's "position and works" to be "exceedingly strong." This was an early, and brief telegraphic dispatch, but which farther observations, proved to be incorrect. The position was a strong one, but the works, all concur, were hardly worthy of the name.
foe to retire all his forces, and all his ample stores and material, was, to say the least, a grave military blunder.

After retiring from Corinth, the direction taken by the rebel army was, for a long time, in doubt, and various speculations were rife as to whither it had fled. By some, it was thought to have dispatched re-enforcements to Richmond, Charleston, and Savannah, which were at that time beleagured by our forces; others deemed Mobile its point of destination, and others still, that the attempted re-capture of New Orleans would be its next movement. Subsequent events at Richmond, developed the fact, that before the evacuation of Corinth, Beauregard's forces had been gradually transferred to the former city, and in the seven days' conflict that attended the change of McClellan's position, from the Chickahominy to the James river, it was reliably established, that from fifty thousand to seventy-five thousand of those forces participated, and that Beauregard was himself in command there.

The enemy's means of immediate retreat over the Mobile and Ohio rail road, had been cut off by the brilliant movement of Col. Elliott, who had been sent to Booneville, on the 28th of May, with the second Iowa cavalry, and who had succeeded in destroying the rail road at that place, burning the depot, blowing up the culvert, burning the locomotives, and a train of twenty-six cars loaded with supplies of every kind, destroyed ten thousand stand of small arms, three pieces of artillery, and a great quantity of clothing and ammunition, and paroled two thousand prisoners, which he could not keep with his cavalry.

This movement of Col. Elliott, was one the most hazardous and brilliant of the war; and reflected upon all engaged in it, the highest honor.

On the 22d day of February, 1862, Gen. Pope, having collected his forces at Commerce, Cape Guaridean, and other points in Missouri, amounting to about twelve thousand men,
commenced an overland march toward New Madrid, on the Mississippi, below Island No. 10. He arrived before that place on the 3d of March. He immediately invested the town on the land side, and sent a force to Point Pleasant, twelve miles below, on the river. Here he constructed batteries and rifle-pits, and so blockaded the river that the enemy's transports could not pass. While this was going on, the enemy threw re-enforcements into New Madrid, and increased the force there to nine thousand men, with a large supply of artillery, and nine gun-boats. The place was then too strongly defended to be successfully assailed, unless at a great sacrifice of life, otherwise than by siege guns. Four such guns were therefore provided, and quietly placed in battery, on the night of the 12th of March, and such earth-works thrown up as to effect-
ually protect the men. Early on the following morning, the enemy were startled by the thunder of those heavy guns, only eight hundred yards from their position. They replied with spirit, and the contest was vigorously maintained during the day, and with such effect, that the enemy evacuated the place during the night. Federal loss, fifty-one killed and wounded, that of the enemy greater.

The spoils of this victory were eighteen thirty-two pound guns which were upon the walls spiked—so hastily was it done that Yankee ingenuity in a few hours removed sixteen of the spikes, and turned their grinning mouths to look for gun-boats from Island No. 10. There was a large stock of ammunition of every kind, sabres, guns, clothing, cooking utensils, suppers on the table not eaten, whole baskets of champaign and claret unopened—wagons, three hundred horses and mules, and tents to accommodate six thousand men—left standing.

Having thus established our forces in two strong positions below Island No. 10, the next object was to reduce that, and also the shore batteries on the river. Gen. Pope, however, had no means of crossing, nor could the deficiency be supplied, as was then supposed, until the barricade which the enemy had established at Island No. 10, should be removed. Their shore batteries were protected in the rear by an impassable swamp, so that they must be attacked from the river.

An expedition was, therefore, started against Island No. 10, on the 14th of March, under Com. Foote. The fleet consisted of iron-clad gun-boats, one wooden boat, eight mortar-boats, with a large number of transports. Each mortar-boat carried a mortar that weighed seventeen thousand one hundred and eighty-four pounds, the shells for which were thirteen inches in diameter, and weighed, when filled, two hundred and thirty-eight pounds. Their greatest effective range was about three miles.
On the morning of the 15th of March, the fleet rounded the point about three miles above the Island, which is situated in the corner of that bend of the Mississippi river which touches the border of Tennessee, a few miles farther up the river than New Madrid, although nearly south-west of that point. It is located about two hundred and fifty miles from St. Louis, and nine hundred and fifty from New Orleans. The elevation of the river at this point, is about two hundred feet above the level of the Delta, or its mouth. The average depth of water at this point, is from ninety to one hundred feet; the breadth of the stream, from mainland to mainland, is about nine hundred yards. The current runs by the Island at a moderately fast rate, and with the power of the three rivers—Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio—combined. The island is near the southern, or what is termed the eastern, bank of the river; but at this point the stream varies from its southern course, and turns abruptly to the north-west, leaving this Island in the southern angle of the bend. It is about forty miles, by the course of the river, south of Columbus, and about twenty-six miles from Hickman. It is near Obionville.

The mortar-boats were put into position, and the batteries were shelled during the day, without any very marked results. The same was true of the operations of the 16th and 17th, in which the gun-boats participated.

On the 18th, the rebel gun-boats commenced a spirited cannonade on Gen. Pope’s batteries, which they kept up for an hour and a half, in which one of their boats was sunk, and seven others badly damaged, when they retired.

The bombardment of the Island was kept up with indifferent success until the 31st day of March. On that day, Gen. Buford advanced upon the rebels at Union City, on the railroad east of New Madrid, drove them from the town, and destroyed their camp.

On the night of April 1st, a hazardous and important boat
expedition was fitted out from the squadron and the land forces, for the purpose of spiking the guns on the upper fort. The night of Tuesday was dark and cloudy, and at eleven o'clock a miniature flotilla of ten skiffs left the gun-boats and moved silently down the river. They contained only one hundred picked men—fifty of them from the army, and fifty from the navy—commanded by Col. Roberts, of the 42d Illinois, all armed with revolvers and revolving rifles. This formidable squadron, propelled by the current, noiselessly accomplished the mile and a half between us and the enemy, and was within a few yards of his water battery, before he discovered it. Two sentinels detected the "invaders" at the same time, and both fired at them, but without effect. In a moment the force was landing (the water was so high that the boats were able to approach close to the parapet,) and Col. Roberts, in stentorian tones, shouted to a suppositious officer in the rear, to bring the reserve divisions. This hint of a heavy reserve force so acted upon the tropical imaginations of the sons of the cavaliers, that they fled pell-mell into the woods, without firing another shot. Our men deliberately spiked the six guns of the battery, which had not been already disabled by our artillery, Col. Roberts examining each piece, to assure himself that the work was well performed, and then re-embarked and returned to the fleet, without accident.

On the 4th of April, a strong fire was concentrated upon the rebel floating battery, and with such effect that she was cut loose, and permitted to float down the stream.

While the siege of Island No. 10 was progressing, there was an unusual flood in the river, and the peninsula in the bend of the river, between New Madrid and the Island, was covered with water, and the bayous, it was believed, might be rendered navigable for some of our transports; and which might there be taken across to Gen. Pope. The work of clearing off the timber, and opening a channel for this purpose, was there
fore undertaken. It was a work of great labor, but it was successfully accomplished, and produced the most important results. The canal was twelve miles long, and for much of the way, heavy timber had to be sawed off.

The exploit is unparalleled, at least in this country, and is one of the most novel and marvelous which has been performed during the war. Two weeks before, Col. Bissell, with his indefatigable engineer regiment, started with those boats from the Commodore’s fleet. He brought them sixteen miles, through corn-fields, woods, swamps, bayous, and sloughs, compelled to cut canals a portion of the way, and to cut through heavy timber, nearly all of it. For a channel twenty feet in width, all the trees—often two or three feet in diameter—were sawed off four feet under water; and for a space half as wide, on each side of that, they were all chopped off at the water’s edge. At first, the project was laughed at as utterly chimerical; but the Engineer Regiment, unappalled by mud, water, swamp or hard work, made it practicable, and here, as the fruits of their labor, were four steamers, two rafts, and ten barges, brought around the enemy’s batteries.

The canal being finished, transports could be taken across to Gen. Pope, but it was important also, to get the gun-boats below the Island. The upper battery of the rebels having been spiked, and their floating battery forced down the channel, the bold idea was conceived, of attempting to run the gauntlet of the batteries. This was carried into execution on Friday night, the 5th of April. Every thing was ready for the enterprise, when the most favorable moment should arrive. About 11 o’clock, on the evening named, a heavy thunder storm arose, and the steamboat Carondelet, started on her fearful mission. The passage is thus described:

“The darkness was so dense that we should have run the gauntlet undiscovered, but just before we reached the enemy’s water, or upper battery, one of our chimneys “burned out,”
and the fire at once discovered us to the sentinels. We were within a few yards of them, and they at once opened fire on us with musketry, but, of course, without effect. They also sent up rockets to prepare the lower batteries for us.

"The enemy were at their posts, and their engines of destruction were prepared, but they did not expect the event. They did not believe the hated Yankees had the courage to attempt so desperate a deed. They have always mistaken the temper and spirit of the North; but they are constantly learning by painful experience its true nature, when it is once aroused.

"The Carondelet has passed the first battery, silent because spiked a few nights before, by a small and heroic band. She approaches the second nearer and nearer—she is opposite. No alarm yet.

"The Carondelet still moves on, past the rebel batteries, blazing at her, before her, behind her, to no purpose. She is below the Island. Two more batteries, and the gauntlet of death is run.

"From all the batteries, fatal missives continue uninterruptedly to fly; but they all pass above the Carondelet, which has now steamed by the seventh and eighth, and yet sharp streams of fire follow the vessel.

"Her stream of smoke is seen by the lightning far behind her; but she is out of sight, for she has turned the bend of the river.

"The storm rages on, but the rebel batteries are silent, their prey has escaped them. The Carondelet played a desperate stake, and won against large odds of the game. She was not struck once.

"The Carondelet towed during her passage, a barge loaded with bales of hay on one side, and often ran so close to shore as to almost touch the bank. A single mistake would have caused destruction to every soul on board:"

On the Sunday night following, the gun-boat Pittsburgh,
also run the rebel batteries; and four steamers and five barges, had been taken through the canal. The former were intended to clear the opposite shore of the enemy's batteries, and protect the landing of the troops, while the latter were to be employed in transporting them.

Accordingly, on the 7th of April, after a reconnaissance of the position of the batteries, the two gun-boats proceeded to the point selected by Gen. Pope, for landing, and in two hours silenced three batteries and spiked their guns. At 11 o'clock, the first division, consisting of four regiments and a battery of artillery, under the command of Gen. Paine, crossed the river, followed by the division of Gen. Stanley, under Gen. Granger. It was a splendid triumph to thus cross a broad river in the face of a strong foe; but it was done without loss, and the enemy were now in the meshes of the net which had been laid for them.

About twelve thousand troops were then thrown over the river, who were very eager for the contest, which they expected would ensue. The rebel force on the Island had, however, become alarmed, and commenced to flee toward Tiptonville, hoping to escape; but such was the position of our forces, in respect to the only routes by which the enemy could escape, that nothing was left to them but to surrender, or to cut their way out. Three times they drew up in line of battle, but after slight skirmishing fell back, before the serried ranks of Gen. Pope's army. Some were wounded, but none killed in those skirmishes. The enemy were vigorously pursued during the night, and at 4 o'clock in the morning, being driven to the verge of the swamp, were forced to surrender, without conditions. Gen. Pope thus reports the transaction:

"The canal across the peninsula opposite Island No. 10—and for the idea of which I am indebted to Gen. Schuyler Hamilton—was completed by Col. Bissell's Engineer regiment, and four steamers were brought through on the night of the
6th. The heavy batteries I had thrown up below Tiptonville completely commanded the lowest point of the high ground on the Tennessee shore, entirely cutting off the enemy's retreat by water; his retreat by land has never been possible through the swamp.

"On the night of the 4th, Capt. Walke of the navy, ran the enemy's batteries at Island No. 10, with the gun-boat Carondelet, and reported to me here. On the night of the 6th, the gun-boat Pittsburg also ran the blockade. Our transports were brought into the river from the bayou, where they had been kept concealed, at day-light on the 7th, and Paine's division landed. The canal has been a prodigiously laborious work. It was twelve miles long, six miles of which were through heavy timber, which had to be sawed off by hand, four feet under water.

"The enemy has lined the opposite shore with batteries, extending from Island No. 10 to Tiptonville, Merriweather's Landing, to prevent the passage of the river by this army.

"I directed Capt. Walke to run down with the two gun-boats, at day-light on the 7th, to the point selected for crossing, and silence the enemy's batteries near it. He performed the service gallantly, and I here bear testimony to the thorough and brilliant manner in which this officer discharged his difficult duties with me, and to the hearty and earnest zeal with which, at all hazards, he co-operated with me.

"As soon as he signaled me, the boats containing Paine's division moved out from the landing and began to cross the river. The passage of this wide, furious river, by our large force, was one of the most magnificent spectacles I ever witnessed. By 12 o'clock that night, (the 7th) all the forces designed to cross the river were over, without delay or accident.

"As soon as we commenced to cross, the enemy began to evacuate Island No. 10 and his batteries along the shore. The divisions were pushed forward to Tiptonville as fast as
they landed, Paine’s leading. The enemy was driven before him, and although they made several attempts to form in line of battle and make a stand, Paine did not at once deploy his columns. The enemy was pushed all night vigorously, until, at 4 o’clock A. M., he was driven back upon the swamps and forced to surrender.

"Three generals, seven colonels, seven regiments, several battalions of infantry, five companies of artillery, over one hundred heavy siege guns, twenty-four pieces of field artillery, an immense quantity of ammunition and supplies, several thousand stand of small arms, a great number of tents, horses, wagons, &c., &c., have fallen into our hands."

Thus was gained a nearly bloodless and most important victory, the honors of which are equally due to the prudent and intrepid commanders of the army and navy—Gen. Pope and Com. Foote, and to the gallant officers and men of their respective departments. The small cost of the victory amply compensated for the time required to achieve it. The siege of Island No. 10, commenced on March 15th, and it was evacuated on April 7th. The fruit of the victory was two hundred hogsheads of sugar, and several hundred barrels of molasses, eighty cannon, four hundred wagons, one hundred and twenty-six horses, sixty mules, five thousand stand of arms, thirty pieces of light artillery; and great quantities of blankets, clothing, &c., fell into our hands.

The total number of prisoners captured was five thousand—one Major-General (Makall) and three Brigadier-Generals, (Gault, Walker, and Schaum,) and fifty-six thousand solid shot, and immense quantities of ammunition, besides the clear control of the navigation of the Mississippi to Fort Pillow, and which is to be the next point of attack.

The Secretary of the Navy thus compliments Com. Foote for his triumphant success:

"A nation’s thanks are due you and the brave officers and
men of the flotilla on the Mississippi, whose labors and gallantry at Island No. 10, which surrendered to you yesterday, have for weeks been watched with intense interest. Your triumph is not the less appreciated because it was protracted and finally bloodless.

"To that Being who has protected you through so many perils, and carried you onward to successive victories, be the praise for his continued goodness to our country, and especially for this last great success of our arms.

"Let the congratulations to yourself and your command, be also extended to the officers and soldiers who co-operated with you."

Pea Ridge is in the extreme north-west corner of the State of Arkansas. Here occurred, on the 6th, 7th and 8th of March, 1862, a series of as desperate conflicts as have any where occurred during the war. The determined bravery and persistent energy of the hardy sons of the West, won for themselves, on this field, imperishable honors, and annihilated the rebel army of invasion, which had hitherto been the dread and the scourge of the people of Missouri.

After Gen. Fremont was removed from his command in Missouri, the Federal forces were withdrawn from the southern part of the State, leaving it again open to rebel incursions, which were speedily made, and the whole southern part of the State was over-run by the forces of Gen. Price. They held undisputed possession of that part of the State, until early in February, when an army had been organized, under Generals Curtis, Sigel, and Asboth, adequate to dispute with them the possession of the field. With the advance of the army, the rebels fell back, abandoning Springfield on the 12th of February, after being defeated in a skirmish with Gen. Curtis' forces. The city was hastily evacuated. Six hundred sick, and a large amount of stores and forage, were left behind by the enemy.
This was the commencement of a very memorable pursuit, lasting for three weeks. It was conducted by a General whose heart was in his work. He had left his seat in Congress, to aid his imperiled country, and his energetic devotion to its interests exhibited the earnestness of his purpose. Never has a large army been moved over an interior and rugged country at a more rapid rate, averaging over twenty miles a day for twenty consecutive days, during an inclement season and over unfavorable roads.

The insurgents continually fell back. On the 17th, the 1st Missouri cavalry fell into an ambush of the rebels at Sugar creek, in Arkansas, by which thirteen of their number were killed and wounded.

Both armies had now reached Arkansas. Price had fallen back to meet re-enforcements, which rapidly joined him, in-
Including the forces of Generals McCullough, Van Dorn and Pike; the latter commanding three thousand Cherokee, Choc-taw, and Seminole Indians. The entire insurgent force was estimated at thirty-five thousand men, with eighty-two field pieces. Gen. Curtis' command was divided into three divisions, respectively commanded by General Sigel, and Colonels Davis and Carr. His entire force numbered only about ten thousand men, with forty-nine field pieces.

The heavy accessions to the rebel force compelled General Curtis to maneuver for a favorable position to meet the expected onset of the rebels.

On the evening of the 5th, Gen. Curtis learned that the enemy was advancing to give him battle, which proved to be so, and the three following days were to witness one of the most desperate contests ever recorded in the annals of war.

The rebels were confident that they could destroy, or capture the army of Gen. Curtis: while the latter, knowing his own men, felt himself fully equal to the great numerical odds against him.

On the morning of the 6th, the movements of the enemy's cavalry induced Gen. Sigel to change his position, and to move six miles up the bed of Sugar Creek. He protected the rear of his division with two battalions of infantry, and a squadron of cavalry. The roads were rough, and the train moved slowly. Soon after Sigel had left Bentonville, about ten o'clock in the morning, he was suddenly charged upon by two thousand rebel cavalry. Sigel's force was less than one thousand men. Two hundred of these were sent forward to prevent his force from being surrounded and cut off, and with the balance, he met the advance of the enemy's host. The baggage trains had been pushed forward as fast as possible. His little band, the cavalry flanking the infantry, was directed to stand firm, and withhold their fire until the rebels had come within two hundred yards, when eight hundred Minie balls sped on
their destructive errands, which threw the charging column into confusion. They were soon rallied, and madly rushed at the Union lines; another accurate volley, succeeded by another, and yet another. The enemy's hosts encompass the little band; but, inspired by the coolness of their commander, they work—all shot tells upon the crazy assailants, who fall by hundreds, and are drawn off, broken, and discomfited.

The scattered lines of the enemy are soon re-formed—Sigel's little force is yet seven miles from its supports, for which he had sent—but they have not arrived. It is now two o'clock, and the enemy advance, to a desperate charge, spur-ring their horses upon the points of the ready bayonets. Again the circle closes, and a hand to hand and terrible combat ensues. The gallant Germans prove themselves equal to the emergency. Their leader set them the example, and they bravely imitate him. Again, the bayonet wins, and the foe recoils. An hour of hesitation, on his part, follows, during which Sigel is re-enforced. A third and final attempt to capture the train, ends in failure, and the enemy, at one half past three, finally withdrew. One hour after, Sigel reached camp, having lost sixty killed, and two hundred wounded. Thus closed the 6th of March.

The following night was one of anxious suspense in the Union camp—each man lay on the ground in line of battle, his musket by his side. Had they done so at Pittsburgh Landing, one month later, we should not have had so sad a record of that field of blood.

During the night, the indications were, that the enemy was approaching in strong force over the road leading from Bentonville to Keatsville, which, after crossing the Sugar Creek, passes over the high table-land of Pea Ridge. The ridge was covered with timber of small growth; and on it were three or four farms, the settlement bearing the name of Leestown. In the vicinity of this settlement the principal fighting occurred
The direction of the enemy's advance, and the position he was found to occupy in the morning, compelled a change in our line of battle. Colonel Carr was sent back two miles along the road, to Fayetteville, to occupy a position in front of the enemy, posted on the opposite side of Beaver Creek, a stream flowing into Sugar Creek.

Col. Davis held the table land on the top of the Ridge, while Gen. Sigel held the camp, his left extending to Sugar Creek.

The pickets of Major Weston were first driven in at Elkhorn Tavern, whom Col. Carr was ordered to support, and here the enemy made his first vigorous assault. The fire increased rapidly, and soon opened in the centre also. Col. Carr was so closely pressed by the enemy, that Gen. Curtis ordered Col. Davis to his support. Col. Osterhaus had, meanwhile, divided the enemy's forces by a very gallant attack, but the arrival of heavy re-enforcements drove back our cavalry, and they captured our flying battery. The Colonel, however, being well supported by his infantry, checked the enemy here. The danger at this point was so imminent, that Col. Davis was ordered to support the centre. The attack here was under the personal command of McCulloch and McIntosh. Although Col. Carr needed aid on the right, yet the centre was the vital position, and the great point of the enemy's attack. Here the battle raged with terrible fury. Col. Davis held the position against fearful numbers, and our brave troops nobly stood, or charged in steady lines. The success of the enemy depended upon his triumph here. It was the critical time and place. The rebel leaders, McCulloch and McIntosh, had fallen early in the day, and it aided our success. The steady courage of officers and men discomfited the hordes of Indian horsemen sent against our centre.

Though the great force of the enemy was pressed upon our centre, yet the right was also sorely pressed, and the dead and
wounded covered the field. To Col. Carr's urgent call for reenforcements, a few cavalry and the body guard of Gen. Curtis was the only response that could be made. The gallant division resolutely held out. The enemy had so far confined his attention to the centre and right, while Genes. Sigel and Asboth, on Sugar creek, had not been attacked. About two o'clock p. m., the enemy fell back from the centre, and were believed to be concentrating for attack upon Col. Carr. Thereupon, the division of Gen. Asboth was directed to support Col. Carr, and that of Gen. Sigel to Col. Davis, and, if need be, Col. Carr also. It was near five o'clock before these forces came to Col. Carr's aid, who had already been seven hours in battle, and had been driven back nearly one half a mile, slowly contesting every inch of the way.

On the arrival of Gen. Curtis, he ordered the gallant 4th and 9th Iowa to make a bayonet charge upon the enemy, while General Asboth opened, at short range, a tremendous fire from his batteries, which continued until the ammunition was exhausted, and until it was quite dark, and the firing ceased for the night.

The soldiers camped on the field, in the midst of their dead and wounded comrades, but such was their exhaustion, that they took broken slumbers and gloomy repose.

During the night, Col. Davis moved to the left of Col. Carr; and the division of Col. Sigel was also placed in a position, to co-operate in the next day's work. The enemy had not been idle, but had planted new batteries during the night, which opened upon our lines about sunrise, with terrible energy. Our right fell back, in order to avoid their raking fire.

Gen. Curtis was now confident of victory. He had command of favorable positions, on which his batteries were posted, so as to converge their fire upon the enemy. The terrible fire which he was able to pour into their lines, soon threw them into disorder. Everywhere our lines moved forward, and the-
enemy fell back. They were pursued for some distance by artillery and cavalry, but they divided and scattered through the gorges of the mountains, where pursuit was impossible.

The losses in the several divisions are thus reported by Gen. Curtis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commanding Officers</th>
<th>Commanded by</th>
<th>Privates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Division, Gen. Sigel,</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d Division, Gen. Asboth,</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d Division, Col. Davis,</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Division, Colonel Carr,</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d Iowa Cavalry, Colonel Bussey,</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowen's Battery, Major Bowen,</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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The rebel loss is estimated at two thousand.
CHAPTER XIV.

SIEGE AND OCCUPATION OF FORT PILLOW—CAPTURE OF MEMPHIS—PERSECUTION OF TENNESSEE LOYALISTS.


After the surrender of Island No. 10, the next stand made by the rebels on the river, was at Fort Pillow, where they had prepared to make a final and desperate resistance, and for the attack upon which, immediate measures were taken by Com. Foote. The necessary arrangements having been completed, the flotilla started for Fort Pillow, on the 12th of April. That fort was situated about eighty miles above Memphis, and as subsequent events proved, was their main reliance for its defense. The mortar boats were put in position, and opened on the rebel gun-boats, and on the fort, on the 14th of April, and soon scattered the enemy’s fleet.

The position of Fort Pillow rendered it difficult for us to successfully assail it. The position taken by the mortar boats was from two, to two and one-half miles from the enemy’s works, a wooded point intervening.

From a position thus unfavorable, the bombardment began; and it was kept up irregularly, and with intervals of suspension, without satisfactory results, until the 10th of May, the enemy replying to our fire, but without effect. In this long-
range firing, a vast amount of ammunition was expended, both by the assailants and the assailed, and with very little effect upon either side.

Meanwhile, our Ocean Squadron, under Com. Farragut, and the land forces, under Gen. Butler, had captured the city of New Orleans, and were advancing up the river with little to oppose their passage, and the rebels were likely soon to be placed between two strong fleets. Two immense armies were also confronting each other at Corinth, and the operations before Fort Pillow were conducted cautiously, and with due regard to the pending events at Corinth, and down the river. It would not do to run the risk of the destruction, or crippling of our boats by running the gauntlet of the batteries at Pillow, and thus expose to the enemy the upper-river borders, for they had eight iron clad boats nearly equal to ours, of which we had but seven. We had several rams nearly ready; and operations were delayed awaiting their arrival; so that though our advance was long delayed, the plan was efficient and certain, in due time, to produce the reduction of Pillow and the capture of Memphis.

Com. Foote, whose wound, received at Fort Donelson, had not healed, and from which he had suffered constantly, and recently severely, was compelled to ask relief from duty, and Capt. C. H. Davis, an officer of much experience and merit, was placed in command. On the 7th of May, he took his departure. The scene on leaving, was very interesting and impressive. He received Capt. Charles H. Davis, his successor in command, most cordially, in his cabin, and, moving with great difficulty on his crutches to the gun-room, informally introduced the new comer to his officers and men, and congratulated them upon having so capable and honorable a commander. He paid a feeling tribute of thanks to his companions-in-arms and bade them good-by, in tears.

As he looked at the Benton, perhaps for the last time, and
saw the many familiar faces that fixed their kind eyes upon him so earnestly, his trembling hand frequently sought his quivering lip, and nervously twitched his whiskers. One could see his efforts to suppress his feelings, but nature prevailed, and the brave officer covered his wan face with a fan he held to dissipate the heat of the afternoon, and wept like a child.

The bell was rung, and the wheels splashed mournfully, and three loud, long and ringing cheers were given by the crew. The Commodore stood up on his crutches, as the De Sota moved up the broad Mississippi, and with tremulous voice said: "God bless you all! Heaven knows how hard it is for me to leave you! Better and braver men than you, never trod a deck. I would much rather stay with you and die with you, than go away. But my duty to my country compels me to yield to stronger, though I hope not more willing hands. God bless you, my brave men, God bless you all!"

The rebels were aware that our rams were soon expected; and knowing the utter hopelessness of an attack upon our flotilla after their arrival, decided to take the offensive, believing that, with their rams, of which they had four, and with swifter boats than ours, they could destroy our fleet.

Accordingly, on the 10th of May, at an early hour, they boldly advanced to attack our boats. The mortar boats had been brought to their usual positions for firing upon the enemy's works, accompanied by the gun-boat Cincinnati, as a convoy. The six other gun-boats were tied, on the eastern and western sides of the river. The fleet of the enemy consisted of eight iron clad boats, four of which were fitted as rams.

"Scarcely had the mortars been moored in their position, when the rebel ram Louisiana appeared, coming around the point, accompanied by four other gun-boats. The ram immediately opened fire on the Cincinnati, to which the latter replied with interest. The rebel boats were all held in check
by the Cincinnati alone, when the rest of the Union fleet got under way and came to her assistance.

"In the mean time, the rebel ram, finding her guns ineffectual against the iron armor of the Cincinnati, approached her with the evident intention of running her down. Capt. Stembel, of the latter, prepared to meet the assault of the ram, by opening his steam batteries and putting them in readiness for use.

"As soon as the rebel craft approached within close range, the Cincinnati turned her head about, causing the ram to run along close beside her, when Capt. Stembel drew his pistol, and very coolly shot the pilot, killing him instantly; but, a second afterward, a musket ball struck the gallant Captain in his left shoulder, inflicting a painful, although not serious, wound.

"At this time the contest between the two boats was most intensely exciting. The crews of each were armed with carbines, cutlasses and boarding-pikes, and were discharging volley after volley in quick succession at each other, while the ram was also endeavoring to get her head about so as to run into, and, if possible, sink her antagonist.

"Just then, the steam batteries of the Cincinnati, were opened with terrible effect, throwing heavy volumes of steam and scalding water into the midst of the rebel crew, placing all who appeared on deck hors de combat instantly, and causing the craft to withdraw with all haste.

"In the meantime, the rebel fleet had been re-enforced by three other vessels, and among them the new iron-clad gun-boat Mallory, lately built at Memphis. These three ran immediately up to the Cincinnati and engaged her at once.

"She withstood the assault most nobly, the shot of the enemy glancing off from the iron plating without causing the slightest damage, while her own guns were raining shot and shell with fearful effect upon the enemy."
"Capt. Stembel, though badly wounded, remained at his post, and directed every movement with the coolness and deliberation for which he is noted.

"During this engagement, the Mallory approached the Cincinnati, with the design of accomplishing that which the ram had failed in doing. As she came in close proximity, the Union boat St. Louis, bore down upon her, and coming with a full head of steam on, struck her amidships, cutting her nearly in two, and causing her to sink in a very few minutes. Numbers of her crew escaped by clinging to the St. Louis, and others were picked up by the Cincinnati, but the larger proportion went down with the boat.

"While this work was in progress, the other boats of our fleet had engaged the remainder of the rebel fleet, and a most terrific battle was raging, the like of which the usually peaceful waters of the Mississippi had never before witnessed.

"Report followed upon report, like the continuous rattle of musketry. The rebels fought bravely, and with determination, but they were met by greater bravery, skill, and metal, and were being badly worsted.

"It was at this time that a report, louder and more distant than that of a gun, attracted general attention, and when the smoke lifted a little, it was found that one of the enemy's boats was blown to atoms.

"We have no means of knowing the loss of life by this terrible casualty, but it must have been very great. A few lucky fellows were seen floating about on fragments of the wreck, and were picked up by the rebel boats, but the majority of the rebel crew perished miserably.

"Scarcely had the excitement caused by this fearful and unlooked for event passed away, when a second report startled all ears, and another rebel boat, with its crew, had disappeared. Both vessels were blown up by the explosion of shells from our guns in their magazines. All this time our
boats continued to pour their deadly rounds into the enemy, crippling such of their craft as were not wholly destroyed, and carrying death to hundreds of their crews."

After continuing the fight about one hour, the enemy retired, under the cover of their batteries.

The casualties on board the Cincinnati, were, Capt. Stembel, shot through the neck; Fourth Master Reynolds, shot through the abdomen, (since dead), and two seamen, names not known, slightly wounded in the hands. The enemy’s loss was one hundred and fifty killed, and about four hundred wounded.

The gun-boats Cincinnati and Mound City, were repeatedly hit with the rebel rams, and so crippled that they both filled, but were raised and subsequently repaired.

After the action of the 10th, repairs upon the rebel fleet were actively carried on, and additions made to it. The injured Union boats were raised and repaired as rapidly as possible. Four rams were added to our fleet. The mortar boats and the uninjured gun-boats assumed their old positions, and their former occasional practice upon Fort Pillow.

Thus the monotonous investment continued until the afternoon of the 4th of June, when it was manifest by the smoke and explosion, that the rebels were evacuating the fort, blowing up the works, and burning what material they could not remove. Early on the morning of the 5th, our boats and rams proceeded around the point, and the forts were all found deserted, and nearly every thing valuable removed. The rebel gun-boats retired on our approach. Thus, after fifty-one days of investment, a bloodless, and so far as spoils were concerned, nearly a bootless victory was obtained. It was, nevertheless, a most important success, as it cleared the rebels from the Mississippi to that point, and isolated and cut off from the Confederacy, the States of Missouri and Arkansas. The immediate cause of the evacuation of Fort Pillow, was the decision of Gen. Beauregard to evacuate Corinth, and
those two important positions were simultaneously abandoned. On the same day on which Fort Pillow was occupied, the flotilla proceeded cautiously to reconnoitre the river towards Memphis, passing Randolph, where resistance had been expected, but the works were found abandoned. The fleet anchored five miles above Memphis, to await the transports with the land forces.

About one half past four, on the morning of the 6th of June, the fleet weighed anchor, and moved toward Memphis. There were five gun boats—the Benton, St. Louis, Cairo, Carondelet, and Louisville, and four rams. Nothing was found to obstruct the passage of the fleet, until it was opposite the upper part of the city. Even at that early hour, the bluff was lined with people; among them were seen even women and children. At this time the rebel fleet was discovered, lying opposite the lower part of the town, and it immediately came up to give battle. Our men at this time were breakfasting, and Commodore Davis signalled the boats to ascend the river, and not engage the enemy until the meal was finished. The enemy regarded the movement as a retreat, and pursued, firing without effect upon our boats, which still fell back. At the proper time, the Cairo opened on the "Little Rebel," when the engagement became general. The fleets were now about three fourths of a mile apart, and as the contest continued, the distance between them was shortened to one half a mile. After the action had continued actively about half an hour, rendering the whole atmosphere lurid with smoke, which was illuminated by the lightning gleam of the guns, and the earth shaken by their furious thunder, two of our rams, the Monarch and the Queen of the West, which had been lying in the rear of our boats, came up; but as soon as the rebels saw their approach, they began to retire. The rams advanced at once, the Queen of the West making for the Beauregard, the boat nearest the Tennessee shore. The
Captain of the Rebel boat skillfully parried the blow, and the Queen then rushed at the Price, striking that boat in the hull. At almost the same moment, the Queen was struck by the Beauregard, the blow taking effect in her wheel-house and disabling her engine. The Monarch now came up, and giving the Beauregard a tremendous butt in the bow, disabled that vessel, which sank in a few moments. The Price was so much injured by the blow of the Queen of the West, that she run up the white flag, and was left to the tide, with the Queen, which was also crippled and sinking.

The steamer Lovell was now the uppermost boat of the rebel flotilla, and to her the Benton paid her most serious addresses. Lieutenants Phelps and Bishop sighting, the bow guns—9 inch shell and 50 pounder Parrott—were poured in, in a lively manner. The bolts of the Benton just raked her fore and after, the whole fleet coming down upon her. Several shots took effect. After about five minutes, her boilers were exploded, the steam coming out of her casements in volumes. Her guns had ceased firing. Presently she began to fill rapidly, and the poor wounded and scalded sufferers came to the deck, wringing their hands in agony, and filling the air with prayers and imprecations. In five minutes, she sank in a hundred feet of water, not a stick or spar remaining to tell where she sank. She went down opposite the lower end of the town, a few of her crew swimming ashore, but the larger proportion were carried down the current and drowned.

The action still continued desperately. It was the dying struggle of the rebels on the river. The roar of the guns was ceaseless, and every movement of the contending forces was watched by thousands upon thousands of the population of Memphis, with intense, but different interest—by the Unionists with confident hope, but by the rebels with despair. It was, however, already decided. The rebel gun-boats which were not already disabled, left the scene of the contest for the
Arkansas shore, when officers and men fled through the woods to places of greater quiet and safety. But four of the eight gun-boats with which the enemy entered the action, were thus able to leave, and one of these, the Jeff. Thompson, was burned by a shell. Of the other three, but one only—the Van Dorn, succeeded in getting away.

Their discomfiture was most signal and complete, and what is most surprising is, after an action of over an hour, in which the foe suffered so severely, our gun-boats were entirely uninjured, and no injury to our rams, except that to the Queen of the West, which was easily repaired. No one was injured on our side, except Col. Ellet, commander of the rams, who was wounded by a splinter. The rebel loss was full one hundred killed, and as many prisoners, besides the steamboats, Gen. Beauregard, sunk; Gen. Lovell, sunk; Gen. Price, injured, and captured; Gen. Bragg, injured, and captured; Sumter, injured, and captured; Little Rebel, injured, and captured; Jeff. Thompson, burned, and blown up; Gen. Van Dorn, escaped.

The following laconic correspondence, settled the fate of Memphis:

**United States Flag-Steamer Benton,**

**Off MEMPHIS, June 5, 1862.**

Sir: I have respectfully to request that you will surrender the City of Memphis to the authority of the United States, which I have the honor to represent.

I am, Mr. Mayor, with high respect,

C. H. Davis, Flag-Officer Commanding, etc.

To his Honor, the Mayor of the City of Memphis.

The answer of the Mayor, who is, and always has been, a Unionist, was as follows:

**Mayor’s Office, MEMPHIS, June 6, 1862.**

Sir: Your note of this date is received, and contents noted. In reply I have only to say that, as the civil authorities have
LOYALTY IN MEMPHIS.

no means of defense, by the force of circumstances, the city is in your hands.

Respectfully,

JOHN PARK, Mayor.

To C. H. Davis, Flag-Officer Commanding, &c., &c.

Commander Davis also wrote this note to the Mayor:

UNITED STATES FLAG-STEAMER BENTON, }
OFF MEMPHIS, JUNE 6, 1862. }

Sir: The undersigned, commanding the Naval military forces of the United States in front of Memphis, has the honor to say to the Mayor and the city, that Col. Fitch, commanding the Indiana brigade, will take military possession immediately.

Col. Fitch will be happy to receive the co-operation of his Honor the Mayor, and the city authorities, in maintaining peace and order. To this end he will be pleased to confer with his Honor the Mayor, at the Military Head-quarters, at 3 o'clock this afternoon. Yours, etc.,

C. H. DAVIS, Flag-Officer Commanding, etc.

To his Honor, the Mayor of the City of Memphis.

Just twelve months from the time that Tennessee seceded, the nest in which the infamous viper of secession was incubated, fell into the hands of the Union, and hereafter no more of the hateful progeny will leave it alive.

A decided Union sentiment was manifested in the city, and our troops were hailed more as deliverers, than as conquerors. The difference in that respect, between the conduct of the people of Memphis and those of Nashville, was very apparent; which was doubtless largely due to the conviction, that the days of the Confederacy were numbered, and that the Federal occupation and protection, would secure immunity to the loyalists in the expression of their honest convictions.

Eastern Tennessee, like Western Virginia, contained but few slaves, and the people throughout the rebellion maintained
their loyalty. They were, however, during most of the rebellion, so encircled by the rebel forces, that they could neither aid the Government, nor receive aid from it.

The attachment of the sturdy mountaineers to the Union was inflexible; although rebel tyranny for a long time compelled them to stifle their convictions, and subjected them to every conceivable form of oppression, outrage, and robbery.

Conspicuous among the bold, outspoken friends of the Union in East Tennessee, was the Rev. William G. Brownlow, editor of the Knoxville Whig. In defiance of threats and demonstrations against his property and life, he resolutely and boldly, often defiantly, advocated the Union cause, and exposed the wickedness and hollowness of the rebellion.

This brought down upon him their special hate. Yet, for a long time, they cowered before the lion-like courage of the undaunted Parson. It was only when the foreign legions of the Davis government were hovering near, that they dared to arrest, and throw him into prison. Here he was tried for his life, and his fate hung upon the votes of an excited, drunken committee. Providentially, and by a majority of one, his life was spared, but he was compelled to remain in a filthy prison, separated from his family and friends, and in ignorance of what his ultimate fate might be. Here he was attacked with a severe fever, from which he barely recovered. After the advance of the Union armies, in Central and Western Tennessee, he was permitted to leave the State, which he did gladly; although the rebels retained his wife and five children, months after, as hostages, and they were only liberated, when the rebels banished all the Unionists from East Tennessee, on the last of April, 1862. The bold Parson has published a very interesting account, of the terrible outrages perpetrated upon his loyal neighbors, by the rebels, and it exhibits a fiendish barbarity seldom equaled by the most savage tribes.

Senator Andrew Johnson, a true and influential representa-
tive of the loyal feeling of the State, found his way out of the State, to attend the extra session of Congress, in July, 1861, but at the end of that session, he found all the avenues for his return closed, and nearly nine months elapsed, before he could return to his family, of whom he heard no more, than though they had been prisoners among the Arabs. When, however, he did return, it was after the way had been opened by the Union armies, and he came as Military Governor of the State.

On May 30th and 31st, eight days before the people of Tennessee were to vote upon the question of secession, a loyal Convention of over one thousand delegates, from twenty-eight Counties of East Tennessee, convened at Knoxville, by whom strong Union resolutions, and an address to the people, were adopted, when the Convention adjourned, to meet again at the call of their officers. The great object of this Convention, was to consult upon the best course to be pursued by the Union men, in the present critical emergency.

The vote of the people on the question of secession, was taken on the 8th of June; and Tennessee voted to secede. Such, at least, was the declared result. But in two thirds of the State, property, liberty, and even life, were put in imminent jeopardy, by advocating, or in any way supporting, the Union cause; and the entire control of the reception and return of the vote, was, in most of the State, in rebel hands, and what they desired it to be, that they made it.

On the preceding February, before the "reign of terror" had been inaugurated, the people of the State had voted against secession by an overwhelming majority. But the rebels had not then obtained military control of the State, and the right to speak and vote for the Union was then unrestricted.

The Governor issued his proclamation, announcing the triumphant endorsement of secession, which was greeted every where in the South by the roar of rebel guns, by jubilant dis
plays on rebel oratory, and the loudest congratulations of the rebel press. Gov. Harris concluded his proclamation thus:

"Now, therefore, I, Isham G. Harris, Governor of the State of Tennessee, do make it known, and declare all connection by the State of Tennessee with the Federal Union, dissolved, and that Tennessee is a free and independent Government, free from all obligation to, or connection with, the Federal Government of the United States of America."

The loyal Convention re-assembled at Greenville, on the 17th of June. It appointed a Committee to ask the consent of the Legislature, that the Counties of East Tennessee, and such others as wish to join them, may be permitted to form a separate State. The Convention also selected a Committee to receive the report of that Committee, and to take such farther action as circumstances might call for. They also adopted a declaration of grievances, which is a very able paper, and forcibly exposes the encroachments of the insurgents, upon the dearest rights of the adherents of the Union. But they were doomed to further, and yet greater sufferings, and their loyalty to severer tests. The continued occupation of East Tennessee, by the rebels, still kept its loyal inhabitants under the cruel heels of their merciless oppressors.

Those decided manifestations of loyalty, on the part of the East Tennesseans, drew down upon them the direst vengeance of the rebels; and what was peculiarly unfortunate for them, was, that they were so pent up and isolated, that they could not make their sufferings known to the Government; nor, from the same cause, even had the full horror of their situation been known, could the much needed aid have been given them.
CHAPTER XV.

WAR ON THE OCEAN.


When the Rebellion broke out, the Navy of the United States, like its Regular Army, had been scattered, by the traitors in power, upon distant stations, and the ships available to the service of the Government, were utterly inadequate to the sudden and large demand. Hence, when it was decided, early in April, to re-enforce Forts Sumter and Pickens, much difficulty was experienced in finding the necessary ships for that service.

That difficulty was greatly increased by the orders blockading the Southern ports. The Great Southern Expedition, subsequently projected, increased the demand for ships to a vast extent. Fortunately for us, at that time, though our war navy was inadequate to meet our wants, our commercial and passenger marine supplied, to some extent, the deficiency. By purchasing, or chartering and re-fitting vessels drawn from those sources, the Government had, but after the lapse of much time, adequate transport ships and mortar boats, and her war marine was augmented by calling home absent ships, and by the rapid construction of new vessels.

As soon as the rebel President heard of the Proclamation, calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers, for the defence of the Union, he, on the 17th of April, invited applications for
"Letters of Marque," to prey on our maritime commerce. That action of the rebel President, induced President Lincoln to issue a second Proclamation, on the 19th of April, declaring that any interference with the property of citizens of the United States, under those pretended Letters of Marque, would be treated and punished as piracy.

The South had high hopes of the effects which they expected this piratical movement would produce. With little commerce of their own, they confidently expected that the prizes would come mainly from Union sources. They saw the rich commerce of the North, already a prey to the unprincipled adventurers whom they would commission to rob and murder. They fancied that the imminent jeopardy in which that movement would place the millions invested in marine commerce, would lead the Government to pause in the execution of the extreme measures, which the Proclamation of President Lincoln foreshadowed.

But in this, as in most of their other plans and devices, they failed to realize their full expectations. They expected freebooters from the ports of the North, such as had often descended, for gain, to the base service of the South, in the slave-trade, to engage eagerly in this, yet baser work, but not a vessel did they secure. They supposed they could influence the Governments of England and France, by appeals to their ambition and avarice, to aid them in the unholy work. Years had been devoted to a careful development of the plan to influence those two nations in their behalf. It was known that England looked upon our rapid advancement in population, wealth and power, with jealousy and fear, and would be glad of an opportunity to check it. As a neighbor, she was fearful that our liberal example might lead her Canadian Provinces, at no distant day, to imitate it, by throwing off the yoke of the Mother Country, and relying upon themselves.

Those were the political reasons on which the South relied
for the favor of England. She saw, also, other and stronger grounds of hope. England was a manufacturing nation. On her manufactures, she chiefly relied for the support of her dense population. She needed the raw material, and she also needed a market for her goods. The South could furnish her both. She had, as she thought, the entire monopoly of cotton, and that all the manufacturing nations were dependent upon her for it. From her peculiar labor, she could not profitably engage in manufacturing, and preferred simply to grow and sell her few peculiar products, and buy all her manufactured goods. Hence, the South was prepared to offer a tempting bribe to the commercial avarice of England, whenever the former should become free from the restraints of the North, in which different interests and a different policy prevailed.

In the North there was great diversity of interests and of labor. Manufacturing had already become prominent; and tariffs had been enacted to protect them from the unequal competition of the oppressed and degraded labor of Europe, to place our manufacturing labor in wholesome and just competition only with itself,—with those living under similar institutions, enjoying similar advantages, and encountering like obstacles.

Those tariffs affected the manufacturing interests of Europe unfavorably, and were therefore obnoxious to them. The stringent tariff enacted by Congress, at the session immediately preceding the opening of the rebellion, gave especial offense; and was regarded as a God-send by the South, as a means to secure foreign sympathy and aid.

Commissioners, selected from their most talented and influential citizens, had been early dispatched to Europe by the rebel government, to advance its interests there, by intercourse with prominent individuals, and the purchased control of prominent presses. Unfortunately, before the Government had
had time to recover from the first shock of the rebellion, and before its power to suppress it could be manifested, those rebel emissaries secured an acknowledgment from the Government of England, which gave them much encouragement, stimulated their energies, and doubtless added greatly to the duration and the violence of the contest. England conceded to them the rights of belligerents, and thus encouraged them to hope for ultimate recognition.

The Queen's proclamation of neutrality, however, and the refusal by the principal maratime nations, to permit privateers to stay in their ports longer than twenty-four hours, and prohibiting the condemnation and sale of prizes therein, with stringent orders against the fitting out of privateers in foreign ports, rendered the concession of less importance; and silenced, effectually, such vain boastings as the following, in which the rebel press at that time indulged:

"Armed with letters of marque and reprisal, our privateersmen will sweep the seas, capturing northern vessels, and confiscating northern commerce. The insane menace of considering and treating privateers as pirates, has been uttered by the Federal Government. To demonstrate the folly and fatuity of such a threat, it is only necessary to remark that where one privateer falls into the hands of the enemy, a dozen merchant vessels are captured, and that if the crew of a privateer thus taken, were murdered, under pretext that they were pirates, for every one executed, the Confederate States might retaliate upon the citizens of the North. We fancy Mr. Lincoln, under such circumstances, will be glad speedily to revoke the inhuman order.

"Hundreds and hundreds of millions of the property of the enemy invite them to spoil him—to 'spoil these Egyptians' of the North, who would coerce us to staying, when we strove peaceably to make our exodus to independence of their oppressive thrall; to go forth from degrading fellowship with
them. The richly laden ships of the enemy swarm on every sea, and are absolutely unprotected. The harvest is ripe; let it be gathered, and we will strike the enemy to the heart—for we hit his pocket, his most sensitive part. His treasure ships, laden with California wealth, traverse Southern waters. Let them be the prize of the bravest and most enterprising.

"His commerce is the very life of the enemy's solvency and financial vitality. Strike it, and you lay the axe to the root of his power—you rend away the sinews of war. Let the flags of privateers show themselves on the seas, and the blockade will be raised. Lincoln's fleet will scatter over the world, to protect the commerce of his citizens. But they cannot protect it, though they try. They are numerous enough for the blockade, but not to guard the ocean. The risk of the privateer will still be trifling, and he will continue to reap the harvest, laughing at the few scare-crows which would fright him from his profitable employment.

"It is easy to put privateers afloat. There are abundance of brave men among us, ready to volunteer to fight anywhere. There are many among us ready to give money to the cause of their country, not looking for return. In this privateering, the most enormous returns are promised, with but trifling risk. Let the men of means fit out privateers, if they would best serve their country and advance their own interests. Let companies be formed to embark capital in privateering. If they can't get the craft here, they can get them somewhere. It is a pursuit of honor, patriotism, and profit. Let us scour the seas, and sweep their commerce from it with the besom of destruction."

The rebels succeeded in putting afloat about fifty privateers, of which those only that attracted much attention, during the first eighteen months, were the Nashville, Sumter, the Jeff. Davis, and the William H. Webb. Of the early pirate vessels, the Sumter was the most formidable. She was ar-
iron steamer, very fast, and carried seventeen guns—one a rifled eighty-two pounder.

The Jeff. Davis was wrecked on the bar in San Augustine, Florida, on the 18th of August, and was a total loss. A number of others were captured. The privateer schooner Savannah, was taken on the 4th of June, sixty miles off the Harbor of Charleston, by the United States Brig Perry. The officers and crew were taken to New York, and confined in the Tombs, to await their trial for piracy. The trial occupied five days, and was concluded on the 31st of October, by the disagreement of the jury, eight being for conviction, and four for acquittal. The insurgent Government threw into close confinement a number of Union officers, then held as prisoners of war, equal to the alleged pirates, as hostages for their safety; and, to avoid the fruitless sacrifice of life, the Federal Government suspended its decision, and finally treated them as prisoners of war.

The schooner Enchantress, was captured by the rebels on the 6th of July, and a prize crew of five persons were put on board. She was re-captured on the 22d of the same month, and her crew taken to Philadelphia, to be tried for piracy, of which they were convicted, but for the reasons stated, the sentence was unexecuted.

The rebel ship Finland, while lying in the harbor of Pensacola, was captured on the night of August 26th, by boats from the blockading fleet, lying off the harbor. She was burned and the party returned to the ships.

The schooner S. J. Warner, from New York to LaPlata, was captured on the 7th of July, by the privateer Jeff. Davis, and four of the original party and a prize crew of five, nine in all, set sail for Charleston. Among those retained on board the S. J. Warren, was William Tillman, the colored steward. Nothing of especial interest occurred, until the night of the 10th, when Tillman, the steward, with a boldness and success
rarely equaled, executed his secret purpose of re-capturing the vessel, by killing the prize crew. The hero of this exploit, was a free negro, about twenty-seven years of age, accustomed to the seas, and compactly and stoutly built, of nearly unmixed blood.

On the 13th of September, the rebel schooner Judith, then lying in the harbor of Pensacola, was boarded, captured and burned. She was fitted up for a privateer, and was seeking an opportunity to run the blockade. The steam frigate Colorado, had for some time several boats watching her movements at night, and learning her true position, two cutters and a launch, manned by about ninety men, set off at 11 o'clock at night, on the perilous duty of trying to cut her out. Near where the boat lay, a battery had been commenced, and one large columbiad mounted. This chivalrous exploit, seldom equaled for boldness and daring, was entirely successful.

For the first eighteen months of the war, our numerous merchant men were rendered somewhat anxious by the piratical raids of the few privateers afloat. Yet the rebel Letters of Marque, during the early part of the contest, were in every important respect a failure, exerting no more influence on its result, than the burning of a few hundred dwellings, or the capture of a few unoffending citizens. But the pretended neutrality of the British government, permitted the construction and fitting out in its harbors, of fleet steamers, commanded by rebel officers, to prey upon the commerce of the North. The pirate Alabama, was the first of these, and her depredations upon our merchant ships became exceedingly annoying and alarming, giving rise to decided protests from our Government.

But the war on the ocean, on the part of the Government, partook of quite another character, and in its progress, was attended with quite different results.

Unprepared as the rebellion found us, for effective opera-
tions upon the ocean, the relative progress afterwards made by
the two sections, will show their reciprocal, commercial, and
mechanical resources. And while the North, in a few months
was able to send forth one of the largest fleets that ever
floated, and to build and equip a fleet of gun and mortar
boats, that, wherever they went, were the dread and the ter-
ror of the rebels; the South, with the stolen property and
means of the Government at several navy yards, and aided by
foreign ship-owners and builders, did little of practical ac-
count. It is true that, taking the hint from the iron batte-
ries, used in the assault upon Sumter, and having a stolen
vessel to operate upon, with the Government navy yard at
Gosport, at which to perform the work, she was able to so
shield the Merrimac, not with iron plates—for those she
could not make—but with rail road iron, as when unexpected
by us, and when unprepared to resist so formidable a mass of
iron, she ran her ponderous prow into becalmed sailing ships,
and produced temporary consternation. But here the genius
of the North was adequate to the emergency, and the little
Monitor, drove the monster, disabled, to her hiding place.
She built her “Rams,” constructed with infinite pains, under
the guidance of the traitor Maury, her “Infernal Machines,”
and countless “Torpedoes;” she had the ardent sympathy and
the active aid of the first naval power of the world, by whose
assistance a few first class pirate ships roamed the seas, seeking,
when necessary, safe coverts in the “neutral” harbors of Eng-
land; yet by the South herself, or her dishonorable ally, small
credit was won by their joint naval exploits during the rebellion.

From the miserable piracy of the South, we will now turn
to the magnificent operations of the Union Fleet, when once
in readiness to move, and chronicle the series of unbroken
successes which it has achieved, over a stormy coast-line of
three thousand miles in extent, and in the varied and difficult
waters of the South, and no American can review the achieve-
ments of our impromptu navy, without feelings of pride and confidence in the energy and bravery of our people. No parallel can be found in the rapidity of its preparation or the grandeur of the successes which it accomplished, when once in readiness.
CHAPTER XVI.

Offensive Operations of the Union Fleet—Capture of Forts Hatteras and Clark—Capture of Port Royal—Mason and Slidell.


Until the last of August, the Union fleet had been chiefly occupied in blockading the long line of the Southern coast, and preparations to render that blockade efficient, had largely engrossed its time and means. But preparations for other service were not neglected.

The necessity of possessing the important inland communications on the coast of North Carolina, afforded by the Pamlico and Albemarle sounds, with the numerous rivers flowing into them, was early apparent to the Government.

To possess those points, a combined naval and military expedition was projected from Fortress Monroe. The former, under Com. Stringham, and the latter under Gen. Butler.

The fleet left for its destination on the 26th of August. It consisted of the Frigates Minnesota, Wabash, and Monticello, and the gun-boats Pawnee, Adelaide, Geo. Peabody, and Harriet Lane; the Susquehannah and the Cumberland were also ordered to join the expedition. It carried a small force of about nine hundred men. It arrived off Hatteras Inlet, the
ATTACK UPON THE FORTS.

next day after its departure. The entrance to the Inlet was defended by two forts—Hatteras and Clark—works of recent erection. The special object of the expedition, was to capture and occupy those two forts, and thus prevent the egress and ingress of privateers, for which these capacious inland waters had furnished admirable haunts.

On the morning of the 28th, the whole fleet having arrived, preparations were made for the attack, by landing three hundred men about two miles above the forts, the landing of a greater force having been prevented by the swamping of the surf-boats. At 10 o'clock, the vessels opened fire on Fort Clark, and the bombardment was vigorously continued until 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when the garrison retreated to Fort Hatteras, a stronger work in the rear of the former, mounting ten thirty-two pounders, and two ten-inch guns. This fort opened on the Monticello, which came in range while covering the advance of the troops on shore. She unfortunately grounded, but still opened fire upon the fort with such spirit, that, aided by the Wabash, Susquehannah, and Minnesota, in fifty minutes she had nearly silenced its fire. At this time she succeeded in getting off, and moved out of range. She received seven eight-inch shot in her hull, but not a man on board of her was either killed or wounded.

Night came on dark and stormy, and prevented farther operations upon the fort, and also the furnishing to the men on shore either re-enforcements or provisions; and who, in consequence, passed a night of great peril and discomfort. It was feared they would be attacked and overborne by superior forces of the enemy; but they were unmolested.

On the following morning, the land force returned to the ships; and at a quarter past eight, the attack upon the fort was renewed, in which the entire fleet participated. The firing was rapid and accurate, and for a time, the fort replied with spirit; but the eight-inch shells of the Harriet Lane,
bursting in the battery, soon drove into the casemates all that could get into them. At eleven o'clock, an eleven-inch shell burst in the bomb-proof, with terrific effect, having entered through the ventilator. This produced a sudden panic, the white flag was at once displayed, and the fort was unconditionally surrendered, with seven hundred and fifteen officers and men, including Com. Barron, late in command of the Wabash.

This important victory was obtained, at a singularly small sacrifice of life, on the part of the victors. We lost but one man killed, and two slightly wounded; the enemy, forty-nine killed and fifty-one wounded. We captured in Fort Hatteras twenty thirty-two pounders, and one ten-inch columbiad; and in Fort Clark, five thirty-two pounders, and three six-pounder field guns; also one thousand stand of arms, six hundred knapsacks, ten tents, ten drums, and a large quantity of ammunition.

A few days later, Fort Morgan, on Ocrakoke Inlet, mounting six guns, was abandoned by the enemy, and occupied by our troops, without resistance.

This victory was a great relief and joy to the people of that region, relieving them from the oppressive and despotic rule of the "Confederacy," and giving them an opportunity to manifest their long-stifled Union sentiments. Large numbers of the population came forward with alacrity, and voluntarily took the oath of allegiance.

The following is a description of the final bombardment and surrender:

"In the morning, at early day-light, we were again astir. Again, we (the Wabash) led the attack, and fired the first gun upon the fort at a long range. For three hours, the firing was incessant from the heavy guns; the practice was perfect. The range was fully two miles—just the range of the fifteen-second fuse. The immense shells could be traced away in air,
and falling, plunged into the fort, would create fearful havoc as they exploded. Houses were torn to the ground; the embrasures were knocked out of all recognition. A legion of fiends could not have withstood such a storm of shells, much less the necessarily raw artillerists who occupied the fort.

"Nothing but a surrender was left for them. At about seven bells in the forenoon, a man stationed aloft shouted out that the enemy were deserting the fort and taking to the boats. A large fleet of mongrel craft were in the Sound, and began to move about uneasily. At the same time, with our glasses, we perceived a man rush upon the ramparts with the secession flag, wave it frantically, and then toss it over the parapet, and then he ducked into the bomb-proof to escape a shell. Then, after the explosion, he rushed up, ran along the parapet with a staff in his hand, stuck it in the ground, and from it was displayed a white flag, and the surrender was announced. Cheer upon cheer rose from the vessels. 'Cease firing!' passed from ship to ship, and to us a bloodless victory was again the result of a forty-eight hours' bombardment.

"Commodore Barron refused to surrender to the troops, but expressed his desire to deliver his sword to Commodore Stringham. He was, together with Major Andrews, put on board the Cadwallader, and taken on board the flag-ship, where he formally surrendered to his old friend and former brother officer. He says that the fire upon him was terrific. His magazine was on fire twice. The bursting of the shells completely demoralized his men, who fled whenever the smoke puffed from our guns. For the last hour and a half the shells burst constantly in the centre of the fort—sometimes three at a time. His best gun—a large rifled gun—was dismounted and rendered unserviceable by a shell striking it and blowing the carriage into splinters."

Major Gen. Wool thus reports the capture of those forts:

"The Commanding General has great satisfaction in an-
nouncing that a glorious victory has been achieved from the combined operations of the army and navy at Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, under the command of Commodore Stringham and Major-General Butler.

"The result of this gallant enterprise was the capture of seven hundred and fifteen men, including Commodore Barron and one of the North Carolina cabinet, one thousand stand of arms, seventy-five kegs of powder, five stand of colors, thirty-one pieces of cannon, including a ten-inch columbiad, a brig loaded with cotton, a sloop laden with provisions and stores, two light boats, besides taking fifty bags of coffee, etc., all of which was achieved by the army and navy, and six hundred volunteers and sixty regular artillery of the army."

On the 29th of September, Col. Hawkins, in command at Fort Hatteras, ordered the 20th Indiana regiment, to Chicamacomico, distant about forty miles. That place is on Hatteras Island, a long and narrow strip of land extending southerly from Hatteras inlet, of the average breadth of about one mile.

The regiment was scantily supplied with provisions and equipments, which, with intrenching tools, were to be conveyed to them the next day, by the steamer Fanny. This steamer, while doing so, was overhauled by three rebel steamers, and her crew and passengers, consisting of thirty-one persons, and her valuable cargo, estimated to be worth one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, were captured. This left the regiment without supplies, tools, or tents, and stimulated the rebels to attempt their capture. They had been very imprudently advanced, without support, to an extremely exposed position. The enemy accordingly embarked between two and three thousand men, on six steamers, on the fourth of October, intending to divide the force, and land both above and below the camp of the 20th Indiana, and secure, as they believed, its certain capture. Their purpose was, however, dis-
covered in time to enable Col. Browne hastily to retire, with trifling loss. He made the best of his way towards Hatteras, abandoning his camp to the enemy. He was met by Colonel Hawkins, fifteen miles from Hatteras, with a force of five hundred men; advancing to his relief, accompanied by two steamers on the sound. Here they halted, and awaited the approach of the enemy, who were in pursuit. The steamer Monticello proceeded along the coast, to discover the position and watch the movements of the enemy. They were found about fifteen miles in the rear, proceeding along the narrow Island, so narrow as to bring them directly within range of the steamer's guns, which opened upon them a very destructive fire. Retreat, which was attempted, did not relieve them from the effect of the steamer's fire, which kept constantly abreast of them, pouring upon them a terrific shower of shot and shell. The rebel fleet, at one time, attempted to interfere, but the guns of the Monticello soon sunk two of their vessels, and compelled the others to retire, when she again pursued the retreating enemy, until darkness hid them from view, and, under cover of which, they escaped in transports.

The loss of the enemy, in their retreat, was very heavy, and darkness only saved them from utter destruction.

As the summer advanced, the extraordinary activity in all the northern sea-ports and navy-yards, indicated that the Government was preparing to strike the rebels in their most vulnerable point—the sea coast—a blow that would fall with crushing force.

Hatteras had fallen; but Hatteras was a point of comparatively little importance. There were other harbors upon the southern coast, in which the navies of the world might ride in safety; and to capture and occupy one of these, was the object of the great Naval Expedition, which sailed from Hampton Roads, on the 29th of October.

In order that this object might be attained with the smallest possible loss, and that the blow might be the more effective,
because unexpected, its destination had been kept secret. The instructions to the commanding officers, were not delivered until the last moment, and then they were ordered not to be opened until the expedition was at sea.

This magnificent fleet, the largest that had ever been concentrated on our coast, was under command of Commodore Samuel F. Dupont, and consisted of over seventy vessels, including sixteen vessels of war, twenty-three steam transports, and twenty-six sailing vessels; also several steam-tugs and ferry boats. The scene on its departure from Hampton Roads, is thus described by an eye-witness:

The shore at the Fortress was lined with spectators; the ramparts were dotted here and there with soldiers, and even the rebels on the beach, between Willoughby’s and Sewell’s Point, came down to see us off. As the troop-laden transports
passed each other, the men cheered, and various bands enlivened the scene, by stirring strains of music. The whole scene was one of grandeur; and during the morning, the fleet lay scattered over an area of twenty miles. According to the order of sailing, the vessels were formed in three parallel lines, preceded by the naval squadron, in a face line with several gun-boats, to guard either side, and the rear. When thus formed, the distance from the eastern to the western limits of the fleet, was about twelve miles; and from the northern to the southern, about the same. As the day drew to a close, the leading vessels slackened their speed, and the line of the fleet was shortened by two miles; and night came on, with everything going on finely, the fleet making about five and a half knots per hour. The land force on board the fleet, consisted of fifteen thousand men, under the command of Acting Major-General W. T. Sherman.

All went well with the fleet, until the third day out, when a terrible storm, one of the severest ever known on the Atlantic coast, scattered it, and badly damaged some of the vessels. Several were wrecked on the coast, and quite a number were compelled to return to Fortress Monroe.

On the morning of the third of November, a portion of the fleet arrived off Port Royal harbor, in South Carolina, about midway between Savannah and Charleston, which proved to be the point of attack. During that night and the next day, the scattered vessels kept coming in, until all the war vessels, and all the transports, except those which had been injured by the storm, were on hand, and ready for action. On the fourth, two small steamers were sent in to take soundings, ascertain where the channel lay, and prepare buoys for the guidance of the fleet. These were convoyed by several gun-boats, which were fired upon by the rebel batteries; but the distance was too great for effective execution, and the object of the expedition was successfully accomplished.
On the morning of the 5th, several gun-boats, guided by the buoys placed the day before, were sent in with the view to draw the enemy's fire, and thus ascertain his strength and position. They were fired upon by two batteries, situated on either side of the harbor, and mounting respectively twenty-three and fifteen heavy guns. After an active cannonade of between two and three hours, the vessels, which had sustained no injury, were signaled to return, which they did, having accomplished the object of the reconnaissance. In the afternoon of the same day, all the vessels passed inside the bar, and arrangements were made for a combined attack on the day following. But the weather being unfavorable, the wind blowing off shore and accompanied by a heavy swell, the attack was deferred until the next day, the 7th.

The plan of the battle was very simple, and yet most effective. The ships were to sail in a circle, or ellipse, running close to the shore as they came down the river, drifting or steaming in line as slowly as possible past the batteries there, and pouring in their shot and shell as long as they remained within range. Then making the turn to go back, as they passed up on the other side of the river, paying a similar compliment to the batteries there. Then again turning and passing down on the other side, the game to be continued until the rebel flag should be hauled down. At 9 o'clock the ships were arranged in line of battle, and at half-past 9 took up their magnificent march in the following order:

**PORT OR FLANKING COLUMN.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Guns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bienville</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 short 32-pounders, and 1 long rifled pivot gun forward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penguin</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curlew</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seneca</td>
<td>1 large rifled gun; 2 small howitzers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. B. Forbes</td>
<td>1 gun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**STARBOARD OR MAIN COLUMN.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Guns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wabash</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susquehannah</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohican</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminole</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawnee</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unadilla</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pembina</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalia, in tow of the gun-boat Isaac Smith</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Smith</td>
<td>1 large pivot gun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Forbes did not come into the fight until the second round.
At precisely 10 o'clock, the battle commenced by the firing of three guns from the Hilton Head fortification at the flag-ship, the Wabash. This was promptly answered by Com. Dupont, and the two batteries of the Wabash, consisting of fifty-two guns and one pivot gun in the center, poured in a fearful storm of shot and shell upon the garrison.

The men, who had stripped to their work, instantly re-loaded the guns, and as the frigate moved with just sufficient speed to give her steerageway, and keep her under control, she had the battery in range for twenty minutes, for all of which time the men were loading and firing at the rate of once a minute for each gun—thus giving the immense number of four hundred and forty shells that were rammed in upon the devoted garrison by the Wabash alone, every time she passed, for after the first fire she used only the starboard guns. Let it be noted, too, that the ships were within point-blank range of the shore, some of them approaching within less than five hundred yards of the battery; the Bienville, which ran closer in than any other ship, was so close as plainly to distinguish the color of the shirts of the men who worked the guns, and to hear their cries of encouragement to each other. When it is remembered that the guns used are large enough to carry two miles and a half, a slight idea of their tremendous effect at short range can be formed.

Though the rebel guns in this work were columbiads, of the largest size, and some of them carrying a hundred and thirty pound projectile; and the guns are so heavy as to require twelve men to work each one, and move it effectively on its carriage, such was the irresistible force of our shot, that in twenty minutes three of these immense columbiads were dismounted—knocked from their carriages, and rendered completely useless.

Of course the ships were not obliged to wait until they got abreast of the work to commence firing, but the make of the
river permitted them to begin to throw angular raking shots at a distance of three-quarters of a mile, firing down the river, keeping it up as they slowly drifted past, and finally finishing the round by pitching some parting shots up the river at a similar angle with the ones first fired.

The peculiar make of the river is such that not more than eight of our ships could bring their guns to bear on the shore batteries at the same time; but even then the sight was one of the most magnificent conceivable. Eight vessels would deliver a broadside of not less than fifty guns at a single fire, led by the battery of the Wabash, of twenty-seven guns; and as each gun could be loaded and discharged once in a minute, at the very lowest estimate, it will be seen that more than fifty bombs and other terribly destructive projectiles were rained into the Hilton Head fortification, every minute that the fleet was within range.

But little attention was paid to the batteries on the north side of the river at this time, and indeed they would have been perfectly safe from any firing whatever, had they not provoked an occasional shot by their persistence in pitching a shell at every one of our ships that came within their longest range. These two batteries were comparatively unimportant at the time, as they were on the opposite side of the river from where we desired to land our troops, and were withal so dependent on the Hilton Head fortification that as soon as that should fall into our hands, the others would follow their fate, and probably become ours without a struggle.

Each ship was in effective range of the fort for about twenty minutes every time the line came round; they moved like a terrible procession of destroying angels, and at each of their visits, which indeed were few, but not far between, the combined force hailed upon the doomed and devoted shore a fiery storm of more than four hundred shell.

The spectacle was one of the most impressive that could be
presented to the eye of man. The air was filled with bursting bombs—each deadly projectile, as it hummed through the air, first rose heavenward in a graceful curve, and then swooped down to earth to fulfil its fatal errand, leaving through the air a thin wavering line of smoke that was first snowy white, then light purple, then fading to a pale blue, quickly blended with the azure of a clear southern sky.

The terrible effects of a shell bursting in the midst of a group of men cannot be adequately described, for words and pen alike are weak. A knot of men are talking together, full of sturdiest life, and earnest action; every word and gesture denoting healthiest and most vigorous manliness and strength—there comes a puff of pearly smoke, a blinding flash of red fire, a sharp, sudden report, and in an instant the active life of the eager men is crushed and beaten out, the parched sand drinks up their life-blood before the smoke can clear away; but the mangled limbs, the still throbbing brains, the gaping wounds, half filled with dirt and purple mud, are not covered by the sand until that later hour when the sword and musket are laid aside for the pick and spade, and men forget their deadly hates, to consign “Earth to earth, and dust to dust.”

After the ships had made one round, and sailed their fiery circle once, the order of the battle was changed; certain ones of the gun-boats dropped out of their assigned places, having discovered that they could take up a position which would enable them to remain stationary, and still keep up a rapid and galling fire on the fort. So, henceforth, the other attacking ships moved in a single line, the Wabash still leading.

Four of the gun-boats ran into the bight of the river to the north of the fort, where they were enabled to keep up an enfilading fire, that completely raked the fortifications of Fort Walker, and distressed the enemy exceedingly. These gunboats were the Ottawa, Curlew, Seneca, and Unadilla. They were afterward joined by the Pocahontas, under command of
Captain Drayton, a South Carolinian, a brother of Brigadier-General Drayton of the rebels. Captain Drayton, though placed in this peculiar and painful position, evinced no lack of loyalty to the Union, or eagerness to give the rebels their dues, and the Pocahontas was most active in the fight until it closed.

For the second time the fleet came steaming down; for the second time they poured in that terrible fire, dismantling the guns, shattering the buildings, and stretching in death numbers of their men; and for the second time the fleet passed on in safety, showing not the slightest sign of any intention of going to the bottom.

Without paying more attention to the barking of the battery at Fort Beauregard, on Bay Point, than to pitch them an occasional shot, merely to let them know they were not forgotten, for the third time the fleet rounded their circular track, and came slowly down to pay their respects again. Again was the whole fire of the fort concentrated on the Wabash, and afterwards in turn on each one of the ships, as they passed in a fiery procession before the shore, delivering with the utmost coolness and the most exact precision, their murderous fire, running even nearer than before, firing more effectually than ever, and again steaming away unharmed, and turning the point for still another round.

The utmost consternation now took full possession of the rebels, and in an uncontrollable panic they fled with the utmost precipitation. The panic at Bull Run was not more complete; indeed, not half so much so, for the rebels, in their mortal terror, ran for the woods without stopping for anything whatever. They left in their tents money, gold watches, costly swords, and other valuables, showing that their fear was uncontrollable and complete.

The flight was first observed from the little gun-boat Mercury, immediately communicated to the flag-ship, and then signaled to the whole fleet. Captain John Rogers, who acted
as aid to Com. Dupont during the fight, was at once sent on shore with a flag of truce, to ascertain if the flight was real or a feint. He found the fort entirely deserted, and immediately ran up the stars and stripes on the ramparts.

The sight of the old flag now waving on the soil of South Carolina, for the first time since Sumter fell, was greeted with the wildest cheering from the troops on board the transports, and the bands soon filled the air with the joyous, triumphant strains of "Yankee Doodle," and the "Star Spangled Banner." Soon the 7th Connecticut were embarked in twenty-seven boats, and towed to the shore by the steamer, Winfield Scott. They sprang into the water up to their middles, and with loud cheers, waded ashore and took possession. They were followed by the rest of the 1st brigade, under command of Gen. Wright.

The result of the battle may be briefly summed up as follows: One of the finest harbors on the whole southern coast was in their possession, a harbor which, from its position, formed an excellent basis for operations, either against Charleston or Savannah, the two most important points on the Atlantic coast. There were captured about twenty-five prisoners, two forts, mounting over fifty guns, three hundred muskets, and the complete camp equipage of three regiments, and immense quantities of ammunition. All this was accomplished with the loss of only eight men killed and twenty-five wounded, a result which reflects great credit upon the officers and men engaged in it.

Early in October, 1861, the rebel emissaries to Europe, John M. Mason, of Virginia, Envoy to England, and John Slidell of Louisiana, to France, were about to embark on their respective missions. Near midnight of the 11th of that month, it being very dark and rainy, they embarked from the port of Charleston, on board the steamer Theodora. Extinguishing all their lights, they ran, unobserved, through the blockading squadron. They touched at Nassau, and landed at Cardenas
on the 16th, whence the envoys proceeded to Havana, Cuba. Here they were flatteringly received by the British Consul, and introduced to the Captain General of the Island. On Nov. 7th, they embarked on board the royal steam mail packet, Trent, with their attendants, including the family of Mr. Slidell. About noon on the following day, the Trent was brought to by Capt. Wilkes, with the sloop of war, San Jacinto. The Theodora was boarded, and the emissaries forcibly taken on board the former vessel. The affair is thus described by Lieut. Fairfax, by whom the seizure was made:

"I introduced myself to the captain of the 'Trent;' who received me properly; but when I informed him of my mission, he demurred considerably to my proposition. Seeing Messrs. Mason and Slidell not far off, I told him it was not necessary to insist upon what I had first demanded—an examination of his passenger-list—as I had tangible evidence that my friends were on board. I then addressed Messrs. Mason and Slidell, and told them my mission. They intimated that they would not go, unless force was used. I told them I was prepared for that, and in a short time I had sufficient force on board to impress every one on the ship with that fact. Lieutenant Greer, of the 'San Jacinto,' came on board, and took quite as active a part in the transaction as I did. He was rather apprehensive that the ladies and the mob would overcome me, and presented six very inoffensive marines on board, to be made offensive, if necessary. That gave rise to the report about a charge of the marines, with fixed bayonets, on the ladies. Messrs. Mason and Slidell conducted themselves with a good deal of propriety, under the circumstances. Mr. Mason was perfectly courteous throughout. Mr. Slidell, as we all know, has more crustiness in his disposition; but it must be remembered that he had much more to embarrass him, having his wife and family with him; therefore it was much more difficult to impress him with the belief that I
intended to carry out the purpose of my visit. He said he would not go unless I employed more force than I then seemed willing to show; but, by the aid of the officers, the gentlemen were removed on board the 'San Jacinto,' where we made them very comfortable."

Commander Williams, of the Trent, made an earnest protest against the removal of the passengers, using the following language:

"In this ship, I am the representative of her Majesty's Government; and I call upon the officers of the ship, and the passengers generally, to mark my words, when, in the name of that Government, and in distinct language, I denounce this act as an illegal act—an act in violation of international law—an act, indeed, of wanton piracy, which, had we the means of defence, you would not dare to attempt."

The San Jacinto proceeded first to New York, and thence to Boston. When the news of the capture was received, the wildest excitement, mingled with anxiety, was manifested. The known sympathy of the English Government with the rebels, created the fear that trouble might grow out of it. The prisoners were confined in Fort Warren, to await the action of diplomacy. When the news reached England, great indignation was manifested by nearly all classes, and the press indulged in the bitterest and most unfriendly comments, characterizing it as a "most flagrant insult," that "a declaration of war against America, was considered a matter of course."

"The insult to the English flag was resented by high and low, rich and poor." The greatest military activity at once began in England, war vessels were immediately put in train, firearms, ordnance, and war-like stores, were put on ship-board in great haste. "Since the period of the Crimean war," said the London Post, the Military Store Keeper's Department, at the Royal Arsenal, in Woolwich, has not been so busily engaged, as during the present week." The Queen, by Royal
Proclamation, prohibited the export of gunpowder, saltpeter, and all military arms and stores. Large bodies of troops, and a number of war vessels were sent to Canada. A special dispatch was forwarded to Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, containing a formal demand for the surrender of the prisoners. The dispatch contained the following demand:

"The liberation of the four gentlemen, and their delivery to your lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed."

The whole subject was ably and elaborately discussed by Secretary Seward in his reply to Lord Russell's dispatch, and he proved conclusively and irrefutably, that the rebel commissioners and their dispatches were contraband of war, but that Capt. Wilkes committed an irregularity in not bringing the ship and all she bore into port for adjudication. That irregularity was, of course, fatal to the claim of holding the prisoners, and Secretary Seward therefore, concluded his dispatch as follows:

"The four persons in question are now held in military custody at Fort Warren, in the State of Massachusetts. They will be cheerfully liberated. Your lordship will please indicate a time and place for receiving them."

The rebel emissaries and their secretaries, were delivered on the 2d day of January, 1862, and placed on board the British war steamer Rinalgo, sent to receive them.

Anxious as Great Britain had shown herself to raise a quarrel with this country, and belligerent as had been her attitude when she first heard of the "outrage," the news of the delivery of the prisoners caused great rejoicing in England, which was indicated by the ringing of bells, announcements in theatres, and the expression of general satisfaction by the British press and people. The re-action clearly evinced that the
nation had expected war: and why? Was she conscious that her previous unfriendly course toward the North, had provoked it to warlike phrenzy? Her prompt preparation for war was certainly a strong evidence of it, and her joy, when the cloud had passed, proved that she dreaded, more than desired, the contest. The spirit of chivalry which she so promptly exhibited, cost her about two million dollars, and to a large extent the confidence and respect of the people of the North.

When the commissioners reached England, they were coldly received. No demonstrations were made on their arrival in London. Mr. Mason remained in England, while Mr. Slidell proceeded to Paris.

Earl Russell replied at length, on Jan. 22d, to the dispatch of Mr. Seward, in which, while satisfied with the mode of the surrender, he took issue with him on his view of international law, and asserted and attempted to prove, that the Commissioners and their dispatches were not "contraband of war." He said:

"It appears to her majesty's Government, to be a necessary and certain deduction from these principles, that the conveyance of public agents of this character, from Havana to St. Thomas, on their way to Great Britain and France, and of their credentials and dispatches, (if any), on board the Trent, was not and could not be a violation of the duties of neutrality on the part of that vessel, and, both for that reason, and also because the destination of these persons, and of their dispatches, was bona fide neutral, it is the judgment of her majesty's Government, clear and certain, they were not contraband!"

He came to the following conclusions:

"In view, therefore, of the erroneous principles asserted by Mr. Seward, and the consequences they involve, her majesty's Government think it necessary to declare that they would not acquiesce in the capture of any British merchant-ship in circumstances similar to those of the Trent, and that the fact
of its being brought before a prize-court, though it would alter
the character, would not diminish the gravity of the offence
against the law of nations which would thereby be committed."

The insurgents, who had been excessively jubilant over the
prospects that England would aid them in securing their in-
dependence, were much depressed by the pacific conclusion of
the controversy, and could console themselves in no other way
than by attributing the surrender to the cowardice of the North.
CHAPTER XVII.

THE BURNSIDE EXPEDITION—CAPTURE OF ROANOKE ISLAND—CAPTURE OF NEWBERN—CAPTURE OF FORT MACON.


The capture of Fort Henry, on the Tennessee river, by Com. Foote, occurred on the 6th of February, and that of Roanoke Island, on the coast of North Carolina, on the 7th, 8th and 9th of that month, by the combined land and naval forces, under Gen. Burnside and Com. Goldsborough. The results produced by those two victories were signally important. The former compelled the insurgents to evacuate Columbus and Bowling Green, in Kentucky, on which they had relied for a successful resistance to our forces, and the latter turned their lines, and compelled them to abandon their famous Manassas.

The fleet prepared for this expedition, consisted of one hundred and twenty-five vessels of all classes, thirty-one of which were armed gun-boats, carrying ninety-four guns,—the balance were transport and supply ships.

As this fleet was intended to operate in shallow water, it was therefore intended to use vessels of light draft, obtained
from the commercial marine, refitted for the special duty. Its organization was begun in November, and it was mainly fitted out from Annapolis, Maryland, and concentrated at Fortress Monroe. Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside was commander-in-chief of the expedition, and had a land force of about fourteen thousand men. The expedition, in honor of its commander, bore the common appellation of the "Burnside Expedition." It finally sailed from Fortress Monroe, on the 11th and 12th days of January.

Soon after its departure, a violent storm arose, and many of the transports turned back, fearful of their inability to ride out so furious a storm. The leading vessels of the fleet, however, reached Hatteras Inlet, on the 13th, and anchored within it. From that time until the 20th, the storm continued, some of the time with such awful violence as to threaten the entire destruction of the fleet, which was, in consequence,
widely scattered, some of the vessels lost, and others badly damaged.

During this long and terrible storm, the sufferings and anxieties of the officers and men, were most intense. The following is a graphic description of the storm on the 13th of January, and may serve as a specimen of the other days during which it continued:

"Day broke with a leaden sky, against which the angry, white-crested waves raced their mad career over the reefs of Cape Hatteras, that threw its headland oceanwards but eight miles distant. From our hurricane deck, fourteen steamers could be seen laboring to weather this storm point. How should we fare with our small-powered engine and cockleshell boat! Bravely we breasted on, staggering beneath the giant blows of each successive sea, our decks swept fore and aft, and all on board reeling from side to side like drunken men. One figure stood immovable, grasping by the bits, scanning the horizon for traces of ships, as we rose on each glittering mass of foam. It was the square, manly form of General Burnside, whose anxiety for the fate of his army was intense, many of the vessels on which the troops were embarked, being nothing more than huge top-hampered river steamers, with projecting guards, that would smash up like card-board, if fairly struck by a sea.

"At dark, all hands were startled by the report of a heavy gun, and on reaching the hurricane deck we saw a large brig drifting rapidly on to the bar. As it grew darker, and her outline became less defined, the excitement became intense. It was evident to all, she was in a most critical position, and every moment might be her last. Slowly the black hull rose and fell, each time gliding nearer and nearer to the vortex of white breakers, which, once amongst, nothing we might attempt, could save her. Suddenly a fringe of musketry fire surrounded her bulwarks, blue-lights were burnt in her tops,
and imagination brought us through the howling blasts, the despairing shrieks of the terrified soldiers crowding her decks. Volley after volley succeeded each other in rapid succession, and yet apparently we could not help her; none dared face the tempest, and, perhaps, share her doom. General Burnside boarded every steam-tug in the harbor; offered any reward, and also to go himself, but all held back. Were three hundred fellow-men to be launched into eternity, their death-cries in our ears, and yet no effort made to save them? Hurrah! one brave seaman volunteered to take his little steamer out. General Burnside jumped on board of her, but at the earnest entreaties of his friends, he delegated the honor of his position to a member of his staff.

"We anchored north of the Inlet, in company with three barks, three ships, a brig, and a dozen or more schooners. Here we lay, pitching and rolling, until Wednesday morning, when the wind died out, leaving a heavy ground-swell."

The ships that entered the Inlet could not be taken over what is called "The Bulkhead" during the storm, and being only partially protected from its fury, were more or less damaged by collision and by being grounded.

The 20th and 21st were comparatively calm, but on the 22d the storm re-commenced with increased fury. The fearful perils and terrible sufferings from it, can be properly depicted by those only, who saw and felt its unrelenting fury. We therefore transcribe such a description of the storm of the 23d:

"Twelve o'clock, and no sign of the gale abating. As far as the eye can discern through the drifting mist, the bay is one broad sheet of white foam, resembling a plain of newly-fallen snow. Dark clouds sweep down the north, and, with their murky edges, seem almost to touch the vessels' masts as they go careening by, casting their gloomy shadows over the fleet, which sways and staggers under the mighty storm. A single
person here and there appears on some vessel's deck, holding on by the rail or rigging, and a few scattering groups are seen pacing the beach, as if in search of shelter from the fury of the blast. The tents of the 24th Massachusetts, which were yesterday pitched upon the beach, have all been swept away, and the poor soldiers must have spent a fearful night, exposed to the peltings of the pitiless storm; and yet there is a worse night before them! Beyond, where their straggling forms are seen strolling on the beach, the billows of old Ocean break along the shore, tossing the spray from their snowy crests high into the air. It is a spectacle truly grand. Camps Wool and Winfield, as well as the Rhode Island Battery, whose unsheltered horses and men were only yesterday put down on the beach, suffered fearfully.

"General Burnside, who thus far has maintained his accustomed cheerfulness and resolution under all this load of responsibility, watches the careering storm from the deck of the Admiral, and seems weighed down with these accumulating misfortunes. His whole concern is for the army. Occasionally he is heard to exclaim in suppressed tones, 'This is terrible.' 'When will the storm abate?' 'The poor men, what will they do?' No one will wonder that such a man is beloved by his men. But he is not the Almighty, to say to the winds, 'Be still.' Nor a Moses, with power to smite the rock, and bid the waters gush forth to supply their wants. They must wait on Providence, whose ways are past finding out, and who 'doeth all things well.' The General says he rests in the assurance that some wise purpose will be accomplished by these strange adversities. We are, he says, as so many grains of sand in the hands of the Almighty. The condition of Napoleon before Moscow, or the old Massachusetts Governor at the siege of Louisborough, seem only fitting parallels to his situation. Yet he seems as strong-hearted as on the day on which he set sail from Annapolis. With such a leader, let
no one despair of the result. The heavens are only overcast —the sun has gone out.

"Friday, January 24th—Noon.—We have experienced a terrible night. The storm has made hoarse music among the iron cordage of the Admiral, which has continued to thump in her sandy bed until it seemed impossible for her to survive the gale. Yet she seems as staunch and tight now as ever. The storm is broken. It wound up in a grand chorus of thunder, last night, and rain that in its grandeur resembled Byron's storm among the Alps."

The furious wind and the cold blinding rain, continued through the 23d, 24th, and 25th, when there was a change, the wind abated, and the storm ceased, after having continued, with slight intermission, for thirteen days!

If the extreme anxieties and perils of the storm were over, the troublesome swash—"the bulkhead" was not yet passed, the ships were not yet in the Sound. Imposition and frauds had been practiced in the sale of the ships, and many were found of deeper draft, than had been stated on the affidavits of their venders, and much trouble was therefore experienced in getting them into the Sound. The long continued storm had made an unusually high tide, and thus facilitated and rendered practicable, what, otherwise might not have been possible. The work, however, was sufficiently advanced on the 26th, to justify the attempted execution of the object of the expedition—the capture of Roanoke Island.

All the advantages which the Government hoped to derive from a prompt movement and a surprise, were of course lost by the long detention at the Inlet; and the enemy had fully anticipated our advance, and had had ample time to prepare to meet it.

It was not until the 5th of February, that the fleet was ready to weigh anchor and sail for Roanoke Island. Here they expected to meet with strong resistance, in which they
were disappointed. They found strong and numerous defensive works, but brave and persistent defenders of those works were not to be found.

There were on the west side of the Island, next to the Croatan Sound, and up which the fleet ascended, four forts, one on the east side of the Island, and one near its centre. The latter was designed to protect the advance to the rebel camp, and where the principal contest ensued. Each fort had a casemate, and a furnace for heating shot.

All the forts mounted forty-two guns, and were defended by several thousand infantry,—the precise number has not been ascertained; in addition to which there was a co-operating rebel fleet of seven steamers, carrying sixteen guns.

On February 6th, the fleet arrived, and made satisfactory reconnoissances, and on the 7th, signals were made to "sail in," and the fleet advanced toward Fort Barton, a work mounting nine guns. At 11:45 A. M., the bombardment of this fort was begun, and continued with energy during the day. The enemy's barracks in the rear of this work were all burned with our shells, and the work itself so badly damaged, that it replied feebly and unfrequently.

While this bombardment was going on, General Burnside, aided by Generals Foster, Reno and Parke, division commanders, was completing his arrangements for landing the troops. Lieutenant Andrews, of the 9th New York, but acting as Gen. Burnside's aid, was sent with a boat to sound out a place to land. He took ten men from the 5th Rhode Island, who volunteered for the service, and pulling toward an opening on the shore of Roanoke Island, sounded out a good channel for the purpose. Just as the boat reached the shore, a squad of armed men sprang out of the tall grass which lined the bank, and leveling their pieces, fired. One of the balls struck Charles Visl, of Providence, Company E, in the chin, and lodged in the angle of his jaw. One shot passed through
another soldier's hat, and a third split the blade of an oar. One shot only was returned from the boat, and they pulled quickly out of range of the enemy's rifles. On reaching the Spaulding, the wounded man had the ball extracted.

The 51st regiment of New York, Col. Ferrero, was already on board of the Cadet, stern-wheel steamer, in charge of Captain Chambers, and by 4 o'clock was impatiently waiting orders from Gen. Foster to be permitted to land. The Massachusetts 21st, 23d, 25th, and the other regiments constituting Gen. Reno's Brigade, were also placed in launches, and on board of the Pilot Boy and Phœnix, which, with a long string of boats in tow, proceeded carefully toward the shore. A large rebel force now made their appearance, to contest the landing. At this juncture, the United States gun-boat Delaware ran down to the place, and threw a shower of shrapnel into the woods, which caused the rebels to beat a sudden retreat, and the landing was effected. The night proved to be rainy, with a cold north-east wind, to which the troops were exposed without any protection, and they passed a night of extreme suffering.

At half-past 7 o'clock A. M., General Foster advanced along the narrow road with the 23d, 25th, and 27th Massachusetts, 10th Connecticut, and the 5th Rhode Island battalion of General Parke's brigade. He carefully reconnoitered the road which swept round from the right of the open field to the left in a semi-circle. Gen. Reno brought up his brigade, consisting of the 21st Massachusetts, 51st New York, 9th New Jersey, and 51st Pennsylvania. The troops, in passing along this road, waded, at times, ankle deep in mud and water, and at no time were able to see over fifty yards ahead. Right and left of the road, the woods were very dense, a thick chapperel obscuring the view, and the whole way being a continuous swamp. A portion of the troops went on the double-quick, but the entire column were so packed into the narrow road-
way that their progress was slow and laborious. Skirmishers from the 15th Massachusetts were deployed to observe the first appearance of the enemy.

After progressing about two miles, they came to a clearing, about 8 o'clock, and here the rebel skirmishers opened fire in front from either side. The leading regiment, the 25th Massachusetts, was soon so fiercely assailed with shot and shell from a battery, as to be compelled to fall back to the cover of the wood. This, with the shouts of the rebels which followed it, produced temporary confusion, until the facts were known. This regiment, however, bravely withstood the enemy's fire, until their ammunition was exhausted, when they were replaced by the 10th Connecticut.

By this time, General Reno, with his command, had come up, and deployed to the left of the road; the 21st Massachusetts, 9th New York, and 51st New York, taking their way through a corner of the woods, in an oblique direction, to the battery, with the intention of turning its right flank. They here found themselves in a deep morass, up to their waists in water and mud, and compelled to cut away the tangled briars and chapperel with their swords.

The 10th Connecticut occupied the road; the 23d and 27th Massachusetts were skirmishing on the right, while the 51st Pennsylvania were held in reserve.

The four or five acres of clearing, directly around, and in front of the enemy's position, only afforded room for these regiments to manoeuvre. The whole appearance of the position showed that the rebels had no idea that any troops would be able to penetrate the cypress swamp in front of their lines.

Major Clark, about 11 o'clock, brought up the remaining companies of the 21st, and formed them in front of companies G and D, which had sustained the fire for over one hour. At this point, three companies of the 51st New York came up behind the 21st, and were led by Lieutenant-Colonel Potter
into the woods, and formed on the left. These were followed immediately by the remainder of the regiment under Colonel Ferrero. General Reno now came up to the front line with the greatest gallantry, and asked if the 21st Massachusetts would charge and take the battery. Major Clark responded, "Yes," and the order was given to charge. The troops now laid down on their faces, loaded, and prepared for the deadly onset. Anticipating the charge, the rebels now poured a gall- ing fire of musketry upon our exposed ranks, and swept their front with repeated charges of grape and canister. This last and most terrific discharge lasted five minutes, and swept like a whirlwind over our prostrate ranks, cutting off limbs of trees, overhead, and whizzing in most unpleasant proximity to the person of one of the reporters, who was striving to get a view of the field through the dense intervening forest. During all this time, General Reno stood erect upon a bog of grass, coolly surveying the effects of the leaden tempest as it swept by him. Colonel Charles L. Russell, of the 10th Connecticut, who had paused a moment to rest, here received a ball, which struck his sword belt, killing him instantly. It made no wound on his person. Lieutenant Josh. Goodwin, Jr., of the 23d Massachusetts, was shot in the breast, and fell cheering on his command.

The instant the rebels' fire slackened, our troops sprang forward with a bound, Major Clark and Lieutenant-Colonel Maggi, leading the 21st Massachusetts, and Colonel Ferrero the 51st New York. They charged around the right of the battery, and at the same instant, the left wing of the 9th New York, which had been skirmishing to the right, charged up the road in face of the works. The panic-stricken rebels, seeing themselves out-flanked, turned and fled in the greatest confusion, as the Union troops poured into their battery. The Zouaves went over the parapets and through the embrasures, while the 21st Massachusetts, and the 51st New York came in at
their right. The American color of the 51st New York was planted on the works, along with the colors of the 21st Massachusetts, and then such shouts as rent the air, sent up by the combined Union forces, never awakened such echoes before in the lonely forests of Roanoke. The day was ours.

Generals Foster and Parke took a survey of the rebel trophies, and while the troops were enjoying their triumph, and persons were gathering up relics from the field, Gen. Reno formed the troops of his brigade into line, and immediately started on the track of the retreating rebels. They had taken the main road toward the north end of the island, and all along their way were scattered equipments of every kind, arms, bowie-knives, blankets, provisions, and every article that could in any way impede their march. They had also carried along with them some of their wounded officers, as stretchers stained with blood were met with, from time to time, which had evidently contained the wounded. The 21st Massachusetts pushed on in advance, and as they came out upon the beach on Roanoke Sound, opposite Nag's Head, the rebels were seen retreating across in small boats. One small boat-load, with a sail-boat, had started with some thirty persons, among them Captain Smith and O. Jennings Wise, son of Ex-Governor Henry A. Wise, the latter wounded mortally. General Reno ordered five companies of the 21st Massachusetts to scour the beach, which they did, right and left. The boats were hailed, and ordered to return. On being threatened with a volley if they did not do so, they pulled back to the shore, and surrendered to Major Clark. Other retreating boats were fired upon, which refused to return. A contraband gave information that several rebels were concealed in a house near by, who were found and captured.

The surrender of the camp was immediately followed by that of the forts. The Union loss in killed and wounded, in this important victory, was greater than that of the rebels, as
the latter were protected by their fortifications. We lost fifty killed, and two hundred and twenty-two wounded; rebel loss, thirty killed and fifty wounded, and two thousand five hundred and twenty-seven prisoners. We captured six forts, forty-two heavy guns, three thousand stand of small arms, and a large supply of general military stores, besides the entire rebel fleet in these waters, comprising seven steamers, carrying sixteen guns.

On Sunday afternoon, Commodore Rowan, under orders from Goldsborough, started for Pasquotank river, where the rebel steamers had taken refuge, and on Monday morning came up with them lying just inside of Cobb's Point, on which a strong battery had been placed, in command of General Henningsen. The steamers were drawn up across the river in line of battle. Commander Rowan, with his thirteen steamers, run past the battery under a heavy fire, and with his flag-ship—the Commodore Perry—run down Lynch's vessel—the Sea Bird—sinking him instantly. Only one or two guns were fired. Meantime, Lieutenant Macdairmaid, in his vessel—the Ceres—made for another of the rebels—the Ellen—keeping his sharp-shooters in line on deck to drive the cannoniers from their guns. He boarded this steamer over the bows, chased the rebels overboard with hand-spikes, or knocked them down with the butt-end of their carbines, and took charge of the vessel. The Fanny was run ashore and burned, and one of the others retreated into the canal, where she would be destroyed. The people now set fire to the town, and part of it was destroyed. Only two or three on our side were killed, and a few wounded.

Although Port Royal was captured on the 7th of Nov., 1861, the expedition which it was intended to fit out from that point, for further operation upon the coast of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, was not ready to move until the 27th day of February following. It consisted of twenty war vessels, and
seven transports. The naval force was under the command of Com. Dupont, and the land force under Gen. Wright. The first point of destination was Fernandina, Florida, the first seaport of much consequence, south of Savannah. It is near the mouth of St. Mary's River, on Amelia Island. The approaches to the town were defended by Fort Clinch, a national fort, not completed when the rebels seized it in the spring of 1861. It is a heavy bastioned work of brick. The rebels had strengthened it, and had mounted in it, as was believed, some forty or fifty guns; one was a one hundred and twenty pounder rifled gun. Yet our fleet unexpectedly found not only the fort deserted, but other batteries, erected for the protection of the place, were also abandoned. No opposition was made to the occupation of the place, from which all but about sixty of the citizens had fled; those who remained, welcoming gladly the brave defenders of the old flag. Why the strong fortifications which had been erected here, should have been so sum-
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inarily abandoned, can only be accounted for, on the presump-
tion that the terrible destruction which the fleet had inflicted at
Port Royal, created such a dread that the rebels did not care
to have it repeated here.

Piloted by a negro, who was familiar with the tortuous wind-
ings of the river St. Marys, the gun-boat Ottawa successfully
moved through its difficult windings. The village of St. Marys,
Georgia, was occupied on the morning of the 5th of March,
and after passing, without opposition, some thirty miles above
the town of St. Mary's, the Ottawa returned to Fernandina
on the 7th. While returning, she ran aground, when, from
the adjacent woods, rebel riflemen fired upon her, by which
four of the men were wounded, but none dangerously.

Measures were now concerted to move upon Jacksonville,
the chief town of East Florida. The gun-boat Ottawa, and
the Pembina and Seneca, crossed the bar on the 10th of
March. Here, as at Fernandina, no opposition was made, and
the city was surrendered on our approach. Loyal sentiments
were very freely avowed by the people, and a meeting was
held, at which pointed resolutions were passed, looking to the
re-organization of a loyal State Government. General T. W.
Sherman issued a proclamation, declaring the purpose of the
Government in occupying the town, to be only to reclaim the
State from the grasp of the insurgents, and to restore it to
loyal obedience. But, the risks which attended the profession
of loyal sentiments were clearly shown in the case of the citi-
zens of Jacksonville. Soon after Gen. Hunter, who succeeded
Gen. Sherman, assumed command of the Department, the
Federal troops were withdrawn, and the secessionists again re-
turned and occupied the city. Those who had professed loy-
ality were unrelentingly persecuted, imprisoned, their property
confiscated, and many murdered. Many fled with the Union
forces, justly anticipating the cruelties to which they would
otherwise be exposed.
The town of Brunswick, Georgia, having one of the finest harbors on the coast, was also occupied without opposition, on the 13th of March, and although extensive and formidable works had been erected, to guard the approaches to it, they were all abandoned, and the town passively surrendered.

San Augustine, Florida, was also surrendered without opposition, on the 11th of March. This is an old Spanish town, containing about two thousand inhabitants. It has a very salubrious climate, and has been a place of great resort for northern health seekers. Fort Macon commands its harbor, an old and substantial fort. Most of the armament had been removed, by the rebels, before it was surrendered.

Musquito Inlet, fifty-one miles south of San Augustine, was believed to be an avenue through which the rebels introduced arms, and carried on a general contraband trade. The Penguin and the Henry Andrew, were dispatched, soon after the occupation of San Augustine, to reconnoitre this Inlet. On returning from a boat expedition, Lieut. Commanding Budd, and acting master Mather, with five men, landed at some apparently abandoned earth-works. From those, and the adjoining forest, an unexpected fire was opened upon them, killing the two officers named, and three of the men; the two others were wounded and made prisoners. The rebels abandoned the works on the appearance of Federal re-enforcements. On March 25th, the rebel works, on Skidaway Island, in Wilmington river, were destroyed, and all that was combustible burned.

Thus, in about two weeks, and without loss of life, this expedition had taken possession of Fernandina, St. Mary's, Brunswick, Jacksonville, and San Augustine.

Preparations for an expedition against the city of Newbern, North Carolina, began, very soon after the capture of Roanoke Island. Those preparations were completed, and the expedition sailed on the 12th of March.
Newbern is a port of entry, and the former capital of the State. It contains a population of about six thousand, is a healthy and pleasant city, and the second in the State, in size and commercial importance. It is situated at the confluence of the Trent and Neuse rivers; the former is three-fourths of a mile, and the latter one and one half mile in breadth, and navigable for large vessels. It is forty-seven miles from Pamlico Sound, and has a railroad communication with the Atlantic.

The expedition comprised a naval force under Com. Rowan, and a land force of 8,000 men, under Gen. Burnside. The point selected for the landing of the troops was the mouth of Slocum Creek, twelve miles by water and seventeen by land, below Newbern. The landing was effected on the morning of the 14th of March, with the utmost spirit and enthusiasm; and the line of march taken up for the point of attack. The road was a difficult one, and, for the heavily-laden troops, the march was severe; yet never were toils and difficulties met and overcome with more energy and alacrity. The day proved to be rainy, yet the long and comfortless march was cheerfully performed.

The road ran within shelling distance from the river. As the army advanced along the road, the flotilla ascended the river. Both were obstructed by heavy batteries; and besides the strong forts and shore batteries commanding the river, it had been obstructed about six miles below the city, by sinking in the channel over twenty schooners. The fleet, as it proceeded, silenced the several batteries, and passed, without material injury, through the channel obstructions.

The land force continued its march during the day, with no incidents worthy of special mention, except the discovery of a hastily abandoned camp, and a partially finished and deserted breast-work of the enemy, of a half a mile in extent. At eight o'clock in the morning, the enemy's pickets were discovered, and it was decided to bivouac for the night.
At seven and a half o'clock on the following morning, sharp firing in front, indicated that our skirmishers had encountered the enemy. The several divisions were rapidly formed, and marched to the attack. Gen. Burnside rode forward, when a shell from the enemy's breast-work, struck within ten feet of him, but did not explode; yet the party were covered with mud.

"The engagement regularly opened about eight o'clock, when the 1st brigade bore the brunt of the battle. General Foster rode fearlessly along, giving his orders, and was several times exposed to the hottest of the fire. His aids too, shared the danger, and one of them, Lieutenant Pendleton, narrowly escaped injury, if not death, from a bullet which passed through his coat sleeves, just grazing the arm. The Massachusetts 24th, on the right, had soon to regret the wounding of two of their officers, Major Stevenson and Adjutant Horton, the former by a ball in the leg, the latter by a ball in the shoulder. Early in the engagement, the Massachusetts 23d lost Lieutenant Colonel Murritt, who was struck by a cannon ball, which carried away one side of his body and lacerated his form in a horrible manner. The proportion of officers killed and wounded, during the entire fight, was quite large. The 27th Massachusetts seemed, for some reason, to be more exposed to the fire of the enemy, and with ammunition expended, and a large loss, were withdrawn. The 10th Connecticut, until now in reserve, was ordered to their support, and as they fell back, took their place; moving to the front with great alacrity, and opening fire with vigor. The 10th was finally compelled to retire, through want of ammunition, and the 11th Connecticut took their place. To the 1st brigade belongs the credit of having so gallantly and attentively engaged the battery, while the 2d and 3d, executed the brilliant manoeuvre of flanking the enemy's right.

"When it became evident that the 1st brigade was capable
of carrying on the fight in front, the 3d, which had been supporting it, was ordered, with the exception of the 11th Connecticut, to support the 2d, in the flank movement. Accordingly, the 8th Connecticut, 4th Rhode Island, and 5th Rhode Island regiments, withdrew a short distance into the woods, and, defiling to the left, came out upon the rail road, and going forward, came in the rear of the 3d brigade.

"This portion of the field of operations was immediately under the command of General Reno, and to him was allotted the task of the flank movement, already referred to, and which he so brilliantly and successfully accomplished.

"It may be well here to state, that when the idea of flanking was entertained, it was not known that the line of intrenchment extended beyond, or if it did, much beyond the rail road. When the troops attempted the movement, consequently, of getting in the rear, they discovered not the mere obstacle of swamp or marsh, but also of a series of redoubts and rifle pits, which defended the immediate vicinity of the track. Our attack in front had so far been confined to the right, near the river, where one of the water batteries had reversed its guns, and was assisting in the defence of the breast-work by an enfilading, or, more properly, diagonal fire upon our troops. The great body of the enemy was consequently here posted, and the flank movement came near resulting in a perfect surprise, though they rapidly re-enforced the redoubts, as soon as they discovered the approach on that side.

"Having drawn out in line of battle, the 2d brigade returned the fire of the enemy vigorously, who, from the rifle pits, and behind the screening edges of the redoubts, were picking off our men with deadly certainty at every shot. But we have to boast of our sharp-shooters also, as many a rebel in the same rifle pits and behind the intrenchments, whose death-wound was in the head, amply testified.
"At last, the word was given to charge, and the Massachusetts 21st, which was on the left, succeeded in getting four companies within the enemy's position. The New York 51st, which was on the right of the Massachusetts 21st, supported the movement, while the 9th New Jersey, 51st Pennsylvania, 8th Connecticut, and 4th and 5th Rhode Island, assailed the work at various points. The four companies of the Massachusetts 21st, were far in advance of the others in the intrenchment, and, driving the rebels before them, had attempted to reverse the guns, when they were repulsed by a strong re-enforcement of the enemy, who suddenly charged from a little ravine or hollow just in the rear, and with their overwhelming numbers drove them out, making a few prisoners. Our repulse was but momentary. Re-forming, the Massachusetts 21st, New York 51st, 4th Rhode Island, and the 9th New Jersey, with the 5th Rhode Island in reserve, returned to the assault, and, after another gallant charge, another desperate resistance of the enemy, a hand to hand contest over the ramparts of the intrenchment, in which our forces at one time actually reversed its purpose, and used it as a breast-work for their own protection, while they kept the rebels at bay inside, they drove the enemy out, and, at the point of the bayonet, chased them back out of sight. The victory was won, with the loss of nearly seventy killed, and two hundred and fifty wounded—a heavy one, when it is taken into consideration, that of the two brigades, only six regiments and one battalion were engaged. The fire of the enemy was terrific, and embraced all the varieties of missile. Gen. Reno and Gen. Parke, admirably conducted the whole manœuvreing, and with their aids and staff were exposed to no inconsiderable danger.

"When the word to charge was given on the left, the cheers with which it was received, were heard over on the right, and instantly the 1st brigade emerged from its position along the edge of the woods, and dashing across the fields, assailed the
enemy at the very muzzles of their guns. But the retreat of the forces on their flank, had inspired all with a panic, and they most ingloriously fled, leaving their cannon unspiked, a number of horses, the caissons, and the unexpended ammunition. They contrived, however, to bear off the greater portion of their killed and wounded, so that it is impossible to form an approximate estimate of their loss, though it cannot fall far short of our own."

Gen. Burnside, in his official report, thus speaks of the battle and the victory:

"After an engagement of four hours, we succeeded in carrying a continuous line of field works, of over a mile in length, protected on the river bank by a battery of thirteen heavy guns, and on the opposite bank by a line of redoubts of over half a mile in length, for riflemen and field pieces, in the midst of swamps and dense forests, which line of works was defended by eight regiments of infantry, five hundred cavalry, and three batteries of field artillery of six guns each. The position was finally carried by a most gallant charge of our men, which enabled us to gain the rear of all the batteries between this point and Newbern, which was done by a rapid advance of the entire force up the main road and the rail road, the naval fleet meantime pushing its way up the river, throwing their shots into the forts and in front of us.

"The enemy, after retreating in great confusion, throwing away blankets, knapsacks, arms, &c., across the rail road bridge and country road, burned the former, and destroyed the draw of the latter, thus preventing further pursuit, and causing detention in occupying the town by our military force; but the naval force had arrived at the wharves, and commanded it by their guns. I at once advanced Gen. Foster's brigade to take possession of the town by means of the naval vessels which Com. Rowan had kindly volunteered for the purpose. The city was set on fire by the retreating rebels in
many places; but, owing to the exertions of the naval officers, the remaining citizens were induced to aid in extinguishing the flames, so that but little harm has been done. Many of the citizens are now returning, and we are now in quiet possession of the city. We have captured the printing press, and shall at once issue a daily sheet. By this victory, our combined forces have captured eight batteries, containing forty-six heavy guns and three batteries of light artillery of six guns each, making in all sixty-four guns; two steamboats, a number of sailing vessels, wagons, horses, a large quantity of ammunition, commissary and quarter-master's stores, forage, the entire camp equipage of the rebel troops, a large quantity of rosin, turpentine, cotton, &c., and over two hundred prisoners.

“Our loss, thus far ascertained, will amount to ninety-one killed and four hundred and sixty-six wounded, many of them mortally. Among these, are some of our most gallant officers and men. The rebel loss is severe, but not so great as our own, they being effectually covered by their works.”

The defeat at Newbern added another and an important link to the long chain of rebel reverses, commencing with the battle of Mill Spring. Our unbroken successes in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, and all along the sea border to Florida, were peculiarly cheering to the friends of the Union, and disheartening to the insurgents.

The possession of Newbern placed our forces in the rear of Beaufort, and paved the way for the possession of that city, and of the important fortress of Fort Macon, which guards its water approaches.

An expedition, under the command of Com. Rowan, proceeded, on the 20th of March, to Washington, a fine village on the Tar River, near its entrance into the Pamlico. The river had been obstructed by spiles, but the fleet forced its way through them; and the batteries which had been erected to
defend the river, were found deserted. No opposition was made to the Union force. Much abandoned rebel property had been destroyed by the inhabitants, and a decided Union feeling was manifested.

On the 20th of March, an expedition designed for the capture of Beaufort, consisting of the 3d brigade, under the command of Gen. Parker, left Newbern for that purpose. On the 23d, the army had reached Morehead City, without opposition, and which they found evacuated. That place is about equidistant from Fort Macon and Beaufort, and less than one and a half miles from either point. A flag of truce was sent over to the fort, and its surrender demanded, but it was refused. Beaufort also was abandoned by the rebels; so the next important work in hand, was to proceed with the preparations for the reduction of the fort.

Its position is on a high bluff, and completely commands the channel. Its armament consisted of eighty-nine guns, and its war garrison of three hundred men. It was a new and strong fort, only completed in 1860.

A landing of the force destined to operate against the fort was made upon Bouge Island. The peculiar formation of the surface of this Island, was very favorable for the protection of the men while engaged in the erection of batteries, being composed of a series of sand hills, up to within about one half mile of the fort. The pickets of the enemy were driven in on the 11th of April, and positions selected for the erection of the batteries, and the work was afterwards steadily prosecuted, night and day. The men thus employed slept on the sand, for no tents were allowed, as they would indicate to the enemy the true position of the working parties. The work was carried on under a nearly continuous fire from the enemy, the only protection from which were the sand hills and their own earth-works. In the works thus erected, were finally mounted four ten inch mortars, within fourteen hundred yards
of the fort, three long thirty-two pound siege parrott guns at thirteen hundred yards, and four eight-inch mortars at twelve hundred yards.

On the 24th, Gen. Burnside arrived from Newbern. He brought up two barges, each armed with two thirty-two pound parrott guns. These were anchored three miles below the fort. Everything was now ready, and the surrender of the fort was formally demanded, and refused.

Early on the following morning, the bombardment began. After a short practice, a very accurate range was obtained. The destructive conical balls from the parrott guns were very accurate in their range, and terribly destructive in their effects. They pierced the strong walls of the fort in two places, and speedily emptied the casemates of their occupants. So severe was the effect, that fifteen of the enemy's guns were soon dismounted. The fire of the fort gradually slackened, evincing the telling effect of our fire. Those in charge of the Federal batteries, were engaged for the first time in the earnest duties of war, but they equaled in efficiency and bravery the oldest veterans. Special commendations were bestowed upon the company of the 3d N. Y. Artillery under command of Capt. Ammon, for their cool and unflinching bravery under this, their first experience under fire.

At half-past four p. m., a white flag was run up, negotiations ensued, and the fort and all its contents were surrendered. The officers and men were paroled. The garrison consisted of about four hundred and fifty men, exclusive of officers. In the fort were found twenty thousand pounds of powder, and other munitions in proportion, besides a large quantity of provisions. The rebel loss was seven killed and eighteen wounded. Union loss, one killed and three wounded.
CHAPTER XVIII.
THE MERRIMAC AND MONITOR.

Description of the Merrimac — Appearance in Hampton Roads — Attack upon the Cumberland and Congress — Description of the Scene — The Excitement — Arrival of the Monitor: — Description — Re-appearance of the Merrimac — The Fight with the Monitor — The Merrimac Retires — Importance of the Contest — Destruction of the Merrimac.

The contest with the rebels has developed the fact, that in the arts and implements of war, as well as in those of peace, American enterprise and invention occupy the front rank. This was conclusively exhibited in the naval contest in Hampton Roads, between the rebel iron-plated steamer Merrimac — by them called the Virginia — and the American iron-clad ship, the Monitor.

This important combat excited at the time the most intense interest, and its results are likely to effect an important revolution in naval warfare.

The Merrimac was originally a first-class steam sloop-of-war, of thirty-two hundred tons measurement, and carried forty guns. When the Government was obliged to abandon the Norfolk Navy Yard, early in the rebellion, this ship, with others, was scuttled and sunk. The rebels, however, raised and placed her in the dry dock. They proceeded to convert her into an iron-clad war vessel. They covered her with an inclined roof of rail road iron, and protected every exposed part of the ship in a similar manner, and prefixed to her bow an immense iron ram. This additional weight made them much trouble in the dry dock; and the effort to launch her,
was attended with great difficulty and delay. When finally launched, a miscalculation was apparent, for the ship drew four feet more water than before, and was again put into the dock, in which she was so strained that it was thought she could never be made sea-worthy. She was, however, launched, yet the rebel papers of Norfolk and Richmond gave out that she was a failure, and our naval authorities regarded her with relative indifference. They had, however, hastened the construction of the Monitor, that she might be ready to meet the rebel monster, should she make her appearance; and at the very hour when the terrible scenes were enacting which we are about to describe, she was nearing the theatre of the combat, and the little David was soon to be matched with the giant Goliath.

On the 8th of March, a little after twelve o'clock, the Merrimac, in company with the Yorktown and Jamestown, and several gun-boats, was seen to leave Craney Island, and proceed towards Sewell's Point. After some manoeuvres, she made her way toward the positions occupied by two old sailing war vessels, the Congress and the Cumberland, and as it was calm, they could not get out of her way. She passed within three hundred yards of the Congress, into which she poured a shower of shot, and made directly for the Cumberland, into which she first fired her two bow guns, and then plunged her ponderous iron prow into the sides of the fated ship, firing her broadside meanwhile at the Congress, and her bow guns at the Cumberland. She drew back sufficiently to attain the full momentum of her tremendous weight, and again plunged her prow into the Cumberland. The rebel steamers Yorktown and Jamestown, were meantime lending their aid, and were firing upon the Congress. The latter vessel, in attempting to run in shore, grounded.

The Merrimac having completed her horrid work on the Cumberland, turned her attention to the Congress, taking her
position within one hundred and fifty yards of her stern, and where only two of the guns of the Congress could be brought to bear on her, and poured in broadside after broadside from her ponderous guns. The following description, by one of its officers, of the scene on board the Congress, will show the terrible position in which that ship, and its officers and crew, were placed:

"The second shot came into the stern while Capt. McIntire and myself were in the Captain's cabin, firing from Sharp's rifles into the port-holes of the Merrimac. The ball passed between the Captain and myself, killing a marine who was also there, knocking the Captain down, and knocking me against the door of the pantry. The stove was knocked over, and everything inside broken up. The ball passed along the spar-deck, killing Mr. Thomas Moore, acting Master. We carried the marine below, and got a pail of water and put out the cabin fire, and went to work again, firing rifles out of the hole the ball made. After exhausting my supply, I went outside, and Mr. Pendergrast asked me, 'Where is Mr. Smith?' I did not know, and I went to look for him, the balls still whistling around me and mowing their way through the ship, fore and aft. Mr. Smith's cap was found by Master's Mate Baury, all torn up, and his body was found soon after. We still fought them as well as we could with the two stern chasers, but finding that resistance was useless, we struck our colors at a quarter to four o'clock. The rebel boat Beaufort came along side of us, and said, 'the officers are prisoners, and send the crew ashore;' and waited to burn the ship. The executive officer of the Congress demurred to the burning of the ship before the wounded and crew were on shore, and said he should'nt do it. The ship had then been on fire about an hour. The Indiana 21st regiment were on the sandy beach of the shore, and sending rifle balls thick and fast on the rebel boat; some also hitting our men. The rebel officer a
Midshipman, ordered some of the crew on board, and I presume about fifty got on her, but subsequently jumped off and got on the ship again. I then went below to pack up my things — expecting to be a prisoner of war — had them brought on deck, but the rebel was compelled to draw off, in consequence of rifle balls from shore.

"The Merrimac, after the Beaufort left us, poured in another broadside, killing eight or ten men. I then went below to get the company rolls, and had to wade in blood and water ankle deep, to get to the room in which those books were. I found it full of smoke, and considerably broken up, and everything knocked to pieces. I began to feel along the floor for the roll books, when a shell burst in the cock-pit, the pieces flying around like hail. The partition between the rooms, and pieces of furniture, chairs, bureau, &c., broken up by the force of the explosion, completely covered me, but I finally succeeded in getting out with what I went after."

Lieutenant Pendergrast states:

"Seeing that our men were being killed, without the prospect of any relief from the Minnesota, which vessel had run ashore in attempting to get up to us from Hampton Roads, not being able to get a single gun to bear upon the enemy, and the ship being on fire in several places, upon consultation with Commander William Smith, we deemed it proper to haul down our colors, without any further loss of life on our part. We were soon boarded by an officer of the Merrimac, who said he would take charge of the ship. He left shortly afterward, and a small tug came alongside, whose captain demanded that we should surrender and get out of the ship, as he intended to burn her immediately. A sharp fire with muskets and artillery was maintained from our troops ashore upon the tug, having the effect of driving her off. The Merrimac again opened upon us, although we had a peak to show that we were out of action. After having fired several shells into us, she left
SINKING OF THE CUMBERLAND.

us and engaged the Minnesota and the shore batteries, after which, the wounded were taken ashore in small boats, the ship having been on fire from the beginning of the action, from hot shot fired by the Merrimac.

The Cumberland commenced sinking soon after the second blow was given her. Before the frigate had entirely sunk, they continued to work every gun above the water line. One of her after-guns was discharged at the enemy as she was actually going down, prow foremost. She sunk in about forty-two feet of water. There is scarcely an instance in the war, of more desperate and devoted spirit than that shown by the crew of the Cumberland. She sunk very slowly. There was no effort to escape, no rush to the boats, not a sign of surrender, and, as she settled, her guns were sullenly fought to the last moment, and the national ensign still floated defiantly from its staff.

The U. S. steam frigate Minnesota, in attempting to come to the relief of the Congress and Cumberland, grounded; and under the peculiar circumstances of the first day's fight, it probably saved that vessel from sharing the fate of her comrades; for where she lay, the Merrimac could not come nearer than one mile of her, and the fire of the former was so inaccurate, that but one of her shots hit the Minnesota. The rebel steamers Yorktown and Jamestown, however, took such position as to escape the sweep of most of the guns of the Minnesota, and several of their shots took effect upon her. They continued the fire upon the Minnesota about three hours, when they all withdrew towards Norfolk.

Thus ended the first day's fight. The day closed, indeed, with sadness in the hearts of our officers, besides having the fact resting on their minds that the hostile machine, that had just made such murderous work, had only retired, apparently to recruit itself, and then return to complete the destruction she had commenced, having the sailing vessels here at her
ERRICSSON,
The Inventor of the Monitor.
mercy. While despondency settled on many brows, and conjectures were rife as to where the Merrimac would direct her attention the next day, a gleam of hope arose. At eight o'clock in the evening, a bright, movable light, was discovered seaward, coming from the direction of Cape Charles light. It being known that the Ericsson battery had left New York a few days previous, surmises were rife that this light might proceed from her deck. The best night telescopes were brought into requisition, and in less than half an hour after it first hove in sight, the fact was circulated that the Ericsson battery was coming up the Roads. The news spread like wild-fire; the ramparts in the fort were soon lined with troops. At nine o'clock, the Monitor anchored off Fortress Monroe. Lieutenant Commanding Worden immediately reported to flag officer Marston, and subsequently to General Wool. It was at once determined by those officers, to send the battery to Newport News, to protect that port, also to defend the Minnesota, which was still on shore. Before she started, an additional supply of ammunition was placed on board, and at half-past eleven o'clock the Monitor went on her mission, to await the appearance of things the following day. The arrival of the Monitor was, indeed, providential.”

In July, 1862, Congress appropriated one million five hundred thousand dollars for the construction of iron clad vessels for the Federal Navy; and Capt. John Ericsson proposed to build a vessel in one hundred working days, that should be impervious to the shots of the enemy of any weight or range, for two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. His plans were accepted, and a contract entered into for its construction.

The committee say in their report:

“We recommend that an experiment be made with one battery of this description, on the terms proposed, with a guarantee and forfeiture, in case of failure in any of the properties and points of the vessel, as proposed.
"Price, two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars; length of vessel, one hundred and seventy-two feet; breadth of beam, forty-one feet; depth of hold, eleven and a half feet; time, one hundred days; draught of water, ten feet; displacement, one thousand two hundred and fifty-five tons; speed per hour, nine statute miles."

The inventor gave to his vessel the name of "Monitor," because it would teach the leaders of the rebellion, that their river and coast batteries could not retard the progress of the Union navy, and the naval constructors of the world, that their formidable and costly iron clad vessels, would meet a stern competition in their latest "Yankee Notion." But we will return to her maiden exploit.

On the following morning, Sunday, March 9th, at about half-past six o'clock, the haze cleared away, and the terrible Merrimac, with her consorts, Yorktown and Patrick Henry, were seen stationary near Sewell's Point, with steam up, and evidently ready for another assault. They had made a trial excursion, and the result must have gratified them.
"The rebel craft seemed deliberating what to do—whether to move on to attempt the destruction of the Minnesota, which was yet aground, or move on to the Union fleet, anchored near the Rip Raps. The appearance of the Merrimac, on this second visit, caused great precipitation in the removal of our transport fleet, to a safe harbor, a mile or two up the Chesapeake Bay. At seven A. M., a plan seemed to have been adopted, and the Merrimac steamed in the direction of the Minnesota, which was still aground. The Yorktown and Jamestown were crowded with troops, and steamed slowly after the Merrimac. The plan of the latter seemed to be to destroy the Minnesota, and then proceed to shell out the Union camp at Newport News, and land and take possession of the Union camp, with their own troops. The Merrimac steamed along with boldness, until she was within three miles of the Minnesota, when the Monitor emerged from behind the latter, and proceeded towards the Merrimac. At first, the rebel craft seemed non-plussed, and hesitated, no doubt, in wonderment, at the queer looking machine approaching her. The Merrimac then closed the distance between her and the Monitor, until they were within a mile of each other. Both batteries stopped. The Merrimac fired a shot at the Minnesota, to which no reply was made. The rebel craft then fired at the Monitor; the latter replied, hitting the Merrimac near the water line. The Merrimac then commenced firing very rapidly, first from her stern gun at the Monitor, and then her broadside guns, occasionally firing a shot at the Minnesota. The fight went on in this way for an hour or two, both vessels exchanging shots pretty freely. Sometimes the Merrimac would retire, followed by the Monitor, and vice versa. While the fight between the batteries was going on, one hundred solid nine-inch shot were sent up from Fortress Monroe, on the steamear Rancocas to the Minnesota. At a quarter past ten o'clock, the Merrimac and Monitor had come into pretty close quarters, the former giving
the latter two broadsides in succession. They were promptly replied to by the Monitor. The firing was so rapid that both craft were obscured in columns of white smoke. The ram-parts of the fort, the rigging of the vessels in port, the houses and the bend were all crowded with sailors, soldiers and civilians. When the rapid firing alluded to took place, these spectators were singularly silent, as if doubtful as to the result. Their impatience was soon removed by the full figure of the Monitor, with the stars and stripes flying at her stern, steaming around the Merrimac, moving with the ease of a duck on the water. The distance between the vessels was forty feet. In this circuit the Monitor's guns were not idle, as she fired shot after shot into her antagonist, two of which, it is alleged, penetrated the Merrimac's sides.

"At eleven A.M., the Minnesota opened fire, and assisted the Monitor in engaging the Merrimac. She fired nine-inch solid shot with good accuracy, but with apparently little effect. The Merrimac returned the fire, firing shell; one of which struck and exploded the boiler of the gun-boat Dragon, which was alongside the Minnesota, endeavoring to get her off. For the next hour, the battle raged fiercely between the Merrimac on the rebel side, and the Union vessels, the Monitor, Minnesota, and Whitehall, but with no particular result. The Minnesota being the best mark for the Merrimac, the latter fired at her frequently, alternately giving the Monitor a shot. The Merrimac made several attempts to run at full speed past the Monitor, to attack and run down the Minnesota. All these attempts were parried, as it were, by the Monitor. In one of these attempts by the Merrimac, she ran her plough or ram with full force against the side of the Monitor; but it only had the effect of careening the latter vessel in a slight degree. The rebel boats Yorktown and Patrick Henry, kept at a safe distance from the Monitor. The former vessel at the beginning of the fight, had the temerity to come within
respectable range of the Monitor, when the latter fired one shot at her, entering her pilot house, carrying it away, and, no doubt, killing a number of rebels. She retired out of range.

The fight raged hotly on both sides, the opposing batteries moving around each other with the skill, ease and dexterity of expert pugilists. The Merrimac, though the strongest, did not move with the dexterity of her antagonist; hence the Monitor had the advantage of taking choice of position. At a quarter before twelve o'clock, noon, Lieutenant Hepburn, the signal officer on the ramparts at Fortress Monroe, reported to Gen. Wool that the Monitor had pierced the sides of the Merrimac, and in a few minutes the latter was in full retreat, heading for Sewell's Point, and chased for a few minutes by the Monitor. The Merrimac had evidently suffered to some extent, and it was thought at one time that she was sinking. After she got safely under the guns of the rebel battery at Sewell's Point, she stopped and signaled for help from her onsorts, who were beating a retreat. Subsequently two tug-boats, or gun-boats, went alongside and took her in tow, and proceeded to Norfolk. This ended the engagement.

Lieutenant Worden was in the pilot house, when it was struck by a broadside from the Merrimac, and the concussion drove particles of dust into his eyes, from the effect of which it was feared he would lose his sight. Though they were severely injured by the cause stated, yet he afterwards recovered his vision, and had command of a monitor in the expedition against Charleston.

Thus terminated this novel, and singularly important naval engagement, in which were evolved new and startling principles in naval warfare, which, as soon as known, arrested the attention of the maratime nations of Europe. In the English and French dock-yards, the work upon their wooden and iron ships was at once arrested, and investigations commenced to test the utility of the Yankee notion.
Throughout the North, one burst of wild enthusiastic delight bore testimony at once, to the terror which the first day's operation of the Merrimac had inspired, and to the gratitude and joy felt for the miraculous deliverance. The name and fame of Ericsson were gratefully cherished by thankful millions, who felt that his genius had saved the nation from a dire calamity.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of the mischief which the Merrimac might have done, had her career not been arrested by the timely appearance of the Monitor. The former vessel had shown her invulnerability to our shots on the 8th, the terrific force of her guns, and her irresistible power as a ram. But for the Monitor, we had nothing to check her career; and had she proven sea-worthy, our navy and our cities would have been completely at her mercy.

Her success might have given an entirely new turn to the contest, and arrested the victorious onsets of our fleets upon the rebel coast; and, when aided, as in case of success she doubtless would have been, by the formidable iron batteries then preparing in New Orleans, who can over-estimate the importance to us, of the possession at that time of the Monitor? A favoring Providence, guiding American genius, saved us, and for which a nation's gratitude and thanks were spontaneously rendered.

The Merrimac was so seriously injured in her conflict with the Monitor, as to require some time for repairs, and the lesson taught by the "Monitor" compelled the rebels to add farther and stronger mail to certain portions of the vessel. In this, many weeks were spent.

In the meantime the Government was not idle. The Naugatuck and Galena, new iron clad vessels, had been completed, and were in readiness to join in any new combat. The large and fast steamer, Vanderbilt, had been fitted with ponderous iron prows, and so mailed, that she could be safely used as a
ram. The Minnesota had been put in complete trim for the service, and the re-appearance of the Merrimac, was waited for with constant and eager interest. She, however, aware of the formidable preparations made for her reception, and conscious, no doubt, of her inability to cope with it, contented herself, after she had been fully re-fitted, with lying under the guns of the batteries, and occasionally moving out, as a blind, to keep up the impression that she meditated a new attack. Her only purpose now, was to blockade James river, and prevent the ascent of our fleet, to co-operate with the army of Gen. McClellan, in its movements before Yorktown and on the peninsula. This she continued to do, until the decision was made by the rebels to abandon Norfolk, when it was concluded to run her up the river, as far as possible, for the defense of Richmond. Com. Tatnall states that he was deceived by the pilot as to the depth of water; and after so lighting the ship as to raise her unprotected hull out of the water, and thus to render her unfit for action, the pilot informed him that the westerly wind had so lowered the water in the river, that the ship could not then be taken up, as he had intended. The nearness of our fleet decided the Commodore to blow up the vessel, which he proceeded to do. The ship was, therefore, run near the mainland off Craney Island, the crew put on shore, and the vessel fired, a little before five o'clock on the morning of the 11th of May, and after burning for nearly an hour, blew up. Such, in brief, is the statement of the rebel, Com. Tatnall, of the reasons which induced him to destroy the ship. The reader will give them all the weight to which they are properly entitled; remembering, that if not blown up, her capture was certain, and the reasons assigned for her destruction, if not the true ones, are certainly ingenious. Though the terror excited by her first fearful visit had subsided, and the fullest confidence was felt that the preparations made by the Government for her
capture and destruction were ample and certain to effect it, yet, when the fact of her destruction became known, there was an evident feeling of relief and gratification. The Monitor foundered at sea early in January, 1863, in a furious gale off Hatteras, being so strained as to sprinkle a leak. The experiment had proved entirely successful, so far as regarded her efficiency as a battery, but her construction as a sea-going vessel was faulty—a defect which was early seen, and corrected in the other iron-clads, subsequently constructed.
CHAPTER XIX.

SHIP ISLAND EXPEDITION—FORT PICKENS—THE FRENCH LADY—GALVESTON—CAPTURE OF FORT PULASKI—CAPTURE OF NEW ORLEANS.


Ship Island, sixty miles from New Orleans, is one of a series of islands forming the southern boundary of Mississippi Sound, an interior communication between Mobile and New Orleans. On the island is found excellent water, and timber and grass on portions of it. The fort and light-house on the island, were destroyed by the Confederates, who, however, commenced fortifications early in July, and held possession of it until the 16th of September, when, under the impression of an attack in force, they abandoned the island. A Federal force was landed upon it on the 17th, by which it was afterwards held. The expedition for the capture of the island, was projected soon after Gen. Butler's return from Hatteras, but owing to differences between him and Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, respecting the appointment of field officers, in the regiments which the former was authorized to raise in that State, the first body of troops for it did not leave Boston until Nov. 19th. The force comprised two regiments of in-
fantry and a battery of artillery, and was commanded by Brig. Gen. John W. Phelps. He proceeded to Fortress Monroe, whence he sailed for Ship Island on the 27th of Nov., and arrived there on Dec. 3d, and occupied the island. He issued a long and an injudicious proclamation, the only effect of which was to create exasperation, as he had no foot-hold upon the main land, and could give no practical effect to his theories. Gen. Butler, the commander of the expedition, had not yet arrived. Additional forces were afterwards sent thither, and the object of the expedition was shown to be one of the steps to the investment and capture of New Orleans.

Porter's Mortar Fleet, so called in honor of its projector and commander, Com. Porter, was fitted out at Brooklyn Navy Yard. It consisted of twenty strong schooners, of from two to three hundred tons, re-fitted for the particular service. Each schooner carried a single mortar, weighing eight and one-half tons. The length of the bore was three feet three inches, and the diameter fifteen inches; the empty shells weighed two hundred and twelve pounds. Each schooner also carried two rifled thirty-two pounders. The first rendezvous of the Mortar Fleet was at Key West, whence it proceeded to Ship Island, and participated in the subsequent attack upon the defenses of New Orleans, and on the Mississippi, and which are recorded in connection with those transactions.

Fort Pickens, Florida, commands the harbor of Pensacola, one of the most capacious on the southern coast, and was the seat of the principal naval station in that quarter. The fort is situated at the extreme west end of the Island of Santa Rosa. Opposite Fort Pickens, on the main land, is Fort McRea, a large and strong work, mounting one hundred and fifty heavy guns. Lower down the channel, is Fort Barrancas, which is also a heavy and important work, mounting fifty guns.

On the main land, besides the two works last named, is
situated the Government Navy Yard, with all necessary facilities for ship-building on the largest scale, including a large quantity of material.

Those important works on the main land, were surprised and taken by the rebels, without resistance, on the 12th of June, 1861. It had been the purpose of the rebels to first seize Fort Pickens, and for this purpose an expedition was started early in April, which, in the then comparatively defenseless condition of the fort, would probably have been successful, but for an unusual flood in the rivers, which delayed the expedition; and the fort was, in the meantime, re-enforced. The fort, before those re-enforcements were thrown into it, contained a garrison of only eighty-two men, and although but two hundred more were then added to its garrison, the rebels, doubtless, considered the number much greater, and did not make the attack. They, however, rapidly concentrated a large force at Pensacola, to hold the works already possessed, and to menace Fort Pickens; and the latter was for a long time in constant expectation of an attack.

The decision to thoroughly garrison Fort Pickens, was made at the same time with that for the re-enforcement of Sumter, and the naval expedition for both purposes was fitted out at the same time. When the fleet destined for Pickens reached its rendezvous there, on the 17th of April, the whole naval force off the coast consisted of six ships, carrying one hundred and sixteen guns. From this fleet, the garrison in the fort was raised to eight hundred and seventy-nine men, and the work was placed in command of Col. Brown, who superseded the former gallant commander, Lieut. Slemmer.

Col. Brown at once proceeded to put the work in the best possible means of defence, and to guard the approaches to it. Additional supplies of provisions and armament were also added.

Subsequently, Col. Wilson's N. Y. Zouaves were ordered to
Santa Rosa Island, and established a camp about one mile from the fort. The enemy projected and executed a night attack upon this camp, on the 9th day of October. They landed some ten or twelve miles up the Island, and by a night march, came upon the camp about 8 o'clock in the morning, with a force of about one thousand five hundred men, having a reserve force of about one thousand men. Col. Wilson had less than three hundred effective men. So small a force, surprised in their camp by such overwhelming odds, was, of course, thrown into some confusion; and after a short, but spirited resistance, they were compelled to abandon their camp, which the rebels burned. The Zouaves were, however, soon re-enforced by three companies of regulars from the fort, when they advanced upon the rebels, and drove them to their boats, in great haste and confusion.

While embarking, they suffered terrible losses from the heavy fire poured upon them, and were so severely punished for the intrusive visit, by less than one fifth of their own number, that they never afterward repeated it. Our entire loss in this affair, was but thirteen killed and thirty wounded; the rebel loss was full one hundred and fifty killed, wounded and prisoners. They left on the field, fourteen killed and seven wounded.

After this signal repulse, the rebels remained quiet, maintaining their full force in the forts and its vicinity. Col. Brown had determined to punish them even more severely, and had protected his own guns and men, so as not to be harmed by the fire of their batteries and forts. Accordingly, on the morning of Nov. 22d, in connection with the ships, he opened his batteries upon the rebel works.

For two days and nights, heavy firing was kept up by Fort Pickens and the fleet, upon the rebel Forts McCrea and Barrancas, and their long line of coast batteries. Fort McCrea was silenced, and the Navy Yard and the village of Warren-
ton burned. The range was too great for effective execution on either side; and after the expenditure of vast quantities of ammunition, the firing ceased. No material injury was done to the fort, and the casualties were one man killed and six wounded. The rebels, however, had received much more than they were able to give, and the discipline thus administered a salutary effect upon them. They remained quite passive until the 1st of January, 1862, when a rebel steamer, making her way to the Navy Yard, defiantly waved a rebel flag toward Pickens, and apparently challenged resentment. The gallant Col. Brown at once took up the glove, and opened his batteries upon the steamer, which fled in extreme haste. The rebels replied from all their batteries, and the firing became general, continuing through the day and night. About 11 o'clock, the Navy Yard was fired by our shells, and which continued to burn throughout the night, causing serious destruction.

Though countless shells and shot were thrown into and against the fort, yet no damage of any consequence was done, either to the fort or garrison.

The rebels maintained their investment in force, until the western armies were closely pressing Beauregard at Corinth, and threatening to wrest from them the Mississippi and adjacent region, when the great body of the forces, with their commander, Gen. Bragg, were ordered to Corinth, a small force only being left to hold the fortifications. Coincident with the retirement of the rebel forces from Pensacola, came the order for the Union land force, stationed on Santa Rosa Island, including the 75th N. Y. Vol's, Col. Dodge, to join the expedition of Gen. Butler at New Orleans; and soon after the rebels abandoned Pensacola, and all their works on the main land, which were occupied by the loyal forces.

The Yankees are said to be "cute" and fertile in invention; but the rebels, little as they relish "Yankee notions" in gen-
eral, have certainly sought, in various ways, to save their own sacred persons from the ordinary risks and dangers of war, by vying with their hated brothers in the arts ingenious.

To disarm us, they stole our guns and ships; to furnish secure and invulnerable hiding places for themselves, they stole our forts; to enrich themselves and impoverish us, they stole our money; to get rid of the hated Yankee, they have poisoned our food and drink; to strike terror to all foes, they have driven from home the aged and the young, the sick and defenseless; in this age of civilization and Christianity, they have employed the scalping knife and the tomahawk of the brutal savage, and made parlor and toilette ornaments of the bones of their enemies!

Few only of those peculiar devices, however, have been borrowed from civilized nations. They have been copied from savage tribes, or are purely and entirely original. All the glory or shame they merit, must be exclusively theirs. But for sturdy man to assume the gentle and inoffensive garb of woman, and under that mask to be guilty of base and mean actions, is not original with the sons of chivalry. It has often before been seen in the world's history, and has often received merited punishment.

The exploit of the "French Lady," so called, is a striking instance of the ingenuity of the rebels in obtaining bloodless victories. The steamer St. Nicholas plied as a regular packet between Baltimore and various points on the Maryland shore. On the morning of the 28th of June, 1861, she left Baltimore, as usual, having on board forty-five passengers, of whom a large number were men in female attire. The leader of the gang was Col. Richard Thomas, disguised as, and imitating the language and manners of a French lady. When the boat neared Point Look Out, she was seized by the modest female passengers, and became a rebel prize. Having possession of a known Union vessel, they could thus deceive those having the
charge of other Union ships on the river, and by the practice of deception, they succeeded in capturing three small vessels, which they appropriated as prizes.

The game which the redoubtable Colonel had once so successfully practiced, he sought to repeat on board the passenger steamer Mary Washington. But while on board, he was detected, arrested, and with his accomplices confined in Fort McHenry, and afterwards in Fort LaFayette, and later still in Fort Warren. To show his great genius, and the fertility of his resources, it is only necessary to state some of the plans which he devised to effect his escape, which were the use of tubs, as buoys, in one instance, and of tightly closed tin cans in another. But the frail craft did not, in either case, suffice his purpose so well as his lady's dress, for he was, on both occasions, caught and returned to his quarters.

Galveston is the most important commercial town in Texas, and contains over eight thousand inhabitants. It is situated at the mouth of Galveston Bay, about one mile from the gulf, and four hundred and fifty miles south-westerly from New Orleans. Its approaches had been imperfectly fortified, but were not of sufficient force to resist the heavier guns of the blockading squadron. The schooner Dart reconnoitered the town on the 3d of August, 1861, firing a few shots at the batteries, and at the town also, which was in range, provoked by the attack upon him by the rebel batteries. The city was at the mercy of Capt. Alden, commander of the schooner; but from motives of humanity, he withdrew, not wishing to wantonly destroy the lives of the non-combatants. On the 20th of November, in apprehension of another attack, it was decided to abandon the town, and all military and other valuable stores were removed to Houston. A position was taken in the rear of the town, to repel any force which might effect a landing. Telegraphic communications were established with other military depots, so that, if assailed, prompt re-enforcements could be sent to them.
Fort Pulaski commands the sea-approaches to the city of Savannah, Georgia. It is built on Cock Spur Island, at the mouth of the Savannah River, fourteen miles below the city. It is a new work, but recently finished, and cost the Government about one million dollars. It is of brick, seven feet thick at the base, five at the top, and forty feet in height. Its bomb-proof casemates are numerous, and constructed in the best manner. Its full armament consists of one hundred and fifty guns. It is surrounded with a ditch and glacis, and is, in every respect, a most complete and formidable work. Large vessels, in coming past the fort, are obliged to come within about two hundred feet of it. Its full war garrison is about eight hundred men.

The possession of this important work was embraced in the early plans of the rebels, and they displayed some ingenuity in the mode of attaining their object. Joseph E. Brown, the Governor, Alexander H. Stevens, and other influential citizens
of the State were professedly Union men, but really as decided rebels as Cobb or Toombs. Their professions of Unionism had for their object to carry with them into secession, by the influence of their example, the large class whose sympathies they had gained by apparently sincere professions of loyalty.

Fort Pulaski was at this time garrisoned by only twenty men, and as the successive steps, preliminary to secession, were being taken by the leaders, the populace of Savannah became much excited, and threatened to seize Fort Pulaski. The hypocritical Governor professed to fear that the threat would be carried into execution, and to prevent its occupation by the secession mob, proposed to garrison it with State troops! Though the more discerning of the Union men saw through the hollow artifice, yet the masses were satisfied, and the fort was garrisoned by two hundred and twenty-five men from the military organizations of Savannah, nearly all of whom were open secessionists, and the commander, Col. Alexander B. Lawton, entertained like views.

The fort was thus occupied until the State seceded, on the 19th day of January, 1861, when it was formally turned over to the Confederate Government.

The capture of this fort, was one of the earliest purposes of Gen. Sherman; and his first reconnaissance was made on the first of December, 1861. Preliminary to the contemplated operations before the fort, it became necessary to secure the complete blockade of the Savannah river, between the fort and the city of Savannah. This was effected by the erection of batteries commanding it, on the 22d of February, and ordinance was quietly landed on Tybee Island. On the shore of this Island, next to the channel which separates it from the fort, the light batteries were to be erected, and immediately under its fire. The heavy guns, some weighing seventeen thousand pounds, had to be transmitted from one to three
miles over a bed of mud, upon which a fascine road had to be constructed for the purpose. All the labor of transporting the guns, and erecting the batteries, was performed in the night, so as to escape the notice of the enemy. It was concealed from their observation during the day, by the tall grass. They knew, indeed, that works of some kind were being constructed, but could not so clearly ascertain their locality as to get their range.

Eleven batteries, mounting thirty-six guns, were thus erected. They were all earth-works, revetted with sods, fascines, or hurdles, having parapets not less than eight feet in height, with traverses between the guns, deep and narrow embrasures, splinter-roofs for all the advanced works, capable of holding the two reliefs of gunners off duty, and one or two service magazines in each battery. A stone magazine of the capacity
of three thousand barrels was erected; as, when the batteries should once open, it was intended to have on hand a supply of ammunition sufficient for nine days' continuous bombardment.

Preparations for the attack were all completed on the morning of April 10th, when Gen. David Hunter, who had succeeded Gen. Sherman, in command of the Department, dispatched a flag of truce to the fort, with a summons to surrender. Col. Chas. H. Olmsted, in command of the fort, replied to the summons by saying, "I am here to defend the fort, not to surrender it."

As soon as the reply was received, the signal was given to open fire. Gen. Hunter, Gen. Benham, Gen. Gillmore, Com. Rodgers of the Wabash, and the staffs of the Generals, passed from head-quarters to a central position on the beach, between batteries Lincoln and Burnside, convenient for the transmission of orders and observation of the fire on both sides, and partially screened by a low natural parapet rising a few feet above the beach. Before they had reached the place, the report of the first mortar from battery Halleck, fired under the direction of Lieut. Porter, announced the beginning of the bombardment. It was followed by the discharge of another mortar from battery Stanton, on the extreme right, others rapidly succeeding, according to the order prescribed. For some minutes, Pulaski was silent; then fired from different casemates, four guns in swift succession at the upper batteries. On our side, the line of fire rolled gradually along the beach, extending itself to the right and left, until all the batteries but Scott were fairly unmasked. The fort, meanwhile, replied from embrasures and barbette, directing its aim chiefly at the batteries on King's Landing and on Burnside and Sherman in the centre.

"The morning was clear and cold, with a fresh easterly wind coming in from the Atlantic, fretting into crests of white, the
dull red waters of the broad Savannah, and swaying against the sky the tremulous outline of the woods on the island shores beyond. The fort stands clearly out, the sunlight falling on its seaward faces, which are wreathed with the smoke of their own guns, and canopied with white clouds from the shells exploding above them. From Stanton to Totten, the low shore of Tybee recedes and advances, and every slope of sand is lighted with incessant flashes, instantly veiled in volumes of pale blue vapor. The reports of the heavy guns and mortars mingle with the sharper tones of Parrott rifles, and just overhead comes every few minutes the sudden rush of solid shot, or the angry scream of conical projectiles, and the quick explosion of shells, sending their fragments into the marsh in rear.

"The fire from Pulaski, was tolerably regular, though not very vigorous during the first morning. Not more than six or eight guns were steadily served. It was soon discovered that those in the casemates would not reach the batteries below Scott. From the barbette, occasional shots passed over Lincoln and Lyon, but none went beyond them. On our side, it was evident that the thirteen-inch mortars, from which much had been hoped, were at too great a distance to be effective, most of their shell exploding high in the air, or falling outside of the fort. Capt. Pelouze was doing better with his columbiads, which were fired at great elevation, and were meant to breach the magazine in the rear of the fort. From the upper batteries the effect of the guns, which were attempting to breach the south-east face of the fort, began to show very plainly. The smooth surface was here and there indented, and the even line of the parapet showed numerous gaps. At eleven o'clock, the rebel flag, which was hoisted on a very tall flag-staff, was shot away, and came swooping down inside the fort, followed by cheers from all the batteries. Another was soon raised at the north angle on a low staff. At twelve, forty-one scars were counted on the south-flank, the panceope, and the south-east face of the
fort, and several of the embrasures were considerably enlarged. During the afternoon the fire slackened on both sides, and after sunset not more than seven or eight shells an hour were thrown till daylight the next morning.

"It was not considered that the day's work had greatly hastened the surrender, the mortars having proved a disappointment, and the effect of the breaching fire being not yet sufficiently decided. No one had been hurt in the batteries, though there were plenty of narrow escapes. The large party accompanying the Generals, had drawn considerable attention from the fort, and numerous shot and shell were sent in their direction. One shell was seen to burst within fifty feet of Gen. Hunter and Gen. Benham, and a fragment of another struck the ground not twenty feet from the latter. Most of the shells, however, exploded harmlessly on the marsh.

"On Friday morning, at daylight, the bombardment opened with fresh vigor on both sides. The barbette guns on Pulaski were directed with considerable precision and rapidity at the upper batteries. On our side the work of breaching was resumed with determination, and the effect of the fire was almost immediately apparent in the enlargement of the two embrasures on the left of the south-east face. Commander Rodgers, in battery Sigel, Capt. Turner, in battery McClellan, and Lieut. Wilson, in battery Scott, directed all their attention to the rapidly-widening breach, and the fire was delivered with great accuracy and most damaging effect. About nine o'clock, Thomas Campbell, private of Company H, 3d Rhode Island, while serving his gun in battery McClellan, was struck by a solid shot entering through the embrasure, and was so badly injured that he died in less than an hour. This was the only casualty on our part during the bombardment.

"Pulaski's was far less accurate than ours. In crossing the open spaces between the batteries, it was found the shot from the fort swept a good deal of ground, but nearly all went over
In the batteries, also, few shot struck the face, or parapet of the works, or exploded directly over the trenches, but either buried themselves in the beach, or went entirely over. A small rifled barbette gun, afterward found to be one of the patent Blakely cannon, brought over in the Fingal, was much the most troublesome piece, continually improving in accuracy until it was silenced. Remembering that the batteries which were exposed to the fire of Fort Sumter, were much better protected than these, and that the fire of that fort was less vigorous than Pulaski's, it is easy to believe the long discredited story, that no one was killed during that bombardment.

"The barbette fire, however, was maintained so steadily from two guns on the north-east face, one on the south-east, and one on the extreme angle of the south flank, that Commander Rodgers determined to silence it, and about twelve o'clock directed all his guns for that purpose, loading and firing as fast as possible. In half an hour, the barbette fire had ceased, and was never renewed, and his guns were once more turned on the breach, which had already become so extensive that orders had been given to prepare scaling-ladders, in readiness to storm the fort, if not surrendered. The whole exterior surface of the pancope, and so much of the nearest end of the south-east face as covered two casemates, was gone; the two embrasures were enlarged, so that from the batteries the inside of the fort could be seen through them, and one was opened so near the parapet that it was plain the whole angle would soon be in ruins. Only two casemate guns, the third and fourth of the south-east face next the angle, were still served by the garrison, and the fire from batteries Sigel and Scott were directed upon them, about half past one o'clock, the McClellan battery, of two thirty-two and two forty-two pounder James rifles, still aiming at the old breach. Nearly every shot struck the wall, sending great masses of brick into the ditch below, and lifting into the air a cloud of fragments.
and dust. I sat, during the last half hour, on a pile of sandbags, overlooking the parapet of battery Scott, watching the flight of the solid ten-inch shot from its heavy columbiads. Suddenly, on the north angle of the fort, something white fluttered up into the air, clung for a moment in folds, and then streamed out broadly against the sky. Pulaski had hoisted the white flag, and the siege was over. Still the rebel ensign was not struck, and while that flew, there remained a doubt. Just then, from one of the casemates of the fort, came another white puff and a shot. Our guns, which had hesitated since the white flag was first seen, answered along the whole line of batteries, with an almost simultaneous roar, and the fort was half hid in the dust of crashing bricks, and the smoke of bursting shells that followed, and when it cleared away once more, the rebel flag and flag-staff had disappeared together, and only the symbol of surrender floated over the walls.

"The hour was two o'clock, on the afternoon of Friday, April 11th, a memorable anniversary."

The fort and garrison were surrendered immediately, and without conditions.

The number of prisoners was three hundred and sixty. There were taken forty-seven guns, seven thousand shot, about forty thousand pounds of powder, and three months' supply of provisions.

Thus, after two months spent in preparations for the attack, and thirty hours of actual bombardment, Fort Pulaski fell,—one of the strongest fortresses in this or any other country; one that the rebels had considered absolutely impregnable, and whose capture bore testimony at once to superior engineering skill, and to the great improvements made in the construction of siege guns.

New Orleans is much the largest city in the Cotton States. Its population is about two hundred thousand, and in wealth
and commercial importance, ranks among the first cities of the Union, it commands the trade of the Mississippi, and its possession by the rebels was to them an object of the first importance. The sea approaches to the city were defended by two strong forts—Jackson, and St. Philips, built for the Government, and which the rebels had fully manned and armed. Additional works of great magnitude and strength had been erected, at other points above, upon which nearly a year's time, and large sums of money, had been expended. Besides, the utmost skill and resources of the city and Confederacy had been employed, in building floating batteries, iron clad and iron prowed ships, chains were forged and cast across the channel in its most difficult parts, and channel obstructions of every conceivable kind, and devices to impede and destroy any hostile fleet approaching the city.

They thus boasted at this time of their invulnerable defenses:

"New Orleans, 1862.—The Mississippi is fortified so as to be impassable for any hostile fleet or flotilla. Forts Jackson and St. Philips are armed with one hundred and seventy heavy guns, (sixty-three pounders, rifled by Barkley Brittch, and received from England). The navigation of the river is stopped by a dam of about a quarter of a mile from the above forts. No flotilla on earth would force that dam in less than two hours, during which it would be within short and cross range of one hundred and seventy guns of the heaviest calibre, many of which would be served with red-hot shot, numerous furnaces for which have been erected in every fort and battery.

"In a day or two, we shall have ready two iron-cased floating batteries. The plates are four and a half inches thick, of the best hammered iron, received from England and France. Each iron-cased battery will mount twenty-six eight pounders, placed so as to skim the water, and striking the enemy's hull between wind and water. We have an abundant supply of incendiary shells, cupola furnaces for molten iron, congreve rockets and fire-ships."
Between New Orleans and the forts, there is a constant succession of earth-works. At the Plain of Chalmette, near Janin's property, there are redoubts, armed with rifled cannon, which have been found to be effective at five miles range. A ditch thirty feet wide and twenty deep, extends from the Mississippi to La Cipriere.

"In forts St. Philips and Jackson, there are three thousand men, of whom a goodly portion are experienced artillery men and gunners, who have served in the navy.

"At New Orleans itself, we have thirty-two thousand infantry, and as many more quartered in the immediate neighborhood. In discipline and drill they are far superior to the Yankees. We have two very able and active Generals, who possess our entire confidence, General Mansfield Lovell, and Brigadier General Ruggles. For Commodore, we have old Hollins, a Nelson in his way."

On the 18th of April, 1862, Commodores Farragut and Porter moved with their combined fleets to test the boasted strength of the rebel fortifications. The number of vessels in the fleet,
ATTACK ON THE FORTS.

of all kinds, was forty-six; twenty-one of which were the brigs and schooners, which had been converted into the famous Porter Mortar Fleet, each of which carried a thirteen-inch mortar, weighing seventeen thousand pounds, and two thirty-two pounder guns. Attached to the mortar fleet were five steamers, namely, the Harriet Lane, Miami, Owasco, Westfield, and Clifton. The entire fleet carried two hundred and eighty-six guns. About nine o'clock, as the fleet came in range, Fort Jackson opened fire, which was briskly answered by the mortar fleet, in which also the whole fleet joined. For six days and five nights the bombardment was kept up vigorously, in which time seven thousand five hundred mortar shells were thrown, each mortar averaging about eighty per day. On the Sunday that the attack was made upon the fort, Gen. Butler proceeded with four thousand men, in the attempt to execute his part of the plan, which he states to have been:

"In case the forts were not reduced, and a portion of the fleet got by them, it had been arranged between the flag officer and myself, that I should make a landing from the gulf side, in the rear of the forts at the quarantine, and from thence attempt Fort St. Philips by storm and assault, while the bombardment was continued by the fleet."

Before light, on the morning of the 24th, Com. Farragut decided to pass the fort, and attempt the reduction of the other defenses, and to reach the city. It was an exceedingly bold and hazardous movement, and one that might well cause the most resolute to hesitate. But the heroic commander pushed vigorously on, amid a perfect tempest of shot and shower of shell from the fort, from thirteen steamers, from the great floating battery Louisiana, and in the face of several fire rafts, set adrift to burn his ships. The gallant Commodore had but nineteen vessels, including four sloops of war, with which to encounter the concentrated navy of the Confederacy, and all the engines of destruction which an entire year had
enabled it to bring to the defense of its commercial capital. The mortar boats were unsuited to this service. The odds were certainly much against them. For one hour and twenty minutes the terrible contest was maintained, when the ships passed the forts, and the enemy saw that all was lost. They commenced firing the vessels in the vicinity of the city, and the cotton and other commodities likely to fall into our hands, the destruction of which was ordered by the military authority. The river was literally covered with burning ships; and thous-
ands of bales of cotton, and immense quantities of sugar were destroyed.

After having passed forts Jackson and St. Philips, the fleet encountered and silenced numerous shore batteries, and anchored for the night, eighteen miles below the city. The day following, the city itself was reached, and of course lay at the mercy of the Union commander. The city, lying really lower than the ships and the river, could not be defended; and the question now to be decided was, its surrender, or destruction. Gen. Lovell, the military commandant, had retired, and left the duty of surrendering the city to the municipal officers, which was done with much insolence by Mayor Monroe.

Gen. Butler thus refers to the subsequent surrender of the forts:

"In the night of the 27th, learning that the fleet had got the city under its guns, I left Brigadier General Williams in charge of the landing of the troops, and went up the river to the flag-ship to procure light draught transportation. That night, the larger portion, (about two hundred and fifty) of the garrison of Fort Jackson mentioned, spiked the guns bearing up the river, came up and surrendered themselves to my pickets, declaring that as we had got in their rear, resistance was useless, and they would not be sacrificed. No bomb had been thrown at them for three days, nor had they fired a shot at us from either fort. They averred that they had been impressed, and would fight no longer.

"On the 26th, the officers of Fort Jackson and St. Philips surrendered to Captain Porter, he having means of water transportation to them. While he was negotiating, however, with the officers of the forts under a white flag, the rebel naval officers put all their munitions of war on the Louisiana, set her on fire and adrift upon the Harriet Lane, but when opposite Fort St. Philips she blew up, killing one of their own men by the fragments which fell into that fort."
"I have taken possession of the forts, and find them substantially as defensible as before the bombardment—St. Philips precisely so—it being quite uninjured. They are fully provisioned, well supplied with ammunition, and the ravages of the shells have been defensibly repaired by the labors of the rebels."

In this important contest, our loss on board the fleet, was but thirty-six killed, and one hundred and twenty-three wounded, while the estimated loss of the enemy was one thousand killed and wounded.

The Federal gun-boat Varrunna, and one mortar boat were sunk, and several of our other vessels much injured. The rebel fleet was nearly destroyed, including three rams, and the great steam iron clad battery blown up.

The scene on the levee at the approach of the fleet, defies description. The crowd upon it, consisting of men, women and children, were in the greatest excitement. The friends of the Union were jubilant, and could not but give vent to their joy in cheers for the old flag, now waving in victory; but the haughty, yet unhumbled slave-masters, shot them down like dogs,—a past-time in which even the chivalrous women indulged. But such brutality and gross barbarity were soon to cease. The intolerably proud and arrogant, who, hitherto had known no restraint but the dictates of their own arbitrary wills, were soon to take new and important lessons in social and civil life, under a Yankee school-master; one who had sprung from the "mud-sills," whom they insolently contemned. Gen. Butler was soon to give Mayor Monroe, the police, the aristocrats, and even the "ladies" of the city, some wholesome discipline, for their own and the public good.

On taking possession of the city, on the 28th, Gen. Butler declared martial law, and began the re-organization of the government of the city, and of the region under his control. The circumstances were peculiar, and the task one of unequaled
difficulty. He had but a few thousand men, was in a city of two hundred thousand inhabitants, nearly all of whom were bitterly hostile. Yet the manner in which Gen. Butler met and overcame all the difficulties in his way, showed him to be just the man for the place. If he had never before rendered, and should not hereafter render, any important public service, the ability, firmness, good sense, energy and justice, which he exhibited in administering the government of New Orleans, would make his name immortal. It was attended with the most triumphant success. He "subdued" the women of the city, and compelled them to be "keepers at home"; he impressed upon the city authorities that none but loyalists could rule, the Press that it could not publish treason, the bankers that they must not aid it with funds or credit, the foreign consuls that the Federal Government was now in the ascendancy; and all classes that had heretofore joined in the rebel march, must now "keep step to the music of the Union."

The success which thus attended the conquest and subsequent government of the city, has had no parallel during the war. Its capture was a brilliant martial triumph, and scarcely less credit is due to Gen. Butler, for the great executive ability which he exhibited in "subduing" the insolence of the leading rebels, and restoring and enforcing order and good government in that vile and turbulent city.

Gen. Butler continued in command of the city until near the close of the year, when he was superseded by Major Gen. Banks, who, with a formidable land and naval expedition, was sent to the Gulf, to co-operate with the Mississippi flotilla, in the reduction of Vicksburg, and other rebel works upon that river.
CHAPTER XX.

THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC—CAMPAIGN OF 1862—SIEGE OF YORKTOWN—BATTLES OF WILLIAMSBURGH AND WEST POINT.


On the 27th of January, 1862, the President issued the following order:

"Ordered, that the 22d day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces; that especially the army at and about Fortress Monroe, the army of the Potomac, the army of Western Virginia, the army near Munfordsville, Ky., the army and flotilla at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, be ready for a movement on that day; that all other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given; that the heads of departments, and especially the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, with all their subordinates, and the General-in-Chief, with all other commanders and subordinates of land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for the prompt execution of this order."
On March 8th, the following:

"Ordered, first, that the Major-General commanding the army of the Potomac, proceed forthwith to organize that part of said army destined to enter upon active operations, including the reserve, but excluding the troops to be left in the fortifications about Washington, into four army corps, to be commanded according to seniority of rank, as follows:

"First Corps, to consist of four divisions, and to be commanded by Major-General J. McDowell.

"Second Corps, to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General E. V. Sumner.

"Third Corps, to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General S. P. Heintzelman.

"Fourth Corps, to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General E. L. Keyes.

"II. That the divisions now commanded by the officers above assigned to the commands of corps, shall be embraced in, and form part of their respective corps.

"III. The forces left for the defense of Washington, will be placed in command of Brigadier-General James Wadsworth, who shall also be Military Governor of the District of Columbia.

"IV. That this order be executed with such promptness and dispatch as not to delay the commencement of the operations already directed to be undertaken by the Army of the Potomac.

"V. A fifth army corps, to be commanded by Major-Gen. N. P. Banks, will be formed from his own and Gen. Shields' (late Gen. Lander's) division."

And on March 11th, also, the following:

"Major-Gen. McClellan having personally taken the field at the head of the Army of the Potomac, until otherwise ordered, he is relieved from the command of the other military departments, he retaining command of the Department of the Potomac."
“Ordered further, that the two Departments now under the respective commands of Generals Halleck and Hunter, together with so much of that under Gen. Buell as lies west of a north and south line, indefinitely drawn through Knoxville, Tenn., be consolidated and designated the Department of the Mississippi, and that until otherwise ordered, Major-Gen. Halleck have command of said Department.

“Ordered also, that the country west of the Department of the Potomac, and east of the Department of the Mississippi, be a military department, to be called the Mountain Department, and that the same be commanded by Major-General Fremont; that all the commanders of Departments, after the receipt of this order by them respectively, report severally and directly to the Secretary of War, and that prompt, full, and frequent reports will be expected of all and each of them.”

The results of the movements made in pursuance of those orders, in the west and south-west, we have already detailed. It remains to trace the progress and doings of the army of the Potomac, when the “quiet,” which it had so long maintained, in the vicinity of the Capital, was once broken.

Of this movement, the fifth army corps, commanded by Gen. Banks, formed the advance, and occupied Harper's Ferry. A pontoon bridge was here thrown across the river, and completed on the 26th of February, over which the troops passed, occupying in the passage until the first of March. The re-construction of the rail road bridge was commenced, to facilitate the transmission of supplies. The corps was ordered to advance to Charlestown on March 1st, and the order was speedily executed, the advance passing through the town, and occupying an eminence beyond it on the same day. Here Gen. McClellan visited Gen. Banks, and received the salutations of his soldiers. The command halted for several days, occupying the town.

At this time, the rebels under Jackson, were at Winches-
ter, twenty-two miles to the south-west, and believed to be in force, protected by strong earth-works, with some sixty pieces of artillery. Here a severe contest was looked for. On the 4th of March, Gen. Banks moved on to Berryville, ten miles from Winchester. Gen. Jackson learning the force that was bearing down upon him, and knowing his own inability to cope with it, retreated from Winchester, with all his supplies, but of which our Generals were in utter ignorance, although but eight miles distant, and the retreat occupying three days! It was not until March 12th, that a reconnoissance showed the fact of the retreat, when the town was occupied by our troops.

The occupation of Winchester showed the boasted fortifications, which our Generals had so much feared, to exist only in their imaginations. They were extremely insignificant, and his boasted force consisted of but six thousand men, a part of which was Ashby's famous cavalry. With the latter, a body of Michigan cavalry had a slight skirmish on the road to Strasburgh, about nine miles from Winchester, on the same day that the town was occupied, in which six of the enemy's force were made prisoners.

Jackson's retreat was covered by Ashby's cavalry, which was accompanied by field batteries. Ashby kept from one to two miles in the rear of Jackson. Upon elevated positions he would plant his guns commanding the route of the pursuers, and on the approach of our cavalry advance, he would throw a few shells among them, which would cause them to fall back upon the infantry supports. Meanwhile Ashby had left, to take another similar position, to re-enact a similar game; thus delaying the advance of the pursuing force, and enabling that retreating, to escape unmolested.

The main body of the Potomac army, under Gen. McClellan, had meanwhile occupied Centreville, where it was now the object of Gen. Banks to join him. Gen. Shields, commanding a division of his army, made a reconnoissance in force
SKIRMISH OF THE 22D MARCH.

to Strasburgh, on March 22d. The object was to deceive the enemy, with the belief that the main body of our forces had advanced to Centreville. Gen. Shields, in his official report, thus states the movement and its results:

"I fell back to Winchester on the 20th, giving the movement all the appearance of a retreat. The last brigade of the first division of Banks' corps d'armée, Gen. Williams commanding, took its departure for Centreville by way of Berryville, on the morning of the 22d, leaving only Shields' division and the Michigan cavalry in Winchester. Ashby's cavalry observing this movement from a distance, came to the conclusion that Winchester was being evacuated, and signalized Jackson to that effect. We saw their signal fires, and divined their import. On the 22d, about 5 o'clock P. M., they attacked and drove in our pickets. By order of Gen. Banks I put my command under arms, and pushed forward one brigade and two batteries of artillery to drive back the enemy, but, to keep him deceived as to our strength, only let him see two regiments of infantry, a small body of cavalry, and a part of the artillery. While directing one of our batteries to its position, I was struck by the fragment of a shell, which fractured my arm above the elbow, bruised my shoulder, and injured my side. The enemy being driven from his position, we withdrew to Winchester. The injury I had received completely prostrated me, but was not such as to prevent me from making the required dispositions for the ensuing day. Under cover of the night, I pushed forward Kimball's brigade, nearly three miles on the Strasburg road. Daum's artillery was posted in strong position to support his brigade if attacked. Sullivan's brigade was posted in the rear of Kimball's, and within supporting distance of it, covering all the approaches to the town by Cedar Creek, Front Royal, Berryville and Romney roads. This brigade and Broadhead's cavalry were held in reserve, so as to support our force in front at any point
where it might be attacked. These dispositions being made, I rested for the night, knowing that all the approaches by which the enemy might penetrate to this place, were effectually guarded."

After the skirmish of the 22d, Gens. Shields and Banks, on full consultation, did not think that Jackson would hazard a general engagement "so far from his main supports," and, as Gen. Banks had been ordered to Washington, he started for that place on the 24th. Though not expecting an attack, yet the crafty enemy with whom he had to deal, compelled the greatest vigilance on the part of Gen. Shields.

About 10 o'clock of the following day, the enemy was reinforced by five infantry regiments, and two artillery batteries. They were soon ready, and had a strong force, numbering sixteen infantry regiments, five batteries, comprising twenty-eight pieces of artillery, and three battalions of cavalry, under the famous commanders Ashby and Stewart. The enemy's line of battle extended about one mile to the right of the village of Kernstown, and to the left a mile and three-fourths. In the rear of the enemy was a range of hills, along which ran a stone wall about four feet in height.

About half-past 10 o'clock, the rebels made a desperate attempt to turn our right flank. Five times did they rush from the cover of the woods and the stone wall, to be as often repulsed by the steady gallantry of the Union line, conspicuous in which was the 8th Ohio. Gen. Shields thus reports the principal operations of the field:

"Between 11 and 12 o'clock A. M., a message from Col. Kimball informed me that another battery on the enemy's right had opened on our position, and that there were some indications of a considerable force of infantry in the woods in that quarter. On receiving this information, I pushed forward Sullivan's brigade, which was placed, by order of Col. Kimball, in a position to oppose the advance of the enemy's right
wing. The action opened with a fire of artillery on both sides, but at too great a distance to be very effective. The initiative was taken by the enemy. He pushed a few more guns to his right, supported by a considerable force of infantry and cavalry, with the apparent intention of enfilading our position and turning our left flank. An active body of skirmishers, consisting of the 8th Ohio, Col. Carroll, and three companies of the 67th Ohio, was immediately thrown forward on both sides of the valley road, to resist the enemy's advance. These skirmishers were admirably supported by four pieces of artillery under Captain Jenks, and Sullivan's gallant brigade. This united force repulsed the enemy at all points, and gave him such a check that no farther demonstration was made upon that flank, during the remainder of the day. The attempt against our left flank having thus failed, the enemy withdrew the greater part of his force to the right, and formed it into a reserve to support his left flank in a forward movement. He then added his original reserve and two batteries to his main body, and then, advancing with this combined column, under shelter of the bridge on his left, on which other batteries had been previously posted, seemed evidently determined to turn our right flank, or overthrow it. Our batteries on the opposite ridge, though admirably managed by their experienced chief, Lieut. Col. Daum, were soon found insufficient to check, or even retard, the advance of such a formidable body. At this stage of the combat a messenger arrived from Col. Kimball, informing me of the state of the field, and requesting direction as to the employment of the infantry. I saw there was not a moment to lose, and gave positive orders that all the disposable infantry should be immediately thrown forward on our right, to carry the enemy's batteries, and to assail and turn his left flank, and hurl it back on the center. Col. Kimball carried out these orders with promptitude and ability. He entrusted this movement
THE NOTABLE THOMAS JEFFERSON, "STONEWALL" JACKSON,
Famous for Dashing Raids.

to Tyler's splendid brigade, which, under its fearless leader, Col. Tyler, marched forward with alacrity and enthusiastic joy to the performance of the most perilous duty of the day. The enemy's skirmishers were driven before it, and fell back upon the main body, strongly posted behind a high and solid stone wall,* situated on an elevated ground. Here the

*This wall gave to the rebel commander the soubriquet of Stonewall Jackson, by which he has been subsequently distinguished.
struggle became desperate, and for a short time doubtful; but Tyler's brigade being soon joined on the left by the 5th Ohio, 13th Indiana, and 62d Ohio, of Sullivan's brigade, and the 14th Indiana, 84th Pennsylvania, seven companies of the 67th Ohio, and three companies of the 8th Ohio, of Kimball's brigade, this united force dashed upon the enemy with a cheer and yell that rose high up above the roar of battle, and though the rebels fought desperately, as their piles of dead attest, they were forced back through the woods by a fire as destructive as ever fell on a retreating foe. Jackson, with his supposed invincible *stonewall brigade* and the accompanying brigades, much to their mortification and discomfiture, were compelled to fall back in disorder upon their reserve. Here they took up a new position for a final stand, and made an attempt for a few minutes to retrieve the fortunes of the day; but again rained down upon them the same close and destructive fire. Again cheer upon cheer rang in their ears. A few minutes only did they stand up against it, when they turned dismayed, and fled in disorder, leaving us in possession of the field, the killed and wounded, three hundred prisoners, two guns, four caissons and one thousand stand of small arms. Night alone saved them from total destruction. The enemy retreated about five miles, and, judging from his camp fires, took up a new position for the night. Our troops, wearied and exhausted with the fatigues of the day, threw themselves down to rest on the field."

The enemy's loss in this engagement, was six hundred killed and wounded, and three hundred prisoners. The Union loss was one hundred killed and about four hundred wounded.

Near the close of the engagement, Gen. Banks arrived on the field, for which he started to return on hearing the firing, and took command of the troops in person. Gen. Williams was ordered to return with his division, then on the march to Centreville. Gen. Banks pursued Jackson with about ten
thousand men, beyond Middleburg, but he escaped with the
loss of a few stragglers.

The battle field of Winchester, like that of many similar
fields of blood, presented a terrible scene. The night that
followed it was dark and cold, and the sad services of the
ambulance corps were in constant requisition, in removing the
wounded from among, and often from beneath, the ghastly
dead. The latter were buried the day following.

Thus ended the first engagement in the Virginia camp-
paign of 1862, without decisive results, and it was, in that re-
spect, but a type of those which followed it, in the Peninsula,
on the Shenandoah, the second Bull Run, at Antietam and
Fredericksburgh, on which were fruitlessly displayed the great-
est gallantry, and the most patient endurance by the rank and
file, and where the best blood of the nation was poured out
profusely, and its treasure squandered by hundreds of mil-
lions, with no other return than national sorrow and humil-
iation.

Meanwhile, on the 10th of March, the main army, under
Gen. McClellan, had moved forward, and its advance, under
Gen. Kearney, occupied Centreville the same day. The enemy
was aware of the movement, and had, the day previous, aban-
doned his famous Manassas, retreating over the Orange and
Alexandria rail road, destroying bridges and interposing every
practicable obstacle to a pursuit.

Our scouts immediately examined the deserted works of the
enemy at Manassas. The army and the country were great-
ly mortified and chagrined at the weakness and inefficiency of
the works before which our large army had so long tarried.
The works were insignificant in the extreme, and it had evi-
dently never been the purpose of the enemy, to strongly con-
test with us their possession.

On the 14th of March, Gen. McClellan issued an address
to the soldiers from Fairfax Court House, in which he said he
had kept them inactive, in order to arm and discipline them; that "the period of inaction has passed." "I will bring you now," said he, "face to face with the rebels, and only pray that God may defend the right."

The brilliant victories in the West, at New Madrid and Pea Ridge, so occupied the public attention, and so aroused its enthusiasm, that the advance of the Army of the Potomac was regarded as presaging certain victory, whenever, or wherever, the foe should make a stand. Few believed they would attempt to resist the large and well-appointed army, now moving upon the rebel capital. Engrossed with the cheering details of victory after victory, won by the loyal troops, the month of March passed, and the Army of the Potomac was nearly forgotten. The Government prohibited the publication of contemplated movements, and little was known of its plans or doings.

Toward the close of March, there was great activity at Fortress Monroe, and large fleets of troop-laden transports were arriving at Old Point. It transpired that the army of the Potomac was changing its base, and preparing to make its advance upon the rear of Richmond, by the way of the Peninsula, between York and James rivers. Weeks were occupied in the change, and it was not until the 26th, that the advance was made from Hampton to Great Bethel. Three days later, a strong reconnoissance was made from the latter place toward Yorktown — the key of the Peninsula.

The city is a port of entry. It is memorable as the scene of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, to the American and French forces, on the 19th of October, 1781, which was the closing battle of the Revolution.

The rebels had held this place from the first opening of the rebellion, and had fortified it in the strongest manner — nearly a year having been occupied in extending and perfecting its defenses, and putting in battery an immense number
of guns. The intrenchments extended from York to James rivers—a distance of six miles. The rebel forces were commanded by Generals Lee, Johnson, and Magruder.

To this point, the army of the Potomac was destined, and it embraced three of its five Grand Divisions, numbering about one hundred thousand men. The first great object was to drive the enemy from Yorktown, and thus secure the control of York river.

Gen. McClellan had the personal command of the army, and the troops were very eager to meet the enemy. For nearly eight months they had been passive, and they hailed with intense gratification the order to advance. Gen. Heintzelman's core d'armée moved up through Great Bethel—the direct route to Yorktown. After leaving the camp, some miles beyond Hampton, the advance struck across New-Market Bridge, along a most beautiful and romantic road, the birds singing
sweetly through the woods. It seemed as though the grand army was a grand pageant, celebrating some gala day.

About half-past one p. m., when the advance was some twelve miles from Hampton, the booming of a gun was heard. We had encountered an earth-work of the enemy, to which immediate attention was given by our sharpshooters, and Griffin's and Allen's batteries; but the enemy promptly fled. After getting to the top of the hill, batteries could be seen all around. It was a very formidable stronghold. Major Phillips had command of the rebel cavalry. He left everything behind—meat on the fire cooking. They were somewhat surprised at the rapid advance of the Union forces. The rebel huts were superior to anything of the kind we had ever witnessed—log houses, floored and lighted as comfortably as any city house with windows.

In this abandoned camp the advance spent the night. The march was resumed early on the following morning, which proved to be rainy, and the flooded roads were soon so cut up by the ponderous trains as to become nearly impassable. About 10 o'clock in the morning of the 5th of April, the advance was in front of the enemy's works at Yorktown, and skirmishing ensued, in which we lost three killed and ten wounded.

The weather continued unfavorable,—frequent and heavy rains falling. The investment of the works was at once begun, and in the Peninsula, the musket and the spade were, thenceforth, to be inseparable companions. In the trenches the soldiers toiled incessantly, while covering parties of sharpshooters, infantry, and artillery, protected them. Day by day the work went on, formidable works arose, and ponderous guns were mounted—evincing the triumph of engineering in the face of the strongest works. Skirmishing constantly attended the construction of the works, in which several were daily killed and wounded.

The difficulties to be overcome were great. The enemy had
made the most of his naturally favorable positions. His works were extensive and very irregular. The ground was swampy, and covered with pools of water, and tangled under-growth, or heavy forests. The men toiled in the rain and the mud, and were exposed to the severest hardships and sufferings. Yet they endured them patiently,—toiling and suffering without complaint. They were cheerful, amid their severest trials. They were nerved to their work by the terrific struggle, which, they believed, was soon to commence. The energy and bravery of the Federal soldiers were frequently manifested by bold explorations of the enemy's works, and by hand to hand contests with their defenders.

Gen. McClellan's plans had embraced the co-operation of the gun-boats, which had been prepared for the purpose. But the Merrimac interrupted the full execution of the plan. Her recent destructive raid in Hampton Roads, in which she had destroyed two noble ships, had excited the apprehensions of our commanders, who were careful not to expose their ships to similar destruction. Several of our gun-boats, however, on the 15th of April, shelled the woods below Gloucester, and one of them brought her guns to bear on the rebel works at Yorktown, but was driven off by the heavy guns of the enemy.

On the 16th of April, a disastrous battle occurred near Lee's Mills, in an attempt to capture a battery of the enemy between that place and Winn's Mills. The position is nearly equi-distant between the York and James rivers. In front of the enemy's works was the Warwick creek, which had here been dammed up, and its breadth was about twelve rods, and its depth, in some places, from four to four and a half feet. The enemy had prepared a battery and rifle pits on the opposite side, and were so strengthening the position that our Generals deemed it important to dispossess them; or at least to ascertain their force. Immediately in the enemy's front, was
A party of skirmishers from the 4th Vermont, advanced through this under-growth to the edge of the stream, and opened so destructive a fire upon the enemy’s battery as to silence his guns, and apparently to drive him into coverts. Artillery was also advanced, and opened upon the works of the enemy, when he responded, and a brisk fire of artillery and infantry, was kept up for nearly two hours. The enemy now ceased firing, owing, it was thought, to the deadly fire of our sharp-shooters, who picked off the gunners.

After consultation, Gen. McClellan decided to make a thorough demonstration upon the enemy, to test his strength, and ascertain his intentions. Between three and four o’clock p. m., four batteries, Ayer’s, Wheeler’s, Mott’s, and Kennedy’s, were ordered forward to the open field, and opened a vigorous fire at the distance of from twelve to thirteen hundred yards. The enemy replied actively for twenty minutes, and again ceased. Our batteries continued to play until word was brought that the creek was easily fordable to the right, where the water was said to be only knee deep. Whereupon, Col. Hyde, in command of the 3d Vermont, then in the advance, was ordered to send four of his companies across the creek at the point indicated, and advance and charge the rear of the enemy’s works. That was attempted. But the wily enemy had prepared to defeat such an attempt. It was below the dam, and the raising of a flood-gate, poured a terrible torrent of water into the creek, covering the men to their arm-pits, saturating their ammunition. While in this defenseless position, several regiments of rebel infantry opened upon them from rifle pits on the bank. Nearly one half their number fell; but the remainder, with dauntless intrepidity, rushed upon, and drove the enemy, with their bayonets, from the first tier of rifle pits. But the contest was too unequal. Supports were not at hand. Two other Vermont companies were in the
water when the order to retreat was given, and a remnant of the force returned.

The Federal batteries, whose fire had been suspended during the attempt to cross the creek, now opened again in full force. Col. Lord, commanding the 6th Vermont, was directed to storm the work by the left flank. They dashed gallantly and eagerly into the water, and when seven companies had entered, and the advance was but a few yards from the breast-works of the enemy, they were met by the gleam and crack of a thousand rifles, over the parapet. The fire was steadily and unflinchingly returned with deadly effect. Few rebel heads appeared a second time over the parapet, while the Federal artillery played most vigorously upon the enemy, lighting up their breast-works, with a continuous explosion of shells. But they were heavily re-enforced; and Col. Lord, abandoning the hope of a successful assault, steadily withdrew, bringing off most of his wounded. The Federal loss was between thirty and forty killed, and one hundred and thirty-two wounded and missing. The loss of the enemy is not known, but the fatal precision of the Federal fire into their large force, must have made it severe. More than seventeen hundred shot and shell were hurled upon the rebels, of which Ayer's and Kennedy's batteries threw four hundred and fifty. The enemy abandoned the position as untenable.

Day after day the long lines of investment were yet farther extended and strengthened, and heavy guns were mounted. Daily infantry and artillery contests occurred, and the daily bulletins showed more or less casualties as the result. Assurances were given toward the close of April, that the great contest of the war would soon begin, and the hundreds of heavy guns, now in position, would seal the fate of the enemy, if he did not abandon the position.

On the second of May, the enemy opened fire with his immense gun, mounted on a pivot, on the corner of his main
fort, on the heights of Yorktown, which inflicted serious injury upon the besiegers, and led to the belief that the long expected contest was now opening. Gen. McClellan replied with his heaviest guns, one and two hundred-pounder Parrott. The rebel gun soon burst, when our number one battery played with destructive effect upon the enemy's shipping and works, and with which they had nothing of sufficient power to compete.

While the enemy was manifesting this feigned activity, he was busily evacuating the place, and carefully removing his material and supplies toward Richmond. This was so adroitly done, that the besiegers were unaware of it until the work was fully accomplished, and the enemy was well on his way.

For this retreat, he had been carefully preparing. He had selected and fortified his route; interposing every possible obstacle to a pursuit, and fortifying the most favorable points, at which to annoy the Union advance.

Yorktown was immediately occupied, in which were found quite a quantity of ordnance stores, and seventy heavy guns. Gen. Franklin's division was conveyed in transports up the York river, with the view to intercept the rebel retreat, while the divisions of General Heintzelman, Sumner, Hooker, Kearney, and Keyes, were put in motion as speedily as possible to pursue the enemy by land.

On Sunday morning, May 4th, General Stoneman, with several regiments of cavalry and light artillery, started in pursuit. Gen. Hooker's division left about noon, immediately followed by Gen. Kearney's division—both of Gen. Heintzelman's corps,—to support the cavalry and artillery advance. The latter closely followed the enemy's rear, with which there was frequent skirmishing. When the advance had proceeded about six miles, they came to a halt, to await the arrival of the infantry. The divisions of Generals Smith, Hooker, Sumner, Kearney, and Couch, came up, but as it was late in the day, and the enemy had apparently a heavy force and strong works in
front, the attack was deferred until the following morning. The army had marched through the day in a tedious rain, over roads indescribably bad, and now bivouacked and sought repose on the wet earth.

Before them lay the rebel army, defended by a work of immense extent and of great strength—Fort Page, also called Fort Magruder. It was situated in a large open plain, two and a half miles from Williamsburg, surrounded by a dense forest. This plain was about a mile in breadth by two in width, in which five separate earth-works had been erected. In this plain, the two roads from Yorktown to Williamsburg converge, which were entirely commanded by the enemy's works. Standing upon the parapets of Fort Magruder—a bastioned
work as large as Fortress Monroe, with a wide moat filled with water, and having a sweep of the plains at every point of the compass—and looking toward Yorktown, you see a horse-shoe-shaped sweep of forest, a mile and more around—you see it fringed on the inside with a gigantic abatis of fallen timber, against which the eyes fairly ache, in their sweep of a mile or more of look—you see for a part of the way, beginning at the end nearest to Williamsburg, a deep, wide ravine, obstructed but little by stumps, and having a hard bottom, and you say instantly, "there, reserves could be held secure from the fire of a million rifles"—you look to the left, and you see upon the plain, one fort, two forts, three forts,—forts away to a dammed up body of water, bounded next an impassable ravine-swamp by a high and narrow mill-dam, commanded by a battery overlooking it, and the passage of which would be a labor that the warriors that crossed the bridge of Lodi, would have been swept from like oat-chaff. Go down from the high parapets of Fort Magruder, and go away over to the right (western) point of the horse-shoe of the rebel position, pass through that "ravine" (so convenient and secure for the reception of the re-enforcements to be marched up from Williamsburg), and enter, if you can, the chevaux-de-frise of forest-trees, tumbled with cowardly and savage ingenuity five hundred feet wide, and stretching further than you can see to the west, upon an arc of difficulty, that would appal the bravest troops that England, France, or Russia, ever sent into the field. The fallen timber was mostly hemlock and pine. Grown on a swamp, it was thick and rank. The trees were out so as to interlock their branches. They lapped each other. Such were the works in which the rebels had posted about five thousand men to retard our advance, and prepared to add such additional forces as circumstances might require.

Early on the morning of the 5th, the troops were in motion, and the advance soon emerged from the woods into the plain
Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker,
The Fighting Commander.
in range of the fort. They were met by a storm of grape and balls from the bastion. The men deployed into the wood and attempted to pass over the fallen timber, but the rebel rifle pits were revealed, concealed by the trees, and from which they were met by a deadly fire. Gen. Hooker attempted to bring up Bramhall's battery, but the mud was so deep that the horses could not flounder through it. The enemy's infantry were posted in the woods, and were pouring deadly volleys into any exposed line. Our forces were compelled to fall back. The enemy, seeing the success which was likely to attend their efforts, sent back additional forces, and concentrated during the day, about twenty-five thousand men.

Gen. Hooker resolved to maintain his position. Throughout the morning, he struggled manfully against the rain, the mud, and the rebels, who appeared on the left in great strength. Gen. Heintzelman was on the field much of the time, and pronounces the contest extremely severe; other experienced officers represent it as terrible beyond precedent. Grover's, Patterson's, and Sickles' brigade, were battling with a fury, under odds, and with a slaughter which had well nigh exhausted and driven them from the field, after the artillery had withdrawn, but for the timely arrival, at two o'clock, of Kearny's division, consisting of the brigades of Berry, Birney, and Jamieson. These good troops, though weary with long and rapid marching, under the sturdy lead of Heintzelman, were not long in turning the tide in our favor, though it cost them, especially the Scott Life Guard and Mozart regiments, of New York, a heavy outlay of life.

Meantime Smith's division was doing nobly on the right and centre. Hancock's brigade, composed of the 5th Wisconsin, 33d New York, 49th Pennsylvania, and 6th Maine regiments, was on the extreme right, while Brooks' Vermont brigade occupied the center, and both bore the heat of battle most nobly. Every few moments, couriers brought tidings of
the steadiness of these fine brigades, and our expectation that they would do themselves great honor during the day was by no means disappointed. Everywhere the enemy found them stern and determined combatants, and worthy their exalted reputation.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the battle was at its height. The scene from head-quarters at that time was exciting and imposing beyond description. Skirting the woods to the left, to the right, and before us, forming a half circle two or three miles in extent, were thousands of our infantry men, pouring a steady fire into the dense forests, where the enemy was steadily advancing. The hissing shells were thrown nearer, and with greater precision, and even burst beyond head-quarters, to the consternation of some of the youthful aids-de-camps who had never been under fire, and to the greater alarm of the women and children yet remaining in the house.

"Now, also, our own reserves were coming up. General Keyes had, in person, driven back a mile or two, and urged them forward. Casey's division, headed by that venerable officer, who has so long and faithfully served his country, reached the plateau to the rear of head-quarters. Couch's division also appeared. Now, too, the artillery and cavalry held in reserve drew near to the scene of action, and prepared for an immediate engagement. Several additional batteries were sent forward. Ayer's was throwing his screeching missiles far into the enemy's ranks, and Mott opened an 'infernal fire' on the centre, while far on the right and left the din of our guns was incessant, the tumult of battle loud and furious. Yet messengers, their steeds

"'Bloody with spurring, fiery-red with haste,'

flew to head-quarters with the report that on our left the desperate enemy were again pressing us in, while from the right Hancock sent for re-enforcements without delay. The sombre clouds, dispensing their copious waters upon the marshaled
armies, were not darker than our prospects now appeared; but the arrival of additional armies, their careful placing and strength, and the knowledge that the main body of our force could not be far behind, inspired fresh confidence in our ranks. The battle waged savagely. Men never fought more doggedly. Death was never met with more of genuine heroism. The vacancies in the lines were speedily filled, the enemy was met, shot for shot and gun for gun."

The 38th New York was ordered to charge down the road, and take the enemy's rifle pits in front, by the flank. This was successfully done by Col. Ward, with seven companies of his regiment.

Gen. Hancock executed a bold movement. He pushed his brigade, supported by Lieut. Cowan's and Capt. Wheeler's batteries, to the right, for a mile parallel to the front, thence across a fifty-acre heath, edged with timber, north to the extreme left of the enemy's works. He here occupied one of the earth-works. Between him and Fort Page were two other works of the enemy, but they abandoned them on his approach, falling back to the main fort. Gen. Hancock was
in a very dangerous position, with a small force of not exceeding five thousand men. He had already planted the Federal flag on three rebel forts. Hooker was closely engaging the enemy on the left, and the artillery was advanced to within six hundred yards of the main fort, on which it was actively playing, and also on the woods beyond, through which the rebels were already in retreat.

A regiment of rebel cavalry, supported by three regiments of infantry, was sent to attack Gen. Hancock. They came on cheering, firing, and charging with great impetuosity. Gen. Hancock held his men in perfect order, Wheeler's battery turned and poured hot volleys into their ranks as they came on, and when sufficiently near, five thousand steady muskets were discharged with telling effect, but still they advanced, though broken and wavering, and when within two hundred yards, Gen. Hancock taking off his hat, vigorously ordered, "Ready now! Charge!" Inspired by the resolute energy of their leader, the men sprang forward with such evident determination, that the foe at once recoiled, broke, and fled to the rear and the right, and the field was won. The panic soon extended to the enemy engaging Hooker's division, and the rebels promptly retired from the sternly contested field. The Federal soldiers encamped on the field, the rain still falling, expecting a renewal of the contest in the morning; but the enemy retired during the night, and our forces passed unmolested through Williamsburg on the following morning. The Federal loss in this battle was five hundred killed, sixteen hundred wounded, and six hundred and twenty-three prisoners. That of the rebels was somewhat greater, and we captured five hundred prisoners.

Simultaneously with the advance of the land forces towards Williamsburg, as we have described, Gen. Franklin's division was embarked on transports, convoyed by gun-boats, and pushed up the York river to its head, thirty miles above
West Point is the name given to the landing-place. It is the terminus of the rail road thence to Richmond.

The landing was difficult, and made by means of pontoon boats, and was not completed until midnight of the 6th of May. Some picket firing occurred during the night, in which three Federal soldiers were killed. A careful watch was kept up during the night; the entire division was under arms at half past three o'clock on the morning of the 7th, and a strong picket force was posted. About six o'clock, the enemy appeared in adjoining woods, and a severe battle ensued, in which, for some time, the enemy had the advantage, and our forces were compelled to fall back, which brought the enemy in range of our gun-boats on York river, and which immediately opened upon them with such effect as to defeat and disperse them. The fight lasted until 2 o'clock p. m. The 32d New
York Volunteers, displayed conspicuous gallantry in a long and obstinate contest with the enemy in the woods, in which they lost over one hundred of their number in killed and wounded. On entering the woods, they were compelled to cross a ravine, and while in the bottom of it, were fired upon by the rebel skirmishers. They at once charged the enemy's position, from which they fled to a second ravine, where they again fired upon their pursuers from its opposite side. They were, however, again repulsed, but inflicted considerable loss. They again fell back behind a third ravine, where they had erected breast-works, in which they had placed mountain howitzers, and from which grape, canister, and rifle shots were poured into the undaunted 32d, who charged within a few feet of the works. Finding the force of the enemy too strong to be successfully assailed, they retired in order. Newton's brigade, of which the 32d formed a part, suffered a total loss in killed, wounded and missing, of about two hundred.

Capt. Montgomery, of Newton's Staff, had a very narrow escape, having been entrapped within the rebel picket lines. He was taken for a rebel officer. He directed them to do their duty, and turned to leave the unwelcome company, when the "U. S." on his cap betrayed him, and although dashing forward rapidly, his horse fell pierced by seven Minie balls, and he was taken prisoner. While conveying him to headquarters, two shells burst among his captors, scattering them, and enabling the Captain to reach the Federal lines.
CHAPTER XXI.

WAR IN NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA—BARBARITY OF THE INSURGENTS—HABEAS CORPUS.


The confidence of the rebels in the success of their cause, was in nothing more manifest than in the breadth and magnificence of the plans which they had laid, and the hearty zeal with which they attempted their execution. They were not content simply with efforts to secure to themselves the slave States; but they aspired also to the acquisition of distant and sparsely settled territories. The conquest of New Mexico and Arizona was included in their programme, and Brig. Gen. H. H. Sibley, and Lieut. Col. J. R. Baylor, were entrusted with the command of forces destined for this expedition.

The troops were chiefly drawn from Texas. Col. Baylor reached Arizona in August, 1861, and issued a proclamation, in which he took formal possession of the territory, in behalf of the Confederate States, instituted military government, declared its boundaries, vacated all the existing offices, and extended over it the laws of the Confederate States.

The advance of the rebel forces into New Mexico, met at first with slight opposition, as the national force in the territory was small, and many of its officers were traitors. The small and unimportant forts, intended to protect the people
from the Indians, were speedily possessed. The rebel Gen. Sibley issued, on the 30th of December, a pompous proclama-
tion, in which he claimed that New Mexico belonged to the
Confederate States, by geographical position, similarity of
interests, and future destiny. He came to liberate them from
a military despotism, and to establish "free institutions." He
declared that his force was sufficiently large to seize and hold
the territory, and defeat any force that might come against
him; adjured the citizens to renounce their allegiance to the
Federal Government, and enroll themselves under his banner;
and if they did not do so, they would incur severe penalties.

Forts Craig, Massachusetts and Union, were at this time
held by the Federal forces. The route of the rebels to Santa
Fe, the capital, would be up the valley of the Rio Grande,
and past Fort Craig. Col. Canby was then in command of
that fort, and resolved to defend it, and dispute their advance.

On the 18th of February, the rebels appeared in force before
Fort Craig, but after reconnoitering, fell back six miles down
the river to a ford, which they crossed, intending to come up
on the opposite side, thus avoiding Fort Craig and the forces
of Col. Canby. On the afternoon of the 19th, the latter
crossed the river with about one thousand five hundred men,
and which were joined on the following day by the cavalry of
Major Duncan, and McRae's battery, and the line of battle
was about to be formed to meet the advancing enemy. Soon
after, and before our forces had formed, the Texans opened a
heavy canonnade upon the battery and cavalry, and the reg-
iment under Col. Pino was so panic stricken and thrown into
such confusion, that they could not be kept in position, and Col.
Canby ordered a counter-march to the fort, where they arrived
in safety. The panic had been causeless, for from the eleva-
ted position of the forces, the enemy's shots had failed to
reach them, and only one man had been wounded by a broken
fragment of a rock.
On the following day, Col. Canby advanced on the west side of the river, and overtook the enemy on the opposite shore, about seven miles north of the fort. Here was fought, for the number engaged, one of the severest contests of the war, during which McRae’s and Hall’s batteries were charged upon by an overwhelming force of the enemy, and captured. The loss of the batteries was the loss of the field, and the Union forces were compelled to retire to Fort Craig. The Union forces engaged numbered about one thousand five hundred; those of the rebels nearly two thousand. Our loss was between fifty and sixty killed, and about one hundred and forty wounded; that of the enemy was greater than our own, though the precise number has never been ascertained. This engagement has been entitled, The battle of Valvende.

After this disastrous repulse of the Union troops, the rebels advanced upon Albuquerque and Santa Fe, and which they captured without resistance. Having possession of Santa Fe, the capital, the insurgents proclaimed a provisional government, but they were never able to carry it into practical operation.

These bold and successful movements of the rebels becoming known, vigorous efforts were made to counteract them. Troops were advanced from Kansas; and a regiment of nine hundred and fifty strong from Colorado, under Col. Slough, reached Fort Union on the 13th of March. With such additional forces as he could procure, he moved forward toward Santa Fe, to repel the enemy. They met at “Apache Pass.” The progress and result of the fight are thus communicated by Major Mayu, of the 4th New Mexico Volunteers:

“The main fight took place at Apache Canon, eighty miles from Union, and twenty miles from Santa Fe. Three battalions, one under Major Chivington, one under Capt. Lewis, regular, and one under Capt. Wynkoop, advanced to the Canon, on the 28th of March, when the pickets reported no
enemy in sight. The command then advanced, when shots were fired at them by the Texans, who were in ambush, and succeeded in killing four privates. Our men under Slough, rushed on them, killing twenty or thirty Texans, wounding many of them, and taking seven prisoners, four officers and three privates. Major Chivington’s command, which went ahead and surprised the Texan pickets, took sixty-seven prisoners, and sixty-four provision wagons, and a plan of action was determined upon—to meet the enemy in front, and flank them at the same time.

“About 12 o’clock the action became general, the Coloradans doing wonders. The battery under Capt. Ritter, and also the howitzer battery under Lieut. Clafflin, cleaned the Texans and things generally. The fight lasted until 4 o’clock, when flags of truce were interchanged, to bury the dead and care for the wounded. The enemy had about two thousand men and one six-pounder. We had one thousand three hundred men, and one each six and twelve-pounder, and four howitzers. The enemy lost their entire train (sixty-four wagons and provision,) two hundred and thirty mules, about one hundred and fifty killed, two hundred wounded and ninety-three taken prisoners, among whom are thirteen officers. Some of the latter have held commissions in the volunteer corps of the Territory.

“The Texans, when surprised, supposed it was Col. Canby’s force, instead of ours, that was coming. The Texan officer in command, with two of his companies, made two different attempts to charge on our men and seize their batteries, but were each time repulsed, with a tremendous loss on their side, while daring, noble deeds were performed by our soldiers. At one time, the Texan companies charged within a few yards of our batteries.”

The defeat of the insurgents at Apache Pass was so complete that they could not rally from it. They were compelled to
abandon both the territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and retreat into Texas. The territories were occupied by additional Union forces, and the ambitious aspirations of the insurgents for the control of those vast territories, were effectually foiled.

The history of this rebellion would be incomplete, did it not chronicle the inhuman and vandal deeds of the insurgents. The spirit which led them to inaugurate the war, dictated also the manner in which it was to be conducted. Terror, held up before the Union men of the South, and impressed upon them by the most wanton and inhuman deeds, was the agency by which secession was effected in many of the States, and the same recklessness of means was manifest in conducting the war. The end was kept steadily in view, and in seeking to attain it, humanity and the laws of civilized warfare were of secondary importance. Future generations will read with astonishment, the ferocious records of this rebellion. The old Vandals won for themselves a name in history, which indicates all that is ferocious and destructive, and will not the rebels in this war, dispute with them in future annals, the palm of pre-eminence?

The fundamental idea of the rebels, that the world could not exist without southern cotton, led them to the resolution to destroy, to the utmost of their ability, that product; and the rage of destruction, beginning with cotton, extended also to property in general. The following bill was passed in the rebel Congress:

"A Bill to Provide for the Destruction of Cotton, Tobacco, and other Property, when the same shall be about to fall into the hands of the enemy:

"Be it enacted by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, That it shall be the duty of all military commanders in the service of the Confederate States to destroy all cotton, tobacco, or other property, that may be useful to
the enemy, if the same cannot be safely removed, whenever, in their judgment, the said cotton, tobacco, and other property is about to fall into the hands of the enemy."

The disparaging epithets which had long been applied by the South to the "Yankees," and the constant efforts made by the leaders of the rebellion, to create the bitterest hatred of the men of the North, had, among the ignorant masses, the desired effect, and produced a feeling of malevolence, bordering closely upon the diabolical. The ruthless soldiery, fired to madness by the hellish arts of their leaders, have, during this war, committed brutalities at which humanity will long weep. The monuments of their barbarity are most numerous in Eastern Tennessee, Western Texas and Virginia, yet few neighborhoods exist without illustrative examples in any one of the slave States, and few battle-fields which have not also furnished irrefragible proofs of rebel barbarities.

Gen. Butler was among the first on this, as on almost every other question that arose, to take a firm, true, and an unmistakable position. When the rebels poisoned one of his soldiers fatally, and many partially, he thus characterized it:

"Are our few insane enemies among the loyal men of Maryland prepared to wage war upon us in this manner? Do they know the terrible lesson of warfare they are teaching us? Can it be that they realize the fact that we can put an agent, with a word, into every household, armed with this terrible weapon? In view of the terrible consequences of this mode of warfare, if adopted by us from their teaching, with every sentiment of devotional prayer, may we not exclaim: 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!'"

Gen. Beauregard and other officers falsely represented that wherever the "ruthless Yankees" went, neither age nor sex would be respected, that outrage, robbery and pillage, would mark their tracks, and the people among whom our officers and soldiers afterwards moved, exhibited the most agreeable
surprise at the uniform kind treatment which they received. The sad effects of the foul slander of those leaders, were most manifest upon the female members of southern communities, who treated our officers and soldiers with a rudeness which is without a parallel in communities having the least claims to civilization. In some cases, among the less intelligent, as along the Tennessee River, the women fled to the woods, and in Florence, Alabama, humbly begged protection from outrage. Such language as the following, was constantly before them.

"The foot of the oppressor is on the soil of Georgia. He comes with lust in his eye, poverty in his purse, and hell in his heart. He comes a robber and a murderer. How shall you meet him? With the sword, at the threshold! With death for him or for yourself! But more than this—let every woman have a torch, every child a firebrand—let the loved homes of our youth be made ashes, and the fields of our heritage be made desolate. Let blackness and ruin mark your departing steps, if depart you must, and let a desert more terrible than Sahara welcome the Vandals. Let every city be leveled by the flame, and every village be laid in ashes. Let your faithful slaves share your fortune and your crust. Trust wife and children to the sure refuge and protection of God—preferring even for these loved ones the charnel-house as a home, than loathsome vassalage to a nation already sunk below the contempt of the civilized world. This may be your terrible choice, and determine at once, and without dissent, as honor, and patriotism, and duty to God require."

Private property was wantonly and ruthlessly destroyed, for which no military excuse could be rendered. Instance the following at Bowling Green, Kentucky:

"Residence of W. L. Underwood; pork house of T. Quigly & Co.; stock of hides belonging to Campbell & Smith; Washington Hotel; three stores adjoining; store of Moore & Kline, druggists; Geatly & Gwin, shoe dealers' store; J. D
Hine's Grocery store; house, belonging to Mrs. C. T. Dunni-son; Shower & Mitchell, merchant-tailors; house, belonging to Mrs. H. T. Smith; McClure & Fussetti, jewelers; J. H. Wilkins, lawyer's office; Dr. W. D. Helm's office; Hugh Barclay's drug store; house, belonging to Mr. Pendleton; store-house, belonging to John H. Graham; livery stable, owned by J. T. Donaldson; saw-mill, belonging to D. B. Campbell; flour mill, belonging to Judge Payne; pork house of F. F. Lucas; Amphitheatre, on the fair grounds; tobacco-factory of Humpton, Pritchell & Co.; rail road machine shop, called the round house; the McCloud House; the Highland House; Major McGoodwin's store; the bridges were also destroyed. Besides the above, large quantities of pork, beef, flour, sugar, tobacco, molasses, and all kinds of army stores and munitions of war, were burned or otherwise destroyed, entailing a loss of over a million of dollars on the various owners, and nearly a million more on the country."

One of the inhabitants of Western Virginia, gives the following as his experience of rebel robbery, which is but one of many thousand similar cases:

"The Southern army were here three or four weeks, and, like the locusts of the East, devoured all before them. They had a good deal of cavalry, and depended on the inhabitants where they stopped to feed them. One company of cavalry, numbering about seventy, camped around my house and barn two weeks. The army took all our oats, nearly all the hay and corn, took a good share of the potatoes, and leveled our field of corn with the ground. They took three of our cattle. Never a cent did we get for any of it."

After the battle of Bull Run, the most fiendish barbarity was practiced upon the Union dead. The public sensation thus created, led to a Congressional investigation of the alleged atrocities, by which they were fully established. The committee say:
"These disclosures, establishing, as they incontestibly do, the constant inhumanity of the rebel leaders, will be read with sorrow and indignation by the people of the loyal States. They should inspire these people to renewed exertions to protect our country from the restoration to power of such men. They should, and we believe they will, arouse the disgust and horror of foreign nations against this unholy rebellion. Let it be our duty, nevertheless, to furnish a continual contrast to such barbarities and crimes. Let us persevere in the good work of maintaining the authority of the Constitution, and of refusing to imitate the monstrous practices we have been called upon to investigate."

Upon the Unionists of the South, however, the rebels poured the bitterest vials of their wrath. They would not in many localities tolerate the presence of such men in their midst. It was not enough that they decided to remain neutral, to seal their lips and be silent. They must abjure their love of country and join the enemy, or submit to the sequestration of their property, and to expatriation from their homes. These were the legal penalties. But in many cases, all laws were set at defiance, and the passions and fury of the mob were let loose, and murder, in the most cruel forms, was then the victim's fate. We read, and shudder as we read, the tales of Indian barbarities, inflicted upon innocent and defenceless victims; but with the savage, such deeds are the result of centuries of traditionary education, and the known and settled rule of warfare among the unlettered tribes. When the detailed history of the atrocities which the rebels have inflicted upon Unionists shall be written, tales of barbarity and horror will be revealed, scarcely exceeded in cruel ferocity by the rudest savages.

Eastern Tennessee was the theatre of the most wanton cruelties. Isolated from Union support, they were, for a long period, subjected to exclusive rebel control; and the severity
of punishment which the latter inflicted upon them, was proportioned to the sincerity and firmness of their loyalty. In a letter to Senator Johnson the following facts are stated:

"You may rest assured that the state of things in East Tennessee is indescribable. Many of our people, upon bare suspicion, are arrested and taken prisoners, insulted, abused, and carried into rebel camps, there to be disposed of as the rebel mob think proper. Squads of cavalry and infantry are continually scouring over the country, offering our people, male and female, every indignity that these ruffian bands are capable of; destroying our crops and substance without regard to the condition or circumstances of the persons; pasturing their horses in our corn-fields; wasting our hay-stacks; taking our provisions of every description, without regard to quantity, not even asking the price, or tendering an equivalent therefor, in any shape whatever."

The rebel proclamation of martial law, on the 14th of November, 1861, compelled large numbers of the Unionists to flee to the mountains, and many were seized, and driven out of the State. Those engaged in bridge burning, or in injuring the rail roads to prevent the movement of rebel armies and supplies, were immediately hung. Parson Brownlow, a strong Unionist, but an advocate of slavery, himself one of the victims of rebel cruelty, relates the following:

"One of my companions, A. C. Hawn — the gallant Hawn, one of the most moral and upright men in Knoxville, with a wife and two small children — was sentenced to be hung by this court-martial, and he had but one hour's notice to prepare himself. He asked for a minister of one of the Churches in Knoxville to be sent for, but the reply of the jailor was: 'No d — d traitor in the South has the right to be prayed for; and God does not hear such prayers.' Poor Hawn was placed on the scaffold, and a miserable drunken chaplain of one of the Southern regiments was sent to attend him. Just as they
were about to launch Hawn into eternity, the chaplain said: 'This poor, unfortunate man desires to say that he was led into committing the acts for which he is now to atone with his life, by Union men, and he is really an object of pity.' Hawn rose, and in a stentorian voice replied: 'I desire to say that every word that man has said is false. I am the identical man that put the torch to the timbers of that bridge, and I am ready to swing for it. Hang me as soon as you can.'"

Brownlow relates his own experience thus:

"The Brigadier General commanding at Knoxville, came in to see me one day; the prisoners all rallied around to hear what was said. He said: 'Brownlow, you ought not to be here.' 'I think so, too,' said I. 'Now,' says he, 'come along with me, and we will make it all right. We will go up to Judge Humphrey, at the Court House, and you can take the oath of allegiance to the Southern Confederacy.' I turned round to him at the insulting proposition. 'Sir,' said I, 'before I will take the oath of allegiance to the Southern Confederacy to obtain my freedom, I will rot in jail of disease, or die with old age. Nay, more—I deny that you have a government; I deny that you are authorized to administer the oath of allegiance to your rotten mob-government, which no power on earth will ever recognize. Before I will do so, I will see the entire Southern Confederacy in hell, and you and I on the top of it.' (Great cheering.) 'Sir,' said he, 'that is d—d plain talk. 'Yes, sir-ee,' replied I. He tipped his hat, made a bow, which I returned, and we parted.'"

The refugees who fled into Kentucky, eagerly joined the Union army, and were anxious to redeem their land from the crushing heel of the oppressor. In the battle of Mill Spring, it was observed, that they were the most brave and heroic of all the gallant men who there met, and utterly routed their hated foes.

The Unionists of Missouri have also been terrible sufferers.
They too were driven from their homes, and sought refuge in the less disturbed parts of the State, in Illinois, and elsewhere. Of them it was said at the time, that:

"Many of them find a shelter on the road between St. Louis and Rolla; and, as they are broken down in spirits and fatigued from exposure, any rest is desirable. The provision made for their reception is ample to insure their comfort during a temporary sojourn in this city. The people of Illinois have thrown open their houses and farms to these unfortunate men, and deserve great credit for their benevolence."

Gen. Halleck, on December 12th, 1861, issued an order levying ten thousand dollars upon the disloyal in St. Louis, for the aid of the persecuted Unionists who were arriving in that city.

John Minor Botts, a prominent politician of Virginia, over sixty years of age, and a firm Unionist, was thrown into a negro prison in Richmond, where he was for a long time confined, for no other offense than that of supporting the Union with earnestness and ability, during the early periods of secession.

Such are a few of the myriad outrages inflicted upon the loyal supporters of the country during the rebellion. When the annals shall be fully made up, they will form the most revolting chapter in the history of this war, full as it otherwise is, of cruel wrong and bloody outrage.

Not content with the cruel and unrelenting persecution and murder of their own loyal neighbors, the insurgents sought to bring upon the frontier settlements the terrible horrors of an Indian war; and in which, unfortunately, they were but too successful.

To distract the attention of the Federal Government, and to compel the withdrawal of forces to the remote frontiers, the rebels sought to stimulate the south-western and western Indians to join the Confederacy. For this purpose, early in
August, 1861, they sent emissaries among them, who succeeded in persuading John Ross, the Cherokee Chief, to join them, with many of his tribe, on the condition, which was agreed to, that the Confederacy should pay them the annuities previously paid by the United States. John Ross and Albert Pike, were the principal and most active agents of the Confederacy with the Indians, and the means employed were bribes and threats.

Many of the Cherokees, and a part of the Creeks and Osages, joined the rebel standard, and their first military operations are thus described in the Fort Smith Times and Herald:

"Opothleyholo, one of the chief leaders of the old Creek party, is at the head of one thousand seven hundred men, near the Creek agency, in arms against the South. They
have ordered the Confederate flag to be taken down, which was raised by McIntosh's regiment, and the stars and stripes substituted in its place. General McCulloch, to repel and crush this outbreak at once, has ordered one thousand one hundred Cherokees, five hundred Osages, and one thousand Creeks, and a battalion of Colonel Cooper's regiment to march upon them. Major Clarke has been actively engaged for the past two days, fitting out this expedition. Colonel Cooper will assume command of the forces. Enemies are still lurking in our midst, and too much vigilance cannot be used to crush out these foes that spring up so unexpectedly in our frontiers."

On December 15th, the same paper adds that:

"We learn from Major Clarke, of Texas, direct from the camp of Colonel Cooper, that a battle took place on the 9th, on Bushey Creek, near the Verdigris river, about one hundred and eighty miles from this place, between the forces of Colonel Cooper, and the enemy's under Opothleyholo, estimated at four or five thousand men. Colonel Cooper had only about one thousand three hundred men.

"The enemy attacked Colonel Cooper about eleven o'clock, and the fight continued all day until sundown. Colonel Simms' Texan regiment fought with great bravery, and the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, fought like tigers. In fact, it was one of the hardest fought battles that has taken place in the country.

"The enemy followed Colonel Cooper several miles, and attacked him with great fury. Colonel Cooper drove them back to the woods, a distance of two miles. A large number of Cherokees were with Opothleyholo, likewise about one hundred and fifty Seminoles. Colonel Drew, with his men, who remained with him, fought well, and did good service. The Choctaws took about one hundred and fifty scalps, and the Chickasaws nearly fifty. The Creeks did not scalp any, because the enemy were their own people."
"Colonel Cooper behaved with the greatest coolness and bravery. We understand that he has called on Colonel McIntosh for assistance; and it is to be hoped that he will furnish it with promptness. If aid is not sent, we will be likely to have terrible times on the frontier."

Most of the Indian tribes remained loyal, but as in the battle of Pea Ridge, the rebels had a sufficient number to improve, somewhat, upon their ordinary atrocity upon the battle-field, by the free use of the tomahawk and scalping-knife upon the bodies of the dead and wounded. The Indians in the south-west, however, did not go into the contest as though their hearts were in it,—as though it was their cause. They did not adopt the murderous practice usual in Indian wars, of the promiscuous slaughter of the people of the frontier.

But in the north-west it was different. There the tribes were wilder, had come less in contact with civilized usages, and retained all the ferocity of the most brutal tribes. These were stimulated by the fiendish arts of the rebels, to commence and carry forward in the State of Minnesota, during the summer of 1862, one of the most atrocious wars ever recorded in Border annals. Whole counties were nearly depopulated by the Indian massacres, or by forced emigration. Houses, and all out-buildings, and stacked grain were consumed, and the cattle and other domestic animals killed. Large numbers of men, women and children, were cruelly murdered, and others subjected to the cruel tortures incident to Indian captivity. The war was only checked by the vigorous action of the military authorities, and by the capture, condemnation, and execution of the principal Indian leaders.

The great number of sympathizers with, and abettors of the rebellion, compelled the President to authorize military commanders, in certain cases, to suspend the operation of what is called the writ of Habeas Corpus.

"It is customary, in time of alleged danger, to suspend the
Habeas Corpus Act. A suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act is effected by an Act of Parliament, which empowers the crown for a limited period to imprison suspected persons, without stating any reason for the imprisonment.

"The effect of a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, is not, in itself, to enable any one 'to imprison suspected persons without giving any reason for so doing.' But it prevents persons who are committed upon certain charges from being bailed, tried, or discharged, for the time of the suspension, except under the provisions of the suspending act—leaving, however, to the magistrate or person committing, all the responsibility attending an alleged imprisonment. It is very common, therefore, to pass acts of indemnity, subsequently for the protection of those who either could not defend themselves without making improper disclosures of the information on which they acted, or who have done acts not strictly defensible at law, though justified by the necessity of the moment."

The provision in our Constitution on that subject, is in the following words: "The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

On the opening of the extra session in Congress, the President thus treats the question in his message:

"Now it is insisted that Congress, and not the Executive, is vested with this power. But the Constitution itself is silent as to which, or who is to exercise the power; and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed that the framers of the instrument intended that in every case the danger should run its course until Congress could be called together—the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case, by the rebellion."

Numerous arrests were made of suspected persons, who were confined in various fortresses, by authority of the Secretary of State. The matter was brought before the courts
The case of John Merriman, who was arrested for burning the bridge at Cockeysville, in Maryland, was the first one investigated. Chief Justice Taney, of the United States Supreme Court, granted the writ, which Gen. George Cadwallader refused to obey, and as the civil power could not enforce its decrees, independently of Congress and the Executive, the writ was inoperative. Various applications were made to judges in various parts of the country, by most of whom the writ was denied. In all cases, however, where it was granted, the military officers refused to respect it.

It is doubtless true that much injustice was done by the arrest and confinement of innocent persons; in some cases, subjects of foreign governments. But the necessity of the case furnished complete justification of the course. Secretary Seward, in reply to Lord Lyons, who had complained of the improper arrest of British subjects, thus forcibly presents that necessity:

"Treason always operates, if possible, by surprise, and prudence and humanity, therefore, equally require that violence concocted in secret, shall be prevented, if practicable, by unusual and vigorous precaution. I am, fully aware of the inconveniences which result from the practice of such precaution, embarrassing communities in social life, and affecting, perhaps, trade and intercourse with foreign nations. But the American people, after having tried in every way to avert civil war, have accepted it, at last, as a stern necessity. The chief interest, while it lasts, is not the employments of society, or the profits of trade, but the saving of the national life. That life saved, all the other blessings which attend it will speedily return, with greater assurance of continuance than ever before. The safety of the whole people has become, in the present emergency, the supreme law, and so long as the danger shall exist, all classes of society equally, the denizen and the citizen—cheerfully acquiesce in the measures which that law prescribes."
Much public controversy and violence of discussion, grew out of what was denominated "arbitrary arrests," the opponents of the measure denying that the President had the power to suspend the writ, and insisting that the civil courts, and not the military tribunals, should investigate and determine the cases of alleged disloyalty.

With the exception of those who were captured as privates, there were no trials for treason in any of the courts of the United States. The prisoners were arrested and confined, until their guilt or innocence could be satisfactorily ascertained. Many were discharged, on taking the oath of allegiance.

The arrests were generally made by United States marshals, under orders from the Department of State, generally communicated by telegraph. In some cases the causes of the arrest were publicly stated; in others, none were made public. Among the most prominent persons arrested, were Mr. Ross Winans, a wealthy citizen of Baltimore, under the charge of supplying arms to the rebels. He was released without confinement. Ex-Minister Faulkner, without specific charges, exchanged as a prisoner of war. James G. Barret, Mayor of Washington, for refusing to take the oath of Allegiance. The members of the Maryland House of Delegates, Marshal Kane and the Baltimore police, and the Mayor of the City, for open and active treason.

The proceedings in the case of the first arrest, and application for the writ, will serve as models for all similar cases.

John Merryman, on his arrest, prepared a petition to Chief Justice Taney, of the Supreme Court of the United States, stating that he had been imprisoned without any process of law, or pretense of the same, by order of Brig. Gen. George Cadwallader, and praying that the writ of habeas corpus may issue, commanding the said Gen. Cadwallader to bring the said petitioner before the said Chief Justice, and produce the causes of his detention, to the end that he may be discharged.
The writ issued was in the following words:

"To Gen. George Cadwallader, Greeting:

You are hereby commanded to be and appear before the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, at the United States Court Room in the Masonic Hall, in the city of Baltimore, on Monday, the 27th day of May, 1861, at 11 o'clock in the morning, and that you have with you the body of John Merryman, of Baltimore county, and now in your custody, and that you certify and make known the day and cause of the capture and detention of the said John Merryman, and that you then and there, do submit to, and receive whatever the said Court shall determine upon, concerning you, on their behalf, according to law, and have you then and there this writ.

"Witness the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the fourth Monday in May, in the year of our Lord, 1861. Thomas Spicer, Clerk Circuit Court."

"Issued 25th May, 1861."

At the time stated, Col. Lee, in behalf of Gen. Cadwallader, presented a response to the writ, in which he stated, that the prisoner was "charged with various acts of treason, with being publicly associated with, and holding a commission as Lieutenant in a company, having in their possession arms belonging to the United States, and avowing his purpose of armed hostility to the United States."

"He has further to inform you, that he is duly authorized by the President of the United States, in such cases to suspend the writ of habeas corpus for the public safety," * * and concluded by a request to postpone further action until he could hear from the President, when he would again hear from him.

When the reply had been read, and Col. Lee was about to leave the room, the Chief Justice inquired, "Have you brought
with you the body of John Merryman?” Col. Lee replied, “I have no instructions except to deliver this reply to the Court.”

Chief Justice—“The commanding officer then declines to obey the writ?”

Col. Lee—“After making that communication, my duty is ended, and my power is ended.”

Col. Lee retires.

Chief Justice—“The Court orders an attachment to issue against Geo. Cadwallader for disobedience to the high writ of the Court.”

The order was made as follows:

“Ordered, that an attachment forthwith issue against Gen. George Cadwallader, for contempt, in refusing to produce the body of John Merryman, according to the command of the writ of habeas corpus, returnable and returned before me to-day, and that said attachment be returned before me at 12 o’clock to-morrow, at the room of the Circuit Court.

“Roger B. Taney.

“Monday, May 27th, 1861.”

At that time the Marshal stated to the Court that he had proceeded to Fort McMcHenry, where Merryman was confined, and was denied admittance, and therefore could not serve the writ.

The Chief Justice said, it was a plain case and he should feel it his duty to enforce the process of the Court. He declared the detention of the prisoner to be unlawful on two grounds.

“1st. The President, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, cannot suspend the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus, nor authorize any military officer to do so.

“2d. A military officer has no right to arrest and detain a person not subject to the rules and articles of war, for an offence against the laws of the United States, except in aid of the judicial authority, and subject to its control; and if the
party is arrested by the military, it is the duty of the officer
to deliver him over immediately to the civil authority, to be
dealt with according to law."

On these two points, the Chief Justice subsequently pre-
pared and filed a very elaborate opinion.

In St. Louis, a similar case arose on the arrest by Capt.
Lyon, of Emmett McDonald and others. The writ was di-
rected to issue by the Court, but disobeyed by Gen. Harney,
who had the chief military command.

At the request of the President, Attorney General Bates
prepared an opinion, on the 5th of July, on the two questions:

1st. "Has the President discretionary power, to cause to be
arrested and held in custody, persons known to have criminal
intercourse with the insurgents, or persons against whom there
is probable cause for suspicion of such criminal complicity.

"2d. In such cases of arrest, is the President, in refusing to
obey the writ of habeas corpus issued by a Court or Judge,
requiring him or his agent to produce the body of the prisoner,
and show the cause of his capture and detention, to be ad-
judged and disposed of by such Court or Judge?"

The Attorney General discussed both questions fully and
ably, and decided them affirmatively.

The decision of the Government to arrest suspected traitors,
and to suspend in their case the writ of habeas corpus, created
intense excitement. Numerous judicial decisions were made
on questions that related to that subject, some sustaining and
others opposing the decision.

Associate Judge Mosely, of the Circuit Court of the Dis-
trict of Columbia, thus asserted his view of the question:

"1. That the law in this country knows no superior.

"2. That the supremacy of the civil authority over the mili-
tary cannot be denied; that it has been established by the
ablest jurists, and recognized and respected by the great father
of his country during the revolutionary war.
"3. That this Court ought to be respected by every one as the guardian of the personal liberty of the citizen, in giving ready and effectual aid, by that most valuable means, the writ of *habeas corpus.*"

On the 27th of April, Judge Betts, of the U. S. District Court of New York, thus stated his views of treasonable acts:

"Giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the country, consists in furnishing the military supplies, food, clothing, harbor or concealment, or communicating information to them, helping their hostilities against the country and its Government. Building, manning, or in any way fitting out, or victualing vessels to aid the hostilities of our enemies; sending provisions, arms, or other supplies to them; raising funds, or obtaining credit for their service; indeed every *traitorous purpose, manifested by acts*, committed in this district by her sons, owing allegiance to the country, will be acts of treason. * * *

The kindred crime of mis-prison of treason is this: If any person owing allegiance to the Government, has knowledge of acts of treason committed by others within the jurisdiction of the Court, and does not make it known to the President of the United States, or one of the Judges of the United States, or the Governor of the State, or a Judge or Magistrate thereof, he becomes guilty of mis-prison of treason, and subject to seven years imprisonment, and a fine of one thousand dollars for the offense."

Judge Nelson, of the Circuit Court of the United States for New York, held this opinion of treasonable acts:

"There are some acts of the citizen in his relations with the enemy, which leave no room for doubt—such as giving intelligence, with intent to aid him in his hostility; sending him provisions, or money; furnishing arms or troops, or munitions of war, surrendering a military post, &c., all with a like intent. These and kindred facts are overt acts of treason, by adhering to the enemy. Words, oral, written, or printed, however treasona-
ble, seditious, or criminal of themselves, do not constitute an overt act of treason, within the definition of the crime. When spoken, written, or printed, in relation to an act, or acts, which, if committed with a treasonable design, might constitute such overt act, they are admissible as evidence, tending to characterize it, and show the intent with which the act was committed. They may also furnish some evidence of the act itself against the accused. This is the extent to which such publications may be used, either in finding a bill of indictment, or on the trial of it."

Secretary Seward, on the 16th of May, 1861, thus gives the views of the Executive Department of the Government, as to what constitutes treason:

"It is treason for any person to give aid and comfort to public enemies. To sell vessels to them, which it is their purpose to use as ships-of-war, is to give them aid and comfort. To receive money from them in payment for vessels which they have seized for those purposes, would be to attempt to convert the unlawful seizure into a sale, and would subject the party so offending, to the pains and penalties of treason, and the Government would not hesitate to bring the offender to punishment."

Hon. Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, one of the first constitutional lawyers in the United States, published an elaborate opinion upon the power of the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. He critically reviewed Chief Justice Taney's opinion, and conclusively demonstrated its error. He proved, beyond reasonable question, that the constitutional provision on that subject, vested the power of suspension in the President, and in him only; that Alexander Hamilton, one of the framers of the Constitution, assigned that power to the President, that President Madison took the same view, and that it had been exercised without objection by President Jackson.
CHAPTER XXII.


We left the army of the Potomac (vol. 1, chap. xx, p. 556,) at Williamsburg and West Point, having defeated the enemy in the two actions of May 5th and May 7th. The retreat of Johnston's army from Williamsburg had created an intense panic in Richmond. Mr. Davis, the Rebel President, and Gov. Letcher, together with most of the principal citizens, having removed their families and household goods from the city, sent away
the public archives and libraries, and prepared for an attack on Richmond, which there was every reason for believing would have proved successful.

But General McClellan was not aware of the terror which those successes had inspired, and though a few squadrons of cavalry were sent out to harass the rear of the flying enemy, they were soon recalled, and the progress of the Federal army toward Richmond was made in the most leisurely manner. For several days they lay still, awaiting supplies from Yorktown, and the greatest distance accomplished in a day was six miles. On the 16th of May, they reached White House,—so called from a large white mansion, formerly the property of the Washington family,—about thirty-six miles from Williamsburg, on the Pamunkey river, an affluent of the York river, navigable for large vessels to this point. The Richmond and York River railroad, extending from Richmond to West Point, at the confluence of the York and Pamunkey, passed through it.

White House is but twenty-four miles by railroad from Richmond, and but one small stream, the Chickahominy, crossed by several bridges, obstructed the march direct upon the rebel Capital. The railroad was made available as a means of transportation, locomotives and cars being brought on the transports. The stores were landed at White House, which thenceforward became the base of operations for the Federal army.

The enemy, taking advantage of the slow movements of our army, had crossed the Chickahominy and commenced fortifying Richmond in earnest, impressing all the slaves who could work on the fortifications into his service, and bringing from all quarters re-enforcements for his army. Norfolk was evacuated, and the fifteen or eighteen thousand troops concentrated there, recalled to Richmond. A conscription law had been passed by the rebel Congress on the 16th of April, and under it Mr. Davis called out the entire able bodied male population
MAP OF THE PENINSULA CAMPAIGN.
between eighteen and thirty-five years of age, while those above thirty-five and under eighteen, already in the army, were compelled to remain. Such a conscription could not fail to fill up the ranks of the rebel army in a few months, and meantime various causes were diminishing the Union forces. Of about one hundred and thirty thousand men under Gen. McClellan's command on the 30th of April, only one hundred and twelve thousand three hundred and ninety-two were reported fit for duty. The accession of Franklin's division and some other troops, subsequently swelled the whole number on the rosters to one hundred and sixty thousand; but, the battles of Williamsburg and West Point, sickness and furloughs, reduced the effective number to about one hundred and twenty-five thousand.

By a bold push forward, after the establishment of his base at White House, there is no reason to doubt that this magnificent army might have captured Richmond before its defences had been fully strengthened, or the number of its defenders so largely increased. But, unfortunately, a spirit of procrastination was allowed to rule, and the favorable period passed away. The rebel force, not pressed in its retreat, had leisure to destroy the principal bridges over the Chickahominy, and when the army of the Potomac arrived at that stream, there were small facilities for crossing.

There were topographical difficulties to be encountered; also, in consequence of the destruction of these bridges. The Chickahominy, an affluent of the James, has its sources in several small streams flowing through the broken and hilly country north of Richmond, and flows in a south-east direction through a swampy region to a point about thirty miles south-east of Richmond, where it suddenly turns southward, and after a short course, discharges its waters into the James river. It is ordinarily a sluggish stream, now flowing in a narrow and deep channel, and anon spreading out into a broad shallow morass,
with deep mud and treacherous quicksands. From Mechanicsville, about six miles north of Richmond, to a point below the White Oak Swamp, much of its course is through deep and almost impassable morasses, from which arises in the spring and summer a malaria which speedily induces remittent and congestive fevers in those who are unacclimated.

To cross this marshy stream with siege artillery and heavy trains, required firm and substantial bridges; pontoons would not answer, on account of the extensive morasses; and the river was so subject to flood from heavy rains about its head waters, that nothing but the strongest bridges could be maintained in good condition. On the banks of this stream, then, the great army sat down, and the sword, musket, and rifle, were exchanged for the axe, spade and pick. Long corduroy roads were made to the river, embankments thrown up, abatis constructed, and earthworks, models doubtless of skillful military engineering, reared, but meantime Richmond was not reached, and day by day the fever attacked the weary toilers by hundreds, and they were consigned to the hospitals.

Gen. McClellan had, from the commencement of the campaign on the Peninsula, constantly asked for further re-enforcements, and especially for McDowell's corps, which had been retained at Fredericksburg, to protect Washington against any movement of the enemy, by way of the Virginia Central and Orange and Alexandria railroads, which were still, in part at least, in his possession. During the interval between Gen. McClellan's arrival at White House and his crossing the Chickahominy, the President had determined to permit a junction to be effected between this corps and the army of the Potomac, by way of Hanover Court House, but the raid of Jackson and Ewell down the valley of the Shenandoah, and their attack upon Gen. Banks, which we have described elsewhere, frustrated, as it was probably intended to do, this plan, and compelled the United States Govern-
ment to employ McDowell in the immediate defence of the Capital, to which point also were called, for three months, a large body of militia troops from Pennsylvania, New York, and New England.

It is now well known that Gen. McClellan, with characteristic caution, greatly overrated the numbers of the rebel forces, and that at no time prior to the 15th of June, 1862, had they a force equal to his, in numbers. The effects of this over-estimate were disastrous, as it prevented movements which might have been made with certainty of success, had he been more correctly informed.

On the 27th of May, Hanover Court House, a village on the Virginia Central railroad, sixteen miles north of Richmond, which had been occupied by the rebels, and had been the centre from which they had sent out scouts, pickets and guerrillas to annoy the right of the Federal army, and to threaten its communications with its base, was captured by a bold movement of Gen. Morell’s division of Gen. Fitz John Porter’s corps. The Division set out upon their march from their camp near Gaines’ Mill at four o’clock in the morning, in light marching order, in a heavy drenching rain. After a march of about twelve miles, their route intersected the Richmond turnpike, to Bowling Green, and here the 22d Massachusetts were detached to disable and destroy the track of the Virginia Central railroad, about a mile and a half west of the cross roads, while the main body kept on toward the Court House. About two miles north of this point the advance guard, composed of the 25th New York, with cavalry and artillery supports, discovered the enemy’s pickets in front, and opened fire; the rebels fell back slowly for about a mile, to their main body, and in the ardor of their pursuit, the 25th New York were not only some distance beyond the main column, but had out-traveled their immediate artillery supports. Here they met a greatly superior force, which partially out-
flanked them and took a part of company G. prisoners. The regiment was not to be driven back, however, but stoutly maintained its position, though suffering much, till the batteries came up and commenced firing; the rebels believing this to be the entire Union force, and though exposed to the fierce fire of the batteries, made a dash forward, to repulse or capture the whole. But, before they could execute their purpose, Butterfield's Brigade came up on the double quick, cheering as they came, and charged upon them; surprised at first by the unexpected appearance of these troops, the enemy wavered, and then receiving a well directed volley, fled, abandoning their cannon, and continued their retreat in the utmost disorder to Hanover Court House, a distance of two miles and a half. A large number of prisoners were captured here, and more would have been, but for the weariness of the men, who had marched eighteen miles without rest or food. The 22d Massachusetts meanwhile, having performed its mission, was coming up along the railroad toward Hanover, and the other regiments, which had not been concerned in this fight, were pressing forward toward the same point, where it was expected they would find a large rebel force, when intelligence came, that the enemy had sent a considerable re-enforcement from Richmond by the railroad, which was coming rapidly upon our rear. The 2d Maine regiment, which was in the rear, immediately faced about, and a second action commenced, of greater intensity than the first. At first, the 2d Maine alone sustained the brunt of the attack, which was made by six rebel regiments, but the 25th and 44th New York soon came to its aid, and the three kept up the unequal fight for nearly half an hour, till the brigades in the advance could come to their relief. Butterfield's brigade, with Griffin's battery and Berdan's sharp-shooters, came up as soon as possible, and with a few heavy volleys, drove the enemy back in great confusion, and compelled his final retreat. The Union loss in
these two affairs was fifty-three killed, three hundred and twenty-six wounded and missing, a part of them prisoners. The rebels lost about four hundred in killed and wounded, and over six hundred prisoners.

On the 25th of May, Bottom's bridge, about one mile south of the railway, had been sufficiently repaired and strengthened to admit of the passage over it of the third and fourth corps d'armée,—Gen. Heintzelman's and Gen. Keyes',—both, for the time, under the command of the former General. These troops were ordered to occupy the vicinity of the Williamsburg stage road, and the space between it and the railroad, for a distance of about five miles, extending from the White Oak Swamp road, two miles west of Bottom's bridge, to the Seven Pines, a point about seven miles from Richmond.

Gen. Keyes' corps consisted of the division of Gen. Casey, composed mostly of new troops, who had not as yet been under fire, and Gen. Couch's division, who had seen service in the previous battles of the Peninsula. Heintzelman's corps was composed of the two veteran divisions of Hooker and Kearney, and the 8th Pennsylvania cavalry. There were attached to this fourth army corps, also, four batteries, mounting in all eighteen guns.

A few words explanatory of the topography of the country occupied by these two corps, and of their relative position to the remainder of the army, will lead to a clearer comprehension of the circumstances under which the sanguinary battle we are about to describe was fought. The army, after the crossing of the Chickahominy by Heintzelman's and Keyes' corps, occupied a position in the form of the letter V. The apex of the V was at Bottom's bridge, just below where the railroad crossed the Chickahominy. On the right arm of the V, extending from Bottom's bridge nearly to Mechanicsville, a distance of twelve or fourteen miles, lay the main body of the army. On the left arm of the V, as stated, were the two
small corps of Heintzelman and Keyes. Between the two arms flowed the Chickahominy, with, at the time they crossed, no available bridge except Bottom’s, to pass which, would have required for most of the corps on the north of the Chickahominy, a detour of twelve to fifteen miles, though the distance directly across was only from three to four miles. Gen. Sumner’s corps had been engaged in constructing two bridges, marked on the map as Sumner’s upper and lower bridges, of which the upper was almost completed on the 30th of May.

Gen. Heintzelman selected a position for Gen. Casey’s division, a little back of the Seven Pines, a clump of trees at the junction of the Nine Mile road and the Williamsburg stage road, and intended to post the pickets a mile or more in advance, and nearly in a north and south line, extending from Fair Oaks Station; but Gen. Casey desired to take a position farther in advance, and Gen. Heintzelman gave his consent. Gen. Casey then moved forward with six regiments to a point near the railroad, a little distance beyond Fair Oaks Station, and commenced strengthening it with rifle pits and abatis. Spratt’s battery was placed here, and the line of pickets, about a thousand yards in advance, extended in a semi-circle from a point near the railroad, half way to the Seven Pines. The other six regiments of his division were stationed on both sides of the Williamsburg stage road, about half way between Fair Oaks Station and the Seven Pines, and a pentagonal earth-work and some redoubts were erected for their defence, and three batteries placed in position. Couch’s division occupied a position immediately in the vicinity of the Seven Pines, strengthened by a semi-circular abatis and two small redoubts. Heintzelman’s own corps was stationed along the Williamsburg road, Kearney’s division occupying a position between Savage’s Station and the Seven Pines, and Hooker’s, lying near the junction of the White Oak Swamp with the Williamsburg road.
The work of strengthening their positions was prosecuted with diligence, but continuous rains made the labor slow and fatiguing. The rain, on the thirtieth of May and the night following, was remarkably heavy, and rendered the position of the soldiers in the new intrenchments very uncomfortable. The rebel commanders, fully informed of the numbers and condition of the force which had crossed the Chickahominy, knowing that, except Bottom's bridge, no facilities for crossing existed, and judging that the heavy rains would produce such a flood in the river as would render crossing, especially with artillery, impracticable for two or three days, resolved to hurl a greatly superior force upon the small body of troops on the south side of the Chickahominy, and crush it completely, before re-enforcements could be brought to its support. This done, they would be in better position to repel the attacks of McClellan's main army, which, weakened by so heavy losses, would wait for further re-enforcements before attacking Richmond. The move was one of considerable daring, and had it proved successful, would have been productive of great mischief, but its success was only partial the first day, and the second saw the assailants routed and flying.

At about eleven and a half o'clock A. M., the rebel leaders, believing that the river was in full flood, commenced driving in Gen. Casey's pickets, and by twelve and a half o'clock P. M.; had engaged his advance, consisting, it will be remembered, of six regiments of new troops, who, since joining the army, had been subjected to unusual exposures and hardships, and were ill-prepared to resist an attack from more than seven times their number. The attacking force, consisting of about thirty-five thousand of the best disciplined of the rebel troops, under the command of Gen. J. E. Johnston, soon drove back these six regiments in some disorder, the 103d Pennsylvania breaking and flying, joined on its way by a considerable number of sick and stragglers. The main body, however, did not
fall into confusion, but retired in order to the first line of the division, a quarter of a mile or more in front of the Seven Pines, where they made a stand and fought desperately, losing a large number of men. The force which pressed upon them was, however, too large to be successfully resisted, and though General Keyes sent forward brigade after brigade from Couch's division, they were pressed back step by step to the second line,—Couch's,—at the Seven Pines, where a stronger abatis partly protected them, and there maintained their position with the utmost obstinacy, while awaiting re-enforcements from Heintzelman's corps. During this part of the battle, many acts of great bravery occurred. Twice from that sorely pressed force, galled by the fire of the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, did one or two regiments dash out, charge the foe, with a loss of one-fourth of their own number, and re-take a battery which had been turned against them, or drive back the flushed and insolent foe. The first charge was made by the 55th New York, the Garde Lafayette, a French regiment, who, for their small stature, had been ridiculed by their comrades, but who covered themselves with glory in this battle. The second was by the 23d and 61st Pennsylvania regiments, under the immediate command of Gen. Couch, and for gallant daring has not often been equaled; rushing upon a force nearly ten times their own number, and receiving their murderous fire at very short range, a fire which put fully one-third of both regiments hors du combat, they grappled with the foe hand to hand, drove them back, and when, at last, forced to retire, brought with them thirty-five prisoners. By this time, Kearney's division, from Heintzelman's corps, had come up, and that bold and reckless officer flung his force upon the foe so impetuously as materially to check his progress. Meanwhile, the 10th Massachusetts, from Couch's division, had crossed the field under a scorching fire, and gained a position from which they could enfilade the
enemy’s advance, and thus materially aided in the forming and maintaining the third line of defence which, with the aid of two brigades from Kearney’s Division, was now established on elevated ground, somewhat more than half a mile in rear of the Seven Pines.

Gen. McClellan, who was ill at the time the battle commenced, heard the firing, and directed Gen. Sumner, whose corps—the second—was stationed near Barker’s Mill, to prepare to move to the relief of the troops who were fighting on the south side of the Chickahominy, and that commander promptly threw his men forward, and had them already at the head of the bridge, which he had caused to be constructed,—"Sumner’s upper bridge" on the map,—and which had that day been completed, when the order came to cross. The flood on which the rebel commanders had relied to prevent crossing, had not yet reached this part of the river, and by six o’clock p. m., Sedgwick’s division having crossed the river, and carried their artillery by hand through the deep mud, had reached the left flank of the enemy near Fair Oaks Station, and commenced a fierce and determined attack upon it. The rebel troops still out-numbered ours largely, and they fought most desperately, determined not to be driven from the field they had so nearly won; once they had nearly succeeded in separating Sedgwick’s forces from those of Heintzelman and Keyes, and thus gaining a position which would have given them the day, but the danger was happily prevented by the quick movement of Gens. Burns, Dana and Gorman’s brigades, under Gen. Sumner’s orders. About sunset, the rebel Commander-in-chief, Gen. J. E. Johnston, was severely wounded and carried off the field.

Darkness put an end to the fighting for the night, and both armies lay down on the field, to resume the battle early in the morning. The remainder of Sumner’s corps crossed in the early part of the night, but not a moment too soon, for
the flood, expected by the rebels at noon, came in the night and carried all before it; the bridge on which Sumner's soldiers had crossed was carried away, and its timbers borne into the James river, and no other corps could have reached the field except by the long detour of Bottom's bridge.

The Union Generals expected an attack at day-break, on the morning of the first of June, and had formed their men in line to await it, but the rebels, dispirited by the loss of their commander, were in no haste to make it, and it was nearly seven o'clock before they commenced fighting, by an assault upon Gen. Richardson's division, which occupied the right beyond Fair Oaks Station. While they were engaged with French and Howard's brigades here, Hooker, with part of his own division, assailed their right flank south of the Williamsburg road, and after some difficulty in reaching them, on account of the swamp, the whole line, embracing Hooker's immediate command,—the 5th and 6th New Jersey, Sickles' brigade, and a portion of Howard's and French's brigades,—charged upon them with the bayonet, and drove them back nearly a mile. The retreat thus commenced, became a rout as they approached Richmond. By mid-day the fighting was all over, and our army, had it been thrown across the Chickahominy at Bottom's bridge, could, it is believed, have gone directly into Richmond, in the rear of the terrified mob, which were pouring into it from the battle field. Unfortunately, the Federal commander did not know his opportunity.

The loss of the Union army was, killed, six hundred and thirteen; wounded, two thousand five hundred and seventy-eight; and missing, six hundred and nine, of whom one hundred and fifteen were prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Total, three thousand eight hundred. The rebel loss, in sixty out of seventy-two regiments, battalions, &c., engaged in the battles, was, as published in the Richmond papers, six thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, killed, wounded and miss-
ing; in the whole force, it could hardly have been less than eight thousand. The force actually engaged on the Union side, is reckoned by Gen. Heintzelman, in his report, not to have exceeded eleven thousand, out of about seventeen thousand in all, who were on the south side of the Chickahominy. The rebel force, from their own admission, was not less than thirty-five thousand.

On the day following the battle, Monday, Gen. Hooker was ordered by Gen. Heintzelman, to make a reconnaissance in force on the Williamsburg road toward Richmond, and proceeded without other resistance than a little picket firing to a point within three and a half or four miles of that city. In the afternoon, Gen. Heintzelman having informed Gen. McClellan of this reconnaissance, Gen. Hooker was re-called and ordered to occupy the position held before the battle by Gen. Casey's division. The reasons assigned for this reluctance to move forward upon Richmond, by Gen. McClellan, were, that the roads and bridges were not in a condition to permit the passage of heavy artillery, and that to have attacked the city without it, would have been hazardous; that the troops engaged in the battles of the 31st of May, and 1st of June, were too much exhausted to have been capable of another severe battle; that even if he had taken Richmond, he could not have held it, having only the single line of the York River railroad to connect him with his base of supplies, and that he needed McDowell's corps as reinforcements, before such a movement would have been practicable.

Nineteen days later, viz: on the 20th of June, his returns to the Adjutant General's office were as follows, Gen. McCall's force having been received meanwhile: present for duty, one hundred and fifteen thousand; one hundred and two: special duty, sick and in arrest, twelve thousand two hundred and twenty-five; absent, twenty-nine thousand five hundred and eleven; total, one hundred and fifty-six thousand eight hun-
dred and thirty-eight. The Confederate forces at this time. Jackson being absent in the Shenandoah valley, are now known to have been not over ninety thousand men, and adding Jackson's force, which the Prince de Joinville estimates at thirty thousand, certainly not below the truth, the whole number on the 30th of June, did not exceed one hundred and twenty thousand, the greater part of them raw troops. Gen. McClellan, in his dispatch of the 25th of June, to the Secretary of War, estimated their number at two hundred thousand.

But if the Union commander was apprehensive of the result of energetic measures, the rebel General Lee, who had succeeded Johnston, was not. Several days were required to recover from the panic and demoralization which followed the battle of Fair Oaks, but on the 8th of June, the rebel General J. E. B. Stuart, who had already acquired some fame as a partisan leader, left Richmond with a force of about fifteen hundred cavalry and two pieces of flying artillery, and in a little more than three days captured Hanover Court House, passed on to Tunstall Station, destroying commissary and quartermaster's stores, taking prisoners and horses, and sending them to the rear, thence to White House, where he made prizes of medical supplies, and burned two vessels and several wagons laden with stores, took some prisoners, and appeased the hunger of his troops from some sutler's stores, and finally having passed completely around the Union army, reached the banks of the Chickahominy, ten or twelve miles below the railroad, and repairing an old bridge, crossed in safety with his plunder, and rejoined the rebel army. This audacious feat was of great service to the rebels, raising their spirits, and furnishing them with medical stores, of which they had been greatly in need; at the same time it exerted a depressing influence upon the Union commanders, since it demonstrated the weakness of their right wing, and the ease with which their communication with their base could be interrupted.
The three weeks succeeding the battle of Fair Oaks, were spent by the Union army in perfecting the bridges across the Chickahominy, and in constructing fortifications along the whole lines. Only a part of the army actually crossed the Chickahominy, but the communications were such that upon emergency a crossing could be effected without difficulty. The Union commander, though at first inclined to attack Richmond, presently began to speak of his expectation of being attacked, and to ask for more troops; Gen. McCall's division from McDowell's corps were sent to him, about nine thousand or ten thousand men, and it was expected that the remainder of that corps would go, but subsequent events prevented.

It was reported about the 18th of June, that ten thousand men had left Richmond to re-enforce Jackson, who seemed to be contemplating another movement into the valley of the Shenandoah, and on that day Gen. McClellan telegraphed to the President, "After to-morrow we shall fight the rebel army as soon as Providence will permit." The enemy did not attack, however, being disposed to wait for the additional troops which were now coming in daily, and which bid fair soon to equal those of the Union force. On the 25th of June, Gen. McClellan telegraphed the President in a despondent tone: he expected to be attacked on the morrow, learned that the enemy had two hundred thousand men, and were commanded by Jackson and Beauregard. The latter was, at this time, and for some months afterward, in Alabama, and without a command, while Gen. McClellan seems to have had no knowledge of Lee, the ablest of the rebel Generals. He regrets his great inferiority of numbers, but feels that he is in no way responsible for it; he will do all that a General can do with the splendid army he has the honor to command, and if it is destroyed by overwhelming numbers, he can at least die with it and share its fate. But if the result of the action which will occur to-morrow, or within a short time, is a dis-
aster, the responsibility cannot be thrown on his shoulders; it must rest where it belongs. The President, in his reply, very properly rebuked this querulousness and disposition to shirk the responsibility, declaring what Gen. McClellan subsequently admitted to be true, "I give you all I can, and act on the presumption that you will do the best you can with what you have; * * * * I have omitted, I shall omit, no opportunity to send you re-enforcements, whenever I possibly can."

The day on which this telegram was sent, there had been a sharp affair between Hooker's division, which occupied the advance near Fair Oaks Station, and the rebel advance, for the possession of a piece of woods lying between the pickets of the two opposing forces. Both sides had fought with great obstinacy, but in the end, the Union troops held the disputed territory, though with a loss of six hundred and forty in killed and wounded. The intelligence which had been received that afternoon by the commander-in-chief, through contrabands and deserters, that Jackson was moving down on Hanover Court House with a force of twenty-five or thirty thousand, led him to withdraw Hooker from the advance position he had gained with such desperate fighting, and prompted the desponding despatch we have quoted. Taking counsel of his fears, Gen. McClellan had, some days before, directed a part of his stores to be sent from White House to the James River; he now began to consider the feasibility of retreating with his entire army across the Peninsula, and making some point on the James river his base. He would indeed raise the siege of Richmond, which had never been very close or effective, by this movement, and place himself at a greater distance from Washington, but if he were largely re-enforced, he might attack Petersburg and Richmond from the south-east, and, at all events, the position protected by the gun-boats would be safe.
To remain where he was, or move forward and give battle to the two armies—Jackson's and Lee's,—which threatened him, seemed to him, with his exaggerated idea of their numbers, to be little else than rushing on destruction; to change his base in face of the enemy, was little less hazardous, and could only be successfully accomplished by deceiving the enemy. The distance from Savage's Station,—which might be reckoned as the central point of his camps,—to the James river, was only seventeen miles, but the entire retreat must, so far as was then known, be conducted over a single road leading through White Oak Swamp, and several roads leading from Richmond or points near it, intersected this road at right angles, and would thus endanger the passage of the immense trains of the army along this line. The vast collection of stores at White House, the immense quantities of ammunition, and the long trains of artillery with which this army was more munificently provided than any army of modern times, must all be conducted over this single narrow road, and if possible, without the knowledge of the shrewd and enterprising foe. The task was an appalling one, and it is not surprising that the commanding General was depressed at the thought of such an undertaking.

His first movement was to send Gen. Stoneman with a body of cavalry, and Gen. Casey with a small infantry force, to White House, to hasten the removal of the stores from that point, and at the same time, by feints of attack on the rebel forces, to divert their attention from his real purpose. The large army corps of Fitz John Porter, and a body of about five thousand regular troops, not far from thirty-five thousand in all, occupied a position on the north or left bank of the Chickahominy, the remainder of the army were on the south side of that river, and their trains, with that of Porter's, were collected on the 26th and the morning of the 27th, and despatched toward the James, in advance of the troops.
Gen. McCall, who commanded the Pennsylvania Reserves, attached for the time to Porter's corps, was in a strong position at Beaver Dam, near Mechanicsville, and on the 26th of June, about noon, he was assailed, as Gen. McClellan had desired, by four divisions of the enemy, A. P. Hill's, D. H. Hill's, Longstreet's, and Anderson's, on his right flank. Reserves had been placed within supporting distance, and the battle, which lasted till nearly ten o'clock at night, was a severe one, the enemy being finally repulsed, after repeated and desperate attempts to take McCall's position. It was mainly an artillery fight, and the Union cannon having a longer range, and being of heavier metal than those of the rebels, inflicted fearful slaughter upon them, while McCall's troops, protected by their intrenchments, met with a comparatively small loss. The rebel loss was said to be over three thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, and for some hours there was considerable panic in Richmond, lest the Union troops should capture the city. McCall's loss was only eighty killed, and less than one hundred and fifty wounded. During the night, Gen. McClellan ordered Gen. McCall to fall back, and take up a new position in front of the military bridges over the Chickahominy, in anticipation of an attack which he expected on the next day, — Friday, June 27th. By day-light on Friday morning, Gen. McCall had taken a position in the rear of Dr. Gaines' Mill, and in front of Woodbury's Bridge. Gen. Morell occupied the centre, at the right of McCall, whose force formed the left wing, as it was drawn up in line of battle, and Sykes' five thousand regulars, and Duryea's Zouaves held the extreme right, extending to the hills near the New Kent road. Slocomb's division, about eight thousand strong, was moved to the right bank of the river to support Porter's corps.

About one o'clock p. m., the enemy commenced the attack, by skirmishing with Griffin's brigade, in front of Gaines' Mill; that brigade advancing, pressed back the foe, and brought on
a vigorous action on the right, where the regulars were posted. The enemy attacked fiercely, charging repeatedly, but were as often repulsed. Jackson's forces had joined the rebel divisions of the day before, that morning; Jackson himself was in command of the entire force, and his peculiar tactics were soon displayed.

In this, as in all the other battles fought by that General, the great bulk of his troops were massed, and hurled, with terrible force, first upon one wing, and if he failed to break that, upon the other, or upon the centre, till one or other was broken, and his victorious legions could crush the divided and shattered fragments. This method of attack was often tried during that day's battle, and for several hours seemed likely to succeed; under the terrible fire of Porter's heavy artillery, however, the columns of Hill, Anderson, and Pickett, went down like grass before the mower's scythe, till at last they could not be brought up to face the certain death which awaited them, but fled in disorder. Gen. Cobb next advanced with his reserves of North Carolina and Virginia troops, but they met with the same fate, and though in the interim the broken ranks of Hill's and Anderson's divisions had been reformed, and again brought forward, they could make no impression on the masses of Porter's force, who held firmly their position.

It was at this time, that, believing the victory was within his grasp, Gen. McClellan sent across the river and into action, Slocum's and Richardson's divisions, all that could be spared from the force necessary to guard the retreat, and prepared to sustain the final shock of a last attack, which it was evident Jackson would make, before night should end the conflict. That able General had meantime brought up all his reserves, and seeing that the left wing, which had been largely composed of artillery, had become thoroughly wearied, and their ammunition nearly exhausted by their incessant firing,
he hurled his fresh troops upon it with such terrific force that it gave way and disbanded, and the disorder grew and extended till it reached the centre. There was no panic, the men did not run, but slowly and deliberately marched off the field, in spite of the remonstrances of their officers; and the battle, so near a victory, became a defeat.

The enemy soon began to press hard upon the retreating troops, and a cavalry charge, ordered in the hope of arresting Jackson's advance, failed to stop them. Happily it was fast growing dark, and after a retreat of a mile, the disbanded and discouraged troops were met by the fresh brigades of French and Meagher, which checked their progress, and putting a few of the retreating guns in battery, they opened their fire upon the advancing foe, and once more drove him back.

This battle, one of the severest of the campaign, was fought with very unequal forces; Gen. Porter had not, including the divisions of Slocum and Richardson, brought up just at night, and the latter not actively engaged, more than thirty-five thousand men under his command during the day, and Gen. J. G. barnard, Chief-of-Engineers of the army of the Potomac, states that only twenty-seven thousand were actually engaged in the fight. The enemy's force, which comprised nearly every man that could be spared from Richmond, was not less than sixty thousand.

The policy of Gen. McClellan in dividing his force, and thus fighting the entire rebel army with hardly a third of his own, or indeed of fighting him at all on the north bank of the Chickahominy, when he might have had so much greater advantages in a battle on the south side of that stream, has been severely criticised by eminent military authorities, who were spectators of the battle, or participated in it. It is said also that Porter's position was not so well chosen as it might have been, his left being inadequately protected. His loss in the battle was very heavy, exceeding nine thousand in killed,
wounded and missing, of whom it was said over four thousand were prisoners. Among them was General Reynolds. The rebel loss was certainly not less than this. The dead and severely wounded, were left on the field, and twenty guns which could not be brought off, the horses being killed, were abandoned to the enemy; during the night, the whole of Porter's command passed the Chickahominy, destroying the bridges after them.

The rebel commanders supposed the Union troops were falling back to White House, and Jackson and Stuart pushed on, the next morning,—Saturday, June 23,—to the Pamunkey, to intercept them, and complete their defeat. The time gained by this mistake of the rebels, was diligently improved by the Union army. They were undisturbed by the enemy, except a brief cannonading of Smith's division, a part of Sumner's corps, stationed near Garnett's, in the morning. The division fell back out of range, and were not further molested. Meanwhile, Stoneman and Casey had sent off all that could be shipped of the supplies from White House, and destroyed what could not be removed, and had left nothing but ruins for the foe, while they made good their escape to Yorktown; the locomotive and train having performed all that it could, in the way of transporting supplies, was run into the river over the broken railroad bridge, and the cars and their contents destroyed, the head-quarters at Dr. Trent's and the camps were abandoned, only after all that was of value was destroyed. The long train was pursuing its way in orderly haste to the James river at Turkey Bend, and the head of the line had already reached its halting place. The army corps of Generals Sumner and Franklin, had been left at Fair Oaks Farm, with orders to evacuate on the 29th, and fall back slowly to protect the train.

It was not till the morning of the 29th,—Sunday,—that Gen. Lee began to comprehend fully Gen. McClellan's design;
but as soon as he perceived it, he sent D. H. Hill and Longstreet, with twelve brigades, to pursue the Union forces which he supposed to be flying. But the bridges were down, and the crossing required time. At two o'clock p. m., however, their advance attacked Sumner and Franklin, about a mile and a half above Savage's Station, not far from the old battle ground of the Seven Pines. The action was a severe one, continuing till late in the evening, but they were finally repulsed, with heavy loss. During the night, Generals Sumner and Franklin fell back to White Oak Swamp bridge.

It only remained now to guard the rear of the train, and the sick and wounded, from the attacks of the enemy, who was known to be in pursuit, and who could attack them in their rear, or could approach the White Oak Swamp and Quaker roads, by the Charles City, Central, and New Market roads. Sumner and Franklin were detailed to protect them from the pursuit of the enemy by the Swamp road, and Heintzelman, with Hooker and Kearney's divisions of his own corps, Sedgwick's from Sumners, and McCall's to guard the entrance of the cross roads, while Porter and Keyes were in the front, and in communication with the gun-boats on the James.

About 11 o'clock, Monday, June 30, Jackson, with the divisions of D. H. Hill, Whiting, and Ewell, attacked Sumner and Franklin at White Oak Swamp. The Union forces had crossed White Oak Creek, and burned the bridge; the enemy had a large park of artillery, and the battle thus commenced was waged with great fury till night, but Sumner and Franklin held their ground, and prevented his advance; Sumner, as brave a commander as any in the army, plead hard to be allowed to pursue the enemy, whom he had already driven back, but Gen. McClellan would not allow it.

Later in the day, Heintzelman was attacked by the main body of the enemy, under Longstreet and A. P. Hill, on the New Market road; Gen. McCall's division suffered severely,
and broke in disorder, the General himself being taken prisoner; Hooker and Kearney came up to its relief, and repulsed the enemy, after a very severe action, nearly annihilating Hill's own division. This is known as the battle of Glendale.

A third attack was made the same day, upon the corps of Fitz John Porter, at Turkey Bend, but the foe was utterly discomfited by his powerful and well placed artillery and the shells thrown by the gun-boats, and fled in disorder. The long and wearisome retreat, fraught with so many dangers and perils and so much slaughter, was at last concluded, and the army, worn out with fatigue, after a brief labor in fortifying the only weak portion of their line of defences, sank into a deep slumber.

Few positions possess greater natural strength than that which their commander had selected, and with the aid of the gun-boats, it was impregnable against the attack of the enemy; but the rebel leaders, goaded to desperation at their failure to destroy the Union forces during their retreat, determined to attack it. The firing at long range, commenced about ten o'clock A. M., but without much effect. Every attempt of the enemy to approach nearer, was, however, repelled with great promptness; about 3 o'clock P. M., the rebel force was brought up to a closer position, and repeatedly attempted to charge upon the Union batteries, but was mowed down by hundreds with the most terrible slaughter, the converging fire of three hundred cannon from the Union batteries, and the hundred pound shells from the gun-boats, producing such wholesale destruction, that though infuriated by whisky, and urged forward by their leaders, by the most frantic appeals, the rebel line at last broke and fled, utterly demoralized, leaving the field strewn with thousands of the dead. So ended the battle of Malvern Hill. Again were the inhabitants of Richmond agitated with the fear that their capital was doomed to destruction, and many days passed away before the inaction of the
army of the Potomac produced a return of the feeling of safety.

On the night after this battle, Gen. McClellan removed his army to Harrison's Landing, four or five miles below on the James river, as a more suitable position for defence and receiving supplies.

There has never been any official report of the losses in this series of battles, but the estimates which seem to approximate most nearly to the truth, make the Union losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about fourteen thousand, of whom somewhat more than half were prisoners,—many of them wounded. The rebel loss was stated by their best informed officers at about sixteen thousand in killed, wounded and missing, a larger proportion of them among the killed than was the case with the Union troops.

After reaching Harrison's Bar, or Harrison's Landing, the army were so completely exhausted that for two days nothing was done toward putting their new position in a state of defence, and their preservation from an attack which must have proved utterly destructive, was due only to the demoralized and shattered condition of the enemy, and to a heavy rain which rendered the roads from Richmond impassable for artillery.

On the third of July, a small body of troops crossed the James, and destroyed City Point, which the rebel sharpshooters had made their cover for annoying our forces; and on the 4th, a small party discovered and captured three small rebel batteries, near Malvern Hill, and took some prisoners. A reconnoitering force was thrown forward on the 7th, and occupied, for a single day, a position seven miles in advance of the main army, but were soon re-called. On the 9th, President Lincoln visited the camp at Harrison's Landing, and held a consultation with reference to the removal of the army from the Peninsula, but nothing was decided upon. The day pre-
vious, Gen. Burnside, with seven thousand men, had landed at Fortress Monroe to re-enforce Gen. McClellan, and had been joined there by four thousand men from the Department of the South,—Gen. Hunter's. These troops were retained at Hampton, and did not go up to Harrison's Landing, though under Gen. McClellan's command. A few days later, Gen. Dix's force of eleven thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight men, was also placed under McClellan's orders. On the 20th of July, according to the returns sent to the Adjutant General's office, by Gen. McClellan, the army of the Potomac under his command, was as follows: Present for duty, one hundred and one thousand six hundred and ninety-one; special duty, sick and in arrest, seventeen thousand eight hundred and twenty eight; absent, thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-five; total, one hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and fourteen.

On the 10th of July, Lee's army, which had been lying in front of the Union forces and between them and Richmond, suddenly disappeared,—having, as it was afterwards ascertained, become convinced that the army of the Potomac was powerless to injure them while at Harrison's Landing,—and proceeded gradually to re-enforce the army which was intended to crush Pope's force and capture Washington.

The position at Harrison's Landing proved as sickly as that on the Chickahominy; a deadly malaria rose every night from the James river, and the number of the sick was daily increased, while the wounded sunk under the depressing influence of fever, and their wounds manifested no disposition to heal. On the 25th of July, Gen. Halleck, who, on the 11th inst., had been summoned to Washington from the west, to take the post of Commander-in-Chief, visited Harrison's Landing, and held a council of officers, on the question of withdrawing the army from the Peninsula. A majority of the officers were in favor of withdrawing, but Gen. McClellan, supported by
Sumner and Heintzelman, objected, and Gen. McClellan demanded fifty thousand men to enable him to take Richmond. Gen. Halleck told him that not more than twenty thousand, in addition to the troops he then had, could possibly be spared. He then said that he would endeavor to take it with twenty thousand more troops, and Gen. Halleck left, with that understanding; two days later, Gen. McClellan telegraphed Gen. Halleck that he must have thirty-five thousand men, and as this number could not be furnished, Gen. Halleck adopted the only other alternative, and on the third of August, sent him an order to withdraw the army from Harrison's Landing, transfer it at once to Acquia Creek, and take possession of Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg. Gen. McClellan replied, protesting against the withdrawal, and urging that more troops could be sent him, from Pope's command, (which was even then beginning to feel the pressure of Lee's forces) or from the west, and insisting that the true defence of Washington was there, at Harrison's Landing, and in the approach to Richmond from that direction. Gen. Halleck replied on the 6th of August, meeting and answering his objections, and explaining that by a transfer to Acquia Creek, the whole army could be united and could move with irresistible force on the enemy, driving him back and capturing Richmond, while they would at the same time cover the National Capital; and repeating his order for the immediate withdrawal of the army from the Peninsula. Gen. McClellan did not reply, but no movement was made for withdrawal, till the 14th of August, and a considerable portion of the army did not reach Alexandria, to which point it had subsequently been ordered, until the 23d of August. The different army corps of which it was composed, were absorbed for the time, one after another, in the Army of Virginia.

A review of the campaign of the Peninsula excites many sad thoughts. An army of one hundred and fifty thousand
men, composed of the best fighting material ever collected, magnificently appointed, with arms of the best quality, artillery of greater power and range, and in larger quantity than any army of modern times had ever possessed, and with abundant supplies, led by men of decided military ability and skill, after a campaign of three months, in which they have fought but nine battles, and five of those within seven days, opposed most of the time by a force considerably smaller than their own, retire by a retreat of six days to a position whose greatest merit is, that it is safe from attack, while it does not even hold the enemy in check; and there, for seven weeks, remain idle and useless to the cause they were sworn to defend. About fifteen thousand of their number are killed in battle or die of their wounds, while more than sixty thousand are slain by the pestilential miasm of the swamp, or fall victims to the intemperance which is so universally the bane of the unemployed soldier. The officers and soldiers had resolutely endured wonderful toils and sufferings. Their courage and daring had been admired and praised, yet the object of the expedition was unattained,—the rebel capital was stronger than ever before. Three times during the campaign it had been clearly within our reach, and three times had the opportunity been unimproved. All the sacrifices and privations had been unavailing, and the capture of Richmond was, for the present, abandoned.
CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY—BANKS’ RETREAT AND FREMONT AND SHIELDS’ PURSUIT OF JACKSON—THE REPULSE AT DREWRY’S BLUFF.


The necessity of giving unity to our narrative of the campaign of the Peninsula, has rendered it advisable to pass unnoticed, till the present time, the movements of the three army corps, or parts of corps, which were separated from Gen. McClellan’s command, when the army of the Potomac moved to the Peninsula. Our readers will remember that a new Department was created, lying between that of Gen. Halleck on the west, and that of Gen. McClellan on the east, with the title of “the Mountain Department,” and the command of it assigned to Major Gen. J. C. Fremont.

Of the five army corps which, up to March 8th, had consti-
tuted the army of the Potomac, two, the first, under Major Gen. McDowell, and the fifth, under Major Gen. Banks, were detached from it when the Peninsula plan was determined upon; the one to protect the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and the line of the Upper Potomac, the other to shield the National Capital from attack.

Gen. Fremont, in taking charge of the Mountain Department, had only the small body of troops previously commanded by Gen. Rosecrans, but measures were at once adopted for increasing his force, and it was intended that he should drive the enemy out of Western Virginia, and perhaps Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, and cut the lines of communication and supply between the eastern and western armies of the rebels. Subsequent events, as we shall see, completely foiled this plan of operations, upon which Gen. Fremont had entered with great promptness and energy. Taking command on the 29th of March, he assigned to Brigadier General B. F. Kelley, the control of the railroad district, consisting of the counties lying on either side of the two branches of the Baltimore and Ohio, from the south branch of the Potomac westward to the Ohio line, together with the adjacent portions of the Maryland and Pennsylvania road, and ordered Brigadier General Milroy to move southward in the direction of the Virginia and Tennessee road. He accordingly advanced successively to Moorefield, camp Greenbrier, camp Allegany, Monterey, McDowell, and Fort Shenandoah, about twenty-five miles west-north-west of Staunton, and about thirty-three south-west of Harrisonburg, in the Shenandoah valley, though making his own head-quarters at McDowell. Meantime, as will soon be seen, Gen. Banks had moved with his corps to Harrisonburg, which was but twenty-five or thirty miles north-north-east of Staunton.

The rebel commander determined to prevent the capture of this important town at all hazards, and Gen. T. J. Jackson—"Stonewall"—was accordingly dispatched hastily with all the
forces which could be spared, to attack Milroy, before he succeeded in forming a junction with Gen. Banks.

Gen. Fremont, having dispatched Brigadier General Schenck, with his brigade, from Petersburg, on the 3d of May, to re-enforce Gen. Milroy, whose critical position he foresaw, left Wheeling himself, on the same day, with two additional regiments and his staff and body-guard, and reached Petersburg on the 7th of May. On the same day the rebel General Jackson attacked Gen. Milroy's vanguard, the 32d Ohio, at Fort Shenandoah, and drove them back over the Bull Pasture Mountains, to McDowell, with the loss of their camp equipage and baggage. Two other regiments, which had been stationed at the foot of the mountains on the west side, also fell back to McDowell the same night.

Gen. Milroy immediately sent dispatches to Gen. Schenck, then thirty miles distant, to hasten to his assistance, and when the rebel army appeared in large force, on the afternoon of the 8th, on the hill tops in rear of the town, Gen. Milroy sent out skirmishers, to the hills adjacent, to keep them employed, till re-enforcements came up. A sharp action ensued, which continued till night, Gen. Schenck's forces having come up and participated in the fight. The enemy being evidently in greatly superior force, the two Generals determined to fall back to Gen. Schenck's camp of two days' before. The retreat was accordingly commenced at midnight, and at daybreak they halted for rest, having marched thirteen miles. After two hours' delay, they found the enemy pressing upon them, and continued their retreat, but in good order, to their destination, which they reached that night.

The position was a strong one, and mounting their cannon upon all the hills, and stationing their men so as to support them, they kept the enemy at bay for thirty hours, when, finding Gen. Fremont near, with Blenker's Division, which he had hurried forward, the rebel commander withdrew with what
spoils he had captured, and on the 14th had disappeared from the region. The Union loss in this engagement was twenty killed, one hundred and seventy-seven wounded, and two missing; the rebel loss was forty killed, and about two hundred wounded. Gen. Fremont withdrew with his force to Franklin, sixty-five miles from Staunton, where he remained for ten days, re-organizing and refreshing his forces. The delay may have been necessary, but it was unfortunate, as in connection with a blunder of the War Department, it resulted in serious disaster.

Major General McDowell, in command of the Fifth Army Corps, had been made independent of Gen. McClellan's command, and had been assigned to the duty of protecting the Capital from any attack of the rebels from Richmond; his field of action had been erected into the Department of the Rappahannock. The urgent and reiterated demands of Gen. McClellan for this corps, as a re-enforcement to his army, led to the partial yielding of the President; and Gen. Franklin's Division, the largest of the three of which the corps was composed, was sent to the Peninsula early in April.

The remainder of the corps—McCall's Pennsylvania Reserves, and King's Division—were stationed near Alexandria, Va. On the 15th of April, they were ordered to advance on Fredericksburg, and Gen. McDowell, very naturally insisted that his force was too small for the service likely to be required of it, and called for an additional Division, which the President promised him.

Almost immediately upon entering on his duties as Commander of the Fifth Army Corps, Gen. Banks, as we have seen in a preceding chapter, had encountered, on the 23d of March, the rebel forces, under Jackson and Longstreet, at Winchester, and defeated them in a sanguinary action. He was not disposed to lose the prestige of success thus gained, and accordingly he pressed forward to Strasburg, and thence, on the first
of April, to Woodstock, where he had a skirmish with the rebel forces under Gen. Ashby. He continued his advance, though with almost constant skirmishing along the line of the Manassas Gap rail-road, through Edinburg, Mt. Jackson, and New Market, till, on the 26th of April, he reached Harrisonburg, the southern terminus of that road, from which a fine turnpike extends about twenty-eight miles to Staunton.

The rebel forces had divided before reaching this point, a part crossing the Massanutten range and the Shenandoah river, to Luray, a part going toward Charlottesville, and others occupying different points in the vicinity. Gen. Banks remained at Harrisonburg for nearly three weeks, probably with a view to concerted action with Gen. Fremont, in moving upon Staunton, and to obtain the necessary supplies for a forward movement, which could be more readily sent to him by rail-road than in any other way.

On the 15th of May, however, he was surprised by an order from the War Department, directing him to send Shields' Division, which comprised about two thirds of his corps, consisting of sixteen regiments or about twelve thousand men, to reinforce Gen. McDowell, and to fall back to Strasburg, and be prepared to protect, with his small force, the important points in the vicinity of the Potomac.

This blow to his hopes, and to the success of the enterprise he had undertaken, was a severe one, and there were many eminent military men who predicted disastrous results from so impolitic a movement; but Gen. Banks understood too well a soldier's duty to hesitate or murmur in his obedience; and accordingly, Gen. Shields was sent on at once, and immediate preparation made, by the commander of the corps, to retrace his steps, though with sad forebodings, to Strasburg. He knew that Jackson, with a heavy force, had just fought Milroy and Schenck on the Bull Pasture Mountains, not thirty miles distant; that another considerable rebel force under Ewell, was
at Gordonsville, or in its vicinity, and that the loss of the larger part of his force, and his retreat to Strasburg, would be made known at once to Jackson, who, with a superior force, would be likely to follow and attack him.

But he did not foresee the more comprehensive purpose of the rebel commander, in the dash and pursuit which followed, to prevent McDowell's re-enforced corps from co-operating with McClellan in an attack on Richmond, and to create a panic, which should paralyze action in the army of the Potomac, till the conscription already ordered by the rebel Congress could bring in large additional forces.

Let us here briefly describe the topographical features of the region, in which this remarkable retreat was conducted, and which so forcibly exhibited the energy, promptness, and skill of the Commanding General.

The valley of the Shenandoah, the garden of Virginia, and one of the most fertile and beautiful valleys on the Continent, lies between the Blue Ridge, the easternmost of the principal ranges of the Appalachian chain, and the Shenandoah or Branch Mountain, a spur of the main or Alleghany Ridge of that chain, which skirts the eastern shore of the south branch of the Potomac.

It is drained by the beautiful Shenandoah river and its affluents, which, rising in Augusta county, near Staunton, flows north-easterly, and swells by its waters the flood of the lordly Potomac. Near its centre, two short ranges of high hills rise out of the usually level and broad valley, the North Mountain, extending from New Market nearly to Winchester; and east of this, and encircled by the Shenandoah and its principal tributary, the North Fork of the Shenandoah, a bold, broad elevation known as the Massanutten Mountain, which terminates in a steep bluff just south of Strasburg. The Manassas Gap rail-road, crossing the Shenandoah at Front Royal, passes immediately below this bluff along the south shore of the North
Fork, and crossing that stream at Strasburg, follows its western shore toward Harrisonburg. The great public road from Staunton to Winchester, passes along the east, or right bank of the Shenandoah, to and through Front Royal.

Strasburg, Front Royal, and Winchester, form the three angles of a nearly equilateral triangle, each side of which, as well as portions of its area, are traversed by good roads. From Winchester, a rail-road and highway extend to Harper’s Ferry, and an excellent turnpike to Martinsburg, on the Baltimore and Ohio rail-road, and thence to Williamsport, on the north or left bank of the Potomac. Another and more circuitous route from Winchester, following, though at some distance, the line of the Great Cacapon river, strikes the Potomac opposite Hancock, about thirty miles above Williamsport.

Strasburg would be a strategic point of some importance, situated as it is at the head of the Massanutten valley, but for the fact that the eastern Shenandoah valley here opens at Front Royal, and that the broad plain and good roads north of that town, afford the means of flanking it, by way of Winchester or Middletown.

On the 16th of May, Gen. Banks, with his little army, consisting only of Gen. A. S. Williams’ Division of two brigades, numbering in all not over six thousand men, turned his face northward, and sending his stores forward, by the as yet unbroken line of the Manassas Gap rail-road, pushed on by rapid marches to Strasburg, at every village of his route finding fresh evidence of the secret satisfaction with which the secession inhabitants witnessed his retreat.

He had need to make haste; for “Stonewall” Jackson, having gathered his forces from the Bull Pasture Mountains, from Gordonsville, and from Richmond, was pressing swiftly forward on the great highway from Staunton to Winchester, along the eastern bank of the Shenandoah, with a force of twenty or twenty-five thousand men, intending to cut off his
MAP OF BANKS' RETREAT.
retreat, and take his entire force prisoners. This expedition, though unknown to Gen. Banks, was but the realization of the fears he had entertained, when he found himself left with so inconsiderable a force, so far from his base.

He had sent, on the 16th of May, orders to Col. Kenly, who commanded the first Maryland regiment, to move with that regiment, numbering seven hundred and seventy-five effective men, and five companies of infantry from other regiments, an engineer corps, and a section of Knapp's battery, from Strasburg to Front Royal; while the 2d Massachusetts were stationed at the bridge where the Manassas Gap rail-road crosses the North Fork of the Shenandoah, and five companies from other regiments at different positions along the road from Strasburg to Front Royal. These forces were thus posted to protect the two towns, and to guard against the attack of guerrilla parties, which infested the region, and were not expected to resist a largely superior force. Gen. Banks, with the remainder of his command, about four thousand two hundred men, reached Strasburg on the 18th or 19th of May. On the 23d, intelligence was brought to him that Col. Kenly had been attacked by the rebels in overwhelming force, at Front Royal, and the 2d Massachusetts, and what other force could be spared, were sent at once to his support. Later in the evening of that day, dispatches from fugitives who had escaped from Front Royal to Winchester, informed the General, that Col. Kenly's force had been destroyed or taken prisoners, with but few exceptions. Gen. Banks immediately gave orders for the re-call of the re-enforcements, and sent out exploring parties in every direction, to ascertain the proximity of the enemy. They were found in possession of every road in the vicinity of Strasburg, and approaching in heavy force in three columns. The bravery and determination of Col. Kenly and his little force had, though at terrible sacrifice, Col. Kenly himself being severely wounded, and his regiment almost annihilated, kept
them at bay for several hours, and so far delayed their progress as to give opportunity for the remainder of the force to save themselves by a rapid and skillful retreat. The Union commander found himself in a position when prompt decision and instant action were indispensable. There were three alternatives, all fraught with danger; first, to retreat across North Mountain to the Potomac on the west, which could only be done at the sacrifice of his entire train of five hundred and fifty wagons at the outset, and would subject his command to flank attack, without the possibility of succor. Second, to attack the enemy in flank on the Front Royal road, which, with the great superiority in numbers of the rebels, would, sooner or later, have resulted in the inevitable destruction of Gen. Banks' force; and third, by a rapid movement upon Winchester, to anticipate the enemy's occupation of it, and secure in this way, his communication with his base at Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg, and the possibility of obtaining re-enforcements. This involved a rapid forced march of great extent, and the probability of several battles with a force six times as large as his own; but it was the only alternative which gave any hope of success, and he at once embraced it.

At 3 o'clock A.M., on the 24th of May, the wagon train was ordered forward, the disabled men left by Shields' Division were put upon the march, the re-enforcements sent to Col. Kenly were re-called and ordered to join the line on the Winchester route. Gen. Hatch, with nearly the whole force of cavalry, and six pieces of artillery, was ordered to protect the rear, and destroy the army stores which could not be removed, and to remain as long as possible in front of the town, to hold the enemy in check. By nine o'clock A.M., the whole column was on the march. They had passed Cedar Creek, about three miles from Strasburg, when information was received from the front, that the enemy had attacked the train, and was in full possession of the road at Middletown.
This intelligence necessitated an immediate change of position, and this, while the train thus attacked was recoiling in confusion and disorder. The troops were ordered at once to the head of the column, and the train to the rear, and Capt. Abert of the Topographical Corps, and the Zouaves d'Afrique, were directed to destroy Cedar Creek bridge. By the most skillful management, order was soon brought out of confusion, and the re-organized column once more marched promptly to meet the foe. The enemy was first encountered at Middletown; and a sharp action ensued, in which they were driven back by the Union troops more than two miles. Gen. Hatch, who, on the re-organization, had been ordered to advance with the cavalry, on a western road from Strasburg, finding himself unable to force a passage through the lines of the enemy, to join the Union column, at length followed a parallel road, and on reaching Newtown, joined his brigade to the 2d Massachusetts, Col. Gordon, which he found there, holding the enemy in check, after having, in connection with the 28th New York and the 27th Indiana, fought and repulsed their cavalry near Middletown, and burned the disabled wagons. Six companies of the 5th New York, and six of the 1st Vermont cavalry, being cut off from the main body, fell back to Strasburg, and the Vermont troops reached Winchester soon after the main column, while the New York regiment struck the Potomac, after much wandering, at Clear Spring, above Williamsport. The whole distance from Middletown to Winchester, was a succession of skirmishes, and it was twelve o'clock at mid-night of the 24th, when that town was reached.

Arrived at Winchester, Gen. Banks learned that the enemy was determined to hurl his entire force upon him, and crush him, if possible. The inhabitants of the town, large numbers of whom were secessionists, were intensely malignant, the women being more inhuman than the men, firing upon our
men from the windows of the houses, shooting down the wounded in cold blood, when they stopped to rest, throwing boiling water upon them, and indulging in such atrocities, that the rebel General Jackson rebuked them, afterwards, most severely.

To attempt to retreat quietly and without fighting, through this town and toward Martinsburg, would have been equivalent to a surrender, for the enemy would have soon overtaken him, and completely overwhelmed his feeble forces. Fully satisfied of this, Gen. Banks determined to send his train, of which only about fifty waggons were yet lost, forward at once, and placing his troops in as good a position as possible, give battle to the enemy, and thus delay his advance, till the train could reach a place of safety.

At four o'clock A. M., of the 25th, having been re-enforced by about twelve hundred men, the 10th Maine and five companies of Maryland cavalry, stationed at Winchester, he opened fire on the advancing force of the rebels, and fought them for five hours, inflicting heavy loss upon them, and then fell back in good order, and continued his retreat to Martinsburg unmolested. After a halt of two and a half hours, at that place, they resumed their march, and reached the Potomac at sun-down. One little incident occurring on this retreat is worthy of notice, as it furnished the basis for an attack on General Banks, by the enemies of the war in Congress. It was reported and charged in the House of Representatives, by Mr. Voorhees of Indiana, that Gen. Banks had given the negroes, of whom large numbers joined in the retreat, seats in the wagons of the train, while the sick and wounded soldiers had been compelled to march on foot. The charge being forwarded to the General, he replied, that the only incident which gave the slightest foundation for such a charge was, that in passing along the lines, to encourage his men, he observed a little negro girl of nine years, who, without friends
or helpers, had kept up with the army for twenty-seven miles of the retreat on foot. Her tottering limbs showed but too plainly, that the liberty she was seeking, by a journey so toilsome, would come too late, unless she had an opportunity of rest. Stopping the driver of one of the guns, he stooped from his horse, and raising her, seated her on the caisson, under the charge of the driver, and then rode along to attend to his other duties.

The ford was too deep for the greater part of the teams to attempt it before morning, but by noon of the 26th, the army and train of nearly five hundred wagons,—only fifty-five in all having been lost, and these were mostly burned,—had crossed the Potomac. The losses, exclusive of those of Col. Kenly's command at Front Royal, were only about seven hundred, of whom thirty-eight were killed, one hundred and fifty-five wounded, and a little more than five hundred missing, mostly prisoners. Including the loss at Front Royal, the entire loss was about one thousand six hundred. The retreating column had marched fifty-three miles, thirty-five of it in one day. Gen. Banks' body guard, the Zouaves D' Afrique, reached the Potomac, near the mouth of the Great Cacapon river, on Monday, and thence joined the army at Williamsport, having marched one hundred and twelve miles in about forty-eight hours. A more successfully conducted retreat, taking all the circumstances into account, is not to be found in the records of history.

The intelligence of this retreat, and of Jackson's advance upon the Potomac, created an extraordinary and unaccountable panic in Washington, Baltimore, and elsewhere at the North. The Secretary of War telegraphed at once to the Governors of the northern States, to send forward instantly, the militia regiments which they had at command, for the defence of the Capital, and within a week, twenty thousand soldiers were on their way to Washington, and its vicinity. Or-
ders were also sent, with all speed, to Gen. McDowell, to send Gen. Shields' Division to the relief of Gen. Banks, and to Gen. Fremont, to cross the mountains, and attack Jackson.

Meantime, Jackson had turned aside at Winchester, and advanced, somewhat leisurely, toward Harper's Ferry. This important post had been assigned to Brigadier General Rufus Saxton, and he had assumed command on the 26th, and the same evening and the next day, had received considerable reinforcements, including three batteries, one of them a fine naval battery, under command of Lieutenant Daniels, U. S. N.; this was planted on Maryland Heights, and the others on Camp Hill. After two or three days' skirmishing, the rebel General resolved, on the evening of the 30th, to storm Maryland Heights, but after two fierce attacks, in both of which he was repulsed with heavy loss, he abandoned his purpose, and fell back to Winchester, and thence to Strasburg.

This rapid movement of retreat had become a necessity to the Rebel General, for, with his manifold sources of information, he had become aware that large forces had been detached from different directions to cut off his army from its connection with its base, and that only by the greatest activity and tact, could he avoid the capture of his entire force. He was fully equal to the occasion. His bold dash had accomplished the purposes intended, preventing the junction of McDowell's forces with those of McClellan for the attack of Richmond, encouraging the Rebel army, alarming the Government at Washington, and delaying McClellan's progress, until there should be time to bring in the new troops from the conscription, and thus make Johnston's force more nearly equal to that of the Union commander. It now remained for him to escape, by as rapid movement and as little fighting as possible, from the foes that were advancing upon him, and rejoin the rebel army at Richmond, or protect it from an attack on the north-west.
His retreat was timed with most consummate skill. He reached Strasburg in advance of both the Union commanders, and, with his rear guard, skirmished with Fremont, who first arrived, for one or two hours, while his main army was pressing on to Woodstock, eluding, meanwhile, a collision with the advance guard of Gen. Shields' force, which was at the same time approaching him from Front Royal.

It is due, however, to the two Union commanders, who have been, unjustly as it seems to us, censured for letting him slip through their hands, that we should give a more detailed account of their attempts to intercept his retreat.

Immediately on receiving intelligence of the retreat of Gen. Banks, and the disaster at Front Royal, the Secretary of War sent a dispatch to Gen. Fremont, directing him to fall back, by way of Harrisonburg, to the support of Gen. Banks. Gen. Fremont was at Franklin with his entire force, except that belonging to the rail-road district, and two regiments and some batteries under the command of Col. Crook, which were at Greenbrier bridge, thirty-five miles west of McDowell. The dispatch of the Secretary of War, reached him on the afternoon of Saturday, May 24th. The day previous, a Confederate force, three thousand strong, under Gen. Heath, had attacked Col. Crook, at Greenbrier bridge, but had been repulsed with the loss of their artillery, three hundred stand of arms, and one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and a considerable number of prisoners. This repulse was so thorough that Gen. Fremont did not deem it necessary to reserve any of his troops to strengthen Crook's position, but gave orders on the same evening on which he received his dispatch, for a movement of his entire force toward Strasburg, early the next morning. In one particular, however, he did not obey to the letter, the order of the Secretary of War. That order required him to go by way of Harrisonburg. The route from Franklin to Harrisonburg lay across the Shenandoah Mountain, and was, at that
season of the year, nearly impassable from the mud, and the steepness of the mountain passes; neither forage nor supplies in any quantity could be procured upon it, and to reach Strasburg by that route, would require about eighteen or twenty miles more travel, than by the way of Moorefield and Wardensville. On this latter route, too, though the roads were bad, there was abundant forage and supplies.

Believing that he could more promptly and effectively accomplish his purpose, and the purpose of the Government, of stopping and defeating Jackson, by the adoption of this route, than the one indicated by the Secretary of War, and his division and brigade commanders concurring in his opinion, he pushed on northward from Franklin, on Sunday morning, the 25th of May, and though the roads were intolerably bad, owing to the recent rains, the army bivouacked fourteen miles from Franklin, that night.

On Monday, they reached Petersburg, sixteen miles further, in the afternoon, and thence,—knapsacks, tents, and baggage, being left behind,—the troops, with five days’ rations of hard bread, were hurried forward, as fast as possible, over the mountains; but such was the condition of the roads, aggravated as it was by constant rains, that but twenty-two miles could be made in two days, and on Thursday the exhausted troops were obliged to rest.

On Friday, still encountering a heavy rain, they marched twenty miles, and bivouacked at Wardensville; on Saturday, they crossed the last range of mountains, still in the rain, and reached the point where the Winchester and Strasburg roads divide, six or seven miles from Strasburg; the men thoroughly drenched, and too weary to erect shelters, sleeping by the side of the road, or under the trees, where the earth was saturated with the rain.

At six o’clock the next morning, the advance was in motion, and before 9.30 A.M., was engaged with the rear of Jackson’s
force. After an hour and a half of skirmishing, in which, in
the hope of drawing the enemy into a position where they
could be assailed to better advantage, Col. Cluseret, the leader
of Fremont's Advance Guard, fell back for a short distance,
the firing ceased, and it was found that Jackson had retreated.
Cluseret followed and reconnoitered, amid one of the most ter-
rrible thunder storms ever witnessed, and found a part of them
encamped in a strong position, but it was impossible, in the
darkness and storm, to bring up troops to the attack, and he
waited with impatience for the morning. With the morning,
Gen. Bayard, with the advance of McDowell's troops, reached
Strasburg, and Fremont welcoming them, hastened on in pur-
suit of the foe.

Gen. Shields had moved from Manassas Junction on the
26th, had routed the enemy at Front Royal on the 30th of
May, taking their commissary stores and many prisoners, and
finding, on the 1st of June, that Gen. Fremont was pursuing
the rebels on line of the Manassas Gap rail-road, moved up
the east side of the Massanutten Mountain to Luray, in the
hope of intercepting them at Conrad's Store, Port Republic,
or Waynesborough.

Gen. Fremont overtook the rear guard of Jackson's army,
about a mile and a half beyond Strasburg, and attacked them,
but they soon retreated, and though three times brought to a
stand that day, and stopping to fight for an hour or two, it was
only to facilitate the retreat of the main army.

The rebels passed through Woodstock without stopping, on
Monday night, but camped late in the evening, three miles
farther on; Fremont's troops rested for the night at Wood-
stock, and at seven o'clock the next morning again moved in
pursuit, and reached Stony Creek just beyond Edinburg, in
time to see the military bridge, constructed by Gen. Banks,
half burned, and the enemy beyond it. Its repair caused a
little delay, which enabled Jackson to reach Mount Jackson,
eight miles beyond, where he halted, for a few hours, but moved again as Fremont's advance approached.

One mile beyond Mount Jackson is a long bridge, over the North Fork of the Shenandoah, a stream too swift and deep to be forded. The rebel commander prepared this for destruction, but left his artillery in position at the bridge-head, long enough to delay the advance of Gen. Bayard's cavalry, and then, rapidly crossing the bridge, set it on fire before the pursuers could reach it, maintaining his fire meantime from the opposite shore. It was rebuilt by noon of the next day, and the pursuing force followed rapidly after the flying foe, but were again delayed, by the burning of all the bridges on the route. Fremont's advance reached Harrisonburg on Friday, June 6th, about 2 o'clock p. m., and had two sharp skirmishes with the enemy the same day, in one of which they lost fifty-five men, while the rebels sustained the loss of Gen. Ashby, one of their best cavalry officers, and a considerable number of men. On Saturday, Fremont's forces remained at Harrisonburg, but Gen. Milroy made a reconnaissance on the road to Port Republic. About seven miles from Harrisonburg, at a place called Cross Keys, he found the enemy strongly posted, in a position protected by woods. Here it seems the rebel commander had resolved to fight Gen. Fremont, to check his pursuit, while he made good his escape across the Shenandoah.

Gen. Fremont was not averse to a battle, and at six o'clock on Sunday morning, June 8th, his army was in motion, and at half-past eight o'clock his advance engaged the enemy. After two hours spent in skirmishing, the rival forces joined battle and fought with great violence and obstinacy, until four in the afternoon, the firing and skirmishing continuing till dark.

The battle was a drawn one; the Union army had been driven back during the morning, and did not advance beyond their first lines. The rebels retreated, after the battle, in good or-
nder, as they had doubtless intended. The loss of Fremont's army was about one hundred and twenty-five killed, and five hundred wounded. The enemy's loss about the same, though a larger number were among the killed.

Gen. Shields, who, as we have already said, had passed down the east bank of the Shenandoah river, in the hope of intercepting the rebels, had sent forward his advance under the command of Col. Carroll, to Port Republic; he had reached the place on the 8th of June, while the battle of Cross Keys was in progress.

He passed through the town, with a small force, intending to capture a part of the train and a herd of cattle which Jackson had captured near the place, but having driven the small rebel cavalry force from the bridge, and taken possession of the town, he was assailed by a rebel force much superior to his own—which was probably Jackson's advance guard, which had left Cross Keys that afternoon—and was compelled to recross the river, to a position two miles back of the town, and the rebels thus regained and held possession of the bridge. In his new position Col. Carroll was joined, the same evening, by Gen. Tyler, and their combined force was about three thousand. Early Monday morning, 9th of June, Jackson crossed the bridge over the Shenandoah, burning it behind him, attacked Tyler, and after a severe action, compelled him to retreat.

Meantime, Gen. Fremont had resumed his pursuit of the enemy at an early hour, and reached the Shenandoah, just in season to find them across the river, and the bridge in flames. A detachment of cavalry was sent to open communication with Gen. Shields' troops, but it was evident that further pursuit was hopeless, and that Jackson had reached a position of safety.

On Tuesday morning, June 10th, Gen. Fremont fell back with his forces to Harrisonburg, on Wednesday to New Market,
and on Thursday to Mt. Jackson, where they encamped for a time to rest and recruit. Gen. Shields' force also returned to New Market.

Jackson, relieved from pursuit, returned to Harrisonburg almost as soon as the Union army left it, and for the next fortnight remained in the vicinity of the Virginia Central and Orange and Alexandria rail-roads; but hastened toward Richmond in season to take a part in the battle of Gaines' Mill, the fortunes of which he turned, by his repeated charges on our right, centre, and left.

The unfortunate results of this pursuit of Jackson, while they reflect no discredit on the bravery of the troops or the ability of their commanders,—for there are few pursuits on record in military history, which have been more arduous and protracted than that of Fremont's, followed up during seventeen days of rapid marching, over the worst possible roads, and during almost incessant rain,—are due to some errors, which, under a wiser and more skillful management, might have been avoided.

The attempt, on the part of the Secretary of War, to control such an expedition from his office, more than a hundred miles away, and the neglect to secure co-operation, and an understanding between the different commanders, were serious errors, and in themselves sufficient to have defeated its purpose. The adoption of a different route from the one ordered, by Gen. Fremont, though decided upon from the best of motives, and in the belief that it would better accomplish the desired result, proved unfortunate, inasmuch as the route by way of Harrisonburg could hardly have proved more difficult, under the circumstances, than that by Moorefield, and would have brought Fremont's army in front of Jackson's, instead of in his rear, and would thus have given a better opportunity of defeating and destroying him. It was one of those cases in which the change involved in this choice of routes, might
have exerted a controlling influence on the entire progress of the war; for Jackson's complete defeat at this time, would have prevented his re-enforcing Lee at Gaines' Mill, and very probably have changed the fortunes of that battle, and the necessity for the disastrous "change of base"; and Richmond, had the Union commander so willed, might then have been in the possession of the Union army, before the 1st of July, 1862.

On the 21st of June, Gen. Fremont's advance reached Winchester, which was made the base of subsequent operations. On the 26th of June, the three corps, commanded respectively by Gen's Fremont, Banks, and McDowell, or rather what was left of them, a considerable portion having been sent to re-enforce Gen. McClellan, were consolidated into the army of Virginia, and placed under the command of Gen. John Pope. Gen. Pope had been a subordinate of Gen. Fremont in the Missouri campaign, and owing to some occurrences during that campaign, the two were not on friendly terms. Gen. Fremont therefore asked to be relieved from his command, and the President acceded to his request.

The operations of the navy on the James river, during the Peninsular campaign, deserve a passing notice. After the destruction of the Merrimac by her commander, on the 11th of May, Commodore Goldsborough resolved to attack Richmond with his iron-clads and other gun-boats of light draft, and if possible capture it. On the 15th of May, he ordered Commander John Rodgers to proceed up the James river with the Galena and the Monitor—iron-clads—the Naugatuck,—the miniature model of the Stevens battery, and the Aroostook and Port Royal, wooden gun-boats, and shell the city of Richmond. The fleet proceeded as far as Drewry's Bluff, about eight miles below Richmond, where they found the river obstructed by piles and the sinking of vessels in two lines across the channel, and a heavy battery was planted on the bluff, in such
a way that its guns could have a plunging fire on the gun-boats. The banks of the river were lined with sharp-shooters, who effectually prevented all efforts to remove the obstructions. The Galena ran within six hundred yards of the battery, and opened fire; the Monitor attempted to pass ahead of her, but could not elevate her guns sufficiently to injure the battery, and was obliged to fall back to a point where she could use them to better advantage; the Naugatuck burst her one hundred pound Parrott rifled gun, on its third discharge, and the wooden gun-boats could not take any effective part in the action.

After an engagement of over three hours, the flotilla, having exhausted their ammunition, were compelled to withdraw. The Monitor and wooden gun-boats were uninjured, though the former had been repeatedly struck; but the armor of the Galena had been penetrated by thirteen shots, and she was seriously disabled.

The attempt to carry this battery was not repeated, but the gun-boats remained in the James river, and after the "change of base," rendered efficient service in the battles of Turkey Bend and Malvern Hills.
CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ARMY OF VIRGINIA—GEN. POPE'S CAMPAIGN.


On the 26th of June, 1862, the President of the United States issued a special order, creating the army of Virginia from what remained of the three corps of Gen's Fremont, Banks, and McDowell, and appointing Major General John Pope to its command. Gen. Pope was a graduate of West Point, and about thirty-nine years of age. He had distinguished himself, and attained brevet rank in the Mexican war, had been made a Brigadier General, May 17, 1861, and assigned to a command in Missouri, where he had been quite successful in protecting rail-road communications, and driving out guerrilla parties, and at Blackwater had captured a large number of rebel prisoners. Gen. Halleck assigned to him the
command of the land forces, which were to co-operate with Flagofficer Foote's flotilla on the Mississippi, and during the campaign, he captured New Madrid, Mo., and after the surrender of Island No. Ten, pursued and took a large number of prisoners. He was, for these services, promoted to a Major Generalship, and assigned to the command of an army corps in the siege of Corinth. After the evacuation of that town, he pursued the enemy and took a large number of prisoners.

Such had been the military career of the General whom the President called to the command of this new army. Success had perhaps somewhat elated him, and his political sentiments,—he had been, previous to the war, an out-spoken and decided Republican—as well as his rapid promotion, made him distasteful to some of the leading Generals of the army of the Potomac; but judged by his military acts, he seems to have been a capable and skillful General, and under other and less adverse circumstances, would doubtless have proved a successful one.

We have stated, in a previous chapter, the reasons which led Gen. Fremont to ask to be relieved of the command of his corps, when to have continued in command of it, would have made him subordinate to Gen. Pope. His corps, at first placed under the command of Gen. Schenck, was soon transferred to Major General Franz Sigel, who, like Gen. Pope and Gen. Fremont, had previously been in command at the west.

The objects of the Government in the organization of this army of Virginia, were three-fold: to more effectually protect Washington from attack; to prevent the rebels from entering or holding the Shenandoah valley; and by threatening Richmond from the North, to create such a diversion of the enemy's forces, as should better enable the army of the Potomac to capture that city. These purposes, judicious as they were, sadly failed of fulfillment, though not from the fault of Gen. Pope, or the Government.

His first efforts were directed to the re-organization of some
of the divisions and brigades of his new army, to supplying it with the material necessary for troops in the field, and to the placing of it in the positions which would be most effective for accomplishing the purposes he had in view. Believing that the valley of the Shenandoah could be more effectually protected from invasion, from without, than from any point within it, he sent orders to Major General Sigel, commanding the first corps of his army, to move forward from Middletown, where he was then stationed, cross the Shenandoah at Front Royal, and following down the east bank of the Shenandoah, pass through the Blue Ridge at Luray Gap, and take post at Sperryville. He also directed Major General Banks, after crossing the Shenandoah at the same point, to take a position six or eight miles east of Sperryville. Ricketts' division of McDowell's corps was moved from Manassas Junction to Waterloo bridge, the point where the turnpike from Warrenton to Sperryville crosses the Rappahannock. King's division of the same corps, was left at Fredericksburg, in order to protect the rail-road from thence to Acquia creek, and the public buildings which had been erected at and near Fredericksburgh. This wide separation of this division from the remainder of his army, though apparently necessary, caused Gen. Pope considerable uneasiness, from the facility which it gave the enemy for interposing between this section of his force and his main army.

While engaged in thus assigning positions to his corps, Gen. Pope learned that the army of the Potomac was to be transferred to the James river. That measure, which proved so fatal to the success of the national arms, Gen. Pope strongly opposed. He saw, that if carried out, it would render all his efforts of no avail. He therefore strove earnestly against it. He went at once to the President, and urged him to send orders to Gen. McClellan, that if he were unable to maintain his position, and was pressed by a superior force of the enemy, he should mass his forces on the north side of the Chickahom-
iny, even at the risk of losing much material of war, and move toward Hanover Court House; but in no event to retreat with his army further south than White House, on York river. He urged that the retreat to James river would carry Gen. McClellan away from any re-enforcements which could probably be sent him within a reasonable time, and would absolutely deprive him of any substantial aid from the forces under Gen. Pope's command; that the whole army of the enemy would be interposed between the army of the Potomac and the army of Virginia, with full opportunity to strike at which ever they might find the weakest, while the two would be so far separated, that neither could relieve the other, if attacked; that the removal of the army of the Potomac to the James river, entirely uncovered Washington and the Shenandoah valley to the enemy, except so far as his small force could protect so extended a territory, and would therefore render it impossible to re-enforce McClellan, without risking the loss of Washington, and that even if Gen. McClellan could take Richmond by giving up Washington to the rebels, the loss of Richmond to them would be a trifling affair, while, to the United States, the loss of Washington would be irreparable.

But these remonstrances were all in vain; Gen. McClellan had already commenced his retreat, and within a week was safe on the banks of the James river, under the cover of the gun-boats, with the loss of not much less than fifteen thousand men, and a large quantity of stores and ammunition. Still, desirous of doing all in his power to promote harmony of action and co-operation between the army of the Potomac and his own, Gen. Pope addressed a letter to Gen. McClellan, soon after he had taken up his position at Harrison's Landing, stating to him the situation and the distribution of the troops under his command, and requesting him, in all earnestness and good faith, to write to him—Gen. Pope—fully and freely his views, and to suggest any measures which he thought desirable
to enable the two armies to co-operate, or to enable Gen. Pope to render any assistance in his power to the army of the Potomac. He promised that every suggestion that Gen. McClellan might make, should meet all respect and consideration at his hands, and that so far as it was in his power to do so, he would carry out his wishes with all energy, and with all the means at his command.

This frank and manly communication only elicited from Gen. McClellan, a reply in very general terms, and making no suggestions for co-operative action. It did not suit his purposes to co-operate with a General who was his equal in power, nor to have a force in the vicinity of the Rappahannock or covering Washington at all. Afterward, on the 4th of August, knowing, or having the opportunity to know, that Jackson’s and Longstreet’s corps were and had been for more than two weeks moving northward to attack Pope, Gen. McClellan demanded of Gen. Halleck that Pope’s and Burnside’s armies be sent to re-enforce him on the Peninsula.

Finding that there was no prospect of cordial and harmonious action between Gen. McClellan and himself, Gen. Pope suggested to the President, the appointment of a military Commander-in-chief, who should have power to direct in general the movements of both armies, and Major General Halleck was accordingly appointed General-in-chief, on the 11th of July. Soon after his appointment, Gen. Pope, fully aware of the thankless duties before him, and fore-seeing probable disaster, expressed to him and to the President, his earnest desire to be relieved from the command, and to return to the west. Both, however, considered his services necessary in the projected campaign, and accordingly declined to comply with his request. Under these circumstances, he entered upon his duties, not without grave forebodings, but with a determination to carry out the plans of the Government, with all the energy and ability of which he was master.
On the 14th of July, he issued an address to the officers and soldiers of the army of Virginia, a little vainglorious, perhaps, in its boastings of western successes, but well adapted to cheer and inspirit his forces. It was a misfortune that it was interpreted by some of the leading commanders of the army of the Potomac, as implying a censure upon them, and was the foundation of a hostility toward him, which, on the part of some of them, was unremitting throughout the campaign.

On the 18th of July, he issued from Washington,—where he was still detained making arrangements for the effective organization of his command,—three general orders, two of which (No. 5 and 7,) though perfectly justified by military precedent, and approved by the Government, were construed by his enemies, and those of the Government, as authorizing indiscriminate robbery, plunder, and violence. The rebel President, Jefferson Davis, issued an order declaring Gen. Pope and his officers, in consequence of these orders, felons, and directing that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war if captured, until the orders were revoked. The orders were as follows:

**Head-Quarters Army of Virginia,**
**Washington, July 15, 1862.**

**General Orders, No. 5.—**Hereafter, as far as practicable, the troops of this command will subsist upon the country in which their operations are carried on. In all cases, supplies for this purpose will be taken by the officers to whose department they properly belong, under the orders of the commanding officer of the troops for whose use they are intended. Vouchers will be given to the owners, stating on their face that they will be payable at the conclusion of the war, upon sufficient testimony being furnished that such owners have been loyal citizens of the United States, since the date of the vouchers. Whenever it is known that supplies can be furnished in any district of the country where the troops are to operate, the use of trains for carrying subsistence will be dispensed with as far as possible.

By command of Major General Pope.

Geo. D. Ruggles, Col. A. A. G. and Chief of Staff.

**General Order, No. 6,** directed that in the operations of cavalry forces, no supply or baggage trains should be used,
unless so stated specially. The men were to carry two days' cooked rations, and all villages or neighborhoods through which they passed, were to be laid under contribution, in accordance with General Order No. 5, for the subsistence of men and horses. No. 7, was as follows:

**Head-Quarters Army of Virginia,**

Washington, July 18, 1862.

**General Orders, No. 7.**—The people of the valley of the Shenandoah, and throughout the region of operations of this army, living along the lines of rail-road and telegraph, and along the routes of travel in rear of the United States forces, are notified that they will be held responsible for any injury done to the track, line, or road, or for any attacks upon trains or straggling soldiers, by bands of guerrillas in their neighborhood. No privileges and immunities of warfare apply to lawless bands of individuals, not forming part of the organized forces of the enemy, nor wearing the garb of soldiers, who, seeking and obtaining safety on pretext of being peaceful citizens, steal out in rear of the army, attack and murder straggling soldiers, molest trains of supplies, destroy rail-roads, telegraph lines, and bridges, and commit outrages disgraceful to civilized people and revolting to humanity. Evil disposed persons in rear of our armies, who do not themselves engage directly in these lawless acts, encourage them by refusing to interfere or to give any information by which such acts can be prevented, or the perpetrators punished. Safety of life and property of all persons living in the rear of our advancing armies depends upon the maintenance of peace and quiet among themselves, and upon the unmolested movements through their midst, of all pertaining to the military service. They are to understand distinctly that this security of travel is their only warrant of personal safety.

It is therefore ordered, that wherever a rail-road, wagon-road, or telegraph is injured by parties of guerrillas, the citizens living within five miles of the spot, shall be turned out in mass to repair the damage, and shall, besides, pay to the United States, in money or in property, to be levied by military force, the full amount of the pay and subsistence of the whole force necessary to coerce the performance of the work, during the time occupied in completing it.

If a soldier or legitimate follower of the army be fired upon from any house, the house shall be razed to the ground, and the inhabitants sent prisoners to the head-quarters of this army. If such an outrage occur at any place distant from settlements, the people within five miles around shall be held accountable, and made to pay an indemnity sufficient for the case.

Any persons detected in such outrages, either during the act,
or at any time afterward, shall be shot without waiting civil process. No such acts can influence the result of this war, and they can only lead to heavy afflictions to the population to no purpose.

It is therefore enjoined upon all persons, both for the security of their property and the safety of their own persons, that they act vigorously and cordially together, to prevent the perpetration of such outrages. While it is the wish of the General commanding this army, that all peaceably disposed persons who remain at their homes, and pursue their accustomed avocations, shall be subjected to no improper burden of war, yet their own safety must, of necessity, depend upon the strict preservation of peace and order among themselves, and they are to understand that nothing will deter him from enforcing promptly, and to the full extent, every provision of this order.

By command of Major Gen. Pope.

Geo. D. Ruggles, Col. A. A. G. and Chief of Staff.

By General Orders No. 11, issued July 23, 1862, commanders of army corps, divisions, brigades, &c., were ordered to proceed immediately to arrest all disloyal male citizens within their lines, or within their reach in rear of their respective stations. Such of these as were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and give sufficient security for its observance, were to be allowed to return to their homes and pursue their accustomed avocations. Those who refused, were to be sent beyond our lines, and notified, that if found again anywhere within our lines, or at any point in the rear, they would be considered spies, and subjected to the extreme rigor of military law. Any person who, after taking the oath of allegiance, should be found to have violated it, was to be shot, and his property confiscated.

All communication with any persons living within the enemy's lines, except through the military authorities, and in the manner specified by military law, was positively prohibited, and any person engaged in writing or carrying such communication was to be considered and treated as a spy.

By still another order, all straggling was prohibited, and strict military discipline enforced.

These orders were stringent, and in particular cases undoubtedly occasioned hardships to individuals; but they were justified
by all military usage, and were particularly necessary in Eastern Virginia, where, for months, a large class of the resident population, who were most clamorous for the protection of their property, by our troops, under the pretence that they were peaceful farmers and citizens, had been in the habit of going out at night to murder and plunder the soldiers, and the army trains. No license was given to the soldiers to rob or destroy; on the contrary, every precaution was taken to prevent any of the demoralizing practices of which some of the regiments in that army had previously been guilty. The abuse showered upon Gen. Pope for these orders was evidently undeserved.

Before Gen. Pope left Washington to take the field in Virginia,—July 29th,—it had been unanimously determined by the Government, Gen. Halleck, and other military advisers, that the union of the armies of Virginia and the Potomac, was absolutely essential, both to the safety of the national Capital and to the further successful prosecution of the operations against Richmond. For this purpose, Gen. Pope's army was directed to cover, as far as possible, the front of Washington, and to make secure the valley of the Shenandoah, and so operate upon the enemy's lines of communication to the west and northwest of Richmond, as to force him to make such heavy detachments from his main force, as would enable the army of the Potomac to withdraw from its position at Harrison's Landing, and embark for Acquia creek or Alexandria.

It was feared that the rebel commander would throw his whole force in the direction of Washington, on finding that Gen. McClellan was in no position to prevent such a movement. In that event, Gen. Pope was to resist his advance at all hazards, and so to delay and embarrass his movements as to gain all the time possible for the arrival of the army of the Potomac behind the Rappahannock. The union of the two armies, it was believed, would enable their commanders to drive back the rebel forces to and through Richmond.
After the great mistake of the "change of base," this was the only programme which offered any probability of success to the Union army; and though involving hazard and heavy fighting on the part of Gen. Pope's army, there was every reason for believing that, with the hearty co-operation of the two armies, it could not fail of success. Its progress, and the causes which led to its failure, it is now our duty to show.

Almost immediately after taking command of the army of Virginia, in the first days of July, Gen. Pope instructed Gen. King, who commanded one of Gen. McDowell's two remaining divisions, at Fredericksburg, to send forward detachments of his cavalry to operate upon the line of the Virginia central rail-road, and as far as possible, to embarrass and destroy the communication between Richmond and the valley of the Shenandoah. The expeditions sent out by Gen. King, in accordance with this order, were completely successful, and succeeded in breaking up that rail-road at several points. In pursuance of the design he had formed, he ordered Gen. Banks, about the same time, to send forward an infantry brigade, with all his cavalry, to march rapidly upon Culpepper Court House, and after taking possession of that place, to push forward cavalry toward the Rapidan, in the direction of Gordonsville.

On the 14th of July, he directed Gen. Banks to send forward that night the whole of his cavalry, under Brigadier General Hatch, with orders to make a rapid march upon Gordonsville, to occupy it, and with a part of his force to destroy the rail-road for ten or fifteen miles east of the town, and with the remainder, to proceed westward in the direction of Charlottesville, and destroy the bridges, and interrupt, as far as practicable, that line of communication. Had this been accomplished, the progress of the enemy would have been seriously delayed; but Gen. Hatch, instead of taking cavalry only, took infantry, artillery, and a wagon train also, and going by
a circuitous route, had only reached Madison Court House on the 17th of July, and meantime the advance of "Stonewall" Jackson's forces, under General Ewell, had reached Gordonsville on the 16th.

Finding himself thwarted in this important movement, through the negligence or disobedience of Gen. Hatch, Gen. Pope next directed that officer to select, from his own cavalry and that of Gen. McDowell which he had sent forward, fifteen hundred or two thousand of the best mounted men, and proceed from Madison Court House around the west side of Blue Ridge, to a point whence he could make an easy descent upon the rail-road at Waynesborough or its vicinity, and if successful, to push forward to Charlottesville and destroy the Orange and Alexandria rail-road between that town and Charlottesville.

This, with Gen. King's previous movements, would have effectually cut off rail-road communication between Richmond and Gordonsville, and thus have delayed the progress of Jackson's main army.

But Gen. Hatch again proved faithless or inefficient, and after commencing the movement as directed, speedily abandoned it, and returned to his post by way of Sperryville. For this second failure, Gen. Pope promptly and very properly relieved him from his command, and appointed Gen. Buford to the position of chief of the cavalry of Banks' corps.

On the 29th of July, Gen. Pope took the field in person, and after reviewing Ricketts' division of McDowell's corps, proceeded to Gen. Banks' head-quarters, a few miles south-east of Little Washington, Rappahannock county. On the 7th of August, all his infantry and artillery force, except King's division, were stationed along the turnpike, from Sperryville to Culpepper, and numbered about twenty-eight thousand men. As already stated, Gen. King's division, and a brigade of Sigel's corps were left at Fredericksburg.

The cavalry were in advance of this line; Gen. Buford,
with five regiments, being posted at Madison Court House, with his pickets along the Rapidan river from Burnett's Ford, as far west as the Blue Ridge; with a brigade of infantry, and a battery of artillery, from Sigel's corps, to support him, stationed where the road from Madison Court House to Sperryville crosses Robertson's river. Gen. Bayard, with four regiments of cavalry, held a position near Rapidan station, at the point where the Orange and Alexandria rail-road crosses the Rapidan river, and his pickets, connecting with Gen. Buford's at Burnett's Ford, extended to the east as far as Raccoon Ford, and thence to the forks of the Rappahannock, to connect with Gen. King's. A signal station was established on Thoroughfare Mountain, about half-way between Generals Buford and Bayard, which over-looked the whole country as far south as Orange Court House.

Having thus designated the position of Gen. Pope's army at the commencement of the active campaign, let us glance briefly at the prominent physical features of the country in which that campaign was to be conducted. The territory occupied by the opposing forces may be described in general terms as bounded on the south by the Rapidan and Rappahannock rivers; on the east and north-east by the Potomac; on the north by a line drawn from the mouth of Difficult Creek through Aldie Gap to the Blue Ridge; on the north-west by the Blue Ridge, and on the west, by the turnpike from Front Royal to Orange Court House.

The southern portion of this tract is drained by the Rappahannock, which is formed by the union, about fifteen miles above Fredericksburg, of two very considerable rivers, the north fork of the Rappahannock, often called the Rappahannock, and the Rapidan. Both have their sources in the Blue Ridge, the north fork rising near Front Royal, and the Rapidan nearly fifty miles farther south. Both are deep and quickly raised by the rains, which fall so frequently in the moun
MAP OF JACKSON'S RAID.
tains, yet both are fordable, except after heavy rains, at points within a few miles from each other. The north fork is crossed at three points by good bridges, viz: about ten miles above its junction with the Rapidan, at Rappahannock Station, on the Orange and Alexandria rail-road, and at Waterloo bridge, near the Warrenton sulphur springs. Between these points there are three good fords, and above Waterloo there are frequent fords, in the ordinary stage of the water.

The only considerable stream north of the Rappahannock, in this tract, is Bull Run creek and its affluents, a tributary of the Potomac. These affluents, Cedar Run, Kettle Run, Broad Run, and Cub Run, were all of them more or less important in reference to the battle which followed. A single chain of high hills, outliers from the Blue Ridge, traverses the district, though broken by the streams which cross it. In the southern part, indeed, it forms distinct and isolated summits, like Thoroughfare Mountain and Cedar Mountain, while between is but a gently rolling surface, but from Warrenton, northward, it is a continuous chain, known as the Bull Run Mountains, and only broken by Thoroughfare and Hopeville Gaps.

The Orange and Alexandria rail-road passes diagonally through the tract, and is joined by the Manassas Gap rail-road, from the west, at Manassas Junction, near the site of the first Bull Run battle, and by the Warrenton branch, also from the west, at Warrenton Junction. Most of the battles of the campaign were fought in the immediate vicinity of one or other of these rail-roads; or on the turnpike extending from Alexandria to Thoroughfare Gap, which runs nearly parallel with the upper portion of the Orange and Alexandria and Manassas Gap rail-roads.

It became evident, on the 7th of August, that Jackson was moving forward upon the Union troops, with the intention of compelling them to fight or retreat, and leave him a clear
passage toward Washington. In the afternoon of that day, Gen. Bayard's cavalry pickets were driven back toward Culpepper, by the much larger force of the enemy, but fell back slowly, and contesting every foot of the ground. It was not certain, at this time, whether the object of the enemy's attack would be Culpepper, or Madison Court House; but on Friday, Gen. Pope had satisfied himself, that the movement on the latter point was only a feint, and that Culpepper was the point really aimed at; and he accordingly moved forward the remainder of Gen. Banks' corps—Crawford's brigade was already near Cedar or Slaughter's Mountain—and directed Ricketts' division of McDowell's corps to follow them, and take up a position within easy supporting distance. Gen. Sigel's corps were also ordered forward from Sperryville, and, making a forced march of twenty miles, arrived about daylight on Friday, the 9th of August, at Culpepper.

On Saturday morning, the enemy showed himself in considerable force on the sides of Cedar or Slaughter's Mountain, a sugar-loaf eminence, about two miles from the Orange and Alexandria rail-road. Gen. Banks was directed to occupy the position already held by Crawford's brigade, but not to advance beyond that point, and if attacked by the enemy, to defend himself, and send back timely notice. The design of this order was to give Gen. Sigel's corps as much time as possible for rest, after their forced march.

During the morning, there was no fighting beyond slight skirmishing between the pickets, and though the enemy's artillery opened early in the afternoon, it was too remote and too ill directed to do any harm. Gen. Banks did not think that the enemy in his front was in very great force, and did not expect any general engagement to be brought on, but, near five o'clock in the afternoon, he pushed forward a small body of skirmishers, and attacked those of the enemy who appeared on a plain, in front of the heavy woods with which that part
of the mountain was covered. In the woods were concealed a strong force, ready to support the skirmishers, when driven back by the Union troops. This attack brought on the battle, which did not fairly open till about 6 o'clock P. M., but raged for an hour and a half, with a violence which has seldom been equaled during the war. The cannonading was incessant; furious, and admirably directed on both sides; the batteries on each side having the range of their foe, and firing with such precision and rapidity as to produce terrible slaughter. Gen. Banks held his position without re-enforcement for more than an hour, when Gen. Ricketts' division came up, and Gen. Sigel's division arrived late in the night, though not till the battle was mainly over. The advantage of position was with the enemy, as they occupied the higher ground, and they had also greatly the advantage of numbers, their force engaged being, according to their own admissions, over thirty thousand, while Gen. Banks had but seven thousand in the fight. The loss on the Union side was about eighteen hundred, of whom about thirty, including Gen. Prince, were prisoners. The rebel loss was very heavy, and probably nearly equal to that of the Union troops. They admitted a loss of one thousand. During the night of the 11th, Jackson evacuated his position, and retreated across the Rapidan, leaving many of his dead and wounded on the field, and along the road from Cedar Mountain to Orange Court House. Gen's Buford and Bayard, with the cavalry, pursued him to the Rapidan, and captured many stragglers.

This battle was important, and served all the purposes of a victory to the Union troops, though attended with heavy loss, inasmuch as it retarded for several days, the onward movement of the enemy, at a period when time was everything to the Union army. Gen. Banks may have been a little rash in provoking a fight with a force of nearly five times the number of his own, but his intrepidity and daring, and the determined
bravery of his troops, saved the country from a greater disaster than the loss of those gallant men.

On the 14th of August, Gen. Reno, with eight thousand men from Gen. Burnside's corps, which had arrived at Falmouth, joined Gen. Pope, and with this re-enforcement, he pushed forward to the line of the Rapidan, and sent his cavalry out to cut the enemy's lines of communication with Richmond.

On the 16th, a squadron of cavalry penetrated to Louisa Court House, and captured the rebel General Stuart's Adjutant General. Among the papers found upon that officer, was an autograph letter from Gen. R. E. Lee, to Gen. Stuart, dated at Gordonsville, August 15th, in which he informed Gen. Stuart, that he was moving the main body of the rebel army, by forced marches, to attack Gen. Pope, before he could form a junction with the army of the Potomac.

On the 18th, Gen. Pope, convinced that with the small force he had at command, not exceeding forty-five thousand, it would be impossible for him to hold the line of the Rapidan against Lee's immense force, made preparation to put the Rappahannock between his force and the enemy, as speedily as possible. By a masterly arrangement, the whole force, trains, artillery, and men, were, during the night of the 18th and the following day, brought safely and in perfect order, across the river, the cavalry masking the retreat, and finally crossing the river when it was all completed. The force was then stationed from the point where the Orange and Alexandria rail-road crosses the Rappahannock—Rappahannock Station—to Warrenton Sulphur Springs, guarding so strongly all the fords and bridges as to give the enemy no opportunity of crossing. Early on the morning of the 20th, the attempt to cross was made both at Kelley's Ford, and at Rappahannock Station, by the enemy's advance, but finding that the resistance was too strong to be overcome, the rebel commander halted, and awaited the arrival of the main body, which
came up on the night of the 20th. For the next sixty hours, constant attempts were made to force a passage at every ford or bridge along the line, but every one was repulsed with decided loss. The artillery fire was rapid and continuous along the whole line for this entire period.

Finding, at length, that it was impossible to effect a passage below Warrenton Sulphur Springs, Gen. Lee moved gradually farther up the Rappahannock, intending evidently to cross above that point. A glance at the map, will show the reader that to do this, if the line from Warrenton Sulphur Springs to Warrenton were strongly held, would compel Lee to move up the valley of the Blue Ridge, from whence his only hope of penetrating east of the Bull Mountain range, must be, by passing through some of the Gaps in that range, where it would be easier for the Union forces to prevent his passage. It was impossible for Gen. Pope to prevent his crossing the upper Rappahannock, which, above Waterloo bridge, is but a shallow stream, fordable at almost every mile, and the force he could mass upon Pope’s extended line, would inevitably have swept it away.

Gen. Pope labored under another difficulty, also; Gen. Halleck’s orders were peremptory, that he must maintain his connection with Fredericksburg, until he could be re-enforced by the troops arriving there from Burnside’s and other corps, and when he remonstrated against this weakening his line by two great extension, he was assured, on the 21st of August, that if he would hold that line for two days longer, he should be amply re-enforced, and to such an extent as would enable him to resume the offensive; but on the 25th, only seven thousand men had been sent to him. This was not the fault of Gen. Halleck, who had done all in his power to bring forward the troops, but was the result of persistent delays in moving the army of the Potomac from the Peninsula, at a time when every day was fraught with danger to the army of Virginia.
From the 18th of August, to the close of the campaign, on the 2d of September, was a constant succession of battles. With hardly an hour's intermission, the deep roar of artillery, and the sharp crack of muskets, were incessant. From the 21st to the 24th, the enemy constantly pressed upon Gen. Pope's lines along the fords of the Rappahannock, and attempted its passage. A small force of cavalry crossing higher up, made a descent upon Warrenton, and thence following the line of the Warrenton rail-road, attacked, on the night of the 22d, the wagon train belonging to Gen. Pope's head-quarters at Catlett's Station, on the Orange and Alexandria rail-road, plundering four or five wagons and taking some money. They succeeded in escaping by the same route by which they had come.

On the 22d, finding himself still compelled to maintain his connection with the lower Rappahannock, Gen. Pope proposed to re-cross that river, and attack the enemy in flank, an extremely hazardous movement, but the only one which seemed to afford him the possibility of delaying the progress of Lee's army, and of preventing them from forcing their passage across some one of the numerous fords he was compelled to guard; but the occurrence of a heavy rain on that day and the succeeding night, while it rendered this measure impracticable, raised the Rappahannock over six feet, and prevented any farther crossing of Lee's troops, for thirty-six or forty-eight hours.

Gen. Pope then pushed forward Gen. Sigel's corps, and directed Gen. Banks to support him, to follow up and attack the advance under Jackson, which had already crossed, while Gen. Buford, with the cavalry, was to scour the country above the Warrenton Sulphur Springs, and ascertain what force was already on the north side of the Rappahannock. Gen. Sigel encountered the enemy in some force near the mouth of Great Run creek, two miles below the Sulphur Springs, and drove
him across the stream, but the bridge was burned by the enemy, immediately after crossing it, and as the stream was not then fordable, it was necessary to rebuild it, which consumed some time. The cavalry explored the country as far as Waterloo bridge over the Rappahannock, but found no other force of the enemy.

On the 24th, a considerable detachment of the enemy, numbering not less than twenty-five thousand, infantry, artillery, and cavalry, under command of "Stonewall" Jackson, crossed higher up, and moved northward toward Rectortown, Salem and White Plains, in the Blue Ridge valley, with the evident intention of passing through Thoroughfare Gap, and thus threatening Washington.

Pope's re-enforcements, meanwhile, did not come up. On the 24th, he had been notified that over thirty thousand troops were at Alexandria, demanding transportation; they were said to be Cox's and Sturgis' divisions, and Heintzelman's and Franklin's corps, in all about thirty-seven thousand men. He immediately sent orders for the distribution of these troops in such a way as to protect his lines, and to be ready to re-enforce him promptly at any points where they might be needed; but so dilatory were the movements of most of them, that they had made no considerable progress as late as the 26th, and those who did come up, were very scantily supplied with ammunition or provisions.

On the 25th, it had become apparent, that if he held his connection with the lower Rappahannock later, Jackson, who was making forced marches on Thoroughfare Gap, would flank him; and finding the main body of Lee's army moving northwestward toward the upper fords, he abandoned it, having, however, at the very last moment, a short but severe struggle with a portion of the rebel force which attempted to force a passage in the face of the retiring troops, but were repulsed.

During the night of the 26th, and the morning of the 27th,
the main body of Lee's army commenced moving over the same route which Jackson had taken, toward Salem and White Plains, with the intent of crossing the Bull Run mountains at Thoroughfare and Hopeville Gaps. Jackson's advance had already passed through Thoroughfare Gap, and on the night of the 26th, cut the Orange and Alexandria rail-road, at Kettle Run, about six miles east of Warrenton Junction, thus breaking Pope's line of communication.

This disaster convinced Gen. Pope that the re-enforcements on which he had depended, were not as yet available, and made it impossible for him to know when they would come up. There was nothing left for him but to use what force he had, wearied and broken down as it was, in the endeavor to cut off the force of Stonewall Jackson, which had already passed through the Gaps in the Bull Run mountains, from the remainder of Lee's force which were approaching those Gaps, and thus dividing the enemy, and holding the passes of the mountains, to defeat, first, the one section, and then the other.

For such an undertaking he had Sigel's corps, now reduced to nine thousand; Banks' corps, not exceeding five thousand; McDowell's corps, fifteen thousand five hundred; Reno's corps, seven thousand; and Heintzelman's and Porter's corps, about eighteen thousand men; in all, fifty-four thousand five hundred. Of these, all except the two last named corps,—Heintzelman's and Porter's,—had been marching and fighting continuously, night and day, for nine days, with little food or sleep, and were greatly fatigued. Heintzelman's corps had reached Warrenton Junction without wagons, artillery, or horses, and with only four rounds of ammunition per man, and Porter's corps had come in to the same point the night before, with a very small supply of provisions, and only forty rounds of ammunition for each man. The entire force of Gen. Lee was not less than one hundred and ten thousand, of whom about twenty-five thousand were in Jackson's command. The
odds was entirely without a parallel in any great battle or series of battles, except, perhaps that of Fitz John Porter, at Gaines' Mill, yet Gen. Pope was resolved to do the best in his power, though not without some forebodings of disaster.

The indications were that the first great battle would occur at or near Gainesville, a village on the Manassas Gap rail-road, about five miles south-east of Thoroughfare Gap, and he accordingly set about concentrating his forces on that point. Gen. McDowell was ordered to move forward upon Gainesville, by the Warrenton turnpike, with his own corps and Sigel's, and Reynolds' division, which was temporarily attached to his corps; Gen. Reno, with his corps, followed by Kearney's division of Heintzelman's corps, was directed to move from Warrenton Junction on Greenwich, so as to reach them by the evening of the 27th, and be ready to support Gen. McDowell; Gen. Porter was to remain at Warrenton, till relieved by Gen. Banks, who was marching to that place from Fayetteville, and then push forward as rapidly as possible, to Gainesville. Gen. Pope himself, with Hooker's division of Heintzelman's corps, moved along the rail-road to Manassas Junction.

This division was the first to encounter the enemy, about four miles south-west of Bristow Station, under Gen. Ewell, who commanded one of the three divisions of "Stonewall" Jackson's corps. The engagement took place on the afternoon of the 27th, and was, for a time, quite severe, about three hundred killed and wounded, being lost on each side. Ewell was driven back along the rail-road, but, at dark, he still confronted Hooker along the banks of the Broad Run, and immediately in front of Bristow Station. In this engagement, Gen. Hooker's division nearly exhausted their ammunition, and could not be supplied with more in season for the battle, which was apparently destined to come off on the morrow McDowell, Reno, and Kearney, had reached their destination on the night of the 27th, and were evidently between Jack-
son and the main body of the rebel army, which was still west of the Bull Run range.

In consequence of Hooker's lack of ammunition, Gen. Pope, early in the evening of the 27th, sent back orders to Gen. F. J. Porter, to move forward at one o'clock the next morning, and report to him at Bristow Station at daylight the next morning, and to leave instructions for Gen. Banks. The officer who bore the order was instructed to inform him of the necessity of the case, and to conduct him to the field. Gen. Porter made no attempt to comply with this order, giving as excuses, that his men were tired, that they would straggle in the night, and that there was a wagon train somewhere on the road, which would obstruct his march. It was not till sometime after daylight, that he moved his men at all, and he reached Bristow Station at half-past ten A. M. Gen. Pope, believing that Stonewall Jackson would renew his attack the next day—since he could not retreat toward the Gap without an encounter with McDowell, whose force was larger than his own, and to fall back on Centreville, would take him farther still from the main body of Lee's army,—determined to bring up re-enforcements in sufficient numbers to destroy the enemy.

Accordingly, in addition to his orders to Gen. Porter, to report to him at Bristow Station at daylight, he sent directions to Gen. Mc Dowell to push forward at dawn to Manassas Junction, with his own and Sigel's corps; to Gen. Reno, to march from Greenwich, direct upon Manassas Junction, at the same hour, and to Gen. Kearney, to move at the same time upon Bristow. "Stonewall" Jackson was not, however, the man to fall into such a trap. By three o'clock A. M., of the 28th, his troops were on the march for Centreville, as he had evidently conjectured the purpose of the Union commander, and preferred to take his chance of effecting a union with the main body of the rebel army, rather than to fight a superior force at Manassas Junction.
Gen. Sigel, who was in the advance of Gen. McDowell's force, for some reason, delayed his departure from Gainesville, till 7:30 a. m., and this delay proved fatal to the success of the Union arms; for had he moved at dawn, as ordered, he must have intercepted Jackson, and compelled him to fight on unfavorable ground. As it was, the rebel General retreated with his troops through Centreville, and thence toward Thoroughfare Gap, part of them by the Sudley Springs road, and part by the Warrenton turnpike, toward Gainesville, destroying the bridges behind them as they retreated.

About six o'clock in the evening of the 28th, Gen. McDowell, with his whole force except Ricketts' division, which had been sent to guard Thoroughfare Gap, marching toward Centreville, re-encountered Jackson's advance, on this retreat, and a severe action ensued, of which Gibbons' and Doubleday's brigade of King's division bore the brunt. Both parties maintained their positions.

In spite of all previous mishaps, it now seemed certain that Jackson must be entirely defeated and crushed before Lee's main army could come to his help. To insure this result, and at the same time to prevent his retreat toward the north, in the direction of Leesburg, Gen. Pope directed Gen. Kearney to push forward cautiously during the night, keeping his right well to the north, and his force in contact with Jackson's, and sent orders to Gen. McDowell and to Gen. King, to hold their ground at all hazards, and prevent Jackson from retreating westward, while he would bring up the entire remainder of the force from Manassas Junction, and attack him at daylight on the east.

He also sent orders to Gen. Porter, whom he supposed to be at Manassas Junction, to move upon Centreville at the earliest dawn, stating to him the position of the forces, and that a severe battle would undoubtedly be fought the next morning. By this disposition of his forces, he would have had a force
of twenty-five thousand men—McDowell's command—between Jackson and Thoroughfare Gap, while the troops of Kearney, Hooker, Reno, and Porter, of about the same strength, could fall on him at once from the east.

But here again the insubordination of the commanders of the corps turned the scale, and caused the failure of this admirably planned attack. Gen. King's division fell back in the early morning toward Manassas Junction, thus leaving open the road to Thoroughfare Gap, and Gen. Sigel, who was in the vicinity of Grovetown, was ordered to attack the enemy at dawn, while Reynolds' division, and Heintzelman's and Reno's corps, were ordered to support him, and follow up the attack. Gen. Porter was then directed to move forward toward Gainesville with his own corps and King's division, and attack Jackson's flank near Gainesville.

Gen. Sigel, and Gen's Heintzelman and Reno, performed their parts well. They attacked Jackson at daylight, drove him back several miles, and pressed him so closely that he was compelled to make a stand, near Sudley Springs, in a very good position, his line covered by an old rail-road grade leading from Gainesville in the direction of Leesburg. The battle that ensued was a desperate one, Jackson fighting for the life and liberty of his corps, and the Union officers determined upon his destruction. With occasional intervals of partial relaxation of fire, the fight was maintained from dawn till sunset; Jackson's troops making repeated and determined efforts to retreat, but being held closely by the Union troops. Sigel's corps were sadly cut up, and Heintzelman's and Reno's corps also suffered heavily. The battle should have been a complete triumph, and have ended in the utter rout and destruction of Jackson's corps, and this would have been the result, had not Gen. Fitz John Porter been guilty of a most atrocious act of insubordination. During the whole of that eventful day, he was within sight and hearing of the battle with his corps, but re-
CRITICAL POSITION.

fused to obey any orders, or to bring his force into action, not from cowardice, but from hostility to Gen. Pope. For this gross misconduct, he was tried by a court martial, expelled from the army, and declared forever incapable of holding any office of honor or trust in the United States service. In the military service of any other country, he would have been shot.

About sunset, the advance of the main body of the enemy, under Gen. Longstreet, having forced its way through Thoroughfare Gap, notwithstanding Gen. Ricketts' resistance, reached the field, and attacked Gen. King's division. Night, however, soon put an end to the conflict. The losses of the Union army this day, were probably about six thousand, killed and wounded. Gen. Pope, at first, put them higher, but subsequent returns made it certain that they did not much, if at all, exceed that number.

Gen. Pope's condition was now critical. His troops, worn down by nine days of hard fighting and marching, and having been unable to find time to eat in the two days previous, were really unfit for another battle. His cavalry was worn out with hard work and want of forage. He had telegraphed, on the 28th, to the General-in-chief, begging that rations and forage might be forwarded to him at once, from Alexandria, where Gen. McClellan was in command; and on the morning of the 30th, received a reply from that General, informing him that rations and forage would be loaded into the cars at Alexandria, as soon as he would send back a cavalry escort to bring out the trains. A cavalry escort is not usually considered necessary for rail-road trains, and if it were, Gen. McClellan had cavalry at command at Alexandria, and knew that all Gen. Pope's cavalry was engaged in a desperate struggle with greatly superior forces of the enemy.

Gen. Franklin's and Gen. Sumner's corps, about two thousand strong, which had been promised to Gen. Pope, and which Gen. Halleck had repeatedly urged should be sent forward,
were detained, by one frivolous excuse or another, till Lee's entire army had come up. It is certainly not wonderful that, under so many depressing circumstances, Gen. Pope should have begun to feel, as he says he did, discouraged and nearly hopeless of any successful issue to the operations with which he was charged. His effective forces did not amount to more than forty thousand men, exclusive of Banks' corps, which was near Warrenton Junction guarding the trains, and Pratt's and Griffin's brigades from Porter's corps, which had been suffered to march at daylight of the 30th to Centreville.

Yet, discouraging as his situation was, the responsibility of protecting the Capital from attack, rested on him and this exhausted army, and with a stout heart, though with but little hope, he renewed the attack on the enemy, on the 30th, and though they, in the morning, outnumbered him, and were constantly re-enforced during the day, the battle was a determined and obstinate one, lasting from about one o'clock P. M. till dark, and though his troops were, by night, forced back half or three-fourths of a mile, they held their lines unbroken, and their bearing was still firm and undaunted. During this day's battle, a part of Gen. Fitz John Porter's corps,—about seven thousand,—were engaged, but their attack upon the enemy was neither vigorous nor persistent, and they soon retired in considerable confusion. Indeed, the only yielding to the enemy during the day, was done by this corps.

In the evening of the 30th, Gen. Pope gave orders to withdraw leisurely to Centreville, and the retreat was effected slowly and in good order, and no pursuit was made by the enemy. The same evening, orders were sent to Gen. Banks, at Bristow Station, to destroy the rail-road trains, and such of the stores as he was unable to carry off, and join Gen. Pope at Centreville. Gen. Banks succeeded in bringing through the entire army train, with but trifling loss, to Centreville, but the rail-road trains and some stores were necessarily destroyed.
The troops were put in a favorable position for repelling an attack by the morning of the 31st, but the enemy made no assault upon them, beyond the firing of a few pieces of artillery from the other side of Cub Run. During the day, Sumner's and Franklin's corps, nineteen thousand men in all, joined the army, and with Gen. Banks' corps, which had now come up, Gen. Pope had about sixty-three thousand men. The number of stragglers and skulkers during the campaign, had been very great, amounting to nearly or quite half the entire loss of the campaign.

On the 1st of September, Gen. Sumner, with two brigades, made a reconnaissance toward the Little River turnpike, to ascertain whether the enemy were making any movements in the direction of Germantown or Fairfax Court House, and found that they were endeavoring to turn Gen. Pope's right wing; a disposition of the forces was accordingly made, to repel such a maneuver, with the expectation that the battles would not come off before the morning of September 2d. Unexpectedly, however, the enemy attacked the right wing near Chantilly, just at sunset, on the evening of the 1st of September, in the midst of a terrific thunder-storm, but after a brief action, were driven back entirely from the front, with heavy loss, and did not renew the attack. But in that brief action, the Union army lost two of its ablest Generals, Major Gen. Philip Kearney, and Brigadier General Isaac I. Stevens. On the morning of the 2d of September, the army of Virginia was posted behind Difficult Creek, from Flint Hill to Alexandria, and on the afternoon of that day, received orders to withdraw within the intrenchments in front of Washington. The next day, Gen Pope renewed his request to be relieved of his command, and the Government, with his own assent, transferred him to the command of the Department of the North-West. He left Washington to assume his new command on the 7th of Sept.

The review of Gen. Pope's campaign is well calculated to
sadden the heart of the patriot. There are but few lights to the picture. There was, indeed,—as when has there not been,—chivalrous bravery on the part of officers and men; the plan of the campaign was judicious and skillful, and the commanding General seems to have done his duty well and faithfully, and to have shown a fertility of resources, and a promptness in changing his plans, when insubordination or adverse circumstances had thwarted his original purposes, which deserved, if they did not command, success.

But the campaign was destined to be a failure, from the moment that Gen. McClellan decided to remove his army to the James River, for it effectually prevented the co-operation of the two armies in offensive operations. It left to General Pope, the thankless duty only of embarrassing the enemy and delaying his advance upon the national Capital, until, by a circuitous route, the army of the Potomac could be united with his own. This was effected only after needless delays, and in detached fragments;—so that the result of the campaign, instead of exciting terror in Richmond, transferred it to Washington.

The insubordination and evident ill will of a portion of the corps commanders, and the indifference of the Commander of the army of the Potomac, contributed greatly to the disasters of the campaign. In at least two instances, their want of co-operation produced disastrous defeats, when, had it been otherwise, victory would evidently have crowned the Union standard. The responsibility which such recreancy incurs is fearful! The resulting sacrifices terrible! On the garments of the guilty will forever rest the blood-stains of thousands of brave men, needlessly slain in fruitless battles! If dishonor and infamy attach to the failure of Gen. Pope's campaign, who shall bear them? Not the heroes who toiled, suffered or died, nor their devoted leader, who for days and weeks so manfully confronted the fearful odds, and so successfully foiled the powerful and wily foe. But let the record answer.
CHAPTER XXV.

THE INVASION OF MARYLAND—BATTLES OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN AND ANTIETAM.


The terrible fighting, which, after the long series of battles, culminated in the retirement of Gen. Pope behind the fortifications in front of Washington, had inflicted such heavy losses upon the rebel army, that the able General who commanded it was compelled to change somewhat his original plans. He had unquestionably expected to be able to throw his large force between Pope and the army of the Potomac, in such a way as to prevent their junction, and having crushed Pope’s force, and defeated McClellan, he had cherished the hope of the easy conquest of the Federal Capital. The battle of Cedar Mountain was the first of the untoward events which thwarted his plans, and the re-enforcement of Gen. Pope by a part of the army of the Potomac, enabled the Union commander to offer such resistance, and make such dis-
positions, as rendered the direct conquest of Washington impracticable.

But, fertile in resources, and skillful in adapting his action to the emergency, Lee now projected a series of movements which promised, in his view, to give him Washington eventually, while it enabled him to obtain ample supplies for his suffering army, and also, as he hoped, considerable re-enforcements.

Before Pope began to fall back from Centreville, and upon the first indications that he must withdraw his jaded and exhausted troops within the line of fortifications around Washington, Lee, on the 31st of August, while keeping a show of a large force in front, drew off the main body of his troops, and marched towards Leesburg. From Leesburg, he moved to the Potomac at Nolan’s Ford, five miles below the Point of Rocks, where a part of his force crossed on the 5th of Sept., while the remainder passed on to Lovettsville, three miles above Point of Rocks, and forded the Potomac, that day or the next. On the evening of the 5th, his advance reached White Oak Springs, about three miles from the City of Frederick, which had been temporarily the capital of Maryland. Frederick is forty-four miles north-west of Washington, about sixty from Baltimore, and fifty from Centreville, the point from which Gen. Lee’s army had started five days before. It has a little more than eight thousand inhabitants, the larger portion of whom were decidedly in favor of the Union. The approach of the rebel army created great excitement. Many of the inhabitants fled toward Baltimore and Pennsylvania, and the Federal Provost Marshal removed what stores he could, and burned the remainder, except sufficient for the supply of the hospitals, in which there were about six hundred patients.

About ten o’clock a. m. of the 6th, the rebel troops entered the city. They were ragged, dirty and shoeless, and had no tents or baggage, nothing but ammunition trains, but they
had been thoroughly disciplined, and as Gen. Lee's purpose was to conciliate the people of Maryland, in the hope of receiving a large re-enforcement of troops from her citizens, the army was under the strictest orders, which were scrupulously obeyed, to offer no violence to any citizen, not to plunder food or clothing, and to pay promptly in Confederate money, or United States Treasury Notes, as the seller might prefer, for everything they required in the way of stores. Foraging parties were sent out in all directions and returned at evening, with droves of horses, sheep, cattle, and hogs, which were taken toward the Potomac, to serve as supplies for the Divisions yet on their way.

Gen. Lee had brought into Maryland for this invasion, a force of about ninety-seven thousand men, a portion of them however crossing somewhat higher up the Potomac. The Division commanders were "Stonewall" Jackson, A. P. and D. H. Hill, Ewell, Longstreet, Walker, Anderson, McLaws, and J. E. B. Stuart. His purposes were, to give the Marylanders an opportunity to rise, and with his assistance take the State out of the Union, as ardent secessionists from Maryland in his army, had declared they would readily do; to obtain the supplies of which his army were so much in need from Maryland, and perhaps Southern Pennsylvania; and descending near the Potomac, to seize Baltimore, and take Washington from the rear.

The plan was boldly conceived, and success seemed at least possible. But he had not been correctly informed in regard to the feelings and sentiments of the people of Maryland; he had over-estimated the influence which he could exert upon them, and had supposed the Union army more thoroughly enfeebled and demoralized than it was.

On the 8th of Sept., he issued an address from his headquarters near Frederick, to the people of Maryland. It is remarkable only for the speciousness and adroitness of its ap-
peals to the sympathies and prejudices of the people, which have characterized similar documents from the leaders of the rebellion during the war. We give it in full.

"To the People of Maryland:

It is right that you should know the purpose that has brought the army under my command within the limits of your State, so far as that purpose concerns yourselves.

The people of the Confederate States have long watched with the deepest sympathy the wrongs and outrages that have been inflicted upon the citizens of a commonwealth allied to the States of the South by the strongest social, political and commercial ties, and reduced to the condition of a conquered province.

Under the pretence of supporting the Constitution, but in violation of its most valuable provisions, your citizens have been arrested and imprisoned, upon no charge, and contrary to all the forms of law.

A faithful and manly protest against this outrage, made by a venerable and illustrious Marylander, to whom in his better days no citizen appealed for right in vain, was treated with scorn and contempt.

The government of your chief city has been usurped by armed strangers; your Legislature has been dissolved by the unlawful arrest of its members; freedom of the press and of speech has been suppressed; words have been declared offences by an arbitrary decree of the Federal Executive; and citizens ordered to be tried by military commissions for what they may dare to speak.

Believing that the people of Maryland possess a spirit too lofty to submit to such a government, the people of the South have long wished to aid you in throwing off this foreign yoke, to enable you again to enjoy the inalienable rights of freemen, and restore the independence and sovereignty of your State.

In obedience to this wish, our army has come among you, and is prepared to assist you with the power of its arms, in regaining the rights of which you have been so unjustly despoiled. This, citizens of Maryland, is our mission so far as you are concerned. No restraint upon your free will is intended—no intimidation will be allowed within the limits of this army at least. Marylanders shall once more enjoy their ancient freedom of thought and speech. We know no enemies among you, and will protect all of you in every opinion. It is for you to decide your destiny freely and without constraint. This army will respect your choice, whatever it may be; and while the southern people will rejoice to welcome you to your natural position among them, they will only welcome you when you come of your own free will.

R. E. LEE, General Commanding."
EXCITEMENT—PREPARATIONS.

To facilitate the acceptance of this pleasantly worded invitation, recruiting offices were opened in Frederick and the villages adjacent; but to Gen. Lee's surprise, very few volunteers offered. The people of Maryland could not be made to understand that the Government under which they had lived so happily, was the odious tyranny the General had portrayed, and the intensely filthy condition of his soldiers, and the hardships they had evidently endured, did not make the prospect of a soldier's life in the Confederate army, particularly attractive. On the 10th of September, Gen. Lee began to send away his troops from Frederick toward Hagerstown, and by the 12th, they were all gone. Hagerstown is a considerable village, about thirty-five miles north-west of Frederick, near the Pennsylvania line, and is connected by railroad with Chambersburg, Penn. Only a very small portion of the rebel army entered Hagerstown, as twenty-five thousand had been sent to Williamsport to cross the Potomac, and descend upon Harper's Ferry, and the greater part of the remainder were encamped on South Mountain or its vicinity, on the 14th, when the battle of that name was fought.

The approach of so large a rebel force toward the Pennsylvania line, had produced in that State great excitement, and the most active preparations were made for the defence of the border. On the 11th, Gov. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, issued a call for fifty thousand men, and in response to that call more than seventy-five thousand hastened at once to Harrisburg. Gov. Bradford of Maryland, also issued a proclamation, calling upon the citizens of that State to organize without delay, such a force as might effectually assist in defending their homes and firesides. The regiments which had volunteered under the call of the President for three hundred thousand men in the northern and north-eastern States, hastened to Washington and Harrisburg.

The Government, meanwhile, was making the most ener-
getic efforts for the pursuit of Lee and his army. On the 4th of September, Gen. McClellan was put in command of the entire force in and around Washington, except so much as was necessary for the immediate defence of the Capital, and ordered to follow and overtake Lee's army with all speed. He at once issued his general orders to the commanders of corps and divisions to report for service, and the next day a considerable portion of his army was in motion, Gen. Couch's division being in the advance. On the 7th, Gen. McClellan himself left Washington to take the field. On the 10th, the main body of his army had reached Damascus, sixteen miles south-east of Frederick, and on the evening of the 12th, his advance under Gen. Hooker entered Frederick, which had that morning been evacuated by Lee's troops. Cavalry—Gen. Pleasanton's division—and artillery, were immediately sent forward to harass the rear of the enemy, and on the 13th, there were several skirmishes. The main column of the Union army reached Frederick on the 13th, and was received with the heartiest welcome. On the evening of the same day, the advance drove the rear of the rebel army out of Middletown, ten miles farther on, in the beautiful valley of the Catoctin, and the rear of the Union army, which had occupied the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad at Point of Rocks and eastward, moved up the Middletown road to Jefferson.

A brief description of the topography of the region which the army now entered, will, with the help of the map, greatly aid in the understanding of the circumstances under which the subsequent battles were fought. The two chains of hills which have formed so important an element in the battle fields of North Eastern Virginia, the Bull Run Mountains and the Blue Ridge, are both continued, though with other names, north of the Potomac. The Bull Run Mountains crossing that river at Point of Rocks, continue northward as the Catoctin Mountain, for thirty miles or more, and sepa-
MAP OF THE FIRST NORTHERN INVASION.
rate Frederick from Middletown, which lies in the lovely valley of Catoctin creek, an affluent of the Potomac, west of Catoctin Mountain. The Blue Ridge crosses the Potomac at Harper’s Ferry, and its northern extension, called South Mountain, tends nearly due north to, and beyond the Pennsylvania line. The Catoctin Mountain is crossed by two turnpike roads, one starting from Nolan’s Ford, the other from Frederick, and uniting at Middletown. The South Mountain is crossed by several roads, one from Jefferson, about eight miles south of Middletown, curving northward till it strikes the Williamsport road, the others diverging from Middletown, toward Sharpsburg, Boonsboro, Williamsport, and Hagerstown. The summit of South Mountain is, for the most part, covered with forest, and its sides are moderate slopes, not very difficult to ascend or descend by the roads, though elsewhere more broken and rocky; the western declivity descends toward Antietam creek, a narrow but usually deep stream, rising in Pennsylvania and flowing southward to the Potomac, which it enters about three miles below Sheppardstown.

Finding his rear threatened by the advance of Gen. McClellan’s army, Gen. Lee resolved to draw up his forces on the crest of South Mountain,—except the twenty-five thousand sent to Harper’s Ferry,—and give McClellan battle. His position was well chosen. His right rested upon and covered Crampton’s Gap, on the road leading from Jefferson to Boonsboro, while his left occupied Turner’s Gap on the road from Middletown to Boonsboro, and his centre commanded the only other road across the mountain between those two points. A small force with artillery had been stationed at the bridge over Catoctin creek, half a mile west of Middletown.

The Union forces, consisting of Reno’s, Hooker’s, and Franklin’s corps, the two former under command of Gen. Burnside, and the latter, together with a part of Porter’s corps which had come up, under that of Gen. Franklin, occupied the turn-
pike from Middletown to Jefferson, Burnside having his headquarters at Middletown, and Franklin at Jefferson.

On the morning of Sunday, September 14, the line of battle was formed at day-light, and the force moved westward along the two principal roads already described, to meet the enemy. The first encounter was at the bridge over Catoctin creek above named, and a battery being brought into position, soon drove the small force stationed there, back to a stronger situation on the slope of the mountain.

Finding the enemy in force along the slope, the long lines of infantry opened, and the artillery was brought to the front. During the morning, the battle was mainly an artillery duel, but about noon, Gen. Cox's Kanawha division, of Reno's corps, moved up the mountain and charged upon the enemy, to the left of Turner's Gap, while the ninth army corps, Burnside's old troops, stormed the strong position to the right of that Gap. The fighting in both cases was very severe, more of a hand to hand fight than in any previous battle of the war. The 23d Ohio, of Cox's division, known as the "Psalm-singers of the Western Reserve," met the 23d South Carolina, considered by the rebels as their finest regiment, and though in the desperate struggle the Ohio men triumphed, the Carolinians invariably destroyed their muskets by beating them against the trees or rocks, before they would surrender them. It was the old fight of Roundhead against Cavalier over again, and as of old, so here the Psalm-singers won the day, though with a fiercer struggle than Cromwell's Ironsides encountered. The divisions of Rodman, Wilcox, and Sturgis, were successively brought to re-enforce Cox, before the crest was completely gained and held. Gen Hooker's corps arrived about two o'clock, and after re-enforcing Reno, commenced, about three o'clock, an assault upon the enemy's centre, the Pennsylvania Reserves leading; for three hours the fighting was continued with great obstinacy and
desperation, but about dark the crest was carried and held. The ascent of the mountain by this corps was one of the finest passages in the battle; though exposed to a heavy and continuous fire from the base of the mountain to near its summit, the line did not waver nor give way for an instant, but moved steadily forward, pouring volley after volley into the enemy's ranks, till, as they approached the crest, the rebels broke precipitately, and ran down the western slope of the mountain. Gen. Gibbons' brigade of this corps, which had moved up the main road to attack the enemy, met with a more desperate resistance, and it was not till some time after night fall, that they succeeded in driving the enemy over the crest.

On the right, the struggle, though shorter, had been very sharp, the heights being carried by a bayonet charge, and the brave General Reno, one of the finest officers in the army, falling just as success was gained. The left wing, under Gen. Franklin, which attempted the passage of the mountain at Crampton's Gap, six miles below, found itself opposed by a strong Confederate force under Gen. Howell Cobb, and had not ascended more than one third of the distance from the base to the crest of the mountain, when they came under the fire of a body of the enemy placed behind a stone wall; a fierce hand to hand fight of nearly an hour ensued, when the Confederate troops retreated, in some disorder, toward the summit of the Gap, where they formed again in a strong position. Slocomb's division of Franklin's corps, rushed up the slope, and by a succession of brilliant bayonet charges, drove the enemy back and down the western slope, though not without a bloody struggle and a heavy loss. The entire Union loss in this battle was two thousand three hundred and twenty-five killed and wounded; that of the rebels was not less than five thousand, of whom a considerable number were prisoners.

But while thus successful at South Mountain, the Union cause had, at about the same time, incurred a serious disaster
at Harper's Ferry. Col. Dixon S. Miles, an officer of the regular army, whose intoxication at the first battle of Bull Run was alleged to have contributed to that disastrous defeat, had been intrusted with the command of this important post. On the 3d of September, he had been re-enforced by the troops under the command of Gen. Julius White, from Winchester, and subsequently by the Martinsburg garrison, and four of the new regiments from New York, which had been enlisted under the President's call of July 2. Harper's Ferry itself is not tenable as a military position, being commanded by three hills which surround it, Maryland Heights, north of the Potomac, Bolivar Heights and Loudon Heights. Maryland Heights is the most elevated of these, and, commanding the other two as well as the village itself, is the key of the position. To hold this important position, Col. Thomas Ford was assigned, with a force of one thousand five hundred and fifty men, on the 5th of September. On his representation that a larger force was needed, as well as tools for intrenchment, two thousand four hundred and twenty-five more men, of whom, however, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five were raw troops, were sent to him by Col. Miles, on the 11th, but no attention was paid to his request for intrenching tools. A slight breast-work was erected, and some ineffectual efforts made for defence. Toward night of the 12th, skirmishing commenced on the crest of the hill. On the morning of the 13th, the enemy attacked them in considerable force, and the troops retired, in some confusion, to the breast-work, where they rallied. About nine o'clock, A. M. a second attack was made, and after a brief resistance, Col. Sherrill, of the 126th New York, was wounded, and his entire regiment, except two companies, broke and fled, most of the officers joining, and some even leading in the disgraceful flight. Soon after, the remaining forces, under a supposed order from Major Hewett, fell back and abandoned the breast-work, but subse-
quently again advanced, under Col. Ford's orders, but did not regain their former position. The enemy, however, seem not to have made any strenuous effort to capture the Heights, and did not renew the attack after mid-day. Col. Miles visited Col. Ford during the afternoon, and, although Gen. White, who had waived his rank in deference to Col. Miles, had the day before urged the importance of holding Maryland Heights, and Col. Miles had admitted it, yet he left Col. Ford on the night of the 13th, giving him discretionary power to abandon the Heights if he thought proper, and directing him, in case he did so, to spike his guns and roll them down the mountain. After returning to the Virginia side, Col. Miles seems to have re-considered the subject, and sent to Col. Ford an order to hold his position, which he believed to be entirely tenable. About 2 o'clock A. M. of the 14th, Col. Ford, in direct disobedience to this order, abandoned his position, and withdrew his forces across the river, only partially disabling his guns, alleging as the reason, that his troops would not fight, whereas only a single regiment had faltered, and he had beside those, three thousand reliable troops. The enemy did not at once occupy the Heights, for, on the forenoon of Sunday, the 14th, Col. D'Utassy sent four companies over and brought away, without opposition, four brass twelve pounders and a wagon load of ammunition. Col. Miles still held and had fortified Bolivar Heights, but as these were commanded by Maryland Heights, they could not be held for any considerable time. In the afternoon of Sunday, the enemy appeared in considerable force on Maryland Heights, and commenced attacking Miles' extreme left, on Bolivar Heights, but after some time were repulsed by the Union troops, under command of Gen. White. During the night there was no fighting, and the Union cavalry, about two thousand in number, under command of Col. Davis, with the consent of Col. Miles, escaped from Harper's Ferry, and reached Greencastle, Penn., the next day, having captured
on their way, an ammunition train of fifty wagons belonging to
the rebel Gen. Longstreet's command.

On Monday, the 15th, the enemy renewed the attack about
day-break, and about seven o'clock, Col. Miles represented to
Gen. White that it would be necessary to surrender; after
consulting with the brigade commanders, Col. Miles stating
that the ammunition for the batteries was exhausted,—which
proved to be a mistake—the surrender was resolved upon, a
white flag raised, and Gen. White sent to arrange terms.
The enemy continued firing for some time after the raising
of the white flag, and, during this time, Col. Miles was mor-
tally wounded. The only terms at first offered by the rebel
commander, Gen. A. P. Hill, were unconditional surrender,
but subsequently the officers were allowed to go out with their
side arms and private effects, and the rank and file with every
thing, save arms and equipments. By this surrender, the
rebels took eleven thousand five hundred and eighty-three
prisoners, who were paroled at once, about the same number
of Enfield muskets, a part of which, however, had been ren-
dered worthless, forty-seven cannon of different calibre, seven-
teen of them rifled pieces, and one a fifty pound Parrott, six
days' rations for twelve thousand men, and a considerable
amount of serviceable ammunition. Seven of the guns were
spiked.

The results of the surrender were of great advantage to the
enemy also, in enabling the twenty-five thousand men who had
been detached to attack Harper's Ferry, to re-enforce the
rebel army in season for the battle of Antietam, supplied with
ample rations, and with a valuable addition to their heavy ar-
tillery, their ammunition, and their small artillery.

A military commission which examined into the circum-
stances of this surrender, censured Col. Miles for his incapab-
ility, and Gen's Wool and McClellan, the one for retaining
him in command, the other for not relieving Harper's Ferry;
cashiered Col. Ford, and Major Baird of the 126th N. Y.; and approved of the conduct of Gen. White.

We left the rebel forces which had been engaged in the battle of South Mountain, on the 14th of September, retreating along the whole line down the western slope of the mountain. During the night, they fell back across Antietam creek, and commenced immediately fortifying their position. The Union army had pressed forward, and by Monday night, 15th, three corps had crossed South Mountain, and occupied the sloping eastern bank of Antietam creek, and the vicinity of the little hamlet of Keedysville. Franklin's corps, which in its battle at Crampton's Gap had been but seven miles from Maryland Heights, had orders to move, on Monday morning, to the relief of Harper's Ferry if possible, but ascertaining, when yet five miles distant, the surrender, and finding the enemy in force in a strong position near Brownsville, watched and held him in check that day, and on the 16th pressed northward along the left bank of Antietam creek, to take its place on the right wing of the army.

On the 16th of September, though there was occasional artillery firing, the two armies lay in front of each other, without serious conflict. Each knew that another day must bring on the severest conflict of the war, and both were busy in preparing for it, strengthening their positions, arranging their forces, bringing up their artillery, and perfecting their plans.

The field on which the great battle was to be fought, merits description. Antietam creek, a narrow but deep stream, flowing at this part of its course in a general southerly direction, is crossed within the three or four miles along which the line of battle extended, by only three bridges; one on the Hagerstown road, one on the Sharpsburg turnpike, and one farther down, in a deep recess, surrounded by precipitous hills. Above the first and third were fords, by which, the next day, a part of our forces crossed. The third, on Rohrback's farm,
a solid stone structure, but so situated that the enemy's fire could be concentrated on it, was destined to be the scene of a terrible struggle. The other two possessed no importance as military positions.

On the left bank of the creek, the land was broken into low, disconnected, unwooded ridges, affording some cover for artillery, but offering no good ground for the maneuvering of infantry or cavalry.

On the right bank, the ground rises gently to a crescent shaped ridge, following nearly the course of the creek. Back of this, a broad table land of forest and ravine, sloping gradually downward, forms a position of remarkable strength, affording every where admirable cover for troops, nowhere easy access for an attacking force. On this table land, the rebel commander had arranged his troops, re-enforced by the twenty-five thousand who had just won Harper's Ferry.

The forces of the contending armies were nearly equal in numbers, though Lee had the advantage of position. From returns of undoubted authenticity, it has been ascertained that Lee's effective force, on the morning of the 17th of September, was ninety-seven thousand; McClellan's was ninety-four or ninety-five thousand.

The plan of the battle was generally as follows: Gen. Hooker was to cross on the right, on Tuesday afternoon, 16th, establish himself on the enemy's left, if possible, flanking his position, and open the fight; Sumner, Mansfield, and Franklin were to act as supports to Hooker's column, and to co-operate with him in the attack upon the enemy's left and centre; the centre of the Union army was to remain on the east side of Antietam creek, and the batteries to occupy the front,—Fitz John Porter's corps acting as supports, and being massed in the hollows. On the left, Burnside, with his fine corps, was to carry the bridge on Rohrback's farm, and then advancing by a road leading to the Sharpsburg turnpike, turn the ene-
my's right flank, and cut off his line of retreat. Porter's corps and Sykes' Division of regulars were to form the reserve.

General Hooker entered upon his portion of the programme with zeal and promptness. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, his line was formed, and marching past the upper or Hagerstown bridge, he crossed with his corps at the ford, a short distance above, without opposition. Turning off from the road, after passing the stream, and fronting toward the south-west, he sent out cavalry skirmishers into the woods and fields beyond the crest of the hills; the rebel pickets withdrew, till the cavalry came upon a battery on the left rebel flank, which met them with a volley of grape and canister; and as they fell back before this, Gen. Hooker sent his artillery to the front, and the corps moved forward compactly to attack the battery, passing through an open field and into a wood, where the rebels seemed to be in considerable force. Forming his lines promptly, and opening with his batteries upon the enemy, Gen. Hooker at once commenced the battle, but it was already growing dark, and after a brief cannonade, the fight began to die away, and soon wholly ceased.

The hostile lines lay down so close to each other, that six rebels were captured during the night. It was evident that the battle must be renewed with the dawn. Gen. McClellan was informed of the position of affairs; Gen. Mansfield was ordered to cross with his corps at day-light, and Gen. Sumner to follow immediately.

Just as the light began to streak the east, the advance of Hooker's corps became engaged with the enemy at close quarters. An open plain, stretching along the crest of the hill, a corn-field beyond it, and masses of woods, which here and there stretched forward into the plain, like promontories into the sea, formed the battle ground which for nine hours was the scene of fierce and deadly conflict. Four times during the day was that field lost and won, and long ere night-
fall, it was paved with the bodies of the dead and dying, lying in many places so closely that the most skillful horseman would have found it necessary to watch his horse's steps very carefully to avoid trampling upon the slain. The first attack of Hooker's advance—Meade's Pennsylvania Reserves and Ricketts' division—was stoutly resisted. For a full half hour of desperate and determined fighting, the line swayed neither way; the foemen looked each other in the eyes, but neither would yield a foot. The Union troops had broken at Manassas under McDowell, but here they believed in their commander, and seeing him always in the front, and exposing himself fully as much as any officer of his army, they fought with a determination and will which forbade all thought of yielding. The rebels, too, were led by men whose courage and ability could not be doubted.

At the end of the half hour, the rebels showed some signs of yielding, falling back little by little, and when the cry of "Forward" rang out upon the air from the lips of the Union commander, his troops took it up, and rushing upon the receding foe, drove them before them, across the plain, through the corn-field, and into the woods, with a speed that was evidently born of fear. But, suddenly, like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, those dark woods seemed wrapped in flame from the rapid volleys which the rebel re-enforcements poured into the close ranks of our pursuing troops, and the Union lines staggered, bent, and fell back, panic-stricken at first, from that fearful burst of flame, and retreated over half the distance they had won; then closing up their broken and shattered lines, fearfully thinned by the enemy's fire, they came slowly back to their first position; but long before they had reached it, the rebels were pursuing them with an overwhelming force.

Hooker had not been passive, meanwhile; he had sent up a brigade to re-enforce the retreating troops, and finding them
insufficient to hold the rebels at bay, called for the best brigade, from Doubleday's division, and sent that promptly to support the other. Thus re-enforced, the men began again steadily to press back the enemy, and, though not without fearful loss, they drove them back again to the woods, and held the field. Among the wounded in this struggle, was Gen. Hartsuff, of Doubleday's division. The ground thus held was that occupied by the centre of the right wing. On its left, Ricketts' division, which had been first engaged and had suffered severely under the fire from the woods, had attempted to advance, but was too much exhausted to maintain its position; part of Gen. Mansfield's corps, which had just come up, had been ordered in to re-enforce it, but Gen. Mansfield was mortally wounded in leading them on, and the troops had fallen back to the position occupied by Ricketts' men. Still, though unable to go forward at that time, the left was too strong to be broken, and occupied a position where its flank could not be turned, and their commander sent word to Gen. Hooker that he could hold his own, though he could not advance. On the extreme right, Doubleday was well forward, and with his battery hammered and finally silenced the rebel batteries opposed to him. Two brigades of Mansfield's corps—Crawford's and Gordon's—were coming up, fresh and eager for a share in the fight, and Hooker determined again to advance; the whole line was ordered to move forward, and to take possession of a piece of woods to the right and beyond the cornfield, which was evidently the key of the position.

While reconnoitering in person for the best position for a battery, to carry this strong point, Gen. Hooker was severely wounded in the foot, but remained in the saddle, till he had given his orders to advance, to Crawford and Gordon. "Tell them," he said, "to carry those woods and hold them—and it is our fight." Gen. Sumner came up with his corps just as he was borne off the field, and took command. It was now
nine o'clock, and the battle had raged with great intensity since five, but harder fighting was still to come. Crawford and Gordon had obeyed the orders of the wounded chief, and taken the woods, and were holding them stoutly, but at fearful odds, and Gen. Sumner ordered Sedgwick's division from his own corps to their support, and Richardson's and French's divisions to strengthen Ricketts' sorely pressed troops on the left. But the enemy had been again largely re-enforced, and there was danger of a flank movement on the weakest portion of Sedgwick's line, next to Ricketts'. He attempted to strengthen this, by ordering one of his regiments to move by the left flank, under the terrible fire which was assailing them, but the regiment broke, in the effort, in some confusion, and the enemy, seeing his advantage, pressed upon Crawford with such fury, that his brigade was compelled to give way, and retreating upon Sedgwick's advance, threw it back to its second and third lines in disorder, while the enemy, increasing his fire, pressed upon them more and more severely. During this retreat, Gen. Sedgwick was three times wounded, and most of his staff disabled or killed; Gen. Dana, commanding one of his brigades, was also wounded, and the slaughter of his division was fearful. The efforts to arrest the retreat of the troops, made by the Generals and staff officers, proved ineffectual. Gen. Sumner ordered the line to be re-formed, but the test was too severe for the troops under such a destructive fire, and he was reluctantly compelled to withdraw the division to the rear, and once more abandon the corn-field to the enemy. On the left, Gen. Richardson was mortally wounded, and Gen. Meagher, commanding the Irish brigade in his division, had also been disabled; but Gen. French, now in command, sent word that he could hold his ground. On the right, Gen. Doubleday still held his position inflexibly; but the gain of the early hours had been entirely lost, and the ground now occupied was that on which Hooker's corps had camped the night be-
fore, while all in front was thickly strewn with the wounded and the dead, friend and foe alike making that field miry with human gore. Had the enemy been again re-enforced at this time, and advanced with their batteries, they would have made sad havoc with our closely massed troops, but they were seriously disabled themselves, and their ammunition so nearly exhausted that they could not attack.

At this crisis, Gen. Franklin came up with his corps of fresh troops, and sent Gen. Slocum's division along the slopes to attack the rebels in flank, while Gen. Smith's division went forward on the run, and by a rapid movement, drove back the enemy, and once more took possession of the corn-field and the woods beyond, clearing them in a few minutes of the rebels, and then held them. They were not again re-captured. Smith's movement had been so rapid that he had gained the position with but small loss of men, but he was so far in advance that if the enemy again, as they had already done three times, renewed the attack, with fresh troops, his condition would have been somewhat critical, and he could only have maintained his position by the most desperate fighting. Fortunately, they had suffered too severely, and had lost too many men and too much ammunition, to be able to spare more for their left wing, and after about two o'clock there was a lull for two or three hours in the battle on that wing. The terrible cannonade which the Union centre, which it will be remembered was still on the east side of Antietam creek, kept up through the day, under the efficient direction of Col. Munro, may also have helped to hold them in check; but the principal cause of the relaxation of the fierceness of the battle on the Union right, was that the attention of the enemy was becoming absorbed in the movements on the left.

We have already stated that the heavy artillery had been stationed in the centre, and had kept up a continuous storm of shot, shell, and canister upon the enemy's centre and left,
which, however, had been partially protected from its effects by the woods and ravines which afforded a shelter, beyond the crest of the ridge, on the other side of the creek.

It was, it will be remembered, a part of the plan of the battle, that Gen. Burnside, with his own—9th—army corps, consisting of about sixteen thousand men, should make an attack on the enemy's right, at and near the lower bridge over the creek, simultaneously with Hooker's assault upon his left. At an early hour in the morning, Burnside had moved portions of his corps to the vicinity of the bridge and the fords, and awaited the order from the Commander-in-chief to move. The order did not come till ten o'clock, and Crook's brigade of Cox's division was directed at once to attack the bridge, which was under a concentric fire of several of the enemy's batteries posted on the hills, which here rose like an amphitheatre on the west side of the creek, while the divisions of Sturgis and Wilcox supported this attack, and Rodman, with his own division and a part of Cox's, crossed the ford below. Crook's brigade proved inadequate to the work, and fell back; Sturgis was then ordered to carry it with his division, and one of his brigades being driven back, after two gallant assaults, a second was brought up, which succeeded in carrying it by their first assault; the remainder of Sturgis' division, and Wilcox's then crossed on the bridge, and Crook's brigade found a crossing place above. This was about one and a half o'clock P.M., but it was nearly four o'clock before all the corps and the batteries had crossed, and had taken position on the heights and knolls above the bridge, the whole movement having been made under a heavy artillery fire.

Soon after gaining the position, Gen. McClellan ordered Burnside to make an attack upon the high ground surrounding the town of Sharpsburg. After a fierce struggle, the heights were carried by Wilcox, Rodman, and Cox's divisions; Sturgis' division having nearly exhausted their ammunition
were placed as a reserve. But the enemy had brought a part of his forces from his left and A. P. Hill's division which had been in reserve, and flung these comparatively fresh troops upon Burnside's wearied veterans, and compelled his left to fall back. Most urgently did Burnside appeal to Gen. McClellan for re-enforcement, but though Fitz John Porter's corps, fifteen thousand strong, had been in reserve through the whole day, the commanding General sent back a message that he could not give him a man, and directed him to hold the bridge at all hazards. Sturgis' division, though almost without ammunition, was ordered up, and maintained the position, firing their last cartridges as it began to grow dark, and finding that they held their ground stubbornly, the rebels ceased their fire, just as the light was fading out in the west. In the struggle to maintain the position so gallantly won, on the heights above Sharpsburg, Gen. Rodman was mortally wounded. The ninth army corps, and indeed the whole army, maintained the position they occupied at night-fall of the 17th, through the whole of the 18th; Gen. McClellan deeming them too much exhausted to renew the battle, and preferring to await a re-enforcement of fifteen thousand men whom he expected by evening of that day. Some of the corps commanders, Gen's. Burnside and Franklin in particular, were very desirous of renewing the conflict the next morning, believing that the result of a battle would be the complete defeat and rout of the enemy; but the Commanding General thought otherwise, expressing his determination, however, to attack at day-break on the 19th. On the night of the 18th, Lee moved across the Potomac with his army, in good order and without molestation.

The battle of Antietam, though one of the severest of the war, and in the slaughter and wounding of general and field officers more disastrous than any other, was, at best, but a drawn battle. The rebel army, though it retired across the Potomac the night but one after the conflict, was not defeated,
or so seriously disabled as to have been incapable of maintaining its position; and the Union army, though it had lost heavily, was in condition to have renewed the battle the succeeding day, had its commander so decided. The object for which the battle was fought was not attained. The rebel army was not prevented from returning to Virginia, and the war was not shortened by this battle, or indeed by the entire Maryland campaign.

The losses on both sides were very heavy. On the Union side, Gen. McClellan reported two thousand and ten killed, nine thousand four hundred and sixteen wounded, and one thousand forty-three missing, making a total of casualties of twelve thousand four hundred and sixty-nine, and in the two battles,—South Mountain and Antietam,—fourteen thousand seven hundred and ninety-four. He estimated the rebel loss at twenty-five thousand five hundred and forty-two, of whom about five thousand were prisoners. Their own official reports were not published, but the correspondents of the southern papers did not admit so large a loss, though acknowledging that fourteen to fifteen thousand were hors du combat. They had two Generals killed and seven wounded. On the Union side, Gen’s Mansfield, Rodman and Richardson, were killed or mortally wounded, and Gen’s. Hooker, Sedgwick, Hartsuff, Dana, and Meagher were wounded.

On the 20th of September, the enemy evacuated Harper’s Ferry, and fell back in the direction of Charlestown and Winchester. A part, however, remained for a day or two longer in the immediate vicinity of the Potomac, as Col. Barnes, commanding a brigade of Union troops who attempted to cross and attack them without orders, on the 21st, found to his cost, being compelled to retreat with a loss of one hundred and fifty in killed, wounded, and missing.

After the retreat of the rebels to Winchester, Gen. McClellan remained on the north side of the Potomac, called for
more re-enforcements, and announced his determination to fortify Maryland Heights, and to devote "a reasonable time to the organization of the army, and instruction of the new troops, preparatory to an advance on whatever line might be determined." He insisted that all the troops in and about Washington should be given him, except a small garrison force, and pledged himself, if allowed to take his own course, to be responsible for the safety of Washington. But "in any event," he said in his letter to Gen. Halleck, of September 27, "I regard it as absolutely necessary to send new regiments at once to the old corps, for purposes of instruction, and that the old regiments be filled at once." Gen. Halleck, Commander-in-chief, and the President, both urged him to move forward, while the roads were good, and attack Gen. Lee, and if possible cut him off from Richmond, but finding their requests of no avail, Gen. Halleck, on the 6th of October, sent him a peremptory order to move, assuring him of prompt re-enforcements.

While he did not refuse to obey this order directly, Gen. McClellan, by a great variety of excuses, delayed crossing till the 26th of October, and it was not till the 3d of November, that the rear of his army had reached the south side of the Potomac. At one time, he was waiting for the river to rise; at another, more shoes were needed by his men; at another, he had not horses enough, and was receiving only one hundred and fifty per week;—the Quartermaster General's vouchers showed that he received an average of one thousand four hundred and fifty-nine a week, or eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-four in all;—again, he feared that Stuart would make a raid into Pennsylvania, if he moved;—Stuart had just made such a raid, and made a complete circuit of his army, without molestation;—again, he could not move till the railroads were all repaired, and his horses needed rest; finally, he wanted time to consider what route to take. To these excuses, both the Pres-
ident and General Halleck replied, assuring him of the prompt filling of all his requisitions for supplies, and showing the absolute necessity for prompt movement.

At last, after all persuasions and orders had been tried in vain, the President, fully satisfied that Gen. McClellan had no intention of moving upon the enemy, relieved him of his command, on the 5th of November, and put Major General Burnside in his place.
CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GUERRILLA OPERATIONS IN KENTUCKY—
THE EXPEDITION OF GEN. E. KIRBY SMITH
—THE RACE BETWEEN BRAGG AND
BUELL—BATTLE OF CHAPLIN
HILLS OR PERRYVILLE.

Raids of Morgan and Forrest—Their Results—Capture of Murfreesboro, Tenn.
—Gen. E. Kirby Smith leaves Jacksborough, Tenn., with Fifteen Thousand Men, and Crosses the Cumberland Mountains—The Battles near Richmond, Ky.
—His Proclamation—Appears before Munfordsville and Demands its Surrender—Brave and Protracted Defence of the place by Col's Wilder and Dunham
—Its Final Surrender—Bragg's Subsequent Course—Gen. Buell's Pursuit of Him—He Reaches Lebanon, Tennessee—Drives Bragg from Woodsonville and Munfordsville—Pursues Bragg along the Louisville and Nashville Rail Road—Passes him at Leesville and goes on to Louisville—He is then Removed from the Command, but Re-instated at the Instance of Kentuckian Generals—Pursues Bragg with a Hundred Thousand Men—The Battle of Chaplin Hills or Perryville—Losses on Both Sides—Bragg Escapes—Buell's Delay in Pursuing Him—His Retreat to Cumberland Gap and Buell's Pursuit—Army of the Ohio re-called to Louisville—Buell Removed and Gen. Rosecrans Appointed to Succeed Him—Bragg in Tennessee—Morgan Remains in Kentucky.

The summer of 1862, except in the extreme west and southwest, was not fruitful of victories. In the army of the Potomac, the army of Virginia, and the army of the Ohio, disaster followed disaster, and the armies, losing confidence in their leaders, though fighting far better than could have been expected under the circumstances, still wearied of a contest in which they were so generally the losers.

In completing our narrative of the campaigns of Gen. McClellan and Gen. Pope, in the east, we have necessarily omit-
INACTIVITY OF GEN. BUELL.

About a fortnight after the evacuation of Corinth, on the 10th of June, Gen. Buell left that place with his army corps, with the intent to take possession of Chattanooga. This was a strong position in south-east Tennessee, near the confines of Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee, which from its situation and rail-road connections, commanded East Tennessee. A large majority of the inhabitants were known to be loyal. That town also commanded the Virginia and Tennessee rail-road, over which the larger part of the supplies of the rebel army in Virginia were transported. Gen. Buell was detained for some days at Huntsville, Ala., in the re-organization of his army, and the more effectual enforcement of discipline, and, meantime, the rebel General Bragg, by a forced march from Tupello, Mississippi, reached Chattanooga and took possession of the town, and of the Virginia and Tennessee rail-road, before Gen. Buell was ready to move forward upon it. Finding himself foiled in his purpose, and being satisfied that Bragg's force was larger than his own, Gen. Buell settled down very quietly at Battle Creek, Huntsville, and McMinnville, making Huntsville his headquarters.

Meanwhile there were indications that the rebels were determined to retain their hold upon Kentucky, or at least to draw from thence supplies, which were becoming scarce and dear in the south-western States. Small bodies of guerrillas made a dash into various portions of the State, and plundered horses, shoes, Kentucky jeans, and other goods of which they were in need, making sometimes but little distinction between the Union and disloyal citizens.

There were several of these bands, the most formidable and active being commanded by the rebel leaders, Forrest, and
John H. Morgan. Kentucky had a large disloyal element in her population, and had contributed almost as many soldiers to the rebel army as to the army of the Union. Some of the most prominent of the rebel Generals, including Buckner, Breckenridge, George B. Crittenden, and Humphrey Marshall, were natives and residents of the State. Many families were divided, having sons in each army. Under these circumstances, the guerrilla leaders expected to find the plunder of the State an easy task, and calculated upon drawing thence large re-enforcements for their armies.

They were not disappointed in their expectation of easy plunder, but they obtained very small additions to their force, and indeed, left the State finally, with smaller numbers than they had when they entered it. The first of these raids was made mostly by renegade Kentuckians, in June; Madisonville, the county seat of Hopkins county, in the western part of the State and its vicinity, was plundered, the county court records seized and destroyed, and a considerable number of horses taken. Early in July, Morgan, with a force of about two thousand five hundred, undertook a raid into the central counties of the State, the section known as the Blue Grass region; capturing Lebanon, the terminus of the Lebanon Branch of the Louisville and Nashville rail-road, where there were valuable Government stores, nearly a million dollars of which he plundered, distributed, or burned. He then proceeded through the counties of Boyle, Mercer, Jessamine, Woodford, Scott, and Harrison, plundering, and stealing horses, clothing, &c., everywhere, and on the 17th of July, had a sharp action at Cynthiana, the capital of Harrison county, only about fifty-five miles south of Cincinnati. After leaving this point, on his way to Paris, the capital of Bourbon county, he was overtaken and defeated by Gen. Green Clay Smith. The rebel guerrilla leader Forrest, who, for his daring, had been promoted to a Brigadier Generalship, was equally active.
Forrest's victory at Murfreesboro.

On the 13th of July, with a force of two thousand or two thousand five hundred, he attacked the Union forces at Murfreesboro, Tenn., under command of Brigadier General Thomas L. Crittenden, and acting Brigadier W. W. Duffield, consisting of six companies of the 9th Michigan, numbering two hundred and forty-two men, nine companies of the 3d Minnesota, about five hundred strong, and two sections of Hewitt's battery of regular artillery. These forces had been greatly demoralized by the quarrels of the rival officers of the two regiments; they were badly located for defensive action, and the brigade commander had arrived to take command only thirty-six hours before the attack. A portion of the Michigan troops, and the regulars fought well, and the Minnesota troops would have done so, but their cowardly commander surrendered almost at the beginning of the battle, and the Michigan troops, finding themselves overwhelmed by a superior force, yielded, after a brief struggle. Gen's. Crittenden and Duffield were both taken prisoners, the latter being seriously wounded. Gen. Buell censured the officers very severely for this surrender, by which the Government lost nearly a million of dollars in stores, &c., beside the loss of nearly a thousand men taken prisoners.

Flushed with this victory, Forrest made his way rapidly into western Kentucky, and sending forward a part of his band, captured and occupied Hudson, Ky., on the Ohio river, crossed into Indiana, and took possession of the town of Newburg in that State, but soon retired.

Morgan, after his repulse by Gen. Smith, returned into Tennessee, taking with him large amounts of plunder, and in August, captured Clarksville, on the Cumberland river, where was a considerable amount of military stores; on the 22d of August, he attacked the Union forces at Gallatin, with a large body of cavalry, and after a severe contest, repulsed them, but was unable to take the town.
The scarcity of supplies, and the ease with which Morgan had ravaged the Blue Grass region, led the half famished and half clad rebel soldiers to look with longing eyes in that direction, and their Generals were very willing to gratify them; the more so, that through some fault of planning, there was evidently no adequate force in Kentucky to prevent them from going where they pleased, the inhabitants of the towns surrendering with scarcely an effort at resistance, and Gen. Buell having achieved the reputation of being too slow to interfere with their movements; and being also restrained by the presence of two corps of Bragg's army, still in the vicinity of Chattanooga.

Accordingly, on the 22d of August, Gen. E. Kirby Smith left Jacksborough, the county seat of Campbell county, Tenn., a short distance north of Knoxville, with his corps, and a train of one hundred and fifty wagons, and passed through Big Creek Gap, in the Cumberland Mountains, a route of great difficulty, and which it required all the energy of his troops to surmount. On the 30th of August, he appeared with his forces near Richmond, Ky., the county seat of Madison county, in the south-east border of the Blue Grass region, and at Rogersville, about four miles from Richmond, encountered a Union force, consisting of one Ohio regiment, five Indiana regiments, and a part of a sixth, two Kentucky regiments and a squadron of Kentucky cavalry, with nine field pieces. These regiments, except the cavalry, and about seven hundred of the infantry, were all raw troops, most of them not having been ten days in the service. They were under the command of Gen's. M. D. Manson and Cruft. The whole number of the Union troops was not more than seven thousand, and hardly more than four thousand were at any time engaged. The rebel force was sixteen thousand, all veterans, and though they were wearied and worn by their severe march from Jacksborough, they were in better condition for fighting than the Union troops.
The report that a considerable rebel force was approaching, reached Gen. Manson on the morning of Friday, the 29th of August, and having sent the intelligence to Major Gen. Nelson, who was then in command of the Union forces in the State, Gen. Manson, unwisely perhaps, but very naturally, deemed it better to attack the enemy, than to wait an attack from him, especially as the hills to the south of Richmond commanded the town. His cavalry were sent forward at once with orders to hold the enemy in check, and ascertain, if possible, his strength and position, but they proved themselves cowards, and though commanded by brave officers, turned their horses' heads, and retreated at a full gallop, a soon as they saw the enemy approaching.

Meantime, Gen. Manson had put his troops in motion, and was moving forward in search of the enemy, when the retreating cavalry came upon him, reporting the enemy immediately in their rear. The stampede of the cavalry was checked, and proceeding forward about three-fourths of a mile, a column of rebels was discovered half a mile east of the road; a section of artillery was put in position by Gen. Manson's orders, and fire opened upon them, causing them to retreat; Gen. Manson moved forward a mile, and had another severe skirmish, when the enemy again fell back; he advanced a third time to Rogersville, a mile further, but no enemy appearing, his men slept on their arms, while he reconnoitered with his cavalry.

The rebel General, confident in his superior and better disciplined force, sought rather to draw the Union commander on, away from his base, and the possibility of obtaining re-enforcements, and thus to capture his whole army, than by a display of his full force, to drive him into a premature retreat. Gen. Manson had no suspicion of this ruse, but believed the rebel army consisted of not more than three or four thousand men.

At four o'clock, on the morning of the 30th of August, Gen. Manson ordered his men to stand to arms, directing that de-
tails should be made from each company to prepare coffee and fill the canteens with fresh water. About six o'clock, ascertaining that the enemy were approaching, he sent an order to Gen. Cruft, to join him as soon as possible, with the forces under his command, and moved forward half a mile beyond Rogersville, attacked the enemy's advance, driving them back for some distance, and took possession of a good position, where he fought the rebels for nearly two hours, but was at length obliged to fall back, the enemy having outflanked him, and some of his regiments having become panic stricken. He retreated about a mile, and was joined by two fresh regiments, the rebels not pursuing at first. He formed again, on the ground he had occupied the evening before. Here ensued a second battle, fiercer and more warmly contested than the first, but which ended, like it, in a retreat, the rebels bringing up fresh troops, and massing them so heavily on Manson's right wing, as to break it in confusion. At this time, Major General Nelson came upon the field, and finding that the enemy did not press upon the retreating force, ordered them to make a stand near the cemetery, in the town of Richmond. About two thousand five hundred men were rallied, and a third battle was fought for half an hour, when, thoroughly worn out, and their ammunition exhausted, they again retreated in disorder, on the Lexington road.

Once more Gen. Manson endeavored to rally enough to form a rear guard to protect the retreat, and partially succeeded, but soon the retreating troops began to halt and fall back upon the rear guard. The enemy's cavalry had been sent, by other roads, to intercept their retreat, during the delays which followed each action, and were now in front of them in such force as to leave them no alternative but a surrender. There was a short and sharp fight here, Gen. Manson's rear guard being cut to pieces, the General's horse killed, and himself severely injured and taken prisoner, Gen. Nelson wounded, and
finally those of the troops who did not succeed in getting off by some of the bye-roads, were compelled to surrender. The Union loss was stated by Gen. Mansan, at two hundred killed, seven hundred wounded, two thousand prisoners; nine pieces of artillery were also captured, and a few wagons, and some camp equipage. The rebel loss, as stated by their officers, was two hundred and fifty killed, and about five hundred wounded. On the 2d of September, the Confederate advance guard entered Lexington, but the Government stores, the horses and mules, and the rail-road cars, had all been removed before their arrival.

The Legislature of the State, which at this time was in session at Frankfort, on Sunday evening, August 31st, adjourned to Louisville; and during that night, the State archives and about one million of dollars in specie, from the banks of Richmond, Lexington, and Frankfort, were transferred thither. The acting Governor of the State, Hon. James F. Robinson, issued a proclamation to the people of the State, on the 31st of August, reciting the facts of the invasion, and calling upon the citizens to rise as one man and strike a blow for the defence of their native land, their property, and their homes, and never to lay down their arms till the Stars and Stripes again floated in triumph throughout Kentucky.

On reaching Lexington, the rebel General, E. Kirby Smith, also issued a proclamation explanatory of the objects of the invasion, as follows:

"Kentuckians: The army of the Confederate States has again entered your territory under my command.

"Let no one make you believe we come as invaders, to coerce your will, or to exercise control over your soil. Far from it. The principle we maintain is, that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed.

"I shall enforce the strictest discipline, in order that the property of citizens and non-combatants may be protected. I shall be compelled to procure subsistence for my troops among you, and this shall be paid for.

"Kentuckians: We come not as invaders, but liberators. We
invoke the spirit of your resolutions of 1798. We come to arouse you from the lethargy which enshrouds your free thought, and forebodes the political death of your State.  

"We come to test the truth of what we believe to be a foul aspersion, that Kentuckians willingly join the attempt to subjugate us, and to deprive us of our property, our liberty, and our dearest rights.  

"We come to strike off the chains which are riveted upon you. We call upon you to unite your arms, and join with us in hurling back from our fair and sunny plains, the northern hordes who would deprive us of our liberty, that they may enjoy our substance.  

"Are we deceived? Can you treat us as enemies? Our hearts answer, no!  

E. KIRBY SMITH,  
"Major General, C. S. A."  

We shall see, in the progress of our narrative, how utterly false were these professions of affection and friendship, and how little regard was paid to the promises of protection and remuneration for property taken. At their first occupation of Lexington, they were received with cordiality, by a portion of the inhabitants, for there were many sympathisers with the rebellion in that city, and indeed throughout the Blue Grass region, which, embracing the most fertile and beautiful lands of the State, comprised also much the larger portion of slaveholders. Some of these were really loyal, but many were "conditional Unionists," in favor of the Union if slavery was not molested anywhere, but preferring secession with slavery, to Union without. Nearly one-half of the people were open sympathizers with the rebellion. The rebel General undoubtedly hoped for large accessions to his forces from the people of this region, but he was doomed to disappointment. Nearly all who were disposed to fight on the rebel side, had gone already, and the residue of the secessionists, though willing to see Union men plundered, were not willing to incur the risks of fighting on a side where the prospects were so dubious.  

On the 6th of September, the rebel cavalry, to the number of about fifteen hundred, entered and occupied Frankfort. The Government of the city was re-organized, and recruiting sta-
tions opened for volunteers to the rebel army. The guerrilla force under Col. Morgan, here joined Gen. Smith.

The progress of this body of rebel troops into central Kentucky, excited the most lively apprehensions both in Louisville and Cincinnati. It was believed, and not without reason, that the design of the expedition, re-enforced as it was to be by the other corps of Gen. Bragg’s army, was the capture of one or both cities; and extraordinary exertions were made to put both in the best possible condition of defence.

Gen. Lewis Wallace was put in command of the force for the protection of Cincinnati, and martial law was proclaimed therein, and also in Covington and Newport, on the 1st of September. On the 2d, all places of business in Cincinnati, were ordered to be closed at nine o’clock in the morning, and the citizens were required to assemble at ten o’clock, and organize for defence. Fortifications were thrown up in Covington and Newport, and cannon placed in commanding positions on the heights overlooking Cincinnati. The Governor of Ohio issued a proclamation calling upon the people of the State to volunteer for the purpose of repelling the threatened attack. About seventeen thousand citizens from various parts of the State, about half of them from the interior counties, hastened to Cincinnati, and were put upon duty at once. Smith’s advance guard came within seven miles of the city, and a slight skirmish ensued; but finding that they were fully prepared for an attack, the rebel commander drew back, and retired into the central counties. The approach of the army of Gen. Bragg, produced another panic in Cincinnati, but no attack was made by his force. The preparations for the defence of Louisville, aided by the presence of Gen. Buell, were also effective in compelling the rebel Generals to forego their intended attack on that city, though they threatened it for some weeks, and their cavalry approached more than once within four or five miles of it.

But we must return to Gen’s. Buell and Bragg, whose ar-
mies have not been idle during this period. On the 18th of June, the Union General, George W. Morgan, had driven the rebels out of Cumberland Gap, and, with ten thousand men, occupied that important pass, the principal, and indeed only passage considered feasible for wagon trains between East Tennessee and Kentucky. The rebel General, E. Kirby Smith, had indeed succeeded in forcing a passage by Rogers Gap, some miles west of this, but with the utmost difficulty, and had he been opposed, he must have failed entirely.

The commander of the rebel army, Gen. Bragg, had planned a campaign for the capture of Louisville, the obtaining of ample supplies for his army for the next year, from the Blue Grass region, and the re-enforcement of that army by the enlistment, either voluntarily or by conscription, of a large number of the citizens of Kentucky. It was for the purpose of carrying out this plan that he had ordered Gen. Smith forward by the route we have described. He himself moved from Chattanooga, on the 20th of August, crossed the Tennessee river at Harrison, on the 21st, and turning Gen. Buell’s left, marched westward by the mountain road to Dunlap, which place he reached on the 27th. From this point he moved up the valley of the Sequatchie, and entered Pikeville on the 30th. The same day he threw a considerable force, under the command of the partisan General Forrest, toward McMinnville, the capital of Warren county, where a Union cavalry and infantry force was stationed. They were met about nine miles from McMinnville, at a point called Little Pond, by the Union troops, consisting of the 26th Ohio, the 17th and 58th Indiana, and two sections of the 8th Indiana battery, under the command of Col. Fyffe, and routed, with considerable loss, after a slight skirmish.

Foiled in the object of this expedition, which was intended to cut the rail-road communication between Gen. Buell’s army and Nashville, Gen. Bragg re-called Gen. Forrest and his cav-
alry, and pursued his course northward by the Grassy Cave road, and along the valley of the Cany Fork, to Carthage, where he crossed the Cumberland river, about seventy-five miles by the course of the river east-north-east of Nashville. On the 5th of September, he crossed the State line into Kentucky, and moved toward Bowling Green. On the 13th of September, his advance, under command of Brigadier General J. R. Chalmers, appeared before Munfordsville, the capital of Hart county, situated at the point where the Louisville and Nashville rail-road crosses the Green river, and demanded the surrender of the Union forces there. The garrison at this time consisted of two thousand one hundred and twenty-two men fit for duty, under the command of Col. Wilder. It was composed of portions of four Indiana regiments, the thirty-third Kentucky, the Louisville Provost Guard, one company of the 18th Regulars, and the 13th Indiana battery, with four guns, one of them rifled. Subsequent re-enforcements brought the whole number up to about three thousand five hundred men. They formed part of the third corps of the army of the Ohio, under the command of Major General Gilbert.

To the demand for a surrender, Col. Wilder returned a peremptory refusal, and the rebel commander commenced his attack at three o'clock A. M., Sunday, the 14th. A fierce battle ensued, in which the rebel troops, twice attempting to carry the fortifications by storm, were repulsed with very heavy loss. The fighting continued till half past nine A. M., when the enemy again sent a flag of truce, demanding a surrender. It was again promptly refused, and they then asked the privilege of removing their dead and wounded. This was accorded them, and they removed, as they themselves acknowledged, seven hundred and fourteen killed and wounded. The Union forces were protected by intrenchments, and their loss was only thirty-seven in killed and wounded. The rebel forces withdrew to Cave City, some distance below, on Green river. Just
at the close of the action on Sunday, Col. C. L. Dunham arrived, with six companies of the 50th Indiana, as re-enforcements, and being the ranking officer, took command that evening. During the day, Monday, and Monday night, the enemy did not show themselves, and the interval was diligently improved in strengthening the works, and endeavoring to obtain further re-enforcements. Nearly a thousand men and a battery of six pieces were received from Lebanon Junction, but no aid was received, either from Louisville, or from Bowling Green, where there was a large force—Gen. Buell's army. On Tuesday, 16th of September, at about 9 A. M., the enemy appeared in great force at the south of the works, and another hard fought battle ensued, which lasted till nearly three o'clock P. M., the enemy attempting to carry the breast-works by storm, and being repulsed with heavy loss. An attempt on the part of Col. Dunham, to occupy a piece of woods which fronted his south line, led to a renewal of the action for an hour and a half, but at about half past four P. M., it had ceased, and an hour later, a flag of truce was sent in by the enemy, this time from Gen. Bragg himself, demanding, for the third time, the surrender of the place. It was again declined, but Col. Wilder, who bore the reply, becoming convinced that the force before them was overwhelming,—not less than twenty-five thousand troops being concentrated there,—a counsel of war was held at his instance, and a suspension of hostilities was asked for, to give time for consideration. This was granted, and Col. Wilder, having meantime, by Gen. Gilbert's orders, resumed command, surrendered, on Wednesday morning, 17th September, marching out with all the honors of war, drums beating, and colors flying. The force surrendered was about thirty-five hundred effective men, and ten guns.

From Munfordsville, Gen. Bragg moved, on the 17th, to Glasgow, from which town he issued, the next day, the following address to the people of the State:
“Glasgow, Ky., Sept. 18, 1862.

"Kentuckians! I have entered your State with the Confederate army of the west, and offer you an opportunity to free yourselves from the tyranny of a despotical ruler. We come not as conquerors or despoilers, but to restore to you the liberties of which you have been deprived by a cruel and relentless foe. We come to guarantee to all, the security of their homes and altars; to punish with a rod of iron the despoilers of your peace, and to avenge the cowardly insults to your women. With all non-combatants the past shall be forgotten. Needful supplies must be had for my army, but they shall be paid for at fair and remunerating prices.

"Believing that the heart of Kentucky is with us in our great struggle for Constitutional Freedom, we have transferred from our own soil to yours, not a band of marauders, but a powerful and well disciplined army. Your gallant Buckner leads the van. Marshall is on the right, while Breckenridge, dear to us as to you, is advancing with Kentucky's valiant sons, to receive the honor and applause due to their heroism. The strong hands which in part have sent Shiloh down to history, and the nerves arms which have kept at bay from our own homes, the boastful army of the enemy, are here to assist, to sustain, to liberate you. Will you remain indifferent to our call, or will you not rather vindicate the fair fame of your once free and envied State? We believe that you will, and that the memory of your gallant dead who fell at Shiloh, their faces turned homeward, will rouse you to a manly effort for yourselves and posterity.

"Kentuckians! We have come with joyous hopes. Let us not depart in sorrow, as we shall, if we find you wedded in your choice to your present lot. If you prefer Federal rule, show it by your frowns, and we shall return whence we came. If you choose rather to come within the folds of your brotherhood, then cheer us with the smiles of your women, and lend your willing hands to secure you in your heritage of liberty.

"Women of Kentucky! Your persecutions and heroic bearing have reached our ear. Banish henceforth, forever, from your minds, the fear of loathsome prisons and insulting visitations. Let your enthusiasm have free rein. Buckle on the armor of your kindred, your husbands, sons, and brothers, and scoff with shame him who would prove recreant in his duty to you, his country and his God.

Braxton Bragg,

"General Commanding."

The blandishments of such addresses as these exerted little influence, when it was known, as it soon was, that this "disciplined army" were the most villainous collection of horse-thieves, plunderers and destroyers, who ever desolated a country. The entire army under Bragg's command, after receiv-
ing accessions from Humphrey Marshall and others, scarcely numbered forty thousand men, yet they caused a loss of property to the people of that portion of the State where they encamped, of not less than two hundred thousand dollars a day, and several million of dollars of their stolen property, was sent before them into eastern and western Tennessee, when they returned. They promised to pay for what was necessary for the subsistence of their army, at fair and remunerating prices; for the most part they took what they pleased, without making the offer of paying for it, and in the rare cases when they did offer payment, it was in their worthless Confederate scrip. They promised that there should be no coercion; but in those portions of the State where they could exercise the power, they enforced their conscription act with the utmost severity, on the plea that Kentucky was one of the States of the Confederacy, and forced every able-bodied man into their army, at the point of the bayonet. They professed the utmost sympathy for the women of Kentucky, alleging that they had suffered grievous wrongs at the hands of the Union army, a statement which they knew to be false; but within the sphere tainted by the presence of their army, hardly any woman, no matter what her age or social position, was secure from insult.

It is hardly necessary to say that they found themselves frowned upon by the great majority of the people of the State, and that ere long they were glad "to return whence they came." Their losses by desertion very considerably exceeded their gains by voluntary enlistment, and equaled their entire accessions, whether by conscription or enlistment.

From Glasgow, Bragg moved toward Bardstown, and sent his marauding bands of guerrillas in all directions in search of plunder.

Let us now look back and see what had been Gen. Buell's movements during the four weeks which had intervened, between Bragg's leaving Chattanooga and his Glasgow proclamation.
General Buell had watched, from his position on the Tennessee river, near Huntsville, Ala., every movement of the rebel General. He had at first supposed that his intention was to strike at Nashville; and this must be prevented at all hazards, for apart from the importance to the United States Government of holding that important town, the capital of the State and the key of Middle Tennessee, the loss or siege of Nashville imperiled the existence of his own army, as it would cut off his communication with his base at Louisville. It will hardly seem possible to our readers, but it was nevertheless the fact, that from the capture of Nashville, in March, up to the period about which we are writing, in the latter part of August, Buell’s large army had actually been dependent for all supplies, except the little procured in the country where they were encamped, upon Louisville, fully three hundred miles distant, and connected with them by only a single line of rail-road, which, despite their care in guarding it, was more than once cut by the marauding bands of the enemy.

To suffer Bragg to make an attack upon Nashville was not, then, to be thought of, for a moment. Accordingly, when Bragg moved up the Saquatchie valley, Buell followed him on a parallel and not distant line; when he reached Carthage, Buell was at Lebanon, Tenn., midway between Carthage and Nashville; as he passed over the State line into Kentucky, he harassed his rear-guard, and while his own main army were at Bowling Green, sent forward his advance, to shell Bragg’s troops out of Woodsonville, and crossing the Green river in force, drove him out of Munfordsville, on the 21st of September.

Bragg’s army, after a day or two’s rest at Glasgow, returned to the line of the Louisville and Nashville rail-road for some distance, but were pressed so closely by Buell’s forces, that at Leesville they left it, and passing through Hodginsville, took the road to Lebanon and thence to Bardstown, where they ev-
idently hoped to unite with Kirby Smith's forces. Gen. Buell being short of supplies, did not pursue them in this direction, but moved directly on to Louisville, and encamped in its vicinity, about the 24th of September.

A strong feeling of dissatisfaction with its commander, had been increasing in the army of the Ohio, from the time that he had refused to send a force to relieve the sorely pressed heroes at Munfordsville, while, only four days after the surrender, he drove the rebels out of that town. This dissatisfaction was aggravated by the constant care manifested, to be a little too late to attack the enemy, at every point where opportunity for attack offered, and it had reached its height, when the army reached Louisville. It was with intense satisfaction, then, that the majority of the officers of the army learned, soon after arriving at that city, that the Government had determined to relieve Gen. Buell of his command, and place either Gen. G. H. Thomas or Gen. Crittenden at the head of the army of the Ohio. For reasons best known to themselves, but most unfortunate in their results upon the army, each of these Generals in turn, declined the command, and urged the retention of Gen. Buell; and the Government, supposing that as Kentuckians, they were best fitted to decide what would be for the interest of the State in a campaign upon her own soil, re-instated him in the command. The very large number of desertions which ensued, admonished the tardy commander that he must move his army from Louisville, and the people of the State, who for a period of more than three weeks had been robbed, plundered, threatened, and insulted by the presence of about fifty thousand armed rebels, began to clamor loudly for deliverance.

On the 1st of October, Gen. Buell, at the head of an army of more than one hundred thousand men, left Louisville to pursue and destroy Bragg's army. There is some uncertainty in regard to the number of rebel troops who were in Kentucky at this time. Kirby Smith's corps did not, probably, in enter-
ing the State, number over sixteen thousand men, and lost in killed, wounded, and deserters, more than it gained while in the State; Morgan's, and the other guerrilla troops, never exceeded two thousand five hundred, or three thousand; Humphrey Marshall's contingent could hardly have been more than four thousand, and Bragg's army was certainly not more than thirty thousand, when he entered the State, and though he obtained by enlistment and conscription, about four thousand men in the State, he himself acknowledged that he lost more deserters than he gained recruits.

Bragg did not form a junction with Kirby Smith in the State, but received what troops Humphrey Marshall could bring into the service. When he commenced retreating before Buell's advance, he could not have had more than thirty-three thousand men under his command. He showed, however, better Generalship than his adversary. Learning when Gen. Buell was to leave Louisville, he sent forward his train, which from the results of his plunder was a very large one, fully twenty-four hours before, and ordered the main body of his army to follow it promptly, while his rear guard, by various marchings and counter-marchings, were to give the impression of greater force than they possessed, and to keep Buell's army delayed. The stratagem was successful; Gen. Buell wasted time in skirmishing with this rear guard, reporting at the same time that he was in "hot pursuit of the enemy and pressing him severely." The road to Bardstown was a rail-road, in good condition, and excellent macadamized roads ran parallel to it, yet four days were consumed in reaching it, although the distance was but forty miles. By the evening of the sixth, Springfield, twenty-two miles further, had been reached. The army, it should be noticed, were in light marching order; the artillery trains being all that were allowed to accompany the army; and even the ambulances, medicine wagons, and surgical instruments of the surgeons being left behind.
From Bardstown, the three corps composing the army, took different routes, all, however, concentrating on Perryville, at which place it was expected there would be a battle. Perryville is about twenty miles east-south-east from Springfield, and ten south-west from Danville. Chaplin river, a tributary of the Kentucky river, flows near it, and springs of excellent water are abundant in the Chaplin Hills, which run nearly parallel to the course of the stream. The want of water had been a source of distress to both armies, and the rebel army had posted itself in the hills along this stream, both as a strategical position of importance, and as affording them this important advantage, and depriving the Union troops of it. It was, however, no part of Gen. Bragg's intention to make a stand here sufficiently long to permit Buell's whole army to come up and attack him; for he well knew, that his force was not sufficient to admit a battle so unequal.

The left wing of Gen. Buell's army, Gen. McCook's column, had been ordered to march by the Maxville road, which runs north of Perryville, and connects with it by a common or dirt road. The centre, Gen. Gilbert's column, took the direct road through Springfield to Perryville, while the right wing, Gen. Crittenden's column, followed the Lebanon road, which makes a considerable detour to the south, and in consequence of a delay of more than half a day, resulting from their turning aside to obtain water, this column did not arrive at Perryville till more than twenty-four hours after the others.

The delay of this corps was known to Bragg, as well as the route taken by the other two, and he resolved to lose no time in giving battle to McCook's corps, the weakest in numbers of the three, hoping to so disable it, as to delay pursuit, while he moved eastward to Harrodsburg, where he hoped to effect a junction with Kirby Smith. The main body of his army had reached Harrodsburg at this time, but it was re-called to make this attack.
McCook's corps were first assailed by the enemy on the Maxville and Perryville road, about three miles from Perryville, at about 11 o'clock A. M., but the action was only a skirmish. Having ascertained their position, and placed his troops in a situation to resist any further attacks, Gen. McCook galloped to Gen. Buell's head-quarters, about two and a half miles distant, to report the condition of affairs, and receive his orders. The General instructed him to make a reconnoissance to Chaplin river. On his return, he found an artillery duel taking place between three of the enemy's batteries and two of those belonging to his corps. As none of the enemy's infantry were in sight, and the supply of ammunition was not very large, he sent an order to his batteries to cease firing, which was obeyed, and the enemy soon ceased also.

Gen. McCook now made the reconnoissance ordered, in person, accompanied by trustworthy guides, and as his troops were suffering greatly for want of water, he directed the 10th division, under command of Gen. James S. Jackson, to move forward to the high ground and slope overlooking and near the river. Rousseau's—the third—division of the corps, was stationed to the left of Jackson and partly in rear, to support it, and two batteries were also brought in position for support. The right of the corps rested near the left of Gen. Gilbert's corps, and Gen. McCook believed was fully protected.

The enemy commenced their attack about 2 P. M., by a fierce onset upon Terrell's brigade of Jackson's division, and at the first fire, Gen. Jackson was killed. This caused the brigade to give way in some confusion, but they were rallied and steadied, after a little, by Gen. Terrell. Starkweather's brigade was brought up, and taking a strong position, accomplished its work admirably. Meantime, seeing that the force of the enemy largely outnumbered that of his own corps, Gen. McCook sent an aide-de-camp, at two and a half o'clock P. M., to Gen. Sheridan, commanding Gen. Gilbert's left division, to
request him to see that his right was not turned; and at three, another aid to the nearest commander to ask for assistance. The aid first met General Schoepf, who expressed a desire to come to his assistance, and stated that he was moving to the front for some purpose, but requested him to see General Gilbert, who was riding with the column; he did so, and that officer referred him to Gen. Buell.

Finding his condition becoming critical, Gen. McCook now despatched a third aid to Gen. Schoepf, to ask for troops. Finding, however, that Starkweather's brigade were driving and defeating the enemy, on the left, Gen. McCook galloped to the right of his corps, and reached it in season to see it turned by a large force of the enemy. He ordered the 98th Ohio, under the command of Col. Webster, to move to the right, and repel the attack of the enemy, but while in the act of obeying, that gallant officer was mortally wounded; he next brought up a section of artillery to check the progress of the rebels, but this, though well handled, was insufficient.

Rousseau's division, though fighting with the utmost bravery, had been compelled to fall back a short distance, in order to avoid being enveloped by the enemy, and were still greatly distressed by the fire of a powerful battery of the enemy; Loomis' battery, which in the early part of the battle had done effective service, but had exhausted its long range ammunition, was now ordered to open upon the rebels with grape and canister, and produced fearful havoc upon their advancing force; but even this would have proved insufficient, had not a brigade of Gen. Mitchell's division—Gen. Gilbert's corps—come up at this moment, commanded by Colonel Gooding, of the 22d Indiana. This brigade moved forward with great promptness, and drove back the enemy, but with a loss of five hundred men, nearly one-third its force, in the attack. A brigade of Schoepf's division came up also at this time, and were posted in such situation as to be able to hold their position
firmly. By this time it was dark, and the firing ceased. At about ten o’clock, Gen. Bragg withdrew his forces, somewhat precipitately, toward Harrodsburg.

Gen. McCook states the number of his troops engaged in this battle, including Gooding’s brigade from Gen. Gilbert’s corps, at only fourteen thousand. Sheridan’s division of Gilbert’s corps was also engaged during a part of the attack on McCook’s right, so that the number of troops engaged on the Union side during the battle, may have reached twenty thousand. Of this number, however, not much more than one half were engaged till near the close of the battle.

Bragg’s force engaged did not exceed twenty-five thousand, but he had the advantage of position, and had made the first attack. Gen Buell was not on the field at all, but remained at his head-quarters, more than three miles distant, and affecting to regard the battle only as a reconnoissance in force, would not order up Crittenden’s corps or the greater part of Gilbert’s. Had he done so, there could have been no question of the utter defeat and destruction of Bragg’s army. The losses on both sides were very heavy. On the Union side, according to the official reports, the number of killed, wounded, and missing, was three thousand nine hundred and forty-seven, of whom three hundred and forty-eight were missing and prisoners, and probably about seven hundred killed in battle. The number of deaths actually resulting from the battle was greatly increased by the neglect of the wounded. Gen. Buell had prohibited the surgeons of the army, by general order, from taking medicines with them, on this campaign, and from carrying surgical instruments, and when the battle was fought, the surgeons were powerless to render assistance to the wounded. A few, in disobedience of orders, had carried some medicines, and the smaller surgical instruments on their persons, but there was not medicine enough for five hundred men in all the army, and the wounded lay on the field during the chilly nights.
of October, many of them unattended for four and six days, till medical supplies, sent by the Sanitary Commission, reached Perryville, and many perished, whose lives might have been saved, if the ordinary medical supplies had been brought with the army.

The rebel loss was but little if any less than this. Gen. Bragg admitted, in his report, a loss of thirteen hundred killed, but thought his whole loss would not much exceed twenty-five hundred; but as more than twelve hundred of their wounded were left in the hands of the Unionists, it is fair to presume that the whole number could not have been less than that of the Union troops.

The night of the 8th of October, was a very bright one, the moon being at its full; and the sentinels on duty, as well as several brigades which were moved during the night, witnessed the retreat of Bragg's army toward Harrodsburg; but it was not till noon of the 9th, that Gen. Buell ascertained that there was no enemy in front of him, and when he did ascertain it, Gen. Crittenden's corps, which had not been in the action of the previous day, was moved about two miles, to Crawfordsville, and the next day to Nevada, four miles in the direction of Harrodsburg, and then turned toward Danville, which place, however, was not reached till the 12th. McCook's and Gilbert's corps were encamped around the various springs upon the Chaplin, near Perryville, for three days, not moving at all, and on the 12th, marched toward Danville, a distance of eight or nine miles.

Meantime, Bragg had at first made demonstrations of taking possession of camp Dick Robinson, on the Dick river, one of the strongest positions in the State, but though he occupied that position for a day or two, he abandoned it on the night of the 11th of October, fearing that Buell would attack him in flank, and retreated toward Cumberland Gap, whither Kirby Smith had already marched. At midnight, on the
night of the 12th, Gen. Buell sent orders to the army near Danville—his own head-quarters being yet at Perryville—to advance immediately in pursuit of the enemy, leaving behind transportation of all kinds. At one o'clock A. M., the troops were on the road. The rebels were said to be at Stanford, nine miles from Danville. The march was a rapid one, but they arrived, as they had done so many times before, just in time to see the rear guard of the enemy passing out of the place, and in a position to delay them for a few hours, while the main army kept on, and attained a position which they could not safely attack. They were delayed till late in the afternoon in skirmishing with this rear-guard. No attempt was made to check the retreat of the rebels by the Richmond road through Lancaster, though that was the easier route of the two.

The Union army were ordered to encamp at Stanford, on the evening of the 13th, but on the morning of the 14th, renewed the pursuit to Crab Orchard, ten miles distant, only to renew the disappointment of the previous day, in another fruitless skirmish with Bragg's rear-guard.

Another day's march brought them to Mount Vernon, the capital of Rockcastle county, but the rear-guard was far beyond them, and they halted for two days, and then a couple of divisions, sent forward, found that the enemy had passed through Cumberland Gap, which had been evacuated, by the retreat of the Union General, George W. Morgan, in September, and that further pursuit was useless. The army of the Ohio were therefore ordered to return to Louisville, and on the 24th of October, the Government relieved Gen. Buell from his command, and making some changes in the boundaries of what had hitherto been the Department of the Ohio, called it the Department of the Cumberland, and placed Major General W. S. Rosecrans in command of it. A court of inquiry was subsequently called at Cincinnati, to investigate the conduct
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of Major General Buell, while in command of the Department of the Ohio. The sessions of this court were secret, and though it is said to have exonerated him from criminal misconduct, he has not since been assigned to duty.

We have not undertaken, in this sketch of the campaign in Kentucky, to notice the various skirmishes between bands from Morgan's, Kirby Smith's, or Bragg's forces, and the Kentucky troops or Home Guards, except so far as from their importance they evidently had an influence on the main purposes of the campaign. There was hardly a county seat or considerable village in the central counties, which was not visited by some of these marauding bands; Maysville, Augusta, Falmouth, Florence, Georgetown, Versailles, Paris, Owingsville, Mt. Sterling, Winchester, Nicholasville, Harrodsburg, Danville, Lebanon, Bardstown, Frankfort, and Lawrenceburg, were among the towns thus visited and plundered; for the most part they surrendered with but slight resistance, but in a few instances, as at Augusta, Mount Sterling, and Lawrenceburg, the resistance was more strenuous, and in Lawrenceburg, where the attack would seem to have been made by a brigade of Bragg's army, on the morning after the battle of Chaplin Hills, the rebels were repulsed with considerable loss.

The designs of the rebels upon Nashville, were evidently not relinquished. The communications of the city with Louisville were repeatedly broken, and early in October, the Rebel Generals Forrest and Anderson, concentrated a force of three thousand cavalry, one regiment of infantry, and three pieces of artillery, at Lavergne, fifteen miles east of Nashville, with an intention of assaulting that city. Gen. Negley, in command at Nashville, resolved to forestall them, and accordingly sent, on the night of the 6th of October, a force of about twenty-six hundred men, with four pieces of artillery, to dislodge them. These troops marched in two columns, one under the command of Gen. Palmer, the other under Col. Miller,
and on the morning of the 7th, after driving in their pickets, engaged them with great vigor, and after an action of about thirty minutes, routed them, having killed and wounded about eighty, and taken one hundred and seventy-five prisoners.

This attack was soon followed by the appearance of a large force of Confederates before the city, who opened a cannonade from a hastily constructed battery, but they were easily driven off, the whole movement having been probably a feint to cover other operations. At the same time, an attempt was made by Morgan's guerrillas to destroy the railroad bridge at Nashville, but it was frustrated, the rebels being repulsed with some loss.

No farther operations by large forces of the enemy took place about Nashville during the remainder of the year, but the guerrillas were very active cutting off supplies and communications, and robbing Union men. And as Gen. Negley's supplies were obtained by foraging parties, through the same section which guerrilla bands had pillaged, provisions soon became very scarce, and at the time of Gen. Rosecrans' arrival at Nashville, early in November, the troops had been, for some time, on half rations. Gen. Rosecrans made Nashville his head-quarters, and by prompt and efficient measures protected the lives and property of loyal men, and, at the same time, in the language of his order of the 9th November, reminded the troops that peaceable inhabitants, whether loyal or not, were entitled to immunity from violence and plunder, subject only to needful surveillance, and that outspoken rebels could claim no other protection than that afforded by the laws of war and humanity.

On the 13th of December, Governor Johnson issued a proclamation, calling attention to the destitute condition of the widows, wives and children of Confederate soldiers, many of whom were in and about Nashville, suffering for the necessities of life, and ordering an assessment of sixty thousand dollars for their benefit, "from those who continued directly or indirectly to bring about this unfortunate state of affairs."
Bragg’s army, demoralized and reduced by desertion, retreated to Murfresboro, Tenn., where it remained for some time. Morgan, with his two thousand five hundred or three thousand freebooters, remained for a month or more after the battle of Perryville, in Kentucky, and amused himself by occasional dashes into larger towns and villages, his recklessness and effrontery enabling him to make good his escape, and giving him a reputation somewhat akin to that of the English out-law Robin Hood.
CHAPTER XXVII.

IUKA AND CORINTH—THE CAMPAIGN IN NORTHERN MISSISSIPPI—ATTACK ON VICKSBURG—AFFAIRS IN LOUISIANA—BUTLER'S ADMINISTRATION—BATTLE OF BATON ROUGE—EXPEDITION TO PONCHATOULA.


When Gen. Halleck left the west, to take the position of General-in-chief of the armies the United States, the bounds of the Department over which he had presided were changed, and Gen. Grant placed in command of the Department of the Tennessee, comprising the Mississippi river from Cairo to Vicksburg, West Tennessee, and those portions of Mississippi and Alabama occupied by Union troops.

It was a part of the comprehensive plan of the rebel Presi-
dent, that while Bragg, with the three corps of Polk, Hardee, and E. Kirby Smith, should enter Kentucky, and threaten Cincinnati and Louisville, and, if possible, capture one or both of these cities, Van Dorn, with the aid of Sterling Price's and Mansfield Lovell's, and perhaps Holmes' corps, should cripple or destroy Grant's force, in the neighborhood of Corinth, and then press northward and re-enforce Bragg, carrying the war into the north, as the Union Generals had recently done into the south.

How that plan was foiled, we shall endeavor to show. When Gen. Buell left Northern Alabama in pursuit of Gen. Bragg, the principal points from Memphis, east, to the vicinity of Huntsville, Ala., had been garrisoned by detachments from Gen. Grant's army; but after his departure, Gen. Grant became satisfied that movements were contemplated by the rebel commanders, which would require a concentration of his forces. Accordingly, Tuscumbia, Ala., the farthest point east, was evacuated on the 9th of September, and the garrison—the 2d brigade of Gen. Stanley's division—commanded by Col. Murphy, of the 8th Wisconsin, ordered to go to Iuka, farther west, and perform garrison duty there, while the Ohio brigade, then at Iuka, was directed to fall back to Corinth. They accordingly entered Iuka on the 10th, and on the 12th the Ohio brigade marched out, and reached Clear Creek, eighteen miles distant, the same evening, and the next morning proceeded nearly to Corinth, and encamped. That evening, Gen. Rosecrans, who was in command at Corinth, received information, that just after the Ohio brigade left Iuka, a considerable force of rebel cavalry dashed into the place, and after a slight skirmish, put Col. Murphy and his brigade to flight, capturing a considerable amount of commissary and medical stores, among which were six hundred and eighty barrels of flour, which Col. Murphy, through culpable neglect, failed to destroy before evacuating. Having ascertained the truth of
this report, Gen. Rosecrans placed Col. Murphy under arrest, and ordered the brigade back to Iuka, under command of Col. Mower, of the 11th Missouri. When they had reached Burnsville, however, they were directed to proceed to a point near Jacinto, and await orders. While these changes of position were taking place, the rebel Gen. Price had occupied Iuka in force, and was thought by Gen. Rosecrans to be intending to cross the Tennessee, and hasten northward to re-enforce Bragg. It was arranged, that an effort should be made to capture his entire force. Gen. Grant and Gen. Ord, who commanded an army corps in the army of the Tennessee, were to move with a force of eighteen thousand men, on the line of the Memphis and Charleston rail-road, by Burnsville, toward Iuka, and General Rosecrans, moving in two columns, should, with one, attack his flank from Jacinto, and, with the other, be prepared to intercept his retreat toward the South, along the Fulton road, should he attempt it.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 18th September, Gen. Rosecrans, with Hamilton and Stanley’s divisions, left the vicinity of Corinth, and after a fatiguing march, in a heavy rain, reached Jacinto in the evening. At early dawn, on the 19th, the troops were again on the march, and at about 10 o’clock A. M., his advance encountered the enemy’s pickets, and after a sharp skirmish, drove them six miles toward Iuka. The main column had by this time reached Burnett’s Corner, and waited for two hours for Gen. Grant to commence the attack, when a messenger arrived from him, with the intelligence that he was then seven miles from Iuka, and waiting for Gen. Rosecrans to commence the battle. How this mistake occurred is not known, but Gen. Rosecrans, upon receiving the message, delayed no longer, but hurried forward with his troops, Hamilton’s division being in advance. When they were within two miles of Iuka, they discovered the enemy posted on a broad ridge which commanded the country for some distance in all
directions. The rebels opened fire at once, and Gen. Hamilton's division came up on the double quick-step, and though partly composed of raw troops, formed in line of battle under a very hot fire of artillery and musketry. In a few moments the engagement, which commenced at about five p. m., became a general one, and lasted two hours, raging with great fury. The whole brunt of the battle came upon Hamilton's division, the nature of the ground not admitting of a large force being brought into action. Gen. Hamilton stated the entire force which he was able to use under the circumstances, at twenty-eight hundred, while Price had eleven thousand in the battle. The 11th Missouri, and the 5th Iowa regiments, and the 11th Ohio battery were the severest sufferers, having lost, respectively, seventy-six, one hundred and sixteen, and seventy-two of their numbers, although neither went into the battle with full ranks. The battery was captured by the rebels, but twice retaken by the 5th Iowa, at the point of the bayonet, only to be lost again. It was finally re-captured by the Union troops the next day. Darkness closed the conflict, and the night was passed in caring for the wounded and burying the dead, while the troops lay on their arms, awaiting the dawn to renew the battle.

Morning came, but brought no movement on the part of the rebel force, and at an early hour, Gen. Rosecrans ordered his line of pickets to advance; within half a mile of the town they were met by a flag of truce from the citizens, announcing that Gen. Price had abandoned the place, and retreated southward during the night. Gen. Grant's column failed to come up in season to pursue them, and Price, the next day, made good his retreat to Bay Spring, twenty-seven miles distant. The losses in this battle, as officially reported, were, on the Union side, killed, one hundred and forty-four; wounded, five hundred and ninety-eight; missing, forty. Total, seven hundred and thirty-six. On the side of the rebels, killed, three
hundred and eighty-five; wounded, six hundred and ninety-two; prisoners, three hundred and sixty-one. Total, one thousand four hundred and thirty-three. Among them were the rebel Generals Little and Berry killed, and Whitfield mortally wounded. The Union troops captured also, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine stand of small arms, thirteen thousand rounds of ammunition, and a considerable amount of quartermaster's and commissary stores, among which was the flour lost by Col. Murphy's negligence.

It was not to be expected that the rebel leaders would sit down quietly under this defeat. They had, indeed, been thwarted in their intention to defeat Grant, and render assistance to Bragg; and as afterwards appeared, mainly in consequence of Gen. Van Dorn's slowness of movement; but they were sanguine that by a concentration of their forces, they could yet completely rout the Union army, and drive it as far north as Columbus, Ky., re-possess Corinth, and by a brilliant campaign redeem the reputation of their army, and compensate it for the disasters of the spring. On the 21st of September, Gen. Price moved from Bay Spring to Baldwin, thirty miles south-west of Iuka; from thence he marched the next day to Dumas, fifteen miles north-west of Baldwin, where he joined Van Dorn's troops, and Gen. Van Dorn, ranking him, took command; thence, on the 28th of September, having been joined by Lovell's division, numbering probably about six thousand or seven thousand, from Ripley, the united rebel army proceeded to Pocahontas, about twelve miles north-west of Corinth. The prisoners taken after the battle of Corinth, say that the soldiers were averse to attacking Corinth, remembering, as they did most vividly, the terrible fire of Halleck's siege guns in the spring, and their leaders assured them that they did not intend to assail that place, but would pass it and attack Bolivar and Jackson. On reaching Pocahontas, however, they addressed the troops, assuring them that the heavy siege
guns had been removed from Corinth, and that it would fall
an easy prey to their arms, and contained abundant supplies,
which would relieve their necessities. Thus re-assured, the
soldiers consented to be led against the town.

The combined army of the rebels at this time, numbered
from thirty-five thousand to forty thousand men. Price had
about eleven thousand at Iuka, Van Dorn over twenty thou-
sand and at Dumas, and Lovell, as we have said, six thousand or
seven thousand at Ripley. On the other hand, the line to be
protected by the Union troops was a long one, and there were
a considerable number of important points to be held at all
hazards. It was not at all certain, whether the rebels would
strike at Corinth, at Bolivar, or at Jackson, and therefore all
three must be protected. Gen. Grant, therefore, went in per-
son to Jackson, with a sufficient force to hold that important
point in safety, and Gen. Ord was stationed at Bolivar, with a
considerable force, while Gen. Hurlburt, under his direction,
held a position on the line of the Memphis and Charleston
rail-road to protect the route to Memphis. Gen. Rosecrans
was at Corinth, with a force of about seventeen thousand men,
Iuka having been abandoned, when it was ascertained that
Price had no intention of occupying it again.

Gen. Rosecrans, by a diligent use of scouts, and his careful
observation of the movements of the enemy, had become sat-
ished that Corinth would be their point of attack, and set him-
self to work, to place its defences in such condition, that with
his seventeen thousand men he should be more than a match
for Van Dorn's thirty-five thousand.

The defences which Gen. Beauregard had erected around
Corinth, while he held it in the spring, were of immense ex-
tent, and would have required an army of one hundred thou-
and men to defend them properly; and Gen. Halleck had very
wisely constructed an inner line of considerably smaller cir-
cuit. These defences, however, all looked toward the north-
east and south-east. The embankment on the line of the rail-
road—the Memphis, and Charleston, and Mobile, and Ohio—
which form an X at this point, afforded some protection on the
west and south-west, while the plain, stretching to the north-
west, which in the spring is a marshy lake, afforded a suffi-
cient defence between the two rail-roads. In the summer,
however, this marshy plain was, with some exceptions, level,
dry and dusty.

It was a part of Gen. Rosecrans' plan to fortify points com-
manding this plain, and mask the batteries planted, so that
the enemy might be induced, by skillful strategy, to make
the attack from this side; and then, as he approached, to
keep him under a terrible enfilading fire at every step of his
progress. For this purpose, he caused four new forts—earth-
works—to be erected, and made use of as much of the old
fortifications as he could.

To understand the position and advantages of these forts,
a little farther explanation may be necessary. Two roads en-
ter Corinth from a north-westerly direction, between the two
converging lines of rail-road; they come from Chewalla and
Bolivar; the Chewalla road comes in nearly from the north-
north-west, while the Bolivar road enters from nearly the
north-west point of the compass. The two unite about a
half a mile from the centre of the town, but within the line
of the old Beauregard fortifications. Toward the Mobile and
Ohio road, which is here farthest east, on a high wooded bluff,
is a redoubt, which formed a part of the Beauregard lines of
defence. This was mounted with guns directed so as to flank
and command diagonally the Chewalla road. Near it, but
more to the left, was erected Fort Richardson, a five gun bat-
tery, which completely swept that road and enfiladed also the
Bolivar road. Toward the end of this bluff, and near the
Memphis and Charleston rail-road, were erected two other
forts, one higher than the other, and commanding it, and both
CORINTH AND VICINITY.
so placed as to sweep the Bolivar road, and if necessary, to enfilade a force approaching on the Chewalla road. The upper work, Fort Williams, was armed with thirty pound Parrott guns—rifled—and the lower, Fort Robinett, with ten pound Parrots. All three were commanded by young but skillful artillerists, graduates of West Point. A fourth fort, Fort Phillips, was erected further toward the south, on the heights near the Corinth Seminary, and commanded both roads near their junction, by a cross fire. The forts were all so far masked as not to be readily recognized. The guns on the fortifications on the east side of the town were also turned inward, so as to play upon the approaching rebel force. While these preparations were making, Gen. Rosecrans was gradually but surely enticing the rebels into the trap he had set for them. On Tuesday, September 30th, his cavalry were sent out to skirmish with them, and gradually drew them on, by falling back a short distance. On Wednesday and Thursday, there was more skirmishing, and the rebel leaders gloated over their apparent successes. On Friday, they brought forward their forces in large numbers, and the skirmishing gradually developed into a battle; somewhat against his will, Gen. Rosecrans found it necessary to send out supports for his troops, and though Davies’ division stood their ground most manfully, they met with heavy losses, and even when re-enforced by Stanley’s division, were compelled to fall back. In this day’s fighting, Gen. Hackleman, of Indiana, was killed, and Gen. Oglesby dangerously wounded. The losses of the day somewhat depressed and dispirited some of the officers, but the commanding General was observed to be remarkably cheerful. He had his enemy completely in his toils, and was confident that next day he could utterly defeat him.

The rebels, flushed with success, had, on the evening of Friday, October 3, approached within a mile of the town, and reconnoitering in the dark, had failed to discover the new forts,
and commenced planting a battery within two hundred yards of Fort Robinett. An officer, somewhat alarmed, hastened to Gen. Rosecrans with the intelligence. "Let them plant it," was the General's reply.

Before daybreak, the rebels commenced firing furiously upon the town, and inflicted some little injury upon the Tishomingo House, and the buildings in the place. Gen. Rosecrans forbade the Union batteries to answer, but, at sunrise, ordered all non-combatants to the rear. The sharp-shooters of both armies had worked into the swamp thicket in front of the town, and were fighting sharply. Soon after dawn, skirmishing had commenced along the lines, and was constantly increasing to the magnitude of a battle. The battery planted the evening before had been firing for some time, when Capt. Williams, in command of Fort Williams, opened upon it with his thirty pound Parrots, and silenced it in three minutes, the enemy dragging away two of their guns, but being compelled to abandon the third, which was captured by some of the soldiers of the 63d Ohio, and a squad of the 1st United States artillery. As yet, however, the enemy did not appear in any considerable force. The woods were evidently full of them, but they were sheltered from view, and to a considerable extent protected from the fire of the Union artillery.

It was a little past nine o'clock, A. M., when the rebel leaders began to develop their plan of attack. They had already felt, though at some distance, the terrible effect of the fire of Forts Williams and Robinett, and had decided that these forts must be captured, whatever the risk, and volunteers had been called for by Generals Van Dorn and Price to go as a forlorn hope, and storm these terrible batteries. Two thousand men had volunteered, under the command of Col. Rogers, of one of the Texas regiments, then an acting Brigadier General, and Col. Ross, of one of the Mississippi regiments. These were to form the advance guard of Van Dorn's column,
and to be supported by a force of over fifteen thousand men, under the lead of that General in person.

The strength of Fort Richardson had not been tested, and to Gen. Price and his column was assigned the duty of capturing that, and penetrating, by the Chewalla road, into the heart of the town. The two attacks were to be made simultaneously, and the leaders were sanguine of success. The ground over which the two columns were to come was somewhat difficult, being encumbered with bushes, and in some points swampy. A line of abatis had also been constructed, some distance in front of batteries Robinett and Williams.

The dark mass of Price's troops moved forward first, in a wedge shape, along the Chewalla road, and overcoming the obstructions, gained upon, and soon distanced Van Dorn's column. The figure they had taken for their approach—the wedge—was admirably adapted to resist with the minimum of loss a direct fire, but in the tempest of shot and shell, which now burst upon them from all the forts, direct, cross and enfilading, it subjected them to a heavier loss than perhaps almost any other. Their march, however, was not interrupted by the terrible loss they were suffering. Every gap in the lines was instantly closed up, and with necks bent downward and "faces averted like men striving to protect themselves against a driving storm of hail," they marched steadily onward to death. When they reached the crest of the hill in front and to the right of Fort Richardson, Gen. Davies' division, which had fought so bravely the day before, and had been stationed here to support the garrison of the redoubt, were suddenly panic stricken, and began to give way in disorder. Gen. Rosecrans, whose eagle eye had been watching every movement, and who up to this moment had been delighted to see Price plunging into the trap he had set for him, dashed at once to the front, and by remonstrance, threats and commands, enforced with his sabre, rallied the division, and
re-formed it in the thickest of the fight. Ashamed of their panic, and ready to follow their favorite General any where, the men advanced again, and fought bravely. But Price had seen his advantage, and rushed forward, confident of the possession of the fort and the town. Considerable ground had been lost in this temporary defection of Davies' division, and Price's right, pushing on, captured Gen. Rosecrans' head-quarters, and for a few minutes held it. His centre and left meantime were crowding upon Fort Richardson. Capt. Richardson, United States Army, who was in command, fought his battery admirably; at every discharge, and the discharges were rapid, the rebel assailants were swept away from its front, as a November wind sweeps the autumn leaves. But confident in their numbers, they dashed forward again and again. At the third assault, Richardson was killed, and the works entered. The horses were fifty yards down the hill nearer Corinth, and a squad of twenty or thirty rebels rushed down to seize them. The 56th Illinois, which had been lying in cover in the ravine, suddenly rose and poured a volley into them, and as the smoke cleared away, sixteen dead artillery horses and a dozen dead rebels lay on the hill side. The 56th rushed on, charged into the rear of the battery, and drove out the rebels who had just captured it, and with a yell of triumph pursued them down the slope. Hamilton's division joined in, and charging upon them, drove these lately stern, grim, apparently invincible warriors into the thickets, back on the road over which they had come, demoralized and utterly routed, while the shells from the batteries only increased their disorder.

Meantime, Van Dorn's forlorn hope, and his supporting column had been approaching Forts Williams and Robinett along the Bolivar road, but finding more obstructions than Price's column had encountered, had been about ten minutes behind time in assailing the forts, and this ten minutes had served for Price's defeat and rout, and left Van Dorn's column
to make the assault without the support he had expected. He had, however, as many troops as Rosecrans, and perhaps more than he, and showed no signs of faltering. The two forts were only a hundred and fifty yards apart, and the battery of Fort Williams completely commanded that of Fort Robinett, so that had Van Dorn—or rather Rogers—succeeded in taking the latter, the terrible fire of the thirty pound Parrots in the former would inevitably have destroyed his force, before supports could have reached it. It is hardly probable that he could have known this, or he would not have led his forlorn hope to such certain death.

There have been, it must be acknowledged, few if any assaults, upon fortifications during the war, on either side, which have displayed greater heroism and daring than did this attack.* Forming his men in single column, eight deep, Col. Rogers moved forward at their head in perfect silence, though a fire of unequaled intensity burst over them at every step. There was no disorder, every man marched as though on parade, and while, at every yard of their progress, the shells tore vast gaps in their lines—a single Parrott shell killing, it was said, thirty—the vacancies were instantly closed, the living stepping over the dead, and moving on unalteringly. They charged up to the battery, reserving their fire till they mounted the parapet; they were driven back by the blinding, destroying sheet of flame; a second charge met the same fate, the color bearer being shot down just as he reached the parapet.

At the third attack, Col. Rogers himself seized the flag, and with a revolver in his hand, advanced firing, leaped the ditch, scaled the parapet, waved his flag aloft, and the next moment, with the five Texans who had followed him most

*Those upon Port Hudson and Vicksburg, and Fort Wagner, by our troops, in May and June, 1863, were perhaps equally daring.
closely, pitched downward, dead, into the fort. The Ohio brigade, Col. John W. Fuller commanding, consisting of four Ohio and one Missouri—the eleventh—regiments, were stationed between the two forts, and their commander had required them to lie flat on their faces, till he gave the command for the attack. He ordered them to wait till they could see the whites of the enemy's eyes, and then fire coolly. 

At the moment when Col. Rogers mounted the parapet, Col. Fuller ordered the 63d Ohio, which was in the advance, to fire. They fired six volleys, and the rebel column, almost entirely destroyed—for Fort Williams had been, all this time, pouring its shrapnel and canister upon them in their close quarters—fled from the fort, and rushed back upon the supporting column. This did not give way, but marched forward, under the same storm of fire which the forlorn hope had encountered. The whole of the Ohio brigade were now on their feet, and pouring volley after volley upon the enemy, while Lieut. Robinett, and Capt. Williams, double shotting their guns, at the short range, poured a most destructive fire upon the advancing column. Relying upon the superiority of his numbers over those of the Ohio brigade, Van Dorn ordered his men to rush upon the Ohio soldiers, and for a few minutes there was a terrible hand to hand contest. 

It was very brief, for finding themselves utterly overwhelmed by the fire of the batteries, the enemy, with a howl of rage and dismay, fled, like frightened deer, toward the abatis and the timber. Still the iron hail fell upon them with relentless fury, and waving their handkerchiefs upon sticks in token of submission, they shouted to the Union troops to spare them, "for God's sake." The carnage had been dreadful. Within fifty feet of Fort Robinett, two hundred and sixty rebels lay dead, and two hundred more wounded, were picked up within a hundred yards of the fort. Of the two thousand men whom Col. Rogers led against that fort, scarce fifty escaped unharmed.
Rogers himself was buried within the fort, and his grave marked by the Union soldiers who honored his bravery.

It was half past twelve o'clock; the battle was over, and the enemy in full retreat, along the Chewalla road. Gen. Rosecrans, confident of the result, had despatched a messenger to Gen. Hurlburt, to destroy the bridge over the Hatchie, which was in their line of retreat, and to oppose their crossing, with a sufficient force. Satisfied that the routed and retreating enemy could not escape him, Gen. Rosecrans rode through his own lines, announcing in person the results of the battle, and notifying the troops to replenish their cartridge boxes, haversacks, and stomachs, take an early sleep, and at daylight on the morrow, start in pursuit. It was just at this time that Gen. McPherson, with several regiments from Jackson, Tenn., entered Corinth, and was directed by Gen. Rosecrans to lead in the pursuit. To the officers who were to command the advance, the General’s injunctions were: “Follow close; force them to pass to the rear; compel them to form often in line of battle, and so harass and discourage them; prevent them from communicating from front to rear; give them no time to distribute subsistence; don’t let them sleep.”

The retreating rebel forces crossed the Tuscumbia river bridge near Pocahontas, and attempted to cross the Hatchie river at the bridge, two miles from the Tuscumbia bridge, but their advance met at that point Gen. Hurlburt and Gen. Ord, and a severe battle ensued, in which the rebels lost heavily in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Union loss was fifty killed, four hundred and ninety-three wounded, and seventeen missing. Foiled in their attempt at crossing here, they made a wide detour, and finally succeeded in fording the Hatchie at Crain’s Mill, about six miles higher on the stream; from this point, they made the best of their way toward Holly Springs, pursued, however and harassed constantly by McPherson, and losing many prisoners and almost all organization. The
pursuit extended beyond Ripley, when Gen. Grant sent orders for the Union troops to return.

The results of this brief campaign cannot be better described than in the language of Gen. Rosecrans' address to his troops, on taking leave of them on the 25th of October:

"I have now received the reports of the various commanders. I have now to tell you that the magnitude of the stake, the battle and the results, become more than ever apparent. Upon the issue of this fight depended the possession of West Tennessee, and perhaps even the fate of operations in Kentucky. The entire available force of the rebels in Mississippi, save a few garrisons and a small reserve, attacked you. They were commanded by Van Dorn, Price, Villipique, Rust, Armstrong, Maury, and others in person. They numbered, according to their own authorities, nearly forty thousand men—almost double your own numbers. You fought them into the position we desired on the 3d, punishing them terribly; and on the 4th, in three hours after the infantry went into action, they were completely beaten. You killed and buried one thousand four hundred and twenty-three officers and men; some of their most distinguished officers falling—among whom was the gallant Colonel Rogers of the 2d Texas, who bore their colors at the head of his storming column, to the edge of the ditch of "battery Robinett," where he fell. Their wounded, at the usual rate, must exceed five thousand. You took two thousand two hundred and sixty-eight prisoners, among whom are one hundred and thirty-seven field officers, captains and subalterns, representing fifty-three regiments of infantry; sixteen regiments of cavalry; thirteen batteries of artillery; seven battalions; besides several companies. You captured three thousand three hundred stands of small arms, fourteen stands of colors, two pieces of artillery, and a large quantity of equipments. You pursued his retreating columns forty miles in force with infantry, and sixty-nine miles with cavalry, and were ready to follow him to Mobile, if necessary, had you received orders. I congratulate you on these decisive results; in the name of the Government and the people, I thank you. I beg you to unite with me in giving humble thanks to the Great Master of all, for our victories."

The ability manifested by Gen. Rosecrans in this campaign, contrasting as it did so brilliantly with the inefficiency of Gen. Buell in Kentucky, the week following, indicated to the Government that here was the commander who, if any one could, was able to retrieve Buell's errors, and prosecute the war with an energy and success hitherto unknown, in what was then de-
nominated the "Department of the Ohio." On the 24th of October, Gen. Rosecrans was appointed to succeed Gen. Buell in the command of that department, which, with some changes in its boundaries, now received the name of the Department of the Cumberland. In another chapter we shall trace his successes and reforms in this new field of action.

After the rout of the rebels under Van Dorn, Gen. Grant re-occupied his former positions, Corinth, Bolivar, Jackson, Humboldt, Trenton, and Columbus, Ky. From the last mentioned town he drew his supplies, but was endeavoring to effect a change of base lines, which would enable him to procure them, with more promptness and certainty, from Memphis.

Vicksburg, as the most important strong-hold still held by the rebels on the Mississippi, was the object toward which his eyes and those of his army were directed, with earnest longing; but it was known to be not only very strong in its natural position, but to have been strongly fortified, and defended by a large and efficient garrison, well provided with stores and munitions of war. The rebels regarded it, and with justice, as the key of their position in the south-west, for not only did it secure the communication of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, with the States east of the Mississippi, and enable the rebel army in the east to obtain their cattle, corn, and other supplies, from the rich and fertile lands of Texas, and Louisiana, but it was a standing menace to New Orleans, divided the Union Sovereignty on the Mississippi, and gave encouragement to the rebel leaders that they might yet regain their great commercial port.

An expedition was accordingly organized at Memphis, in November and December, 1862, the land forces under the command of Gen. T. W. Sherman, and the naval force under Rear Admiral D. D. Porter, to besiege Vicksburg. Meantime, a diversion was to be made, by concerted action between Gen.
Grant, whose department, newly organized, was named the “Department of West Tennessee,” and Gen. Curtis who was in command in Arkansas. Grant’s forces throughout most of the month of November, had been encamped at La Grange, about three miles west of Grand Junction, where the New Orleans, Jackson and Mississippi Central rail-road crosses the Memphis and Charleston road.

From this point, on the 28th of November, the corps of Gen. Hamilton—Gen. Rosecrans’ old corps—moved southward toward Holly Springs, and reached and occupied that place on the 29th, the rebels retiring before them. On the 1st of December, the main body of Gen. Grant’s army had proceeded as far as Lumpkin’s Mills, eight or ten miles south of Holly Springs, and seven north of the Tallahatchie river. Van Dorn had, meanwhile, established himself on the Tallahatchie, in a strong position.

A division of Gen. Curtis’ army, seven thousand strong, under Gen. A. P. Hovey, left Helena, Ark., on the 27th of November, and crossing the Mississippi, reached the Tallahatchie the next day, and though opposed by rebel skirmishers, crossed it without loss. On the 30th, another skirmish occurred at the crossing of the Yocnapatalfa, a tributary of the Tallahatchie, but without serious loss. The next day, December 1st, Van Dorn abandoned his position on the Tallahatchie, and retreated, through Abbeville and Oxford, toward Coffeeville, having some sharp skirmishes with Gen. Grant’s advance, both at Abbeville and Oxford. The main body of Van Dorn’s troops continued their retreat southward, through Grenada, to Canton, twenty-five or thirty miles north of Jackson, Mississippi; but his cavalry lingered farther north, and skirmishing occurred, with no very decided results, between them and Gen. Hovey’s cavalry, at Oakland, the terminus of the Mississippi and Tennessee rail-road. Gen. Hovey destroyed a portion of the lines of the Mississippi Central, and the Mississippi and Ten-
nessee rail-roads, and a part of their equipment, and the steamboats and small craft on the Tallahatchie, and then returned to Helena.

Finding that the Arkansas troops had returned across the Mississippi, Van Dorn regained his confidence, and though unwilling to engage Gen. Grant's army, of which he entertained a wholesome fear, he sent his cavalry, by routes with which they were familiar, to attack Grant's rear, and cut off his supplies. Holly Springs was invaded and captured by this force, on the 20th of December, while Grant was at Oxford, thirty miles below, and a large quantity of supplies, intended for his army, seized and destroyed, as well as a considerable amount of cotton, which had been purchased from the people in the vicinity. Davis' Mills, a few miles north of Holly Springs was attacked the same day, but the invaders were promptly repulsed.

The rebel Gen. Forrest was busily at work, meanwhile, in Tennessee, and on the 19th and 20th, Jackson, Humboldt, Trenton, Dyer, Rutherford, and Kenton, stations on the Mississippi central rail-road, were all entered and plundered. Forrest's triumph was but short, for Brigadier General Sweeney was soon on his track, and defeated and entirely routed his force. Gen. Grant recovered possession of Holly Springs, and most of the other towns on the rail-road, before the close of the year, but, by these misfortunes, he had been prevented from co-operating, as he had intended, with Gen. Sherman, in his siege of Vicksburg.

In a previous chapter,—page 528,—we have given a brief summary of the results of the efficient administration of Major General Butler, at New Orleans, after the capture of that city, an administration in a conquered, and for many months partially rebellious city, which, for practical wisdom, sound, equitable and discriminating justice, and prompt repression of disloyalty, has had no parallel.
But Gen. Butler was not simply or only the military commandant of New Orleans; he had under his charge a large department, much of it held in subjection, at that time, only by the strong arm, and above him, on the Mississippi, and in front and rear in Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas, the enemy were collecting constantly in greater or less force, and watching, with eager eyes, the opportunity to dash in upon some of his out-posts, at Baton Rouge, Natchez, or elsewhere, and re-possesses themselves of them; and they were even so sanguine as to count upon the recovery of New Orleans itself.

In his arrangements to defeat these schemes, Gen. Butler displayed the same executive ability which marked his administration at New Orleans, and was as uniformly successful.

The minor skirmishes and affairs occurred too frequently, and were of too slight importance, to be detailed in our narrative; but one of the attacks assumed the magnitude of a battle. It will be necessary, however, first to narrate some events which connect the operations at Vicksburg, and the movements of the army of West Tennessee, with the army of the Gulf.

After the capture of New Orleans by Flag-officer, afterwards Rear Admiral Farragut's squadron, and the surrender of Memphis to commander Davis, there remained but two obstacles to the free navigation of the Mississippi, of any moment, viz. Vicksburg and Port Hudson, both commanding the river with their batteries. The batteries of Port Hudson were not, however, at that time so formidable as they afterward became, but Vicksburg commanded the river so thoroughly as to make its reduction absolutely essential to a free navigation.

To this end, both commanders directed their energies. Flag-officer Farragut sent a part of his squadron to attack the town and demand its surrender, on the 18th of May, but the garrison sent a defiant refusal, and action was delayed till a land and naval force could be brought up. On the 26th and
27th of June, a combined land and river attack was made by flag-officer Farragut's squadron, and Gen. Thomas Williams' division, but the bluffs were so high, and the fortifications so strong, that they were unable to reduce them. A portion of the squadron, including the flag-ship Hartford, passed the batteries, but were unable to capture the town.

Having formed a junction with commander Davis' gun-boat flotilla, flag-officer Farragut concerted with him an expedition up the Yazoo river, a narrow but deep stream, which enters the Mississippi by two mouths just above Vicksburg, and in which, it was said, the rebels were building some iron-clads and gun-boats.

A force of sharp-shooters from the army were to accompany the expedition. On the 15th of July, the gun-boats Carondelet and Tyler, and the ram Queen of the West, entered the mouth of the Yazoo, and after ascending a short distance, encountered the rebel iron-clad ram Arkansas. After a severe fight, in which both the Tyler and Carondelet were partially disabled, the Arkansas entered the Mississippi, ran through Farragut's and Davis' squadrons, firing as she went, receiving no injury, though inflicting some, and finally anchored under the guns of Vicksburg.

Mortified at being thus foiled, flag-officer Farragut determined to re-pass the batteries of Vicksburg, for the double purpose of rejoining the rest of his squadron, and of destroying the Arkansas, in passing; and commander Davis added the ram Sumter to his force. Commander Davis having opened a bombardment toward evening, for the purpose of covering the movement, flag-officer Farragut succeeded in passing the batteries, without serious loss of life or injury to his vessels, but was unable, on account of the darkness, to injure the Arkansas.

On the 22d of July, commander W. D. Porter, with the iron-clad gun-boat Essex, and Lieut. Col. Ellet, with the ram Queen of the West, made another attempt to destroy her;
but though she was somewhat injured, and the attack was made with extraordinary gallantry, under the fire of the batteries, it was not so successful as to permanently disable her.

As the water in the river was becoming low, it was arranged soon after, that Commander Porter should remain permanently below Vicksburg, with the Essex and Sumter, and Flag-officer Farragut should return to New Orleans. On the 28th of July, he reached that city, having left the gun-boats Katahdin and Kineo, to guard Baton Rouge.

It had been a part of the purpose of the rebel leaders to use this formidable iron-clad, the Arkansas, which they fondly believed invincible, to drive away and destroy Farragut's fleet, which now held New Orleans and its vicinity, and by the aid of a land force which they could easily collect from the States of Mississippi and Louisiana, expel the Union forces from the south-west.

On their way to the accomplishment of this great enterprise, they would meet with the gun-boats we have named, the Essex, an iron-clad, but regarded by them as far inferior to the Arkansas, the Sumter, and the gun-boats Katahdin and Kineo. At Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, there was also a garrison of Union troops under the command of Gen. Thomas Williams, an able and efficient officer. This force routed, and the gun-boats and iron-clad destroyed, and the way was clear for the re-capture of New Orleans.

The command of the force for the capture of Baton Rouge, was assigned to the rebel General Breckenridge, the former Vice President of the United States. He accordingly left Jackson, Miss., on the 26th of July, with two divisions, consisting of fifteen regiments and three batteries, and probably comprising not far from six thousand men. The Arkansas, which had repaired her injuries, was ready for service, and was to drop down the river and aid in the attack, or at any rate engage the gun-boats, while Breckenridge attacked the land force
The Arkansas delayed her departure from Vicksburg, and Gen. Van Dorn advised Gen. Breckenridge that she would not be able to reach Baton Rouge before the 5th of August. She was accompanied by two small gun-boats, the Webb and the Muir. Breckenridge's force had been brought by the New Orleans rail-road to Tangipaha, the station nearest to Baton Rouge, and about sixty miles distant from it, and marched thence across the country to the rear of the city.

The approach of Breckenridge's force upon Baton Rouge was from the east, and a little explanation of the topography of the battle field, will be necessary to the clear understanding of the incidents of the battle. Two roads run eastward from Baton Rouge, one from the north-east, the other from the south-east corner of the town. They connect it with St. Helena and Ponchatoula. About a mile and a half east of the city, a north and south road cuts these at right angles, and on the west side of it is a grove of some extent, while on the east side, a cemetery extends from the St. Helena to the Ponchatoula road. Gen. Williams had been aware, for several days, that an attack was intended, and unwilling to expose the town to destruction, had marched his little force, consisting of eight regiments, all materially reduced in numbers by the campaign, and four batteries, to the grove spoken of above, and there encamped. His entire force did not exceed four thousand men, and of these only two thousand five hundred were engaged in the battle.

Breckenridge had advanced from his camp on Comite river, on Monday night, and, taking advantage of a dense fog, approached Gen. Williams' camp, at about 5 o'clock A. M., unobserved till he was close upon them. The 14th Maine, 21st Indiana, and 6th Michigan were in front, and the rebel force was hurled upon them with great impetuosity, but was received with perfect steadiness, and its fire returned with a solid line volley, which did great execution. The 21st Indi-
ana advanced, pressing the enemy back into the cemetery, and through it; meantime, a portion of Breckenridge's force succeeded in flanking the Union force on the right, and entered and destroyed a part of the camps and equipage of the 14th Maine, 7th Vermont and 21st Indiana; the 7th Vermont, which had been in reserve, retreating, despite the urgent entreaties of their Colonel, who was afterwards killed in the fight, and making very slight resistance. This flank movement was soon observed by Gen. Williams, who caused his force to fall back about a fourth of a mile, and pouring in a succession of rapid volleys from his artillery, drove the invaders, with heavy loss, from the camp. The battle now raged with great intensity, and the field officers, on both sides, were killed or wounded in large numbers. The 21st Indiana lost all its field officers, and Gen. Williams rode to their head, saying, "Boys, your field officers are all gone—I will lead you," to which the regiment replied, with three cheers, when he fell from his horse, mortally wounded. The command devolved on Col. Cahill, of the 9th Connecticut, and the battle went on, till the enemy, completely repulsed at all points, commenced a rapid retreat, and their movements were soon greatly expedited by the shells dropped among them from the gun-boats Kineo and Katahdin. They hastened, in great disorder, to a point beyond the range of the gun-boats, and there encamped till the next day, when Gen. Breckenridge sent in a flag of truce, asking permission to send in a squad to bury his dead, and that an officer who accompanied the flag might have the privilege of communicating with the rebel Brigadier-General Clarke, who had been wounded and taken prisoner. Col. Cahill replied that he had already attended to the burial of their dead, and that friends of Gen. Clarke, in Baton Rouge, would supply his wants. The Union loss in this battle was sixty killed, one hundred and sixty-one wounded, and twenty-nine missing. The killed of the rebels exceeded one hundred,
and their wounded over three hundred; over seventy wounded, and thirty-two uninjured, were taken prisoners.

Where was the Arkansas during this battle? She had reached a point fifteen miles above Baton Rouge, the evening before, when her starboard engine broke down. This was repaired by eight o’clock the next morning, and the Arkansas proceeded to a point five miles above the city, and cleared for action, but on rounding the point, the engine again broke down, and she drifted ashore in sight of Baton Rouge. At five p.m., she was again repaired, but the engineer reported that her engines were unreliable. It was then determined to make a trial trip up the river, to test their strength, but before she had proceeded five hundred yards, she broke down worse than ever. The night was spent in making repairs, and at eight o’clock she was moored head down stream, and cleared for action. The Essex came round the point at nine o’clock, and opened fire upon her. At this moment the engineers reported her engines ready, and, cutting her mooring lines, she started for the Essex, intending to run her down. Before reaching her, however, her larboard engine gave way, and she turned and made for the river bank, the Essex pouring a hot fire into her, which penetrated her plating, making a large breach. Into this breach Commander Porter threw incendiary shells; the crew now abandoned her, previously, one of her officers says, setting her on fire. In about an hour, she blew up. Thus ended the expedition which had been cherished with the most sanguine hopes by the rebels, for the re-capture of New Orleans.

For the next six weeks, the rebels were contented to give over their plans for attacking New Orleans, but in the early part of September, the rebel Gen. Jeff. Thompson undertook to repair the rail-road bridge over Mauchac Pass, a little more than forty miles north of the city, on the New Orleans and Jackson rail-road, with the intention of throwing a force upon
the city suddenly, by way of the rail-road. Gen. Butler heard of the plan, and despatched the late Gen. George C. Strong, then his Chief of Staff, to break it up. Major Strong took with him a force of about three hundred men, but being baffled in his efforts to approach the desired points with the steamer on which he embarked, landed a part of his force at Mauchac bridge, and sent one company southward to destroy the rail-road at the Pass and on Mauchac island, detailed another to guard the steamer, and started with one hundred and twelve men for Ponchatoula, ten miles distant. He made a forced march on the town, which was Thompson's head-quarters, and though the enemy had a battery of light artillery and three hundred infantry, he drove them from the place, with a loss of twenty killed and forty or fifty wounded, and captured it, destroyed the telegraph and post offices, taking possession of the despatches and official documents, took Thompson's sword, spurs, bridle, &c., set fire to a train of twenty cars, laden with cotton, sugar, molasses, &c., and returned to New Orleans, with a loss of twenty-one killed, wounded and missing.

In the month of October, Gen. Butler, learning that the rebels were in some force in the vicinity of Bayou Lapourche, ordered Gen. Weitzel to attack them. He engaged the enemy on Oct. 27, at Labadieville, and after a short action, routed him with a loss of two hundred and fifty killed, wounded and prisoners. Union loss, eighteen killed and seventy-four wounded and missing. These brilliant exploits satisfied the rebel leaders that so long as Major General Butler was in command at New Orleans, efforts for its re-capture would not, in all probability, be successful; and they began to turn their attention to the possibility of effecting his removal, by demanding it of the U. S. Government, on the pretended ground that he had been guilty of violations of the amenities of civilized warfare.
CHAPTER XXVIII.

ARKANSAS AND THE INDIAN TERRITORY—THE BATTLES OF MAYSVILLE, CROSS HOLLONS OR FAYETTEVILLE, CANE HILL, AND PRAIRIE GROVE—TROUBLES IN MISSOURI—THE INDIAN MASSACRES AND WAR IN MINNESOTA.


The rebels were extremely reluctant to give up Missouri. They had claimed it as a part of their Territory, from the time that its renegade Governor, Claiborne F. Jackson, fled before the advance of the brave and lamented Lyon. Many were the unsuccessful efforts they made to regain their foothold there, after they had been driven out; but though several of their
ablest Generals, and among them Sterling Price, Frost and Marmaduke were Missourians, and a very considerable portion of their trans-Mississippi army had been residents of Missouri, they were balked in every effort, and generally, just at the time when they deemed themselves most certain of success. Guerrilla bands, having an irregular connection with the army, and composed mostly of secessionists still resident in the State, most of whom had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, and some of them more than once, did indeed occasionally make a raid into the counties along the southern and western border, and plunder, and sometimes murder Union citizens, fire upon and occasionally burn steamboats, and perpetrate much mischief; but, from the time that they were effectually driven from the State in the spring of 1862, they were never able to regain or hold any portion of its territory, long enough to hold a session of their bogus Legislature, or elect, by a popular vote, representatives to the rebel Congress.

We have already described—page 420—one of the most desperate of these struggles to regain the territory from which they had been ousted,—the hard fought battle of Pea Ridge. Their terrible defeat on that occasion only increased their determination to succeed in a subsequent contest; but the Union Generals in command in Arkansas, where most of the battles for the possession of Missouri were fought, were shrewd, able and brave, and in every battle, notwithstanding there was often a decided disparity of forces, they came off victorious.

We have neither time nor space to notice the numerous skirmishes which occurred almost every week, in the region bordering upon the upper Arkansas, and the head-waters of White river, the north-western portion of the State; but there were three or four severe battles fought, which deserve a place in our record.

The first action of any importance subsequent to the battle of Pea Ridge, was the battle of the Cache, in Eastern Arkansas. The Cache river is an affluent of the White river, which
it joins at Clarendon, Monroe county. Eighteen or twenty miles above Clarendon, the Bayou Cache, a large swampy lake, connects itself with the Cache river, and it was near this connection that the battle was fought. The Union troops in Arkansas consisted of two distinct corps at this time, that in Eastern Arkansas being under the command of Major Gen. S. R. Curtis, and that in the north-west of the State and in south-west Missouri under Gen. Scofield. The rebel troops in Eastern Arkansas were mostly Texans, while those in the west were generally Missouri and Arkansas soldiers and guerrillas. The battle occurred on the 7th of July. The army of Gen. Curtis was encamped at the junction of the Bayou Cache and Cache river, and its progress had been delayed by a blockade of fallen timbers. Through this obstruction a road was cut on the evening of the 6th of July, and Colonel—since General—C. E. Hovey, of the 33d Illinois, was ordered by the brigade commander, Gen. Steele, to cross the Cache and make a reconnoissance down to the Clarendon road, along which the army were to march, and also to scour the woods thoroughly. For this purpose, he took parts of several companies of his own regiment, and of the 11th Wisconsin, in all about four hundred men, and a small steel gun, of the 1st Indiana cavalry, and had proceeded about half a mile on the Des Arc road, when his advance encountered an ambush of Texan troops. A sharp action ensued, the Texans being over two thousand strong, but the steel gun, which was loaded with canister, and fired rapidly, and at short range, kept the rebels at bay, and drove them back, with heavy loss, whenever they charged upon the gun. Falling back a short distance to a better position, Col. Hovey formed his men in a cornfield, and as the rebels came up, received them with three volleys of musketry, while the little gun threw its canister rapidly among their now disordered columns. The rebels were completely broken and routed, and fled in great haste, but as Col. Hovey had not a
sufficient force to pursue, and any movement in the open field would show how feeble his force really was, he retained his position, and the enemy, rallying with great difficulty, approached again. Col. Hovey had extended his line, to prevent being flanked, and awaited their charge with composure, and when it came, again mowed them down by the steady and well directed fire of his little force, and they again gave way. Just at this moment, Lt. Col. Wood, who had been ordered to protect the bridge at Bayou View, came up, with the second battalion of the 1st Indiana cavalry and two more of the steel guns, and charging upon the retreating rebels, routed them completely, and drove them from the field.

The loss of the rebels in this action was very heavy. Two hundred were acknowledged by them to have been killed, and a large number wounded. The Union troops buried one hundred and ten of the enemy's dead, and the farm houses in the vicinity were filled with the wounded and dying. The Union loss was seven killed and fifty-seven wounded. This was partly attributable to the fact that the rebels fired too high. This repulse prevented any further attack on the Union forces in Eastern Arkansas for some months.

During the month of September, the rebels had been gradually working their way into south-western Missouri, and on the 29th of that month, were in considerable force, believed to be about eight thousand, at Newtonia, the county seat of Newton county, in the extreme south-west part of the State, under the command of Gen. Rains. Their position was a strong one, protected by a ravine and a heavy stone wall. Gen. Salomon, commanding a division of Kansas troops, at Sarcoxie, fifteen miles distant, sent forward a force of about four hundred cavalry, under Col. Lynde of the 9th Kansas cavalry, to make a reconnaissance, with orders not to engage the enemy, but merely to observe his position. They fired on the enemy's pickets, but elicited no reply, and having accomplished their
purpose, fell back. Gen. Salomon in the afternoon, sent part of the 9th Wisconsin, one company of the 6th Kansas cavalry, and three pieces of Stockton’s battery, to re-enforce Col. Lynde, and with this little force, not exceeding eight hundred men, Col. Lynde attacked the strong position of the enemy, and attempted to drive them out of their fortification by a bayonet charge, but was repulsed, with heavy loss, and compelled to retreat. After falling back seven miles, they met Gen. Salomon’s advance, and under his command, a second attack was made, in which the rebels sustained severe loss, but night coming on, and Gen. Rains bringing up large re-enforcements, Gen. Salomon abandoned the attempt to dislodge them, and returned to Sarcoxie. The Union loss in this affair was about sixty killed, and one hundred and twenty-five wounded, and ninety prisoners, two hundred and seventy-five in all; the rebel loss was between two hundred and fifty and three hundred in killed and wounded.

There were several skirmishes during the next three or four weeks, and the army of the frontier, as the western corps was called, had been following the main body of the rebels through south-western Missouri, the eastern portion of the Indian territory, and north-western Arkansas, but without being able to bring them to a battle. About the 25th of October, it was ascertained that a considerable rebel force was collected near Fayetteville, Ark., the best grain region in the State. Gen. Totten’s division, about seven thousand strong, was sent, on Monday night, October 27th, from Osage Spring to Fayetteville, seventeen miles distant, to attack them, but failed to find them. Gen. Herron received directions, the same evening, to take a cavalry force of about nine hundred troops, and approach the enemy from the south-east, and thus attack them in rear, while Gen. Totten assailed them in front. He did so, and after moving six miles on the direct road to Fayetteville, turned eastward and made a wide detour, crossing the White
river several times, and about daylight came upon the enemy's pickets, after a march of twenty-seven or twenty-eight miles. These were driven across the White river, and Herron's advance followed, and found a force of four thousand Texan troops encamped, with two pieces of artillery. Without pausing to take account of the odds between the numbers of the enemy and his own, Gen. Herron led his men across the river, and boldly attacked the enemy, who fought bravely for an hour and a half, but finally gave way before the determined charges of the Iowa and Missouri troops, and fled to the Boston mountains, four miles distant, abandoning their camp and a part of their train. Gen. Herron marched toward Fayetteville—the scene of the battle being about twelve miles south of that town—and soon met Gen. Totten's division. The rebel loss in this fight was about twenty killed, a considerable number of wounded, and twelve or fifteen prisoners. Gen. Herron's loss was five wounded.

The rebel force in Arkansas at this time was estimated at twenty thousand men, under the command of Lieut. Gen. Holmes, of whom seven thousand were in the vicinity of Little Rock, the capital of the State, under command of Gen. Hindman; five thousand more on the lower Arkansas near Pine Bluff, under Gen. Roan; one thousand at Batesville, under Gen. McBride, and about seven thousand in Western Arkansas, near Boston mountains, the greater part of them conscripts, under Gen. Rains. Beside these, there was a guerilla force of varying numbers, ranging through the southern counties of Missouri, and ready, at call, to join these divisions, to aid in doing injury to Union men, or overwhelming an inferior Union force.

In November, Gen. Hindman, who was really in command of the rebels in the State—Gen. Holmes' age and intemperance making his service much of the time merely nominal—planned another movement into south-western Missouri, and
began to concentrate his forces in the north-western part of Arkansas for that purpose. Gen. Marmaduke commanded the advance, consisting of eight thousand men, a large portion of them guerrillas and bushwhackers, and the main body, consisting of about twenty-two thousand more, moved up the Arkansas river, under command of Gen. Hindman himself.

On the 26th of November, Gen. Blunt, commanding the first division of the Union army of the frontier, learned that Marmaduke was at Cane Hill, and that Hindman, with the remainder of the army, was expected to arrive at that place on the evening of the 28th. He determined at once to attack Marmaduke and defeat him, before Hindman could reach him with re-enforcements. He accordingly left his camp at Lindsay's Prairie, thirty-five miles north of Cane Hill, early on the morning of the 27th, with five thousand men and thirty pieces of artillery, the men taking with them four days' rations of hard bread and salt. Twenty-five miles of the distance was accomplished by seven o'clock p. m., of that day, when the army bivouacked for the night, and Gen. Blunt sent spies forward to ascertain the position of the enemy. Finding that they had a strong picket guard posted for some miles in front, on the main road, he turned aside from this to the left, when the army resumed its march at dawn on the 28th, and approached within half a mile of their camp without meeting any resistance. Gen. Blunt, who was with the advance, immediately led his men to the attack, not aware that his main column, having been detained in ascending a hill, were four or five miles in the rear, and that his advance consisted of less than five hundred men. He had, however, Rabb's fine battery and two mountain howitzers, and gaining a point which commanded the town, commenced shelling the enemy, who were soon compelled, by the destructive fire of the battery, to abandon their position and retreat to a high ridge, three-fourths of a mile further south; as soon as his troops
came up, they were driven from this and from the town, and though they made a stand at every half mile, they were steadily pushed back from position after position, for a distance of ten miles. They took possession of several strong and easily defensible points upon the Boston mountains, but Blunt's indomitable troops dislodged them, in one instance storming the face of the mountain, and driving them over the crest. Their last stand was made in a defile, in a valley of the Boston mountains, but from this they were driven by a furious charge, and finding themselves in danger of losing their guns, Gen. Marmaduke sent a flag of truce to ask the privilege of removing their dead and wounded, and by means of this subterfuge, succeeded in making good his retreat, just at dark. The Union loss was eight killed, and thirty-two wounded. The rebel loss was seventy-five killed, a very large number wounded, and some prisoners. The whole battle was fought in a heavily wooded country, and the loss on either side was therefore much less than it otherwise would have been. Marmaduke continued his retreat to Van Buren, on the Arkansas river, and about the 1st of December, joined Gen. Hindman's army at Lee's creek, fifteen miles north of Van Buren.

Gen. Blunt received information of this junction, on the 2d of December, and learned also that it was Hindman's intention to attack him, with his whole force of thirty thousand men. He accordingly telegraphed and sent messengers at once to Gen. Herron, who was in command of the second and third divisions of the army of the frontier, requesting him to come to his assistance by forced marches. Gen. Herron was at Wilson's Creek, Mo., one hundred and ten miles distant, on the morning of the 3d, when he received Gen. Blunt's dispatch, and in three hours was in motion, and in three days marched the whole distance with his baggage and commissary train, reaching Fayetteville on Sunday morning, the 7th inst., having sent his cavalry, three thousand in number, to re-enforce Gen. Blunt the day before.
A brief description of the geographical features of the region in which the battle was to be fought, and of the relative positions of the rebel and Union forces, will serve to make the occurrences of the conflict more readily understood. From Fayetteville to Van Buren, on the Arkansas river, there are two principal roads, neither of them direct; the easternmost, called the Cove Creek or mountain road, passes over the mountains, about ten miles east of Cane Hill, to a point eight miles south-east of that town, where it enters the road from Cane Hill to Van Buren.

The westernmost leads from Fayetteville to Cane Hill, and thence to Van Buren, joining the other, as we have said, eight miles below Cane Hill. At Rhea's mills, eight miles north of Cane Hill, and connected with it by two roads, one direct, and the other branching from the Fayetteville road, the greater part of Gen. Blunt's commissary trains was packed, though a portion of it was with him at Cane Hill. From the road leading from Rhea's mills to the Fayetteville road, an open valley, about half a mile wide, and seven or eight miles long, extends eastward. This valley is divided into large fields, which at this time were covered with corn, and on either side were hills covered with timber. It was called Prairie Grove. About five miles south of it, a road extends from the north side of the village of Cane Hill, eastward to the telegraph road, called the hog-eye road, which cuts the mountain, or Cove Creek road, at right angles, about seven miles east of Cane Hill.

Gen. Blunt's force, of about five thousand men, was at Cane Hill, when the news came of the intention of Hindman to attack him; and he sent forward his cavalry on the 5th of December, on the road from Cane Hill to Van Buren, to a point below the junction of the two roads leading from Fayetteville to Van Buren, above described, to skirmish with the advance of the enemy and delay its approach till Gen
TOPOGRAPHY OF GEN. BLUNT'S MOVEMENTS.
Herron, of whose movements he was advised, could come up. There was some skirmishing on the 5th; more on the 6th, and in the evening of that day the cavalry of Gen. Blunt were driven back, above the junction of the two roads. Early on the morning of the 7th, Gen. Blunt, fearing that the enemy, who had now full command of the Cove Creek or mountain road, would press forward, and endeavor to intercept Gen. Herron, who was approaching Cane Hill from the north on the Fayetteville and Cane Hill road, and defeat him before he could effect a junction with his—Blunt's—force, or failing in that, would endeavor to reach Rhea's Mills, and capture his train, sent a strong detachment from Cane Hill, eastward on the hog-eye road, to prevent them from accomplishing either purpose. The remainder of his force were on the Van Buren road, a short distance below Cane Hill. About five o'clock a. m., Gen. Blunt, with his staff, proceeded to the front, and there found that the demonstration on the Van Buren road was a mere feint, and that the bulk of the rebel force had moved up the Cove Creek road, and soon after ascertained that they had eluded the force sent by the hog-eye road to intercept them, and had marched northward to give battle to Gen. Herron, or to capture the train at Rhea's Mills. This intelligence necessitated an immediate change in his plans, but he was ready for the emergency. Calling together his somewhat scattered forces, as promptly as possible, he marched northward, with all speed, on the Fayetteville road, sending forward his cavalry under Col. Wickersham in advance, to open communication with Gen. Herron. Arrived at the point where the road from Rhea's Mills enters the Fayetteville road, he found that Col. Wickersham had taken the road to Rhea's Mills, and thought it best to follow, and see that his train was safe. He followed this road to the valley of which we have spoken, and sent a detachment on to the Mills, to guard his train. Hearing firing to the eastward, he pressed forward with the remain-
der of his force, as rapidly as possible, to relieve Gen. Herron, whose little army, he was convinced, was engaged in a desper-ate struggle with nearly four times its numbers, at the eastern end of this valley of Prairie Grove. Herron had, indeed, been fighting bravely from about ten o'clock a.m. The principal struggle had been on and near the banks of Illinois creek, which traverses the prairie from west to east; and though from the superiority of his artillery, and the skill with which it was handled, he had been able to keep the enemy at bay; not, how-ever, without very heavy losses on his own side, yet his men were becoming very much exhausted by the hard fighting, supervening on such a long and rapid march. They had captured twice, by brilliant charges, but with fearful loss, the enemy's best battery, but they could not hold it. At this time, when, though resolute, they began to fear that they would be overpowered by superior numbers, they heard firing from the west, and some of the shot reached the line of their skir-mishers; at first, they thought the enemy had been re-enforced, but Gen. Herron reconnoitered in person, and soon announced to his wearied troops, that Gen. Blunt was attack-ing the enemy in flank. Gen. Blunt had approached them from the west, and though confronted by a force of three times his own numbers, had pressed upon them, driving them by the rapid and effective working of his batteries, and the deter-mined and resolute charges of his infantry, till he had reached a point, where his approach infused new courage into the hearts of Herron's men, and made them return with renewed vigor to the attack. It was about three o'clock when the two divisions of the army became aware of each other's presence, and from that time till dark, somewhat more than two hours, the rattling of musketry and the peal of artillery were uninterrupted. As night came on, the firing gradually ceased, and the Union forces, holding the ground, and indeed having pressed back the ene-emy for about half a mile, bivouacked on the field, upon their arms.
Believing that the conflict would be renewed in the morning, Gen. Blunt made every preparation for it. His wounded were all cared for, the ammunition and supply trains were ordered up, ammunition and refreshments served to the men, and every thing made ready for a renewal of the battle at dawn. Just before daylight, Gen. Hindman sent a note under flag of truce to Gen. Blunt, requesting a personal interview, to make provision for caring for his dead and wounded. The Union commander complied, and the wily rebel, by honied phrases, great display of courtesy, and the pretence of discussing some points in the conduct of the war, succeeded in preventing a movement of the Union troops for five hours, until his troops, which had been retreating all night, were beyond the danger of pursuit. He then hurried away, acknowledging that he had been defeated. The rebel force engaged, as we have already stated, in this battle, was not less than thirty thousand. The Union forces, including both Blunt's and Herron's commands, were not more than twelve thousand, and the severest fighting was sustained by Herron's force alone, which did not number more than seven thousand. The slaughter was terrible. On the Union side the loss was, killed, one hundred and sixty-seven; wounded, seven hundred and ninety-eight; missing, one hundred and eighty-three; total, one thousand one hundred and forty-eight, of which nine hundred and fifty-three were in Gen. Herron's command. The rebel loss in killed considerably exceeded one thousand, and their wounded were about twenty-five hundred more. Hindman retreated in haste to Van Buren, his army greatly demoralized, and relinquished for the winter the objects for which this expedition had been undertaken, the seizure of the grain and other supplies in north-western Arkansas, the regaining of the rebel ascendancy in south-western Missouri, and the ability to enter and plunder at will, Kansas and the Indian Territory. In this battle, two regiments of Kansas Indians
had taken a part, and had acquitted themselves well, fighting with great steadiness and pertinacity, and indulging in no excesses. As a result of the severe punishment the rebel Indians had received at Pea Ridge, and the neglect with which they had been treated by the rebels after that battle, there was evidently a strong desire on the part of the great body of the Indian tribes in the region west of Arkansas to return to their allegiance, and from the date of the battles of Cane Hill and Prairie Grove, very few of them were found in arms against the Government.

The Sioux of Minnesota and Eastern Dakota, had been tampered with, by agents of the rebels, as well as by emissaries from Canada, at the period when an effort was made in Canada, to provoke a war with the United States. The injudicious, and in some cases fraudulent, management of some of the agents of the Government among them, had helped to fan the flame of discontent among this vicious and bloodthirsty tribe, the largest in the north-west, and as we have elsewhere—page 571—intimated, an insurrection of the most fearful character, broke out among them, in August, 1862, which led to the massacre of some hundreds of innocent victims. As a part of the plan of the rebel leaders for wreaking their vengeance upon the defenders of the Union, a short sketch of this Indian war may be of interest.

Though there had been violent threats made by the Indians, and they had occasionally assembled in a hostile manner, the first murderous outbreak, which occurred on the 16th of August, was the result of an apparently trivial cause. A party of ten Indians had made an excursion to the Big Woods, near Red Wood, to exchange their furs for wagons. They were unsuccessful in effecting a trade, and separated. Four of them, going farther, obtained whisky, and becoming intoxicated, their hatred to the whites, aggravated by their disappointment, broke out in drunken fury, and they shot down three men
whom they met on the road, and scalping them before they were dead, fastened the gory scalps to their girdles, and regaining the other six, returned to their camp at Red Wood. Here a council of the Indians was convened, and the question debated whether the murderers should be given up, or the tribes of the Sioux should unite in an effort to drive the white man from their borders. Unable to agree, they adjourned to the house of Little Crow, a Chief of considerable ability, who had adopted civilized customs, and had visited Washington. The Chief was crafty, cunning, false, and treacherous, but ambitious. He knew better than the other Indians the power and resources of the whites, and the destruction they would draw upon themselves by the course which the majority proposed, and he endeavored to dissuade them from a general massacre. Finding, however, that the young men were determined to commence, he avowed his willingness to be their leader. A war dance was held that night, and the gory scalps taken during the day previous inflamed the rage of the Indians to demoniacal fury. At midnight, the Indian warriors separated, to paint and equip themselves, and at early dawn, they took their way in single file toward the Lower Indian Agency, a short distance above Fort Ridgely, on the Minnesota river. They ranged themselves along the warehouses and dwellings, the preconcerted signal, according to the directions of Little Crow, being the discharge of a gun, in a store by the flag-staff. The inmates of the store were astir, and seeing some Indians approaching, one of them supposing they desired to trade, unbolted the door, and was shot dead upon the spot. The signal once given, the savage war-whoops of more than a thousand Indians rent the air, and the carnival of death began. Within an hour, nearly every white person, man, woman, or child, in the Agency was butchered, and many of them horribly mutilated and tortured. No resistance had been made, for the settlers were utterly unprepared; but the fiendish fury of the savages
seemed to increase with the blood they shed, and the innocence of infancy, the tenderness, purity, and beauty of maidenhood, the charity and gentleness of woman, who had often bestowed kindnesses upon them, or the feebleness of age, only served to whet their rage and lust; death was the most merciful fate inflicted by them; many were reserved for tortures, indignities and brutalities infinitely worse than death.

The few who escaped, spread the alarm, and from the settlements along the Upper Minnesota the terrified inhabitants fled, panic stricken, toward St. Peters, Mankato, and other towns on the lower Minnesota; many of them falling into the hands of the Indians and perishing miserably. The news reached Fort Ridgely, and Capt. Marsh, with about sixty men, was sent with all speed to the Agency, to quell the disturbance. On their way, though they saw mangled bodies and smoking ruins, they did not encounter a single Indian. They approached the ferry and found it unoccupied, and no Indians in sight. Leaving about twenty men to hold the crossing, Capt. Marsh, with the remaining forty, sprang upon a raft, and commenced crossing; they had reached about the middle of the stream, when a volley of bullets poured upon them from all sides, and not a man on the raft escaped. The twenty on the bank retreated, firing behind them as they went, but more than half their number were killed, before reaching the fort.

Flushed with success, and maddened with intoxicating drink, the Indians now determined to attack Fort Ridgely, some twelve or fifteen miles below, on the north or left bank of the Minnesota river. The loss of the greater part of Capt. Marsh's company, had reduced the garrison to thirty soldiers and eleven half breeds, who possessed arms, and the only artillery at the fort was one twenty-five and one six pound howitzer. The fugitives who had already collected there, were over five hundred in number, and consisted of unarmed men—
many of them wounded—and women and children. There was also a considerable amount of money, which had arrived just after Capt. Marsh left, for the payment of the annuity due the Indians.

About noon of the 18th of August, the alarm was given, that Little Crow and his party were near the fort, and about to attack it. Lieut. Shelley, then in command of the fort, acted with admirable coolness and tact. The riflemen took their positions at windows and loop-holes, and ammunition, and whatever else they needed, was handed to them by the unarmed persons in the fort. The howitzers were drawn out, and their condition carefully attended to, and, under the management of sergeant Jones, they proved of great service. The Indians have a dread of "big guns" and no skill in conducting a siege, and as the shells burst and canister rattled among them, they fell back to more sheltered positions, and fired from behind trees and bushes, and from holes in the ground. Their shots told on the garrison, a number of the soldiers who were serving the guns being wounded, and but for the occurrence of a violent thunder storm just at this time, they might have been overpowered. The storm was so severe that the Indians were compelled to fly for shelter, and many of them had their guns and powder wet, so as to be unable to fire again that night. The garrison, meantime, improved the opportunity to make their position stronger and more defensible. The women and children were laid flat on the floor behind stone walls; hasty rations were distributed, and boxes, barrels, and fire-wood, were piled up as a barricade, and earth thrown upon them. The Indians renewed the attack toward night, but with less fury than before, and after dark repaired to a flat near by, and slaughtered some oxen they had taken, spent the night in gormandizing and in a drunken carousal, dancing around the scalps they had taken, and boasting of their exploits during the day. For four days longer they con-
tinned their siege of the garrison, the little band of heroes there defending themselves bravely, and slaughtering large numbers of their foes, fortifying and repairing damages by night, and withstanding their violent and oft repeated attacks by day. But the garrison was growing weak; their provisions were all gone, their ammunition nearly expended, and they themselves almost ready to faint from exhaustion. They had been unable to send a messenger for help, and they would have been compelled to yield to their horrible fate, had the Indians continued the siege another day. But on Friday afternoon, the savages made a desperate charge and attempted to climb up the stables, which were immediately set on fire by a shell from one of the howitzers, and the murderous wretches driven back with heavy loss. They then withdrew for another night’s debauch, and the next morning, August 23d, unaware of the desperate condition of the garrison, and tired of besieging it, and, possibly also, aware that troops were coming to its relief, the main body started for New Ulm, the county seat of Browne county, a thriving German village. Here the work of massacre was renewed, though a portion of the inhabitants, who possessed fire arms, collected themselves in some brick houses in the centre of the village, to defend themselves and the helpless ones dependent upon them. The battle raged fiercely all day, the Indians having burned all the houses to which they could get access, and tortured and butchered their inmates. They had not been able, however, to capture the gallant defenders of the brick buildings, though they were pressing them hard, and must have overpowered them soon, had not Judge Flandrau providentially arrived, toward evening, with re-enforcements. Charging upon the savages with his company of horsemen, he routed them, after a short but severe engagement, and drove them out of the village. The savages went to Norwegian Grove, a village not far distant; and re-enacted the same scenes of blood and carnage there
All the inhabitants of this pretty village were massacred, mangled and mutilated, and their dwellings and barns burned. The inhabitants of New Ulm abandoned their village the next day, and retreated to St. Peters.

Only a part of the Indians who were in the insurrection had been engaged in the siege of Fort Ridgely. The remainder had formed small war parties, and scattered over the whole region of Western and South-western Minnesota, attacking the small settlements and isolated farm houses, murdering, torturing and mutilating their victims, and burning and destroying everything in their way. From Breckenridge on the Red river of the north, to the Blue Earth and Des Moines rivers, and eastward to Henderson on the St. Peter's river, and throughout the greater part of the territory thus bounded, they prowled, and murder, rape and arson marked their footsteps over the whole region.

In fifteen days from their first outbreak, more than a thousand of the inhabitants of Minnesota, men, women, and children, were indiscriminately murdered, or slowly tortured to death; many of them having suffered brutalities worse than death, before an end was put to their sufferings. The people of the State had been taken by surprise; but they were not long in recovering their self-possession, nor in rallying to put down the insurrection. The State had furnished her full quota of troops for the war, and most of them had left the State; but Governor Ramsey acted with commendable promptness. The 6th Minnesota regiment, just organized, was at Fort Snelling, and four companies of it were at once dispatched to the scene of disturbance, under the command of Hon.—now General—H. H. Sibley, whose long residence among the Indians, and intimate acquaintance with their character, rendered him admirably qualified for the post. Seven other companies, under Col. Crooks, and portions of the 7th and 3d regiments—the latter having been re-called from St. Louis—were
afterward added to this force, and all were directed to report to Col. Sibley. Smaller detachments, of a company or two, were stationed at exposed points, where some of them had sharp engagements with Indian parties. The U. S. Government, meanwhile, had assigned Gen. Pope to the command of the department of the north-west, and had facilitated the movement of Minnesota and Iowa troops, toward the scene of disturbance. There was also quite a force of volunteers, raised by the citizens, some of whom rendered very efficient service.

Col. Sibley sent forward Lieut. Col. McPhail, with a detachment of mounted men, to the relief of Fort Ridgely, who reached there on Monday, the 25th, and escorted the host of nearly starved refugees to places of greater security and comfort. On Thursday, August 28th, Col. Sibley himself reached the fort, with fifteen hundred men, and found the garrison worn and emaciated, the buildings of the fort perforated everywhere with bullets, and large numbers of dead bodies, mangled and mutilated, and already noisome with decay, lying near it. Captain Grant's infantry and Captain Anderson's cavalry companies were sent forward, on the 31st of August, to the Lower Agency, where the outbreak had commenced, to bury the dead, and ascertain the direction in which the Indians had gone. They buried upwards of two hundred of the mutilated and mangled victims of the savages, including several of Capt. Marsh's company, and on the 1st of September, marched eighteen miles farther up the Minnesota river, and encamped at Birch Cooley, a ravine, well supplied with wood and water, but not well situated to avoid a surprise from the wily enemy. About dawn, the next morning, they were attacked by the Indians, who had approached stealthily. At the first fire, nine or ten of the soldiers were killed, forty or fifty wounded, and ninety-one horses killed. The remainder of the soldiers rallied at once, and protecting themselves by wagons, the dead bodies of horses, or whatever else would an
swer for a temporary barricade, returned the fire of the savages, ranging themselves two by two, one firing while the other dug a trench with his bayonet, and threw the loose earth on the upper side with his tin cup, till they had made themselves shallow rifled pits. The fighting continued through the day. Col. Sibley's pickets hearing the firing at their camp, though twenty-four miles distant, a small force of two companies, with a six pound howitzer, was sent to their assistance, and approached Birch Cooley in the afternoon, and the Indians, who were over a thousand strong, sent part of their number to destroy this party of white men, while the remainder finished up the beleaguered companies in the ravine. Getting a glimpse of the "big gun," however, they preferred to fire from a distance and terrify their foes by war-whoops, and brandishing their hatchets. On the other hand, Lieut. Col. McPhail, not being able to ascertain where Capt. Grant and his companions were, and finding that the Indians largely outnumbered him, thought it best to halt for the night on the prairie, and send back a request for re-enforcements. On receiving this request, Col. Sibley made instant arrangements to comply, and pressing forward with his entire force, reached Lieut. Col. McPhail's encampment about midnight; and at daylight, moved on toward Birch Cooley.

The Indians were visible, but surprised at the large force—nearly three thousand—which was approaching, they kept out of range. Col. Sibley approached them in line of battle, his troops firing, though with little effect, and coming near the ravine, saw a group of conical tents, which he supposed at first to belong to the Indians, and crossed over to capture them. As he drew nearer, he discovered that they were Grant's tents; but only dead men, slaughtered horses, and empty tents were visible. As they still approached, the men sprang up from their trenches, almost overcome with joy; for they were beginning to despair, and from want of food and water—which
they had been unable to obtain without risking almost certain death from the shots of the Indians—they were nearly exhausted, and would soon have been overwhelmed by their cruel foes. Thirteen were dead, and sixty more wounded. Having buried the dead—whom the Indians, however, exhumed and mutilated afterward—and provided for the comfort of the wounded on the journey, Col. Sibley returned to Fort Ridgely, his force being not yet provided with arms, or supplies, sufficient to successfully pursue the Indians. Meantime the latter had collected together at their village on the Yellow Medicine, the former Upper Agency, and held a council. They had been alarmed at seeing so large a force brought against them, when they supposed the men were all away at the war, and as their entire force of warriors who had engaged in the insurrection, including some of the farmer—civilized—Indians whom they had compelled to join them, did not much exceed fifteen hundred, they foresaw that they were likely to be defeated, and destroyed. Accordingly, Little Crow sent an embassy to Col. Sibley, with a note, saying "that they were tired of war and wanted to make peace; that they had been driven into insurrection by the fraud and duplicity of the traders, who had robbed them of nearly all they had, and left them in a starving condition; that they had many prisoners, women and children, and wanted to know on what terms they could make peace." Col. Sibley sent word back, telling him "to send in the prisoners at once, and then he would talk to him like a man." But this did not suit Little Crow's views, and no prisoners were sent. Twenty or thirty made their escape, however, through the assistance of friendly Indians. The Indians meantime moved farther up the Minnesota.

It was the 18th of September, before Col. Sibley had received sufficient supplies to move with safety and confidence. He knew the Indians too, so well, that he was satisfied that a precipitate movement might lead them to murder the priso-
ners, about one hundred and fifty in number, whom they still held. The delay told on the Indians, who, with their accustomed wastefulness, had destroyed provisions enough to support them for months, and were beginning to suffer from hunger.

Moving from Fort Ridgely, on the 18th of September, Col. Sibley reached Wood Lake, within sight of the ruins of the Upper or Yellow Medicine Agency buildings, on the evening of the 22d. The Indians had destroyed several bridges on the route, and one just below the Yellow Medicine ravine was of such extent, that it required some delay to rebuild it, and the army encamped by Wood Lake for that purpose. Early on the morning of the 23d, the pioneers going to commence work upon it, were attacked by the Indians, and two of them killed. Attempting to retreat toward the camp, they found the whole prairie teeming with Indians. The troops were immediately formed in line, and a battle commenced, the Indians employing every device known to savages, to avoid being hit themselves, and to inflict as much damage as possible on the whites. The battle raged till noon, and finding the Indians congregated in considerable numbers in a ravine on the right, Col. Sibley ordered Lieut. Col. Marshall to charge on them with the 7th regiment. The charge was a gallant and effective one, and completely routed and defeated the Indians, who fled in the utmost terror. Had Col. Sibley had a cavalry force to pursue them, the whole band might have been captured, but they easily outstripped the infantry in their flight. They were, however, so completely defeated, that they did not rally for another considerable fight; Little Crow, and the principal braves, who had lost their influence with the tribe, escaped into Dakota, and a part of the Indians, some of whom had been forced into the insurrection, separated from the rest, and obtaining possession of the prisoners, sent word to Col. Sibley to come on and take them as soon as possible, lest Little Crow
should come again and attack them. On the 26th, Col. Sibley's army reached the Indian camp, and were met by a flag of truce. The prisoners were given up, and the Indians, of whom some were among the worst villains in the insurrection, professed friendship, and attempted to persuade Col. Sibley that they were entirely innocent. Col. Sibley replied that only the guilty would be punished, and that those he intended to take, wherever they might hide themselves. A log jail was built, and all the Indians, except those who were absolutely free from suspicion, were confined in it to await trial. Burial parties were sent out in all directions to inter the remnants of still unburied corpses, and expeditions, also, to capture and bring in the Indians who had taken part in the insurrection. Lieut. Col. Marshall crossed into Dakota Territory, and captured a considerable number of the Indians of Little Crow's band, who had been the most cruel and inhuman in their attacks upon the settlers, and brought them to the camp safely. Other captures were made at Lac-qui-parle, Yellow Medicine, and other points, and in all nearly six hundred Indians were taken. The military commission which was assembled to try them, after a long and carefully conducted trial, sentenced three hundred and three to be hung, and eighteen to be imprisoned for life. The finding of the court was sent on to Washington for ratification, and the President directed that thirty-eight of the three hundred and three should then be executed, and the remainder kept in close confinement for further investigation of their cases. The thirty-eight were accordingly executed on the 26th of December. The troops were, a part of them, left to guard the prisoners at Fort Snelling, and the remainder stationed at different points on the frontier, to protect the citizens from any further Indian insurrections.
CHAPTER XXIX.


The vast extent of territory over which the war has raged, and the necessity of maintaining a large number of independent armies, has been one of the peculiarities of the present conflict, which make it so utterly incomprehensible to foreigners, except the very few who have carefully studied the geographical features of the struggle. Many of our own citizens, even, have but a vague idea of the extent of the various military departments, and of the necessity of having in each a competent military force, to hold the conquests already made, and extend the triumphant banner of the Republic over regions yet in rebellion.

We have passed in review, the condition of several of the
departments, those requiring the largest military force, up to December, 1862. The army of the Potomac, the army of the Cumberland, the army of the Tennessee, the army of the Frontier, and the army of the Gulf, have each received a share of our attention, and we have been able to form a clear idea of their movements.

There still remain to be noticed the position and operations of the army of Western Virginia, the army of South-East Virginia—the region of the Blackwater—the army of North Carolina, and the army of the South, comprising the forces near Charleston, at Port Royal and Hilton Head, at Fort Pulaski and its vicinity, and on the Florida coast. All these bodies, crippled by the want of an adequate force, performed, during the summer and autumn of 1862, but subordinate parts in the terrible drama of the war, though there were not wanting, in each of them, instances of great bravery and daring, and while, in some instances, the actors deserved, if they did not win, success, in others their heroism made up for the lack of numbers, and achieved victories, or at least accomplished purposes, in thwarting and embarrassing the enemy, which were equivalent in their effect to victories.

We will first take a rapid glance at Western Virginia, from the time when the consolidation of the Mountain Department and its corps with the army of Virginia, left the whole region west of the Blue Ridge, almost without defenders.

The Kanawha division, under the command of Gen. Cox, which had for its duty the guarding of that portion of the Baltimore and Ohio rail-road lying west of the Shenandoah Valley, and keeping down the guerrilla bands which infested the western counties, was retained in its position as a separate command, when the remainder of the Mountain Department—Gen. Fremont's corps—was merged in the army of Virginia; but the delay in bringing the army of the Potomac from the Peninsula, had rendered Gen. Pope's condition so critical,
that about the 20th of August, Gen. Halleck allowed him to summon Gen. Cox and the Kanawha division to his aid, and that division rendered valuable and important services in the army of Virginia, and afterward in the army of the Potomac, at South Mountain and Antietam. Only a single brigade, Gen. B. F. Kelley's, was left to protect the rail-road line, and a small additional force, of one or two Ohio regiments, was posted in South-West Virginia, to defend the loyal inhabitants on the Gauley river and its vicinity, from the raids of the guerrillas. The 34th Ohio, which formed a part of this guard, was, on the 11th of September, driven from Charleston, Kanawha county, and compelled to retreat to the Ohio river, with a loss of thirteen killed, eighty wounded, and thirty-six missing. After the battle of Antietam, though Gen. Cox did not return to West Virginia, and his original Kanawha division was incorporated in the army of the Potomac, the Kanawha division was re-organized, and brought up to a force of four or five thousand men, by new recruits from West Virginia and Ohio, and placed under the command of Brigadier General George Crook, while Brigadier General Kelley retained the command of his brigade, now enlarged to the "Rail-road division." The division head-quarters of the Kanawha division were, in November, at Somerville, in Nicholas county, on the Gauley river.

On the 10th of November, Capt. G. W. Gilmore, in command of a considerable detachment of troops, learning that the rebel Gen. Jenkins, with about three thousand troops, was occupying a portion of Greenbrier county, pushed forward to the vicinity of Williamsburgh in that county, and captured Jenkins' wagon train, and stores, and nine or ten prisoners. On the same day, Gen. Kelley, of the Rail-road division, attacked the rebel Gen. Imboden's camp, eighteen miles south of Moorefield, Hardy county, and completely routed him, killing and wounding many, taking fifty prisoners, and large quan-
tities of horses, cattle, stores and arms. On the 26th of the same month, Col. Paxton, of the 2d Virginia cavalry, with his own regiment and the 11th Ohio infantry, after a march of one hundred and eight miles, attacked the rebel camp at the foot of Cold Knob mountain, killing two and wounding two, and capturing one hundred and thirteen prisoners, a large number of horses, and quantities of stores and ammunition. There were no other actions of importance in Western Virginia during the autumn.

In South-Eastern Virginia, in the vicinity of the Blackwater, there was very frequent skirmishing, though few actions of importance. Suffolk had been garrisoned by our troops in May, 1862, and a considerable force was maintained there, through the summer and autumn. Skirmishes were frequent, but were usually brought on by the enterprise of the Union troops, in penetrating to the Blackwater river, and beyond. As the force stationed here was not sufficient to justify an attack on Petersburg,—thus threatening Richmond,—or a junction with the army in North Carolina, and the garrisoning of the towns which lay between the two armies, the occupancy of Suffolk served only for a protection to Norfolk and Portsmouth, and a standing menace to the rebels of South-East Virginia. On the 28th of September, Col. Dodge made a reconnoissance to the Blackwater, twenty-five miles distant, and put to flight a considerable body of rebels, after a sharp engagement. On the 3d of October, Brigadier General Spear, with a force of three regiments of infantry, one of cavalry and a battery of artillery, proceeded to the Blackwater, opposite Franklin, where the rebels were found in considerable force, and an artillery fight ensued, ending in the retreat of the rebels, with a loss of thirty killed and sixty wounded. The same day, three Union gun-boats, under command of Capt. Hussey, had an engagement of six hours' duration, with a rebel force of about nine thousand, near Franklin, which resulted in
very heavy loss on the part of the rebels, and nineteen killed and wounded on the gun-boats. On the 25th of the same month, another reconnoissance, under command of Brigadier General Ferry, visited the river at a point some distance south of Zuni, and after a sharp engagement, pursued the rebels five miles beyond the Blackwater, routing them, with considerable loss. On the 2d of December, Gen. Peck, learning that there was a force of some three thousand rebels at Franklin, on the Blackwater, sent Brigadier General Spear, with a force of about three thousand, to make a reconnoissance in force. A rebel cavalry force was met two miles east of Franklin, and, after a short engagement, fled, leaving in the possession of the Union troops, twenty prisoners, two guns of the Rocket battery, a considerable quantity of muskets, &c. The rebels were said to be strongly fortified at Franklin, and though Gen. Spear was desirous of attacking them, Gen. Peck thought it better to withdraw. On the 12th December, a larger force, under Brigadier General Ferry, with a frontier train, approached the Blackwater near Zuni, intending to cross and attack the rebel camp there, but the frontier train was delayed by the deep mud in the swamp roads, and the river was so high that the first attempt to ford it was repulsed. A subsequent attempt was more successful, but finding that the enemy were receiving large re-enforcements, and having received strict orders not to bring on a general engagement, as the movement was intended as a diversion in favor of other movements of our forces,—at Fredericksburg—Gen. Ferry withdrew his forces, taking thirteen prisoners with him. The Union loss was three killed, and eleven wounded; that of the rebels, about thirty in killed and wounded.

In the department of North Carolina, there was greater activity, and in several instances battles of considerable severity were fought. The Union citizens of Washington, North Carolina, having been repeatedly threatened by the rebels, who
were driven out of the place on its occupation by the Union forces, in the spring of 1862, and a considerable rebel force having been collected not far from the town, re-enforcements were sent, about the first of June, and a reconnoissance made on the 5th of that month. The gun-boat Picket ascended the Tar river, as far as Pactolus, twelve miles above Washington, and shelled the woods on both sides of the river, some of the shells falling into the rebel camp, and doing much damage. The reconnoitering force proceeded as far as Tranter's creek, ten miles from Washington, where they had a sharp action with the rebel force for about three fourths of an hour, when the rebels fled, leaving some of their dead behind them. Their loss was between fifty and sixty in killed and wounded. The Union loss, seven killed, and nine wounded.

On the 6th of September, the rebels made an attack upon Washington, at five o'clock A. M., and at first surprised the citizens, and took possession of a part of the town, taking advantage of the departure, that morning, of a part of the Union garrison. In less than an hour, however, the troops which had left, returned, and a street fight of nearly three hours ensued, in which the Union gun-boats Louisiana and Picket participated as well as they could, till the latter blew up accidentally. The rebels were finally repulsed, and driven from the town, with a loss of nearly forty killed, and about the same number wounded, and twenty prisoners. The Union loss was fifteen killed and wounded, beside fifteen or sixteen killed and wounded by the explosion of the Picket. They also lost eight or ten prisoners.

On the 2d of September, a force of fourteen hundred rebels marched toward Plymouth, North Carolina, with the intention of capturing and burning the town. They were met about three miles from the town, by a Union force of three hundred men, Hawkins' Zouaves, and loyal North Carolinians, under command of Orderly Sergeant Green, the commissioned officers
STRATEGIC MOVEMENTS.

being all sick, and in a fight of an hour, the Sergeant defeated and routed the whole force, captured Col. Garrett, its commander, a Lieutenant, and forty privates, and a large number of cavalry horses, and pursued the flying foe, till they were completely scattered. The rebels lost thirty killed, and about one hundred wounded. The Union loss was three killed.

On the 23d of November, Lieutenant Cushing, in command of the United States steamer Ellis, passed up New river, North Carolina, captured Jacksonville, the county seat of Onslow county, with a considerable quantity of arms, and two schooners, destroyed some salt works on the river, and shelled a rebel camp. On his return, the Ellis unfortunately ran aground, and could not be got off. After fighting her for some time, Lieut. Cushing escaped to one of the prize schooners, with his crew, having first removed everything which could be removed from the Ellis, and set her on fire. She was blown up at nine o'clock A. M. on the 24th November.

At the time when Gen. Burnside was preparing to attack Gen. Lee at Fredericksburg, and Gen. Rosecrans was moving upon Bragg at Murfreesboro, in December, 1862, it was deemed desirable by the General-in-chief, that diversions should be made in different directions, to answer the double purpose of distracting the attention of the rebels, and of cutting off their communications with South Carolina, Georgia, and the Gulf States. For this purpose, two expeditions were ordered; one from London, Kentucky, under Gen. Carter, with one thousand men, to cut the Virginia and Tennessee rail-road in East Tennessee, and burn the bridges on the Holston and Watanga rivers, which was successfully accomplished, with a loss of only ten men; the rail-road being destroyed for a distance of nearly one hundred miles, and five hundred prisoners, with a large quantity of arms and stores, captured. The other was to cut the rail-road communications on the North Caro-
EXPEDITION TO KINSTON.

!ina rail-roads, and thus prevent re-enforcements and supplies coming to Richmond, from the South.

This expedition, requiring a larger force and more skillful strategy than the other, was commanded by Major General Foster, then commanding the North Carolina Department. The number of troops employed was not far from ten thousand, including four brigades of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, two batteries, and sections of two others. The expedition left Newbern on the morning of the 11th of December, and moved on the road toward Kinston, marching fourteen miles that day. The road was found to be obstructed, and many of the bridges destroyed; but pioneers were sent forward in advance of the main column, and removed the obstructions and repaired the bridges. The main column, however, owing to these delays, moved but about four miles on the second day, though moving partly on the Vine Swamp road—south of the main road to Kinston—in order to avoid a portion of the obstructions. On this road, the advance encountered the enemy in some force, and after a severe fight, defeated them, with considerable loss in killed and prisoners. The next morning, 13th December, the main column advanced, taking a road still farther south, leading to South-West creek. One section of a battery was left with a small body of troops to hold the bridge over Beaver creek, about midway between Newbern and Kinston, which had been rebuilt by Gen. Foster's engineers; and another, with a regiment at the intersection of the road taken by the main column on the 13th of December, with the Vine Swamp road. When the main column reached South-West creek, they found a rebel force of about four hundred posted on the opposite bank, in a strong position. The creek was not fordable, and ran at the foot of a deep ravine. Planting his batteries so as to bear upon the enemy, the 9th New Jersey regiment crossed under cover of their fire, by swimming, by pieces of the bridge, and by a mill dam, and
formed on the opposite bank, while the 85th Pennsylvania, of Wessell's brigade, felled trees and crossed half a mile below. The rebels had fallen back about a mile from the creek, and there made a stand, having some artillery. The New Jersey regiment charged them at double quick, routed them, capturing one of their guns, and some prisoners, and then, as it was evening, the two regiments bivouacked on the north side of the creek. Meantime, Gen. Foster had sent a part of his cavalry on the Vine Swamp road, toward Kinston, and they had had a skirmish with the enemy at a bridge on the road. On the 14th, he advanced with the main column, and when about a mile from Kinston, met the enemy in strong force, under the command of Gen. Evans. A sharp but brief action ensued, the rebels fighting with great desperation, but Gen. Foster having turned their right flank, and the 15th Connecticut and 96th New York making a bayonet charge in front at the same time, they retreated precipitately over the Neuse, into and through Kinston; they attempted to burn the bridge over the Neuse in their retreat, but were so closely pursued by the Union troops that the attempt cost them about four hundred prisoners, and the fire was extinguished with but slight injury, but required some repairs, before cavalry and artillery could cross safely. Five or six of the Union regiments pushed over into the town and halted. The rebel Gen. Evans retreated two miles beyond the town, and there formed his troops again in line of battle. He had three light batteries and one section of heavier artillery. Gen. Foster, while the bridge was repairing, so that he could bring forward his own artillery, sent a flag of truce to inquire whether he proposed to surrender. He declined, and the Union artillery having come up, Gen. Foster led his troops out to attack him, but before they could reach his position, the rebel General had retreated. It being night and very dark, pursuit was impossible, but the troops bivouacked on the fields, in the position Evans
had occupied. Having learned of the existence of a formidable earth-work on the Neuse, six miles below Kinston, which commanded the river, Gen. Foster sent a company of cavalry, with teams, to destroy it and bring away the guns. They brought away four field pieces complete, destroyed two others, an eight-inch columbiad, and a thirty-two pounder, which were too heavy to be brought away, and exploded the magazine. The next day, reconnoissances were made in several directions, a locomotive and a rail-road monitor or battery destroyed, explorations made toward Goldsboro, and the main column moved forward, to a point about half way between Kinston and Goldsboro, three and a half miles below Whitehall. The cavalry was sent forward to reconnoiter the vicinity of Whitehall, and found a regiment of rebels and a battery near the town, which, however, retreated on their approach, burning the bridge over the Neuse.

On the 16th, Gen. Foster sent five companies of cavalry and a section of artillery to Mount Olive, a station on the Wilmington and Weldon rail-road—which intersects the Atlantic and North Carolina at Goldsboro—fourteen miles below Goldsboro, to destroy the rail-road track and bridges, and thus prevent communication by that route with the South.

They were successful, encountering no opposition, except at Whitehall, which was soon disposed of, by the main column, which came up, and made a feint of intending to rebuild the bridge, and cross there, while the entire force, except the sharpshooters, were really pressing forward to Goldsboro by another road. They encamped that night, eight miles from Goldsboro, and moved upon it the next morning, a part of the cavalry having been sent to Dudley's station and Everittsville, two stations on the Wilmington and Weldon rail-road, where they destroyed considerable sections of the road, burned rail-road cars, depots, bridges, &c., and a quantity of small arms. Another battalion of cavalry, and one section of artillery, were
sent to destroy a bridge over the Neuse, and engaged a rebel force there for an hour or more, finally silencing the enemy's fire.

The main column, approaching Goldsboro, encountered a large rebel force, with four batteries and a rail-road monitor at the bridge over the Neuse, leading into the town. The Union batteries shelled them from their position, drove them across the river, and two regiments moved forward to destroy the bridge, but the rebel batteries poured so terrible a fire upon them, that they could not accomplish it. The Union batteries were brought to bear upon rebel artillery, and after two hours of severe fighting, the infantry reached the bridge, and volunteers were called for, to set fire to it, a work of extreme hazard, as the rebel sharp-shooters were so stationed as to command every foot of the way, and a vessel laden with tar and turpentine in the river, had been set on fire to light up the bridge and its approaches. Lieut. Graham, of the 23d New York battery, acting aide-de-camp to Col. Heckman, and Lieut. B. N. Mann, 17th Massachusetts, volunteered and succeeded in accomplishing it, though the latter was wounded in the attempt. Gen. Foster brought all of his artillery to bear to prevent any effort to save the bridge, and when it was fully destroyed, he ordered a counter-march to Newbern, having accomplished the objects for which he came, and not having a sufficient force to spare to hold Goldsboro. A short distance from that town, the rebel Gen. Pettigrew, who had come from Richmond with re-enforcements for Gen. G. W. Smith, who was in command at Goldsboro, made a sudden dash, with a large force, upon Col. Lee's brigade, and Morrison's battery, hoping to capture it, but he was repulsed with so terrible a slaughter, that his forces could not be rallied again, and a rebel battery and two regiments of infantry, which attempted to support them, were also driven back. On the 21st of December, the expedition arrived at Newbern again, having sustained a loss of ninety killed, four hundred and seventy-eight wounded, and nine missing, in all
five hundred and seventy-seven. The rebel loss, as stated by
the rebel Gen. Smith, was seventy-one killed, two hundred and
sixty-eight wounded, and four hundred and ninety-six pris-
oners, in all eight hundred and thirty-five.

The expedition was, however, a success, in other particulars
than the direct losses of men which it caused to the rebels. It
destroyed, for some time, their communications north and
south, drew a considerable force from Richmond, and caused
them to garrison strongly their principal towns. Had the at-
tack on Fredericksburg proved successful, the diversion thus
effected would have proved of vastly greater benefit to the
Union cause, and might even have contributed materially to
the fall of Richmond; but the failure of that enterprise greatly
diminished its importance, and in the course of one or two
months, the injuries done to the rail-roads and bridges were
repaired, and the communications re-established.

In the Department of the South, the frequent changes of
commanders, as well as the withdrawal of a portion of the
troops, to re-enforce the army of the Potomac, prevented that
efficiency of action, and that enterprise in undertaking new
measures of conquest, which would otherwise have been dis-
played. The great extent of territory to be garrisoned and guard-
ed, including a coast line of fully fourteen hundred miles, which
the various bays, inlets, and rivers nearly doubled, and the
fact that all along this line the territory, fairly under the con-
trol and government of the department, did not extend more
than ten or fifteen miles into the interior, and at many points
not so much as this, made the duties of the commander of the
department more arduous, and the visible results obtained, less
satisfactory than in almost any other.

Maj. Gen. David Hunter had succeeded Gen. T. W. Sher-
man, in the command of this Department, on the 31st of March,
and the same day the Department had been divided into three
districts, the northern, southern and western. The first, ex-
tending from the line of boundary between North and South Carolina to Cape Canaveral; the second from Cape Canaveral to Cedar Keys, and embracing the southern part of the Floridian Peninsula; and the third from Cedar Keys, north and west, to the western line of Florida. The southern district, embracing the loyal part of Key West and the fortifications near it, and the western district, in which Fort Pickens, Santa Rosa Island and Pensacola,—which was evacuated by the rebels May 9,—were the only points of importance, remained quiet, and their occupancy was only of importance as diminishing the labors of the blockading squadron.

In the northern district, there was more activity. After the siege and capture of Fort Pulaski, narrated in a former chapter—page 516-522—Gen. Hunter turned his attention toward Charleston. He already held Edisto Island, the first north of St. Helena Sound, and taking possession of Kiawah Island, separated from Edisto by the North Edisto Inlet, and of John’s Island, lying immediately north of it, and separated only by a narrow creek, he was able to reach the banks of the Stono river, which communicates with the harbor of Charleston by a navigable stream, called Wappoo creek. This creek forms the northern, as Stono river does the western boundary of James Island, a large and generally marshy tract, the north-east shore of which constitutes the southern boundary of Charleston harbor, and commands the city. Com. Dupont had caused the channel of Stono river to be sounded out, and buoys to be placed, in the early part of May. This work was completed on the 20th of May, and on that day the gun-boats Unadilla, Pembina and Ottawa, crossed the bar and entered the river. Numerous earth-work fortifications had been erected by the rebels, both on John and James Islands, along the banks of the Stono, but these were abandoned as the gun-boats proceeded up the river. The gun-boats, which had been re-enforced by the Huron, approached to the mouth of Wap-
poo creek, only three miles from Charleston, and lay in the river for two weeks, preventing the construction of any new fortifications, and occasionally drawing the fire of the rebel fortification on Wappoo creek.

On the 2d of June, the land force, under command of Maj. Gen. Hunter, and Brig. Gen. Benham, arrived and were landed on James Island, where they took possession of one of the vacated forts, and awaited the coming of Gen. Wright, with cavalry, artillery, and additional infantry from Edisto Island. These forces came in on the 5th, and a series of skirmishes ensued for several days, on both John and James Islands. On the 8th of June, a force of two regiments, under the command of Col. Morrow, protected by eight gun-boats, made a reconnoissance, and attacked and drove the rebels two miles, and were at one time within three miles of Charleston. They returned to their camp with but trifling loss. On the 10th, there was a sharp skirmish, in which the rebels were driven back, with a loss of about fifty in killed, wounded, and prisoners; on the 13th, another skirmish occurred, in which the rebels again retreated. The forces of the rebels were, however, continually increased by additions from the Charleston garrison, and by the 15th, they had in all about twenty-five thousand men on James Island. They had intrenched themselves in a strong position, at Secessionville, a small village on the eastern side of the Island, situated on a high plot of land, between two creeks, and having deep marshes extending from the smaller creek on one side, and the larger creek, not fordable, on the other. The larger, usually called Secessionville creek, is deep enough to admit of the passage of gun-boats for a part of its length, and discharges its waters into Stono river; but the gun-boats could only reach the battery, at Secessionville, by firing at long range.

Gen. Benham, who was in command, Gen. Hunter having returned to Hilton Head, determined to attack this fortification, the fire from which greatly annoyed his troops, who were en-
camped on the other side of the island, and accordingly, at dawn of the 16th June, he marched with six thousand men, in three brigades, toward Secessionville, the attack being led by Gen. Isaac I. Stevens with two brigades, with orders to carry the battery by assault, and if possible, by the bayonet alone. The 3d brigade, and some parts of regiments belonging to other brigades, were placed under the command of Gen. H. G. Wright, with orders to support Gen. Stevens' attack. The attack was made, with great bravery and resolution, by Gen. Stevens' command, in the face of a most devastating fire, from artillery and sharp-shooters, and though losing heavily, they reached the immediate vicinity of the battery, and the storming party, composed of two companies of the 8th Michigan and one company of the 79th New York,—Highlanders,—forced their way through the strong abatis and mounted the parapet. So terrible, however, was the fire of the sharp-shooters, that they were compelled to fall back and re-form, behind the shelter of a hedge five hundred yards from the fort. A part of the supporting force now came up, and a destructive artillery fire opened from the hedge upon the rebels, under the cover of which Gen. Stevens was on the point of moving again to the assault, and had notified Gen. Benham of his intention, when that officer ordered the supporting force withdrawn; and finding it useless to remain with his brave but sadly weakened brigades, in so exposed a position, without support, Gen. Stevens withdrew them in perfect order to their encampments. The next day the Union troops returned to Hilton Head, where Gen. Benham was put under arrest by Gen. Hunter for disobedience of orders. He was subsequently tried and dismissed from the service. The loss of the Union forces in this unfortunate affair, were six hundred and sixty-eight in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which five hundred and twenty-nine were from Gen. Stevens' two brigades, numbering in all, three thousand three hundred and thirty-seven men. The number
of killed was about one hundred and fifty, and of prisoners only thirty-one. The rebel loss, according to their own statement, was forty-eight killed, and one hundred and six wounded.

During the absence of these troops, the rebels had made a descent on Hutchinson Island, and massacred a considerable number of unarmed negroes whom they found there, and threatened the other military posts in the vicinity. About three thousand of the troops in this department, and Gen. Stevens with them, were soon after transferred to North Carolina, and subsequently to the army of the Potomac. Gen. Hunter attempted to make up the deficiency by recruiting colored regiments, but having incurred the censure of the authorities at Washington, by his proclamation of freedom to the slaves of rebels in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, and his efforts at raising negro regiments being discouraged from head-quarters, but little progress was made, and during the summer months, the department barely held its own, having occasional skirmishes with the rebels, at Port Royal Ferry, Simon's Bluff, St. John's Bluff, and elsewhere.

On the 16th of September, Gen. Hunter was relieved from the command of the Department, and Maj. Gen. O. M. Mitchel appointed. A considerable addition was made to the force in the Department, from the new levies. Gen. Mitchel went to work vigorously, re-organizing and reforming the management of the Department. The number of freedmen who had escaped from rebel masters, some of them under circumstances of peculiar hardship, was very large, and it had been one of the vexed questions in the administration of the Department, how to provide in the best way, for the welfare of these poor ignorant people. Gen. Hunter entertained the kindest feelings toward them, and was disposed to enlist the able bodied among them as soldiers, but the Government was hardly ready for such a movement, and many of the soldiers and camp followers treated them with great cruelty, and they were becom-
ing, to a considerable extent, disheartened and discouraged. Gen. Mitchel possessed extraordinary executive abilities, and he soon found means of putting the negroes in the way of helping themselves, and bettering their condition. He roused their ambition, taught them to erect comfortable cabins for themselves, encouraged them to learn to read and write, and to cultivate their lands carefully, and left the matter of their enlistment in abeyance, till the Government should be ready to move in the matter, which he was satisfied would soon be the case. In his management with the army, and civilians connected with it, he was equally successful, bringing order out of confusion, correcting old evils and wrongs, which had maintained their existence hitherto by the right of prescription, and infused into every regiment the energy, zeal, and ambition, which were such marked elements in his own character.

He was fully persuaded of the necessity and importance of harassing the enemy as constantly as possible. He therefore, as soon as he could, sent a small body of troops to various points on the coast, to take possession of places where the rebels had established small garrisons, or where they had salt-works, &c. Expeditions of this kind to St. John’s river—which captured nine heavy guns and a rebel steamer—Bluffton salt-works, Apalachicola, &c., proved very successful. He next organized a larger expedition, to penetrate into the interior, and cut the rail-road lines and destroy the larger bridges, between Charleston and Savannah, and thus prevent the communication between the two cities. He had selected the troops for this expedition, which was intended to strike the the rail-road at two points, Pocotaligo and Coosahatchie, and intended to take command of it himself, but finding very much to do, and suffering from slight illness, he finally handed over the command to Brig. Gen. Brannan, who started, on the 21st of October, with a force of four thousand four hundred and forty-eight men, from Hilton Head, and arrived the next
morning at the point where Pocotaligo creek enters Broad river. Here he dispatched a detachment of about four hundred men, under command of Col: William Barton, to the Coosahatchie river, to destroy the rail-road and bridges in that vicinity, and with the remainder of his command, proceeded toward Pocataligo. The expedition had been, as it was supposed, kept a secret, till the time of starting, but Gen. Brannan found, to his dismay, that the rebels had been acquainted with the whole plan for several days, and had assembled a force sufficiently strong to thwart his design. He pushed forward, however, and fought his way on for ten miles to the Pocotaligo turnpike bridge, only to find it destroyed, and a force too large to be attacked with safety, in front. He was compelled to retrace his steps, and fight his way back to his boats, at Mackay's Point. Col. Barton had been more successful, having destroyed a portion of the rail-road and a rail-road train, though they could not destroy the bridge. They were compelled to make a hasty retreat, and to fight their way back. The loss of the Union forces in this expedition was thirty-two killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded. The rebel loss, though considerable, was much less than this.

But in the midst of his plans for usefulness, and for the advancement of the interests of the country he loved, Gen. Mitchel was destined to yield before a conqueror who spares not the good and great, even when a nation pleads for their preservation. He had perhaps felt disease creeping upon him, and as the malignant epidemic—yellow fever—had commenced its ravages at Hilton Head, had had some premonitions that he should fall a victim to it. But it was not till the 26th of October, that he acknowledged any feeling of illness, and on the 30th he died, without terror or alarm, though in perfect consciousness, exhibiting in his death, as he had done in his life, the character of a brave, loyal, Christian man. His last earthly thoughts were given to his country and her
welfare. The loss of such a man to the Department of the South was very severe. He had won the confidence of all classes, and seemed well fitted to lead them on to the accomplishment of the ends to be attained by the war. After a brief delay, Gen. Hunter was re-instated in the command of the Department. During the remainder of the year, there were no movements of importance—in the Department of the South.

With this sketch of the operations in the Departments of Virginia, North Carolina, and the South, we close our first volume, and our record of the first two years of the Rebellion. Before turning to another year, and one of brighter promise to the national cause, it may be well to pass in rapid review, what had actually been accomplished toward regaining the power which the leaders of the Rebellion sought to wrest from the National Government which they had sworn to maintain.

At the commencement of the period, the curtain rises upon a scene not unlike the chaos of the dawn of creation. If all was not entirely without form and void, yet darkness, gross darkness, rested upon the face of the deep. Throughout that long and dreary winter of 1860–61, as one of the southern States after another plunged into the yawning gulf of rebellion, and at the north, counsels were divided, war dreaded, and a large minority seemed more ready to sympathize with the rebels than to defend the institutions of our fathers, it was a period of intense gloom. The wisest seemed unable to give counsel, or to predict the future.

When the echo of the guns fired at Sumter, resounded through the land, light dawned, not the light of the noon-tide, nor even of the morning sun, but that dim grey light, which, struggling with the darkness, betokens a coming dawn. The call of the President for troops to defend the national flag, though greeted with the most hearty response from most of the northern States, met only with words of bitter and
scornful rejection, from Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri, while Maryland was silent and glum, and Virginia made haste to ally herself to the rebellion. Still, stout hearts and manly forms enough for the emergency, rushed promptly to the Nation's Capital to defend it. Yet as an example of the doubt which even then existed in the minds of the National Government, as to the readiness of the people to rise in defence of the capital, the following incident is of interest. An eminent citizen, who now represents our Government near one of the most powerful courts of Europe, and whose loyalty and patriotism were of the most exalted character, was in Washington at the time of the President's call for troops, on the 15th of April, 1861. "Why," said a citizen of New York, to him subsequently, "Why did not the President call for two hundred thousand men, instead of seventy-five thousand, and thus, by a bold stroke, crush the rebellion at its very birth?" "Because," was the answer, "for thirty-six hours after that call was issued, he did not know that New York and the northern States would not raise a larger force to sustain the rebellion, than they would to put it down." The answer seems now, in the light of events since passed, harsh and unjust to the north, yet who that recollects the general tone of the press and of conversation, during that memorable winter, will wonder at the apprehension then felt by the President?

The months which ensued in the summer of 1861, saw some successes in Western Virginia, and in Missouri, but as it then seemed all were counter-balanced, and more than counter-balanced in that grievous disaster of Bull Run, and the still more grievous blunder of Ball's Bluff. Seemed, we say, for really, in its ultimate effects, Bull Run was but a blessing in disguise. A success then, and we came very near having one, might have been our ruin. It would probably have given us in perpetuity Generals unfit for the command of large armies, armies without discipline, without subordination or mili-
tary ardor, and a vain-glorious spirit which might have led us forward to greater and more overwhelming disasters. The autumn brought us other defeats, some drawn battles, and a few small victories; we were being schooled by disappointment and trial to loftier aspirations, a better discipline, and a stronger faith in the justice and holiness of our cause. The latter end of winter, and the opening of the spring brought us victories, at the west, the south, and the south-east, but not on the Potomac. There the finest army ever gathered on this continent lay inactive till winter and spring had nearly passed, inactive at least, so far as any grappling with the foe was concerned. But at the west, there were Somerset, and Fort Henry, and Fort Donelson; Island No. 10, and Nashville, and that bloody, terrible struggle of Shiloh, and Memphis, and Pea Ridge, and later at New Orleans, an achievement which seems like one of the romances of the days of King Arthur, when ships, unprotected with iron armor, passed the strongest forts on the continent, receiving, with but slight damage, their fiercest fire, encountered and sunk the most formidable iron-clad ships of their enemy, and captured their largest city. In North Carolina, too, Roanoke Island and Newbern, and in South Carolina, Port Royal, were among the trophies of the success of the Union cause. In Virginia there was less cause for gratulation; Yorktown was evacuated just as we were ready to take it, and Williamsburg, West Point, and Seven Pines, were little more than drawn battles, while the retreat to the James river, though exhibiting bravery, and heroic endurance on the part of our soldiers, could be regarded only as a disaster.

Still, on the 4th of July, 1862, our flag was planted and maintained in every State that had ever belonged to us. We held, indeed, but small portions of some of these States, but in the space of fifteen months, we had won back a large portion of what the rebels had, at the beginning, claimed as their territory. Missouri was ours without a peradventure; Kentucky
had returned, with coy and reluctant steps, to her allegiance; Maryland and Delaware were ours, in spite of all attempts to draw them into the Confederacy. Then too, we held half of Tennessee, nearly one-third of Arkansas, a considerable portion of Louisiana, and a foothold in Texas, Northern Alabama, and Mississippi, the greater part of Florida, portions of Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, the whole of Western, and part of Eastern Virginia.

The obstacles which had been encountered in attaining this measure of success, were many and formidable. The leaders of the rebellion had long had this project in view; they had partially organized for it in 1856, and their opportunities, as they had been in power uninterruptedly for eight years, had been diligently improved in strengthening and preparing their own section for the conflict, and in weakening the north as much as possible. For this purpose, Jefferson Davis, himself a graduate of West Point, had cultivated the most friendly relations with the officers who had graduated at that military academy, and had taken especial pains to inspire them with an interest in southern institutions; for this purpose, too, the States' Rights doctrines had been advocated and urged with great pertinacity and force throughout the South; military schools were established in most of the southern States, and great efforts made to increase the familiarity of the young men with the use of arms and military discipline. The organization of a secret order, pledged to the extension and maintenance of slavery, if not to the work of secession, was another measure inaugurated for the same purpose.

Especially had these restless traitors been busy during the administration of the weak and incapable Buchanan. A majority of his cabinet had been selected from the South, and even of those from the North, one was more southern than the southerners themselves. Five of the whole number were pledged to the conspiracy, and determined to aid it by every
means in their power, and even if Mr. Buchanan was not, as there was strong reasons for believing, himself a party to their treason, he was powerless to effect any thing against it. Accordingly, Floyd performed his part by sending to the southern States their quota of arms and cannon, for 1858, 1859, 1860, and 1861, the latter in advance, while arms were withheld from the northern States, on frivolous excuses; and plundered the treasury by drafts in advance of the completion of contracts, and by stupendous frauds; Toucey sent almost the entire available navy to ports on the other side of the globe, that our coast might be undefended; Cobb, by the grossest mismanagement, prostrated the credit of the Government to such an extent, that in a time of entire peace, Government six per cent. bonds, which at the commencement of his Secretaryship he had bought up at one hundred and seventeen, could not be placed on the market above eighty-six or eighty-seven cents on the dollar; Thompson prostituted his official position to visit North Carolina and other States, and urge them to secession, and Thomas refused to vote for aid to the struggling and hard pressed heroes of Sumter, and betrayed the secrets of the cabinet to the enemies of the Government. The loyalty of Messrs. Black, Holt, Dix, and Stanton, in the last few days of the administration of Mr. Buchanan, saved that administration from a portion of the disgrace which was fast accumulating upon it, but could not avert the storm which was about to descend upon the nation. Treason was manifest everywhere; in the betrayal and disarming of our troops in Texas—where, by Floyd's contrivance, the larger part of our small regular army had been stationed—by a General who had long been honored and trusted by the nation; by the seizure of the national forts in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida; by the plunder of the mints in New Orleans, Charlotte, and Dahlonega; by the capture of our revenue cutters at New Orleans, and Mobile;
by the firing on steamers in Texas, and on the Mississippi, and by the zealous efforts made by Maury, Lynch, and other officers of the navy, long supported and petted by the Government, to arouse European prejudices against the Union, and in favor of the South.

On the other hand, the loyal States, after fifty years of peace—for the Mexican war took but a very few thousand of our citizens, and scarcely ruffled the calm of our peaceful commerce—had grown averse to war, and unskilled in military affairs. In most of the northern States, the militia had but a nominal existence; in some, not even that; and when the President's call for troops came, the volunteers who responded were ignorant of the very first rudiments of military science. The number of graduates from West Point, who remained loyal, was comparatively few and utterly insufficient to furnish even commanding and staff officers for the new army to be formed; and in all directions, patriotism, courage and innate common sense were, of necessity, made the substitutes for military skill.

There was another and very serious difficulty. The armory at Harper's Ferry had been destroyed, with its valuable supplies of arms, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the rebels; the northern States had neglected to draw their supplies of arms, or had been refused them, on one plea or another, by Floyd, while the armory at Springfield, and the arsenals elsewhere at the North had been drained by that traitor, to supply the arsenals at the South. There was not, in the whole North, a sufficient supply of muskets and rifles of modern construction, to furnish one half of the army which had been called out. Resort was had to importation, and some good arms, and a large quantity of poor ones, were obtained, but not without much delay. Meantime, English manufacturers of cannon and fire-arms were pouring into the southern ports large quantities of these weapons, of the best quality,
The finances of the Union, too, were in a low state, and though banks and private citizens, with a liberality and patriotism deserving of the highest praise, offered the National Treasury money in large sums, and many of the States equipped their quotas on their own credit, on the promise of future reimbursement by the Government, yet it required many months of the skillful management of the able financier whom Mr. Lincoln had called to the Secretaryship of the Treasury, to undo the mischiefs inflicted upon the national credit by the traitor Cobb, and to provide, at a reasonable rate of interest, for the expenditure, which in the summer of 1862 had reached a million and a half dollars a day. That this was accomplished, and without a ruinous depreciation of Government securities, or an application to European capitalists, was evidence alike of the financial ability of Mr. Chase, the patriotism of the people, and their confidence in the stability of the Government.

There was still another obstacle to success which early proved formidable. Owing in part to their hostility to a rival power which in maritime strength, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, was contending with them for the trade and commercial supremacy of the world, and in part, perhaps, to the malicious misrepresentations of the emissaries of the secessionists, England and France affected to believe, from the very outbreak of the Rebellion, that it could have no other result than a permanent separation, and the establishment of two distinct nations.

Accordingly, with a most indecent haste, in less than thirty days after the first act of war, and before the ministers of the new administration could reach the English and French courts, Great Britain and France, by public proclamation, recognized the rebels as "belligerents," and placed them on equal footing with the Government of the Union, to which they were bound by the most solemn treaties. This great wrong and
outrage, utterly inconsistent with all the previous history and avowed purposes of the two nations, was followed by others. The British Government especially, sought in every possible way to annoy the Government of the United States, and to favor the "Confederacy," knowing all the while that that "Confederacy" was openly declared by its founders, to have slavery for its corner-stone, while for more than half a century, England had avowed her abhorrence of slavery, on all occasions, and in all places. When a brave and patriotic naval officer, following English precedents, from the lack of any in his own country, arrested upon the deck of an English vessel, the Commissioners of the rebels on their way to England and France, the British ministry, in spite of the disavowal of the act on the part of our Government, and dishonorably concealing for a month that disavowal, sought to plunge the British nation into war with the United States; whenever British subjects were arrested for misdemeanors or crimes against the United States, their arrest was complained of, in the most curt and testy language, and their release demanded with covert if not open menaces. The blockade of the rebel ports was made the subject of many remonstrances, and the sinking of vessels laden with stone, in Charleston harbor, made the occasion of threats of interference, although within the last one hundred and fifty years, Great Britain had destroyed half a dozen ports in the same way.

The recognition of the "Confederacy" was demanded in Parliament repeatedly by the friends of the rebels, and put aside, not by a stern and decided refusal, but by the request that the mover would withdraw his motion, as the time did not seem to have arrived yet, for a recognition; every apparent success of the rebels, however trifling, was hailed with joy, and exaggerated even, by members of the British Cabinet, and every triumph of the Union arms belittled, doubted, or denied.
But a more formidable interference from Great Britain on the side of the rebels, soon put these minor annoyances in the shade. From the first, as we have already said, fire arms, cannon, ammunition, saltpetre, and other munitions of war had been exported to the rebel ports from Great Britain without stint, and after the blockade had been effectively established, the British port of Nassau, in the Bahamas, became the port of entry and departure for a fleet of fast sailing iron steamers, built in England, expressly for the purpose of running the blockade, and when they were unable to enter some one of the numerous inlets along the Atlantic coast with their cargo, they bore up for Matamoras on the Rio Grande, and delivered their cargo there, to be transported by the rebels across Texas. Emboldened by their success in this nefarious traffic, English ship-builders, one of them a member of the British Parliament, began to build war vessels for the rebels, since they could not succeed in getting to sea with any themselves. As these ships, if they took as prizes any merchant vessels, could not take them into any rebel port for adjudication and condemnation by a prize court, it was obvious that such ships, built, armed and equipped in British ports, and manned by British seamen, in part, at least, though commanded by rebel officers, were neither more nor less than pirate vessels, issuing from British ports. But regardless of this, they were sent out, and the British Government, interposing delays and calling for proofs, suffered three of them to leave her ports to prey upon American commerce, and sneered at the protests of the United States minister.

On the part of France, beyond a generally unfriendly tone, and offers of mediation between our Government and the rebels, no overt acts of hostility had occurred; but the designs of the French Emperor on Mexico were beginning to be apparent, and occasioned much uneasiness.

This sympathy with their cause on the part of England and
France, gave to the rebels much moral, and some material support, and rendered the struggle more protracted and desperate than it would otherwise have been.

The geographical structure of the country in which the war was prosecuted, was also a great hindrance to success. In Virginia, Tennessee, and Mississippi, where most of the great battles were fought, it was a country of wooded hills, and deep and precipitous ravines, where, for a considerable part of the year, the clayey soil was kneaded into a pasty mass so adhesive as to render the passage of artillery and wagon trains almost impossible, while the thick wooded heights afforded cover for ambushes, masked batteries, and guerrilla warfare. Other sections were subject to a deadly malaria which destroyed far more lives than the battle field, and in some, the heat was so prostrating, that active exertions for a few days, must necessarily be followed by a long period of rest.

With such formidable obstacles in the way of success, it is rather matter of wonder that so much, than that so little had been accomplished. It was not done without great sacrifices of treasure and of life. The formidable blockading fleet, which in fifteen months was increased from forty-two to three hundred and twenty-seven vessels of war, did not attain this extent without the most extraordinary exertions; and the armies of the Republic, which had enrolled up to July 1, 1862, more than three-fourths of a million of men, had lost on the battle field, in killed and wounded, in prisoners, in the sick smitten down by the pestilence, and in deserters, stragglers, and discharged men, well nigh three hundred thousand. It was a fearful price to pay for such success, but it was paid with a willing heart.

Foreseeing that the rebels would gather their forces, increased by a most relentless conscription, for another and more desperate onslaught upon our armies, having for its object the regaining of the territory they had lost, the President early in
July, called for three hundred thousand men for three years or the war, and on the 4th of August, for a second three hundred thousand, to serve nine months. These two levies of six hundred thousand men in the aggregate, were almost entirely filled by volunteering, but a considerable portion of the troops were not ready for the field till near the close of the year.

The movements of the rebels were such as the President had foreseen. Moving northward upon Pope's army in August, and forcing it back in a series of battles, which though not all defeats, had the general effect of a reverse, the rebel army under Lee, crossed the Potomac and entered Maryland, in the expectation of raising re-enforcements in that State; they were repulsed, and compelled to retreat into Virginia, by the battles of South Mountain and Antietam; at the same time the western rebel army, under Generals Bragg and Kirby Smith, moved northward from Chattanooga and its vicinity, through Kentucky, and threatened Cincinnati and Louisville, but were repulsed in both cases, and after a rapid retreat were brought to bay at Chaplin Hills, where an indecisive battle was fought, which, however, resulted in Bragg's further retreat into Tennessee.

In Mississippi, Gen's Van Dorn and Price attempted also a northward movement, but were terribly defeated at Iuka and Corinth, and on the Hatchie, by a part of Gen. Grant's army under Gen. Rosecrans. In Arkansas, somewhat later, the same tendency to regain their former territory, on the part of Hindman and Marmaduke, was most effectually repressed, by Gens. Herron and Blunt at Fayetteville, Cane Hill, and Prairie Grove. Arizona, New Mexico, and the Indian territory, had also been nearly or quite cleared of rebels. In Louisiana, Gen. Butler had added materially to the Union territory, and promptly suppressed every effort of the rebels to force back his troops from any ground they had once occupied. In Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and
Florida, as we have seen in this chapter, if no new territory was gained, at least that already conquered, was finally held.

Thus then the case stood on the 1st of December, 1862. Of the fourteen States and three territories which the rebels claimed as parts of their Confederacy, at the commencement of the rebellion, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, were entirely under the Government of the United States; the Federal authority was also acknowledged in West Virginia, then asking to be admitted as an independent State, in a considerable portion of Eastern Virginia, in more than half of Tennessee, in nearly the whole of Florida, in Northern Arkansas, Mississippi and Alabama, in about one-third of Louisiana, and considerable tracts of North and South Carolina, and Georgia. The three territories were also under the control of the United States. Meantime the army and navy were growing stronger each day, and the hopes of future successes and final triumph more and more encouraging. How these hopes were fulfilled, we shall see in the next volume.
### TABLE OF PAY, SUBSISTENCE, FORAGE &c.

#### ALLOWED BY LAW TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

**Rank and Classification of Officers**

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<th>Total Monthly Pay</th>
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<td>124</td>
<td>12 108 00</td>
<td>3 00</td>
<td>2 124 00</td>
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<td>54 00</td>
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<td>0 00</td>
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<td>in addition to pay &amp;c. of Lient. Col.</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surgeons of ten years' service</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>72 00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surgeons of less than ten years' service</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>36 00</td>
<td>1 00</td>
<td>2 80 00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asst. Surgeons of ten years' service</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>72 00</td>
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<td>2 70 00</td>
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<td>2 53 00</td>
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### Table of Pay, Subsistence, Forage, &c.

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<th>Rank and Classification of Officers</th>
<th>Pay Per Month</th>
<th>Subsistence Per Day</th>
<th>Number of Servants</th>
<th>Monthly Commissary Allowance</th>
<th>Total Monthly Pay</th>
<th>Subsistence Pay</th>
<th>Additional Pay for Horses</th>
<th>In Time of War</th>
<th>In Time of Peace</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>108.00</td>
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<td>47.00</td>
<td>211.00</td>
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<td>211.00</td>
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<tr>
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<td>36.00</td>
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<td>112.50</td>
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<td>112.50</td>
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<td>112.50</td>
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<td><strong>Officers of Mounted Dragoons, Cavalry, Riflemen, and Light Artillery</strong></td>
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<td>54.00</td>
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<td>Lieutenant-Colonel</td>
<td>95.00</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45.00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47.00</td>
<td>187.00</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>70.00</td>
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<td>36.00</td>
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<td>23.50</td>
<td>112.50</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>36.00</td>
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<td>112.50</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>36.00</td>
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<td>112.50</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brevet Second Lieutenant</td>
<td>53.33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23.50</td>
<td>112.50</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjutant</td>
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<td>....</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
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<td>....</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10.00</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
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<td>....</td>
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</table>

**Officers of Artillery and Infantry**

| Colonel | 96.00 | 6 | 54.00 | 2 | 45.00 | 194.00 | 4 | 2 |
| Major | 80.00 | 5 | 45.00 | 2 | 45.00 | 170.00 | 3 | 2 |
| Captain | 70.00 | 4 | 36.00 | 1 | 22.50 | 112.50 | 3 | 2 |
| First Lieutenant | 53.33 | 4 | 36.00 | 1 | 22.50 | 112.50 | 3 | 2 |
| Second Lieutenant | 53.33 | 4 | 36.00 | 1 | 22.50 | 112.50 | 3 | 2 |
| Brevet Second Lieutenant | 53.33 | 4 | 36.00 | 1 | 22.50 | 112.50 | 3 | 2 |
| Adjutant in addition to pay, &c. of Lt. | 10.00 | .... | .... | 10.00 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Reg't Quartermaster in addition to pay, &c. of Lieutenant | 10.00 | .... | .... | 10.00 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |

**Military Storekeepers**

Attached to the Quartermaster's Department; at armories, and at arsenals of construction; the storekeeper at Watertown Arsenal, and storekeepers of ordnance serving in Oregon, California, and New Mexico, $1400 per annum.

At all other arsenals, $1040 per annum.

Chaplains: $1000 per annum. 2 18 00 ... 118 00 1 ...
MONTHLY PAY OF NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, PRIVATES, &C.

### CAVALRY.

<table>
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<th>Rank</th>
<th>Pay</th>
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<td>Sergeant-Major</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartermaster Sergeant</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Bugler</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Sergeant</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sergeant</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Corporal</td>
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<td>Bugler</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farrier and Blacksmith</td>
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### ORDANANCE.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Pay</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private, first class</td>
<td>$17</td>
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### ARTILLERY AND INFANTRY.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Quartermaster-Sergeant</td>
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<td>Sergeant</td>
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<td>Corporal</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Rank</th>
<th>Pay</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artificer, artillery</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal Musician</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musician</td>
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### SAPPERS, MINERS, AND PONTONIERS.

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<tr>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private, first class</td>
<td>17</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Pay</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private, second class</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musician</td>
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### BRIGADE BANDS.

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<td>Leader</td>
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<td>Eight of the Band</td>
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<table>
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<td>Four of the Band</td>
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12 1-2 cents per month is to be retained from the pay of each enlisted man of the army, for the support of the "Soldier's Home."

$2 per month is allowed for re-enlistment, and $1 per month additional for each subsequent period of five years' service, provided the enlistment is made within one month after the expiration of each term.

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To Subscribers—Publisher's Note—If, from removal, death, or other cause, any of our agents should fail to deliver the Second Volume of this work within a reasonable time after its publication, of which full public notice will be given, we will send it to them by mail, post paid, on receipt of the subscription price, with directions as to the Post Office, County and State.
THE VALUE OF REAL ESTATE AND PERSONAL PROPERTY,

According to the Seventh Census, (1850), and the Eighth Census, (1860), Respectively; also the Increase and Increase per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATES AND TERRITORIES</th>
<th>REAL ESTATE AND PERSONAL PROPERTY</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Increase per cent</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>1860</td>
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<td>$406,327,746</td>
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<td>22,161,872</td>
<td>207,574,013</td>
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<td>444,247,114</td>
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<td>45,212,181</td>
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<td>Florida</td>
<td>22,962,570</td>
<td>73,101,500</td>
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<td>Georgia</td>
<td>353,125,714</td>
<td>645,890,267</td>
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<td>156,561,006</td>
<td>871,860,282</td>
<td>475.98</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>226,560,264</td>
<td>529,835,371</td>
<td>186.05</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27,714,628</td>
<td>247,338,265</td>
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Exhibiting an increase in ten years of more than one hundred and twenty-six per cent.

| FUGITIVE SLAVES, |
|------------------|------------------|
| According to the Seventh Census, (1850), and the Eighth Census, (1860), Respectively |

<table>
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<tr>
<th>STATES</th>
<th>Slaves</th>
<th>Fugitives</th>
<th>One out of</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
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