

THE UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA



E. Lytle

THE
LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
EMORY UPTON,

*Colonel of the Fourth Regiment of Artillery, and
Brevet Major-General, U. S. Army.*

BY
PETER S. MICHIE,
PROFESSOR U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY
JAMES HARRISON WILSON,
LATE U. S. A.

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TO THE
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TO
DANIEL UPTON,
AND
ELECTA UPTON, HIS WIFE,
THE HONORED PARENTS OF
EMORY UPTON,
THIS MEMOIR IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

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P R E F A C E.

THE subject of the following memoir was widely known by reputation in the military profession, and the story of his life would, at least to military men, have been a matter of passing interest. The tragic circumstances of his death seemed to demand some explanation in harmony with his established reputation and character. At the earnest solicitation of his nearest relatives, the author, although conscious of his own deficiencies, undertook the task of compiling a brief record of General Upton's life for his family and immediate personal friends.

In overstepping the limits at first proposed for the work, and in extending its circulation to the general public, the author has been guided by two considerations: First, the hope that the lessons drawn from General Upton's life might be valuable to the youths who may hereafter enter the military profession, brought about a modification of its original plan, and necessitated the omission of much that was of purely family interest; second,

Upton's valuable researches into the military policy of his country, and the essential influence which his conclusions will have upon its future military organizations, seemed to warrant the wider publicity which is now attempted.

Although the volume has been written while the author has been engaged in official duties of a somewhat exacting nature, his task has been greatly lessened by the abundant material placed at his disposal. Whatever excellence the book contains, the author gratefully acknowledges to be due to the wise counsel and able criticism of his friend General J. H. Wilson. Whatever defects honest criticism may note in the matter retained, method of presentation, or style of expression, are to be charged to the inexperience of the author, whose only qualification for the assumed task was a sincere desire to judge rightly and deal justly with the character of his friend and comrade.

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INTRODUCTION.

IT was my good fortune to know EMORY UPTON from the date of his entry into the Military Academy at West Point, as a mere stripling, in 1856, to the time of his death, in the full maturity of his manhood, in 1881. His class was next to mine, graduated less than a year afterward, and entered the army at the outbreak of the great rebellion. We served together during the Antietam campaign; then in Grant's memorable series of operations from the Rapidan to Petersburg; then with Sheridan in the Valley of Virginia; and, finally, in the cavalry campaign from Waterloo through Alabama and Georgia, ending in the last battles of the war and the collapse of the Confederacy. From the close associations of these nine years of youth and early manhood, and especially of the last year of the rebellion, during which Upton commanded a division of cavalry under my immediate supervision, I came to know him with that intimacy which is possible only between soldiers. After the war our paths lay apart, for, while I resumed my duties as an engineer officer, and finally left the army altogether for the purpose of building and operating railroads, Upton, although urged to resign and engage in private

business, on the theory that it was as meritorious for a man of his parts to leave the army in times of peace as to enter it in times of war, after mature consideration declined, and determined to devote himself for life to the military profession. He realized that, while his campaigning days were probably over, there was yet a brilliant career open for him in the writing of tactics, the study of the organization and administration of armies, and in the evolution of an effective and economical military policy for our Government. As shown by the course of the narrative which follows, he served after the close of the war successively on the Plains; as commandant of cadets at West Point; on a board of officers to assimilate the tactics of artillery, cavalry, and infantry; as the head of a commission to visit Asia and Europe for the purpose of inspecting and reporting upon the armies of those countries; as superintendent of theoretical instruction in the Artillery School for Practice at Fortress Monroe; and, finally, in command of his regiment in California. During the whole of this time we corresponded with each other, and our friendly relations remained unbroken to the end.

The history of the events which occurred during the War of the Rebellion is fast being written, and is of great importance to the American people, but it needs the element of personality to give it that absorbing interest which is necessary to fix it in the mind, and to impress its lessons upon the understanding of coming generations. Fortunately for the country, the pages of history can never be illuminated by a more exemplary character or a more

spotless name than that of Upton. His life was pure and unselfish in the highest degree, and yet it was controlled by a patriotic and sleepless ambition, accompanied by an ardent love for the profession of arms, which, from their earliest dawn, filled him with the resolve to acquire military fame. This idea dominated him completely throughout his career, and when the rebellion broke out it found the young soldier not only ready, but eager for the fray. His loyalty to the Constitution and the Union was unshakable; it was bone of his bone and blood of his blood. His courage and independence had already been proved by sturdy resistance to the arrogance of his Southern classmates. He had at his very advent at the Academy boldly announced that he was an abolitionist, and in sympathy with whatever tended to promote the freedom of the slaves. He had been ostracized for his political opinions, and had suffered in body and mind for his superiority to sectional influences. He had been forced to fight because he would not bend before the blustering bravado of the "fire-eaters," and had come off victorious. He had grown in strength of intellect as well as of body; he had made his way from the foot of his class, where the alphabetical arrangement had placed him, to the first section, where he graduated. He entered the army with a strong, healthy, robust constitution, full of energy and courage, and with a well-trained mind richly stored with such knowledge as he could obtain from text-books, and, what was more and quite unusual, he had the faculty of turning this knowledge promptly and efficiently to practical use in his profession.

This was one of his strongest points. He was proud and honorable, and feared no man; his love of God was open and avowed; his love of liberty for all God's creatures amounted to a passion, and, while his love for his chosen profession was deep-seated and abiding, it found its justification to himself in the opportunity it would give him, during the trials which had come upon the nation, to render good service to the cause of humanity and to that of his country's unity. But aside from patriotism on the one hand and religion on the other, he was a genuine military enthusiast, whose thoughts night and day turned to the art of war. No knight of old was ever more absorbed in dreams of military glory, nor more grimly determined to win it, as opportunity offered. He was tremendously in earnest, and whatever his hand found to do, that he did with all his might. Had Upton lived during the period of any of the great European wars, he might still have been a devout, God-fearing Christian, but he would certainly have been a soldier, and with favoring circumstances he would have been a great captain. His ambition, subordinated and controlled as it was by a character of extraordinary purity and strength, was limited only by his sense of duty as a soldier and as a patriot. Like the young eagle which had not yet felt the strength of its pinions, there was no flight within the range of his vision which he would hesitate to essay. At the very outset of his career this was plain to those who knew him well, and, long before the war of the rebellion ended, it had come to be understood by all that there was no enterprise too perilous for Upton, if only he might hope to

gain credit or promotion thereby. No proper understanding can be had of Upton's character without giving full force and effect to this peculiarity. He had as high a sense of duty as any man, and would have cheerfully laid down his life and all its anticipations of honor and fame in the performance of any service for his country which its legally constituted authorities could have set for him, but throughout his career he was constantly inspired and cheered by the thought of "young ambition's ladder," whereto he upward turned his face in order that he might reach its topmost round. It must be said, however, that as he rose from round to round he neither turned his back upon the ladder, nor scorned the degrees by which he did ascend. He was modest at all times, constant, courageous, and vigilant. He was loyal and obedient to his superiors whoever they were, though his patience was more than once severely tested by what seemed to him indifference or incompetence on the part of those above him. He did all in his power to improve the discipline and to promote the subordination of the army to those in authority over it. He had no disposition to take part in cliques or cabals, but felt that it was his duty to serve in silence wherever he might be sent, and to be faithful over those things which might be confided to his care.

With an ample education given him by his country, inspired by the enthusiasm of youth, and guided by the correct principles of manhood, Upton began his public career fully equipped, and under the most favorable auspices. He was not long in realizing his ambitious dreams, for honorable mention

and rapid promotion followed close upon his intrepid deeds. As a regimental drill-master, and as an aide-de-camp, battery commander, and chief of artillery, he shared all the perils of the Army of the Potomac in the earlier days of the war, gaining experience and familiarity with military operations in the field, and above all gaining confidence in himself and his own military knowledge and capacity, as compared with those of the officers with whom he was thrown in contact. His voluminous correspondence with his family and friends gives abundant evidence of the readiness with which he advanced from details to the higher considerations of administration and command, and even to those of strategy and military policy. He soon saw that, having devoted five years to acquiring the education of a soldier, and having participated in the first battle of Bull Run, and the subsequent operations in Virginia, he knew just as much about war as an art and science as the older officers of the regular army, and a great deal more than was possible for any officer of volunteers fresh and green from civil life. This encouraged him to believe that notwithstanding his youth—for at the outbreak of hostilities he was only twenty-two years old—and in spite of his lack of political influence, he would surely gain rank if his life were spared. This last consideration was of the first importance to him, as to all ambitious soldiers, for the chances of death were very great in the war then raging. Upton had early become convinced that the first requisite to success in the profession of arms was unflinching and unhesitating courage,

not only for its influence over his superiors, but over those whom he had to lead, and yet observation taught him that the most courageous were frequently the first to fall. Fully appreciating all the dangers of his calling, he never shirked one of them, but boldly and resolutely met them wherever and whenever duty seemed to require it of him. He was neither rash nor foolhardy, and yet the closest observer could find nothing in his conduct under fire to criticise. His courage was both physical and moral, and therefore of the highest type. When he reported to me for assignment to the command of a division of cavalry, he remarked that he had no doubt of his professional capacity to manage cavalry as well as either artillery or infantry, but he expressed considerable anxiety as to his standing with his division until he should have commanded it in action and shown both officers and men that he was neither afraid nor lacking in dash. He feared that the rigid discipline he would exact and the constant instruction he would give might for a while make him unpopular, but he felt sure that he would remove all prejudice of that sort at the first action in which he should lead his division. The result was as he anticipated in every respect, except as to his unpopularity. The division to which he was assigned was composed of veterans, who saw from the start that his was a master-hand. Both men and officers responded promptly and cheerfully to every demand he made upon them, and after the fights at Montevallo and Plantersville, the assault upon Selma, and the capture of Columbus, by a night attack of extraordi-

nary brilliancy, their confidence in and admiration for him were unbounded. They felt that under his leadership they could go anywhere and do anything, while he told me that he had learned the greatest lesson of his life, in reference to the relative value of the three arms of service, and as to the almost boundless capacity of mounted troops when properly armed, organized, and commanded. Immediately after the capture of Columbus, to which I shall allude again, he declared that he could traverse the Confederacy from end to end, and from side to side, with his single division, carrying any kind of fortifications by assault with which he might come in contact, and defying capture by any kind or amount of force which might be sent against him. This declaration was not that of a braggart, but was the honest conclusion at which he had arrived, after the closest observation and reflection. In the hour of battle he was as intrepid a man as ever drew a saber, and yet in battle, as well as on the march or in camp, prudence and judgment were his constant companions. He left nothing to chance, and trusted nothing to mere luck, but provided for everything, and as far as possible foresaw everything. He knew that discipline, order, and attention to the details of organization, equipment, and supply, whether on the march or in the camp, were essential to success in a long-continued campaign, and would do more than everything else toward making his command invincible in action. He did not for a moment commit the fault, so common to young cavalry-commanders, of supposing that he could build up

a solid reputation by courage and enterprise alone. He saw that both men and horses required constant attention; that celerity of movement, compactness of formation, and long-continued exertion, were no less essential than courage in action, and that no amount of the latter could compensate for lack of condition on the part of either men or horses, or their equipment. Hence, from the day he took command of his division its improvement in every respect was conspicuous, and, what is more important, this improvement continued to show itself throughout the campaign, which ended at Augusta, Georgia. At that time the condition of his division was all that could be desired, and it may be doubted if it was in any respect surpassed by that of any other cavalry division in the army, although it had been under his command less than three months.

But to return to the earlier days of Upton's career. His experience in the command of a battery of horse-artillery, at the siege of Yorktown, the action at West Point, and at the battles of Gaines's Mills and Glendale, and also in command of a brigade of artillery in the Maryland campaign, was of the most creditable character. It brought him prominently into notice; but, owing to the broken and heavily wooded condition of most of the Virginia battle-fields, and the consequent limitations upon the use of artillery, he saw that that arm would not afford him scope enough for his genius, and that, the more useful he made himself in it, the less chance would he have for service in the other arms, or for promotion to the rank of a general

officer. Consequently he spared no proper effort to secure the command of a regiment of infantry, and did not rest till he had got it. This gave him a larger field for usefulness, together with an abundance of that kind of work which he coveted and for which he was peculiarly fitted. His first care was to secure the confidence of his regiment, and this he did by showing it that he knew his business in all its details, whether in camp, on the march, or in battle. His constant effort was to keep it well supplied, properly clad, and under perfect drill and discipline, and so successful was he in all this that he soon became noted throughout the Army of the Potomac as a model colonel. He was one of the few officers in service who properly appreciated the value of an address to his men before going into battle, and it was his custom to encourage them in this way whenever occasion offered.

It is not my purpose to follow him through the details of his service as regimental commander, extending from October 23, 1862, to July 4, 1863. This has been done in the narrative which follows. The command of a brigade came to him in due time, not only by seniority as a colonel, but by the selection of those in authority over him, and his conduct in the still broader field which it opened was characterized by the same fertility of resource, untiring zeal, and attention to details that had hitherto distinguished him. No duty was omitted. Drill, discipline, and order were exacted from all, and supervised by him in all the regiments under his command. Tactics and formations for battle were most carefully

studied, and nothing was left to chance. Every order was executed by him with the greatest possible precision, and when left to himself he provided for every contingency, including that of success as well as that of failure. As a consequence, it soon came to be understood that Upton's brigade must lead all attacks and assaults made within his reach, and, what was of still greater credit to him, he rarely failed to carry the enemy's position, whether fortified or not. This was not mere chance, nor was it altogether the result of intrepidity and dash. He showed those qualities in the highest degree, but he showed prudent foresight and good judgment, combined with careful preparation for every step of the undertaking assigned to him, in a still higher degree. In view of the splendid fighting qualities of the rebel Army of Northern Virginia, and of the great vigilance and abilities displayed by Lee and his subordinate commanders of every grade, and considering the extraordinary mortality that always attended an engagement with them, it may well be doubted if the metal of any soldier of modern times was ever more severely tested than was Upton's during his two years' service in the Army of the Potomac, and especially at Salem Heights, Rappahannock Station, in the Wilderness, or while leading the assaulting column of twelve regiments of the Sixth Corps which carried the Angle of the enemy's intrenchments at Spottsylvania. The abilities displayed by him on this occasion were of the highest character, and secured for him not only the praises of the whole army, but the long-coveted and amply earned reward of a

commission as brigadier-general of volunteers, and also as brevet lieutenant-colonel in the regular army. But neither the hard work nor the hard knocks were over yet. He displayed the same high qualities in all the movements, marches, and battles which characterized that remarkable campaign, including the bloody actions of Cold Harbor and the siege and assaults of the rebel works about Petersburg. His conduct throughout these trying times was absolutely faultless; while his cheerful and unshaken confidence in the ultimate success of our arms had a great influence on those about him, and was worthy of all praise. He was prompt and obedient at all times and in all situations, and his alacrity was surpassed only by the resolution and the steadiness which he displayed in the desperate and almost constant fighting in which the army was engaged for nearly a year after Grant took command. He gave loyal and unquestioning support to his superior officers, and especially to those who were in chief command; but it must not be supposed that he was a mere machine soldier, or that he gave his approval to their plans as he gave obedience to their orders. He studiously and carefully refrained from public criticism, but he was too good an officer and too close a student of the art of war to blindly shut his eyes to the faults which were committed about him. The fact is, that he saw much to condemn in the daily operations of the army, and the reader will not fail to note that his active mind poured itself out in criticism in his letters to his sister. It was to her that he expressed his disappointment at the long delay of his promotion

to the rank of brigadier-general after he had earned it over and over again; it was to her that he wrote during the overland campaign: "Our men have in many instances been foolishly and wantonly sacrificed. Assault after assault has been ordered upon the enemy's intrenchments when [the general ordering it] knew nothing about the strength or position of the enemy. Thousands of lives might have been spared by the exercise of a little skill; but as it is, the courage of the poor men is expected to obviate all difficulties. I must confess that, so long as I see such incompetency, there is no grade in the army to which I do not aspire." It was also to her he wrote: "We are now at Cold Harbor, where we have been since June 1st. On that day we had a murderous engagement. I say *murderous*, because we were recklessly ordered to assault the enemy's intrenchments"; and again: "I am very sorry to say I have seen but little generalship during the campaign. Some of our corps commanders are not fit to be corporals. Lazy and incompetent, they will not even ride along their lines; yet without hesitancy they will order us to attack the enemy, no matter what their position or what their numbers. Twenty thousand of our killed and wounded should to-day be in our ranks." But it will not escape the reader's attention that Upton's mind was not content at this period to confine itself to the mere condemnation of details. It was incessantly occupied in trying to work out correct solutions for all the military problems then engaging the army's attention; and while subsequent events did not justify all his suggestions or criticisms, the careful student of

the war will be struck by the extraordinary grasp and ability displayed in the arguments and conclusions which he so patiently recounted, perhaps for his own improvement as much as for the information and instruction of his sister. Nor will the reader fail to note that as early as June 5, 1864, when Upton was not yet twenty-five years of age, he had not only detected and pointed out the crude methods and incompetency which were so prevalent, but had frankly, and with pardonable ambition, declared that there was no grade in the army to which he did not aspire.

When Lee detached Early to threaten Washington and harry the Maryland border, it was Upton's good fortune to be sent in the same direction with the Sixth Corps, to which his brigade was attached. He took part in all the operations for the relief and defense of the capital, and finally participated in the battle of the Opequan and the capture of Winchester, in which Early's army was completely routed. It was Upton's brigade which first deployed on the plateau beyond the Opequan after its capture by the cavalry. It was his brigade and the cavalry division which covered the *débouchement* of the Sixth Corps from the defile through which it was compelled to advance, and held the field till it and the rest of the army could deploy and form for the attack. It was his brigade which, by a change of front to the right, arrested the flight of a part of the Sixth and Nineteenth Corps, and, taking the enemy in flank, drove them back in confusion. It was also his brigade which, in the final rush of

both infantry and cavalry, pierced the enemy's left center, and made the victory both certain and complete. It was in this charge that the heroic General David A. Russell, commanding the division, was mortally wounded. He was promptly succeeded by Upton, who pressed the division forward with conspicuous ability and energy. In the full tide of success the gallant young commander was severely wounded on the inside of the right thigh by a fragment of a bursting shell. The muscle was frightfully lacerated and the femoral artery laid bare, but, instead of retiring, as he was fully justified in doing, and indeed as he was ordered to do by General Sheridan in person, he called his staff-surgeon and directed him to stanch the bleeding wound by a tourniquet. As soon as this was done, he called for a stretcher, and had himself borne about the field thereon, still directing the movements of his victorious division, and did not leave it or give up the command till night had put an end to the pursuit. The fortitude displayed by him upon this occasion was heroic in the extreme, and marked him as a man of extraordinary nerve. It was in notable contrast with what had come to be customary on such occasions. So bloody had been the Richmond campaign under Grant, that both officers and men counted themselves fortunate when they received a slight wound, which might be honorably availed of as an excuse for leaving the field, and thus escaping the peril of a mortal one. I knew a corps commander of the Army of the Potomac, in the earlier days of the war, famed for his fighting qualities, who retired from battle because of a

trifling flesh-wound under the arch of the right foot, and who peremptorily refused to return to the line, although he was urged to do so, if need be, in an ambulance or on a stretcher, in order that his corps might be rallied around him, and possibly avert a great disaster, if it did not win a great victory. Few men have had such an opportunity for fame. Had it fallen to Upton's lot, can any one doubt that he would have availed himself of it, even if his foot had been taken off, instead of being so slightly wounded that he could have walked upon it, as did the corps commander in less than six days? Fortitude on the part of a general upon such occasions is the greatest of military virtues. It inflames the soldiers with enthusiasm, and inspires them with courage as nothing else can.

This battle, which had won for Upton the command of a division, closed his career as a leader of infantry in the Union army. His wound was so severe that he was entirely disabled by it till the middle of December following. Meanwhile I had been assigned to the task of reorganizing and commanding the Western cavalry, and had been promised the assistance of a few good officers from the Army of the Potomac. I had asked for Upton at the head of the list, and as soon as he was able to travel he joined me in midwinter at Gravelly Springs, Alabama, after the close of the Hood campaign. His wound was not yet entirely healed, but he at once assembled his division and set about its instruction with all his accustomed industry and enthusiasm. I have alluded to the misgiv-

ings which troubled him at the beginning of his career as a cavalry-commander, and have related how he gained the confidence of his division by his untiring devotion to their wants in camp and on the march, no less than by his conspicuous gallantry and generalship in action. The skill displayed by him in the capture of the fortifications covering Columbus by a night attack, which also resulted in the capture of nearly all the rebel troops defending them, as well as the bridges across the Chattahoochee River, thus securing for the cavalry corps a safe passage of that river into the city, and opening the way for the speedy conquest of the entire State of Georgia, has already been adverted to. This occurred on the 16th of April, 1865, and was the last considerable action of the war. It has been described by competent military critics as one of the most remarkable exploits in the history of modern cavalry. Although Upton participated in all the after-operations consequent upon the collapse of the Confederacy, including those for the capture of Jefferson Davis and the lesser rebel chiefs, as well as in the dispositions for disbanding the national army, and acquitted himself with his usual skill and ability, it may be said that the capture of Columbus closed his brilliant career as a cavalry-officer. His service in Tennessee and Kentucky and upon the Plains followed soon after, and was in turn followed by his marriage, the preparation of the infantry tactics, and the assimilation of the cavalry and artillery tactics thereto. This was the beginning of his life as a student of the art of war in its higher branches. His instruction at West Point,

and his practical experience in all the arms of service for the four years of the great rebellion, had taught him all that any one could learn of a soldier's practical duties in the field. After completing his tour as commandant of cadets at West Point, and as instructor of artillery, infantry, and cavalry tactics, he was, as before indicated, sent by the Government through Asia and Europe to study the organization, equipment, and administration of armies. Upon his return from this tour he was assigned to duty at the Artillery School of Practice as instructor of the art of war, and, while thus engaged, prepared and published the report of his observations in Europe, and began his work on the "Military Policy of the United States." During the preparation of this work he analyzed critically all the records of the Government in relation to the wars in which it had been engaged, from the beginning of the Revolution to the end of the rebellion of the slave States. The story of all this is clearly and fully set forth in the following pages, made up principally of Upton's own letters, written with the utmost freedom and unconsciousness, and, as their context shows, without the slightest expectation on his part that they would ever be collected or printed. They exhibit his character in all the stages of its moral and intellectual evolution more completely than it would be possible for any amount of description on the part of others to delineate it. And so it only remains for me to say, in conclusion, as I have constantly maintained since the close of the war, that at that time Upton was as good an artillery-officer as could be found in any country, the equal of any cavalry-com-

mander of his day, and, all things considered, was the best commander of a division of infantry in either the Union or the rebel army. He was the equal of Custer or Kilpatrick in dash and enterprise, and vastly the superior of either in discipline and administration, whether on the march or in the camp. He was incontestably the best tactician of either army, and this is true whether tested by battle or by the evolutions of the drill-field and parade. In view of his success in all arms of the service, it is not too much to add that he could scarcely have failed as a corps or an army commander had it been his good fortune to be called to such rank. And nothing is more certain than that he would have had a corps of cavalry had the war lasted sixty days longer, or that, with the continuation of the struggle, he would have been in due time put at the head of an army. No one can read the story of his brilliant career without concluding that he had a real genius for war, together with all the theoretical and practical knowledge which any one could acquire in regard to it. He was the equal, if not the superior, of Hoche, Desaix, or Skobelev, in all the military accomplishments and virtues, and up to the time when he was disabled by the disease which caused his death he was, all things considered, the most accomplished soldier in our service. His life was pure and upright, his bearing chivalric and commanding, his conduct modest and unassuming, and his character absolutely without blemish. History can not furnish a brighter example of unselfish patriotism, or of ambition unsullied by an ignoble thought or an unworthy deed.

He was a credit to the State and family, which gave him his birth, to the Military Academy which educated him, and to the army in which he served. So long as the Union has such soldiers as he to defend it, it will be perpetual.

JAMES HARRISON WILSON.

WILMINGTON, DEL., *May 2, 1885.*

EMORY UPTON.

CHAPTER I.

BOYHOOD.

EMORY UPTON was the tenth child and sixth son of Daniel and Electa Upton, and was born on the 27th of August, 1839, in Batavia, Genesee County, New York. He was a direct descendant of John Upton, a Scotchman, the founder of the families of that name in this country.

John Upton came to America about the year 1650, and settled in Danvers, Massachusetts, then called Salem village, where his son William was born in 1663, and his grandson William in 1703. The son and grandson of the latter, both also bearing the name of William, were born in North Reading, in 1729 and 1759 respectively. The latter, removing to Dublin, New Hampshire, married Mary Morse, and the second son by this marriage was born in Dublin in 1796, and is the father of Emory, the subject of this sketch.

On his mother's side, he was descended from Stephen Randall, a native of New Hampshire. Born in Nottingham in 1782, he married Rachel Fifield, in Danville, Vermont, in 1799. On the 2d

of February, 1815, after a severe wintry journey of three weeks, Mr. Randall, with his family, consisting of his wife and nine children, reached the site of a farm which he had selected in the then unbroken wilderness, near Stafford, Genesee County, New York, and, within twenty-four hours after their arrival, they were under their own shelter. With characteristic industry and prudence they not only reared a family of fourteen children, but acquired a competency, which was ever dispensed with such generosity as to make this home known far and wide as a center of hospitality.

Daniel Upton, the father of Emory, removing to New York, purchased a farm in Batavia, Genesee County, then a tract of native woods, and felled the first tree for the improvement of his homestead. On September 30, 1821, he married Electa Randall, and the young couple immediately began their married life in a log-cabin.

Members of the Methodist Protestant Church, the parents of Upton have been zealous Christians, whose lives have been consistent with their public professions of faith. Earnest believers in temperance, and stanch advocates of unfettered freedom, holding slavery to be a moral wrong, Mr. Upton never hesitated, either by word or vote, to plant himself squarely and unmistakably on the side of what he held to be right on these questions. He perceived the great value of education, and gave his children every advantage that was possible in his circumstances.

Mrs. Upton inherited a rare executive ability, sweetened by a cheerful disposition and sustained

by a hopeful perseverance. A loving wife, she became the honored mother of thirteen children. Her life, necessarily a continual sacrifice, has been to her, nevertheless, full of recompense and of peace and joy. To his mother, with her abnegation of self, her untiring industry, her hopeful encouragement in the face of trials and disappointments, her tender-hearted solicitude and watchful care in the gradual unfolding of physical and mental characteristics, Emory Upton early gave testimony as the true source of all his success and honor in life. The name of *mother* was ever the tenderest and gentlest of words to him, for it awakened the memory of a pure and boundless love which had never failed him.

Emory Upton spent his early years upon a farm, acquiring health and strength in bodily development and the Christian influences of a pious home for the support and direction of his intellectual life.

The educational advantages enjoyed by him were such as were common to the neighborhood, supplemented by the instruction received from his elder brothers and sisters. As he approached his fifteenth year, however, his growing ambition urged him to seek the advantage of a term in college, and, with the assistance and assent of his parents, he spent the winter of 1854-'55 at Oberlin College, in Ohio.

It appears, from the recollections of an intimate friend and schoolmate, that he had, at even that early day, a strong wish to enter the Military Academy at West Point, which colored his youthful life, and in some measure controlled his thoughts and actions. He was indebted to his brother

James for this idea, which was speedily developed into an ardent desire for a military career by reading the life of Napoleon.

Young as he was at his first separation from home, he possessed a strong character and an independent spirit, as is clearly shown in the following narrative of a friend * who was his close companion while a student at Oberlin :

“. . . Whatever means he might be able to secure from home at this time, toward paying his board and tuition bills, he took a pride in not depending on it, or in calling upon home for money. He worked as many hours each day as I did. Our work was chiefly about the planing-mill and sash-factory of Mr. S. Ellis. We were paid eight cents an hour, and our work consisted for the most part in attending to the drying-kiln, filling it and emptying it, in which the poplar lumber was prepared for use in the factory. Besides this, we did any work that we could do within the hours we had allowed for that purpose. We fully agreed that no one should be ashamed of doing what ought to be done. The hours that other boys of our age spent in recreation, we spent in hard work. We scarcely took an hour's recreation in the week excepting on Sundays, when we went into the deep woods, at that time quite plenty about Oberlin, and even then we combined business with pleasure, for in the depths of the forest we read our essays to each other, or declaimed the pieces for the coming rhetorical exercises of the week. At that time, even, Emory could write well (not chirographically by

* Now Rev. Father O'Reilly.

any means), but his oratorical powers were defective. However, he used to console himself by saying that a soldier did not need to be an orator, for that, if he ever had to speak, it would be to his men in the face of the enemy, and on such occasions an oration must be necessarily short, and he thought he would be able for that.

“He had no taste for useless ornament in his writings, and never allowed himself to seek for frequent adjectives and high-sounding words, as young writers are wont to do; for if he were told, ‘That sentence sounds poetical,’ he would quietly change it to a more prosy form.

“He had no love for poets or musicians in those days. His ambition was to secure the solid basis of a practical education.

“His personal appearance at that time was very different from his appearance the last time I saw him. He was thin and wiry, quite freckled, his hair standing nearly straight; always in a hurry; spoke like lightning; very quick of perception, for he often cut a person off in the middle of a remark with his own reply, which was always to the point. . . . After our work, which was over at four o'clock in the afternoon, we went to study. We never studied the same lesson together, unless we were pushed for time, but, whenever we could, we always reviewed our lessons together just before going to class.

“He never slept on a pillow; he made his side of the bed perfectly level, and used it in this way. He was afraid of becoming round-shouldered. He would not crack a nut with his teeth, or use any-

thing that he thought might injure them, as, he said, to have good teeth was a condition to enter West Point. We never took any part in the foolish freaks of the boys, and yet we had plenty of company in our room, and always stood good friends with our comrades.

“The great abolition movement, the underground railroad, bleeding Kansas, and all the ‘isms’ of that nature, were alive about this time. Emory never took any part in these demonstrations, nor spent time to hear the lectures and speeches on these subjects except, perhaps, ‘Old John Brown,’ and of him he did not think much. He was strongly opposed to slavery, yet he never engaged in talking about it as other young men did. More than once, on returning from rhetorical exercises, he would say: ‘I am sick of such stuff. Let those fellows learn their lessons now while at school, and by-and-by, if they have any brains, they may be able to do some good.’

“We joined a literary society, but, on becoming members, we found it inclined to be an infidel affair, and at once left it. I never knew Emory Upton to use profane language, or speak with the least disrespect of religion, its ministers, or members as such. The only useless phrase he used was ‘confound it.’ This served all occasions. I never knew him to speak with the least levity of a woman, nor take any pleasure in jests or stories that inclined to anything disrespectful of the sex.

“Very naturally we often talked about what we should each try to be. To me it seemed almost impossible to reach my object. He had strong

hopes of entering West Point, and kept that in view all the time. He frequently built large castles in the air, and, strange to say, the reality of his success as a military man surpassed in brilliancy the imagination of his youth.

“I have said that he was strongly opposed to Southern slavery. No one could be more so. At this time no one could anticipate the terrible war of the rebellion but as a possibility. He again and again felt sure that war would come. He said that he would be just ready for it. While I had no sympathy with slavery, I was not as decided an abolitionist as he was. So, on one occasion of a talk of the above nature, we agreed that, if he should be a general before he was forty-five years of age, and slavery abolished, I should present him with a splendid revolver, with something engraved on it to indicate the occasion and the reason why it was given. If he were not a general at that age, he should give me books to suit me, of a corresponding value. This was to be the mark or test, should we live, that as boys we could see something of the great coming events.”

It so happened that at this time Judge Benjamin Pringle represented in Congress the New York district in which young Upton resided, and to him the youth owed the possession of what he so much coveted. In transmitting the letter of appointment from the Secretary of War to Upton, Judge Pringle thus advised him :

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 12, 1856.*

DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure of indorsing a notice signed by the Secretary of War, informing

you that the President has conditionally appointed you a cadet in the military service of the United States. I selected you for the place because, from representations made by your friends concerning you, and from my slight acquaintance with you, I believed that you possessed sufficient talent and ability, honesty and integrity, industry, energy, and perseverance to enable you to pass the ordeal at West Point creditably. Should you fail, it will be mortifying to me and to your other friends, but I trust there will be no failure. You will enter the academy under favorable circumstances, and you must make every reasonable effort to attain and maintain a high standing in your class, and if possible carry off the first honors. You can hardly imagine the interest that I feel and shall continue to feel for your success. By doing well for yourself, you will honor me. The place to which you are appointed has been sought by many and supported by influential friends, but I thought best to choose you, and you must prove to the world that I have made a good choice.

The first step toward the realization of his ambition had been taken, and, intermingled with the great happiness that almost overwhelmed the young appointee, there was an ever-present determination, stronger even than his joy, that nothing should be left undone on his part to show to Judge Pringle that he would prove worthy of his favor. Never in his after honorable career did he forget the debt he owed the judge, and in his times of marked success he constantly reiterated, "I owe all to Judge

Pringle." Loyalty and gratitude were henceforth prominent among his other good qualities. Every spare hour (and he ordinarily rose those wintry mornings before five o'clock), after the reception of the above letter, was devoted to his studies, that he might not fail on his entrance examination, and with such success that, on the 1st of July, 1856, he was admitted a conditional cadet into the Military Academy at West Point.

In considering the influences that so far had molded this as yet uneventful life, there are some traits that may be specially designated. As a boy he was conscientious, for he did his duty willingly, cheerfully, and thoroughly before he sought the pleasures of play and recreation; he was pure in heart, clean of speech, and took no delight in coarse jests or idle words; and, above all, he was greatly in earnest in whatever he undertook, and thus he accomplished more than he had hoped.

CHAPTER II.

CADET-LIFE AT WEST POINT.

UPTON reported at West Point on the 3d of June, 1856, and it was soon evident that he came with a firm determination to meet manfully all difficulties, and to "become a general before he was forty-five years of age."

By the 20th of June there were gathered together from all sections of the country about one hundred young men on the same errand, selected, for one reason or another, by their respective Congressmen as fit to enter upon military life. It is an instructive sight, and one calculated to give rise to many emotions, to look upon the earnest countenances of these youths. For the time being they may be taken as the truest outcome of our people, representing, in their undeveloped powers, the immediate future generation of our country, as the members of Congress represent the present. The dress, appearance, stature, dialect, culture, and material condition of the various sections of the country, are here well exhibited, not as the best but rather as the average. But, after the young men have passed through their elementary drill, and are uniformed, the barriers due to differences of previous condition are soon broken down, and those

elements of humanity that unite us to our friends and associates prove stronger than the accidents of birth, or the influences of wealth or station. Like seek like: the manly and generous join in comradeship; the weak and trifling are mingled but not united; the vicious seek strength in union, and so the several strata are arranged. The strongest associations are at first those of classmates, but in later years these include members of other classes. The deprivations, hardships, and sacrifices of the military service cement these friendly associations in after-life into the love and affection of a great brotherhood.

Upton was exceptionally well-equipped for the new life upon which he was now about to enter. With high principles, and the courage to defend them when the occasion was pressing, he possessed the modest demeanor of true worth. At first, he suffered under the imputation of a lack of courage from his quiet and unassuming behavior; in the end, his comrades discovered that they had mistaken his character. None suspected, underneath the modest bearing, the existence of the high purpose to which he had devoted his whole heart. He perfectly understood that before he could receive the diploma of the institution, and his commission as an officer of the army, work would have to be done, so great in its importance to him that, to accomplish it well, he would need the steadiest application of his time, the severest study, and the concentration of all his physical and mental powers. It is also worthy of note that he—a youth of sixteen—clearly foresaw the danger which threatened the

Union, and actively sought to fit himself most thoroughly to aid in its preservation.

Making due allowances for the impetuosity of youth, the following extracts from his letters to his sister Maria give a reasonably true exhibit of the influence of West Point training in the formation of our embryo soldier; and, in passing, we must not fail to estimate at its true value the effect of this sister's love, which, alive to his needs, cultivated with its womanly power the nobler qualities of her brother, and with its clear intuition guided and directed him in his new career. Let these letters, then, written in the freshness of youth and with the generous confidence of boyhood, tell the story of his cadet-life:

February 25, 1857.

DEAR SISTER: . . . I am glad to hear of your good health and assiduity to study, and that you are exerting every faculty in the laudable pursuit of education. I am striving equally hard for the same. I am sure that few have the facilities offered for getting an education which I have, and not to take advantage of these privileges is inconsistent. I study from 6 to 7 A. M., and from 8 A. M. to 1 P. M., including recitations; then from 2 to 4 P. M. I read newspapers and write letters; from 4 P. M. till sundown is release from quarters, which I usually spend in the library reading, and then study from 7 to 9.30 P. M.; so that you see my time is pretty well occupied. Perhaps a few of my daily marks would give you an idea of my progress. . . . So long as I can keep up to these marks I am not in danger of being found deficient. . . . I am passionately attached to

West Point, and would not give up my appointment here for a million dollars. I want you to come here next encampment and see the beautiful scenery that I have often tried to describe.

WEST POINT, *April 12, 1857.*

MY DEAR SISTER: . . . In your last letter you asked if I sincerely believed in a God. I can say yes. I also believe in the religion inculcated by the ministers of God. . . . Few men now disbelieve religion, and those are mostly ignorant men. Voltaire, the greatest modern infidel, shrank from death; and why? Because of his unbelief. He was afraid to enter eternity. I hope that you will never desert the good cause you have espoused, and that you will do much good in your life. As for myself, I take the Bible as the standard of morality, and try to read two chapters in it daily.

WEST POINT, *September 7, 1857.*

MY DEAR SISTER: . . . In your letter you allude to my demerit. I must say that it gave me the bluest kind of blues; not because it made me have any apprehension of being "found," but because you look upon them in a wrong light. Now, I'll disabuse you of this error. You use the term "bad marks." *Bad* signifies to you, evil, wrong, immoral, and wicked, which placed before *marks* signifies that I have been doing something wrong or immoral—something which conscience disapproves. That is wrong, not only in the sight of a military man, but of God. Now, what moral wrong is there in "laughing in ranks," in being "late at roll-call,"

“not stepping off at command,” “not having coat buttoned throughout,” and kindred reports? Now, is that wrong in the sight of God? I say, no! But it is wrong only in the sight of a military man, and it is from such reports that I get my demerits or “bad marks.” I can say I have never received an immoral report, such as “using profane language.” I thank you for the kind admonition, and to please you I will try to get as few as possible. I have only one so far this month, and if I get no more that will come off. I certainly shall be careful enough to prevent being cut a single day on furlough.

WEST POINT, *February 13, 1858.*

DEAR SISTER: . . . I received a letter from Sister L—, in which she says that she and S— have experienced religion. I hope they may have the strength to defend and exemplify it throughout their whole lives. I also hope they have attained it through a firm conviction of its being right, and that the irresistible current of a protracted meeting did not hasten them to take such an important step. Do not infer from this that I am opposed to such meetings, for I am not; on the contrary, I think they cause two thirds of the true conversions, but you know that young and inconsiderate persons often catch the enthusiasm of an excited minister, and believe they have found religion; but, as soon as the meetings cease, their enthusiasm subsides, from the want of thorough conviction, and they necessarily revert to their primitive state. My reason for not seeking religion can only be ascribed to a queer kind of apathy.

WEST POINT, *February 9, 1859.*

MY DEAR SISTER: . . . The perusal of your last letter gave me great pain, yet I am glad you gave me so clear an insight into brother Le Roy's disease. I have but little hope of his recovery, and I only ask that he may be prepared for his last great change. Oh, that I could by look, word, or deed, ease his condition, but I can only think of and pity him! My last thoughts at night and my first waking thoughts are of him. How I wish I was at home, to watch by him and contribute my mite toward comforting him! May he not delay in making his peace with God! How thankful I am for such parents as we have! Their sacred influence is ever about us, shielding us from temptation, and teaching us the true object of life. If Le Roy can not get well, I wish to be sent for; I can not part with him forever without a last farewell.

WEST POINT, *March 26, 1859.*

DEAR SISTER: . . . Dear Le Roy's request to me shall not be unheeded. I have resolved, yes, begun to seek the Lord, and shall continue till I find him. "He is slow to anger and of great kindness." Relying on the promise that "whosoever will seek mercy shall obtain it," I will leave no effort untried, but will work diligently to the end. . . .

WEST POINT, *April 23, 1859.*

DEAR SISTER: . . . You have doubtless heard that I have put my trust in the "Friend that sticketh closer than a brother." Such is my hope. Life is but an instant as compared with eternity, and, when

we reflect that our future condition depends upon our actions here in this world, it is but reasonable that we should bow before the Creator, to acknowledge his supremacy and ask his forgiveness for our manifold violations of his law. I feel that I could resign everything to do his will and to gain his approbation. To-day being Easter, the Lord's Supper will be celebrated. I intend to partake of it willingly, and hope that I may be strengthened in my resolutions to serve him faithfully to the end. The army is a hard place to practice religion; though few scoff at it, yet a great majority totally disregard it. Still, through the prayers of others I hope to lead a Christian life, and to do as much good in the army as in any other profession. I do not think that Christians have ever disgraced the profession of arms; on the contrary, they are those who have most ennobled it.

WEST POINT, *May 1, 1859.*

DEAR COUSIN E—: I have heard that you have experienced a change of heart, and that you propose to live hereafter a Christian life. This gives me great joy. I, too, have given myself up to God. Being, therefore, new laborers in the vineyard of the Lord, I thought that a correspondence might mutually benefit and strengthen us in the determination we have made. I do sincerely hope that you have "offered yourself as a sacrifice, holy and acceptable before the Lord," and have a hope of immortality. What a blessed thought! Is it not a sufficient inducement to remain faithful to the end? Yes! what is the length of life, compared with nev-

er-ending eternity? Infinitely small. Yet our actions during this instant are to determine our future condition throughout eternity. Let us strive to show ourselves worthy of the kingdom of heaven. Let us be true to the trust confided in us. We must necessarily encounter difficulties. We may have to bear the scoffs of the world, but we should recollect that the Son of God not only had to bear this, but he was crucified, and his blood was shed for us. Doubts may arise in our minds; but we must remember that we are finite beings, and God is infinite. How, therefore, can we expect to comprehend the ways of an Infinite Being? Let us drop these doubts whenever they arise, and hope and trust in God, "who is just and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness." The more difficulties we triumph over, the greater will be our reward. Let us not, therefore, be discouraged or disheartened, but may we grow in the knowledge and love of God, that we may finally be accounted worthy of a seat at his right hand.

WEST POINT, *January 6, 1860.*

MY DEAR SISTER: Another year has joined the past, and 1860, bright with promises, has dawned upon us. "We know not what a day may bring forth." 1860 may be as indelibly stamped upon our memories as 1859 or 1856, when our loved ones were summoned from earth. As we look over our diminished numbers, we ask who is to go next. The one most robust in health may be the first to succumb to disease. Let us thank God for his goodness and mercy, for we feel that he has called them

unto his glory. We should be more watchful, more diligent in our services to God than we have been. Let our united prayers ascend to God that he may hasten the conversion of those of our family who still delay.

WEST POINT, *January 20, 1860.*

MY DEAR SISTER: . . . The nature of your letter shows conclusively your deep interest in my welfare. Your letter did me much good. In order to answer its questions, I had to examine myself to ascertain what motives actuate me. I can not be too thankful for having been reared under Christian influences, for especially at this time do I need the assistance of God to keep me in the path of rectitude. We are living in perilous times. Government, society, everything seem to be on the verge of revolution. The passions of the people are being waked up, and they must have vent. God is directing the storm, and all is for the best. We may ask, How have we incurred his displeasure? The answer is easy. Mormonism, spiritualism, intemperance, slavery, corruption in politics, either of which is almost sufficient to curse a people. Few there are who have not bowed the knee to Baal. We must have reform. We must return to reason and virtue. Why should we expect tolerance when God suffered such calamities to befall his own chosen people? He scourged them with war, and he will punish us likewise. If we are to have war, I shall have no conscientious scruples as to engaging in it, for I believe I shall be on the side of right. I am ambitious; but I shall strive to limit it to doing good. It will profit a

man nothing to gain the whole world and lose his own soul. Since I first began to call upon God, I have daily asked his assistance and direction, and I feel that he is nearer me now than ever before. You know not to what temptations we are exposed here, yet he has not allowed me to be tempted further than I could bear. Whenever lethargy, indifference, or skepticism has crept over me, the remembrance that our sister and brother died happy, trusting in God, has been an incentive to renewed effort to continue faithful to the end. I shall trust in God. If he intends me to occupy a high position, he will raise me to it; if not, I shall be happy in having done my duty and in meeting his approval. There will be no limit to the opportunities of doing good in the army. There will be wounded soldiers to minister to, and the dying to comfort. Surely I can do good. These remarks may be premature; but the conviction strengthens that we must have war. I thank God that none of my relatives will feel its horrors; but I pity those where the conflict must occur.

From the perusal of these letters we see that the loss of a beloved younger brother directed Upton's thoughts toward the future life. And, while his sister's letters kept him fully informed of the incidents of home-life, they also encouraged the growing interest in his soul's welfare.

He had passed through the troubles of his first encampment, had learned to yield unquestioned obedience to his superior officers, had mastered all the studies preceding those of the professional year,

and had measured himself with his comrades in the soldierly and intellectual race. As he had risen gradually in class-standing through his own merits, there became established in his mind a confidence in his own powers that removed from him any fear of ultimate failure. The regular habits enforced by the discipline of the academy had put his bodily functions in systematic working order and given him perfect health. His religious feelings were not, therefore, tinctured with the morbid fancies arising from ill-health in body or mind, but were really the awakenings of his moral manhood to the necessity of a dependence upon his heavenly Father. These religious seeds, first planted by his parents, and nurtured by his sister, took firm root in his nature, and afterward developed into a healthy growth, commensurate with the necessities of his after-life.

He had escaped the dangers of that period of his youth when the rational faculties are first strongly developed and often run in wanton riot, their whole effect being too often to submerge the intellect in the bogs and quicksands of materialism. Ever after, Upton was a deeply religious man in principle, in thought, and in action, and the evidences of this fact are readily traced throughout his subsequent career in all his words and deeds.

His cadet comrades knew him to be a member of the church, of the Bible-class, and prayer-meeting, and they gave him the credit of being conscientiously consistent in profession and in life. While this consistency exacted and obtained their

respect and support, it also diverted from him the sneers and innuendoes which might be occasionally directed against less worthy and less consistent comrades.

Up to this time Upton had secured the reputation of being a reliable but not a brilliant scholar. A laborious student, faithfully doing his day's work in the day, he managed to exhibit in his recitations always a good knowledge of the subject-matter, but his early deficiency of expression even here prevented his ever making a thoroughly well-rounded and elegant recitation. What he learned, however, he retained, and constantly gave practical value to his knowledge by using illustrative facts to fix theoretical principles in his mind. His mathematical training caused him to prove all things, to take nothing for granted, and pass, by consecutive logical processes, to the inevitable result. During this last year at the academy he was constantly looking forward to the time of his emancipation, not because of *ennui* or mental fatigue, but rather because the practical application of principles was becoming a necessity to him. Mixed with these longings were the occasional retrospective glances in which the young frequently indulge. A few letters are here inserted to exhibit this phase of his student-life:

WEST POINT, *February 5, 1860.*

MY DEAR SISTER: . . . I have just been discussing with my room-mate our prospects as army-officers. My life really begins with the date of my commission. What will time disclose? I may meet with success, and I may have been educated but to

become the mark of a "red-skin." Our profession differs from all others. It is a profession of fate and a fatal profession. A long war would make many of us, and prove the grave of as many; but you know it matters not how we meet death, provided we are prepared for it. We must leave all to the dispensation of an all-wise Providence.

WEST POINT, *June 3, 1860.*

MY DEAR SISTER: . . . This is the anniversary of my arrival at West Point. Four years ago to-day, in the pride and buoyant spirits of a young military aspirant, I took my first lessons in military life. 'Tis pleasant to look back upon the past and compare it with the present. Four years of constant confinement and regular duties have passed, and we now stand on the threshold of our first class-year. Hard times and troubles are all over, and inviting scenes lie before us. One short year more, and the key which is to unlock the honors and emoluments of our profession will be delivered into our hands. I hope to do well, since my general standing in a great degree will depend on my examination. Chemistry, infantry, artillery, and cavalry tactics will follow the examination in ethics. Were it not for drawing, I should, without doubt, better my last year's standing. I shall probably not fall below it. The Secretary of War has decided not to grant us a leave. My only plea is a broken shoulder, got in the riding-hall, but, as I am getting "painfully smart," my hopes, even in that direction, are diminutive. You may, therefore, regard my leave as extremely doubtful, and even dis-

miss it from your mind. I am very sorry to disappoint my loved ones.

WEST POINT, *October 21, 1860.*

MY DEAR SISTER: The Prince of Wales created a good deal of excitement here on Monday last. The plain was thronged with people eager to get a glimpse of the future King of England. We were drawn up in line in front of barracks to receive the prince. He and his suite were mounted and preceded by a platoon of dragoons, as escort. As he came galloping along the line we came to "present arms." I never experienced such queer feelings before, and, had I not been under military discipline, I believe my enthusiasm would have given vent to itself in cheers. The crowd was wild, but was doubtless somewhat restrained by the example of the corps. After the review, the officers of my class were introduced to his Royal Highness. I can now say that my rustic hand has grasped the hand of royalty. He has a kind and very pleasant countenance, and he will probably make a good if not a brilliant sovereign. The members of his suite are perfect gentlemen (General Bruce, Duke of Newcastle, Dr. Ackland, and others). They came into the engineering-rooms and I had quite an interesting conversation with them. They spoke *pure* English. We rode before them in the riding-hall with saddles, and then with blankets. One cadet was thrown almost off his horse, but he regained his seat with such skill and address as to make the prince clap his hands. After the ride, the prince expressed his admiration of our horsemanship to the officer in command. . . .

Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio, preached us a sermon last Sunday. He was chaplain here thirty years ago, and during his ministry a great revival took place. He attended our prayer-meeting and commenced to relate his experience here, but, unfortunately, his interesting narrative was interrupted by the 'call to quarters.' West Point was then a hot-bed of infidelity, but he rooted it out, and his influence is felt to this day. I was introduced to him, and he gave me a warm invitation to visit him at Cincinnati next year. Please give me credit for not saying anything about my studies in this letter.

WEST POINT, *October 28, 1860.*

MY DEAR LITTLE SISTER: Your letter was duly received; and, as it was full of information, it was read with no ordinary degree of satisfaction. You alone of the thirteen children remain at home. What a change! One by one they have left the paternal roof, until you only are left "to honor thy parents." None of us can reproach our father and mother for neglect of duty. I can now appreciate the effect of the discipline under which we were trained. Rigid though it was at times, yet the chastisement was always given in love rather than in anger. Our characters were formed early; and, hence, none of us when thrown upon our own resources have thus far disgraced our name. You are now my only home correspondent, and you must write all that transpires at home. Every letter you write has two values, one to yourself and one to the recipient; therefore think not that your letters are worthless; they help to develop your men-

tal faculties. . . . Education is not wholly acquired in the school-room. Accomplishments must result from mingling in society. Education and politeness make the accomplished lady. You will soon be sent away to school, but bear in mind that you can improve out of school. Every day, by close observation, you can discern more and more what is your duty. Observe the actions of others, but do so without evincing curiosity, for that were rude.

From this time until near the close of Upton's cadet-life, the great questions which agitated political parties throughout the whole land, and excited the animosities of the people, had their influence among the cadets. Intimately associated by the ties of home and kindred with all parts of our country, West Point exhibited in miniature the varying phases of sectional differences and of irreconcilable grievances. Brother cadets who had endured the same hardships, had exchanged the warmest and dearest confidences, had studied and roomed together, began now to have wordy warfare, to foster animosities, and to look askance at each other. A segregation of the opposing elements took place; and, while there were many who, animated by the fire and zeal of their section, were ready to urge extreme measures, nearly all of the Southern cadets felt that the hour of separation, which was to tear them away from dearly loved friends and their beloved West Point, was steadily but surely approaching, and that no man's hand was strong enough to prevent. Many left with great sorrow and reluc-

tance. Some that hesitated, torn by the conflicting emotions of duty and love, and of stern necessity, were hurried by a fate as inexorable as history records. All left with a sorrow so great that manly tears dropped silently as they bade farewell to their comrades—now friends, but soon to be foes. As a type of the influences at work in the hearts and minds of these young men on both sides, so differently reared in political thought and belief, and called upon to make choice, when apparently the foundations of government were being shaken to their center, the letters of Upton will exhibit an interesting picture. At this time, as well as for several years previous, the cadets had by some gradual process become separated into two parties, hostile in sentiment and even divided in barracks. This building of granite was separated really into two parts by the sally-port, and the cadets of Northern or Union principles lived mainly in the east wing, while the Southerners occupied the west and south wings. On Washington's birthday in 1861, when the band played the national airs at reveille, the hisses of the secessionists called forth the cheers of the Union men and roused them into a condition of active personal hostility. From that moment the lines were sharply drawn, and, while not actually coming to open breaches of the peace, the segregation became complete. The Northern spirit, difficult to arouse, was tempered like steel, and the smallest incident served to bring the opposing principles into actual conflict. Little by little, however, the strength of the Southern wing diminished by resignation, until the few who were left contented

themselves with silent endurance until all were finally eliminated.

WEST POINT, *December 1, 1860.*

MY DEAR SISTER: You must pardon me, but I must introduce the general and all-absorbing topic of conversation—secession. What do people at home think of it? I believe the Union is virtually dissolved. South Carolina can not retract. Her honor demands that she secede, else she would be a “by-word.” But secession is revolution. She will seize Fort Moultrie, and hence a collision with the General Government must follow. War would alienate all the other Southern States from the Union, and a terrible and bloody revolution will result. Every one in South Carolina is for disunion, at least none dare avow themselves for the Union, and from the accounts in the New York daily papers I sincerely believe she will secede on the 18th or 19th of this month. If so, the North and the South will be speedily arrayed against each other, and the result will be that the North will be victorious. The South Carolina cadets published a manifesto a short time since as follows:

“WEST POINT, *November 9, 1860.*

“*To the Editor of the ‘Columbia (S. C.) Guardian.’*

“MR. EDITOR—SIR: From what we have seen and heard, South Carolina will undoubtedly, at an early period, redeem her assertions, take her destinies in her own hands, and proceed at once to organize for herself a new and separate government (a government of which our beloved Calhoun would

approve were he with us at this time), one in which the benefits are equally distributed to all.

“Now we, her sons and representatives at the United States Military Academy at West Point, are eager to manifest our devotion and affection to her and her present cause; so will we, simultaneously with her withdrawal, be found under the folds of her banner, fighting for liberty or equality.

“Though the reception of a diploma here at the National Academy is certainly to be desired by all of us, yet we can not so stifle our convictions of duty as to serve the remainder of our time here under such a man as Mr. Lincoln as commander-in-chief, and to be subjected at all times to the orders of a government the administration of which must be necessarily unfriendly to the Commonwealth which has so far preserved a spotless record, and of which we are justly proud.

“We hereby swear to be true to her lone star in the present path of rectitude; and if, by chance, she goes astray, we will be with her still. All we desire is a field for making ourselves useful.”

A Philadelphia paper exposed their class standing here. “*Three* were deficient at the examination, *one* ranked fifty-three out of a class of fifty-seven, and the remaining three had not appeared in the Register of Cadets.”* I will state that two of the latter will be “found” this January examination, one was recently placed in arrest for an offense equivalent to forgery, and which would dismiss him

* Being new cadets, their names would not appear during their first year.—(P. S. M.)

if brought before a court-martial. Three have resigned (one left to-day), and the others will probably follow soon.

If the worst is to come and war follow, *I am ready*. I will take for my motto, "*Dieu et mon droit*." I will strive to do my full duty to God and my country, and willingly abide the consequences. I thank Fortune for having been given a military education here, and I will make myself useful. Always remember me to Judge Pringle. You know not under what obligations I feel to him. All my success in life I shall owe to him. I forbear writing more at present, and will await future developments.

WEST POINT, *December 21, 1860.*

DEAR SISTER: We are on general review in mineralogy and geology preparatory to our last January examination, and, possibly, our very last. These are delightful studies, and the method of instruction here renders us very familiar with minerals. Each rock has now its story for us. . . . The political horizon is very black. To-day's papers inform us that South Carolina has seceded. The veil behind which Webster sought not to penetrate has been "rent in twain," and secession, with its evils, is now a reality. Let her go. She has been a pest, an eye-sore, an abomination ever since she entered the Union. Were it not that her example may become contagious, few would regret her course; but, in the present excited state of feeling at the South, there is imminent danger that the whole South will drift into the terrible gulf which secession opens before them. I believe in Union, but South Caro-

lina has taken the initiative, and she is responsible for whatever follows, and posterity will hold her so. Every friend of freedom will execrate her course. War, I believe, must speedily follow, and by her act. The papers say, "Buchanan has ordered the commandant of Fort Moultrie to surrender if attacked"; if true, what a traitor! Floyd has sent twenty-five thousand stand of arms to different Southern posts within the past year, and for what? Certainly not for the use of soldiers garrisoning them. What, then, is the inference? That they shall be convenient for *secession*. The Administration must be deeply implicated in this plot to destroy the government. Its conduct can not be explained otherwise. I heartily rejoice that Abraham Lincoln is elected, and that we have such a noble set of Republicans at Washington to meet this critical emergency. As for myself, I am ambitious, and desire fame, but I will stand by the right; for what is the worth of fame when purchased by dishonor? God orders or suffers all things.

WEST POINT, *January 12, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: This is examination-week. My reports have not been quite so good as you may have desired, but I shall be quite satisfied with the results of the examinations. . . . Truly troublous times are upon us. We are at sea, with no chart to guide us. What the end will be, our wisest statesmen can not foresee. The South is gone, and the question is, Will the Government coerce her back? The attempt, I think, will be made, but we can not predict the result. Southern men are brave,

and will fight well, but their means for prosecuting a long war are wanting. Four States are now out of the Union, and South Carolina has fired the first gun. She has resisted the entrance of the Star of the West to Fort Sumter, and, no doubt, there will be bloodshed before you receive this, since the Brooklyn (man-of-war) is on the way to Charleston, and is bound to re-enforce that fort. . . . Members of my class continue to resign. The corps is already sensibly reduced in numbers, and, from present prospects, we will almost be reduced to a moiety. Should the United States officers from the seceding States resign, there will be many vacancies, and, very probably, they would be filled by graduating us soon. . . . In my next letter I will try to say nothing upon secession, but it is the absorbing topic of thought at present.

WEST POINT, *February 2, 1861.*

MY DEAR BROTHER: I have not heard from you in a long time. I want to ascertain your views on the subject of secession. It has assumed immense importance. The crisis has come. How is it to be met? The Union is in extreme peril. Must it be dissolved? No! I say, let it be preserved, if it costs years of civil war. What do you think of compromise? I am opposed to it, as a dangerous precedent. If the Union could be preserved without compromise, even at the expense of a war, I think it would be preferable to a compromise, since it would demonstrate that a republican government is adequate to any emergency. But, rather than see the country forever disrupted, I would prefer an honorable adjustment. These views I

take on the supposition that the South feels herself aggrieved, and that she desires to perpetuate the Union, if possible. Northern aggression is the alleged, not the real, cause of secession. The Legislature of South Carolina declares she will not remain in the Union under any circumstances. They are wild on the subject of a Southern confederacy, and they have resolved to establish it at the price of a revolution. If this is the real cause of secession, the door to compromise should forever be closed, and the South should be completely subjugated. In the Union, their property is and ought to be protected; out of the Union, slavery is overthrown. I hope some day to see it abolished *peaceably*; but, if they go out, they of themselves overthrow it in blood. It is a great evil, but we are not responsible. Let them answer for and settle it themselves. I believe that an all-wise Providence is directing the storm, and that he will overrule everything for good. . . . Several Southern cadets left to-day, and many more will follow soon. Promotion will be rapid in the army about the time we graduate, and if there is a war we will not lack employment. Probably an assault will be made on Fort Sumter; they will meet with a warm reception. We are on our last term. Our studies—military engineering, law, ordnance, etc.—are very interesting and we look forward with great pleasure to our graduation.

WEST POINT, *March 27, 1861.*

DEAR SISTER: Your remarks upon "Tories" were very appropriate. There is a large class at the North, and they will seriously affect the power

of the Government. They are so servile that they would prefer to accept the terms of Jeff Davis, rather than fight for the honor of the North. I am entirely out of patience with them. Let slavery alone where it is, but never let it extend. Think of a slave republic in the nineteenth century! The ignorant people of Italy are now fighting for *liberty*; the chivalous South is fighting for *slavery*. What a cause to fight for; and still Northern traitors are taking commissions in the Southern army! It is good for the army that they have resigned; they are now in their proper places. It is no compliment to the cause to say that traitors are eager to defend it. I am impatient with the apathy of the North. The South is making ample preparations for war, while we "are lying supinely on our backs." Why are no steps taken to defend the Union? If we have war (mark my words), Jeff Davis will be successful in one or two campaigns. He is energetic, and he is drawing all the talent he can from our army. He will enter the war with his forces well organized, and it can not be denied that Southern men will fight well; hence, what is to prevent his success for a time? Every victory for him at the outset will require three defeats to offset.

WEST POINT, *April 8, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: . . . I am sincerely glad at the turn affairs have taken within the last few days. The Government has awakened from its apparent lethargy, and seems disposed to meet the difficulties with which it is beset. Unwonted activity is displayed at army rendezvous and at navy-yards.

My opinion is that war has actually begun. There is absence of news from Charleston. The telegraph lines are down south of Petersburg, Virginia, which is a very suspicious circumstance. The gallant band at Fort Sumter may now be sacrificing their lives in defense of our flag and for the honor of our country. This sacrifice will not be in vain. The acts of the Government are decidedly warlike, but not aggressive. Southern troops are assembling at Forts Pickens and Sumter; this all means war; it can not be evaded. Traitorous army officers are resigning daily. Let them go; we want none but faithful men. I am glad to say that almost every Northern cadet is anxious and ready to serve the Government. War is a calamity, but an inevitable necessity. I think there will be a campaign this summer, else secession must back clean down, which is improbable. . . . A letter was received to-day from Washington, stating that the Secretary of War and General Scott are in favor of graduating our class, and giving us commissions to fill vacancies now existing in the army. I am willing to be ordered away immediately. A furlough would give little satisfaction when such exciting scenes are being daily enacted. I shall be glad when my academic duties terminate.

WEST POINT, *April 8, 1861.*

MY VERY DEAR SISTER: You will, before the reception of this, have heard the war news. The daily papers teem with exciting dispatches. Troops are moving in every direction. All, however, is speculation as to their destination and orders. I rejoice that the Government has taken its stand.

Let it pursue a firm policy, and I am sure the North will support it. An attack on Fort Sumter is highly probable. The "Times" and "Herald" to-day state that provisions are on their way there, and that Anderson has orders to open his batteries if the vessel is fired upon. I hope Providence is overruling us, and that all will turn out for the best. The war will be forced upon us. We will be in the right, and let us maintain it as becomes freemen.

I mentioned in my last letter that we might graduate soon. I hope we may if war begins. I want no holier cause than to defend the flag which Washington honored. Will you do me the favor to make a little flag (inclosed size), with *thirteen stripes* and *thirty-four* stars? I want it for my personal colors, to have always with me. With that, a small pocket Testament, and a just cause, I am ready for action, and willing to leave the issue in the hands of God. I shall hope to see you soon, whatever transpires. You must see West Point. I am having a very easy time—no military duty to perform, no roll-calls to attend, etc.—these are privileges of the office I now hold, Assistant Instructor of Artillery.

Remember me most kindly to Judge Pringle. I owe all to him. His motive in appointing me seldom actuates other Congressmen. Most appointments are political favors. I told you the reason he assigned for appointing me.

WEST POINT, *April 17, 1861.*

MY VERY DEAR SISTER: Your very welcome letter was received to-day. I admire the feelings which dictated it. I rejoice that you are all willing

that I should serve my country. That I should witness the worst horrors of war very soon, admits of no doubt, but I do not shrink from it. I shall have the pleasing and grateful knowledge that, every morning and evening, prayers will ascend for my protection and spiritual welfare. . . . I am both surprised and delighted at the enthusiasm of the people in support of the Government. Every breath of treason in the North seems hushed. How remarkable! One week ago, no one had any confidence. To-day, the voice is, "The Union must and shall be preserved!" The attack on Fort Sumter has sealed the traitors' doom.

Now for the "petit" flag. It is suspended over my alcove, where I can look at it by turning my eye. I shall carry it with me during the war in my breast-pocket. I shall look at it whenever necessary to stimulate my sense of duty, and I shall look at it often to call you into remembrance. I am much pleased with the letters I receive from every member of our family. All tell me to do my duty, and none would dissuade me. Nothing encourages me more, and I would like to have *duty* inculcated in every letter. I shall not have a furlough, and it is doubtful even if I return home for an hour. For mother's sake, I believe it is better that I should not. Thirty members of my class have applied to the Secretary of War to be graduated at once. The remainder (eighteen) are doubtful, and some are traitors. They refused to sign the paper. The application has been laid before the superintendent. . . . The Government will know who are loyal and who are traitors. I think the latter will not get

diplomas; if they do graduate, I believe they will immediately join the C. S. A.; one already holds a commission. Union meetings are held here almost every night. All the national airs, except "Hail Columbia," are sung. Cheers for the Union are loud and long. We are strong for the Union, now and forever.

We may now cast a retrospective glance over the past five years, and determine the influences which the Academy had planted, fostered, and developed in Upton's mental, moral, and physical nature. We find him, at his entrance into cadet-life, a raw country lad, with few of the graces and but little of the polish that mark the youth trained amid the elegancies of city life. But, deeply ingrained in his moral nature, there were fixed principles of integrity, devotion to duty, and filial and fraternal love, cemented by the powerful, ever-inciting activities of a religious mind. Thrown into a community where unquestioned obedience was at once required, discontent and active resistance would have unquestionably followed, had not the logic of its necessity soon found a lodgment and a hearty acceptance in his mind. A unit in an organization governed by a system of regulations, whose direct results confirmed its wisdom, he soon gave his adhesion and support to the constituted authorities; for, just as soon as he began to appreciate the fallacy of his reasoning as to the moral wrong of "bad marks," these decreased in due proportion.

For a proper understanding of the value of the

institution as a training-school for the military profession, it may be well here to indicate briefly its essential characteristics, as devised by General Sylvanus Thayer, and which have for the past sixty years been practically unchanged. Previous to 1819 it hardly deserved the name of a military school, there being nothing coherent or self-sustaining in its structure. Since that time, thanks to General Thayer's wonderful sagacity and able administration, and that of his able successors, it has been enabled to overcome all the difficulties which threatened its early existence, and to enter into a vigorous life, which as yet displays no sign of decrepitude.

It is governed immediately by the War Department, having the General of the Army as its inspector. Its superintendent is a distinguished officer of the army, appointed by the President for his especial fitness for the responsible duties to which he is assigned.

The functions of the Academy are twofold:

1. To train the intellectual faculties by a course of instruction arranged in a settled curriculum, in which all graduates must be adjudged proficient before they can be recommended as fit for promotion into the several corps and line of the army.
2. To utilize the drill and discipline of the various military evolutions as enforced physical exercise, at the same time aiming at a high degree of proficiency through the *esprit de corps* of the cadets. To accomplish these two objects the superintendent has under him an academic board of professors, permanently attached to the Academy, and

a much more numerous body of officers of the army in active service, temporarily detached from their regiments, and returnable to them at the expiration of their detail. These two bodies are, in some degree, antagonistic. The former are, from the nature of their duties, conservative; the latter, by the varied service experienced in a small army scattered over a widely-extended country, are radical and highly critical, if not iconoclastic. The healthy attack and defense of a system in which both are mutually interested results in slow, gradual, but permanently beneficial changes acquiesced in by both parties. The constant current of able officers coming from all parts of the army, imbued with its notions, and returning to it, carrying the knowledge of the work of the Academy, prevents stagnation, keeps its interest alive in the army, and insures a healthy and vigorous life. If the Academy were governed alone by its academic board, there would be danger of a too great extension toward merely theoretical excellence; while, if controlled by officers on the active list of the army, the practical art would be unduly developed at the expense of the solidly theoretical. This happy adjustment of differences has no counterpart in any foreign service, and has received the unqualified admiration of professional soldiers of all countries who have had the opportunity of studying its system, and observing its practical benefits.

The regulations established for the government of the cadets are explicit, and are devised to train them into systematic and regular habits. Violations of regulations are followed by restrictions,

which are wisely *corrective* in their nature and not *punitive*. The immediate administration in quarters, at drill, and in military evolutions of all kinds, while supervised by army officers, is mainly confided to cadets who are judged by their comrades according to the impartial standards of equity and right in the performance of their duty. This instills a respect for authority, independent of the individual exercising it for the time being, leads to an honorable rivalry for the coveted honors, and confers on the governors and governed the sense of personal responsibility, which is essentially the pride and glory of the Academy. The daily exaction of many hours of hard study, cheerfully yielded by the cadet because of the impartial benefits received, results in a continuous growth of mental fiber and develops a self-reliance which finds its highest value in times of necessity, responsibility, or peril.

And, finally, of higher value than all else, is the true soldierly honor which, ever jealously guarding the priceless jewel of truth, requires the sacrifice of life itself before the trust shall be betrayed or the flag dishonored. This devotion to truth guarantees to each member of the Academy a reliance on his word as an officer and a gentleman, and demands of him such conduct as shall be the manly outcome of noble and patriotic thoughts.

Such was the atmosphere which had surrounded Upton during his cadetship at West Point. It was one well calculated to nourish and invigorate his moral growth, and to destroy the very germs of selfish actions. The system of responsibility toward his superiors, and the exercise of his power in his

relation to his subordinates, happily balanced in their influence, led him to acquire a proper respect for authority, and a just discretion in its exercise. His intellect, quickened by the daily study, grew in due proportion with the manly vigor acquired from his physical exercise, and thus we find him well equipped at all points for the important duties which his chosen profession of necessity called him to perform amid the stern realities of war.

His class graduated on the 6th of May, 1861. His academic rank was eight in a class of forty-five members. The Academic Board considered him fit to be honored by recommendation to the Secretary of War for promotion into the Engineers and all other corps and line of the army. He had therefore justified the high expectations of his friend Judge Probie, for he had reached the highest honor the Academy had to bestow. Notwithstanding this recommendation, he chose the artillery. With his comrades he was ordered to report without delay at Washington, where their services were sorely needed to drill and discipline the various regiments of volunteer troops gathered there in obedience to the call of the Government, preparatory to the arduous campaign then in contemplation.

CHAPTER III.

ACTIVE SERVICE AS A SUBALTERN.

THE great body of volunteers assembled at Washington in the spring of 1861, in obedience to the call of the President, although inspired by patriotic enthusiasm, was without discipline or military knowledge, save the little they had individually acquired by their service in the militia. To remedy these defects became, then, a matter of pressing necessity before the troops could with confidence be sent into the field. The War Department, doubtless with this end in view, ordered the graduation of the two upper classes of the Military Academy, in order to utilize the services of these carefully trained and thoroughly disciplined young men in drilling the various regiments of volunteers. Upton's class was graduated on the 6th of May, and had completed all but a month of their five years' cadet service. They were in every way qualified for the responsible duties to which they were at once assigned. Imperative orders directed their immediate presence in Washington. Delaying but a few hours in New York to procure their arms and equipments for active service, many of them still in their cadet uniform, they hurried on to Washington, and were at once absorbed in the performance of the duty assigned them.

Coming as they did fresh from the Military Academy, accustomed to strict disciplinary principles, having a practical as well as a theoretical knowledge of military science, and with a high sense of honor, they were peculiarly fortunate in being at once associated with those patriotic men who formed the first levy of our volunteer army.

They could not help being ennobled by intimate association with the men who, in the highest spirit of self-sacrifice, had given up every worldly interest, as well as family and home, and who stood ready to yield life itself in order that the Union might be preserved.

The influence of such men upon these active and high-spirited young regulars can never be wholly understood, except in the light of the remarkable success that the latter attained by the hearty cooperation of the former; and the regular army of to-day shows that the patriotic and devoted sacrifice of our volunteer soldiery has had an absorbing influence upon its present temper and discipline.

The complete story of the great civil war can never be fully written until the faithful historian has, by careful study and patient effort, constructed the mosaic from the tiny bits of personal and official experience scattered here and there in almost inextricable confusion. Each individual actor in the great conflict has his part to play, and his story has its place in the completed picture.

Upton was a faithful correspondent, and the letters to his relatives kept them well informed of his movements, and of the events which came under his immediate notice.

In the delineation of his character, it is sufficient for our purpose to give copious extracts from his letters, believing that these were the true expression of his thoughts, motives, and actions, at the time of writing, and this is our excuse for using his own words in telling the story of his life.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 8, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: From New York we took the 6 P. M. train for Philadelphia. Everything passed off quietly until we arrived in the City of Brotherly Love. There we were met by a strong police force, and all were arrested for secessionists. We were utterly unprepared for the descent, and a fight was imminent; but the police explained the matter, and we followed them to the station-house (Independence Hall). We were taken into the Rogues' Gallery, and there deposited our swords and revolvers, and awaited the arrival of Mayor Henry. We showed him our orders from the War Department, which, of course, was sufficient evidence of our character. Our arms were returned, and, on the supposition that the train had left, we went to the Continental to put up for the night at the city's expense. The cause of our arrest was a telegram from the Mayor of Jersey City, stating that forty Southern cadets were on the train, and that their baggage contained small-arms for the South. Under the circumstances the arrest was justifiable. On our arrival in Washington we reported to Colonel Lorenzo Thomas. We have not been assigned to corps yet, but may be to-morrow. I can go into the Engineers by simply saying the word, but I think strongly of the

Third Infantry, which is now on its way here. Tomorrow we commence drilling volunteers, our first duty as officers of the army.

WASHINGTON, *May 20, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: I have now really commenced life. No longer a cadet, I am now my own master. How different the circumstances! West Point is in the past. What lies in the future, God only knows! I trust it may be a prosperous and useful career. The time here passes very fast. I worked really hard last week, but do not complain, when I think how much harder the poor privates have to work.

Upton having reported to the Adjutant-General of the Army, was assigned as second-lieutenant to the Fourth Regiment of Artillery, and directed to report to Brigadier-General Mansfield, commanding the troops around Washington. General Mansfield directed him to drill the Twelfth New York Regiment, Colonel Daniel Butterfield commanding, and he was continued on this duty until May 27th, when he was selected as aide-de-camp by Brigadier-General Daniel Tyler, commanding the First Division of the Department of Northeastern Virginia. This officer had graduated from West Point in 1819, and had remained in service until 1834, after which he had been actively employed in constructing and managing railroads in various parts of the United States. But at the first call to arms, and at the sacrifice of his personal interests, he promptly offered his services to the Government, and appeared

in Washington at the head of a Connecticut brigade. Although then over sixty-two years of age, he still possessed an active and vigorous mind, a quick and clear perception, and was thoroughly alive to the importance of the vast undertaking of the new Administration. Personally a brave man, and controlled by the most patriotic motives, he was, without doubt, one of the best commanders under whom Upton could at that time have found service. He very readily and properly estimated the undeveloped military qualities of his young aide, and, after a short acquaintance, predicted the greatest success for him in his military career.

The letters which follow exhibit the first impressions of our young soldier upon his entrance into actual service :

WASHINGTON, *May 24, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: The excitement here continues unabated—in fact, has increased yesterday and to-day. Last night about eight thousand troops crossed Long Bridge and encamped on the soil of Virginia. This move is the initiative of the war. How soon a pitched battle will be fought I know not, but one must come soon. I am trying my best to be present, but fear I shall be unsuccessful. To-day I made application to be assigned to a battery of light artillery, and to-night was told that as soon as an officer was wanted I would be detailed. The Twelfth New York, to which I was assigned, is now on Arlington Heights. I am now on duty with the Second Connecticut, and shall commence drilling them to-morrow.

WASHINGTON, *June 1, 1861.*

DEAR SISTER: I leave for Virginia to-night at twelve o'clock, aide-de-camp to General Tyler. I will have a horse to ride, and good quarters. My position is admirable. I take your flag with me.

CAMP OPPOSITE WASHINGTON, *June 6th.*

MY DEAR SISTER: I had quite an incident on the night of the march here. We were under orders to march at midnight, to relieve the Twelfth New York at Roach's Mills. I told General Tyler that there were some officers of the Twelfth in Washington, and that they could tell me the route to travel. I mounted my horse and set off for their quarters, with permission to cross the river and reconnoitre the roads leading to the camp of the Twelfth. I got on very well until I reached the center of Long Bridge. There I found that I had the wrong countersign. I showed that I was the bearer of dispatches, and they let me pass on. I had not proceeded far before I was halted by a Jersey sentinel, and, not having the countersign, he would not let me pass. I was referred to the officer of the guard. He sent me to the colonel, but, not satisfying him of my character and mission, he sent me to General Runyon, who forwarded my orders (I was in uniform), but would not release me. He sent his aide to General McDowell, at Arlington, to ascertain my character, and, the general being absent, his adjutant-general, Captain Fry, wrote a note stating that I was all right. I was consequently released, and he gave me the countersign, and instruction to the sergeant of the guard to pass me over

the lines. Before passing the lines, I asked the sergeant what the countersign was, so as to be sure. Immediately he halted me and would not let me proceed, until he had sent back to the general to know whether I had it or not. Finally, after a detention of two hours, I was released. While in the general's tent I was guarded by three officers, who took up strategic positions—two slightly in front, the other in rear of me—all armed with revolvers. I had just cleared the lines, when I met General McDowell, who had heard of my arrest in Washington, which had been telegraphed to the War Department, and was on his way to General Runyon to release me. I saw him at Arlington a few days ago, and he told me I would have to pardon the volunteers, for, in their zeal, they often stopped army officers, not excepting himself.

We arrived at Roach's Mills at 5 A. M. Sunday morning. I was then sent out to survey a campground, which took till about noon. I then managed to get about an hour's sleep, the first I had had since the night previous. Yesterday General Tyler sent me out to find the shortest distance from Suter's or Shorter's Hill to Roach's Mills. I started about 9 A. M., and, while the distance is about three miles, after following the various roads to their termini, I finally reached this hill at about one o'clock. I dined with Colonel Farnham, of the Fire Zouaves, and then returned. I found that Major Speidel had posted his sentinels in an open field, and partly in rear of the line of sentinels belonging to a Michigan regiment. I assumed the responsibility of throwing Speidel's sentinels farther to the front,

and posted them along a road leading from our camp through a large wood to an open field, thence along a wood-path leading around the field to a small corn-field, where I posted one sentinel, another on the other side of the field, and three more made our line connect with the Michigan line, which extends to Suter's Hill.

After doing this, I reported to the colonel what I had done, and requested Major Speidel to return with me. The major did not like my interference, but he said but little. We took a picket of forty men and set out again. I rode with him up to the first Michigan sentinel, and showed him the route our regiment would have to follow in case we were to re-enforce Suter's Hill, should it be attacked. He immediately fell in with the idea, and called in all his useless sentinels and threw them on the line that I had first designated. I returned then to headquarters and told General Tyler what I had done, accompanying my explanation with a map. When he understood it, he said emphatically two or three times: "That is right; you will do hereafter to go out on your own hook." This was my first compliment from him. I know not why it is, but I stand very well here in the estimation of general officers.

When at Suter's Hill, Lieutenant Snyder [who had been at Fort Sumter] told me that they would like to have me for an aide-de-camp to Colonel Heintzelman. General Tyler last night told me that he should try to keep me as long as he was in service, and that it was very probable that I would be put on McDowell's staff, who commands all the forces on this side.

FRASER'S, VA., *June 17, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: We are comfortably settled here, but to-day or to-morrow we shall move to Roach's Mills. You need not worry about me, for I have all that I want to eat. I mess with the general, and, as he likes good things and has plenty of money, we lack no comforts when they can be obtained. We now have the First and Second Connecticut Volunteers on this side of the river, and the Eighth and Twenty-fifth New York are also brigaded with us.

Virginia does not compare very well with Genesee County. Once in a while we find a good farm, but generally the fences are down and the buildings are old and rickety. Yesterday the general and myself went on the cars with four hundred men of the First Connecticut Volunteers to Vienna, on the Loudon and Hampshire Railroad. Our object was to ascertain whether the road had been disturbed by the rebels. At Vienna the ladies welcomed us by waving handkerchiefs; they were truly glad to see us. The rebels had been there two days before us, and had taken up the lead pipes for bullets. On our return a shot was fired at our men, and took effect in the left shoulder of a soldier standing next to General Tyler. The train was stopped, and the men were thrown into the woods as skirmishers. When I got out of the cars they were firing very rapidly, and I thought then we were going to have a good fight, as we knew there were secesh troops within six miles when we passed up.

FALL'S CHURCH, VA., *July 1, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: Is mother as brave as she ought to be? Does she prefer to have me here rather than at home? If she does not, hereafter I will say nothing of projects. Patriotism now should rule affection. I hope she looks at it in this light. We hope to celebrate the 4th of July at Fairfax Court-House. Whether the move will involve a battle I know not, but I hope it will. Our army has insults to avenge and a flag to defend. Would it not be a glorious celebration of that day to meet and defeat the enemies of our country? Yesterday two companies of the Third Connecticut captured two prisoners and four horses. An ambush was placed within two and a half miles of the chivalrous First South Carolina. The force was the advanced guard of about thirty or forty of Radford's rangers. A little more coolness and discretion would have enabled them to capture the whole squad. They were very athletic, vigorous men, and one was very courageous and would not give up for some time. They were exceedingly mortified, and I really pitied them. I will fight before I will deliver my sword.

I can remain with General Tyler as long as I please. I know he does not want me to leave, for he has taken the trouble to write to the Assistant Adjutant-General to have me detached, and I think he saw the Secretary of War on the subject. The Fifth United States Artillery is now organizing at Harrisburg, and will not be in the field within two months. Before the expiration of that period there will be hard fighting, and were I to join my company I

should lose it all. When it gets into the field I think I shall join it, as I wish to win the reputation of being a good artillery-officer. I have been where I expected a fight, but have not been gratified as yet.

FALL'S CHURCH, VA., *July 9, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: Your good letter found me houseless and homeless. General Tyler has turned over the command of the Connecticut brigade to Colonel Keyes, and with it our tents, of course. He has not yet located his headquarters, and until then we must trust to our friends for protection. Lieutenant Hascall occupies the same position on Colonel Keyes's staff which I did on General Tyler's, before he was relieved. I meet many of my old West Point instructors daily. Captain Baird (mathematics) is on our staff; Captain Vincent (chemistry) is on General Schenck's staff; Colonel McCook, of tactics, who had my company; Colonel Howard, Captain Williams, and many others. Professor Mahan was out to see us to-day. He has a very hearty shake of the hand, which I regard as a good index to any man's character. It seems quite strange to associate with these men on terms of equality. I should like to accompany you in your visit at any other time than this; but you know an opportunity will soon present itself for me to be under fire, and I would not miss it for all the world.

During the next nine days, the preliminary movements had all taken place by which McDowell's army had been placed face to face with the enemy.

Our young soldier had been active and zealous in his duty, and had gained the confidence of his general. The latter, in command of the First Division, had, in obedience to the orders of the 16th and 18th of July, moved against Centreville, and had advanced as far as Blackburn's Ford on Bull Run. In the action which this advanced movement had brought about, Upton had aimed the first gun and was in the successful charge made by the First Massachusetts and Second and Third Michigan Regiments against the enemy's position. In this charge he displayed great coolness and dash, and, although he was wounded in the left side and arm by a musket-ball, he did not quit the field, but remained at his post of duty, receiving the commendation of his general for his gallantry. His high anticipations of success against the armed enemies of the country were not realized; and, while the result of the battle of Bull Run dampened his hopes, it did not weaken his faith in the ultimate success of the cause.

His great disappointment at the result of this promising movement is feelingly portrayed in this short but pithy note to his sister:

July 22, 1861.

MY DEAR SISTER: I regret to say we are defeated. Our troops fought well, but were badly managed.

The only other letter referring to the battle was written several months after, and refers to a chance meeting with Mr. Lovejoy:

ALEXANDRIA, *November 25, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: You spoke of the Hon. Owen Lovejoy. Did I tell you about meeting him at Bull Run? If not, I'll tell you now. General Tyler's division crossed Bull Run about forty rods above Stone Bridge. I crossed with the Sixty-ninth New York, and passed up the opposite bank through a ravine. We had marched but a few rods when we came upon a regiment of secessionists. We were about eight rods from them, and not knowing them to be secessionists we asked them. I was between them and the leading company, and of course rode around the company so that they might open fire. I had but got behind it when my horse was shot and mortally wounded. I dismounted, and remained until the enemy ran, when we ceased firing and resumed the march. I saw my horse a short distance back, and went to him and took off his saddle. I then went forward to a small house where the wounded were being carried. I saw there an old horse, and, as I was an aide-de-camp, I mounted him. I asked for his owner, and Mr. Lovejoy made his appearance. He was assisting in taking care of the wounded, and had exposed his life freely. I told him I was an aide and my horse had been shot, and asked for his. He gave him to me immediately, and I consigned to his care a valuable field-glass. I rejoined the staff, and changed the horse with an orderly. On the retreat my arm pained me, and I procured a steady horse belonging to the quartermaster's department. Mr. Lovejoy's horse was ridden by a member of our staff, and was returned to him in Washington. I have a high respect for

Mr. Lovejoy, because he fights for his principles and is a brave man.

Upon recovering from his wound, Upton, having been assigned to the artillery, was ordered, August 14, 1861, to duty in Battery D, Second United States Artillery, which was located in the defenses of Washington, south of the Potomac. During the interval of rest and reorganization of the Army of the Potomac, he remained at Alexandria with his battery, which was commanded by Captain Richard Arnold until the latter part of October, then by Captain Platt, and, before leaving again for active service, by Upton himself. In the daily routine of camp-life there was much to be done to make the battery efficient for field-service, and that this was thoroughly well done, both by officers and men, was shown in its subsequent record. The few incidents well to note before the beginning of the Peninsular campaign, as well as the impressions that occupied his mind, are given in the following letters :

ARNOLD'S BATTERY, ALEXANDRIA, *August 31, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: Since I last wrote you we have again changed camp. Captain Arnold sent me forward to locate our ground, and has honored me by naming the camp after me. We are on high ground, and not so far from the enemy as before. Our brigade is now commanded by General Mitchell (the renowned astronomer). I hope he may be as proficient in the science of war as in astronomy. Everything is quiet in front; occasionally there is picket-firing. Yesterday I visited our pickets at

Bailey's Cross-roads, and saw again the secession flag, and heard the discharge of musketry. Our pickets were then having a brush with theirs. One of their officers was shot. His rank is not known, but he was probably a valuable officer, for the flag was lowered to half-mast, and remained so during the day. They have a field-work one and a quarter miles from Bailey's, on Munson's Hill, I have been on the hill, but it was when at Fall's Church. They could easily be dislodged by planting two batteries—one at Bailey's, the other near Willie Throckmorton's house—and attacking them with infantry between the batteries. . . . I paid a visit to the officers of the Second Maine, and they gave me a hearty welcome. You will remember that we charged up the hill together. I saw the color-bearer who behaved so nobly, carrying forward our flag, planting it until the men came up, and then carrying it forward again. If I ever attain a position to reward anybody, he shall be remembered.

ALEXANDRIA, *September 30, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: Yesterday we had a regular field-day. We marched at 5 A. M. for Bailey's Cross-roads, and on arriving there found Munson's Hill in possession of our troops. We then marched for Mason's Hill, where the rebels also had fortifications, but they had deserted them. My section was brought into battery commanding the Fairfax road, but as only a few cavalry showed themselves at times we did not fire. We returned to Bailey's at 3 P. M., and encamped, expecting to remain there all night, but at supper orders were received to

return to our old camp. In twenty minutes we were ready to move, and at half-past seven were at our old home. The works at Munson's and Mason's Hills were mere scarecrows—nothing but shells which I could and did ride my horse right over. At Munson's they had a *wooden Columbiad* pointed over the parapet, which gave rise to the report that they had heavy guns.

The conduct of our troops was disgraceful beyond expression. They burned buildings, destroyed furniture, stole dishes, chairs, etc., killed chickens, pigs, calves, and everything they could eat. They would take nice sofa-chairs, which they had not the slightest use for, and ten minutes after throw them away. Talk about the barbarity of the rebels! I believe them to be Christians compared to our thieves. The houses entered yesterday belonged mostly to Union people, yet they were unmolested by the rebels. One of our volunteer majors walked up to a looking-glass, worth about twenty dollars, and deliberately put his foot through it. I wish I had witnessed it. He would have had the benefit of a court-martial.

ALEXANDRIA, *October 4, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: I want you to cease worrying about me. It does no good either to yourself or me, and it gives me no comfort whatever. You have the New York papers daily, and undoubtedly, were accident to befall me, you would hear of it through them first. If I am to be killed in battle, no earthly power can avert it. My fate I know not. Whatever it may be I am ready and willing to meet

it. I am fighting for *right*, and trust in God to defend me. If it be his will I desire no more happy or glorious death than on the battle-field in the defense of our flag. I owe all to the Government, and, in return, the Government shall have all. Perhaps I shall have a great mission to perform; if so, I shall not fail to ask wisdom from "Him who giveth liberally and upbraideth not." You spoke of mother's prayers—they are offered in faith. I wish I had her steadfastness.

It is now quite probable that we shall remain here for some time. I hope not, but if not ready it is expedient to remain on the defensive. The great points of interest are now Missouri and Kentucky. Two big battles may be expected very soon, one in each State; but the grand one will take place when the Army of the Potomac takes the offensive.

ALEXANDRIA, *November 13, 1861.*

DEAR SISTER: My views are not changed; I am opposed to Southern slavery in every form, viewed in any light—political, social, or moral. I have taken an oath "to bear true allegiance to the United States," and I hope to observe that oath. Slavery is the cause of the rebellion, and I believe it is God's providence that it shall be overthrown. It will be the consequence, not the effect, of the war. After the war is ended there will be a great influx of Northern men into the Southern States; their views will gradually triumph and slavery must yield. The rebels wish to establish a monarchy, and are fighting for that object. We are fighting for the Government, and against that object.

ALEXANDRIA, *November 23, 1861.*

MY DEAR SISTER: Time passes so rapidly now that it is hard to take cognizance of it. This is a cold, bleak night, and the poor soldiers at the outposts must suffer from cold; our men even suffer in their tents. I can hardly look forward to winter without a shudder—not that I have any anxiety for myself, but for the private soldier, whose covering for the night is but one thin blanket.

ALEXANDRIA, *March 26, 1862.*

MY DEAR SISTER: We are still at Alexandria, expecting to embark, but not knowing exactly when, possibly on Sunday. We bide our time patiently, knowing that hard fighting awaits us. We are promised the first blow, and hope to give it soon. Yesterday the ladies at Commodore Wilkes's presented the company with an elegant American flag for a guidon. I told them I would never return unless the flag did, and the promise shall be kept.

General McDowell reviewed his corps yesterday. It is forty thousand strong, and has sixty-eight pieces of artillery. As he was riding along he asked, "Which is Upton's battery?" which shows I am known to him. Give me one chance, and I shall be quite contented; and, if I don't acquit myself with honor, you will never see me again.

It does not fall within the scope of this memoir to analyze or to discuss the great campaigns of the war, and it is sufficient for our purpose, in describing the fortunes of a junior officer, to give a mere outline of the important movements, dwelling alone

on those events which had their influence in his military development, and in which he was an actor.

The Army of the Potomac after the battle of Bull Run was without organization and discipline. Although its elements were as good as this country could then furnish, it could not be made an efficient instrument for the defense of the country, or the suppression of the rebellion, without organization and enforced discipline. Neither men nor officers knew how to take care of their own health, how to cook their rations, or to shelter themselves from inclement weather. These things are learned only by bitter experience. The reports of the regimental and other commanders of the Army of the Potomac, of the chief medical officer, the quartermaster-general, the commissary-general, and other staff-officers, if attentively read, will be found full of instruction on these points. They clearly show that an army is something more than a body of armed and uniformed citizens gathered in haste from their civil pursuits.

From the time when McClellan took command of the Army of the Potomac until it moved to the Peninsula the improvement in its efficiency was marked and permanent. Without this improvement it never could have so well performed its allotted task, nor become the great dependence upon which the Government could with security rely.

McDowell's corps, originally intended to form part of the army by which McClellan was to advance on Richmond by way of the James River Peninsula, was, at the last moment, retained as a

cover to Washington. Upton's battery belonged to Franklin's division of this corps, and it was not until April 22d that this division reported to McClellan at Yorktown. On May 7th it effected a landing at West Point, Va., overcoming at that place a spirited resistance on the part of the enemy. In this engagement Upton handled his battery with coolness, and it was commended for its excellent firing by General Franklin in his report. Upton was now where he had all along desired to be—in actual service, in the command of a battery of artillery. The reputation of a battery is that of its captain. The latter must be cool yet resolute, quick of eye, decided in character, incapable of demoralization, and daring enough to gather all the fruits which his position and opportunities offer. These traits Upton possessed thoroughly. He had that *coup d'œil militaire* which enabled him at a glance to gather in all the peculiarities of the military position, and which were at once indelibly printed in his mind, ready for utilization at the critical moment. The uproar of battle steadied him and gave him the full and active possession of his faculties. It is to these qualities we must attribute the high praise which his conduct evoked on the part of every commander with whom he served.

From West Point he moved with Franklin's division to the Chickahominy; and at the battle of Gaines Mills, June 27th, we find his battery assigned to the brigade of General John Newton, and with it participating in the action, doing excellent service in this stubborn contest.

During the seven days' battle on the retreat to

the James River, Upton's battery performed a distinguished part, especially at the battle of Glendale or Charles City Cross-roads. In this action Upton was in Slocum's division of the Sixth Corps, who says in his report of the battle that "the artillery commanded by Upton and Porter was exceedingly well served," and that "the position was mainly defended by the artillery, which on this, as on all other occasions, was most admirably served. Of Upton's battery (D), Second Artillery, and Porter's battery (A), First Massachusetts Artillery, I can not speak too highly. The officers and men of both these batteries have on all occasions manifested that coolness and bravery so necessary to this branch of the service."

We next hear of Upton through the official reports at Crampton's Gap, Md. In the mean time McClellan's army had been withdrawn from the James; Pope had fought unsuccessfully the second battle of Bull Run; and McClellan had again been put in command of the Army of the Potomac, and was following after Lee, to cut him off or bring him to battle, during his invasion of Maryland. The affair at Crampton's Gap, September 14, 1862, was one of the minor actions preliminary to Antietam, September 17, 1862. Upton was at that time in command of the Artillery Brigade of four batteries, twenty-six guns, of the First Division of the Sixth Army Corps. He had obtained this position as a just reward for his success in the previous campaign, and the promotion being within the province of his immediate commanders to bestow, was a marked evidence of his own merit. His letters

and the extracts from official reports show clearly the part he had taken in the Antietam campaign.

CAMP NEAR BAKERSVILLE, MD., *September 27, 1862.*

MY DEAR SISTER: The pleasant campaign of Maryland has closed with the expulsion of the rebel invaders. From the time we left Alexandria (the second day after my return) till the close of the battle of Antietam, I never spent any hours more agreeably or enjoyed myself better. We lived well, marched through a lovely country, had beautiful weather, magnificent scenery, and above all two glorious battles. At the battle of Crampton's Gap, although not actively engaged, I was under fire. It was, however, at the battle of Antietam that I had full swing. The artillery is a pretty arm, and makes a great deal of noise. From 2 P. M. till dark we fed the rebels on shells, spherical case, and solid shot. They did not appreciate our kindness, and entertained us in like manner. Shells and case-shot I don't care anything about, but round shot are great demoralizers. The sharpshooters were very busy all the time, and annoyed us very much. I took my field-glass and stepped behind a gate-post to rest it, so that I could get a steady view. The instant I got behind it, the post was struck by a Minié-ball. It is no exaggeration to say that I was fired at a dozen times during the day. The infantry fighting was terrible. I do not believe there has been harder fighting this century than that between Hooker and the rebels in the morning. I have heard of the "dead lying in heaps," but never saw it till at this battle. Whole ranks fell together.

The trials of some of the wounded were horrible. I did not know it at the time, but, during all our firing, a wounded rebel lay under a fence about forty feet in front of the muzzles of our guns. Between their roar and the bursting shells from his own friends, the poor fellow must have suffered beyond conception. One of our captains lay wounded in a brick school-house, through which several of our shells and solid shot passed, hurling the bricks in every direction, but, strange to say, not injuring him. He died of his wound the next day. His dying message was to tell his friends that "he had been in nine battles, and that he died a brave man." A good soldier.

In regard to the part played by Upton at Antietam, Colonel Irving, one of the brigade commanders of the Second Division of the Sixth Corps, reports:

"About half-past four o'clock, Captain Upton, Chief of Artillery of Slocum's division, rode to my line, and, after we had examined the ground in front of the left attentively, I decided to accept the battery which he earnestly advised me to have placed there. Not a minute could be lost; the enemy were massing in front with the evident design of throwing a powerful column against my left, and they could not be seen except from that part of the line. I instantly sent word to Major-General [Wm. F.] Baldy Smith, who approved the movement, and I requested Captain Upton to order up the battery, which came into action very promptly and opened with three rifled guns, which, after playing on the

masses of the enemy with great effect for half an hour, were withdrawn, and their places supplied by a battery of Napoleon guns, the fire of which was very destructive; these guns were of inestimable value to us, and the coolness and the precision with which they were served deserve the highest commendation, and it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge how much I was indebted to Captain Upton, and to the officers and men under his command."

CHAPTER IV.

SERVICE AS A REGIMENTAL AND BRIGADE COMMANDER.

UPTON'S peculiar fitness for the profession of arms was evident to all who came in contact with him, and the impression made by his intrepidity in battle was not easy to forget. The attention of the authorities of the State of New York was early directed toward those officers of the regular army who were fit to command its regiments, and likely to reflect honor upon the State; and the choice fell upon Upton for the command of the One Hundred and Twenty-first Regiment, New York Volunteers. This regiment had been raised in Herkimer and Otsego Counties, in obedience to the call of the President in August, 1862, for three hundred thousand volunteers. By August 30th the regiment was ready to leave for the front, under the command of Colonel Richard Franchot. On the 3d of September it reached Washington; on the 14th and 17th it participated in the battles of Cramp-ton's Gap and Antietam, and on the 23d of October it received its new colonel, Emory Upton, who had been so commissioned by Governor Fenton on the 9th of October. One of the first to congratulate the young colonel and to commend the regiment to his

best devotion was its first commander, Colonel Franchot, who, having been elected to Congress, relinquished the command to take his seat as a Representative. Upton had, however, been ordered, August 14th, to duty at the Military Academy, which order was, to his great gratification, revoked to enable him to take command of his regiment. From this time, therefore, his connection with the regular army was merely that of his regimental rank as an artillery-officer, and his subsequent career was identified with the volunteers.

The rank and file of his regiment were made up of the best men the country then produced—men of brawn and muscle, urged by the highest patriotism to enlist for a service that promised hard fighting and the severest trials. They deserve the highest commendation, and they made for themselves a glorious record. Engaged in every battle fought by the Army of the Potomac from Antietam to the close of the war, their devotion was attested by their constantly thinned ranks and the honorable scars of the survivors. They were readily amenable to the strict discipline needed for success, and heartily gave unquestioned obedience to the gallant soldier who was their animating spirit and led their advance in the assault.

On the occasion of the reunion of the survivors of the regiment in 1878, Major Douglas Campbell gave fitting testimony as to the causes which contributed to the gratifying record attained by the regiment while under the command of Colonel Upton. He says:

“This record was not the result of chance; it was due mainly to two causes: The first was the material of which the regiment was composed; men who went out to fight for principle must make good soldiers. The second was the influence of the man that we were fortunate enough to secure as our leader. Earnestness is the chief secret of success in life; of all the men that I have ever met, no one was more thoroughly in earnest than Colonel Upton. Bred at West Point, he was but twenty-two years of age when he donned the eagles and the badge of the One Hundred and Twenty-first. The first day he made to the officers a little speech about what he expected of the regiment. I went away feeling that we had indeed found a man. How the regiment was affected is shown by its subsequent record. At first some of the boys thought he was severe in discipline and drill; but when people began flocking from distant encampments to witness our dress parades, and when in battle they saw the regiment standing like a solid wall, these very men thanked the colonel. In discipline he was stern, but it was only the sternness of a soldier; below it was as warm a heart as ever beat. When we lay for that fearful night at Belle Plain Landing, without tents, fire, or food, in sleet and mud, which froze before morning to a solid mass, the field-officers alone had a tent. Upton gave up his couch to a sick lieutenant, and, rolled in a blanket, lay upon the ground. A day or so afterward I heard a conversation between the officers who occupied the tent. The others, it seems, rested comfortably, but Upton said he could not sleep, thinking of the poor fellows

outside who had no shelter. You remember that when he joined us we had a very large sick list. Upton came to us from a battery of regular artillery, and for some days was absent a large portion of the time. We supposed he was visiting his old associates. A few weeks afterward I met a friend who belonged to a regular regiment. He said to me: 'What is the colonel of your regiment doing? Is he studying medicine?' I asked what he meant, and he replied, 'Why, for a long time he came over here almost every day, and passed his whole time in our hospitals, talking to our surgeons, and studying our medical system.' That explained why the health of the regiment improved so rapidly after he took command. In those early days I remember seeing a sentinel, who for some fault had been sent for to his tent, coming out crying as if his heart would break. When he could speak, I asked him what was the matter, and through his tears he answered: 'The colonel has been talking to me about allowing my gun to be taken away on post. He spoke of the danger which might come to the army from neglect of duty like that, and spoke in such a way that I felt as if I were unworthy to be a soldier. He said he would not punish me, but I would rather spend a month in the guard-house than have him look and talk so.' That soldier never failed in his duty afterward. Such was our colonel in camp—watchful of his men, studious of their health and comfort, kind-hearted as a woman; but in battle he was terrible. You all know that, however, as well as or better than I do. The regiment went everywhere, but he was always in advance. Were he

here, I should have said nothing of all this, for he is as modest as he is brave; but, as he is absent, I could not refrain from rendering to his services my little tribute of praise. Certainly in this, the first address at our reunion, it is not out of place to express our gratitude to the man who helped so largely to make this regiment what it was."

The testimony given by Major Campbell is in keeping with Upton's well-known traits of character. He was ever alive to the wants and necessities of his men. He jealously guarded their interests, and never for a moment lost sight of anything that would conduce to their health and comfort; but he likewise exacted of them that prompt and unhesitating obedience without which proper discipline can not be maintained. The following letter shows how well Major Campbell had estimated the character of his new colonel:

BELLE PLAIN, VA., *December 7, 1862.*

MY DEAR SISTER: We marched from Stafford Court-House to White Oak Church three days ago. Day before yesterday our brigade marched to this point, the confluence of the Potomac River and Potomac Creek. When we arrived it was snowing and quite cold, and we had to encamp on the plain. There were no woods to break the wind, no wood to build fires, and the men were wet to the skin; the ground was covered with snow and water, and with but a thin shelter-tent over their heads, and nothing but the cold ground to lie on and one blanket for a covering, you can imagine how the poor soldiers

fared that night. Yesterday it was clear and cold, and last night colder than any night last winter. The ice froze thick enough to bear a horse. To-day I took the regiment from the plain to the woods—dense cedar and a high ridge—to protect them from the wind, and to-night they are very comfortable, although it is still very cold. I like the regiment very much. The men know that they will be taken care of, and they are quite contented.

His new regiment formed a part of the brigade in which he had won distinction, and this more prominent command called out all the energy of his mind and body. In the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, he had an opportunity of testing the soldierly qualities of his men. Here his gallant bearing and coolness under fire were so striking that he won the affection of his men, and they behaved so like veterans that mutual confidence was from that time well established.

The first time that his regiment engaged the enemy seriously was in the battle of Salem Heights, May 3, 1863. His official report to the brigade commander says:

“The regiment was deployed to the left of the plank road, about three miles from Fredericksburg, and had advanced in line of battle nearly a mile when it came upon our skirmishers in the edge of a belt of timber, about three hundred yards through, beyond which was Salem Chapel. The skirmishers reported the enemy in line of battle in the opposite edge of the woods.

“About 5.30 P. M. I received an order to push rapidly through the woods and engage the enemy, who were supposed to be hastily withdrawing. I sent the report of the enemy’s position to the general commanding the brigade, and immediately advanced the line. The regiment advanced steadily to within fifty yards of the opening, when it was assailed by a heavy fire of musketry from the enemy concealed behind a ditch. The fire was received without creating the slightest confusion. The regiment moved forward with a cheer about twenty yards farther. The enemy opposite the center and left wing broke, but rallied again about twenty or thirty yards to his rear. The Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania now came up to our left and the Twenty-third New Jersey to our right, but opened fire before coming on our line. Lieutenant-Colonel Olcott endeavored to have the Twenty-third New Jersey charge, but without success. The firing became very heavy on both sides, and was maintained about five minutes. It was impossible to remain longer.

“Having lost nearly two hundred in killed and wounded, the regiment fell back to a crest four hundred and fifty yards this side of the woods, where the colors were planted. . . . It was the first time the regiment had ever been in action. It went into the engagement with four hundred and fifty-three, and suffered a loss of forty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and one hundred and ten missing, making a total of two hundred and sixty-nine. Notwithstanding the severe loss inflicted, it came out of the action without any demoralization, and is

again ready for any service that may be imposed upon it."

General Bartlett says:

"Colonel E. Upton, commanding the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, in the battle of Salem Heights, led his regiment into action in a masterly and fearless manner, and maintained the unequal contest to the last with unflinching nerve and marked ability, and the men of his regiment, in this, their first battle, won for themselves the proud title of soldiers."

Shortly after the battle of Chancellorsville, Lee undertook the second invasion of Maryland, and pushed forward into Pennsylvania. The command of the Army of the Potomac had fallen to General Meade, and the sequence of events brought the opposing forces into conflict in the decisive battle of Gettysburg. Colonel Upton's regiment, forming a part of the Sixth Corps, reached the battle-field on the afternoon of the 2d of July, after a forced march, but yet in time to render important service to the hard-pressed Union left flank.

The following letter shows how fully he appreciated the importance of the events in which he participated:

GETTYSBURG, PA., *July 4, 1863.*

MY DEAR SISTER: Yesterday was a glorious day for the country and the Army of the Potomac. Lee attacked our army in position about 2 P. M., and was completely repulsed, with a loss of three brigadier-generals, thirty stands of colors, three thousand

prisoners, and a heavy loss in killed and wounded. The blow fell on the Second Corps, which has greatly distinguished itself. The battle began on the 1st; Major-General Reynolds was killed that day, and his corps badly cut up. On the 2d, Lee attacked, and was repulsed all around. The Sixth Corps, on the night of the 1st, lay at Manchester. It commenced its march for Gettysburg about 10 P. M., and arrived here about 4 P. M. on the 2d, a distance of thirty-two miles. We arrived just in time to re-enforce our left, which was hard pressed by Longstreet, and slowly giving way. Ten minutes later, and the battle had been lost.

Lee's attack yesterday was imposing and sublime. For about ten minutes I watched the contest, when it seemed that the weight of a hair would have turned the scales. Our men fought most gallantly. The rebels began to give way, and soon retreated in utter confusion. Shortly after, the enemy on our left also retreated. I think Lee will evacuate Maryland and Pennsylvania at once. He sought this battle, and was badly whipped. If we are re-enforced, he will suffer terribly before recrossing the Potomac. Generals Hancock and Gibbon were wounded yesterday. Generals Paul* and Weed were killed on the 2d. Our entire loss is about twelve thousand killed and wounded; the rebel loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, will be between fifteen and twenty thousand. Kilpatrick lost some prisoners yesterday, but he won a splendid reputation. General Bartlett has taken command of New-

* A pardonable error; General Paul being so severely wounded as to give at the time no hope of his recovery.

ton's old division, and to-day I was assigned to the command of his brigade by order of General Wright. The command of a brigade is a half-way step between colonel and brigadier-general, and I shall try to take the full step in the next battle. Our division has been considerably under fire during the battle, but was not actively engaged. Some were struck, but none killed.

If possible, we ought to fight Lee not far from Hagerstown, and also immediately after he crosses the Potomac. By judicious management, he must go back to Virginia. Yesterday's contest seems the decisive battle of the war. Our men are in good spirits over the success. The Sixth Corps marched from Fairfax Court-House to this place in six days, a distance of one hundred and nine miles, eighteen miles per day.

How is brother Henry's shoulder? Have him keep perfectly quiet, and not think of returning until able to do duty.

After the decisive struggle at Gettysburg, the enemy succeeded in recrossing the Potomac, and in taking up again a defensive position. They were closely pressed by the Union troops in their retreat, and, for a while, both armies waited each other's movements without showing any disposition to take the initiative. Upton's letters give clearly the sequence of events in which he was engaged, and the active thoughts which occupied his mind are happily expressed in terse and vigorous language. It is to be remembered that the criticisms in which he indulges in the private letters to his home are

not the results of subsequent digested study when the whole field was clearly presented to his view, but the rapid conclusions which his active and brilliant military mind abstracted from passing occurrences based on the fragmentary knowledge he possessed of what was going on throughout the theatre of war.

NEW BALTIMORE, VA., *August 6, 1863.*

MY DEAR SISTER: I have seldom seen, even in Virginia, so hot a day as this. The heat penetrates everywhere, and in the shade one tosses about in vain to seek comfort. Once in a while a cool current of air passes over us, but very rarely. It was the same kind of weather we had at Harrison's Landing, only in a greater degree. Our locality is much healthier, on account of its elevation. We are about twenty miles from the Blue Ridge, and exactly at the southern terminus of Bull Run, or Pignut Mountains. The rest of the division is at Warrenton. My brigade and a battery of artillery hold this point, and you see, therefore, that it is quite a responsible command. Mosby, with his guerrillas, infests this locality, and if he becomes impertinent he may get chastised, but I do not think there will be much trouble. Both armies seem to have taken a defensive position, and are gathering themselves for the storm that will burst upon them probably in November. I think it decidedly good policy on our part to wait. Our armies at all points should be re-enforced so as to far outnumber the enemy. In the next struggle there ought not to be the possibility of defeat. We have got men enough, and we have only to bring them out. In future, the

hardest fighting will be in the East. This is necessarily so, from the fact that in the West our lines of communication are so long that the various armies have to pay the utmost attention to guarding them. Grant can scarcely move from Vicksburg; his first objective would be Meridian, one hundred and fifty miles. The enemy might not fight there, but fall back behind the Tombigbee, and dispute its passage. If Grant goes to Mobile, his operations would have to cease with its capture, for the next point to be taken would be Montgomery, as far distant as Meridian. This could be accomplished with adequate force, but can't we better employ what we have? I'll answer that, after looking to Rosecrans. Rosecrans has from the first been paralyzed by his long line of communications. I do not see how he can advance, except by accumulating supplies sufficient to last six months, independent of communications. These would have to be collected at Tullahoma, which would have to be intrenched and guarded by a large and brave garrison. Nashville would be too far in his rear for this depot. These supplies accumulated at Tullahoma would form a new base of operations. His army could push on to Chattanooga, and, sooner or later, to Atlanta, surely as far as Dalton. I do not think it would pay to move even farther south than Dalton, Georgia.

The Army of the Potomac is in Virginia. You now have the present position of affairs. Now where shall we strike? Grant has about ninety thousand men, Banks say forty thousand. Detach twenty-five thousand from Grant to Banks. The latter, with the gunboats, should be able to keep the

Mississippi River clear. Now assemble all the water transportation (impress it, of course) the Government can find at Vicksburg, sufficient for the remaining sixty-five thousand of Grant's force. The enemy will expect, of course, that he will attack Mobile. Let him effect a landing thereabout; let the gunboats attack the forts at the entrance of the harbor, but let his main fleet continue on its course to Port Royal, South Carolina, and then let him come down upon the rear of Charleston. His feint at Mobile, if well played, would deceive the enemy so long that he could not transfer his troops by rail in time to avert the disaster at Charleston. You may not see what is to be gained by possessing Charleston. In the first place, it is their principal harbor for blockade-runners. Secessionists admit that prices of all foreign articles would be doubled. The moral effect would be great on both sides, but all this would be insignificant compared with its strategical importance. Once ours, the army would move rapidly upon Augusta, which, if accomplished, would, like Vicksburg, again divide the Confederacy. Lee's army would be completely isolated from Bragg and Johnston. The conclusion of the rebellion would speedily follow. The rebels are in a bad plight. In their place, I think I would now re-enforce Lee to such an extent from Bragg and Johnston that he could take the offensive against this army and drive it back to Washington. They could then be again returned south, and might arrive in time to save Charleston, should it be our plan to attack it. They can safely withdraw troops from the West, just on account of the difficulty we expe-

rience in feeding our armies. That the rebellion will be crushed does not admit of a doubt. The action of the Government in reference to drafting is manly, and inspires us with confidence in its ultimate success. I have branched off a little in this letter because you have often requested it. I do not expect that the plan proposed will be adopted, but it will do no harm to speculate—perhaps I may be right; if so, of course it would strengthen my confidence in my judgment.

WARRENTON, VA., *November 6, 1863.*

DEAR BROTHER: We are again around this "secesh" town, which we left about September 12th. We then marched to the Rapidan. The rebel fortifications appearing too formidable, Meade did not attack. Lee then began a series of manœuvres which (I can, but ought not to criticise) threw us back behind Bull Run. Lee fell back immediately without trying to force battle. We followed up leisurely to this point, where we arrived October 20th.

I sometimes get discouraged because of our not accomplishing decided results, but patience is a military as well as a social virtue, and therefore I continue to hope. I am reading "Plutarch's Lives," and I can not fail to see the charm success lends to military life. Victorious in every battle, courage rewarded in every struggle, who could not follow a Cæsar or a Napoleon? Success begets confidence and resolution, which is a battle half won. No soldier in the world can equal the American, if properly commanded. He possesses all the enthusiasm

of the French, and the bull-dog tenacity which has always characterized the English. He only wants a general who can call out his good qualities, or one who comprehends his nature. I think our generals betray in some instances total ignorance of human nature. They fail to appeal to the emotions or passions of their men. You know not the good a single word does a soldier when he is under fire. He feels that his commanding officer is directing him and looking at his actions. I have never heard our generals utter a word of encouragement, either before or after entering a battle. I have never seen them ride along the lines and tell each regiment that it held an important position, and that it was expected to hold it *to the last*. I have never heard them appeal to the love every soldier has for his colors or to his patriotism. Neither have I ever seen a general thank his troops after the action for the gallantry they have displayed.

My brief experience has taught me the value of a few words. At Blackburn's Ford, July 18, 1861, I appealed to the patriotism of the Twelfth New York. The way they fought after it assured me that they appreciated the remarks. But the most striking instance occurred at Gettysburg. We came on to the field about 4 P. M., and were held in reserve until about 6 P. M. We were then moved up to the left to support the Third and Fifth Corps, which had been repulsed. The men were tired, weary, and foot-sore. They had marched, since 10 P. M. the preceding night, thirty-two miles. Stray bullets were passing over our heads when I turned

to address them. You know I am but poorly gifted with speech, but I felt the fate of the nation depended upon the issue of that battle. A feeling of enthusiasm possessed me so electrifying that, for the first time in my life, words and actions came to me spontaneously. In a few words, I told them how momentous was the issue, how much the country expected of us. I appealed to their pride and patriotism; I promised to lead, and asked them to follow. Their eyes kindled, order replaced despondency, and the noble fellows burst out into a cheer that would have raised the hair of a confronting rebel. From that instant I had as much confidence in them as in myself. How well they fought is attested by the battle of Salem Chapel. Of four hundred and fifty-three taken into action, two hundred and twenty-seven were killed and wounded, and this in their first fight. The killed amounted to eighty. Of these, sixty-two were left dead on the field; seventeen were from one company. How short the range, is shown by the ratio of killed to wounded (eighty to one hundred and forty-seven, or less than one to two), whereas the usual ratio is one to four or five. Nearly the whole loss was inflicted at a range varying between four and eight rods, and in the space of about five minutes. The conduct of the regiment challenged the admiration of the enemy, but it was not mentioned by our commanders, where others with a loss little more than half as large were mentioned in the highest terms.

I had expected brother Henry to return to-day, but he has not yet arrived. He had a most severe

wound, and has borne it like a hero. His courage in battle is of the highest order.

Upton, although now in command of a brigade, had not yet attained the actual rank of a brigadier-general. He could not be blind to his own fitness for the desired promotion, and, although he shows in his letters of this period a restiveness because of the delay in the only recognition which the Government could bestow, he never failed to do his whole duty in whatever service he was called upon to perform. In the assault of the rebel intrenchments, or *tête de pont*, at Rappahannock Station, he led his Second Brigade of the First Division of the Sixth Corps again to victory. In this action, his clear perception, ready courage, the rare skill with which he led his brigade, gained for it a brilliant victory over a much superior enemy, both in numbers and strength of position. His own story, told with the modesty of a hero, and with a due appreciation of the great soldierly qualities of his immediate commander, General David A. Russell, is thus graphically related :

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, *November 15, 1863.*

MY DEAR SISTER: Doubtless you have seen through the papers that this brigade has been engaged with the enemy, and that it met with astonishing success. There are many accounts of the battle extant, but I will give you the true version, believing it will interest you all. Our division left Warrenton at daylight on the 7th. General Bartlett being ordered to the Fifth Corps, I fell in com-

mand of the brigade. We marched to the railroad near Rappahannock Station, halted there till dusk, when the fight began. From one o'clock till sunset there was considerable artillery-firing and skirmishing, but no serious loss was inflicted on either side. At dusk, General Russell, who commanded the division, conceived the idea of capturing the enemy's works by a *coup-de-main*. To this end he brought forward one regiment apparently to relieve the skirmishers, who had been in the front all day, and another to act as a support. The enemy saw the whole operation, but supposing it simply a relief, paid but little attention to the matter. The first or old line of skirmishers were notified of the intention, the second line came up to where the first lay, when both rushed upon the enemy's redoubts, and were almost inside before the enemy recovered from his astonishment. This gallant attack was made by the Sixth Maine, which suffered very heavily, the Fifth Wisconsin, and two companies of the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York. Four guns, one color, and two hundred prisoners were captured upon the spot. The bridge, by which the enemy maintained communication with the south bank of the river, was now commanded by our men, who held the redoubts. Seeing his retreat thus intercepted, the enemy made desperate efforts to recapture the works, and had well-nigh succeeded, when General Russell sent me an order to bring forward two of my regiments to his assistance. The One Hundred and Twenty-first New York and Fifth Maine were in the first line; I immediately ordered them forward, and, to avoid any

delay, directed them to load while marching; this done, telling them we were wanted to help hold the works captured, they took the double-quick and soon arrived to the support of our hard-pressed comrades. Upon arriving, General Russell pointed out a rifle-pit from which the enemy maintained an enfilading fire, and he ordered me to charge the rifle-pit and hold it. The work was on the summit of a gently rising knoll. Their banners could be plainly seen outstanding against the sky, while their saucy heads appearing everywhere above the parapets forewarned us how deadly might be our task. My orders were distinct: it remained to execute them in the safest, surest, and most satisfactory manner. Under cover of darkness we formed within a hundred yards of their works. I told the Fifth Maine that the troops from Maine had won laurels on every field, and that the gallant Fifth must not be behind them. A few words to the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York sufficed to rouse their determination to the highest pitch. I directed them to unslung knapsacks and fix bayonets. Then giving the strictest orders not to fire, we advanced at quick time to within thirty yards of the rifle-pit, when the order to charge was given. The work was carried at the point of the bayonet. The enemy fought stubbornly over their colors, but were overpowered. To execute my orders we had only to remain where we were, but a more brilliant success was in store. The celebrated Louisiana brigade of Stonewall Jackson's old division lay behind the rifle-pits to our right. On their banners were inscribed "Cedar Run," "Manassas second,"

“Winchester,” “Harper’s Ferry,” “Sharpsburg,” “Fredericksburg,” “Chancellorsville,” and “Gettysburg.” Word was brought me that the enemy on our right was in confusion; he could also be seen apparently moving to his rear. Without waiting for further orders, I sent Captain Hall of the staff to report to General Russell that we had performed the task assigned to us and made immediate dispositions to attack. Major Mather, of the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, with a portion of his regiment, was ordered to seize the bridge and to arrest those who might attempt to swim the river. Colonel Edwards, of the Fifth Maine, with a part of his own and the One Hundred and Twenty-first Regiments, was ordered to charge at double-quick and not to fire. The remainder of the two regiments was held in reserve, should the enemy offer resistance. I told our men not to fire, and stated in a loud tone that four lines of battle were supporting us. The enemy being deceived, supposed a vastly superior force was advancing, and the entire brigade of the enemy laid down their arms. The colonel commanding surrendered personally to me. These movements resulted in capturing seven colors, one hundred and three commissioned officers, thirteen hundred and thirty-seven enlisted men, and twelve hundred and twenty-five stand of arms. It was all done after dark, when one could not distinguish friend from foe, and with a force numbering five hundred and sixty-eight, officers and men included. Our total loss in the two regiments amounted to sixty-three killed and wounded. I think the slight loss, in a

great degree, may be attributed to our not firing. The enemy hearing the orders given distinctly, concluded that it probably was not best to provoke us, and therefore quietly surrendered. To General Russell, who is one of the best and bravest officers in our service, belongs the credit of this brilliant success. He displayed one of the finest traits of generalship in selecting the time and mode of attack. The position in the daytime could only have been carried at a loss of at least fifteen hundred men. As it was, our loss did not exceed three hundred, and with a *total* result of four cannon, eight colors, sixteen hundred prisoners, and sixteen hundred stand of arms.

It is believed that a great battle is soon to be fought. Our army is in excellent condition, and will give a good account of itself.

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, *November 21, 1863.*

MY DEAR SISTER: We are now encamped on John Minor Botts's estate, not far from Brandy Station, where, perhaps, you will remember the severe cavalry-fight took place last spring, before the opening of the Pennsylvania campaign. Hazel River, a beautiful stream, runs close to our camp, and forms quite an obstacle should the enemy desire to turn our right. The troops have made themselves comfortable, but not with the conviction that they were to remain here very long. It is now storming, so whatever move may have been determined on will have to be delayed till the weather and the roads permit its execution. The general impression is, that a terrible battle is in store for us,

but, far from wishing it deferred, the troops are, on the contrary, anxious for it. The army is in splendid spirits, well equipped, and confident. The success at the Rappahannock had a most electrifying effect throughout the army, and I am sure, should we be manœuvred with skill, the enemy will meet with a crushing defeat.

The gallant conduct displayed by Upton at Rappahannock Station could not well be passed by unrewarded, and he was therefore selected to deliver to General Meade, commanding the Army of the Potomac, the battle-flags captured by the Second and Third Brigades. It is true that this appears but an empty honor compared with the gallant deeds which our hero had performed, but even such honors as these had their great value in the increased respect and admiration that were engendered in the breasts of his comrades. It is, perhaps, well here to comment upon the influences which the lack of just and fitting rewards to successful soldiers have upon the *esprit de corps* of the army.

Promotion on the field of battle is the only external reward that properly goes hand-in-hand with distinguished valor; and when true merit is for the time being overlooked, and the rewards are given to political favorites, zeal in the service, exposure in battle, and active interest, so essential for success, are not unfrequently replaced by lukewarmness and indifference. It reflects the highest credit upon Upton's personal and soldierly character when we find, in his private and personal letters to his relatives, no other than a just shade of discontent, without the

slightest inclination to do other than his whole duty to the country, whether the reward to which he was clearly entitled came or not. To the true soldier higher position in rank brings higher responsibilities; and it can not be doubted that in this gallant hero the animating spirit was far removed from selfish ambition, but he felt, rather, the power within him to do greater deeds of valor, with less sacrifice to the men confided to his care, than many others who were preferred before him on personal or political considerations. It is, therefore, eminently proper to insert these letters, written in confidence to his sister, and to substantiate their statements by the commendatory letters freely offered him by his commanders, who were gallant soldiers themselves, and fully acquainted with his conspicuous services:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, *April 10, 1864.*

MY DEAR SISTER: My long-expected promotion is not forthcoming. General Meade has informed me that without "political" influence I will never be promoted. This consolation, however, remains, if justice has not been done, I have ever performed my duty faithfully and without regard to personal safety. The recommendation of those officers whose lives have been periled in every battle of the war have been outweighed by the baneful influence of the paltry politicians. . . . General Sedgwick has urged my claims, and stated that they were superior to those of any other in his corps, yet two colonels have been appointed over me.

Although the rank of a general may never be conferred on me, yet I hope to leave my friends

abundant proof that I earned the honor, but that it was unjustly withheld. The spring campaign will soon be inaugurated. I trust General Grant will sustain his former reputation, and administer to General Lee such heavy blows that he may never recover. I confess I am ready for action, and I trust, in the coming struggle, we shall bear ourselves like men. The Army of the Potomac deserves a better name than it has, as we will soon prove. May God bless our arms, and grant us victory and peace!

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, *April 18, 1864.*

MY DEAR SISTER: There are considerable activity and preparation in the army for the coming campaign, and I think that officers and soldiers are anxious for marching orders. Camp-life has become very irksome, and we welcome any change that will break up its monotony. Excitement is the spice of a soldier's life, and all old troops hunger for it after having rested for a long time. I do not expect a battle before the first of May, perhaps the middle, but we all are convinced that either a most glorious or a most disastrous one awaits us.

I trust Grant may prove himself the general his reputation proclaims him, and that the fall of Richmond may prove the fall of the Confederacy. I have not fully despaired of receiving promotion, but I have despaired of receiving it in the manner honorable to a soldier. It is now solely the reward of political influence, and not of merit, and this when a government is fighting for its own existence.

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, *April 25, 1864.*

MY DEAR SISTER: . . . Your views as to my promotion reflect strongly your sisterly affection for me, and they in no little degree enable me to preserve my equanimity and peace of mind under the treatment I have received.

You must remember that to expose one's self simply to get promotion would be an unworthy act, and therefore, in the future as in the past, I must do my full duty with equal fearlessness. I have received of late many gratifying proofs of the confidence and esteem of both officers and men under my command, and not only in my command, but outside of it. The officers of the First Brigade of this division were nearly unanimous in recommending me for promotion, in the hope I might be assigned to that command. Considering that their lives to a great degree would be in my hands, especially in battle, and that no motive other than their safety and welfare could prompt such action, is it not the highest tribute men can pay me, that they should select me as their chosen leader in the hour of battle? The compliment is the more gratifying as coming from the New Jersey brigade, preferring me over every colonel from their State. The recommendation will not be forwarded, but it will serve to show the opinion of the officers of this division. Would the President consult the views of my superior officers, whose reputation depends upon my conduct to a certain degree, or those officers whose lives are in my hands in action, my promotion would not be withheld. I ought to have had it a year ago. Should anything befall me in the

struggle about to ensue, my friends will not be permitted the slight satisfaction that I had risen to the rank of a general officer. But you shall never blush at my conduct. I shall do my duty faithfully, and I shall leave behind a record to which you can always refer with pride and satisfaction. . . . We are expecting to move soon. Our army is in fine condition, and I have no doubt that the bloodiest battle of the war will be fought in a few days. General Grant is well liked, and, as he is taking time to prepare his campaign, there is strong probability of his success.

General Upton remained in command of the Second Brigade in all the operations of the Army of the Potomac from Mine Run, November 26, 1863, to December 3, 1863, and participated in all of the preliminary movements and skirmishes previous to the inauguration of General Grant's overland campaign from the Rapidan in May, 1864. This campaign, the bloodiest of the whole war, was prosecuted with the utmost vigor, and will be ever memorable for the many stubborn contests, the great losses, the fatiguing marches, and the pertinacity with which Grant endeavored to outflank Lee, as well as the success of Lee in keeping his stubborn antagonist from accomplishing his purpose. Historic battles and heroic incidents crowd each other in a campaign during which the "troops literally fought all day and marched all night." Upton's brief and soldierly official report of the operations of his brigade may be taken as a typical account of this remarkable period, and for this reason it is inserted here without abridgment.

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, FIRST DIVISION,
SIXTH CORPS, *September 1, 1864.*

Major HENRY R. DALTON, *Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, First Division, Sixth Corps.*

MAJOR: I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of the Second Brigade, during the five epochs of the campaign of the Army of the Potomac, from the Rapidan to Petersburg:

First Epoch.—The brigade broke camp near the Hazel River at 4 A. M., May 4, 1864, crossing the Rapidan at Germanna Ford, and camped on the plank-road two miles beyond.

May 5th, the march was resumed along the plank-road toward Wilderness Tavern. The brigade was thrown out on a dirt-road leading to Mine Run, to cover the right flank of the column while passing; shortly after it moved by the left flank, and formed in line on the left of the corps. About 11 A. M. orders were received to advance to the support of the Fifth Corps, then engaged with the enemy on the Orange Court-House pike, two miles from Wilderness Tavern.

The advance was made by the right of wings, it being impossible to march in line of battle on account of the dense pine and nearly impenetrable thickets which met us on every hand. After overcoming great difficulties on the march, connection was made with the right of the Fifth Corps. Lieutenant-Colonel Carroll, commanding Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania Volunteers, while riding a short distance in front of his regiment, came suddenly upon a group of the enemy, who fired upon him, killing him instantly. Two or three companies of his regi-

ment, under Captains Boyd, Burns, and Lieutenant Gordon, immediately charged, gallantly carrying the hill on which the enemy was posted and capturing about thirty prisoners. The position, although two hundred yards in advance of the Fifth Corps line, was important to hold, and the line was accordingly established there. Shortly after, the Third Brigade connected on our right.

The woods in front and around our position had been set on fire by the enemy to prevent our advance. The ground had previously been fought over and was strewn with wounded of both sides, many of whom must have perished in the flames, as corpses were found partly consumed.

Colonel Penrose, commanding Fifteenth New Jersey Volunteers at that time, placed himself under my command, and remained with the brigade during the rest of the epoch. His regiment behaved under all circumstances with a steadiness indicative of the highest state of discipline.

May 6th the brigade was ordered to attack at daylight, but the order was countermanded; there was constant skirmishing during the day, but not serious.

About 7 P. M. Lieutenant-Colonel Duffy, Assistant Inspector-General, brought the order to send two regiments to the extreme right—that flank of the corps having been turned. The One Hundred and Twenty-first New York and the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania were designated, and were led on by Lieutenant-Colonel Duffy at double-quick. While marching, they encountered a fire from the left. The dense undergrowth necessarily lengthened out

the column, and at the same time large masses of men breaking through their ranks threw both regiments into unavoidable confusion. Portions of both regiments were promptly reformed at the rifle-pits near General Sedgwick's headquarters, then the extreme right, and held their position firmly. As soon as my horse could be brought after receiving the order, I started after the two regiments, leaving the remainder of the brigade under command of Colonel Penrose, but before I could reach them they had been broken. I succeeded in rallying about half of each and advanced at once. At every step, officers and men who were falling back stated that there were no troops in front or on the right, from which latter direction bullets were then coming. About three hundred yards to the rear was General Morris's brigade of the Third Division thrown back to meet the attack. I therefore moved the two regiments back and formed on his right. Fragments of other regiments were formed on my right, and two companies of the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania were deployed as skirmishers. Finding out, shortly after dark, the position of the remainder of the regiments, they were united at the rifle-pits and still continued to hold the right of the line. Lieutenant-Colonel Olcott, commanding the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, while his regiment was reforming, rode to the front to ascertain the position of affairs. He was discovered by the enemy and wounded in the forehead by a musket-ball, from the effect of which he fell from his horse insensible and was made prisoner. An able and gallant officer, his absence was felt throughout the

entire campaign. Lieutenant Patterson, aide-de-camp, was wounded.

About 10 P. M., the brigade leading, the corps moved by the left flank to the pike, thence back to near Wilderness Tavern, where a position was taken between the pike and plank-road, and fortified on the morning of the 7th. The withdrawal from the front of the enemy, though but a few yards from his line, was accomplished successfully and without loss.

Second Epoch.—The brigade leading, the corps moved from Wilderness Tavern at 9.30 P. M. on the 7th, *via* Chancellorsville to Piney Branch Church, where half an hour was taken for breakfast. Resuming the march on the Spottsylvania road, it came up early in the afternoon with the Fifth Corps, then engaging the enemy. About 6.30 P. M. it was formed in a fourth line on the right of the road to support an attack, but, threatening demonstrations being made on our right flank, a change of front to our right and rear was executed about dusk. The brigade remained in this position during the night, connecting on the right with Ayres's brigade of the First Division, Fifth Corps. On the morning of the 9th it was relieved by Crawford's division of the Fifth Corps, moved to the left of the Spottsylvania road, took up position and fortified. During the day several casualties occurred from artillery-fire. On the afternoon of the 10th an assault was determined upon, and a column of twelve regiments was organized, the command of which was assigned to me.

The point of attack, which was shown me by

Captain Mackenzie, of the United States Engineers, was at an angle of the enemy's works near the Scott House, about half a mile to the left of the Spottsylvania road.

The intrenchments were of a formidable character, with abatis in front and surmounted by heavy logs, underneath which were loop-holes for musketry. In the re-entrant to the right of the house was a battery with traverses between the guns; there were also traverses at intervals along the entire work. About a hundred yards to the rear was another line of works, partly completed, and occupied by a second line of battle. The position was in an open field, about two hundred yards from a pine-wood. A wood-road led from our position directly to the point of attack. The ground was looked over by General Russell and myself, and the regimental commanders were also required to see it, that they might understand the work before them.

The column of attack was formed in four lines of battle, four regiments being on the right and eight on the left of the road. The regiments on the right moved up the road by the right flank, those on the left by the left flank, each regiment lying down as soon as in position. The lines were arranged from right to left as follows:

First line, One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania, and Fifth Maine; second line, Forty-ninth Pennsylvania, Sixth Maine, and Fifth Wisconsin; third line, Forty-third and Seventy-seventh New York and One Hundred and Nineteenth Pennsylvania; fourth line, Second, Fifth, and Sixth Vermont.

No commands were given in getting into position. The pieces of the first line were loaded and capped; those of the others were loaded but not capped; bayonets were fixed. The One Hundred and Twenty-first New York and Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania were instructed, as soon as the works were carried, to turn to the right and charge the battery. The Fifth Maine was to change front to the left, and open an enfilading fire to the left upon the enemy. The second line was to halt at the works, and open fire to the front if necessary. The third line was to lie down behind the second and await orders. The fourth line was to advance to the edge of the woods, lie down, and await the issue of the charge. Colonel Seaver, commanding it, was instructed that he might have to form line obliquely to the left, and open fire to cover the left flank of the column. All the officers were directed to repeat the command "Forward" constantly from the commencement of the charge till the works were carried. At ten minutes before 6 P. M. Captain Dalton brought me the order to attack as soon as the column was formed, and stated that the artillery would cease firing at 6 P. M. Twenty minutes elapsed before all the preparations were completed, when, at the command, the lines rose, moved noiselessly to the edge of the wood, and, with a wild cheer and faces averted, rushed for the works. Through a terrible front and flank fire the column advanced, quickly gaining the parapet. Here occurred a deadly hand-to-hand conflict. The enemy, sitting in their pits, with pieces upright, loaded, and with bayonets fixed, ready to impale the first who should

leap over, absolutely refused to yield the ground. The first of our men who tried to surmount the works, fell, pierced through the head with musket-balls; others, seeing the fate of their comrades, held their pieces at arm's-length and fired downward; while others, poising their pieces vertically, hurled them down upon their enemies, pinning them to the ground.

Lieutenant Johnson, of the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, received a bayonet-wound through the thigh. Private O'Donnell, Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania, was pinned to the parapet, but was rescued by his comrades. A private of the Fifth Maine, having bayoneted a rebel, was fired at by a captain, who, missing his aim, in turn shared the same fate; the brave man fell by a shot from a rebel lieutenant.

The struggle lasted but a few seconds. Numbers prevailed, and, like a resistless wave, the column poured over the works, quickly putting *hors-de-combat* those who resisted, and sending to the rear those who surrendered. Pressing forward, and expanding to the right and left, the second line of intrenchments, its line of battle, and the battery, fell into our hands. The column of assault had accomplished its task: the enemy's lines were completely broken, and an opening had been made for the division which was to have supported on our left, but it did not arrive. Re-enforcements arriving to the enemy, our front and both flanks were assailed. The impulsion of the charge being lost, nothing remained but to hold the ground. I accordingly directed the officers to form their men outside the

works and open fire, and then rode back over the field to bring forward the Vermonters in the fourth line, but they had already mingled in the contest, and were fighting with a heroism which has ever characterized that *élite* brigade.

The Sixty-fifth New York had also marched gallantly to the support of its comrades, and was fighting stubbornly on the left. Night had arrived. Our position was three quarters of a mile in advance of the army, and, being without prospect of support, was untenable. Meeting General Russell at the edge of the wood, he gave me the order to withdraw. I wrote the order and sent it along the line by Captain Gorton, of the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, in accordance with which, under cover of darkness, the works were evacuated, the regiments returning to their former camps.

Our loss in this assault was about one thousand in killed, wounded, and missing. The enemy lost at least one hundred in killed at the first intrenchments, while a much heavier loss was sustained in his efforts to regain them. We captured between ten and twelve hundred prisoners and several stands of colors. Captain Burhaus, Forty-third New York, had two stands of colors in his hands, and is supposed to have been killed while coming back from the second line of intrenchments. Many rebel prisoners were shot by their own men in passing to the rear over the open field. Our officers and men accomplished all that could be expected of brave men; they went forward with perfect confidence, fought with unflinching courage, and retired only upon the receipt of a written order after having expended

the ammunition of their dead and wounded comrades.

May 11th, the brigade made some unimportant changes of position. Early on the 12th it moved with the division toward the right flank of the army, but to the left again at 7 A. M., arriving in rear of the Second Corps at 9.30 A. M. The right flank of this corps being threatened, General Russell directed me to move to the right at double-quick to support it. Before we could arrive, it gave way. As the Ninety-fifth reached an elevated point of the enemy's works, about six hundred yards to the right of the Lendrum House, it received a heavy volley from the second line of works. Seeing that the position was of vital importance to hold, and that all the troops had given way up to this point, I halted the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania, faced it to the front, and caused it to lie down. Its left rested near the works connecting with the Second Corps, while its right refused lay behind a crest, oblique to the works. Had it given way, the whole line of intrenchments would have been recaptured, and the fruit of the morning's victory lost, but it held the ground till the Fifth Maine and the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York came to its support, while the Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania passed on its right. Shortly after the Third and Vermont brigades arrived, a section of Gillis's battery, Fifth United States Artillery, under Lieutenant Metcalf, came up and opened fire, but was immediately charged, and lost nearly every horse, driver, and cannonier.

The enemy charged up to his works within a hundred feet of the guns, but a well-directed fire

from the infantry behind the crest prevented his further advance. At the point where our line diverged from the works the opposing lines came in contact; but neither would give ground, and for eighteen hours raged the most sanguinary conflict of the war. The point remained in our possession at the close of the struggle, and is known as the "Angle."

The brigade was relieved at 5.30 P. M. by Colonel McLaughlin, of the Second Corps. Captain Fish, Assistant-Adjutant-General of the brigade, was killed while gallantly performing his duty early in the action. He was a brave, zealous, patriotic officer, and had distinguished himself in every battle in which he had been engaged. Captain Lamont, of the Fifth Maine, the only one of seven captains who escaped in the assault of the 10th, was among the killed. I desire also to mention, though not in my brigade, Major Ellis, of the Forty-ninth New York, and Major Truefitt, of the One Hundred and Nineteenth Pennsylvania, who, by their gallant conduct, excited the admiration of all. The former received a wound from which he has since died; the latter was killed. The country can ill afford to lose two such officers.

After being relieved the brigade was held in reserve, and, after dark, was marched to the right of General Ricketts's line, near the position occupied on the 9th. At 12 P. M., on the 13th, the brigade leading, the division moved to the left, in rear of Burnside's corps, to near the Anderson House. On the morning of the 14th it was ordered to cross the Ny River, and seize Myer's Hill, to the left and

front of the Fifth Corps. Before reaching the position it had been carried by the regulars, whom we relieved.

The brigade was reduced to less than eight hundred, and of these, three regiments, the Fifth Maine, One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, and Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania, were required to continue the picket-line from the Fifth Corps to the river, leaving the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania in reserve. I sent a dispatch to General Wright, through Captain Paine, signal-officer, that, if the position was to be held, another brigade was necessary; but it could not be spared, and two small regiments—the Second and Tenth New Jersey—were sent instead. A lookout was posted on top of the house with a field-glass to observe the enemy's movements. At the same time a breastwork of rails was thrown up in front of the house and out-buildings, there being no other means of fortifying at hand.

About two hundred and fifty yards to the front of the house was a wood, to the right of which, eight hundred yards distant, was a high hill. To the left of the house was a broad, open field, on the far edge of which could be seen squads of cavalry. About 4 P. M. the lookout discovered infantry skirmishers on the hill described.

Apprehensive that the enemy's sharp-shooters might occupy the point of woods nearest the house, Colonel Lessig was directed to move forward the Ninety-sixth and take possession. Two companies of the Second New Jersey were sent in support, and the remainder of the regiment sent forward to the works. Colonel Lessig had scarcely entered the

wood before he encountered two brigades of infantry forming to charge our position. He immediately fell back, while at the same time the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania and Tenth New Jersey were ordered forward. They were barely in position when the enemy's column emerged from the woods. Simultaneously cavalry, with a battery of horse-artillery, galloped on to the field to the left of the house, which opened fire, nearly enfilading our line. The enemy was received with a well-directed fire, which checked his advance, but, coming on in superior numbers, we were compelled to abandon the position.

Our loss in killed, wounded, and missing, was about one hundred. The enemy admitted a loss of one hundred and sixty-one killed and wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Weibeck, of the Second New Jersey, a brave officer and thorough soldier, was killed. After dark, the position was reoccupied by our troops.

May 15th and 16th, the brigade remained at Myer's Hill. May 17th, at 8 P. M., it marched back to the Angle, arriving at 5 A. M. on the 18th, and returned to Myer's Hill the same evening. May 19th, it moved forward on Warren's left and fortified. At 10 P. M., the brigade leading, we marched across the Ny River, to meet Ewell's attack. On the morning of the 20th we relieved part of Birney's division, our right resting on the Fredericksburg road. On the 21st, at 4 P. M., we returned to Myer's Hill, and on the same day the Second Connecticut Heavy Artillery was assigned to the brigade.

Third Epoch.—Marched from Myer's Hill at 10.30 P. M., May 21st, reached Guinea Station at 1.30 P. M., May 22d, and rested four hours. Crossed the Mattapony at 6.30 P. M., and camped at Lebanon Church. On the 23d, resumed the march, and camped near Jericho bridge, on the North Anna, at 12 P. M. The troops were much exhausted. On the 24th, crossed the North Anna at 6 A. M., and went into position on the left of Griffin's division. On the 25th, moved to the right, crossed the Virginia Central Railroad at Noel's Station, and destroyed half a mile of the track.

Fourth Epoch.—At 8 A. M., May 26th, recrossed the North Anna, and accompanied trains to Chesterfield Station, arriving at 2 P. M. Resumed the march at 8 P. M. toward Hanover town, crossed the Pamunkey at 11 A. M., May 27th, having made twenty-seven miles since the previous evening. May 28th, moved up the river two miles to rejoin the Second and Third Divisions. May 29th, made reconnaissance to Hanover Court-House. May 30th, moved at daylight toward Richmond, and bivouacked near Atlee Station, seven miles from Mechanicsville. Marched at 1 A. M., June 1st, for Cold Harbor, arriving at 11 A. M.

At 5 P. M., the brigade connecting with Ricketts's division on the right and the Third Brigade on the left was formed in four lines, preparatory to an assault upon the enemy's intrenchments on the Richmond road. The guide was to be left. The Second Connecticut, under Colonel Kellogg, was drawn up in column by battalion, forming the front three lines. The Fifth Maine, Ninety-fifth and Ninety-

sixth Pennsylvania, and One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, formed the fourth line.

At 6 P. M., General Ricketts advanced, and, no movement taking place on my left, I directed Colonel Kellogg to move forward; shortly after which Lieutenant-Colonel McMahan, assistant-adjutant-general of the corps, brought me the order to advance, without regard to the guide. The Second Connecticut, anxious to prove its courage, moved to the assault in beautiful order. Crossing an open field, it entered a pine-wood, passed down a gentle declivity, and up a slight ascent. Here the charge was checked. For seventy feet in front of the works the trees had been felled, interlocking with each other, and barring all further advance. Two paths, several yards apart, and wide enough for four men to march abreast, led through the obstructions. Up these, to the foot of the works, the brave men rushed, but were swept away by a converging fire, unable to carry the intrenchments. I directed the men to lie down, and not to return the fire. Opposite the right of the regiment the works were carried, and several prisoners captured, among whom was Major McDonald, of a North Carolina regiment, who informed me that their flank had been turned. The regiment was then marched to the point gained, and, moving to the left, captured the point first attacked. In this position, without support on either flank, the Second Connecticut fought till 3 A. M., when the enemy fell back to a second line of works.

Colonel Kellogg, its brave and able commander, fell in the assault at the head of his command. The loss of the Second Connecticut was fifty-three killed,

one hundred and eighty-seven wounded, and one hundred and forty-six missing; total, three hundred and eighty-six. June 3d, another assault was ordered, but, being deemed impracticable along our front, was not made. From the 3d to the 12th of June the brigade lay behind intrenchments. Nearly a constant fire was kept up by sharpshooters, and but few casualties occurred. Lieutenant Gordon, of the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania, aide-de-camp, was dangerously wounded in the head.

Fifth Epoch.—The brigade marched at 11 P. M., June 12th, toward the Chickahominy. June 13th, was detached to guard the artillery and trains; and then crossed the Chickahominy, at Jones's Bridge, and encamped. Resumed the march at 6 A. M., June 14th, and encamped near the James River at 11 A. M. June 17th, at 1 A. M., took transports at Wilson's Wharf; disembarked at Bermuda Hundred at 6 A. M.; and rejoined the corps near Point of Rocks.

June 18th, moved in front of the works at 1 A. M. to support the attack of two brigades upon Longstreet's corps. The order of attack was countermanded, and the brigade returned to its former position. June 19th, marched at 5 A. M. for Petersburg; relieved Stannard's brigade, on the right, at 10 P. M.; and intrenched during the night.

June 21st, at 9 P. M., was relieved by Stannard's brigade, and marched across the Jerusalem plank-road to the left of the Second Corps.

June 22d, advanced with the Second Corps; met the enemy, but was not engaged. Captain R. S. Mackenzie, United States Engineers, commanding the Second Connecticut, was wounded. An attack

was ordered at 7 P. M.; the line advanced, but the enemy had retired.

June 23d, several changes of position were made, and works were constructed near Williams's House. June 29th, at 3 P. M., marched to Reams's Station. June 30th, destroyed track, and returned to the Jerusalem plank-road. July 2d, returned to Williams's House. July 10th, marched to City Point, and took transports for Washington. The loss of the brigade during the campaign was three hundred and twenty-nine killed, seven hundred and thirteen wounded, and two hundred and sixty-three missing; total, fourteen hundred and five.

The officers and men endured the hardships of the campaign with remarkable patience, while the loss sustained sufficiently attests their gallantry. From the members of my staff—Captains J. D. Fish and F. G. Sanborn, and Lieutenants F. Morse, D. Gordon, and F. G. Patterson—I received, in every instance, prompt and gallant assistance.

Upton's report of the operations of his brigade may be taken as a typical one. Grant's overland campaign was really a continuous battle, from the passage of the Rapidan, May 4th, till the Army of the Potomac found itself intrenched in front of Petersburg. The terrible strain to which this gallant army had been subjected had almost reached the limit of human endurance.

General Humphreys well says: "The incessant movements, day and night, for so long a period; the constant, close contact with the enemy during all that time; the almost daily assaults upon

intrenchments having entanglements in front, and defended by artillery and musketry in front and flank—exhausted officers and men. The larger part of the officers, who literally led their commands, were killed or wounded; and a large number of those that filled the ranks at the beginning of the campaign were absent. It is unreasonable to suppose that the troops were not, for a time, so exhausted as to need rest; and equally unreasonable to suppose that their opponents were not in a similar condition, though to a less degree, since they had not marched so much at night, nor attacked intrenchments.”*

To this exhaustion we must, in a large measure, attribute the following criticism of General Upton upon the frequent assaults to which his troops had been ordered, found in a letter describing briefly the sequence of events, which are given in fuller detail in his report:

June 4, 1864.

MY DEAR SISTER: . . . I am disgusted with the generalship displayed. Our men have, in many instances, been foolishly and wantonly sacrificed. Assault after assault has been ordered upon the enemy's intrenchments, when they knew nothing about the strength or position of the enemy. Thousands of lives might have been spared by the exercise of a little skill; but, as it is, the courage of the poor men is expected to obviate all difficulties. I must confess that, so long as I see such incompetency, there is no grade in the army to which I do not aspire.

* “The Virginia Campaign, 1864 and 1865,” p. 225.

And again he writes :

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, *June 5, 1864.*

MY DEAR SISTER: We are now at Cold Harbor, where we have been since June 1st. On that day we had a murderous engagement. I say *murderous*, because we were recklessly ordered to assault the enemy's intrenchments, knowing neither their strength nor position. Our loss was very heavy, and to no purpose. Our men are brave, but can not accomplish impossibilities. My brigade lost about three hundred men. My horse was killed, but I escaped unharmed. Since June 1st we have been behind rifle-pits, about three hundred yards from the enemy. A constant fusillade from both sides has been kept up, and, though but little damage has been done, it is, nevertheless, very annoying.

I am very sorry to say I have seen but little generalship during the campaign. Some of our corps commanders are not fit to be corporals. Lazy and indolent, they will not even ride along their lines; yet, without hesitancy, they will order us to attack the enemy, no matter what their position or numbers. Twenty thousand of our killed and wounded should to-day be in our ranks. But I will cease fault-finding, and express the hope that mere numbers will yet enable us to enter Richmond. Please give my love to all. I am as anxious to hear from home as you are to hear from me. The fatigue of the campaign hardly disposes one for letter-writing.

The severe character of these bloody contests

can hardly be appreciated by those who were not themselves actors in the events described.

At the battle of the "Angle," so continuous was the firing, that an oak-tree, over eighteen inches in diameter, was entirely cut in two by the bullets fired from the Union lines. A section of the remaining stump was afterward obtained and sent to Washington, which exhibits in a striking way the persistent struggle in which both the enemy and our own men engaged at this point.

The following letter gives a fuller account of this action, and is, therefore, inserted :

FORT MONROE, *August 31, 1878.*

DEAR SIR: On the morning of that day, the Sixth Corps was in rear of the right of the army, but, on receipt of the news that Hancock's corps had captured several thousand prisoners, and a large portion of the works in the vicinity of the Lendrum House, it was ordered to that point as a support. Our brigade was at the rear of the corps, and, when the corps got into position, occupied the right of the line. The brigade had scarcely halted when I received orders to move, in double time, to the support of the right of the Second Corps. Starting the brigade in double time, the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania leading, I galloped to the crest at the "Angle," and from thence could see the right of our troops extending along the works, to the point where the twelve regiments of our corps made the assault on the 10th. I could also see a second line of works, the same we encountered and captured on the 10th, about one hundred or one

hundred and fifty yards in front of the line then in our possession. This second line appeared to be unoccupied. After reconnoitring the position, I rode back to the head of the Ninety-fifth, ordered it to take a steady step, and then conducted it to the crest, intending to pass over it, and move on to the right of the line. But, on arriving at the crest, I saw that the flank of the troops had been turned, and that they had been compelled to abandon the intrenchments to the point where I then stood. A moment after, as the head of the Ninety-fifth, still marching in double time, crowned the crest, it received the full fire of a line of battle, occupying the second line of works already referred to. Instead of attempting to go over the crest, the head of the regiment inclined to the right, then followed the crest until the left, or rear, rested on the works, when I caused the men to lie down and open fire. Had the regiment given way, there can be little doubt that the fruits of the gallant charge of the Second Corps in the morning would have been lost. But, in a few moments, the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, the Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania, and the Fifth Maine came to its support, while the Jersey Brigade passed into the works on its right. Shortly after, the whole of the First Division, Sixth Corps, was engaged at the "Angle," and, immediately to its left, our right.

At the point where our line diverged from the works, the Union and Confederate soldiers were face to face. A few yards to the enemy's left (our right) of this point were the traverses of a four-gun battery, which had been captured in the morning.

It was from between those traverses, which proved a charnel-house to the Confederates, that they kept up a more or less continuous fire during the day, and, as I was informed, till nearly three o'clock next morning, when they abandoned the position. The tree was not the only evidence of the amount and accuracy of our fire. The top logs of the works and the traverses were splintered like brush-brooms, while the oak abatis in front was completely shot away. From 9.30 A. M. till about 5.30 P. M., when our brigade was relieved, these traverses were immediately in our front, and in front of the other brigades of the Sixth Corps, which came to our support. To our left, the troops of the Second Corps poured in an oblique fire toward the traverses. It was thus from the front fire of the Sixth Corps, aided by an oblique fire of the Second Corps, that the tree was undoubtedly shot down.

The "Angle" was first captured by the Second Corps, and, during the prolonged conflict of nearly eighteen hours, was held chiefly by the Sixth Corps. A few days after the battle, Major-General Birney, of the Second Corps, volunteered the information to me that, in his official report, he would give our brigade the credit of saving the day.

To G. NORTON GALLOWAY, Esq.,
Philadelphia.

Such conspicuous gallantry could not be passed without official notice. Upton's commanding officers, unsolicited, gave the strongest indorsements of his fitness for a higher command, and his promotion to the grade of brigadier-general was not long de-

layed. These recommendations are worthy of preservation in this record, not only on account of the merit they extol, but because of the soldierly generosity of his immediate superiors.

General Joseph J. Bartlett, commanding the Second Brigade of the First Division, Sixth Corps, says:

“Colonel Upton’s services in the field date from the first battles before Manassas, as aide-de-camp to Brigadier-General Tyler. Subsequently he was assigned to Battery D, Second United States Artillery, which he commanded at West Point, Virginia, May 7, 1862. At the battles at Gaines’s Mills and Charles City Cross-roads he commanded his battery with great skill and gallantry. At the battles of Crampton’s Gap and Antietam he commanded an artillery brigade of twenty-six guns.

“October 25, 1862, he was promoted colonel of the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York Volunteers. In the subsequent battles of the Army of the Potomac he commanded his regiment with distinguished ability, and has received honorable mention in all of my reports, and in the reports of the division commanders.

“Colonel Upton’s conduct in the field has been marked by a prompt and cheerful obedience to orders, and an untiring endeavor to elevate his command to its greatest efficiency. His unswerving integrity, his skill in the management of his regiment in action, his coolness and bravery under fire, have won for him the respect of his comrades and superior officers.

“The promotion of Colonel Upton would be but an act of justice, in consideration of his services, and would at the same time secure in the position of brigadier-general a faithful, conscientious, and reliable commander.” .

The foregoing letter was indorsed as follows :

“Colonel Upton, who is an officer of the regular army, has served either as commander of his regiment or of the Second Brigade of this division, since my connection with the Army of the Potomac; and, by the zeal, intelligence, energy, and gallantry he has uniformly exhibited, has shown himself fully competent for the position for which he has been recommended. I not only take pleasure in presenting his claims for promotion on the record within, but would urge his appointment on the higher ground of the interest of the service.

“H. G. WRIGHT,

“Brigadier-General commanding First Division, Sixth Corps.”

“Colonel Upton has taken part, either as battery, regimental, or brigade commander, in all the battles in which this corps has been engaged, and has rendered gallant and important service. At Crampton’s Pass and Antietam he was chief of artillery of the corps. In the battles at and near Fredericksburg, in December and May last, he commanded his regiment; and at Gettysburg, and for some time subsequent, he was in command of a brigade. On all these occurrences his conduct was admirable. His regiment is in a highly efficient

state of discipline. Colonel Upton would make an excellent brigade commander, and I earnestly hope he may be appointed.

“JOHN SEDGWICK,
“*Major-General commanding Sixth Corps.*”

“I fully concur in the foregoing recommendations, and trust that, in consideration of the high qualifications Colonel Upton possesses for the position, as well as on account of the distinguished and gallant services he has rendered during the war, he will receive the appointment of brigadier-general.

“GEORGE G. MEADE,
“*Major-General commanding.*”

Numerous other attestations of his eminent services are at hand, and could be printed were they necessary, to exhibit the strong impression that he made upon those with whom he served.

The care which he bestowed upon his men, the high state of discipline to which he brought his command, the deliberate study which he made of the positions he was directed to assault, the ample provision he made for every contingency, the cool daring, gallant bearing, and remarkable success which always attended his going into action, all combined to make him a hero to his soldiers, and an illustrious example to his brother officers. There was no jealousy excited when his promotion followed, for it was given for “gallant and distinguished services,” well earned, as his comrades knew.

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, *June 7, 1864.*

MY DEAR SISTER: . . . I first saw my promotion in the papers on June 1st. I was very glad; for, two hours after, as I wrote you, we went into action. I am disposed to think that it will be better in the end for me to have received my promotion at this late date. The reasons for my promotion are gratifying to any soldier. It will be entered upon the records of the War Department that I was promoted for "gallant and distinguished services"—a record that will help me through life, and one of which you will be far more proud than had it been conferred simply for political reasons. It is contrary to the instincts of all regular officers to seek promotion through the latter influence. Everybody congratulates me, and all concede that I have fairly earned it; even those who have opposed me acknowledge this. I feel quite happy, and have not yet ceased to aspire. I shall not be content until I get a division, and time will bring that about. My health has been remarkably good throughout the campaign. I have slept in my clothes, with the exception of two or three nights, since May 4th, and the same has been done by nearly all the officers and men.

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, *June 18, 1864.*

To-night I am quietly writing in my tent, which was last pitched on the north bank of the James. We took transports yesterday morning at 1 A. M., and steamed up to Bermuda Hundreds, arriving there at 6 A. M. Thence we marched to Point of Rocks, on the Appomattox. This morning we were

marched outside of the works to support and participate in an assault upon the enemy's works. The order was countermanded in time to prevent a deliberate murder of our troops. The line we were to assault was evacuated by the enemy on the 16th, and was occupied by our troops, who fell back from them without firing a shot. It was not till the enemy had reoccupied them in stronger force than before that it was discovered that their possession was of great importance to us. Brilliant generalship that, which would abandon voluntarily a line of works, allow the enemy to take possession, and then drive them from it by a *glorious charge!* This kind of stupidity has cost us already twenty thousand men. It is time that it should be stopped. I think, however, with all our stupid blunders in battle, we shall yet succeed. To all intents and purposes, we hold Petersburg. Our cavalry should cut the Lynchburg Canal and the Danville Railroad, which will certainly necessitate the evacuation of Richmond. There has been, I judge, terrible fighting to-day at Petersburg, but I do not know the result. It must have been in our favor, I think, otherwise we would have been ordered to re-enforce the corps engaged. Our corps is at present under the orders of General Butler, but we hope soon to join the Army of the Potomac.

The arduous struggle for the possession of Richmond, which commenced with the movement of the Army of the Potomac across the Rapidan on the 4th of May, 1864, had for the time being ceased. The theatre of operations was peculiarly well fitted

for the defensive measures which General Lee so ably conducted, and was correspondingly difficult for the offensive operations undertaken by General Grant. The task of the former was to prevent the penetration of the Union forces between his army and Richmond, and to secure always the shortest line of retreat to Richmond, and the safety of his line of supplies. That of the latter was to bring the enemy to battle in the open field, or, by rapid flank movements or overwhelming assaults, to dislodge him from his defensive positions, keeping Washington always well covered in his rear.

The southeasterly trend of the various streams having their sources in the Blue Ridge offered a succession of strong positions to the enemy, and which, by Lee's able generalship, proved insurmountable barriers to a direct overland march of Grant's forces.

During the progress of the campaign secondary expeditions were devised, having for their purpose the detaching of sufficiently strong portions of the enemy's troops, so as to weaken him, and enable the Army of the Potomac to accomplish more readily its purpose.

General Hunter's command in the Shenandoah Valley had gained such success in his Lynchburg campaign while the two main opposing forces were struggling at the North Anna, that Lee was constrained to send back to the Valley two brigades commanded by Breckenridge. This force was further increased by the addition of Early's corps, withdrawn from Lee's forces June 13th, after the issue at Cold Harbor had been decided in favor of

Lee. The result of these movements was to drive Hunter out of the Shenandoah toward the Kanawha Valley. He reached Charleston, West Virginia, June 30th, with his troops foot-sore and exhausted, and was thus eliminated as a factor of offense or defense in the Shenandoah until near the middle of July. The situation was now something like this: Grant was moving his forces south to invest Petersburg, and, crossing his army over the James River at and near Fort Powhatan, but covering his real movement by a portion of his cavalry near Malvern Hill and White-Oak Swamp. Lee, watchful, was waiting for information as to Grant's movements, but ready to interpose in his front, either south of Richmond or Petersburg. Early, in the Valley, with nothing of any moment to oppose him, had an inviting pathway into Maryland. His force, of about seventeen thousand men, mostly veteran troops, was strong enough not only to penetrate into Maryland, but to seriously threaten and endanger Washington. Lee hoped by this diversion to cause Grant to loosen the powerful grasp by which he held the bulk of his forces in the intrenchments around Petersburg.

Briefly, it may be stated that Early, in the prosecution of this design, reached Winchester July 2d, entered Hagerstown, Md., on the 6th, and, after terrifying all Maryland, appeared in sight of Washington on the 11th. The near presence of this veteran force to Washington caused the greatest consternation. To oppose it there were only some convalescents, some raw and untried troops, and the civilian employés of the Quartermaster's Department, and

Grant was urged to send a sufficient force from the Army of the Potomac to avert the danger.

On the night of the 9th of July, orders were sent to General Wright, commanding the Sixth Corps, to march the First and Second Divisions of this corps from their camps at Petersburg to City Point, there to take transports for Washington. Embarking at daylight, they were landed at Washington on the afternoon of the 11th, in time to oppose any serious attack of Early. On the 12th, Early's attack was defeated, and his retreat to the Shenandoah began. He was followed by General Wright, who was at first inferior to Early in strength, and hence was compelled, from prudential motives, to move with some caution. The arrival of Hunter's forces in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry aided in causing the retreat of Early ultimately to Strasburg. On the 23d of July the Sixth Corps was withdrawn to Washington with the intention of sending it back to the Army of the Potomac; but the enemy, ever watchful, took advantage of this withdrawal and, by an advance movement, succeeded in defeating General Crook at Kernstown, in the Valley, which had the effect of bringing back the Sixth Corps to Harper's Ferry.

On the 24th of July the Confederate cavalry under McCausland began a new raid into Maryland, the same day that Crook's forces united with the Sixth Corps at Harper's Ferry. Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, was burned; stores, provisions, and horses were captured, and another stampede among the farmers of Maryland and Southern Pennsylvania occurred. Grant determined to put a stop forever

to this disturbing element of his main purpose, and, as a result, the army in the Valley was re-enforced and General Sheridan was sent to command it. He was to defeat and disperse Early's forces, and make such a destruction of all the resources of the Shenandoah Valley as to prevent in future any possibility of the subsistence of the enemy's forces in that locality.

General Upton, commanding his brigade in the First Division of the Sixth Corps, took part in all the movements which resulted from the operations of Early referred to above, and in the following letters gives a brief account of what came under his notice :

SNICKER'S GAP, *July 19, 1864.*

MY DEAR SISTER: . . . We have had a bloodless campaign since the rebels invaded Maryland. The timely arrival of our corps saved Washington from capture. The enemy withdrew from the city and made a hasty retreat across the Potomac. We have followed leisurely and without opposition until reaching this point. We are encamped on the west side of the Blue Ridge, and hold the east bank of the Shenandoah, while the enemy holds the west bank. I wish you could enjoy this scenery. From our camp on the Blue Ridge the Great Valley of Virginia, with its surrounding streams, its groves, its fertile fields, and elegant mansions, is spread out like a beautiful landscape. Seldom does the tourist meet with a view so enchanting. A glance of the eye comprehends the Blue Ridge, the Alleghanies, Maryland Heights, and innumerable smaller mountains dotted here and there throughout the Valley,

lending additional charms to the scenery. I do not know where this war may lead us before its close. I certainly did not expect to visit this region with a portion of the Army of the Potomac.

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE, }
HARPER'S FERRY, *August 9, 1864.* }

MY DEAR SISTER: A new campaign will be inaugurated to-morrow under the command of General Sheridan. How soon it may develop the enemy, and what may be its consequences no one knows, but I trust it will be successful. General Sheridan has the appearance of great nerve, and hitherto has been quite successful. For one, I am better pleased with his appearance than that of any other commander under whom I have served. How humiliating was the reverse at Petersburg, and how disgraceful on the part of division commanders to abandon their troops! I have never been reckless, but I am sure it is a praiseworthy quality when so few of our higher commanders expose themselves as much as duty requires. It has now arrived at that point when officers must expose themselves freely if they would have their commands do their whole duty; so, whatever I may do, you must not attribute it to rashness, but to a soldier's sense of duty.

HARPER'S FERRY, *August 24, 1864.*

MY DEAR SISTER: I would like very much to spend Saturday and Sunday, September 9th and 10th, at home, but do not look forward to such an event. Our movements depend upon Early, who is a contrary fellow, and may give us much trouble

about that time. Everything considered, I am not justified in allowing you to look forward, as the chances against the realization of our wish are nine out of ten. I will telegraph in time to let you know.

We had quite a skirmish with the enemy last Sunday. I was on the skirmish-line and received repeated hints from the rebels that my presence was obnoxious, but, as their practice was bad, I escaped unhurt.

CHARLESTOWN, VA., *September 2, 1864.*

MY DEAR SISTER: We expect to move to-morrow morning up the Valley. This, unfortunately, I fear, banishes all hope of returning home. I am, however, willing to forego all pleasure if for the good of the country. The impression is very strong that Early is *en route* to Richmond; if so, your brother may soon date his letters from Petersburg. I am in good spirits over both military and political prospects. The rebels can not disguise the fact that their power is on the wane, and that their race is nearly run. While the nomination of McClellan on so damnable a platform renders Lincoln's re-election certain, I am out and out for Lincoln. He has made many gross blunders, but he is true to his purpose, and, when the South, after four years of war, finds that the North is as determined as ever to crush the rebellion, the rebellion will collapse. Farragut is a hero, and deserves all the honors a grateful nation can bestow. Grant, too, is rising daily in the opinion of the officers who were ill-affected toward him when he took command. Others that I could mention are stumbling-blocks of too great magni-

tude to permit a brilliant execution of any movement in which they may be implicated. I heartily wish they might be relieved.

Sheridan's forces in the Valley were obliged at first to act on the defensive, because of the reinforcements which Early had received. It was, nevertheless, believed that in due time the necessities of Lee would bring about the recall of a large portion, if not the whole, of the Confederate force now confronting Sheridan. The latter, ever on the alert, hoped to overwhelm the diminished force of the enemy when such an event took place, and, to better arrange for this, he had established himself, in the early part of September, in the vicinity of Berryville, in a strong position, threatening Winchester, and having the fine defensive position at Halltown to fall back upon in case the enemy pressed him too closely. On the 14th of September, the main part of the re-enforcements (Kershaw's division) which Early had received were finally recalled to join Lee's army at Richmond. Early also, at this juncture, separated his forces, sending a large part to Martinsburg, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, twenty-two miles north of Winchester.

Sheridan, quickly taking advantage of these two circumstances, concentrated his forces on the Opequan, near Winchester, and moved directly against Ramseur's division, covering that place. The battle took place on the 19th of September, and resulted in a marked victory for Sheridan. The part played by Upton in this action was, as usual, conspicuous. At first in command of his brigade, with

which he was the first, after Wilson's division of cavalry, to arrive on the field, the death of General Russell gave him the command of the First Division. This division was, in the early part of the engagement, held in reserve in rear of the right of the Sixth Corps. The advance of this corps was along the Winchester and Berryville pikes—Getty, with the Second Division, on the left, and Ricketts, with the Third Division, on the right; the Nineteenth Corps was on the right of the Sixth Corps, and connected with it during the first advance, until about midday. Due to the change of direction of the Berryville pike toward the left, an interval occurred between the right of the Sixth Corps and the left of the Nineteenth, which increased in width as the troops advanced. The enemy, taking advantage of this, pushed in Battle's brigade of Rhodes's division, which, being supported by the other brigades of this division and that of Gordon, drove back Ricketts's division of the Sixth Corps and Grover's of the Nineteenth Corps. This, for a short time, not only checked the Union advance, but forced back the whole line some distance. "At this juncture Russell's division of the Sixth Corps splendidly improved a golden opportunity. Ordered at once to move up into the front line, now needing re-enforcement, this change brought it into the gap created by the Confederate charge, and, continuing its advance, it struck the flank of the hostile force which was sweeping away the Union right, and, aided by the Fifth Maine Battery, which enfiladed the enemy's line with canister, at once turned the tide. The enemy retreated, the

line was re-established, the fugitives were gathered from the woods in which they had taken refuge, while the gallant division took position on the right of its corps. But, in the hour of his triumph, Russell had fallen. 'His death,' said Sheridan, 'brought sadness to every heart in the army.' The broken portion of Ricketts's line was quickly reformed behind the First Division, now under Upton, and again moved forward, while Dwight's division, having taken the place of Grover's, on the right of the line, the latter was promptly rallied and brought up." *

The report of the operations of the division was made by Major Dalton, assistant-adjutant-general. "The enemy," he says, "having pushed back the Second Division of the Nineteenth Corps, and a portion of the Third Division of this corps, moved down toward the pike, delivering a severe fire of musketry from the woods and corn-fields on the right. The Third Brigade (Edwards's) was now rapidly moved by the flank to the right of the pike, then forward with the First Brigade (Campbell's) under a heavy fire to a crest commanding the woods and fields through which the enemy moved. This advance was very much assisted by the First New York Battery, commanded by Lieutenant Johnson, which did splendid execution, and was fought with gallantry under a very annoying musketry-fire. At this time, General Upton moved his brigade into line to the right of the pike, at an oblique angle to it, thence forward into the woods, delivering heavy volleys into masses of the enemy, who were coming up. This fresh fire from the Second Brigade (Up-

* "The Shenandoah Valley," Pond, p. 162.

ton's) soon caused the enemy to fall back, so that the whole line moved forward to a position which was easily held till the latter part of the afternoon, though occasionally sharp musketry-fire was interchanged. While personally superintending the advance of the First and Third Brigades to the crest previously referred to, and which he considered of the utmost importance, General Russell was killed by a piece of shell which passed through his heart—he had just before received a bullet-wound in the left breast, but had not mentioned this to any of his staff, continuing to urge forward his troops.”

General Upton's account is as follows :

“After marching about half a mile, the troops on the right of the pike gave way ; line was immediately formed, and soon after Lieutenant-Colonel Kent gave me the order to move the brigade to the right. The brigade was faced to the right, and marched across the pike into a narrow belt of timber, where the second line was halted and faced to the front. The Second Connecticut continued the march, inclining to the right, making our line oblique to that upon which the enemy was advancing. Bayonets were fixed, and instructions given not to fire till within close range. The enemy's left, extending far beyond our right, advanced till within two hundred yards of our line, when a brisk flank-fire was opened by the One Hundred and Twenty-first and Sixty-fifth New York, causing him to retire in great disorder. The whole line then advanced, driving the enemy, and inflicting a heavy loss in the killed and wounded. The brigade was halted at the

edge of the wood, which position it held till the attack was renewed in the afternoon. On the left of the brigade the Thirty-seventh Massachusetts rendered invaluable service in supporting Stevens's Fifth Maine Battery."

General Crook, who commanded the Army of Western Virginia, known afterward as the Eighth Corps, says, in his report of the battle: "The general direction of my line was on the enemy's left flank, and at right angles to the line of the Nineteenth Corps. During the latter part of the charge there was a succession of stone fences running parallel to my lines, behind which some of the flying enemy took refuge, pouring a destructive fire into my ranks. On riding to the Nineteenth Corps to request them to enfilade these fences, I found Brigadier-General Upton, of the Sixth Corps, on my left, making a most gallant charge with the brigade against the enemy thus posted, although having been in the hottest of the fight since its commencement in the morning. Finally, the enemy fled from these fences, pursued through the town of Winchester by my command, which was the first to enter the city."

It appears, from the various accounts, that the timely arrival of Upton's brigade upon the field of battle, and its vigorous attack upon the advancing enemy in the gap between the right of the Sixth and left of the Nineteenth Corps, were most opportune. It turned a possible defeat into certain victory. General Upton was severely wounded in the right thigh near the close of the battle, but with

the nerve and coolness of the true soldier he remained until the action was over, although directed by General Sheridan to quit the field. It is related that, not being able, on account of his wound, to remain on his horse, he had a stretcher borne by a detachment of the ambulance corps, and in this was carried along the line from place to place, encouraging his men and giving his orders with a courage and devotion full of inspiration to his troops. The fortitude thus displayed is worthy of a true hero, and stands in noticeable contrast to the retirement from the field of others only slightly wounded.

The severe nature of his wound caused him, two days after the battle, to take a leave of absence, and, proceeding to his home, he awaited with impatience its healing sufficiently to allow his return to active duty. For his services in this battle he was brevetted a major-general of volunteers.

CHAPTER V.

SERVICE AS DIVISION COMMANDER OF CAVALRY.

IN October, 1864, the returns of the cavalry of the Military Division of the Mississippi showed a nominal strength of nearly eighty thousand men, only fourteen thousand of whom were actually fit for duty in the field. This large force was unavailable for the more important duties of cavalry, because it was scattered over the States of Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, in detachments of various strength, and was without unity, either in command, purpose, discipline, or organization. This arm of the service had naturally suffered from defective organization and hard service, and had therefore failed to develop the proper *morale* and military spirit. But both General Grant and General Sherman believed that, with a proper organization and a competent leader, it could attain a standard of excellence equal to the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, which would make it a most potent factor in a campaign directed toward the heart of the Confederacy, and which had not yet been touched.

General James H. Wilson, then commanding a division with Sheridan in the Valley of Virginia, was detailed by General Grant, and ordered to report to Sherman for the purpose of reorganizing

and commanding the Western cavalry. He was promised the assistance of a few good brigade and division commanders from the Army of the Potomac, and requested that Upton, among others, might be ordered to join him. This request was granted, although the latter had not yet recovered from the severe and painful wound received at the battle of Winchester, and could not again take the field till late in December. It will be remembered that up to this time Upton had served only with the artillery and infantry, but so thoroughly had his qualities become known throughout the army that neither General Grant nor his new commander had any doubt about his success as a cavalry leader. Indeed, his enterprise, intrepidity, and general ability had specially marked him as one of the best officers in the army for the duty of assisting in bringing the mounted service up to the high degree of discipline and efficiency which all arms had reached in the Eastern armies, and which both the artillery and infantry had reached in the Western armies. In order that his services in the West may be better understood, we may briefly refer to a few of the salient facts connected with the cavalry commands in the Military Division of the Mississippi at this epoch.

Three divisions of cavalry, about five thousand in the aggregate, commanded by Generals McCook, Garrard, and Kilpatrick, were attached to the Army of the Cumberland. In the Army of the Ohio the cavalry consisted of a portion of a division near Atlanta under General Garrard, while Capron's brigade was awaiting a remount at Louisville, Kentucky,

all under the command of General George Stoneman. There were two divisions of cavalry belonging to the Army of the Tennessee, one in West Tennessee, under General Edward Hatch, and the other in Missouri and Tennessee, near Memphis, under Colonel E. F. Winslow, Fourth Iowa Cavalry—the whole commanded by Brigadier-General B. H. Grierson. Many detachments, employed as escorts, foragers, orderlies, hospital attendants, etc., were to be found in all the armies. In addition to the above, a few regiments of good cavalry and a division of mounted infantry were located in Kentucky and East Tennessee. There were in all about eighty-two regiments of mounted troops, or rated as such, spread over a wide territory, partially paralyzed, at least, by the scattering policy to which this arm of the service had been subjected.

Although General Sherman expressed no great faith in the views and plans of General Wilson, or in the possibility of their practical application within the limits of the time available, he cordially consented to their adoption, and frankly said he would not undertake to divide the honors which the reorganized cavalry might gain for its new commander. He accordingly issued the order constituting these widely scattered and fragmentary bodies into the Cavalry Corps of the Military Division of the Mississippi, under the command of General Wilson. This order was issued at Gaylesville, Alabama, on the 9th of November, 1864, and, while it marked a great epoch in the history of the cavalry in the West, much had yet to be done to make the corps in effect something more than a mere name. The

organization consisted of seven divisions, commanded by Generals McCook, Long, Kilpatrick, Grierson, Hatch, Johnson, and Knipe, respectively.

The Third Division (Kilpatrick's), having been selected to accompany General Sherman in his march to the sea, had been strengthened by the absorption of nearly all the good horses left with the army, and by bringing forward the detached men who were guarding railroads and block-houses; the strength of its three brigades was thus increased to about five thousand men for duty. The dismounted divisions were sent back to Louisville for remounts, and it was hoped that this could be effected in time to make use of them in the operations against Hood. By the 14th of November Wilson had a force of eight thousand mounted and two thousand unmounted men, and did employ them with vigor and effect in the decisive battle of Nashville, December 15th and 16th, although but a short time had elapsed since this force was without cohesion or military value.

During the pursuit of Hood the cavalry captured thirty-two guns, eleven caissons, twelve colors, three thousand two hundred and thirty prisoners, and caused the abandonment or destruction of many wagons, horses, and mules, belonging to Hood's army.

It had been General Grant's design that an active winter campaign into Alabama should immediately follow the defeat of Hood, and it was expected that the initiative would be made about the latter part of December. But many causes united to greatly modify the original plan and somewhat

delay the contemplated movement, so that it finally resulted in a campaign by the cavalry corps itself, beginning in the latter part of March.

Wilson had been directed to assemble his cavalry, after Hood's defeat, in the vicinity of Huntsville, Alabama. But, because of the impoverished state of the country, due to its having been overrun by the forces of both parties, and because of the lack of railroad facilities for the supply of large bodies of troops, headquarters were established at Gravelly Springs, fifteen miles below Florence, on the Tennessee River, and the command was collected in cantonments between that place and Waterloo. During February and early March, all the divisions of the corps (except the Third, which had accompanied Sherman in his march to the sea) had arrived and were placed in camp. Every effort was made to drill and discipline these troops, so that they would form a coherent and reliable body of horse.

Thorough amalgamation was impossible during the retreat before Hood from the Tennessee to the Cumberland, or during the preparation for the battle of Nashville. Then during the pursuit of Hood the troops and horses had been severely pushed, and their powers of endurance nearly exhausted, and yet, while their spirits had been raised by their successes during the battle and subsequent pursuit, the discipline had suffered in some degree. Roll-calls had been neglected, and many essential military duties had been perfunctorily performed. As soon as the command was assembled on the Tennessee, the corps commander, aided by a large and an efficient staff, set himself to correct these short-

comings, and soon had the pleasure of seeing unsoldierly conduct and all irregularity replaced by a prompt and willing obedience and the strictest discipline. Both men and horses were comfortably sheltered and supplied. They were drilled at every opportune moment, and soon there grew up an organized body of horse capable of efficient employment. The difficulties which, at first, seemed almost insurmountable, had been gradually dissipated, till finally everything was in readiness for a campaign into the very heart of the South. But the rainy weather of March had filled the Tennessee till its banks and bottom-lands were flooded; the roads were in a frightful condition, and that part of the country which was not a quagmire was a barren waste. For ninety miles south of the Tennessee the country had been completely stripped of all supplies, and hence it was necessary to accumulate food, forage, and munitions of all kinds, so that the command could move out at the earliest moment that the roads would permit. The aggregate force with which the corps was expected to penetrate the enemy's territory was twenty-five thousand men. But orders in February directed that one division be sent to Canby, operating at Mobile; one division be left at Chickasaw to watch the Mississippi and Tennessee Rivers; and one be detached for service in Tennessee. The Seventh Division, General Knipe, was selected for the first detail; the Fifth, General Hatch, for the second; and the Sixth, General Johnson, for the last—in all about ten thousand troopers.

General Wilson was left with about fourteen thousand men, of whom fifteen hundred were not

mounted, to undertake his campaign in a new and untried territory against an active cavalry force of the enemy, commanded by one of its most prominent cavalry leaders, General Forrest.

We will now see how General Upton became connected with the operations which followed. Severely wounded at the battle of Winchester, in Virginia, October 19, 1864, he was thereby prevented from immediately joining his new command. He had played so conspicuous a part in this battle, and his bravery and military ability were so marked, that the Government promptly rewarded him with the brevet of major-general "for gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Winchester and Fisher's Hill, Virginia." His commission was dated October 19th, and he accordingly took rank from that date. But his wound was of such a nature that it was not until near the middle of December that his physical condition permitted his return to active duty. He had had active field service with the artillery as a subaltern and as a chief of an artillery brigade, as well as varied experience with the infantry in command of a regiment, brigade, and division, in many bloody engagements. This service had been wholly with the gallant and well-disciplined Army of the Potomac, in which he had experienced the exhilaration of marked successes, as well as the humiliation of sad disasters. He was now to close his active career as a fighting soldier in the cavalry, and on the 13th of December, although his wound had not yet closed, he reported in person to Major-General Wilson, and was assigned to the command of the Fourth Divis-

ion of the cavalry corps. His new rank carried with it new responsibilities as well as new honors. It was not without some modest misgivings as to his adaptability to the cavalry service that he turned his back on his comrades in the East to enter upon his new duties in the West. After his assignment, although still physically weak, he proceeded to Memphis, to bring a portion of his command located in that vicinity to the cavalry camp at Gravelly Springs, Alabama.

On his arrival at the cavalry camp he at once entered upon the active work of drill, discipline, and organization. These irksome but vastly important duties received at Upton's hands that thorough attention that characterized all of his labor, for he well knew that the harvest he hoped to reap in the coming campaign would be in direct proportion to the efficient labor which must be expended during the season of preparation. He did this to the complete satisfaction of his corps commander, and he thus so gained the confidence of his own officers and men that both he and they became eagerly anxious for the campaign to open. His hopes and aspirations were at this time thus expressed :

GRAVELLY SPRINGS, *March 14, 1865.*

MY DEAR SISTER: We expect to break camp tomorrow preparatory to crossing the Tennessee and entering upon the expedition to Alabama. The streams are swollen, which may delay us some days, but it is the intention to move as soon as the weather and roads will permit.

The present campaign, I trust, will seal the doom

of the Confederacy. I can not see how it can be otherwise, unless great and unexpected reverses befall our arms. In that event it will only delay the final result. Peace must soon come, and how welcome it will be to all!

Hobbes was not a soldier, or he never would have advanced the idea that "war is the natural condition of man." I am anxious to be on the move. Camp-life is dull and monotonous, and I always welcome the variety of campaign. Henry's wound worries me considerably, and I fear it will undermine his health. Mine has healed over, but a perverse nerve keeps it constantly in mind. I do not suffer at all from it, only there is a disagreeable sensation about the knee.

Before giving an outline of the campaign, it may be well to devote a few words to the strength and distribution of the enemy's forces available for opposing Wilson's movements, referring briefly in passing to the events that followed the defeat of Hood at Nashville.

After this battle, so disastrous to the enemy, Hood established his headquarters at Tuscumbia, and, early in January, collected the remnants of his infantry at Tupelo, Mississippi. Subsequently, a large part of his force was transferred to the East by the only railroad then open to them from Columbus, Mississippi, Macon, Augusta, and Columbia, S. C., to enable it to take part in the operations against Sherman in North Carolina. About the latter part of December, General N. B. Forrest, who commanded the enemy's cavalry, collected his corps in

the vicinity of Corinth, with the exception of a brigade under Roddy, who was left to cover Hood's rear at Tusculumbia. Another brigade of cavalry under Armstrong was recalled from Corinth to strengthen this force, while Hood's infantry were passing west from Cherokee Station to Tupelo.

It was known to Forrest that he was soon to be placed in command of all the Confederate cavalry which was in the Military Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana, and, therefore, from the time of establishing himself in winter quarters at Corinth, he devoted himself to the concentration, discipline, and reorganization of his command. Bell's and Rucker's brigades of Tennessee cavalry, which were near their homes, and who would with certainty return to their colors, were furloughed for a short time to enable them to procure fresh horses and clothing. The rest of the cavalry was brought to the vicinity of Okolona, Mississippi, a country rich in forage. West Tennessee, Northern Alabama, and Mississippi, beyond the lines of Federal occupation, were thoroughly patrolled to gather in all absentees, and to impress mercilessly all able-bodied men that were fit for service. Picked and trusty scouts were sent into Middle Tennessee to learn all that could be gathered about the contemplated movements of the Union forces.

Forrest assumed his new command in obedience to orders February 24th, and on the 28th received his new rank of lieutenant-general. In reorganizing his corps he had united troops from the same State into brigades and divisions as far as practicable. Thus the Mississippi brigades formed a divis-

ion commanded by Brigadier-General Chalmers, the Alabama brigades a division under General Buford, and the Tennessee brigades, to which the Texas troops were also added, a division commanded by General Jackson. The famous Second Missouri Cavalry, commanded by Colonel McCulloch, who had heretofore commanded a brigade, were attached to Forrest's headquarters as a special scouting force under Forrest's immediate direction. The aggregate strength of his command at this time was estimated at about ten thousand men.

General Forrest himself was one of the ablest of the Confederate cavalry commanders. He had risen from a subordinate position to the highest honors by merit alone. Although he had had but little education, and no culture, he possessed the native qualities of a leader of cavalry. He was a man of strong will, ready resource, great energy, and untiring activity. These qualifications, united to a sound judgment and quick decision, served to make him a successful commander and a dangerous antagonist. He enforced a pitiless conscription in the territory of his command, and during the period of preparation he devoted himself assiduously to rehorsing his cavalry and artillery, and the complete reorganization of his forces.

By the middle of March, Chalmers's division had an effective aggregate of forty-five hundred men, divided into three brigades, commanded by Brigadier-Generals F. C. Armstrong, Wirt Adams, and P. B. Starke. Jackson's division amounted to thirty-eight hundred men, the two Tennessee brigades of which were commanded by Brigadier-Generals T.

H. Bell and A. W. Campbell. Buford was in the vicinity of Montevallo, Alabama, completing the reorganization of his division. Roddy's brigade of this division was located in North Alabama, watching Wilson's movements. The other brigades, Clanton's and Armistead's, were detached to the vicinity of Mobile, guarding its flank approaches.

Forrest had retained his headquarters at Corinth until January 12th; then, leaving Ross's Texans to garrison that place, he removed his headquarters to Verona, Mississippi, fifty-five miles south, where he remained till March 1st, and then established himself at West Point, Mississippi. Wilson's concentration at Gravelly Springs and Waterloo and his preparations for a campaign were early made known to him by Roddy, commanding his advanced brigade. In anticipation of Wilson's movement, Armstrong's and Starke's brigades, thirty-two hundred strong, of Chalmers's division, had been ordered, on the 17th of March, to take post at Pickensville, Alabama; the other brigade, General Wirt Adams, was then moving from Jackson, Mississippi, to Columbus, to protect the line of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. Bell's and Campbell's brigades of Jackson's division were concentrated at West Point. The whole of this disposition was due to the uncertainty as to whether Wilson's contemplated campaign had for its object an advance into Mississippi or into Alabama.

It is certain, from what is now known, that great misconception existed on the part of the Confederate commander, Lieutenant-General Richard Taylor, as to the importance and magnitude of General

Wilson's design. From his headquarters at Meridian, Mississippi, he informed General Lee, at as late a date as March 27th, that Wilson's movement was a raid, and that it was his intention to meet and whip it before it could advance far into the country. The operations of General Steele's command, which moved from Pensacola on the 20th of March, and was directed on Pollard, threatening Montgomery, had served to distract the enemy, and caused it to appear to be of prime importance. General Buford was therefore directed, March 23d, to move at once from Montevallo to Greenville, *via* Selma, and Forrest was ordered to send Chalmers's and Jackson's divisions to Selma, with the intention of making a concentration at Greenville to meet this threatening movement of Steele's column. But, before these troops could make much distance southward, they were quickly recalled to meet the more serious danger caused by Wilson's advance. It was now quite patent to the Confederate commander that Wilson's movement would be against Selma, and that it would need all their energy and every available man to interpose in his line of advance to prevent the accomplishment of his object. Forrest, in obedience to telegraphic orders of March 24th, had ordered his forces from the Mississippi line, designing to concentrate them upon Selma before it was definitely known to be Wilson's objective.

General Wilson began his movement south, from Chickasaw and Waterloo, with the First, Second, and Fourth Cavalry Divisions, on the 22d of March. His command numbered twelve thousand five hundred mounted and fifteen hundred dismounted.

They were all veterans, in excellent discipline and condition considering the limited time which had been available for this purpose. But, as they had been assembled in cantonments, freed from the evils of disintegration, and had been thoroughly drilled under the eyes of their own officers, much had been done to make the confidence mutual. The division and other commanders, although mostly young men, were competent and experienced officers, and were full of confidence in themselves and their commands.

Clear and explicit instructions had been given before the march began, and certain discretionary powers had been allowed the division commanders as to march and manœuvre. The general operations and routes were outlined as far as Selma, and the subsequent movements were to be determined from that point.

Each trooper was directed to carry five days' light rations in haversacks, one pair of extra horse-shoes, and one hundred rounds of ammunition. Pack-mules were loaded with five days' rations of hard bread and ten days' sugar and salt. The wagon-train was to carry forty-five days' coffee, twenty days' sugar, fifteen days' salt, and eighty rounds of ammunition. Such was the total allowance for a sixty days' campaign, the allowance of hard bread and forage being limited to that necessary to serve the command while passing through the sterile portions of Alabama. It was expected that it would subsequently live on the country. The supply-train consisted of two hundred and fifty wagons, which were to be sent back as they

were emptied, and there was, in addition, a canvas ponton train of thirty boats, transported by fifty-six six-mule teams, under the escort of a battalion of the Twelfth Missouri Cavalry, Major Hubbard commanding.

We will now follow briefly the movements of the cavalry corps, and then direct our attention to the particular operations of the Fourth Division.

Selma, distant about one hundred and eighty miles in a straight line, could only be reached by a fatiguing march of nearly two hundred and fifty. The roads by which the columns moved were at this time very heavy, due to incessant rains, and were intersected by the numerous streams which form the head-waters of the Black Warrior and the Cahawba Rivers. These streams were swollen, their bottom-lands muddy, and the crossings difficult and often dangerous; the country itself is hilly and barren.

The advance was made first on diverging roads: Upton's division moving by the easterly route, through Barton's Station, Russelville, Mount Hope, and Jasper, to Sanders's Ferry, on the West Fork of the Black Warrior River; Long's division by Cherokee Station, Frankfort, Russelville, thence south by the Tuscaloosa road crossing Upper Bear Creek, then turning east by Thorn Hill, crossing the forks of the Buttahatchie, reached Jasper and the ford on the Black Warrior with but little loss of time. McCook's division followed Long's division to Bear Creek, and marched thence toward Tuscaloosa as far as Eldridge, and then eastwardly to Jasper.

Upton's division crossed the Mulberry Fork of

the Black Warrior on the 27th. A violent rain-storm filled the streams to their banks, and threatened to prevent the rest of the command from making a junction with it. With great skill and labor this danger was happily averted, and thus an opportunity for a possible partial successful resistance on the part of the enemy was lost, had they known in time of this march and taken advantage of the situation.

From captured scouts of the enemy, Wilson learned at Jasper, on the 27th, that one of Chalmers's brigades (Armstrong's) was marching on Tuscaloosa by Bridgeville. Fearing that Forrest might interpose all of his available forces on his line of advance, he at once decided to strip his divisions to the lightest available marching condition, taking only his pack-train and artillery, and move with the greatest possible rapidity through Elyton to Montevallo. To protect his train, he left with it all of the unmounted troops and a mounted battalion, and directed it to push on as far as Elyton, where it would receive further orders.

The corps moved now with the greatest celerity toward Montevallo, reaching the Cahawba River on the 30th, having marched that day forty-three miles. Thus in nine days Wilson had moved his three divisions over poor roads and through a difficult and sterile country, and had them well in hand for either marching or fighting.

Let us now see what the condition of the enemy was at this time. It will be remembered that Roddy, commanding a brigade of Buford's division, was, until about March 26th, watching Wilson and

guarding Northern Alabama; and that through General Taylor's failure to comprehend the true nature or magnitude of the contemplated movement of the cavalry corps, while unduly magnifying Steele's advance from Pensacola, Roddy had been hurried from his very important position and ordered to proceed with all haste to Greenville. General Buford, who was in the vicinity of Montevallo, was ordered to proceed to Greenville March 23d; and Chalmers and Jackson, who had been held in readiness, since March 17th, to march at "six hours' notice," were, on March 25th, ordered to the same point. General Forrest left West Point, Mississippi, March 27th, and at Columbus he learned, through scouts, that Wilson was making for Montevallo, which he immediately reported to his superior officer, General Taylor. He saw at once the threatening character of this movement, and urged the immediate concentration of all possible resources for the defense of Selma.

Forrest, directing Jackson to push forward with the utmost celerity toward Tuscaloosa, reached that point himself on the morning of the 28th, after a ride of thirty hours.

Jackson had started with his command from West Point, Mississippi, on the 26th, and was moving, on the route assigned to him, toward Selma, when he was diverted, as stated above, toward Tuscaloosa. Armstrong's brigade moved from Pickensville March 26th, and was overtaken by General Chalmers with his staff on the 28th, at Greensboro, it having been detained somewhat in the passage of the Black Warrior. At Marion, Armstrong was

halted and Starke's brigade ordered thither, in consequence of an order from Forrest prescribing concentration. From the relaxation indulged in by Armstrong's brigade at Marion, and the fact that mere rumors only existed in regard to the movements of the Union forces, it is quite evident that the serious nature of his position had not yet fully penetrated the mind of the enemy. On the afternoon of the 30th Starke's brigade reached Marion, and that night at eleven o'clock orders were received from General Taylor, directing the division to move upon Plantersville. Hence at this epoch, March 30th, we find Forrest's command scattered in every direction, and without any apparent directing head or plan of operations.

Meanwhile Wilson, at Elyton, had dispatched Croxton's brigade, of McCook's division, fifteen hundred strong, on the 30th, to attempt the capture of Tuscaloosa, and, if successful, to destroy the stores and rejoin the main column, *via* Centreville. If, however, he found the enemy in force, he was to hold them in check and prevent a junction with the rest of Forrest's command in Wilson's immediate front. On his way to Tuscaloosa he fell in with the rear-guard of Jackson's division at Trion, and interposed himself between it and Jackson's trains.

This occurred on the 31st, and Jackson, who had reached within eight miles of Scottsboro, on his way from Tuscaloosa to join Forrest, determined to attack him early the next morning. This he did, capturing some prisoners, but not crippling Croxton in the least, who immediately moved northeasterly by an unfrequented road, and marched rapidly

for ten or fifteen miles, then turned west, and, after a forty-mile march that day, arrived at Johnson's Ferry on the Black Warrior River. General Jackson, somewhat elated at his success, sent a dispatch to the commanding officer at Tuscaloosa, informing him that he had dispersed Croxton's force, and added: "It is scattered in the mountains and can not again be collected. Assure the fair ladies that the tread of the vandal hordes shall not pollute the streets of their beautiful city." As a sequel to this, it may here be stated that Croxton marched thirty-two miles the next day, and at 10 P. M. arrived on the opposite side of the river from Tuscaloosa, and received the surrender of the town at 1 A. M. on the 3d.

When Wilson heard, through dispatches captured at Randolph, that Jackson was being delayed by Croxton, he immediately sent McCook with La Grange's brigade to Centreville, where the road from Trion crosses the Cahawba, to make a junction with Croxton, or at least hold Jackson in check and prevent his joining Forrest. McCook met Jackson on April 2d, and, finding him too strong, burned the bridge over the Cahawba at Centreville, thus preventing Jackson's crossing the Cahawba, and effectually eliminating Jackson's division from all participation in opposing his march to Selma. McCook, after accomplishing this important service, marched *via* Randolph, joined the trains on the 5th of April, and brought them safely into Selma.

Let us next ascertain what became of Chalmers's two brigades. Moving at 11 P. M., on the 30th, from

Marion to Plantersville, owing to bad roads and delay about ponton train, Chalmers, with Starke's brigade, did not cross the Cahawba till late on the 31st. Then swamps and the condition of the roads caused him to diverge from his projected route, and seek a more practicable way, encumbered as he was with the artillery and trains of the command. Forrest, not knowing where he was, in the mean time telegraphed Taylor at Selma for information, and received in reply an answer to the effect that he was at Plantersville, which at that time was in the rear of Forrest's advanced position at Randolph. Under the impression that this information was correct, Forrest claims that he ordered the position at Ebenezer Church to be held, making allowance for this brigade in the disposition of his troops. Armstrong's brigade having been detached from his command on April 1st, joined Forrest at 11 P. M. of that day, on the road between Marion and Plantersville.

Roddy, having crossed the Alabama at Selma on his way south to Greenville, was directed to turn about on March 30th, and hasten north to report to General Daniel Adams at Montevallo. Recrossing the river and making a forced march of fifty miles, he reached Montevallo in time to participate in the defense of that field.

The generalship on the part of the Confederates had succeeded in throwing out of Wilson's path three of their best brigades, viz., Bell's and Campbell's of Jackson's division, and Starke's of Chalmers's division, together with the artillery of Forrest's corps, and leaving only Armstrong's, Roddy's,

and Crossland's brigades, and the inferior troops which Adams had collected together in the vicinity of Montevallo, to oppose him. We can now follow understandingly the active operations of the Federal cavalry.

Upton's division, leading, reached Montevallo on the evening of March 30th, having destroyed important and valuable iron-works during the day. He was ordered to await the arrival of the corps, and before noon of the next day the command was again concentrated. At Montevallo the first serious stand was made by the enemy, whose forces consisted of Roddy's brigade, coming up after a forced march from Selma, Crossland's Kentucky brigade, and other troops collected by General Daniel Adams, who commanded the whole.

From the belfry of the village church, Upton's line of mounted skirmishers could be seen a mile in front of the village, and occasional puffs of smoke told that the enemy was feeling our lines. Upton's troopers, not on the skirmish-line, were massed behind the village in some fields, out of view of the enemy, while Long's splendid division of five thousand troopers was slowly closing up. Upton had ordered his skirmishers to retire slowly before the enemy, and toward 1 P. M. his men could be seen moving in skirmishing order toward the Union lines. Moving to the rear and wheeling about to fire, every movement was marked with cool precision. When he had retired within a few hundred yards of the village the corps commander said: "Upton, I think you have let them come far enough; move out!" In a moment the skirmish-line was re-enforced, and

Upton moved down the road with his main body in column of fours at the trot until clear of the village, when the Fifth Iowa, Colonel Young commanding, made a handsome charge, driving the enemy and capturing fifty prisoners from Roddy's command and Crossland's Kentucky Brigade. The enemy disputed every creek-bottom and ridge with great stubbornness, but Upton's impetuosity, ably seconded by that of his brigade commanders, Winslow and Alexander, drove everything before him. When the enemy had been forced back to Six-Mile Creek, the command halted for the night on the road to Randolph, and on the next day at dawn entered that place.

At Randolph, Upton's scouts captured the important dispatches from Jackson to Forrest, and from Forrest to Jackson, before referred to, which gave Wilson the key to the whole situation. From the first he learned that Forrest, with a part of his command, was in his front, a fact he had already obtained from prisoners captured; that Jackson, with his division, and all the wagons and artillery of the Confederate cavalry, marching from Tuscaloosa *via* Trion toward Centreville, had encamped the night before at Hill's plantation, three miles beyond Scottsboro; that Croxton, with the brigade detached at Elyton, had struck Jackson's rear-guard at Trion, and interposed himself between it and the train; that Jackson had discovered this, and intended to attack Croxton at daylight, April 1st. He learned from the other dispatch that Chalmers had also arrived at Marion, Alabama, and had been ordered to cross to the east side of the Cahawba, for the pur-

pose of joining Forrest in front, or in the works at Selma. Also that a force of dismounted men were stationed at Centreville, with orders to hold the bridge over the Cahawba as long as possible, and in no event to let it fall into the hands of the Federals.

Shortly after the interception of these dispatches, Wilson heard from Croxton at Trion, the night before, that he had struck Jackson's rear; and, instead of pushing on toward Tuscaloosa, as he was ordered, he would follow and endeavor to bring him to an engagement, hoping thereby to prevent his junction with Forrest.

Having this information, Wilson directed McCook to strengthen the battalion previously ordered to Centreville by a regiment, and to follow with LaGrange's entire brigade, leaving all pack-trains and wagons with the main column, so that he could march with the utmost celerity; and, after seizing the Centreville bridge and leaving it under the protection of a sufficient guard, to cross the Cahawba, and continue his march by the Scottsboro road toward Trion. His orders were to attack and break up Jackson's forces, form a junction with Croxton if practicable, and rejoin the corps with his entire division by the Centreville road to Selma. Although McCook did not leave Randolph till near 11 A. M., and the distance to Scottsboro was nearly forty miles, Wilson hoped by the movement to do more than secure the Centreville bridge, and prevent Jackson from joining the force in front of the main column.

On the next morning the march was resumed, Upton taking the left-hand or eastern road, and

Long confronting the enemy. Long skirmished all day, driving the enemy slowly but steadily before him.

At 3 P. M., Forrest, having been re-enforced by Armstrong's brigade, and some militia, halted near Ebenezer Church, five miles from Plantersville, and gave battle. Forrest chose his position north of Bogler's Creek, his right resting on Mulberry Creek, his left on a high wooded ridge. He posted three pieces of artillery on the Randolph road and two on the Maplesville road, upon which Upton was advancing. His forces consisted of Roddy's brigade, Crossland's Kentucky brigade, Armstrong's brigade, and three hundred infantry just from Selma.

As soon as Long could deploy, he made his attack, and Upton, always prompt and fortunate, hearing the cheers and firing, took the trot and turned the right flank of the enemy at the opportune moment.

Forrest, expecting to be re-enforced by Chalmers, who was reported within supporting distance, but who had really gone to Marion with Starke's brigade, placed his line of battle in front of the forks of the roads, with three guns on the left-hand road, on which Long was advancing. The right-hand road was not well watched or strongly held, as Upton's advance met with but little resistance. A squadron of the Seventeenth Indiana, Miller's brigade, Long's division, charged the three-gun battery with sabers, crushed down the gun-carriages, and passed beyond, but were driven back by the enemy's supports. The sharp fighting soon resulted

in forcing Forrest in confusion from the field with a loss of three guns and four hundred prisoners. That night the two Union divisions camped at Plantersville, nineteen miles from Selma. At this place the enemy, having halted to obtain forage and subsistence stores, were driven out in hot haste, Forrest, with his escort, making a gallant resistance.

At daylight of the 2d of April our troops moved out on the Summerville road, Long's division leading, closely followed by Upton. The enemy offered no resistance, and early in the afternoon the advanced troopers came in sight of Selma. At Elyton, Upton had obtained and sent to corps headquarters detailed information of the defenses, of the general correctness of which Wilson satisfied himself afterward by a careful reconnoissance.

Selma is situated on the north bank of the Alabama River, about one hundred feet above the mean level of the water. It contained an arsenal and foundries for making shot and shell, and was the most important depot of the enemy in the Southwest.

Its fortifications consisted of a continuous line of infantry parapets, with ample works for artillery defense, surrounding the city at a distance of three miles, with its flanks resting on the Alabama River. An interior line of stronger profile was also partially constructed. These works were defended by a force nearly seven thousand strong, consisting of Roddy's, Armstrong's, and Crossland's brigades of cavalry, and the militia and infantry collected by General Daniel Adams, all under the command of Forrest himself. So rapid had been the advance of

the national cavalry that the town was invested before Chalmers, with Starke's brigade, could reach it from Marion.

Wilson had his troops in position shortly after 4 p. m. He directed Long to march by the flanks of brigades, approach the city, and cross to the Summerville road, without exposing his men, and to develop his line as soon as he could arrive in front of the works. Upton was directed to move on the Range Line road, sending a squadron on the Burnsville road.

Having decided to assault the works without delay, Long was directed to move diagonally across the road upon which his troops were posted, while Upton, at his own request, with a picked force of three hundred men, was directed to penetrate the swamps upon his left, break through the line covered by it, and turn the enemy's right, the rest of his division to conform to the movement. The signal for the advance was to be the discharge of a single gun from Rodney's battery, to be given as soon as Upton's turning movement had developed itself.

Before that plan could be executed, and while waiting for the signal to advance, Long was informed that a strong force of the Confederate cavalry had begun skirmishing with his rear, and threatened a general attack upon his pack-train and led horses. He had left a force of six companies well posted at the creek in anticipation of that movement, afterward ascertained to have been made by Chalmers in obedience to the instructions of Forrest. Fearing lest the affair might compromise the

assault upon the main position, Long (having strengthened the rear by another regiment) determined to make the assault without waiting for the signal, and gave the order to advance. His command was formed in single line, dismounted, the Seventeenth Indiana Mounted Infantry on the right, and next, from right to left, the One Hundred and Twenty-third Illinois Mounted Infantry, Ninety-eighth Illinois Mounted Infantry, Fourth Ohio Cavalry, and Fourth Michigan Cavalry; in all eleven hundred and sixty officers and men. They had to charge across open ground six hundred yards to the works, exposed to the fire of artillery and musketry, and that part of the line which they were to assault was manned by Armstrong's brigade, numbering fifteen hundred men, and regarded as the best of Forrest's corps. Long's dismounted troops, all armed with the Spencer magazine gun, sprang forward in an unfaltering manner. The flanks had some difficulty in crossing a ravine and marshy soil, but in less than fifteen minutes the line had swept over the works and driven the Confederates in confusion toward the city. But the loss was considerable, being in all forty killed and two hundred and sixty wounded, and among the wounded was General Long himself, who was temporarily succeeded in command by Colonel Minty. Wilson, arriving on that part of the field just after the works were carried, at once notified Upton of Long's success, and directed Colonel Minty to form Long's division for a new advance. The garrison had occupied the new line near the edge of the city. A gallant charge by the Fourth United States Cavalry was repulsed, but

it rapidly reformed on the left. It was now quite dark. Upton's division advancing at the same time, a new charge was made by the Fourth Ohio, Seventeenth Indiana, and Fourth United States Cavalry, dismounted. The troops, inspired by the wildest enthusiasm, swept everything before them, and penetrated the city in all directions. Upton's division, though encountering less resistance, charged with its habitual spirit and devotion. It is said that the men, finding it too difficult to break down or pry away the sharp-pointed stockade in front of the earthworks, those behind, coming on swiftly, jumped on the shoulders of the foremost and leaped the obstructions, thus storming the works by a game of "leap-frog."

The garrison fought with great coolness and skill. Forrest was reported to have been engaged personally in two or three romantic combats, and he, with Generals Armstrong, Roddy, Adams, and a number of men, escaped under cover of darkness by the Burnsville or river road. A portion of Upton's division pursued on the Burnsville road until long after midnight, capturing four guns and many prisoners. The immediate fruit of the victory was thirty-one field guns and one thirty-pound Parrott, twenty-seven hundred prisoners, including one hundred and fifty officers, a number of colors, three thousand horses, and a large quantity of stores of every kind.

As soon as the troops could be assembled and got into camp, General Winslow was assigned to the command of the city, with orders to destroy everything that could benefit the Confederate cause.

In the excitement of the hour some acts of plunder and vandalism were perhaps committed, but order was soon restored by an active provost guard.

General Upton was directed to march at daylight the next morning with his division for the purpose of driving Chalmers west of the Cahawba, to open communication with McCook, who was expected from Centreville, and to assist him in bringing in the train. On the 5th, McCook and Upton arrived with the train, but nothing definite had been heard of Croxton.

On April 6th, Wilson, having ordered his engineer officer to lay the bridge, which had been preparing, over the Alabama River, with the utmost dispatch, went to Cahawba to see Forrest, who had agreed to meet him there under a flag of truce to arrange an exchange of prisoners. Wilson soon discovered that he need not expect liberality in the matter, and that Forrest hoped to recapture the prisoners in his hands. During the conversation Wilson learned from Forrest that Croxton had had an engagement with Wirt Adams near Bridgeville, forty miles southwest of Tuscaloosa, two days before. This assured Wilson of Croxton's success and safety, and he determined to lose no time in crossing to the south side of the Alabama. Returning to Selma, he urged every one to the utmost exertions. The river was quite full and rising, its current swift, strong, and full of floating drift-wood. The weather was also unsettled and rainy, but by great labor night and day the bridge, eight hundred and seventy feet long, was completed. During the night it was lighted by the blaze of burning buildings, and the

command had all crossed by daylight of the 10th. Behind them, in the destroyed arsenal, foundries, arms, stores, and military munitions of every kind, the national troops had left immense ruin. They had struck the Confederacy a disastrous blow.

In determining his future course from Selma, Wilson had carefully considered all the influencing circumstances. He consulted Upton freely and fully, and had his concurrence and approval in the plan of operations adopted. Generals Grant and Thomas had given him discretionary powers and a roving commission. Two routes lay open before him: one, to proceed to Mobile and assist Canby; the other, to march east and unite his forces with those of Sherman. He chose the latter, for he rightly conjectured that Mobile itself would soon fall, almost before he could reach that place, and he could be of no particular advantage to Canby. The great supply depot for the use of the besieged having been destroyed, and the heart of the State being in his possession, the fall of Mobile was a question of a few days at the farthest, for he knew from the Confederate papers of the close investment of the defenses, and his cavalry command would scarcely be of any more advantage to Canby than the division already there. Subsequent results confirmed the wisdom of his decision, for Spanish Fort was evacuated on April 8th, Blakely was carried by assault on the 9th, and Mobile fell on the 13th.

He therefore put his corps in motion for Montgomery, with LaGrange's brigade, of McCook's division, in the advance. Skirmishing with some Alabama cavalry, the next day's march brought the

command to the beautiful town of Lownesboro. The next day McCook's division entered Montgomery without resistance, and the troops were gladdened with the sight of the United States flag flying from the dome of the Capitol, where the Confederate flag had been raised four years before.

The remainder of the campaign is given with sufficient detail for our purpose in Upton's report of the operations of his division, which is here inserted in full as a typical document, showing personal modesty, unstinted liberality to his associate and subordinate commanders, and praise to his worthy troopers.

HEADQUARTERS FOURTH DIVISION CAVALRY CORPS,
MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI, *May, 1865.*

*Major E. B. BEAUMONT, Assistant Adjutant-General,
Cavalry Corps, M. D. M.*

I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of the Fourth Cavalry Division during the late campaign :

To avoid delay in leaving Chickasaw, the train was sent on the 19th of March to Cherokee Station, on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and was followed by the First Brigade, commanded by brevet Brigadier-General Winslow on the 21st.

The general movement commenced on the 22d of March ; Winslow's brigade and train camping near Throckmorton's Mill ; the Second Brigade, commanded by brevet Brigadier-General Alexander, camping on Cave Creek, twenty-five miles from Chickasaw.

March 23d.—Left Russellville to our right, and

camped at Newbury, distance thirty miles. Found plenty of corn and provisions.

March 24th.—March resumed, General Alexander moving from Mount Hope *via* Houston toward Clear Creek Falls, General Winslow and train *via* Kinlock, and Hubbard's Mill on head-waters of Sipsey. The road was exceedingly mountainous, and forage scarce. First Brigade made sixteen miles.

March 25th.—Brigades united and camped at Clear Creek Falls, distance thirty miles. Country almost destitute of forage.

March 26th.—Winslow was directed to move *via* Bartonville and Hanly's Mill toward Elyton; Alexander and train *via* Jasper and Democrat. Winslow, finding the Sipsey River unfordable, moved down the Black Warrior to Sanders's Ferry, where the division camped for the night—distance twenty-three miles; forage found below Sanders's Ferry.

March 27th.—Crossed Black Warrior over an extremely dangerous ford. Alexander's brigade camped on the east bank of Locust Ford. Winslow's brigade marched all night and arrived on west bank at 4 A. M. next day; distance fifteen miles. Provisions and forage scarce.

March 28th.—Marched at 10 A. M.; Alexander's brigade camping at Elyton, Winslow's on Hawkins's plantation, two miles west; distance twenty miles. The road was exceedingly rough. At the end of the day's march we debouched into a beautiful valley, rich in provisions and forage.

Patterson's regiment from Northern Alabama passed through Elyton, just before the arrival of

the division, its rear-guard being driven out by General Alexander's advance.

By direction of the brevet major-general commanding the corps, the train remained at Elyton till the arrival of the corps train.

March 29th.—The division moved at 10.30 A. M., with a view to secure a crossing over the Cahawba River that night; but the ford having been obstructed by Patterson's regiment, and a heavy rain setting in, which soon raised the river, prevented more than one regiment getting across; distance fifteen miles. The McIlvaine and Rich Mountain Iron-Works were destroyed near Elyton.

March 30th.—General Winslow converted the railroad-bridge over the Cahawba into a foot-bridge, and at 9.30 A. M. the crossing commenced. The division camped at Montevallo; distance, seventeen miles. Roads were bad; forage and provisions found in abundance around Montevallo. A colliery and the Central Iron-Works were destroyed near the Cahawba, while detachments sent out from Montevallo destroyed the Columbiana and Bibb Iron-Works.

There being strong indications of the enemy's presence in large force, the division awaited the arrival of the corps.

March 31st.—The brevet major-general commanding the corps having arrived, I was directed to move out at 1.30 P. M. About two miles south of the town the advance of Roddy's division was encountered. It was immediately charged by General Alexander, and driven back in great confusion upon their main position beyond a difficult creek,

abandoning arms and accoutrements at every step. Dispositions were at once made to turn the enemy's right, while Rodney's Battery I, Fourth United States Artillery, was placed in position and opened fire. After some skirmishing, without awaiting a trial of arms, the enemy withdrew.

General Winslow now took up the pursuit, and by a series of brilliant and impetuous charges drove the enemy until late in the night, capturing many prisoners, arms, and accoutrements. The division, elated with having ridden down the enemy in every conflict during the day, camped three miles north of Randolph, having made fourteen miles.

April 1st.—The pursuit was resumed as far as Randolph, where, pursuant to your instructions, the division took the road to the left, leading to Old Maplesville, leaving the main Selma road, along which the enemy retired, for General Long's division. To cover the movement, the advance-guard was directed to pursue the enemy a mile and a half, and then remain till relieved by General Long's division. Proceeding about four miles to the left of Randolph, my command took a road to the right, leading through Maplesville Station, and intersecting the main Selma road at Ebenezer Church.

Anticipating an opportunity to flank the enemy at this point, the march of the division was hastened, and at 4 P. M. he was found in position, his force, commanded by General Forrest in person, consisting of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, his right resting on Mulberry Creek, and his left on a high wooded ridge near Bogler's Creek. General Alexander threw his brigade into action, dismounted

with great celerity, and, after a stubborn fight of an hour's duration, routed the enemy and captured his guns. General Winslow took up the pursuit with his brigade mounted, captured three hundred prisoners and drove the enemy through Plantersville, nineteen miles from Selma, when the division camped for the night, having made twenty miles.

April 2d.—The division marched at 10 A. M. for Selma, following the Second Division, arriving in front of the fortifications on the Plantersville road at 4 P. M. It was being placed in position, preparatory to a night attack on the enemy's right, when Long's division carried the work in its front. The division was immediately ordered forward, the skirmish-line driving the enemy from the works in its front, and capturing five pieces of artillery. General Winslow brought forward the Fourth Iowa at a gallop, and, charging into the city in various directions, captured several pieces of artillery and several hundred prisoners. The Seventh Ohio Cavalry was sent out on the Burnsville road, and captured four guns, one hundred and twenty-five prisoners, and many small-arms.

April 3d.—The division moved out from Selma with instructions to pursue the remnants of Forrest's command across the Cahawba River, and to meet and escort the general train to the city. It returned on the 6th, having made a circuit of ninety miles.

April 8th.—At 9 P. M. the division commenced crossing the Alabama River on a ponton-bridge. The passage was soon interrupted by the descent of drift-wood, which carried the bridge away. The

bridge was repaired at about 2 P. M. on the 9th, and the crossing was resumed, but was again interrupted by descending drift-wood. The breach was repaired by 6 P. M., and at 9 P. M. the division was across and encamped on the south bank. General Alexander narrowly escaped with his life while endeavoring to pass a heavy log safely under the bridge.

April 10th.—Marched for Montgomery, and encamped at Church Hill; distance, twenty-four miles. Plenty of forage.

April 11th.—Marched at 5.30 A. M.; crossed Big Swamp or Big Swamp Creek, and camped at Colonel Harrison's, four miles east of Lownesboro; distance, twelve miles.

April 12th.—Marched at 5.30 A. M.; passed through Montgomery at 4 o'clock P. M., and camped four miles east on Columbus road; distance, twenty-seven miles.

LaGrange's brigade, of McCook's division, having been placed under my command, I received orders on the 14th to march to the Chattahoochee to secure the bridge over that river, either at Columbus or West Point, thereby opening for the cavalry corps the road into Georgia. In pursuance of these instructions, I sent LaGrange's brigade, *via* Tuskegee and Opelika, to West Point, where he arrived on the 16th. He immediately attacked the garrison at that place, capturing it and securing the bridge. My own division marched directly on Columbus, eighty miles distant.

Columbus is a fortified city of twelve thousand inhabitants, situated on the east bank of the Chattahoochee. Three bridges span the river at this point:

one a foot-bridge at the lower end of the city; the others, a foot and a railroad bridge, are three-fourths of a mile above, opposite the upper end of the city. There is a fourth bridge at Clapp's Factory, three miles above, which was destroyed upon the approach of Captain Young, of the Tenth Missouri, who was sent to secure it.

On the west bank of the river, between the upper and lower bridges, lies the small town of Girard. Mill Creek, which flows through an open valley about a mile in width, separating two prominent ridges, which approach the river perpendicularly, and overlook the city, empties into the river near the center of Girard. The lower bridge was defended from the east bank by a rifle-pit, with three pieces of artillery sweeping it. The upper foot and railroad bridges were defended by a *tête-de-pont* consisting of two redoubts connected by a range of rifle-pits about three quarters of a mile in length, extending across the upper ridge, well strengthened by felled timber in front. The lower redoubt, situated just below the upper ridge, contained six and twelve pounder howitzers. Four and ten pounder Parrott guns were in position on its right. These guns completely swept Mill Creek Valley. The upper redoubt contained four guns commanding the Summerfield road.

Five guns swept the railroad and two eight-inch howitzers the upper foot-bridge, making in all twenty-four guns in position.

The works were held by about twenty-seven hundred infantry. The division, moving along the lower Crawford road, arrived opposite the lower

bridge at about 2 P. M. Colonel Eggleston, commanding the advance-guard, immediately charged to secure it, but was received with a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, while the bridge, previously prepared with combustible material, was at the same time fired. He therefore retired behind the ridge. Rodney's battery fired a few shots, which developed the position of the enemy's artillery.

It being impossible to attack the *tête-de-pont* from this direction, Alexander's brigade was placed in position along the crest of the lower ridge, while Winslow's brigade, making a wide *détour*, was sent, under cover, across to the Summerfield road on the upper ridge.

His brigade was preceded by two companies of the Fifth Iowa Cavalry, under Captain Lewis, who drove in the opposing picket and charged gallantly upon a strong line of works which, in the darkness, appeared to be the enemy's main position. General Winslow at once disposed his command for the attack, the plan of which was, to penetrate the works with dismounted men, and then to send a mounted force through the breach, with directions to charge directly upon the bridge.

The assault was made about 9 P. M., under cover of darkness, by six companies of the Third Iowa Cavalry, commanded by Colonel Noble. The first line of works was soon carried, and, being mistaken for the main line, two companies of the Tenth Missouri were ordered to charge the bridge. These companies, supposed by the enemy to be their own men, passed through the works on the Summerfield road unharmed, charged and secured the bridge,

capturing many prisoners. Captain McGlasson, finding himself in the enemy's rear and vastly outnumbered, rejoined his regiment.

In the mean time the main line opened fire upon the right with grape and musketry. The Third Iowa pressed forward through a slashing a hundred yards deep, and, after a charge unexampled in cavalry service, and with but few parallels in infantry, crowned the works.

General Winslow promptly followed up the success. Ignoring the redoubt on the right, which still continued its fire, the Fourth Iowa, dismounted, under Captain Abraham, passed through the breach, turned to the right, charged the redoubt, captured ten guns, and then, sweeping across the bridge with the flying rebels, captured two howitzers, loaded with grape and canister, at the opposite end.

Mounted companies from the same regiment followed in rear of Captain Abraham, and, after crossing the bridge, turned to the right and charged in flank the works at the lower bridge, capturing prisoners and the three guns at that point.

By 10 P. M., Columbus, with its vast munitions of war, fifteen hundred prisoners, and twenty-four guns, was in our hands. This victory, which was the closing conflict of the war, was achieved with the loss of but thirty men killed and wounded.

April 18th, at 8.30 A. M., the division marched for Macon, *via* Double Bridge and Thomaston, arriving and going into camp at East Macon on the evening of the 21st. The march was through a rich country, and the distance was ninety-eight miles. Here, official information of the armistice between

Generals Sherman and Johnston having been received, the campaign closed.

The conduct of the officers and men during the campaign is deserving of the highest commendation. Whether mounted or dismounted, but one spirit prevailed, and that was to run over the enemy wherever found or whatever might be his numbers. Nothing but the impetuosity of the charges, whereby the enemy was not given time to defend himself, can account for the small list of casualties, amounting in all to ninety-eight killed and wounded. In every conflict the troops actually engaged were vastly outnumbered.

At Ebenezer Church, General Alexander routed Forrest's command with less than one thousand men, while General Winslow carried the formidable works at Columbus with but eleven hundred men. From the members of my staff—Brevet-Major James W. Latta, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain Tom C. Gilpin, acting Aide-de-camp; Lieutenant Sloan Keck, acting Aide-de-camp; Lieutenant Peter Keck, Ordnance Officer—I received, on all occasions, prompt and gallant assistance.

The division arrived at Macon in good fighting condition.

I respectfully refer you to the accompanying reports of the brigade commanders, in which the charges of the regiments under their commands are minutely described, also mentioning the names of officers and men distinguishing themselves for gallantry and soldierly conduct.

In conclusion, I desire to ascribe the success of the division, in the first degree to the zeal, energy,

and ability displayed by Generals Winslow and Alexander, commanding First and Second Brigades. They have shown in every battle great skill and gallantry, and possess, in an eminent degree, all the qualities of cavalry officers. I respectfully urge their immediate promotion for the good of the service. Inclosed is a list of officers and men who have distinguished themselves and are entitled to promotion.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. UPTON,

Brevet Major-General Commanding Fourth Division.

In the brief campaign which we have described, Upton's success as a cavalry officer had been so conspicuous that it satisfied not only his corps commander but himself. In his enthusiasm over the capture of Columbus, under cover of darkness, he frequently remarked that he had just learned one of the greatest possibilities of war, and did not doubt that he could go anywhere in the Confederacy, and do anything which might be required of his division. It gave him a practical lesson in regard to the relative proportions and power of the three arms in the make-up of an army, which he could never have had without the experience of this campaign.

A brief reference to Croxton's operations will serve to complete the story of this campaign.

Croxton's brigade, of McCook's division, consisted of the Second Michigan Cavalry, the Fourth Kentucky Mounted Infantry, the Sixth Kentucky Cavalry, and the Eighth Iowa Cavalry, fifteen hun-

dred effective in all. He took no artillery nor train, save one headquarters baggage-wagon, three ambulances, and the allowance of pack-mules. Each trooper had one hundred and twenty rounds of ammunition, and was armed with the Spencer carbine. After the capture of Tuscaloosa, knowing that Jackson and Chalmers were between him and Selma, he thought it too hazardous to reach that place *via* Centreville. He therefore decided to move toward Eutaw, in the hope of crossing the Black Warrior lower down, and cutting the railroad between Selma and Demopolis.

On the 5th of April he recrossed the Black Warrior, burned the bridge, marched out on the Columbus (Mississippi) road, and on the 6th turned toward Eutaw. The same morning General Wirt Adams, with fifteen hundred men, left Pickensville at seven o'clock, intending to join Forrest *via* Finche's Ferry. Croxton at that time thought his force was larger.

About 2 P. M. Adams's men began to annoy the rear of Croxton's brigade, near Pleasant Ridge. Meantime Croxton had recrossed the Sipsy River and turned on the military road toward Tuscaloosa. About 5 P. M. Adams charged the rear of Croxton with much vigor, and captured or disabled about a third of the Sixth Kentucky Cavalry. The Second Michigan formed line, and, by a series of successful volleys, succeeded in saving the rest of the Kentucky regiment, and completely held the advancing enemy in check, and caused, at dark, their withdrawal with considerable loss. After accomplishing this, this gallant regiment marched on and overtook the rest of the brigade in camp at twelve o'clock.

On the 7th, Croxton went into camp at Northport, a few miles from Tuscaloosa. His foraging parties and scouts on the road to Columbus misled Adams, who, believing Columbus to be Croxton's objective, turned his column in that direction and arrived there at 1 P. M. on the 8th, having marched forty-five miles in eleven hours. This put him seventy miles northwest of Croxton. Chalmers was moving toward Columbus at the same time, and arrived there on the 9th.

On the 12th, Croxton, having successfully accomplished the purpose of his diversion, marched northward, and, passing on through Jasper, recrossed the West Fork of the Black Warrior at Hanly's Mills, marched nearly due east *via* Mount Penson and Trussville, crossed the Coosa at True's and Collins's Ferries, and continued on to Talladega, a region rich in mineral resources. On the 22d of April, the Eighth Iowa being in advance, he charged into Talladega, putting General B. H. Hill's brigade to flight. Replenishing haversacks, he pushed on northeastwardly on the 23d, destroying the railroad and skirmishing with Hill, who was falling back to Jacksonville. In the region of the Blue Mountains, Croxton destroyed valuable iron and niter works, besides railroad-bridges, depots, and rolling-stock.

On the 25th, Croxton moved out on the road leading to Newham, Georgia. The next day, while crossing the Chattahoochee, he heard of the fall of Richmond, the surrender of Lee, and the assassination of Lincoln. He arrived, with his brigade in good condition, at Forsyth, Georgia, April 29th, and

reported to General Wilson, then at Macon, Georgia. Without delay the cavalry corps was distributed throughout Georgia and Florida to receive the surrender of detached commands, and within a few weeks most of the regiments were mustered out of the service.

Upton was sent to Augusta, Georgia, and took possession of the United States Arsenal and other public property there. On this occasion, as he raised the United States flag on the arsenal-grounds (May 8, 1865), he thus addressed his command :

“Soldiers! Four years ago the Governor of Georgia, at the head of an armed force, hauled down the American flag at this arsenal. The President of the United States called the nation to arms to repossess the forts and arsenals which had been seized. After four years of sanguinary war and conflict we execute the order of the great preserver of union and liberty, and to-day we again hoist the stars and stripes over the United States Arsenal at Augusta. Majestically, triumphantly she rises!”

But Peace, with her manifold blessings, had come. Our gallant soldiers had done their part to save the country from destruction. The claims of home and family now began to assert themselves with renewed strength as the days of battle receded. And how grandly our volunteer soldiers at once put off the “pomp and circumstance of glorious war,” to begin again the patient toil for their daily bread, history records to their undying honor and glory.

The parting of the troops from their trusted commanders shows depth of feeling and devotion possible only among men who love liberty and fight to maintain it. As a type of this heart-felt affection which bound them together we have this testimonial.

ATLANTA, *May 24, 1865.*

GENERAL: In behalf of the officers and men it has been my high honor to command, I hereby tender to you the regrets of the Tenth Regiment of Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers, at the sundering of the ties that have bound us together during the past five months.

Believe me, general, that the pleasure of laying down our arms and resuming the peaceful avocations of citizens, and the bright prospect of a happy peace for our beloved country, alone take away any of the pangs caused by this separation. The march from Chickasaw to Macon, embracing the glorious fields of "Montevallo," "Ebenezer Church," "Selma," and "Columbus," has proved to us the kindness of your heart toward your comrades in arms, and the fact that you are justly entitled to the honors your country has conferred upon you.

Under you my regiment has terminated a glorious term of service by a campaign unsurpassed by any during the wars of modern times.

The memory of that campaign shall ever remain fresh and bright in all our hearts.

In conclusion, receive from us a farewell the bitter of which is sweetened by our bright prospects for the future.

With much esteem I remain your obedient servant,

F. W. BENTEEN, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*
Commanding Tenth Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL E. UPTON,
Commanding Fourth Division Cavalry Corps,
Military Division of the Mississippi.

This sentiment of affection was mutual between Upton and his command, and on taking leave of his soldiers he issued this order:

HEADQUARTERS FOURTH DIVISION CAVALRY CORPS,
MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
EDGEFIELD, TENN., *June 10, 1865.*

General Orders No. 21.

Before severing his connection with the command, the brevet major-general commanding desires to express his high appreciation of the bravery, endurance, and soldierly qualities displayed by the officers and men of his division in the late cavalry campaign. Leaving Chickasaw, Alabama, on the 22d of March as a new organization and without status in the cavalry corps, you in one month traversed six hundred miles, crossed six rivers, met and defeated the enemy at Montevallo, Alabama, capturing one hundred prisoners; routed Forrest, Buford, and Roddy in their chosen position at Ebenezer Church, capturing two guns and three hundred prisoners; carried the works in your front at Selma, capturing thirteen guns, eleven hundred prisoners, and five battle-flags; and finally crowned your successes by a night assault upon the enemy's intrenchments at Columbus, Georgia, where you captured

fifteen hundred prisoners, twenty-four guns, eight battle-flags, and vast munitions of war.

April 21st, you arrived at Macon, Georgia, having captured on your march three thousand prisoners, thirty-nine pieces of artillery, and thirteen battle-flags.

Whether mounted, with the saber, or dismounted, with the carbine, the brave men of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Iowa, First and Seventh Ohio, and Tenth Missouri Cavalry, triumphed over the enemy in every conflict.

With regiments led by brave colonels, and brigades commanded with consummate skill and daring, the division in thirty days won a reputation unsurpassed in the service.

Though many of you have not received the reward to which your gallantry has entitled you, you have, nevertheless, received the commendation of your superior officers, and won the admiration and gratitude of your countrymen.

You will return to your homes with the proud consciousness of having defended the flag of your country in the hour of the greatest national peril, while, through your instrumentality, liberty and civilization will have advanced the greatest stride recorded in history.

The best wishes of your commanding general will ever attend you.

(Signed)

E. UPTON,

Brevet Major-General commanding.

(Official.)

JAMES W. LATTA,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

General Wilson, his own immediate commander, recognized Upton's services, and expressed in the following letter, written almost immediately after the close of the campaign, his opinion of his merits:

(Extract.)

HEADQUARTERS CAVALRY CORPS,
MILITARY DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
MACON, GA., *April 24, 1865.*

BRIGADIER-GENERAL E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant-Adjutant-General United States Army.

GENERAL: . . . I have the honor to recommend the following promotion:

Brevet Major-General Emory Upton, United States Volunteers, to be major-general, to date from April 1, 1865, for personal gallantry and good management in the engagement of Ebenezer Station, Alabama, also at Columbus, Georgia, where, by a night attack with three hundred men, he carried the rebel works, and captured the bridge over the Chattahoochee River, and took twelve hundred prisoners and fifty-two guns.

Throughout the entire campaign General Upton has exhibited the highest qualities of a general officer, and has demonstrated his fitness for advancement.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES H. WILSON,
Brevet Major-General.

(Official.)

E. B. BEAUMONT,
Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.

The duties which now fell to Upton's lot were those incident to that of all general officers of this period of approaching peace. The main business was economy. The burdens of the war were enormous, and the Government was no less anxious than the soldiers to get again into peaceful pursuits, and to reduce quickly the vast daily expenses of a war establishment. But, of course, this required time for its orderly evolution, and Upton's services were retained in the South till the middle of August. On the 1st of July he was ordered to report to General George Stoneman, commanding the Department of Tennessee, and was by him assigned to the command of the First Cavalry Division of that department, and on the 13th of July he was ordered to report to General A. C. Gillem, commanding the District of East Tennessee, for assignment to the command of all the cavalry of that district, with station at Lenoir, Tennessee. After a month's service he had completed the duty requiring his presence in this military department, and was relieved August 15th, and ordered by War Department General Order No. 130 to report to Major-General John Pope, commanding the Department of the Missouri. He had completed his active service in the field, which, characterized throughout by modest, patient, and persistent labor in preparation, and by every military virtue in actual conflict, had shed no less luster on our arms than honor and renown upon himself.

CHAPTER VI.

SERVICE IN COLORADO.—TACTICS.

THE hardships and dangers of active campaigning were now happily ended, but the routine life of camp, varied only by a change of locality from time to time, was by no means as exciting as the life to which the troops had been accustomed. Their past years had been filled with the excitement of the march and the fever of battle, and they soon tired of the *ennui* of camp. The war being ended, there was now no sufficient reason in their minds why they should not at once return to their homes and attend to their families and their private interests.

It was a wise policy, therefore, on the part of the Government to muster them out of service as rapidly as possible. But, although this policy was almost essential, for the rapid decrease in the enormous expenditure which the army entailed, other considerations, connected with the unsettled condition of the Southern territory, demanded that a considerable force should yet be retained in the service until such new conditions of life should be evolved in the South as to insure a certain stability and become sufficiently adapted to the requirements of a brave but exhausted people.

These retained troops were, therefore, distrib-

uted throughout the Southern States in detachments of sufficient strength, and located at such points as were considered important for the purposes of the reconstructive measures undertaken by the Government. The new duties to which officers and men were assigned were far different from those to which they had been accustomed, and required of them patience and forbearance as well as the exercise of great discretion in the unsettled and sometimes turbulent region to which they were assigned. To the men at least this additional service was a great grievance, and an ever-present cause of unrest. Anxiety as to the condition of their families, and the deferred pleasures of a return to their homes, together with the difficulties attached to service in a community where the sentiment was hostile, all contributed to make them look forward with eagerness to their honorable discharge. To the officers there were compensating advantages in their continued employment, since the pay they received was ample to provide for their families, and they could readily obtain short leaves of absence to visit their homes and make provision for the coming day of discharge, or anticipate it under favorable opportunities by resigning.

General Upton's thoughts were still directed to the home of his youth. His parents, brothers, and sisters were still those to whom his affections most strongly turned. And so pure was the atmosphere of his home that its memories were the most potent of all influences which had so far kept him a noble man and a Christian soldier during the many vicissitudes of his active career.

Having completed the duty to which he was assigned, he was relieved from service in Tennessee on the 14th of August, and ordered to report to Major-General Pope, commanding the Department of Missouri, who assigned him to the command of the district of Colorado, with headquarters at Denver. Making but a short delay, he proceeded overland from Leavenworth to his new station, and we have in the following letter an account of the incidents of his journey :

DENVER, *October 1, 1865.*

MY DEAR SISTER: I have the pleasure of announcing my arrival safe at my journey's end, after a long and somewhat weary march. We left Leavenworth on the 31st of August. Our outfit consisted of one four-mule wagon, a four-mule ambulance, two saddle-horses, and two mules. My only traveling-companion was Major Latta, my assistant adjutant-general. Having tents and a larder well supplied, we were in as good condition as any party that ever crossed the plains. After four days' march we arrived at Fort Riley, where we laid over one day, and were most handsomely entertained by General Sanborn. The escort of four hundred cavalry was nearly up here, and on the 6th of September, all preparations being made, we set out *via* the Smoky Hill for Denver.

On the third day we passed Fort Ellsworth, on the Santa Fé road, and entered the buffalo country. Of course, every one has to "kill his buffalo"; and, mounted on a good horse, I made my first effort, which was a failure, as was also the second; but the third was a success.

You can scarcely imagine the excitement of a buffalo-chase. Mounted on a fleet horse, and armed with two or three revolvers, you single out a large herd and gallop toward it. They soon see you, and, taking the alarm from some old bull, follow him, generally running toward the wind. It is a beautiful sight to see them as they take the alarm and gallop away. With a large mane which gives them a terribly ferocious look, they seem to run as if on three legs, and you doubt not that a few seconds more will see you in their midst. But not so! After a sharp run you begin to approach them, your horse then takes the excitement, and, increasing his speed, closes upon them.

With the pistol cocked, and your eye upon a particular one, you close to fifteen or twenty feet and fire.

On they go, up steep hills and across deep ravines, the only effect of your shot being to increase their speed. The big bulls in the rear, apprehensive of their charge, hook up those which lag behind. With the dust in your face and your horse foaming, you close again and fire at the same buffalo, who, finally crippled or maddened by his wounds, lags behind, lunges at you as you approach, and, finally exhausted, stops to give battle. You have now won the day, and a good shot or two will close the struggle. Yet often as many as fifteen or twenty shots have to be fired before the vulnerable part is struck.

The heart is the only spot where one shot will kill. The skull seems to be as impenetrable as rock, and they will only shake the head when struck

there. Their meat is very tough except the tenderloin, sirloin, and hump above the shoulders, which are quite delicate. These parts, in addition to the liver, heart, and tongue, are all that are used for meat, the remainder being left for the wolves.

The number of buffalo is astonishing, and often you find yourself among herds which extend for miles farther than the eye can reach.

The large gray wolf and the coyote always accompany them, and subsist mainly upon their flesh. Their howl has a most dismal sound, and awakens recollections of all the wolf-stories one has ever read. Prairie-dogs were frequent everywhere along our route. They live in villages—the different holes communicating with each other. They are about twice the size of a red squirrel, and I suppose from their chirp or bark take their name. The owl and rattlesnake come into their habitations without invitation.

Polecats were numerous on the plains, as were also antelope. Antelope-meat is the most delicate I ever tasted. The animal has short horns and a wonderful bump of curiosity, which often proves fatal to it; for many times it will approach close to you to ascertain definitely what you are. Once satisfied that there is harm, it will bound over the prairie at a marvelous speed. The hare or jack-rabbit is a queer little animal, which every few steps takes a high leap into the air, making his course very eccentric. We saw one tarantula, which belongs to the spider family. Its legs were two or three inches long and its body about four times the size of the largest black spider. Its bite is exceedingly venomous.

The plains are not so level as the Illinois prairies. Gulches and ravines, with deep beds of sand on their bottoms, frequently intersected our path. The Smoky Hill was nearly always to our left. Along its banks were a few cottonwood-trees, which were always a most welcome sight. The grass on the plains is very short but very nutritious. Water occurred about every twelve or fifteen miles, but sometimes we had to go twenty or more. At such times we experienced the same feelings of joy as travelers in the Sahara.

Geologically, the country was very interesting. The amount of denudation that has taken place was never more perceptible. We could frequently see ledges of rock on both sides of the river having the same elevation, while the river-bed was a hundred feet or more below. Evidently the immense amount of alluvium that it would require to fill this valley had been washed away, and doubtless for ages has been depositing in the Delta of the Mississippi. You have but to see the work Nature has done in wearing away the surface near one of the tributaries of the Mississippi, to readily believe the statement that two billion tons of *detritus* are annually deposited at the mouth of that great river.

Fremont's Fort or Buttes is a high table-land, two hundred feet above the surrounding country. Its surface is level, immediately underlying which is a stratum of rock about fourteen feet thick. Below this is a compact clay, I think (I did not have time to visit it). Time has worn the surrounding country away, but this table remains, to show where once was the original surface.

About the 27th of September we came in sight of Pike's Peak. It is a lofty monarch, with no associate to dispute its pre-eminence. Long's Peak came into view two days later, but, springing from the main chain, upon approach does not appear so high, although it is a few hundred feet higher.

On the 29th we got the first fine view of the mountains. I will not attempt to describe the beauty or sublimity of the scene, but will simply state that we stood on a high divide. Below was a beautiful table-land, extending to the base of the mountain; to our left was Pike's Peak, over thirteen thousand feet high; to our right was Long's Peak, with still greater altitude. Connecting them, a distance of nearly sixty miles, was a lofty range, its crest being nearly horizontal, but varied occasionally by bold and rugged summits, often a thousand feet or more above the range to the right of Long's Peak, and, extending as far as the eye could reach, appeared the lofty peaks of the Snowy Range. Three hundred feet below us lay the valley of Cherry Creek, which winds its way to the Platte, its course being visible by the trees that line its banks.

Add to this the fact that the sun had but just risen, and I will leave to your imagination to supply the picture. I never saw beauty and sublimity so magnificently blended, and felt that that one scene would more than compensate a year's toil and privation.

We arrived at Denver on the evening of the 29th. It lies at the mouth of Cherry Creek, and, though but six years old, has a population of four thousand. The people of the Territory are, of

course, not so polished as Eastern people, but I have met many nice gentlemen. Prices are enormously high. Board at hotels is one hundred and thirty-five dollars per month, and other things in proportion. I shall soon go over my district on an inspection tour, and will have a fine opportunity to see the scenery, which I am satisfied rivals any in the world. I will write anything that may be of interest.

During his service in Colorado Upton made frequent inspections of his command, and, as was his custom, learned all that he could in regard to matters going on about him. The mining interests were, of course, all-absorbing to the people of Denver and its vicinity, and he neglected no opportunity of watching the development of the methods of mining and reducing the ore containing the precious metals. He foresaw that great changes would be brought about by the building of the Pacific Railroad, and that its completion would give a marked impetus to all branches of industry. To familiarize himself with the conduct of affairs in his military district and with the country, he visited Fort Halleck, from which he returned in October, and afterward made a trip to the mountain-region west of Denver. He thoroughly examined the mineral region of Black Hawk, Central City, and Empire, and thus added greatly to his store of useful knowledge. On his return from his first expedition he sent the following letter to his superior military authority, wherein he exhibits the indignation of an honest man at the evidences of rascality that came under his notice :

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF COLORADO,
DENVER, COLORADO, *October 14, 1865.*

MY DEAR GENERAL: I beg leave to write you privately and unofficially in regard to my position as commanding officer of this district. In sending me out here you informed me that there were many abuses which you expected me to correct, and I was specially enjoined to retrench in every possible manner the expenses of the Government. As an officer I felt complimented by the trust you reposed in me, and I came out with the earnest desire to carry out, in the most minute particulars, your orders and wishes in regard to the expenditures of the Government. As an officer, I have always acted on the principle that there was but one course to pursue, and that was the straight line of duty. I was educated to believe that a public dollar was as sacred as a private one, and, to the extent that I am, or may be, its custodian, I will ever be faithful to my trust.

I find myself surrounded by a set of unscrupulous contractors and speculators, who regard the public money as their legitimate plunder. I will defeat their villainous schemes to the utmost, be the consequences to me what they may. I expect, in the fearless discharge of my official duties, to call down upon my head the venom of the entire class; and, as they have heretofore been all-powerful through the money they have stolen from the Government, I would not at any time be surprised were they to secure my removal. I therefore write you, general, to acquaint you with the situation. All that I ask is to be supported by my superior officers, and if, by the faithful discharge of my duties,

I secure their commendation, I shall care nothing for the abuse or vituperation of a horde of defeated speculators. I have just returned from an inspection of Fort Halleck and Camp Wardwell, and will immediately forward official report.

I trust you will not consider that I have transcended the bounds of official propriety in addressing this communication.

During Upton's sojourn in Colorado, the reduction and reorganization of the army were engaging the attention of the Washington authorities. He knew that a very short service would soon terminate his career as a general officer of volunteers, and that he would then return to his lineal rank as a captain of artillery in the regular army.

He hoped, however, that in the reorganization he would be offered higher rank in one of the new regiments than his present lineal rank of captain, and he had assurances from distinguished officers, whose influence would have great weight, that his claims and services would not be overlooked. Nevertheless, being far distant from the seat of government, he well knew that there would be great pressure and strong influence brought to bear to advance the claims of other distinguished officers, and he therefore awaited the result with some anxiety. This anxiety would have been the less readily borne had not other matters pressed upon him and occupied every moment of his leisure time.

His profession was a continual study and employment for him. He loved it and devoted all his thoughts to it. While the war was in progress, he

omitted no opportunity to study the details that are so often accepted unquestioned by ordinary men. Being eminently practical, and full of enthusiasm, he never hesitated to examine into the merits of the accepted practices of military movements and drill. Without being an iconoclast, he had no special reverence for established usages, simply because they had the authority of age. He preferred rather to test all things by the standard of utility, and in this spirit his mind was early directed to investigate the subject of the tactics for infantry troops. He came to the conclusion that the tactics in vogue were capable of great improvement, and, having frequent opportunities of testing the matter in the field, his opinions became strengthened and to himself conclusive.

In the spring of 1864 Upton began to formulate his ideas; and, having convinced himself that he had good grounds for the prosecution of his labors, he exhibited a practical illustration of his method for the evolutions of a regiment, by applying it to a battalion of the Second Connecticut Volunteer Artillery, in the presence of some distinguished general officers, a few days before the battle of Winchester. The success attending this trial, and the encouragement of those witnessing it, gave him the support he needed and heart enough to continue its development. Upon recovering from the wound he received at the battle of Winchester he sought service in the cavalry, in order to make himself familiar with this arm of the service; and the active campaign of Selma, in which the cavalry, armed with the Spencer carbine, acted mostly as mounted in-

fantry, was of the greatest value to him in this important field of professional study. Tactics became the theme of his daily conversation, engrossed his mind almost to the exclusion of everything else, and he drew from every battle-field its important lesson.

We have before remarked that he possessed, in a remarkable degree, the *coup-d'œil militaire*, by which the general features of the ground over which his troops were operating were impressed on his mind. This enabled him to foresee, in a measure, the possibilities of a battle, and to determine the probable movements of bodies of troops from one position to another. He imagined how this might best be done, taking into consideration the important element of time, and thus the probable and possible changes whereby the point of attack might be modified. This led him to consider the tactical movements by which these changes could be effected in the best manner and with the least confusion.

The authorized infantry tactics which were in use during the war were those of General Casey. They were based on the French tactics of 1831 and 1845, which had served also as the model of the tactics of General Scott and of Colonel Hardee, which preceded those of General Casey. This officer, in submitting his revision to the War Department, states: "Most undoubtedly there are still improvements to be made; but if the system here set forth shall in any manner cause our armies to act with more efficiency on the field of battle, and thus subserve the cause of our beloved country in this

her hour of trial, my most heart-felt wishes will have been attained.”

His system was used during the war. “Its merits and demerits had been subjected to the test of practice and experience,” and Upton believed that there were sufficient reasons for a revision of the system. From the summer of 1864 until early in 1866 he studied this important subject in its theory and practice, and, having brought his labor to the point where he could present a new system to the military authorities for their approval or condemnation, he addressed the following letter to the Adjutant-General of the Army :

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF COLORADO, *January 13, 1866.*

BRIGADIER-GENERAL E. D. TOWNSEND,

Assistant Adjutant-General United States Army.

SIR: I have the honor to request to be ordered to Washington, for the purpose of submitting to the Honorable Secretary of War, or to a Board of General Officers, to be convened by him, a new system of infantry tactics, with a view to its adoption for the infantry of the United States Army and the militia throughout the United States.

The system differs fundamentally from the old or French system, now in use, the unit being a front of four men. It is believed to be superior to the old system :

First. In abolishing the facings, and substituting wheeling by fours, hereby forming a column of fours, which you are enabled to form directly to the right, to the left, to the front, and, by wheeling

about to the rear, into line, presenting always the front rank to the enemy.

Second. It takes no cognizance of inversions, and enables a battalion or brigade commander to form line in any direction with the utmost facility and ease.

Third. The number of commands has been reduced, and there is greater uniformity among them.

Fourth. It is more simple and less voluminous.

The system when presented will embrace the school of the soldier, the school of the company, instructions for skirmishers, the school of the battalion, evolutions of the brigade, and *corps d'armée*, and an appendix embracing evolutions of a battalion and brigade in single rank.

The feats of dismounted cavalry, armed with the Spencer carbine, in both the East and West, have demonstrated the fact that one rank of men so armed is nearly, if not quite, equal in offensive or defensive power to two ranks armed with the Springfield musket. If this be admitted, a one-rank tactics becomes necessary for a certain proportion of troops, especially those designed to turn or operate on the enemy's flank.

The principle of fours enables troops to be brought on to the field in two ranks; to be expanded into a single rank by a simple command; and often to be manœuvred by the same commands as in two ranks.

This can not be done by the old tactics without an entire change of commands.

I would state that three days before the battle of Winchester, in the presence of Brigadier-General

D. A. Russell and other officers, I applied the principle of fours to a battalion of the Second Connecticut Heavy Artillery with complete success; and I have every confidence that were a Board of Officers to be convened at West Point, New York, I could, by a single application of the principle to the battalion of cadets, fully establish, to the satisfaction of the Board, the superiority above claimed.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

EMORY UPTON,

Brevet Major-General, United States Volunteers.

While at Denver, attending to his duties as district commander, Upton had found time to perform all the necessary labor incident to this construction of his system, and, on February 11th, he writes to his sister: "My tactics being finished, I have had quite a play-spell for the past week. I am now looking forward to the adoption of the tactics by the War Department, and, if successful, shall feel that I have established a solid reputation." But he soon found that his work was by no means completed, for on the 6th of April he again writes: "I have been extremely busy for the last six weeks, and it will no doubt surprise you when I tell you my tactics are not yet finished. The manuscript was completed some time since, but the plates, which I supposed could be easily drawn, have occupied much more time than I anticipated. My knowledge of the rule and triangle has again been brought into requisition, and I feel quite like a student. It will require two or three weeks yet to complete the work, and have it in every sense ready for examination and publi-

cation. I shall then be ready to go East. Should the work not be adopted, I shall have it published, but I have no misgiving, as the principle is new and entitled to consideration. Were my tactics but a revision of the present system, with a few unimportant movements added, I would not be sanguine, but as they aim at a complete revolution, and are far more simple, my confidence increases with every comparison I make. You need fear no evil effects upon me if disappointed, which I do not consider possible, as I have military men to deal with, who will adopt that system of tactics which is best for the army."

On the 30th of April, 1866, Upton was mustered out of the volunteer service, and returned to his rank in the regular army as captain of the Fifth Regiment of Artillery, to which he had been promoted February 22, 1865.

During the delay which he was authorized to take before joining his regiment, he visited his home, and was also permitted to come to Washington. While at the latter place he doubtless urged his views in regard to his tactics, and impressed them upon the authorities there with such effect as to secure the appointment of a Board for their consideration. Accordingly, on June 5, 1866, a Board, consisting of Colonels H. B. Clitz and H. M. Black, General Griffin, and Captain Van Horn, was convened to meet at West Point, New York, "for the purpose of recommending such changes in authorized infantry tactics as shall make them simple and complete, or the adoption of any new system that may be presented to it, if such change be deemed

advisable. The Board will examine and report on any system of infantry tactics that may be presented to it; and the superintendent of the Military Academy will give it facilities for testing with the battalion of cadets the value of any system. Brevet-Colonel E. Upton, Fifth United States Artillery, is authorized to visit West Point, New York, to present his system to the Board."

General Griffin was, however, relieved from this Board June 8th, at his own request, and General R. B. Ayres, Captain Fifth Artillery, was detailed in his stead.

On July 18th General Upton was ordered to report to the President of the Board, and to hold himself in readiness to exhibit his tactics in the school of the battalion to the Board.

The result of the investigations of this Board, together with the indorsement of General Grant upon its report, is given in the following papers:

WEST POINT, NEW YORK, *January, 1867.*

*To the Adjutant-General U. S. A., Washington City,
D. C.*

GENERAL: The Board of Officers assembled at this place by virtue of Special Orders Nos. 264 and 272, of June 5th and 8th, 1866, War Department, Adjutant-General's Office, "for the purpose of recommending such changes in authorized infantry tactics as shall make them simple and complete, or the adoption of any new system that may be presented to it, if such change be deemed advisable," has the honor to report that, after a careful trial and scrutiny of the different systems presented,

the Board has unanimously decided to recommend the adoption of Brevet Major-General Upton's system, a printed copy of which is herewith transmitted.

In making the examination, the Board suggested certain alterations, not affecting the general principles, which were readily concurred in by the author.

(Signed) H. B. CLITZ,
*Lieutenant-Colonel Sixth Infantry and Brevet Colonel,
President of the Board.*

R. B. AYRES,
Brevet Major-General United States Army.

H. M. BLACK,
Major Seventh Infantry and Brevet Colonel.

J. J. VAN HORN,
Captain Eighth Infantry and Brevet Major, Recorder.

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 4, 1867.*

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith the report of the Board of Officers convened by Special Orders No. 264, War Department, Adjutant-General's Office, of date June 5, 1866, "for the purpose of recommending such changes in the authorized infantry tactics as shall make them simple and complete, or the adoption of any new system that may be presented to it, if such change be deemed advisable."

Having examined this report, I concur fully with the Board, and recommend the immediate adoption

of "Upton's Infantry Tactics, Double and Single Rank," as the text-book for the Military Academy and the standard tactics for the armies of the United States.

I have seen the system applied to company and battalion drills, and am fully satisfied of its superior merits and adaptability to our service; besides, it is no translation, but a purely American work. The Board by which it was examined and recommended was composed of officers of ability and experience, and I do not think any further examination by boards necessary.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, *General.*

Notwithstanding this gratifying recommendation of his system by the Board of June 5th, and its strong support by the General of the Army, opposition to it began to develop. This opposition naturally caused the War Department to hesitate before acting as the General of the Army had recommended, and to decide upon convening a new Board, composed of officers of such distinguished rank and ability that its recommendation would carry the greatest weight possible, and to which the views of officers opposed to the change were also to be submitted. Accordingly, the War Department issued the following order:

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,

WASHINGTON, *June 11, 1867.*

Special Orders, No. 300.

A Board will assemble at West Point, New York, to take into consideration the system of infantry

tactics prepared by Brevet Major-General E. Upton, United States Army, and will report its opinion, whether the said tactics should be adopted as the system for the armies of the United States, in lieu of all others. The Board will be composed as follows:

General U. S. Grant, United States Army; Major-General G. G. Meade, United States Army; Brevet Major-General E. R. S. Canby, United States Army; Brevet Major-General W. F. Barry, Colonel Second United States Artillery; Brevet Brigadier-General W. N. Grier, Colonel Third United States Cavalry; Brevet Colonel H. M. Black, Major Seventh United States Infantry.

By order of the Secretary of War:

E. D. TOWNSEND,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

This Board, after witnessing practical illustrations of Upton's tactics in the principles of the school of the company, by a company of cadets and by a company of engineer troops, and in those of the school of the battalion, and in skirmish-drill, during successive days, examined General Upton in such theoretical movements as were suggested by the members of the Board, and which could not be practically illustrated on the field. The Board then carefully considered the papers presented to it by Generals Casey, Morris, H. J. Hunt, and T. W. Sherman, and the reply of General Upton to the latter's objections to his system. This reply was as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6, 1867.

MAJOR GEORGE K. LEET,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

SIR: The communication of Brevet Major-General T. W. Sherman, Colonel Third United States Artillery, setting forth what he considers to be vital defects in my system of infantry tactics, having been referred to me by the General-in-Chief, I have the honor to submit the following remarks:

“The root of all the objections of importance that appears” is found in my omission or prohibition of manœuvres by the rear rank.

The chief advantage claimed for the system is the adoption of a front of four men as a unit, the men of which, both front and rear rank, preserve or maintain in all movements a constant relation to each other.

The movement of “fours right or left about,” whether in column or in line, places the troops facing in the opposite directions with the same freedom to manœuvre as before, and *with the front rank in front*, which, as in all armies the best soldiers are to be found in the front rank, is not only decidedly advantageous, but abolishes all necessity for manœuvres by the rear rank, especially when not in the presence of the enemy.

In the presence of the enemy, whether moving toward or from him, General Sherman maintains that the only “practicable mode” of facing, or marching in the opposite direction, is by the “*individual about* or the *about face*.”

Two general cases can arise, viz., the troops may or may not be under the enemy’s fire. If not un-

der fire, then the "fours right or left about" is, of course, practicable, and retains all the advantages previously mentioned. If under fire, the tactics prescribe that the unity of the fours will be preserved as long as possible, and, as casualties occur in the front rank, the vacancies will be filled from the rear rank.

This provision then, theoretically, preserves the units until fifty per cent of the men are placed *hors de combat*, and it must necessarily follow that, no matter how severe the fire of the enemy may be, so long as the men are cool, remain in their ranks, and *are under the command of their officers*, just so long is the "fours right or left about" equally practicable with the "about face"; and further, in marching to the rear is preferable, inasmuch as all the men will be in their usual places, and the march of the line will be steady, whereas by the "about face" every man will not only be out of place, but will feel out of place; the poorest soldiers and marchers will be in front, and the march of the line will naturally be unsteady.

In support of this latter statement, it is but necessary to refer to any one's cadet experience, when he will remember that, in every instance when the battalion was faced about, manœuvred by the rear rank, not only were there crowding and unsteadiness, but that the precision of the movements never equaled that by the front rank.

General Sherman's assertion that the *about face* is alone practicable under the immediate fire of the enemy leads me naturally to infer that it is practicable at all times and under all circumstances. The

principal object of tactics is to prepare or to dispose troops for battle. Now, in every battle, as every infantry officer of experience well knows, there is a time when all consideration for tactics is lost; it is when the opposing lines come within deadly range, and mutually engage each other with the determination to conquer. At this time everything depends upon the discipline and courage of the officers, and as success or defeat must ensue, whichever line is compelled to give ground will yield it in disorder and confusion, and not till it is rallied can tactics again be applied.

Under such circumstances, when the enemy is pouring in his fire at short range, not only is the "about face insuring the preservation of unity and solidity" impracticable, but it would be criminal for a colonel to command and attempt to execute "cease firing," "battalion about face," "forward march."

It is only under the circumstances here stated that the units of four can be destroyed, and, as in general regiments either recoil before sustaining a loss of fifty per cent, or else are victorious, I can see no weight to the objections raised. If the regiments recoil, the tactics will not be required till they are rallied in the rear; if they are victorious, they should be reformed immediately and again called off, which will give new and intact units. All the movements by fours are simple, quick, and mechanical. I have applied them to volunteer infantry and cavalry, and in the presence of the general-in-chief to the battalion of cadets, and never yet have seen any confusion or unsteadiness, even while teaching the principles.

General Sherman was at West Point last summer while the Tactical Board was in session. He presented to me then these same objections, and doubtless mentioned them to the Board. I know that the subject was thoroughly discussed, and that the Board decided that there was no necessity for manœuvres by the rear rank.

The battalion of cadets was placed at the disposal of the Board, and whenever differences of opinion arose respecting an important principle the matter was settled by actual experiment. General Sherman states that there are other points which invite discussion, but, as he admits that they violate no important principle, he omits to remark them. To this it may be replied that no system of tactics could be elaborated, either by an individual or by a Board, to which some objections would not be found.

After a week's careful examination and deliberation, the Board, on the 15th of July, decided upon the following report:

The Board has fully considered the subject committed to it by the War Department's special order (No. 300), and, in addition to the study of the text, has witnessed the practical illustration of the most important principles involved in the new system of tactics. The only important omissions in its examination were the manual of arms in the school of the soldier, the formation of squares in the school of the battalion, and all evolutions of the line.

The first varies, of course, with the arm, and for

the same arm must, of course, be the same in all branches of the service; in the second (formation of squares), the principles are the same as in existing systems; and the third (the evolutions of the line) could not be practically illustrated by reason of the small number of troops present.

The general advantages of the new system are:

1. Its easy application to all the arms of the service, leaving nothing additional to any special branch, except the manual of the arm with which it fights, the adaptation of the words of command, the training of animals, and the management and care of the material with which it is equipped.

2. The readiness with which the principles may be acquired by new troops, abbreviating materially the time required to fit them for the field, and practically extending the effective term of service of the soldier. This is of great importance in its relation to the volunteer force, of which, in all great wars, our armies must be largely composed.

The special advantages are:

That it dispenses with the manœuvres by the rear rank, by inversion, and the countermarch, and substitutes therefor rapid and simple conversion of front, and changes from column into line.

That it increases the number of modes of passing from the order in column to the order in line, facing in any direction; diminishes the time required for these changes, and preserves always the front rank in front; advantages of vital importance in the presence and under the fire of the enemy.

That it provides for all column movements required in an open country, and, by the column in

fours, for the movements necessary in narrow roads, wooded or obstructed countries, without the extension incident to ordinary movements by the flank.

That it provides for a single-rank formation specially adapted to the use of breech-loaders.

That it provides for a system of skirmishing from double or single rank superior for offense or defense to any existing system.

The Board therefore recommends that the system of infantry tactics prepared by Brevet Major-General E. Upton, United States Army, be adopted as the system for the armies of the United States in the place of all others, and that, so soon as a sufficient time shall have elapsed for the correction of any errors of arrangement or detail, Boards for the special arms may be appointed for the purpose of adapting the tactics of their arms to the system now recommended.

U. S. GRANT, *General.*

GEORGE G. MEADE,
Major-General, United States Army.

EDWARD R. S. CANBY,
Brigadier and Brevet Major-General, United States Army

WILLIAM F. BARRY,
*Colonel Second Artillery, Brevet Major-General,
United States Army.*

WILLIAM N. GRIER,
Colonel Third United States Cavalry, Brevet Brigadier-General.

H. M. BLACK,
Major Seventh Infantry, Brevet Colonel, United States Army.

Approved, and referred to the Adjutant-General
August 1, 1867.

E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

On the 1st of August, 1867, General Orders No. 73, from the Adjutant-General's office of the army, ultimately adopted the new system of infantry tactics for the United States Army, and for the observance of the militia of the United States, and on the 23d of August it was adopted and prescribed for the infantry forces of the State of New York.

During the period when the tactics were being examined and tested, and for a long time subsequently, Upton's system was the subject of a great deal of criticism, both favorable and unfavorable. Upton himself took no part in the public discussion, which was mainly carried on in the columns of the "Army and Navy Journal." He was, nevertheless, exceedingly interested in all that was said, and, naturally being open to conviction, he readily took the proper steps to correct whatever appeared to be defects in the minute details, but held unshaken ground upon the spirit of his system. He was overwhelmed with correspondence after the tactics were adopted, and received thousands of letters asking information upon hundreds of little unimportant points. All these letters were conscientiously answered, and his answers were always marked with his native courtesy. Often, when almost overcome by this sort of annoyance, he felt that, could he have foreseen the great labor and trouble which resulted, he would have hesitated long before undertaking such a task.

It will be seen, by a reference to the report of the Board of which General Grant was president, that this Board mentioned as among the advantages of Upton's system "its easy application to all arms of

the service." The natural sequence of this commendation was an attempt made to assimilate the tactics of the three arms of the service, and to this end a Board was assembled at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, about the 15th of September, 1869, "to practically test the systems heretofore adopted for the artillery, cavalry, and infantry arms of service; to reconcile all differences; to select the best forms of command, and of drum and bugle signals, and to submit for the approval of the War Department at as early a date as practicable the approved copies, in order that they may be printed in a uniform and convenient edition, and published for the government of the army and militia of the United States. The Board will be composed as follows: Major-General J. M. Schofield, United States Army; Brevet Brigadier-General J. H. Potter, Lieutenant-Colonel Fourth Infantry; Brevet Major-General Wesley Merritt, Lieutenant-Colonel Ninth Cavalry; Major James Van Voast, Eighteenth Infantry; Brevet Colonel John Hamilton, Major First Artillery."

General Upton undertook the revision of his tactics, and in his endeavor to overcome the difficulties imposed upon him by the requirements of this assimilation, although very much hampered, he nevertheless succeeded in removing all of the more serious obstacles.

The labors of this Board did not completely solve the problem, nor finally remove all the difficulties. Its proceedings were ultimately submitted to another board, composed of General Upton, Colonels Dupont and Tourtellotte, and Captain Bates, which was convened at West Point early in 1873.

Colonel DuPont had been a member of a board of officers convened to reconstruct the artillery tactics, and there is no doubt that General Upton had the highest opinion of his ability, which, joined with his eminent services during the war as an artillery officer, greatly influenced his selection. He was one of those careful and exact men whose decision is based only on a searching and comprehensive examination. He was well versed in the meaning of words, and, before consenting to their employment, he weighed well the definition of terms. While his untiring criticisms somewhat prolonged the work, the value of his services, in insuring greater accuracy, in diminishing the number of assailable points of adverse criticism, and in his practical and theoretical knowledge, is beyond all question. The artillery tactics, as they stand to-day, are indebted to him for many marked improvements. Colonel Tourtellotte, aide to General Sherman, was a lawyer by profession, and had been a gallant officer of volunteers during the war, rising to the rank of brigadier-general by brevet. He possessed most excellent judgment, and a temperament that fitted him to decide dispassionately upon disputed points. Captain Bates, instructor of cavalry tactics at the Military Academy, was thoroughly acquainted with the tactics of this arm, and could test proposed innovations before consenting to their adoption. General Upton was full of the spirit of his subject. He had had experience in the tactics of the three arms during active service, and was now engaged in giving to the cadets theoretical instruction in all. Impetuous by nature, he was obliged,

by the character and ability of his associates, to prove every point, and to establish by sound reason the *rationale* of each new proposition. Previous to and during the existence of this Board, he corresponded freely with his friend and associate Colonel DuPont, and his letters exhibit the *animus* that controlled him. A few extracts, to exhibit the progress of his work, the changes in his views, and his satisfaction in his completed labor, are here introduced :

West Point, June 30, 1870.—I fear that the assimilation of tactics will be detrimental.

March 17, 1871.—While there is no objection to assimilation, it should only take place when it will not prejudice either arm; but to inflict a single movement in infantry or artillery simply because it is necessary in cavalry is absurd.

April 17, 1871.—No better Board to revise the artillery tactics could be appointed than the one you mention, leaving me out. Could Seymour, Morgan, and yourself be detailed, the Board to convene here, where we have light, mortar, siege, and sea-coast batteries, you could get up a tactics which would bear the test of years. I am really too busy to have the additional labor of a Board imposed upon me, but I could assist your Board very materially in assimilating the artillery to the infantry, where it can be done without prejudice to the artillery. Besides, I would read your work over as you progress, and, if I discovered any inconsistencies, I would point them out. *Teaching the tactics of the three arms enables me to discover many absurdities which could be done away with.

January 1, 1872.—The Academy is now on a splendid footing. Ruger is a model soldier, and possesses every qualification to make a good superintendent, and he is thoroughly liked. The *young blood* has a clear majority on the Academic Board, and, while there are no cliques or cabals, the action is generally satisfactory. I can tell you with all confidence that, in future, cadets must have some sense to graduate.

December 29, 1872.—The infantry tactics are to stand according to my revision, and the artillery and cavalry tactics are to be assimilated as far as possible. We can devote from six to nine hours daily, and finish the work, I hope, inside of three weeks. Your work will terminate with the artillery tactics, which we will take up about January 15th.

March 1, 1873.—The work done with Bates in cavalry tactics comprises school of platoon mounted, troop dismounted and mounted, half of troop skirmish-drill mounted. By the 15th will finish battalion, and a week later brigade and division, which will embrace all to the appendix. The cavalry tactics will be a success, their mobility being quite equal to the infantry.

March 13, 1873.—Cavalry tactics progressing finely, and Tourtellotte begins to see that assimilation is not hopeless, after all.

March 14, 1873.—Tourtellotte delighted with the assimilation, and will be more pleased still when he sees the troop and skirmishers. All the movements by fours we have proved by experiment in the riding-hall, and, what is more gratifying, we have fully satisfied ourselves that in wheeling about

by fours in line there is ample space for chiefs of platoon and file-closers to pass between the fours pending the movement. This is a great triumph, and completes, in every respect, the assimilation to infantry.

The correspondence up to the next quoted extract referred mainly to DuPont's labors in artillery tactics, expressing gratification at his progress, and showing that all the credit for these tactics belonged to DuPont himself. The labors of the Board practically ceased in July, only minor matters requiring attention, and these received at Upton's hands the most careful study.

August 12, 1873.—With regard to Tourtellotte's fear that General Sherman will become impatient "at the delay in completing the minor points," I am resolved not to be stampeded. It is our reputation that is at stake, and the only safe course is to make haste slowly by being satisfied at each step that we are right. The fact is, that our work all around has had so many tests that we can not make any gross mistakes.

September 1, 1873.—Battalion drills begin to-day, and afford another opportunity to verify our work.

October 31, 1874.—Tactics are printed, and copies sent to you. [Colonel DuPont was at that time in Europe.] We have at least given our successors a basis upon which to work.

November 23, 1874.—The statuettes sent me by you are beautiful; a most becoming ornament to a soldier's quarters, and as an evidence of your esteem

they will be appreciated all my life. They will remind me of much hard work, and of a devotion to duty on your part, which I wish the Government might suitably recognize. I fear, however, we shall have to find our recompense in the satisfaction which results from contemplating one's labors. That may not be inconsiderable, for I firmly believe that the three books will stand many years as an evidence of our labor, and, in your case, of the midnight oil often consumed in their production. The artillery tactics have been sent to Washington, but have not been out sufficiently long to elicit criticism. I sent General Barry a copy. He spoke favorably of them, but regretted that we did not give the Board of which he, Hunt, and French were members any credit. They, however, in my judgment, are no more entitled to it than Anderson and the French writers whose works he translated. Certainly there is not a single paragraph in your artillery-work identical with one in any previous book.

February 25, 1875.—I received, a few days since, a copy of General Sherman's letter to General Hunt in reply to the latter's criticism on artillery tactics, and, as it may interest you, I send you a copy.

Hunt, I am told, began with the color of the cover of the book, and then went through it in a savage spirit, leaving us nothing to stand upon. General Sherman's reply has answered him completely. There has been little or no criticism in the "Journal," beyond what I have sent you. General Barry has written me several letters, taking it ap-

parently very hard that we in our preface did not give the French, Barry, and Hunt Board all the credit of producing the new work. I told him that we concluded that we could not give one party credit without mentioning a vast number equally entitled to it. He finally admitted that they could only claim originality in the school of the battery dismounted; that the detachment as a unit was original, and that in consequence of the simplicity of this device the volunteer artillery was made efficient in one tenth of the time required by former tactics. He also repeated Hunt's insinuations that I derived my principle of "fours" from the artillery, and, as might be inferred, all the benefits resulting from the recent improvements in tactics could be referred back to the invention of the detachment. I told him that before their Board assembled the batteries must have had a system of manœuvres on foot, and, to enlighten me, he replied that some used infantry drill, while all the horse-batteries used the dismounted drill of the cavalry—in other words, they wheeled and manœuvred by "fours."

As the detachment had but a front of four men, I replied that their unit differed from the "four" only in name, and that the source of their inspiration must have been the cavalry. He also felt aggrieved because we appropriated the Gatling drill. To this I replied that, as you were a member of the Board which got it up, you felt at perfect liberty to use it, and, further, that either of us could have prepared it in three or four days. I believe he is satisfied that we were right in doing as we did.

The labors of the Board being completed, and the manuscript of the three tactics having been approved and sent to the printer, the subject of tactics was settled for the army for the time being by the publication of General Order No. 6, Headquarters of the Army :

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 17, 1873.*

The revision of Upton's infantry tactics by the author, and the tactics for artillery and cavalry (including the proceedings of the Board—Major-General Schofield, President—instituted by General Orders No. 60, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant-General's Office, Series of 1869) assimilated to the tactics for infantry, pursuant to instructions from the General of the Army, by Lieutenant-Colonel Emory Upton, First Artillery, Instructor of Tactics, United States Military Academy ; Captain Henry A. DuPont, Fifth Artillery, commanding Battery F, Fifth Artillery ; Captain John E. Tourtelotte, Seventh Cavalry, Colonel and Aide-de-Camp to the General ; Captain Alfred E. Bates, Second Cavalry, Assistant Instructor of Cavalry Tactics, United States Military Academy ; having been approved by the President, are adopted for the instruction of the army and militia of the United States.

To insure uniformity, all exercises, evolutions and ceremonies not embraced in these tactics are prohibited, and those therein prescribed will be strictly enforced.

WILLIAM W. BELKNAP,
Secretary of War.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this memoir to consider the objections which have been made against the assimilation of the tactics. Professional men may reasonably differ in regard to the details of their profession, and these differences may sometimes become the more pronounced in proportion as the particular point at issue is the more insignificant. In course of time, as the arms change and become more efficient, modifications of tactics will necessarily arise. Leaving aside, therefore, all questions relating to origin, authorship, and importance of the changes that have taken place in the tactics of the three arms of the service since the war, we may briefly sum up the influence that General Upton unquestionably exerted in this respect.

Early in his career as a regimental commander, and while in active service, he became convinced that certain improvements could be devised for the more rapid formation of troops from line into column and from column into line. He believed in the value of the unit of four men as comrades in battle, and made it the basis of his new system. He discarded what was known as "inversions" by having no fixed right or left, these directions being the actual right or left of the given formation. He simplified his commands and greatly abbreviated the subject-matter of his text. Thoroughly convinced by theoretical considerations and actual observation, he exhibited his system to some of his brother officers by actual manœuvres of a regiment of volunteers in the field. He sought service in the cavalry and pursued his observations during a most active campaign, considering every movement in

all its aspects, and discussing its bearing with whomsoever would listen to him during the night in camp. Deeply impressed with the importance of his labor and its value to our troops, he digested the whole, and promulgated it into a system of infantry tactics. It received the unequivocal indorsement of two boards, composed of the best and most capable officers, and was finally adopted by the President as the American system of tactics.

The following extracts from a letter sent him by an officer whose professional knowledge and ability are unquestioned are worth preserving in this connection :

ST. LOUIS, *July 20, 1870.*

. . . I can state my individual opinion, as concerns the question of the credit due you on the "Tactics." I do not consider the "formations," or (better, may be) the "orders," in which men may be placed, as the peculiar property of any individual. The order *in column, in line*, and in their subordinate formations, are the common property of the world. If a man starts an elementary system, it is his obligation to show how to bring about these orders or formations. This is the cart-horse part of the business of authorship. Now, I know nothing of the laws in the question of copyright.

But I say that, so far as I am actually informed, you are entitled to the full credit of the following proposition: "Upton was the first to assert and apply that *fours in double rank* was the smallest unit that could be *wheeled* into column, and thus get rid of the lock-step in the flank marches that a line of men might have to take up."

This may appear a small declaration, but you will remember that it is more than can be said of Scott, of Hardee, of Casey, or of any other tactician before you. Hardee could form fours (*in facing*). This he got from the French. Cooke could wheel fours (single-rank cavalry), and may be suggested that double-rank infantry could do the same thing, but how to obtain the "*distance*" I have yet to see that he found out. Hunt always had fours practically in his artillery detachments of cannoneers, but it was a simple necessity of their having a commandant. He took no advantage of it to obliterate the lock-step.

You have combined all the advantages, and you must be remunerated.

Upton was not called upon to consider the subject of tactics again until the matter forced itself upon the attention of military men, by more recent improvements in the weapons devised for infantry, and, as this matter has an important bearing upon his professional reputation and his estimate as a tactician, we will return to the subject in another chapter.



Emily.

CHAPTER VII.

MARRIAGE.

ON the eastern shore of Lake Owasco, in Central New York, nestled among willows, is a quaint old homestead, which dates from the early years of the century. Growing by degrees from a simple farm-house in the midst of a virgin forest, Willowbrook has been for many years a mansion celebrated for its open hospitality. Under its roof many fair women and learned men have gathered in times past.

Although the family at Willowbrook had had, so far, apparently not the slightest interest in the life of Emory Upton, yet the time was near at hand when this home was to become the center of his dearest hopes and affections, for it was here that he first met Emily Norwood Martin, the fifth child of Enos T. Throop Martin, Esq., and his wife, Cornelia Williams.

She was a fair-haired, blue-eyed maiden, gentle in her ways, modest in her demeanor, and full of kindly affection. Her childhood was wholly spent under the watchful eye and tender care of a devoted mother, whose lovely Christian character and womanly sweetness not only cemented the family in the strongest bonds of love, but extended their influence beyond the home circle.

Emily's childhood was a period of peace and gentleness. She was surrounded by all the good things that modest wealth could command, and the pervading atmosphere of a happy religious home exercised its spiritual influence upon her thoughts and conduct. Every beautiful thing which attracted her childish notice gave rise to spontaneous thanks to God as its maker. He was always present to her, and ever showering on her his love and tenderness. As early as her ninth year she wished to make her profession of faith, but it was not until the summer of 1858, when nearly twelve years old, that she became a communicant of the church. Her mother, in preparing her for this important step, lost no opportunity of impressing the Word of God upon her child's conscience, and in dwelling upon the great importance of a living faith in the Hearer of heart-felt prayers. Scattered through her diary, in which she was accustomed to record events, are such humble and heart-felt prayers as that God would teach her "to be gentle," "to be kind," "to be obliging," "to become more gentle," "to do more good to others," and others of similar import. Her daily life was filled with acts of kindness, courtesy, and self-denial quite uncommon with the young. All her devotions and good deeds were done with a willing spirit and a glad heart. It is another evidence of her true devotional spirit that she never assumed righteousness to herself, but attributed her power to do right to the Lord alone, and constantly asked of him greater strength to merit his favor and affection.

Her elder sister, Evelina, married General A. J.

Alexander, November 3, 1864. This officer, it will be remembered, commanded the First Brigade of the Fourth Cavalry Division in the Selma campaign, and it was during this campaign that a strong mutual attachment sprang up between Upton and Alexander. This grew into a close friendship, which had an important bearing on Upton's after-life; for, by reason of this friendship, the doors of the hospitable mansion of Willowbrook were to be thrown wide open to him, and here he was to see his future wife growing in grace and goodly character.

General Alexander was stationed, after the close of active operations, at Knoxville, Tennessee. Here his duties permitted him to bring down his young wife to share his army-life, and to give her an opportunity of witnessing the varied and exciting scenes incident to the end of the war. General Upton's command was stationed in the vicinity, and he frequently employed his leisure moments in social visits to his friend and comrade, to talk over points of tactics, which fully occupied his mind at that time, or to recall again the incidents connected with their glorious campaign in Alabama.

In the close and informal association which belongs to camp-life in the army, knowledge of character becomes intimate and thorough. Upton, tested in this way by the intuitive perceptions of a good woman, was esteemed for his manly qualities, and soon gained a devoted friend in Mrs. Alexander. He accepted an invitation from his friends to visit Willowbrook at the first favorable opportunity, and remembered his promise after he had gone to his new post in Colorado.

Coming East after having been mustered out of the volunteer service, and while awaiting orders to join his battery in the regular army, he availed himself of a visit home, to spend a short time at Willowbrook, hoping to meet his comrade and renew the pleasant associations of former days.

It was near the close of a summer's day that he for the first time approached this lovely home. He was charmed with its quaint but home-like look, its beautiful surroundings, and its air of quiet peacefulness. But he was compelled, by the absence of his brother officer, to introduce himself to the large family circle gathered there, and he felt an almost overwhelming sense of embarrassment. But, though diffident by nature and somewhat confused by his innate modesty, he summoned to his aid his self-possession, and made the best of his situation. The members of the family at once, by their genial hospitality, soon put him at ease, and he readily accommodated himself to his surroundings. On this occasion there were also several guests from distant cities, who had come together in this rural retreat for summer recreation, and the bevy of young ladies might well have bewildered the modest stranger so suddenly introduced into their circle. But, nothing daunted by numbers, he selected from the charming group one diffident and unassuming like himself, and in her he soon found a congenial and agreeable associate. And thus their first acquaintance began. She, innately conscious of his diffidence, exerted her womanly powers to interest him; and he, responding, gratefully appreciated her sincere and hearty welcome. Subjects of mutual interest

brought them into closer sympathy as they strolled together along the beautiful shore of Owasco Lake. Little did they then suspect what the future had in store for them; nor could they then perceive the influences which were destined to blend their lives into one more complete in sympathy and affection.

So far Upton had had but few opportunities to cultivate the friendship of women. His active military career had filled the interval between his narrow life as a military student and the broader intellectual and social life he was then experiencing. His affections had been centered upon the members of his own family. Filial and fraternal love satisfied the demands of his heart, and he had not yet awakened to the greater possibilities of human affection. While the religious sentiments of his boyhood had not yet been subjected to severe trial, they had at least pitched for him the standard tone of honor, integrity, and proper behavior in the discharge of his duties. Estimating women by the standard of his much-loved sisters, he eagerly sought their society, and always yielded to them the reverence and respect with which good men regard them.

But now, all unconsciously, there was growing in him that love of woman born of gratitude for her sympathy, of respect for her intellect, and of admiration for her personal beauty. She, too, was attracted and drawn to him by his soldierly manliness, and intuitively appreciated his worth, veiled though it might be by his modest and simple bearing. She soon learned of his gallantry in battle, of his devotion to duty, and of his unswerving faithfulness; so that during this visit of Upton their brief asso-

ciation resulted in a mutual interest in each other, and a desire for more intimate acquaintance. They parted with kindly feeling, wholly unconscious that their future lives were to be no longer separate.

In the following January they unexpectedly met in New York, while she was journeying to Washington to spend the winter and spring. Here Upton sought her frequently, and could not conceal from himself the growth of his regard and his increasing pleasure in her society. He was charmed and fascinated with the sweet and holy influences that seemed to surround her, and his intellect was gratified by the evidences of her culture.

But in the intimate association which followed this renewed friendship there came more complete knowledge of each other's character, and an awakening to realities of the utmost importance to both. In a worldly point of view, Upton's life had been one of marked success. Honors and advancement in his profession had been bestowed upon him in recognition of his brilliant services. Commendation from high quarters had flattered his self-esteem. Personal ambition had well-nigh usurped the control of his manhood, and had almost suffocated the true humility of the earnest Christian. The doubts and questionings, which so insidiously attack and quite often overthrow the citadel of faith, had laid siege to Upton's religious belief. Not fully conscious himself of the danger to which his faith was exposed, he was honest in the expression of his doubts. He had witnessed suffering and distress, he had personal knowledge of the triumph of wrongdoers and of the humiliation of the good, and un-

consciously he had given a resting-place in his mind to doubts of God's providence and God's justice. Though these doubts and questionings had not yet taken root, he had permitted them to enter, and had in a measure defended their insidious arguments.

In their intimate personal friendship the maiden soon learned that her hero seriously questioned the truth of those tenets of her faith which she valued more than life, and without which she could have no hope of eternal salvation. She soon recognized his danger, and she earnestly prayed often that God would occupy anew his rightful domain in the heart of him who so deeply interested her. Under God's providence this weak child, strong in the faith, was destined to lead him to his trial, and bring him out of it, humbled and weakened, but purified. She could never consent to yield up her life to one in whom the peace of God had not found an abiding-place. Later she wrote to him as follows:

WILLOWBROOK, *October 13, 1867.*

. . . To-day is communion Sabbath, and I have been to the Lord's Supper, and there once more have partaken of his dying love. I always try to spend some time in preparing for this solemn ordinance, and at this season in particular I have been frequently led to think of what you told me last spring about your spiritual state; and I have deeply mourned over it. Having once known the blessedness of being a child of God and coming to his table, I truly believe that you can not be willing to give him up, and once more cast your lot with the world, the enemies of Christ our Saviour.

Indeed, from a remark you made last winter on returning from witnessing the communion service, as well as the many conversations I have had with you, I can not but think you have really the right ideas and feelings on the subject of religion. But you have suffered yourself to be led away, your understanding to be darkened, and your faith and confidence in God's justice to be shaken. A great responsibility rests on you; you are believed to be a professor of religion. I have heard this from several sources; also of the decided stand you took on the Lord's side while at West Point, and of the influence of your example there.

Never was I more shocked and astonished than when I heard from your own lips the admission that your faith in God's justice had been shaken, and that you no longer felt that you were a Christian. One of the strongest bonds in my friendship for you was the feeling that you could sympathize with me on the subject nearest my heart, and that I could therefore trust you as I would not men of the world. I can not believe that God will leave his wandering child to perish, and, though it may be through much tribulation, he will bring you back to the fold. Already he has sent you a sorrow which, I pray God, may be sanctified to the good of your soul. I have given you one of my greatest treasures, my own Bible, which has never left me before; may it be a comfort to you, and the truths contained therein be the means of bringing you once more into the kingdom! God is ready to receive all who repent and come to him. Though your sins be as scarlet, they will be blotted out in the blood of the Lamb.

For many months I have seldom closed my eyes without praying for you, my friend, and I feel that I can not bear to see you shutting yourself out from God's favor without making this last effort to assure you that some one cares and prays for your soul. This must be my excuse for this letter, for I feel too sinful to advise or caution others. I have faith to believe that the prayers offered this day, while at the table of the Lord, will be heard and answered.

This letter was received by Upton when he was on duty at Paducah, Kentucky, and it had an important influence upon him. He saw clearly the beautiful, child-like faith which animated this pure maiden, and he could not deny in his inmost soul the truths which she brought so vividly to his mind. Then ensued the conflict of conflicts. The powers of self-love, personal ambition, worldly favors and honors, were arrayed against the silent influences of God's merciful providence. As in all critical combats, the struggle was long continued, uncertain at times, fierce and terrible, but when it was ended, although weak and sorely wounded, Upton came from it purified. Thenceforward these powers of evil could have no further dominion over him; this particular temptation had assailed him: he had fought it and gained the victory, and never again could his faith in God's providence be assailed. This faith not only regained its former abiding-place in his heart, but had also gained possession of the citadel of his reason. It became then the standard by which he regulated his thoughts as well as his outward actions.

Upton's interest in his fair correspondent was not content to rest at friendship. Admiration, affection, love, shade each into the other, grow one from the other, and have no line of demarkation. What can be more beautiful in this life than the awakening of such an interest in both hearts, its growth nourished by the sweetest influences of companionship, and its ultimate development in the holy love of marriage? Who can picture the changes in their wondrous variety as this affection grows in power and strength until as love it encompasses the soul, and seeks sole possession as the greatest of God's gifts and blessings? Who, that watches the influences of a happy marriage, the gradual growth into unity from diversity, and even the assimilation of features as life continues, can doubt that this heavenly gift of marriage is most holy? Now this young maiden was well worthy, mentally and personally, of all General Upton's devotion. Tall and slender, with a graceful figure, and well-shaped head, crowned with a wealth of golden hair, the greatest charm of her face was not so much in its oval outline and regular features, as in the exquisite beauty of her eyes.

Her well-balanced mind was so cultivated and trained as to fit her for the most important duties of life. To a substantial and practical education, such culture was added as gave beauty and ornament to the expression of her thoughts. Her love of poetry and familiarity with the best literature gave a charm to her conversation and correspondence.

She was deeply religious, and possessed the

power of infusing into the minds of those with whom she associated a reverence for those things which she herself held sacred; but though habitually thoughtful and highly devotional in her daily life, she delighted in all that was joyous, loved society, and was a most appreciative listener to those whose conversation was interesting and instructive—her modesty leading her rather to hear what others said than to take part in general conversation. Her retiring nature, united to an extremely amiable disposition and a sound judgment, drew all hearts to her.

Such was the woman and such the man to whom had come the oft-repeated experience. There could be but one sequel. He earnestly begged of her the greatest boon that woman may give unto man, the acknowledgment of her love:

“ She listened with a fitting blush,
With downcast eyes and modest grace ;
For well she knew he could not choose
But gaze upon her face.”

With the approbation of her parents, she became engaged to him on the 16th of November, 1867.

Upton, arranging matters in accordance with his changed conditions of life, applied for, and obtained, a year's leave of absence, from November 29, 1867, with permission to go beyond the sea, intending to devote the greater portion in Europe to the study of the military art, especially that relating to tactics. He was thus enabled to spend the

Christmas holidays at Willowbrook, where a large family party had gathered to enjoy the festivities. He soon became an intimate in the family circle, and endeared himself by his worth to all, and his courtship suffered at first no disturbance in its happy course. But the bright anticipations which for a time promised happiness to the maiden, almost suddenly gave place to anxious forebodings on the part of those near and dear to her. She had always had reasonably good health, and, although not physically robust, she had never been the cause of anxiety. The indisposition that now for the first time gave rise to serious questionings was thought to be but temporary. Yet even before her marriage, when in happy ignorance of the near approach of illness and suffering, there seemed at times to have been a shadowing forth of possible disappointment and unhappiness. In a letter written to him before her marriage the following passage occurs, to which, after her early death, Upton frequently referred:

. . . Just at twilight I went into the library, and, sitting down before the lovely wood-fire, I gave myself up to my favorite diversion of building castles in the coals. I love to spend the twilight in this way, thinking of pleasant things in the past, of dear friends, and dreaming such bright, beautiful dreams of the future, full of high and noble resolves of doing for others, gaining (through efforts to make others happy) happiness to myself, pondering how I can make my life worth the living. Then as the ashes fall and cover for a time the bright coals

into which I have been gazing, and obscure the light by which I have seemed to view my future, the thought comes to me that *thus* may some of the brightest of my anticipations be clouded and quenched by adversity and sorrow.

They were married on the 19th of February, 1868, in the little parish church near the homestead, where she had so often worshiped. The wedding festivities were graced with the presence of many gallant officers, who came to congratulate their comrade, and to hope that he might enjoy all the blessings of peace and happiness in his new step in life.

After a short visit to Upton's home, the happy pair made their preparations to sail for Europe in the hope that the healing influences of the balmy climate of Southern France and Italy might completely restore her health, which could not well withstand the severe winters of our Northern States. They sailed from New York on the 7th of March in the French steamer Napoleon III for Brest, which port was reached on the 19th of March. During the passage his wife needed constant care, and even Upton's gentle ministrations could only alleviate the discomforts of the voyage. She suffered from neuralgia, and reached France greatly exhausted. After a short stay in Paris, he moved her by easy stages to the south of France, making short delays at Lyons and Marseilles. From the latter place he proceeded to Sorrento, arriving there on the 24th of April, giving her every attention on the journey that the most devoted love could inspire.

The parting of Mrs. Upton from her mother in New York was most affecting, and the latter, full of tender solicitude placed in her child's hands, before saying a last farewell, the following letter, which, filled with the outpourings of a mother's love, touched most deeply the hearts of both husband and wife:

NEW YORK, *March 7, 1868.*

MY DEAREST EMILY: In taking leave of you I feel that you can no longer look to me for guidance, and that hereafter you must be impelled to duty by the dictates of your own heart and conscience. I would therefore earnestly pray for the abiding influences of the Holy Spirit to lead you into all truth. You go forth from your home without one of your own kindred to sympathize with you and help you to watch over yourself. You lean upon a mortal arm even when you trust all to your tender and devoted husband; and it is only in commending you to "Him who sees the end from the beginning" that I can find rest in this time of anxiety. You are in the hands of the Great Physician. His healing touch can restore you to perfect health, and I recommend you to exercise the strongest faith in him. Come with the confidence of a little child to Jesus; tell him all your weakness; how much you need to be strengthened; what a journey lies before you, and plead with him for his abiding presence. Your strength will lie in a sense of your weakness. Cultivate self-reliance; I can do all things through Christ strengthening me.

I believe in overcoming disease by strong resolution; by this I do not mean that you should make

spasmodic efforts to do what is beyond your strength. Such exertions will be followed by nervous prostration; but never be discouraged, however weak you may feel. Your help is in God. He can strengthen you from time to time as you need. Keep your feet firmly planted on the Rock of Ages. He is now teaching you an important lesson by making you sensible of your weakness; submit patiently to his dealings with you, but never lose your hold on that arm that moves the world.

And now, dear Emily, let me say that I have been much gratified by the evidences I have had since I left home that your husband is held in high repute among men. I accept the honor paid to him as a testimony to his diligent and faithful performance of duty, and thus far it is to be valued; but, my dear child, watch against the temptations to be elated by the praise of poor, dying mortals. Carry through all your journey the beautiful text which you repeated to me when we made our first journey together, "Man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh upon the heart." And when you receive the kind and flattering attentions which may be lavished upon you and your husband, and which perhaps *you* do not deserve more than others whose names are not recorded on the "roll of honor," ask, "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits?" You are not your own; you are bought with a price and bound to serve God, and I would have you offer the bread of life to all who show you kindness. Go forth as a servant of God, be faithful to him, and he has said, "They that honor me I will honor."

Will you sometimes, dear Emily, at the twilight hour, read over what I have written in the stillness of my chamber this morning? Oh, what tender recollections throng my memory as I review the precious years when you have been *my Emily!* God has given you grace to be through your whole life a dutiful, obedient child, and I shall ever cherish a sweet memory of your childhood and youth; but no hour is so precious to me, in the review of our loving intercourse, as the sunset of the Sabbath, and the time when we gathered as a family for communion with our dear heavenly Father on Friday afternoon. May your heart ever be drawn to our Bethel on the weekly return of the hour when, in the past, God has so often met us and blessed us! May you return to us, my dear Emily, with a matured Christian character, with no taint of worldliness, and may we be permitted to rejoice together over your experience of the love of God to you!

I shall ever be your devoted mother.

This tender epistle, which so fully portrayed the Christian mother's heart-felt wishes, and the fullness of her maternal love, helped the daughter to bear her acute bodily suffering with greater fortitude. She felt more keenly her helplessness because of her husband's devotion, and she prayed earnestly to be restored to health for his sake, taking every precaution that art and science could devise to reach this much-wished-for result. But all efforts were in vain, and no permanent cure was established. The alternations of hope were followed by many misgivings, and in August they returned to Willow-

brook to remain until October, and thence to Key West for the winter.

Upon the expiration of Upton's leave of absence his duty called him to his post at Memphis, and he left his wife at Key West under the care of her devoted sister Nelly.

Nearly five months elapsed before he saw his wife again. Her frequent letters gave him constant hope, for she made much of any slight improvement, and dwelt but little upon less favorable symptoms. His professional duties and military studies, together with his ignorance of the serious nature of her illness, and the hope her letters inspired, united in helping him bear this separation manfully. He awaited with great anxiety information as to the destination of his regiment, which was soon to be moved from Memphis, in the hope that its new station would permit him to send her the joyous recall she was so longingly awaiting. He thus conveys the good news to his sister :

MEMPHIS, *March* 28, 1869.

I am very happy this evening, because next Sunday I shall meet my wife in New Orleans. She leaves Nassau to-morrow, and by a happy chance she will find at Havana a steamer which left Baltimore the same day that the steamer *via* Nassau left New York, and upon which she will take passage for New Orleans.

Instead of our regiment going to Arizona, as I learned at first, its destination is Atlanta. The climate is good, and it is not unlikely that my dear wife will derive great benefit from this location.

I hope that a sojourn of three or four years will be sufficient to re-establish her health. I am not sure that I will not be in command of the garrison at Atlanta, but that is not a matter of much importance so long as I can remain in Georgia. I wish a warm and uniform climate. Were it not for the actual condition of my dear Emily's health, I would not hesitate to go anywhere, but under the present circumstances my first care must be for her.

For a short time they were reunited, and happiness seemed to hold them in its keeping. At his new station at McPherson Barracks, Atlanta, everything appeared favorable to her recovery. She unpacked her household goods, and took great pleasure in adorning and beautifying their new home. The garrison was a large one after the arrival of the Eighteenth Infantry from the Plains, and she had the companionship of many of her own sex, the wives of officers, who enchanted her with their cheerfulness and pleasant manners under what would be to most ladies trying discomforts. But the glad spirit of the wife could not long overcome the ever-increasing and ever-present shadow of her physical weakness. On the 30th of June she was compelled to seek again the tender nursing of her mother in her struggle for life, and hurried her toward Willowbrook. Here she remained until early in November, when the approach of wintry weather forced her to turn again toward Nassau. She never again saw her home, for her gentle spirit took leave of earth in the early days of the spring.

Her husband took entire charge of her in this last voyage, but the exigencies of the service compelled him to leave her after a short stay, and he returned in the December steamer. He hardly realized, as he parted from her, that he was never to look upon her fair face again in life, but was buoyed up by the hope that he would again bring her back to home and happiness when the spring was well established. Her constant letters alternately gave him hope and distress, but when the sad news came finally, he needed all of his Christian faith and fortitude to recognize the truth that "He doeth all things well."

After leaving his wife at Nassau, he had returned on the expiration of his leave to his post at Atlanta. Just as he was arranging for his departure for Nassau in March, he was apprised by a telegram, by way of Havana, dated March 29th, that she was failing rapidly, and that he could not possibly reach her before it was too late. So quickly did her disease progress that he had scarcely time to realize her imminent danger before he was made aware of his bereavement. She died at one o'clock on the morning of the 30th of March, in the full exercise of her Christian faith.

With unexpected strength she had held on to life until the incoming steamer had landed, not expecting, but yet hoping for her husband's presence, and anxious to get his last loving message.

Her attending physician, Dr. Kirkwood, who was also a valued personal friend, in writing to General Upton, says:

NASSAU, June 26, 1870.

MY DEAR GENERAL: I have had no heart to write to you before now, since the death of your dear, good, beautiful wife, as all commonplace condolence would, for such an irreparable loss, be out of place, and incomprehensible to you. I have no doubt that you have regretted extremely that you were not with her during her last days, but as there was no *decided*, nor indeed apparent change until about ten days before her death, it was impossible for you to have reached here, or to have even communicated with you. About two months before her death, Nelly and I consulted about the expediency of sending for you, but as nothing indicated that Mrs. Upton might not live for three or even six months longer, we considered it not advisable to send for you before the time you had arranged for coming; and when your wife expressed a desire that you should not be sent for, we did not feel ourselves warranted in so doing, especially as I must have told you what I told Nelly, and what I told Mrs. Martin before leaving Willowbrook, that there was no possible chance of Emily's recovering. The sad truth would come all too soon when it could no longer be concealed. Your dear wife did not really realize thoroughly her state for more than a week or ten days before her death, and I think it was a blessing she did not, as in her case no warning was necessary to prepare her for the end, as her beautiful life had been so perfect and good that little change was necessary to convert her to what she is now—an angel. But the main thing in the matter of your absence is in this, that she really suffered

less, I believe, in dying, than she would have done if you had been present; for the pain of parting would have been increased tenfold, and she expressed herself very decidedly to that effect the day before she died, when she was suffering very much. As I was sitting by her bedside she said, "Oh, I am so glad that Upton is not here to witness this, it would add so much to both our pain in parting!" and added several similar expressions, showing her conviction that it was better for both that you were not present, and I am convinced that your presence would have made her last parting from this world more painful and bitter for her, and infinitely more agonizing to you; therefore I think you should consider the matter in the same light as she did, and believe that "whatever *is* is best." Then she had every care that loving and sympathizing friends could give. Every person who had the happiness of knowing your dear wife gave, if he could nothing more, his love and kindest sympathy. Indeed, I never knew any person who received so much general love and esteem, and, I may safely add, or who deserved it more.

Upton was indeed bereaved. Nothing but his firm religious faith could have sustained him in the trying months that followed. The memory of his wife was kept fresh and pure, and her influence on his life never for a moment failed him. But his after-life, although devoted to the conscientious discharge of his duties, lacked that rounded fullness that would have graced and perfected it had it been given him to live it with his chosen wife.

In time he regained his wonted spirits, to all outward appearance, but, to those who were permitted to penetrate his inmost thoughts, the growth in spiritual manhood was known to be real and progressive.

After the first severe trial, he never yielded to rebellious thoughts, but acknowledged that "He doeth all things well." He never for a moment forgot his beloved wife, nor permitted her image to fade from his mind. He kept her memory fresh and pure, dwelling on her virtues, her love, and her inheritance as a child of God. This led him to believe her still living, yet waiting for him, kept him pure, more attentive to his religious duties, and caused him to seek opportunities of helping others to obtain the peace of mind that had found a lodging in his soul. His weekly letters to her mother down to the day of his own death are filled with the noblest sentiments and records of the purest conduct; all unconsciously told with the humility and sincerity of a man in whom "the peace of God" has found a resting-place.

It is unquestionably the most marked tribute to the greatness and priceless value of the true love of a wife for her husband. It came to him at a time when the glory of his profession had reached its highest limit, and when without it he might have let go the substance of his faith for the shadowy possession of mere human praise, and the temporalities of a worldly life of ambition. He was mercifully directed to center his thoughts and his love on higher treasures than those of earth, and his life gave striking evidence that it was in accord with his religious belief.

The following letters exhibit the trustful spirit of the Christian who alone can bear up under such severe trials, and show how Upton, through his chastening, grew in meekness and grace :

WILLOWBROOK, *May 11, 1870.*

MY DEAR PARENTS: Mrs. Martin and I will leave to-morrow morning for New York on our way to Atlanta, where, with God's blessing attending us, we shall arrive Saturday, the 21st. I shall remain there about ten days, and then break up, preparatory to establishing myself at West Point. We shall go *via* Washington, and return *via* Charleston and the sea to New York. Nelly arrived last Friday from Nassau, quite worn in body and mind. She passed a most trying month in Nassau, mostly because she had no one to whom she could confide her griefs, and from whom she could receive heartfelt sympathy. All the accounts she brings of my dear Emily convey consolation. She tells us that Emily passed a most happy winter ; that she suffered far less at Nassau than she did at home last summer, and the last ten days of her illness were not of that painful nature we had apprehended. I strive to bow to this affliction, and to acknowledge in it the goodness of God ; yet I selfishly long for my darling. I know this feeling to be wrong, since Emily, having finished her labors, has simply been called to her heavenly rest. She was prepared to go ; her life was complete, and God has called her to himself. I know that in her death I have been drawn nearer to Christ, and that I can now lay hold of the plan of salvation as I never could before.

Surely the resurrection of the body, the promise of a blessed immortality, rob death of its sting, and if prepared I can now see that, with St. Paul, we all ought to be able to say that "for me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

Those, my dear parents, who, like you, have nearly run the race of life, ought to look forward with joy and thankfulness to the dawning of eternal life, and I pray that with you we, as a family, may all soon be partakers of the joys prepared for those that love God. With tender love, my dear father and mother,

Your affectionate son,

EMORY.

ATLANTA, *May 22, 1870.*

MY DEAR SISTER: Mrs. Martin and I will leave here a week from to-morrow, so as to take at Charleston the steamer of the 31st, which, with God's blessing, will land us in New York June 3d. Mother bore the journey here very well. She stopped over last Sunday at Westchester, rested a day in Washington, and one in Knoxville. We arrived here in good health Saturday morning.

The feeling of desolation has again come over me, as, in entering my home, I realize that the loved one who made it so happy, my precious Emily, has gone from me forever. But God can help me to bear this sorrow, and, while now life offers no attractions, I know that when again in active duty, employed in instilling in the minds of the nation's future defenders ideas of devotion to duty and discipline, I shall experience consolation in the thought that I am again useful in the world. Here I am in

the midst of a thousand evidences of Emily's love for me. It was at this desk my heart flowed out to her daily in the letters which used to comfort her poor heart. But all is changed. She is hidden from me, and already violets, blooming over her sacred form, offer their daily fragrance unto Heaven. I am not tempted to arraign the goodness of God. I can humbly thank him for lending me, even for so short a time, his angelic child, who, under his chastening hand, brought me back to a knowledge of the truth, and with her I can say, "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits."

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMANDANT OF CADETS.

GENERAL UPTON, upon being mustered out of the volunteer service in April, 1866, resumed his rank of captain in the Fifth Regiment of Artillery of the regular army. In the mean while favorable recommendations had been sent to the War Department urging that his services should not be overlooked in the contemplated reorganization of the army. From the Executive of his own State the following strong indorsement of his services was no less flattering to his friends than it was deserved by himself :

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
ALBANY, *November 17, 1865.*

HON. E. M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

SIR: I have the honor to recommend that in the reorganization of the regular army Brevet Major-General E. Upton may be appointed to a position commensurate with his experience, abilities, and distinguished services. As a representative of this State our people have taken a just pride in his brilliant and highly honorable record in the field.

The troops under the immediate command of General Upton have captured twenty colors, thirty-

nine guns, and over six thousand prisoners, as appears from the official reports. He has been three times wounded, and has had a number of horses killed under him. I earnestly desire that his meritorious and patriotic services, extending through the entire war, may receive proper recognition by conferring as high rank and important command as may seem justly his due.

Very respectfully,

R. E. FENTON.

On the 28th of July, 1866, he was offered and accepted the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-fifth Regiment of Infantry. He passed his examination with credit on the 10th of October, and was commissioned to date from the day of his appointment. This substantial reward and recognition of his services during the war was acknowledged by all who knew Upton, and were acquainted with his career, as well deserved. But in the great reduction that attended the reorganization of the regular army, there were many officers who had held high commands, had displayed creditable military ability, and who naturally expected to receive due recognition in the reorganization of the army. Some were offered rank but little higher than that which they had gained by the slow process of lineal promotion, and some were wholly passed over. A number of these had had longer service than Upton, and had held as high, if not higher, commands. Of course the distribution of the prizes which was made was held by these gentlemen and their friends to be unfair. Individual instances may certainly be

cited which, without a thorough knowledge of all the controlling circumstances, would appear to confirm even the harshest criticism that could be made. For instance, an officer of fifteen years' service before the commencement of the rebellion had attained to the rank of captain of artillery, and was in command of his company at Fort Moultrie, and formed with it a part of the garrison of Fort Sumter in its defense by Major Anderson. This captain had seen service in Mexico, and had been twice brevetted for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles which preceded the capture of the city of Mexico by General Scott. He gained the full rank of brigadier-general of volunteers early in 1862, and the brevets of all the grades up to and including that of major-general in the regulars and volunteers. He was a most gallant officer, and full of earnestness, courage, and devotion to duty under the most trying circumstances of the war. His active service and exposure to every danger incident to war were second to none. Yet, when the war ended, his lineal rank in the artillery was still that of captain, and upon being mustered out of the volunteer service he returned to the command of his company of artillery on the Florida coast in the fall of 1865.

While such cases appear to give color to the cry of partisan feeling with which the selecting and appointing powers were charged, it is to be remarked that no possible assignment could have been made against which similar adverse criticism might not with apparent justice have been urged. And so far as Upton himself was concerned, it is quite

certain that his advancement was a just and proper tribute to his eminent military ability and gallant services, and that, but for the rule requiring appointees from the regular army in the same grade to take rank according to date of previous commission, he would have been a colonel, or stood at the head of the lieutenant-colonels. He was recommended by General Grant for the higher grade, but, as the names were arranged according to previous regular army rank, his was at the end of the list. The President afterward interpolated two names, and thus pushed Upton's down into those of the lieutenant-colonels, where they were again arranged according to previous regular army rank, which put him nearly at the foot of the list. His subsequent labors in his profession reflected great credit upon the American service, and brought increased honor to his name.

While on duty at Atlanta he was privately informed by the authorities in Washington that the President had selected him as the next commandant at West Point, and that he was to hold himself in readiness to relieve Colonel H. M. Black, then commandant, June 30, 1870, the expiration of his term of service. This gratifying assurance of the esteem and confidence of the War Department was fully appreciated, and he eagerly anticipated the possibilities that would come to him in the discharge of his important trust. He thought of the pleasure it would bring to his beloved wife, who he knew would enter warmly into all his plans for the improvement of the young soldiers intrusted to his care.

But his fondest anticipations were by her death at once sadly overclouded, and this bereavement almost, for a time, overwhelmed him, and before he reported for duty at West Point he had passed through the severest trial that a Christian man has to suffer, and was by it the better fitted to meet the requirements of his new station.

The official head of the Military Academy is a superintendent, having the local rank of a colonel of engineers, appointed by the President of the United States. At the time of which we write the law had been so amended as to permit the selection of superintendent to be made from the whole army, whereas it had previously been limited to the Corps of Engineers. The Academy was then under the superintendency of General Pitcher, the first selection under the new act, and he had already served in that capacity for four years when General Upton reported to him as the commandant of the Corps of Cadets. An officer of high rank of the Inspector-General's Department was the inspector of the Academy, who reported directly to the Secretary of War, and was the official channel between that functionary and the superintendent. The superintendent has the immediate command and government of the institution. He directs the studies, academic duties, and field exercises, and renders to the War Department all required reports, returns, and estimates concerning the Academy.

For the successful progress of the institution during his administration he must be endowed with more than ordinary ability, possess great tact and firmness of purpose, and such inherent qualities as

to command the respect and affection of his subordinates.

He should be sufficiently acquainted with the special influence of the different branches of instruction in the development of the scholarship of the cadets, and should direct with judgment the operations of the various departments, so that no undue prominence shall be given one to the detriment of another. On the other hand, he should interpose to check the tendency always found in educational institutions toward a disproportionate enlargement of any department, due to the zeal of its professor.

His relation to the cadets is of the greatest importance in the exaction of discipline. Supervising constantly all breaches of regulations, he wields a powerful lever for the moral culture of the students. Strict impartiality in his dealings with them inspires confidence in the certainty that punishment will follow infractions of the regulations, and that proper commendation will be ensured by good behavior. It is essential that the most thorough accord should exist in the relations of the superintendent and commandant of cadets.

This latter officer has the immediate command of the Battalion of Cadets, and is the instructor in the tactics of the three arms of the service and in the rules of military police, discipline, and administration. His example should be that of the ideal soldier, officer, and gentleman. He should cultivate soldierly honor among the cadets until it attains vigorous growth. He should rebuke with severity the first tendency to prevarication or dishonesty in word or act. With a system of divided responsi-

bility, which ultimately rests on one of two comrades, he should control all by strict and increasing exactions.

To make his government successful he should be endowed with the highest soldierly qualities in personal bearing at drill, and even in every act while subject to the vision of his corps.

The departments of instruction are presided over by professors, commissioned by the President as officers of the army, and confirmed by the Senate. They are the only permanent officers of the institution, and their duties pertain wholly to instruction, studies, and other matters of a purely academic character. Finally, a number of officers of the army belonging to the various corps and arms are detached from their customary duties and sent to the Academy for a tour of four years' service as assistants in the several branches of instruction. It will be seen from this outline that the organization of the Academy is not unlike the executive and legislative branches of the General Government.

The superintendent is the president for four or more years, and after his tour expires he rejoins his command. While in office he is supreme, under the regulations. The professors act as a senate, a permanent body exercising a conservative influence in methods and in the character of instruction. The army officers, fresh from active service, like the representatives of Congress, bring with them the existing sentiment of the army, and return to it that of the Academy when they again rejoin their commands.

The exacting duties of the commandant can best be understood by detailing the current business to which his attention is directed. His office, in a building situated in the area of barracks, is centrally located with respect to his command. At reveille, which occurs at 6 A. M. during study-time, or from September 1st to June 20th, cadets are required to rise, dress, and appear in ranks in the area of barracks before the reveille ceases. Rolls are called by the cadet first sergeant of each company, absentees reported to each cadet captain, who, in turn, reports to the cadet officer of the day. The latter, after reporting to the army officer, an instructor of tactics, in charge, personally seeks each delinquent, and notifies him of his reported absence. On breaking ranks, each cadet repairs to his room, makes his bed, and the room orderly, in addition sees that the room is ready for inspection. This inspection is performed by cadet inspectors of subdivision, embracing two floors of barracks, or eight rooms. Any departure from the provisions of regulations is noted on the orderly report-book. Breakfast roll-call takes place thirty minutes after reveille, and after breakfast study-hours begin. The commandant appears in his office at 7.30 A. M., from and after which time cadets may seek interviews with him to explain any delinquencies with which they may have been reported in the preceding twenty-four hours. In these interviews the utmost particularity of manner and bearing on the part of the cadet is exacted. He knocks at the door of the commandant's office, waits the invitation to enter, and stands uncovered and at attention while he states in clear

and concise language the object of his visit. It is in these personal interviews that the commandant learns the characteristics of the cadets. His explanations may be frank or guarded, he may be open or reserved, but he builds up by his behavior at the frequent visits the personal impression which the commandant attaches to him in the four years of his service as a cadet. Instead of seeking a personal interview, he may submit a written explanation of his delinquency, and in thus giving a written expression to his motives and conduct he opens to the commandant an inner view of his character. A careful study of each cadet leads the commandant to estimate the capability of the cadet to exercise the duties of command, and, when this estimate is confirmed by those of his assistants, the commandant recommends to the superintendent a list taken from those who have served a year, for appointments as corporals in the battalion organization—as sergeants from those who have served two years, and as lieutenants and captains from those who have served three years. These are the prizes for good conduct, careful attention to duty, studious habits, and aptitude for the profession as indicated by their personal bearing and attention to drill and discipline.

Each army officer, after orderly hours, inspects the barrack-rooms of his company with a good deal of particularity. The regulations which govern the cadet occupants are very precise and minute. Even the smallest article of clothing, under-wear, bedding, equipment, or accoutrement, is so arranged as to be readily seen by the inspector. The minute atten-

tion paid to these matters furnishes the basis of the majority of reported delinquencies, and has its use in building up an attention to detail that is considered essential in military life. It is not regarded as a mark of serious unadaptability for the service to be occasionally lacking in these respects; but, as these irregularities give demerit when not satisfactorily accounted for, they affect the general standing of the cadet in his class, and militate somewhat against a soldierly reputation in the battalion organization.

The control and supervision of the cadets are under the commandant and his assistants during the entire twenty-four hours, except when the cadet is at recitation. Then the professors, with their assistants, are responsible for discipline and proper military bearing, and offenses occurring are brought to the notice of the superintendent. The military drills and exercises are regulated and conducted by the commandant. They take place at such regular and stated times as give them the character of enforced exercises and recreation from study.

It must be apparent to even a casual observer that the tone of the Corps of Cadets will be determined by the character and disposition of the commandant and his associate officers. While it is true that no serious mutiny could arise and remain long unsubdued, yet it is quite possible that an inefficient and weak commandant could work great disaster to the moral tone of the Academy. To verify this statement it is necessary to know what at present exists and has for a long time existed in regard to this moral tone. Considering the whole body of

young men as a community, with their customs and unwritten laws, which have been passed down year by year, from class to class, let us inquire what is considered as vital and important in their common sentiment. The upper or first class, from whom the commissioned officers of the battalion are selected, represent the accumulated bearing, dignity, and experience of the community. The prevailing sentiment of this class is, for the time being, that of the corps. They conceive that the good name of the corps is in their keeping, and they jealously guard it as their own. From past years they have received one thing of prime value—the principle that a cadet's word is to be taken unquestioned. To lie, prevaricate, or steal, are actions that no cadet could be guilty of without at once being put beyond the pale of comradeship, and subjected to complete ostracism. Of the commission of such serious crimes the authorities would at once be informed by a spontaneous impulse, and the most severe manifestation of wounded personal feeling would be displayed should such a case occur. The perfect trust that exists among comrades, their faith in one another's word, the reliance on one another's charitable assistance in distress, all serve to give this trait a healthy growth and a real existence. Other violations of regulations, such as intoxication, absence from quarters, visiting other rooms, smoking, or "frolicking," while they may receive no encouragement from the great majority, are regarded in a light altogether different. The punishment may fall upon the delinquents, and personal expostulation may be used among friends, although they are

not crimes, but peccadilloes, as estimated by the general sentiment.

Every year over a hundred young men, between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two, come from all parts of the country, having habits of all kinds—natures that are more or less cultured in morals, and tendencies that are as diverse as the conditions that have produced them. To bring this large fraction of the corps to realize the proper sentiment required by the profession of arms, is a labor of great delicacy, and yet of the greatest moment. It is, therefore, a wise provision that the selection of these two officers who bear this great responsibility should rest upon the President of the United States, and that he should be carefully advised as to his nominations for these positions.

The ideal standard of discipline of the Corps of Cadets, and which it seems possible to attain according to the system so admirably designed by General Thayer, may be described as follows: It is presumed and supposed possible, in these days of enlightenment, that every young man entering West Point can be made to perceive that he is the recipient of a nation's bounty, and that his acceptance of it places him under an honorable obligation to fulfill all the requirements that are exacted of him. A denial of this obligation, or a design to evade its just requirements, when either becomes evident to the authorities, should bring about a separation of such an individual from the benefits, and permit another to enjoy what he declines. Let us suppose, then, that a hundred young men enter, fully impressed with the solemnity of the important trust

confided to them, and of their obligations under that trust. There is no question that, should the governing powers be all that they ought to be, such a sentiment could be cultivated and supported that the regulations, minor as well as important, would be obeyed from a sense of duty and a sense of personal responsibility. The true function of the officers on duty at the Academy would then be *instruction* in its broadest sense—instruction in morals, in drill, discipline, studies, and, in a broader view, of their relations to the Government of the United States.

Violations of regulations would occur of necessity, but they would only arise from carelessness, from forgetfulness, a lack in systematic arrangement of mind, and not from intention or deliberate purpose. Such violations would be attended by corrective but not punitive measures, and the demerit roll would clearly exhibit the very quality of the man for which such rolls ought to be established. Every violation of regulations should then have its appropriate demerit, which should never be removed if the regulation in question had been broken. Is the system of responsibility such as to make this a possibility? Let us see. As a battalion organization the commandant is the colonel or official head. Four army officers personally command the companies; four cadet officers are appointed as captain and lieutenants in each company; the company has also its appropriate cadet sergeants and corporals. At drill, parade, or other battalion or company formations, no violation of regulations can occur without the notice of a responsible officer. Let him be

held responsible. In barracks, during study-hours, the system of divided responsibility is such that there is but one of two men who is responsible for the preservation of good order. Hold him to it, without inquiry as to the actual perpetrator of the offense, and this system will yield the best results. Let it be understood that the responsibility and its punishment for all offenses will be at once placed upon the individual who, by his office, is responsible, and then there is brought into full power the restraining influence of the honorable desire of young men to protect their comrades in the discharge of duty. Punishment means, then, disaster to a comrade, and its infliction can only be avoided by preventing its cause.

Under the methods generally pursued, the whole energy of the authorities is directed to detect the guilty actor, and this calls into being the bold front of combination of a governed class against the governors. No matter to which side temporary success comes, a feeling of discontent will pervade both sides alike while true discipline is impaired.

Examples of the martinet have been frequent at West Point—report and punish being the rule, “instruct and correct” the exception. The delight, whether real or apparent, at the detection of some trivial breaking of rules is made manifest to the certain lowering of discipline.

It is, therefore, essential that these wards of the nation shall be governed while in their probationary period of tutelage by just and honorable soldiers, who stand in their profession as models worthy of emulation. Experience and history both unite in

testifying that all cases of real insubordination have their origin in the want of tact, narrow-mindedness, or inefficiency of the constituted authorities of the Academy for the time being. Any other supposition as to the cause of such troubles is untenable when one considers the vast power which the authorities may use in the correction of abuses. Five hundred and forty dollars a year, affording the means of a comfortable support, of a complete equipment in clothing, books, and necessary material, for a sound and valuable preliminary education for a noble profession, and a guarantee of a commission in the military service of the United States, are the strong levers by which good government and a willing obedience can be secured, not only from three hundred and fifty young men, but from a vastly greater number. Let us, in the light of the above, study the career of General Upton while exercising his function as commandant of cadets.

He reported for duty July 1, 1870, and took command of the corps when it was in camp. His brilliant career, combined with his soldierly bearing, made at once the best impression upon the young men confided to his charge, and they soon learned that he knew how to command. The military drills improved, the bearing of the cadets became more military, and his quick, prompt movements found a ready response in their own quickened motions. Nothing occurred during the encampment to mar the pleasant relationship that soon grew into mutual confidence and respect. At every drill the commandant was on the ground, supervising but not interfering in the functions of

his subordinates. Camp was broken as usual in the latter part of August, and barrack and study life began in earnest on the 1st of September. The battalion-drills soon exhibited to the corps that they had fallen into the hands of a thorough tactician; and it was not long before the evolutions of this organization exhibited a perfection that enhanced the pride of the cadets as much as it contributed to the pleasure of all the officers of the Academy and visitors who witnessed them.

The utmost harmony seemed to prevail. Minor changes incident to all new administrations were made without friction, and everything gave promise of a successful and peaceful tour of service for four years. Thoughts of uninterrupted labor in the details of his professional work filled Upton's mind, and no one could have predicted the trouble that afterward appeared. The January examination was approaching, and only minor delinquencies existed in the corps. The first serious disturbance of his administration occurred on the 2d of January, 1871. A brief summary of the circumstances is as follows:

New-Year's-day falling on Sunday, the next day, Monday, January 2d, was observed as a holiday, and the ordinary duties of the Academy were suspended. A hop had been granted to the first and second classes, and visiting privileges in barracks to the third class; but the fourth class remained under the customary restrictions, because its examination was to begin at 9 A. M. on the morning of the 3d of January.

Taking advantage of the fact that the majority

of the cadets would not be required to be present in their rooms after evening call to quarters, a cadet of the fourth class determined to absent himself from his quarters, and, at some risk, visit the neighboring village of Highland Falls. In the estimation of the older cadets, this action would not be considered dishonorable, although it constitutes a violation of an important regulation, and in case of detection would be followed by the serious punishment of suspension for a year, or complete dismissal. But the cadet went further than this, and overstepped the boundary of recognized morals, by arranging with his room-mate to falsely report that his absence, in case it should be discovered, was a permissible and proper one. Discovery did follow, the false report was made, its falsity was detected, and both young men were arrested. Associated with them, another cadet of the same class was also detected in a similar action.

Had nothing occurred to interfere with the proper course of justice, the action of the authorities would have been as follows: Charges would have been preferred, and a trial ordered before a general court-martial, followed by a sentence of dismissal, in the event of the substantiation of the charges. Or the resignation of the cadets would have been accepted, to prevent publicity and mortification to the friends and relatives of the offending cadets. A mitigation of the sentence of dismissal might have been made by the authorities at Washington, as had been done in several preceding similar cases.

When the facts in these cases were known to

the members of the first class, an almost spontaneous feeling of indignation took possession of them which carried them beyond the bounds of discipline. They violated the regulations in several important particulars. Thus, they met as a class and deliberated upon the action they should take. They decided to drive these guilty cadets from the Academy, and on the following night, at twelve o'clock, their determination was put into execution, without the slightest suspicion being aroused in the mind of any officer of the Academy. At orderly hour on the next morning a committee of this class informed General Upton of their action, and awaited their punishment for the proceedings which they had originated and effected. They gave certain reasons as a justification of their course. They stated "that the reputation of the corps had been suffering a long time under the imputation that the members were not as truthful or as honorable as they had been before, and that too many cases of this character had recently come to light; they believed it was necessary to place some seal of condemnation upon such conduct, and therefore they had decided as a class that the only way they could do that was by telling these persons to leave the post—that they would not have them in the corps." They stated "that they went to the rooms of these cadets and informed them of this, took them up the back road near Fort Putnam, gave them citizens' clothes, fifty dollars in money to support them until they could get assistance from their friends, and then told them to leave." They stated further "that it was a transaction of the whole class,

that they were alike responsible, and were perfectly willing to tell everything that had occurred freely, so that the authorities would be in possession of all the evidence and particulars of the affair."

The commandant immediately reported this to the superintendent, and directed the first class to submit at once in writing the evidence on which the action of the class had been based. He did not consider it necessary to put the whole class in arrest, for the reason that whatever was to be done should be done in a very deliberate manner, and there was plenty of time to consider what steps should be taken in the premises.

In obedience to the direction of the commandant the following paper was sent in on the next day:

WEST POINT, N. Y., *January 5, 1871.*

SIR: We have taken a step of some boldness, but not of precipitation, as we fully considered the consequences of our act before accomplishing it, and were urged to it by motives which we believed to be commendable and to the advantage of the Corps of Cadets.

The evidences against the cadets were taken into account and fully weighed, and we thought their conduct was such as would justify our course of action.

. . . The events to which the foregoing statements relate occurred on the 2d day of January, 1871. The above is the evidence upon which we acted, and it showed conclusively to our minds that such men as these were unfit to bear the name and be the associates of gentlemen, and were a disgrace to

the uniform which they wore. Moreover, from the manner in which some members of the fourth class have been conducting themselves of late, and the utter disregard of the truth which they have evinced, we judged that a severe example was necessary to amend this laxity of principle, and that were the matter to be conducted by the first class it would have a more decided effect upon them than would a regular process by the proper authorities, for their prevarications would, to a great extent, screen them from the eyes of the latter, while little or nothing could be concealed from those who have every opportunity of witnessing and hearing of their misdemeanors. These are the motives which urged us to the conception of our project, and the execution of the decided step which we adopted.

We are, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

COMMITTEE

Representing the First Class.

On the 4th of January, General Upton dispatched one of his officers to Highland Falls to bring the three cadets back to West Point, but they had gone, one to Jersey City and the other two to Poughkeepsie. On the 5th, word was received as to their whereabouts, and the same officer proceeded by first train on the 6th to Poughkeepsie, and brought back two of them. After an interview with the commandant, during which he clearly stated to them the nature of the charges against them for lying, and the character of the proof which could be submitted to substantiate the charges, they both offered their resignations. These resignations,

not having the consent of their parents, as required by the regulations, were, however, forwarded by the commandant approved, with the recommendation that the requisite parental consent be waived in both cases, because of the delay and useless mortification it would occasion. The resignations were accepted, to take effect on January 9th.

On the 10th of January, the superintendent, having fully investigated the matter, issued an order in which, while he concedes that the motive which animated the members of the first class originated from a praiseworthy source, he expressed his strong disapproval of their assumption of power, and assigned to them punishment.

On the 8th of January, a resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives, and passed on the 12th, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs be empowered to send for persons and papers to investigate said matters of the expulsion and subsequent enforced resignation of certain cadets, and to report the facts to the House, with such recommendation, by bill or otherwise, as the facts, in their opinion, may warrant, and the committee shall have leave to report at any time.

The January examinations, which began on the 3d of the month, were permitted to continue uninterrupted until their close, before the Congressional Committee began their investigation. This was in accordance with the request of the Secretary of War to the Committee on Military Affairs of the House.

Three members of this committee, Joel F. Asper, Jasper Packard, and H. W. Slocum, were appointed a sub-committee, and on the 27th of January proceeded to West Point to investigate the affair. They sat two days, and examined all parties concerned, and on the 7th of February submitted their report.

The principal points in their report, to which our attention for the purposes of this memoir is needed, are these :

After stating that the committee found no great difficulty in ascertaining the facts in the case, as the War Department and the officers and cadets at the Academy promptly placed at their disposal every means and facility in their power to enable them to make a thorough and ample investigation, they reported the facts substantially as above given. They add, referring to the action of the superintendent and commandant :

Nothing further was done with the offenders. No arrests were made, no charges preferred, nor has any action been taken by the War Department.

The cadets of the first class engaged in this transaction have been kept on duty as before, have charge of the cadets in the lower classes as captains and lieutenants, and are daily engaged in assisting to train and discipline the corps. . . . The reasons which induced the sudden outburst of mob spirit in the first class seem to be either incomprehensible, or spring from some cause which your committee have been unable to fathom. Your com-

mittee examined several of the officers on duty at the post, but the only reason they could assign was that the authorities there had not been properly supported in their efforts to preserve order and an enforcement of discipline. The sum of the testimony on this point was, that discipline at the Point was as good as, or rather better for the last six months than, formerly. And if this be true, its former condition must have been deplorable. The officers immediately in charge of the first class join in the report that this class have been more than usually amenable to discipline; have had a high standing for good and orderly conduct. The officers of the Academy knew nothing of the transaction, nor have they approved or in any way indorsed it. "In a military point of view" they have utterly condemned it. They, however, speak of the "motive of the first class as good." Your committee have made a statement of all the facts they could gather, and they believe them full enough for a proper understanding of the transaction, and report them to the House in obedience to the resolution, and it now remains to make such a recommendation as they believe the facts will demand:

1. As to the officers, the committee believe that the superintendent of the Academy and the commandant of the Corps of Cadets failed to properly appreciate the gravity of the offense committed by the first class, and showed a disposition to avoid a proper investigation and punishment of the gross breach of discipline and violation of regulations committed by the class. In their urgent recommendations for the immediate acceptance of the

resignations of [the cadets implicated], they disregarded the following regulation of the Academy :

“ Par. 165. A cadet’s resignation, if he be under age, must be accompanied by a written consent of his parent or guardian.”

2. Their conduct in advising these cadets to resign before any notice had been taken of, or investigation ordered into, the outrage of which they had been the victims, is censurable. Their failure to take prompt action for the punishment of the offending class, by arresting the guilty cadets and preferring charges against them for a court-martial ; their official expression of a belief that the class were actuated by “ good motives ” in their unlawful action ; and their continuance of the first class on duty as cadet officers to enforce the discipline of the Academy, amount, in the opinion of the committee, to a virtual sanction of the riotous proceedings of the class, and an encouragement of the repetition of the offense. The position thus assumed by the officers is subversive of the discipline of the Academy. It will, if maintained, place the government of the institution in the hands of the first class whenever they see fit to constitute themselves the judges of the delinquencies of the members of the other classes, and will thus destroy all subordination and respect for law in the Corps of Cadets. The conduct of the officers shows a lack of comprehension of the principles of military discipline, surprising in officers of long and honorable service in the army. The only thing that can be said in extenuation of their action is the fact that their efforts to maintain discipline heretofore seem not to

have been properly sustained by the authorities at Washington and that sentences of courts-martial providing for the dismissal of cadets have almost invariably been remitted. . . .

The published report of the committee containing this censure reached West Point February 8th, and on the 9th the superintendent and commandant addressed the following letter to the inspector of the Academy. The letter was written by General Upton, and concurred in by General Pitcher :

The Military Committee of the House of Representatives, in their report to that honorable body in reference to the expulsion from the Military Academy of [certain] cadets by the first class, having charged the superintendent of the Academy and the commandant of the Corps of Cadets with having "failed to properly appreciate the gravity of the offense committed by the first class, and showed a disposition to avoid a proper investigation and punishment of the gross breach of discipline and violation of the regulations committed by the class"; having charged them with the offense of having "disregarded the following regulations of the Academy: 'A cadet's resignation, if he be under age, must be accompanied by a written consent of his parent or guardian'"; having charged that "their conduct in advising these cadets to resign before any notice had been taken of, or investigation ordered into, the outrage of which they had been the victims, is censurable; their failure to take prompt action for the punishment of the offending class, by arresting the guilty cadets and preferring

charges against them for a court-martial; their official expression of a belief that the class were actuated by good motives in their unlawful action, and their continuance of the first class on duty as cadet officers to enforce the discipline of the Academy, amount, in the opinion of the committee, to a verbal sanction of the riotous proceedings of the class, and an encouragement of the repetition of the offense"; having further charged that "the position thus assumed by the officers is subversive to the discipline of the Academy," and that "the conduct of the officers shows a lack of comprehension of the principles of military discipline."

The undersigned, the superintendent of the Military Academy and the commandant of the Corps of Cadets, availing themselves of the rights granted by the ninety-second article of war, respectfully demand that a court of inquiry be ordered to investigate their conduct, with a view to being brought to trial by a general court-martial should there be found to be any facts to sustain the charges made against them by the Military Committee.

At the time the sub-committee was at West Point investigating the expulsion of the cadets named, all the facts connected with their expulsion were in the possession of the Honorable Secretary of War, the head of the Military Academy.

Without any connection whatever with the unlawful act of the first class, it became the duty of the commandant of cadets to prefer charges against [certain] cadets for making false reports, or what is commonly called "lying."

As integrity and truthfulness must be the basis

of the character of every worthy and reliable officer; as all frauds, false musters, embezzlements, or misapplication of public funds can only be perpetrated under the false certificate of an officer, the crime of official falsehood has always been regarded as one of the most serious in the military calendar, and has no less punishment than dismissal.

Falsehood was the charge against the three cadets. The Honorable Committee state that "two of the cadets freely admitted their offenses, and from the circumstances, and the character of the boys, they do not believe them destitute of either manliness or integrity."

As nearly all officers in the course of their lives hold positions of great pecuniary trust, the superintendent and commandant, in the interest of the Government, hold that the vice of lying is incompatible with integrity, and that when a cadet is guilty of the offense of falsehood the Government should be spared the expense of educating him.

The three cadets named admitted their guilt, and, as had been often done before, they were, in kindness to themselves and friends, advised to resign to avoid the disgrace inevitably attending a trial by court-martial.

As the responsible parties for good order and military discipline, the undersigned feel and know that a false impression, diligently cultivated, prevails throughout the country as regards the discipline and subordination of the Corps of Cadets. This impression will be strengthened by the report of the Military Committee.

Censured without a trial, deprived of all liberty of judgment in their official action, charged with the grave military offense of sanctioning riotous proceedings, their reputation as officers wantonly assailed, they feel aggrieved by the unjust treatment they have received from the Military Committee and are therefore compelled to ask for a court of inquiry.

They furthermore would respectfully request that the court be composed of officers of such eminent services and well-known integrity as shall enable their report to be received with respect and that they be required to express an opinion as to whether in any degree the superintendent and commandant in the exercise of a discretion always allowed commanding officers have neglected their duty, and whether under their charge the discipline of the Battalion of Cadets has degenerated as compared with former years.

The sub-committee was at West Point less than twenty-four hours, and in session less than eight. Whatever may be said of the conduct of the first class, a thorough investigation will show that their unlawful action was but a single breach of military discipline, neither preceded nor followed by the slightest mark of insubordination on their part.

In their official connection with the affair the superintendent and commandant are ready to abide the consequences of their every official act, and desire at once to relieve the stigma cast upon their reputations as officers; or if guilty of neglect of duty, or conduct subversive of good order and mili-

tary discipline, to receive the legal punishment due to so grave an offense.

T. G. PITCHER,
*Colonel First Infantry,
Brevet Brigadier-General, United States Army,
Superintendent Military Academy.*

E. UPTON,
*Lieutenant-Colonel First Artillery,
Brevet Major-General, United States Army,
Commandant of Cadets.*

As the authorities at Washington took no action, and as no court of inquiry was ordered in the case, it is presumed that they were not dissatisfied with the conduct of the two officers throughout the whole affair, or did not see how it could be bettered by a court of inquiry. The resolution of the Military Committee was never passed by Congress, and the matter finally rested. Two of the implicated cadets were returned to the Academy in the following June: one became a diligent and praiseworthy cadet, graduated with good standing, and entered the service; the other did not ultimately graduate, but failed at a subsequent examination.

The foregoing matter is of interest to us only in the light it casts on General Upton's character, and the way in which he performed his duty as commandant of cadets. There can be no question that in every respect his dealings with the delinquent three cadets were manly and considerate, but not in accord with the requirements of the regulations. Under no circumstances of personal feeling, or sympathetic interest, could he overlook a departure

from the truth so glaring as here indicated, without dealing a deadly blow to the best interests of the Academy. In such cases the individual interests of the cadet must suffer, and no plea that it is but the first slip, and that it will not recur, should be given a moment's consideration. The moral well-being of three hundred other young men, and much more the official integrity of the whole army, is too priceless a trust to be endangered or put in jeopardy on any purely personal grounds.

But his course with reference to the first class is open to criticism. He recognized the unlawfulness of their action, and no doubt felt the difficulty of deciding upon so intricate a case as was presented for his judgment. It is only in the light of after-events that we are enabled to see clearly the best course. It often happens in an orderly and law-abiding community that some peculiarly revolting crime calls forth almost spontaneously the cry for speedy vengeance, and the infliction of lynch law. But when the passions cool, and reason once more prevails, while the act may be justly condemned, no one would in sound reason desire to have the actors subjected to the penalty that the letter of the law demands. Had the commandant at the first information of the illegal action of the first class promptly placed them in arrest, he would by this act at once have put his seal of condemnation upon this greatest of military crimes. The responsibility of their punishment or release would have at once been transferred to higher authority. Such would unquestionably have been the course pursued by an officer of less self-reliance or even of less ability as

a soldier than was General Upton. His very qualities which we esteem and admire caused him to go beyond the proper function of his office, for, whatever may have been the action of the superintendent, Upton should at once have arrested the cadets of the first class who made known to him in his office what they had done, and followed this action by an immediate report to the superintendent, requesting his sanction and confirmation. A court of inquiry, at once applied for, would have brought out all the facts, and a court-martial have sentenced and caused to be inflicted the proper punishment.

The severe strictures of the sub-committee on Upton's conduct do not seem to be warranted by an impartial view of the case. He nowhere upholds the conduct of the first class, but condemns it. Being an official subordinate to the superintendent, he was not responsible for their punishment one moment after the latter knew officially of the action of the class. His position does not warrant any interpretation of independency. Responsibility attaches to his office only so far as its functions extend. It was the superintendent who, in an official order, qualified the motives of the class as "good," although it may be inferred that Upton agreed with him in this view. Doubtless the gratification he experienced in perceiving the estimate of the class for the honor of the corps in respect to truth-telling had its influence in blinding him to the enormity of its departure from the essential principle of military subordination.

The history of an administration in the government of young men is brief or voluminous accord-

ing as the ordinary routine is unbroken or not by incidents that vary from the usual happening. But in either case the important daily work to them goes on unceasingly. The time of seed-planting is usually quiet and peaceful. It is only when the grain has ripened that we can judge whether the early spring labor has been thorough or indifferent.

At two o'clock on the morning of the 5th of February, 1871, a fire broke out in the Dialectic Hall, over the sally-port of barracks. The weather was bitterly cold, the thermometer marking six degrees below zero, and the wind was blowing strongly from the northwest. Not more than ten minutes had elapsed since the smoldering fire had broken out into flames, before the long-roll brought every cadet into ranks in the area. The fine effects of discipline were soon manifested in the prompt and vigorous way in which the whole corps took their respective stations to fight the fire. Despite these prompt measures the whole upper floor of the great stone barrack-building was destroyed, but because of their alertness the Academic building containing valuable models and apparatus was saved, and the ordinary work went on after a single day's intermission. In a congratulatory order issued by General Upton, then acting as superintendent during General Pitcher's temporary absence, he says:

“It is with pleasure that the acting superintendent announces to the Corps of Cadets his own and the general commendation elicited by their action

at the fire yesterday morning. No higher proof of their discipline could have been given. In the perfect order that prevailed during the whole fire, in the cheerful obedience to every order, in endurance under extreme cold, in the very energy, determination, and bravery with which they fought the flames for three hours, resulting in averting a great disaster to the Academy, the cadets have given a pledge of gallant devotion to duty which the Government can not fail to appreciate."

During General Upton's tour of duty at West Point he had the honor to command the Corps of Cadets on a tour away from the Academy. This was on the occasion of the second inauguration of President Grant, March, 1873. The Secretary of War had decided to order the cadets to Washington to do honor to the occasion and to express in this way his gratification to them for their good conduct and marked improvement in military bearing and discipline. He took the greatest pride in these young soldiers and wished to exhibit them in their organized capacity to the citizens gathered at Washington from all parts of the country. The young men acquitted themselves handsomely, and received a perfect ovation during their entire visit. They left West Point March 2d, crossed the river on the ice, and, returning on the 7th, recrossed in the same manner—an evidence that the weather was not spring-like in character.

Upton's work as commandant may be considered in its two divisions; that relating to the in-

struction in drill and tactics, and that in the development of character and in the cultivation of honor and integrity.

With respect to the first, we may dismiss it in a few words. The battalion reached a state of great efficiency in its drill. No finer sight can be imagined than the superb marching and exact evolution of the cadets under his care, at parade, drill, or review. Their splendid physical development, their elastic, springy step, erect bearing and soldierly appearance, happily tempered the rigidity and stiffness which usually accompany troops in their ordinary movements and evolutions.

In the more important but less noticeable departments of education he had himself much to learn, and many difficulties to overcome. We have seen that at the end of his first six months of duty he had the bitter lesson taught him that serious trouble may arise when least expected, and that existing sentiment can only be modified by patient labor and a rational education to a higher conception of duty. He found existing a practice, whereby pledges were exacted of the fourth class not to engage in hazing the members of the next coming class, under forfeiture of their furlough privileges. A strong disbeliever in such means to enforce right action, he, early in the spring, recommended to the superintendent the abrogation of the pledge system, and asserted his belief that obedience to the regulations in this respect could be had from higher motives; and, his recommendation being favorably considered, the pledges were never again exacted.

It seems to be common, to most of those who are charged with the immediate government of young men, to wish to know every thought by which they are swayed and every act which results therefrom—the idea being that, possessed of this knowledge, the power they control can best be used to reward the good and punish the guilty. But they forget that although the Almighty, in the possession of this great knowledge, governs mankind by giving to his creatures a perfect exercise of free-will, that they may either obey the law to their benefit or disobey to their distress, yet he has never imparted this great power to any of his creatures. The founders of the Academy have wisely guaranteed to its pupils the rights and privileges of trial by court-martial, and the civil law has bestowed upon them the rights of freemen, by which their privileges are maintained until conviction under the law is satisfactorily determined. To illustrate, it is a matter of history that at one time a superintendent, to carry out this principle, increased largely the number of officers supervising the cadets, lodged them in barracks, and required them to report every violation of regulations that came under their notice. His motive was perfectly pure, for he wished, so to speak, to have his eyes upon the corps at all times—to be a father to them—to warn them before it became too late to save themselves from the consequences of their numerous lapses from perfect deportment, and by his power of removing demerit to prevent their ultimate discharge from the Academy for misconduct. Yet what was the result? It could easily

have been foretold by any interested party. This undue supervision, and what appeared to them espionage, broke down at once all sense of personal responsibility. Demerit increased frightfully. The area of barracks was full, every Saturday afternoon, of cadets on punishment for trivial violations of regulations, and a false sentiment of duty and of responsibility was rapidly permeating the corps, to its great detriment.

The same result is effected whenever a knowledge of every action going on in a body of young men is obtained in any other manner than by the open and free inspection of the properly constituted authorities. Any attempt to make a comrade inform upon his neighbor, unless it is done in the line of his duty, is not to be commended, but such report must come in all cases from a sense of duty and responsibility attaching to the office which the reporting officer holds.

General Upton at one time seems to have held views contrary to those expressed above. Deeply sensible of the great charge resting upon him, he conceived that his duty required him to ascertain in cases of marked disorder who were guilty by requiring testimony in the matter from comrades who might be cognizant of the affair in question, holding that, as this course would be warrantable in the case of soldiers, it was likewise warrantable in the case of cadets. It is to his credit that he soon saw the fallacy of his judgment, and forbore putting this engine of mischief into action. Had he been less liberally-minded, this drag-net method of gaining information of whatever abuses might

be prevalent would unquestionably have resulted in a degradation of the sense of honor, and have made during his administration the temptation to deceive and prevaricate greater than it was possible for young men to withstand.

In such a body of young men, where truth, principle, and integrity are valued so highly, it is not difficult for any one to live according to his principles, be they as pure and high as they may. All that is required by the sentiment of the corps is consistency in principle and conduct. To the existence of this sentiment the fact that so large a number of cadets openly profess to be religiously inclined, and who are respected in their opinions, must be attributed.

For many years a prayer-meeting twice a week, supported and controlled by the cadets themselves, and varying in number from fifty to seventy-five, has existed. General Upton gave his strong support to this organization, frequently met with them, encouraged the timid, and supported all by his words and countenance. At chapel he was always present, and his practical religious life and humble Christian profession were potent influences to the young men who knew of his marked military success. It exhibited to all of them the perfect compatibility of his life of devotion to his profession with his earnest desire to receive the instruction and preparation for the higher life to come.

Nothing of especial moment marked the remainder of his career as commandant at West Point. So thorough was the confidence reposed in him by the

governing authorities at Washington, that he was retained a year beyond the ordinary tour of service, or five years in all. His work, taken as a whole, was one of marked success. The lessons which he instilled into the youthful minds are now being applied by his pupils in their career as officers wherever the fractions of the army are located. None can think of him or of his precepts or example without gratitude for the high-minded, soldierly, and Christian earnestness with which he supported truth and frowned upon whatever was low and paltry.

In the summer of 1871, General Thomas H. Ruger, colonel of the Eighteenth Infantry, succeeded General Pitcher as superintendent, and in Upton the new superintendent found a zealous, upright officer, and a hearty supporter of his government. The Academy continued in a career of well-being that is creditable to both gentlemen for their sterling ability and judicious government.

During all this time Upton snatched every moment that could be spared from his exacting duties as commandant in revising his tactics, and in the duties of the assimilation which had been intrusted to the Board of which he was the president.

His religious growth never ceased. The text of his letters home exhibited to those near and dear to him how much he dwelt upon the thoughts relating to his spiritual life, and how these were the guiding principles of his inner manhood. That these may bear witness to this side of his character, a few of his letters are here inserted :

WEST POINT, *January 28, 1872.*

MY DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER: At the close of a quiet and beautiful Sabbath, it again gladdens my heart to have the privilege of writing to you, and to convey those sentiments of duty and affection which I always feel toward you. Filial affection is ever the similitude of the tender abiding love we owe, as dutiful children, to our heavenly Father, who has commanded us to "owe nothing to any man, but to love one another."

Day by day I grow more thankful to God for his enduring mercies; for the preservation which he extends to all whom I love. He hath kept you to be a blessing to all your children, still working out in your lives additional glory to himself. Thoughts of eternal life come to me now like water to the thirsty soul. I love to meditate on the heavenly city where Christ dwells, and is the light of those who believe in his mercy. "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die," and as the seed sown so shall be the fruit. The seed which we must all sow is the life which we have led here on earth. If our lives are spent in glorifying God, in humbly doing his will, and walking in his ways, it will in death be quickened, and again blossom in eternal loveliness, and ripen in the continual sunshine of God's love. Purified, we shall then be as the images of the heavenly. "What we shall be it doth not yet appear; but we shall be like him" in whose image we are created. . . .

May 25, 1873.

This beautiful day I can not allow to pass without writing something to you to cheer your hearts.

West Point is again resuming its beautiful robe of summer, reminding those with grateful hearts of the goodness and unchangeableness of God, who leaveth himself not without witness in that he doeth us good, and giveth us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness. Every day of my life my faith in the unseen and eternal world grows stronger and stronger. I realize more and more the nature and sufficiency of that sacrifice which our blessed Saviour made upon the cross for the sins of the whole world. With his everlasting arms to support us we ought always to press forward for the mark of the high prize of the calling of God, realizing that no yoke is imposed upon us, but that in obeying his will and commandments we are walking in the perfect law of liberty. I love to dwell upon the glories of the unseen world, where, all being in harmony with God's will, there will be no need of law; where love in its fullness will unite all hearts in praise of the goodness of the Father of us all.

June 1, 1873.

MY DEAR MOTHER: * Every word of your last Sunday letter has made its lasting impression upon me. This morning at church we heard a sermon the text of which was so applicable to us that it has been running in my mind ever since—"Wait patiently." A peculiar tenderness always comes over me when I enter the Lord's holy temple, and this morning particularly, on which communion was celebrated according to the form of our Emily's

* Mrs. Martin.

blessed church, it seemed as if God in his loving kindness permitted her specially to draw near and minister unto me.

It is at such sacred times and in such sacred places that I realize the full volume of that tender human love which God, who spared not his own Son, has removed from me, and it is at such times, when in the anguish of my heart I can only say, "Thy will be done," that I can feel the full import and comfort of the words, "wait patiently." Yes, my dear mother, wait patiently. The thin curtain of mortality only separates us from the love which shall be revealed. We shall but imitate the example of him who waits patiently for all to come unto him, to triumph over all the sorrows which the loving hand of our Saviour sends us.

I sometimes fear that your happiness is decreased by the proximity of the "hill-side," and that the consciousness of being so near the sacred dust which you once so tenderly loved leads you to seek our precious Emily among the dead and not among the living where Christ dwells. Would that the angels might speak to you as they spake to the disciples who visited the tomb of our Lord, "She is not here, but is risen"! Our hearts yearn for one word from her gentle lips, one smile from her beautiful eyes; but let us wait patiently, for God will bring us to her, when we shall behold her bearing the image of the heavenly. Of all the earthly blessings with which my life has been crowned, association with Emily's pure spirit is the one for which I can not express to our heavenly Father the gratitude I feel for the unspeakable gift. Through it he

has led me to the foot of the cross, and to the knowledge that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin. And I feel again that he has sent me the spirit of truth, and that he comforts me daily and hourly by the presence of the Holy Spirit, which bids me wait patiently for the perfect love which soon will be revealed.

CHAPTER IX.

MILITARY OBSERVATIONS AND STUDIES IN FOREIGN LANDS.

IN the fall of 1871 a conversation which General Upton had with Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, turned his thoughts toward China as a possible field of labor in his profession and presented him a prospect of substantial advancement and an increase in his material possessions. He entertained no idea of becoming a "soldier of fortune," but rather that his talents might be worthily employed in developing the military resources of a great empire, which would react most beneficially upon the interests of his own country. Properly appreciating General Upton's adaptability, and in hearty accord with his ambition, Mr. Seward did not hesitate to set the wheels in motion, and, no doubt, after consultation with the President, and with his sanction, he wrote the following letter to our minister in China :

AUBURN, N. Y., *October 31, 1871.*

His Excellency Mr. LOW.

MY DEAR SIR: The observation of political affairs which I made in China confirmed me in the opinion that I had previously entertained, that it is for the interest of civilization to encourage the existing government, and lead it gently, though firmly,

in the way of modern progress, in conformity with the laws of nations.

As a necessary part of this policy, it seemed to me that the Chinese Government ought to be shown how to organize its military force on the principles of modern science and economy. As that government has already adopted Western principles and guidance in the collection of revenues derived from foreign commerce, so it seems to me that it would be equally wise for them to confide the organization, training, and discipline of the imperial army to some competent military man to be taken from the West.

Speaking of this subject with Major-General Emory Upton, of the United States Army, I have found him not only entirely agreeing with me in opinion, but also willing to assume the great task if he should be required to do so.

Although he is quite a young man, he has attained a most conspicuous place by his brilliant achievements in our late civil war, not less than by his eminent service as an organizer, tactician, and disciplinarian. It was through the exercise of these powers that he has been called a year ago to be the superintendent of our only national Military Academy at West Point.

Inspired by a high and chivalrous desire to be useful where his talents can be best employed, he would resign his present position and engage to devote himself for five years to the service of the Chinese Government in the capacity I have indicated, with the consent of our own Government, and on the application of the Government of China.

This suggestion is made to you by myself through the permission of the President of the United States and with his favor.

If in your judgment the suggestion seems a practicable one, and you know no reason to the contrary, will you in your own way lay it before Prince Kung for the consideration of the Chinese Government?

I think it proper to add that inasmuch as the preceding proposal would involve not merely the sacrifice of one of the highest positions of the United States Army, but also its ultimate advantage for life, General Upton would expect an indemnity for those losses. Such an indemnity, I think, would require a sum not less than \$150,000, to be paid in hand, together with an annual compensation and salary for five years sufficient for his maintenance in the rank to be assigned to him.

I am, my dear Mr. Low, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

A careful investigation of the political and social condition of China soon demonstrated, however, that the time was not yet ripe for this great change to be effected. The following letter from the American minister, written to one of General Upton's friends, gives his conclusions, which had been officially communicated in more formal language:

PEKING, *February 29, 1872.*

In further answer to your note of the 28th of October, regarding the feasibility of procuring from

the Chinese Government a position for General Upton as "instructor in the art of war," I have to say that I can give small encouragement that such a thing is probable or possible at the present time.

That you may the better understand my reasons for this opinion, some facts in regard to the present organization of the Chinese military forces may be useful.

With the exception of the troops immediately in and about Peking, the military forces of the empire are made up of separate armies that have been raised and organized by, and are practically under the control of, the several high provincial officers—each viceroy being held responsible by the Imperial Government for a suitable quota of troops to maintain order within his own jurisdiction, and, in case of extreme emergency, to help suppress insurrection or repel invasion in other provinces. Theoretically, all the officers are directly the appointees of the emperor; practically, they are selected by the several viceroys whose nominations are simply approved by the central government.

At the present time all the foreigners employed in instructing troops in the art of war are subject to provincial authority and control. They are little better in point of rank and position than "*drill-sergeants*," a position which, if not degrading, can not be considered honorable. Even General Ward and Colonel Gordon, who were employed to assist in putting down the Taeping rebellion, were engaged and paid by the viceroy at Nanking, although the Central Government gave to them a tacit but not real imperial position.

The arsenals at Shanghai, Foochow, Nanking, and Tientsin are exclusively under provincial control, and the gunboats that have been built at those places and are now in commission are essentially under the control of the viceroys within whose jurisdiction they were built.

For more full particulars as to the almost complete independence of the provinces, I beg to refer you to a dispatch of mine to the State Department (No. 40, of January 10, 1871).

In view of this state of things there does not seem to be any chance, at present, to secure for General Upton a position that I could approve or that he would accept, nor do I think that there is the least chance for the better until the emperor shall have attained his majority and assumed his proper functions as sovereign *de facto*. He may then give his attention to reorganizing the military forces, for the purpose of creating (what there is now only in name) an imperial army.

Should such a move be made (which is not impossible), there would then be an opportunity for an officer like General Upton to occupy a position that would be respectable for himself and useful to the Chinese Government.

I note what Governor Seward says in his note about the monetary indemnity that would be proper as an equivalent for abandoning the position the general now holds in our army; and, while I can not say that the sum named would be extravagant, it may be doubted whether it would, in any event, be possible to get this Government to accede to such terms. This, however, is not important, for,

until there is some change for the better in the general *status* of things here, the *whole* thing is impracticable.

This matter has been maturely considered in all its bearings, in the hope that some means could be devised by which I could see my way clear to gratify General Upton's ambition, do a favor to the Chinese Government and people, increase our influence, and at the same time gratify the personal desires of the President and yourself. I regret that I am forced to the opposite conclusion for the reasons herein stated, and many others no less sound in my opinion. I have written this with entire frankness and freedom, believing that the general, as well as yourself, would rather know the exact position than to have me hold out hopes that will be likely to prove delusive.

When the emperor assumes the reins of power, I shall not fail (provided I am still here) to keep this matter in remembrance; nor will any effort be spared to bring about a state of affairs which would justify an officer of General Upton's character and ability accepting a military position under the Government. I shall inclose a copy of this to General Upton.

The result, however, was of great professional benefit to General Upton, for he had, with his usual vigor and earnestness, set himself to study the necessities of China, and had thought out in an orderly way the proper methods of procedure, in case he should be called upon to attack the problem; so that when some years afterward he visited

China in a professional capacity at the head of a military commission, and the matter was again brought to his attention by Mr. Shepherd, our consul at Tientsin, he wrote out the following plan while he was very much engaged in his laborious duties, and sent it with an explanatory letter, at the same time expressing his readiness to undertake its management :

SHANGHAI, *October 28, 1876.*

MY DEAR MR. SHEPHERD: In pursuance of your suggestion, I send you a plan of a Military Academy for China. It is, of course, but an outline of the main features of such an institution, the details being too numerous to mention. I have thought much of the subject since seeing you, and the more I have observed the condition of the Chinese army the more convinced I am that nothing but a military academy can grapple with the difficulty of disciplining the fine material she has, and which I hardly need tell you lies in her officers. No half-way measures will suffice. The thoroughness of West Point is required, and, under the system I have indicated, it can be attained. . . . I am told that there are probably from three to four hundred boys between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one who know sufficient English to begin the course of study. But, if not, the invitation of the Government to boys to present themselves for examination, with the promise of a military education if successful, would stimulate such a number to make the effort that the four classes to pursue the course in English could easily be selected. . . .

I have already spoken to you in regard to my

terms, which may seem large, but in return I can help to save China millions, and perhaps strengthen her for a conflict already impending. But large as they are, they would be no temptation to me to quit our service without the assurance that I could give to China a fine institution. I can not afford to make a failure; and therefore, should you not be able, in the event they want the academy, to secure to me the management of the course of study, and the discipline, I would not take service at any price. . . . I would like to help China forward in the way of progress, and, should she summon me to her service, I will give to her ten of the best years of my life.

Plan for a Military Academy for China.

In view of the powerful and encroaching nations of Russia on the North and England on the West, also of Japan ambitious in the East, the great want of China is an army of not less than one hundred and fifty thousand men, organized and equipped like the armies of America and Europe, and, above all, commanded by officers thoroughly trained in discipline, tactics, and the art of war.

To attain this end a military academy should at once be established, based upon the model of the United States Military Academy at West Point, which is renowned throughout the world, and the chief excellence of which lies in giving a uniform education to the officers of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and the staff corps.

The duties of army officers are so varied that a high standard of education and training must be required.

The engineer officer, who builds forts, makes maps, improves the navigation of rivers, erects levees, builds bridges, and deals with all kinds of constructions in building materials, must have a knowledge of all the principles of civil and military engineering, and of the sciences on which the application of these principles depends.

The artillery-officer must know how to make cannon, small-arms, powder, and ammunition, so as to be able to superintend the erection of arsenals and the manufacture of munitions of war. He must also be familiar with the theory and practice of artillery, so that on the field of battle he may command his guns to the greatest advantage.

The officers of infantry and cavalry, in common with those of the artillery and engineers, must be familiar with the tactics of all the arms, and, as emergencies constantly require them to assume the duties of officers of artillery and engineers, they should evidently pursue with them the same course of study.

The above considerations indicate a combination of scientific and military education as the true course of training for an army officer.

Assuming that the cadet or student has a competent knowledge of the language in which the books are written at the date of his admission, his military education may be completed in four years, as follows :

The first year: To be devoted to the study of algebra (arithmetic if necessary), geometry, trigonometry, descriptive geometry, and one language, English or French, preferably English. The mili-

tary education of the first year to consist in practical instruction in infantry tactics, involving the training of each cadet as a recruit, manual of the piece, field-artillery, police of quarters, guard duty.

The second year: To analytical geometry, descriptive geometry, perspective, calculus, topographical and mechanical drawing, military instruction, riding (school of the trooper); infantry tactics, school of the company and battalion; artillery, manual of the piece of mounted battery.

Third year: Analytical mechanics, optics, acoustics, astronomy, chemistry, electrics, geology, and mineralogy. Military instruction: drill in infantry tactics, military signaling; riding, school of the platoon; artillery, manœuvres of heavy siege and sea-coast guns, and how to mount and dismount them.

Fourth year: Civil and military engineering, strategy, tactics, grand tactics (how to move large masses of men on the battle-field), strategy, or how to move large masses of men when not in sight of the enemy; military drawing, fortifications, etc.; international and military law, and theory of artillery. Military course: construction of fortifications, mines, trenches, fascines, gabions; artillery, infantry, and cavalry drills in the highest schools.

The above is the course to be pursued to secure the best and most permanent results; but it could be so modified as to permit officers of infantry and cavalry to graduate in three years, and artillery and engineers in four years.

Each year the cadets should be encamped for two months to give them mental relaxation after ten

months of study; also to teach them the practical duties of camp-life, such as police, guard, target-practice, etc.

The age of cadets at date of admission to be from seventeen to twenty-one. Between these limits the mind is in a molding condition, and can best be trained in studies and discipline. To command with success one must first learn to obey, and military obedience, the most exacting and necessary of all, is a habit which can not be acquired in less than three or four years.

After mentioning in detail the officers necessary for the academy, Upton gives in general terms their respective duties. Then follows a list of buildings and the material required for the proper accommodation and instruction of the cadets, all of which are found in the model Academy at West Point, which has served as his type and basis. He then proceeds as follows:

To inaugurate the system of military and scientific education, I would respectfully recommend that the superintendent of the academy be an officer of high rank in the Chinese service. He and his staff would be responsible for the construction of the buildings, procurement of supplies, instruments, etc.

The commandant of cadets, his four assistants, the nine professors and instructors, should be selected from experienced officers of the American Army.

In consideration of the fact that few, if any,

scientific books used in military education have as yet been translated into Chinese, I would recommend that for the first six years the studies be pursued in English. This would enable the Chinese student to acquire an exact knowledge of each study. In the mean time the entire course could be translated into Chinese; the American professors would have mastered sufficient Chinese to superintend recitations, and the classes graduating at the end of the fourth, fifth, and sixth years would furnish Chinese professors and instructors, who, under the guidance of the American professors, would gradually supersede them and be able to assume all of their responsibilities. The class entering the fourth year, and all classes thereafter, would pursue all of these studies in Chinese, and be able to master them as thoroughly under native professors as did the latter under American professors. The advantages arising from teaching the first graduates in English would not only be apparent in supplying able native professors and instructors, but they would also appear in opening to all of these classes the entire field of foreign or modern science, military history, strategy, and the art of war. The graduates, too, would be available as translators of books of science and as interpreters, and could thus keep their government not only informed of military progress and achievements abroad, but also assist it in foreign diplomacy at home.

In starting the academy on the English plan, one year might be gained while the buildings are in process of erection, by selecting fifty or more

cadets who already know English, and, if they are not to be found in China, that number might be ordered back from America. These cadets could be started on the course the moment the plan of the academy is resolved upon, and would be the first class to graduate. At the same time they begin the regular academic course, one hundred and fifty or two hundred candidates for admission could begin the study of English, and such of these as at the end of the year had made sufficient progress to begin the academic course would constitute the second class. Two more classes would have to be prepared in this way, after which, as before stated, all other classes would study in Chinese.

To insure the success of the academy, the cadets should receive sufficient salary, board, clothes, and be supplied with books, lights, fuel, and should be enabled to save enough to purchase an officer's equipment on graduation. Besides, they should also upon graduation be entitled to a commission in the army, with sufficient salary to insure them an honorable and useful life. Without such inducements, which are offered to armies abroad, cadets or students would not subject themselves to the severities and hardships of military training.

The above plan contemplates the establishment of a military institution as thorough and permanent in its results and influence as the Academy of West Point, which I would guarantee within ten years, provided the course of instruction and discipline for the first six years were left entirely in the hands of the American commandant and professors. During the remaining four years the academy would

gradually be turned over to the management of the native authorities, it being understood from the beginning that all expenditures should be controlled by the Chinese superintendent. The results of the academy as proposed may appear too remote ; but in connection with the academy a camp of instruction might be established, and a brigade, division, or even a *corps d'armée*, might be organized with modern arms, tactics, etc. These troops, as soon as organized and drilled (which could be done under the supervision of the American officers selected from the Academy), could be sent wherever their services are required, and others take their place ; or, with an enlistment of five years, all recruits could be sent to the camp of instruction, where they could be trained, drilled, taught the bayonet exercise and target-practice, and then be sent to their regiments.

A year would suffice to organize any command as a division or corps, and impart to it a sufficient amount of instruction to enable it to fight with success under good officers.

A camp of instruction for recruits would have also this advantage, that cadets after having learned the tactics and principles of discipline could be used as instructors, thus giving the troops the benefit of their knowledge, and also giving the cadets experience in commanding men even before their graduation. The war in America proved conclusively that a graduate fresh from the Academy was able to command a regiment, and many who had the opportunity were soon after made generals of brigade and division. Such also will be the expe-

rience of China if in the wisdom of her rulers she shall establish a similar institution.

General Upton while at West Point turned his thoughts often to the condition of military affairs in Europe and Asia, and had many a written and personal conference with General Sherman after the latter had returned from his military tour abroad.

From these frequent consultations he found that the General of the Army would gladly extend his personal and official influence to enable him to make an extended tour around the world, so that he might, by personal study and observation, make himself familiar with matters connected with his profession, as they existed among the most prominent nations of the world. He intended to apply for a year's leave of absence, in order to gain this important addition to his professional knowledge; but on the occasion of a visit to Washington early in October, 1874, after he had had a long conversation with the Secretary of War in regard to the affairs of the Military Academy, in which the Secretary took a deep personal interest, he learned that there was every disposition on the part of the authorities to give him the advantage of an official tour. By this means the avenues to the information which he was desirous of obtaining could be the more readily opened, and the Government could in return get the benefit of his observations, for use in the army. The whole matter soon took definite shape, and it was finally determined to associate with him two other officers, one of the cavalry and the other of the artillery arm of the service. These were Gen-

eral George A. Forsyth, major of the Ninth Cavalry, and Major Joseph P. Sanger, captain First Artillery. Both were exceedingly capable officers, had seen hard service during the civil war, and had been noted for their devotion to duty and skill in their respective corps.

The order constituting the commission was issued June 23, 1875, and, as it outlined the duties and controlled General Upton's movements for the succeeding eighteen months, it is here inserted :

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, *June 23, 1875.*

GENERAL: On or about June 30th next you will be relieved from the Military Academy.

Upon being so relieved, it is desired that you proceed to San Francisco, California, visiting on the route to that city Salt Lake City, the mines of Nevada, and the Yosemite Valley ; that on or about August 1st you sail from San Francisco for Japan and China. On reaching Canton in China you will proceed, *via* Singapore, to Calcutta ; thence up the valley of the Ganges to Peshawer, and thence to the Russian possessions at Tashkend, by the most practicable route.

Should it, however, be found impracticable to proceed to the Russian possessions from Peshawer, you will select the most feasible route that will enable you to reach Europe. Having arrived in Europe, you are required to visit the camps of instruction and military schools of Italy, Germany, Austria, Russia, France, and England, and thence return to the United States.

The professional object of this order is to enable you to examine and report upon the organiza-

tion, tactics, discipline, and the manœuvres, of the armies along the route mentioned, and in Germany the special examination of the schools for the instruction of officers, in strategy, grand tactics, applied tactics, and the higher duties in the art of war, and the collection and compilation of such other information as might naturally be expected to be of utility to this Government.

During your absence upon this duty, which shall not exceed eighteen months, you will report as nearly monthly as practicable your address to the Adjutant-General; and on your return will make a full, detailed written report to the Secretary of War upon all the subjects mentioned in this communication. . . .

You will report to General Sherman for further instructions if he desires to give you any; and you will be accompanied by Major George A. Forsyth, Ninth Cavalry, and by Captain J. P. Sanger, First Artillery, who have been detailed for that purpose.

Yours very respectfully,

WILLIAM W. BELKNAP,

Secretary of War.

Upon reporting to General Sherman, the latter addressed him the following characteristic, soldierly, and friendly letter:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,
ST. LOUIS, MO., *July 12, 1875.*

GENERAL EMORY UPTON,

United States Army, present.

DEAR GENERAL: I have read with pleasure the letter of instructions to you by the Secretary of

War, and congratulate you and your associates on having an opportunity such as has never, in my recollection, been enjoyed by any officers of the army at any former period of our history. I know that you will profit by it, and only to suggest a few thoughts will I venture to use that part of the letter of the Secretary which requires you to report to me.

You and I have already had much correspondence—mostly private—on this very contemplated tour of the world, so that I think we mutually understand each other. You know that, about four years ago, I traveled up the Mediterranean and Black Seas to Tiflis, the capital of the Russian Caucasus. Naturally I would like to have you approach Europe by that gateway. The objects of interest in Japan and China seem to me to have been well examined and reported on by modern travelers. In like manner, the armies, forts, garrisons, and camps of Europe seem to me to have been studied by American officers and authors until we know all that seems applicable to our system of government and people; but Asia, especially India, Afghanistan, Persia, Khokand, Bokhara, Turkistan, etc.—the lands whence came our civilization, whence came the armies of Xerxes, Genghis Khan, etc.—remain to us, in America, almost a sealed book, though we know that the reflux tide of civilization is setting back from Europe to those very lands. England and Russia are the two great powers that are now engaged in the work, and you can not devote too much time and study to the systems of military government by which these nations utilize the peo-

ple and resources of interior Asia. I therefore advise you to spend as much time as possible in Calcutta and India; cultivate the acquaintance of the officers, civil and military; ascertain how a small force of British troops, aided by the native troops, govern two hundred million people; notice how they quarter, feed, and maintain their men, and transport them in peace and war; then make up your mind how to reach the Caspian Sea, preferably all the way by land.

There are several routes: the one I would prefer is from Peshawer through the famed Khyber Pass to Cabool; thence to Herat, to Teheran, around the lower end of the Caspian Sea to Tabreez and Mount Ararat. From Tabreez I know you will have no trouble to reach Tiflis, where you meet a highly civilized and refined people, with railroad to the Black Sea, where you will have choice of routes by steamer to Odessa or Constantinople. Another route of equal interest would be from Peshawer across the Hindoo-Koosh to Bokhara, Khiva, and the Caspian.

Either of these routes will enable you to see the nomadic nations of Central Asia, who are far from being barbarous, but hold themselves as the most cultivated people on earth. Their customs, habits, laws, and rules of morality date far behind the history of Christianity; and I doubt not a sojourn among them will give you much knowledge that will be useful to us as we come to people the interior of America.

Should, however, neither of these routes be practicable, you can go by rail to Bombay, and take

steamer to the Persian Gulf, and thence cross over to the Mediterranean at Smyrna, or to the Black Sea at Trebizond, whence steamers will convey you to the more agreeable and more familiar routes of Europe.

I will watch your progress with intense interest, and will be pleased to hear from you at any time at your own convenience; and, when you return, I shall welcome you back, and do all that is in my power to enable you to record your observations and publish them for our common instruction and entertainment.

With great respect, your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN, *General.*

General Sherman also, with his usual hearty generosity and kindly feeling, wrote personal letters of introduction, commending his brother officers to the Governor-General of India, to the Grand Duke Nicholas at Tiflis, in the Caucasus, and to other officials and friends, bespeaking for them every courtesy and assistance. With these and the properly accredited official documents they set off well equipped for their tour around the world.

For the purposes of this memoir, extracts from General Upton's letters, written to various members of his family and relatives, will give a brief outline of his journey, and a much better view of his personal impressions and thoughts than any compilation of them could possibly do. For these reasons, then, we have culled from his letters those bits that serve to reflect him as a man as he journeyed among the nations of Asia and Europe:

(Extracts.)

SAN FRANCISCO, *July 27, 1875.*

The morning of the 20th we crossed the Sierra Nevada. The train stopped five minutes at Cape Horn, which is said to be a precipice four thousand feet high, but which my experience in the Yosemite did not confirm. The view, however, was very fine. At Dutch Flats, on the very top of the mountains, we saw the effect of hydraulic mining for gold. For miles the tops of the hills had been washed off, often to a depth of two hundred and fifty feet. This is done by conducting water for a long distance in pipes with such a head that when the water is thrown against the face of a hill, sand, gravel, and boulders fly in every direction. The dislodged earth is then conducted through troughs of water where the gold settles and is collected. The descent of the mountains was rapid, and we soon found ourselves in the Sacramento Valley, which is broad and flat as far as the eye can extend. The valley was very dry, and made picturesque only by the live-oaks which are scattered over its surface.

The night of the 20th we spent at Merced, in the San Joaquin Valley. This is the great wheat-region of California. With one summer fallow they manage to get two crops, the first being put in as in the East. The second is called a volunteer crop, which is put in by simply harrowing the stubble of the first crop, the shelled wheat furnishing the seed. The wheat-fields cover thousands of acres. The harvesting is done by a machine called a "header," which merely clips the heads, that are afterward

threshed. These machines will cut from twenty-five to fifty acres per day.

The morning of the 20th we took outside seats on the stage for the Yosemite; the night we spent at Clarke's ranch, at the Big Tree Station.

The morning of the 21st we took horses, and rode over to the Mariposa group of big trees. These were all they had been represented. The Grizzly Giant was one hundred and two feet in circumference, or about thirty three feet in diameter. One limb was estimated to be eight feet in diameter, or twenty-four feet in circumference. The trees are about three hundred feet high, and as straight as arrows. By the side of them pines one hundred feet high look like riding-whips. Perhaps a better idea of their size will be conveyed by stating that we rode on horseback through the hollow of one which was lying down, and also through the roots of one which had been partially burned out standing.

In a portion of one of the standing trees which had been burned out we concealed our four horses, and there was room for four more. Hidden in the tree we could have charged any unwary foe that might have crossed our path. There were about one hundred trees in the Mariposa group, most of them in fine preservation. Their age is supposed to be between four and five thousand years.

Returning to Clarke's, we took an open carriage for the valley, twenty-three miles off, where we arrived about six o'clock in the afternoon.

This valley was undoubtedly formed by an earthquake, which, in rending the mountains, made

a chasm seven miles long and many thousand feet deep. This chasm has gradually filled up by falling rock, until the bottom of the valley is now within four or five thousand feet of the top, the width being about a mile. On our left, as we entered the valley, stood El Capitan, a perpendicular mass of granite thirty-one hundred feet high. On our right were the "Three Graces," thirty-seven hundred feet high. A little farther on our right was the Bridal Veil Fall, nine hundred and forty feet. As its waters dashed into spray, the rainbow-colors played in masses of red, pink, and golden light, blending beauty and grandeur in a harmony enchanting to the soul. We passed the night at the Yosemite Hotel, and on Friday morning we took horses and guides and rode to Mirror Lake. In this little sheet of water, three acres in extent, embosomed in a mighty amphitheatre, are reflected, as in a mirror, the almost vertical wall of South Dome, five thousand feet high; Cloud's Rest, six thousand four hundred and fifty feet; North Dome, thirty-seven hundred feet; and Glacier Point, thirty-two hundred feet. As we stood on its western edge, the sun rose, gilding the peaks with streaks of gold, which, with softened effect, were reproduced in the placid lake. From the opposite side of the lake the pale moon, still hovering over the valley, as if loath to quit the scene, reflected its silver image in the water. It seemed as if the mirror were held in God's own hand, that we might doubly admire his marvelous works.

Quitting the lake, which will ever be a gem of recollection, we returned to breakfast, and then

rode to the Yosemite Falls, the first of which is sixteen hundred feet, the second six hundred, the third four hundred feet. At the base of the third we could look up and see, apparently, one fall of twenty-six hundred feet. The effect of all this grandeur can not be described. One must visit the valley to realize it. In the afternoon we started for Snow's, who, with great labor, has built a house on the plateau, between the Vernal and Nevada Falls. The cañon was inexpressibly wild. Arriving near the foot of the Vernal Falls, four hundred feet, we left the horses, and toiled up a rugged path to the summit, near which we found Snow's house, which was, indeed, founded on a rock. Immediately above the house was the Nevada Fall, seven hundred feet high. Here we again found ourselves in a vast amphitheatre. Taking my seat among the rocks at the base of the Nevada, I watched the beautiful, ever-varying colors of the rainbow until the sun went down, when I returned to the house. Near by they showed me where a rock weighing thousands of tons fell during the earthquake three or four years ago. A hundred people were dining at the time, most of whom fled with precipitation as soon as the clouds of dust permitted them to grope their way. High upon the face of the Cap of Liberty a white patch marks the place from which the rock fell, breaking itself into atoms as it reached the valley below. The next morning, July 24th, we took horses and climbed the mountain to Glacier Point, which overlooks the entire valley. From its summit projected a rock about the size of a dining-table. Creeping on all-fours, I reached the very

edge, and, peering cautiously over, I found myself looking down a precipice thirty-four hundred feet, or twice the height of Cro' Nest at West Point. Had I fallen I would not have struck the rock within two thousand feet, while what would have remained of me would have been found thirty-four hundred feet below. The Merced River meandered, like a silver thread, at our feet. To our right were the Vernal and Nevada Falls, in front were the North and South Domes. To the left were Yosemite Falls, and still farther El Capitan, like a mighty sentinel, guarded the approach to the valley.

From Glacier Point we went to Sentinel Dome, forty-five hundred feet high. Here we had our last view of the valley, while beyond the Sierra Nevadas were spread out like a panorama.

From here we went to Clarke's ranch, and on Monday, the 26th, arrived in San Francisco. The city resembles Chicago, both in its people and the character of its buildings. The climate is a phenomenon. The day before our arrival, while riding comfortably on the outside of the stage, the thermometer was 106° in the shade. The air was so dry and pure, and the evaporation so rapid, that there seemed to be no tendency to perspire. On arriving at Oakland and San Francisco all was changed. Ladies were seen in furs, and gentlemen were wearing beaver overcoats. Every morning, at this season, heavy fogs hang over the city, which clear away about 10 A. M. The rest of the day the sun shines brightly, the temperature being comfortable most of the time for a spring overcoat. In fact, people here say that the summer is apparently

colder than the winter, and therefore they wear the same upper and under clothing the year round.

GREAT REPUBLIC,
LATITUDE 36° 30' NORTH, LONGITUDE 178° EAST,
August 15, 1875.

Thirteen days at sea, and yet only in mid-ocean. This will give you some feeble conception of the immense area of the Pacific. I wish you could see our beautiful ship as she moves majestically over the waters. While there is always a heavy swell, we have had nothing approaching a rough sea. The time is passing rapidly and pleasantly. When we came on board we appropriated twenty-four days to the voyage, and now, in this floating city we pass the time as we would at any place where we had resolved to spend a month. I have never seen anything like our present experience in travel. It is like the Fifth Avenue Hotel launched on a tour around the world. Our table is delicious. We have had no excitement except yesterday morning, when a ship in distress signaled us. We immediately lay-to, when an officer came on board and announced the fact that, having been out for sixty days from the Feejee Islands to San Francisco, the vessel was out of provisions. They were not, however, in danger of immediate starvation, as we found out that the cargo was composed of oranges and cocoanuts. In my portfolio there is a letter from — on the subject of China. That dream, as I approach the Flowery Kingdom, loses none of its enchantment. I am still open to propositions from the Celestials, but shall not accept any which do not promise a fortune. The fact is, I have been very

anxious to have Mr. Stewart endow a national university, on the principle of West Point, with the munificent sum of ten millions, but I have now concluded that I would like to make that sum, and then establish the institution myself. There are, it is true, some difficulties in the way, but, after having organized a large imperial army, I may be able to convince Prince Kung that railroads will be necessary to transport troops, suggest to him that my large experience in riding on railroads will enable me to build them, and thus find myself a railroad king as well as a military mandarin of high rank. If successful in this part of my programme, I feel sure we shall have a national university.

STEAMER GREAT REPUBLIC,
LATITUDE $36^{\circ} 3'$, LONGITUDE 180° ,
August 16, 1875.

The full moon looks down benignantly upon our floating palace as she glides slowly over the calm Pacific. To-day is our fourteenth at sea, yet no one seems ennuied. We have all settled down to pass so long a time on board, and for aught I see the days come and go as rapidly afloat as on shore. I am using every moment of my time either studying French, or else reading up the history, manners, and customs of the countries we are to visit.

We have only two ladies, one the wife of an officer of the navy, and the other the wife of a citizen. The latter is, in my judgment, not the loveliest of her sex, but seems to be an impulsive, warm-hearted creature, one moment all smiles, and even boisterous in her mirth, the next pouting and humbling her husband, who bears her freaks with patient

resignation, knowing that in a moment the cloud will be dissipated, and that, regardless of company, she will smother him with ill-timed caresses. Each lady has her child; each child is a son, and each son has for a nurse his devoted father. I have never known children to be so well cared for. They live on condensed milk, and laugh and crow lustily from morning till night. A little girl, ten years old, daughter of the new consul at Canton, is the belle of the vessel. Navy officers, army officers, cosmopolitans, globe-trotters, all pay her attention and promenade with her with as much apparent pleasure as with a young lady of twenty years.

To-night will occur a painful event in the history of every passenger on board, for, as we shall cross the one hundred and eightieth meridian from Greenwich, we are to drop a day. Tuesday, the 17th of August, we are to drop from our calendar. We go to bed Monday, the 16th, and wake up on Wednesday, the 18th. Were we sailing the other way, we should have had two Tuesdays.

LATITUDE $35^{\circ} 15'$ NORTH, LONGITUDE 158° EAST
August 22, 1875.

This is our last Sunday on the calm Pacific. The day has been almost as beautiful as with you on the Owasco. I have made the day one of rest so far as intermitting my ordinary reading, but other reading has engaged my attention. As we are going to the lands of dense populations, it is necessary to read up the different religions, so to-day I have looked into Buddhism, Confucianism, and then into Christianity, as presented in the cy-

clopædia. To the latter the soul returns and finds rest and peace. To-day I have been deeply impressed by the relation of our Saviour to the world as the uniting link between the human and the divine, making through the indwelling of his Holy Spirit our bodies the real temples of the Holy Ghost.

The Great Republic loses none of its attractions on a longer acquaintance. Last night Captain Cobb invited us to make the inspection with him. The ship was in perfect order and a model of neatness. The kitchen was particularly to be commended. In this large city the one hundred sailors and two hundred and seventy-five Chinamen never come in our way. We may go into their quarters, but they can not come into ours.

YEDDO, *September 7, 1875.*

As we are to observe military affairs rather than spend our time sight-seeing, we lost no time in crossing to Yeddo, where we arrived on Monday, August 30th. We laid our papers before Mr. Bingham immediately, but not until Thursday did he communicate with the Minister of War, who appointed Sunday as the day of our reception. I did not like this, but of course went, and had a very agreeable interview, an interpreter serving as a medium of communication. He appointed Wednesday as the day on which the troops would be reviewed before us, and Tuesday as the day on which a Japanese general would disclose the organization of their army. The poor man came this morning, and we had satisfaction for all our delay, for we kept him six hours and tortured him with questions

which would have puzzled a "Herald" interviewer. Application has been made for presentation to the Mikado, but between Japanese Sundays, every fifth day, and official circumlocution, I fear we will be on our way to Peking before the pleasure of his Majesty is known.

We have been treated with great kindness by all of the American residents, who invite all three of us and many friends to meet us at tiffins and dinners and other entertainments, but all this consumes time, which is precious when so much is to be seen.

The Japanese people I like exceedingly, and so do all who associate with them. They are polite, affable, light-hearted, gay, and affectionate, and, while sunk in many of the vices of heathenism, have nevertheless some of the nobler traits of Christian character. Children are never scolded, and from the infant to the aged all seem to be happy.

A few days since I went to the Temple of Asakura, and there saw the people cast their gifts into the treasury, and then go and kneel down to wood and stone, the work of men's hands. The god of pain, a wooden image, had lost nearly all of his features by the rubbing he had received in the hope that to touch the image in the part corresponding to the part of the body affected, and then apply the touch to the diseased part, would insure relief. It was a sad sight, but I can not believe it will continue long. I have seen evidences of depravity too revolting to be mentioned, which nothing but God's power can arrest. The religion of love and the hope of eternal life through the Saviour can alone

awaken the people to a consciousness of their sins and an amendment of their lives.

Japan is steadily progressing toward stable and well-regulated government. No reaction is feared, and the people seem to appreciate many European manufactures and customs. The Tokido, or main street, is being rebuilt in European style, and the stores are full of European articles. For instance, our umbrella is entirely superseding the flat paper umbrella; you will see ten of the former to one of the latter. A Japanese city is expected to be destroyed by fire every fifteen years. If Yeddo should not be an exception, it will shortly look like a Western capital. Already it has gas in the streets, and a stage-line, the sure forerunner of the street-car, is running on the Tokido. But all this is material progress, and I feel equally sure spiritual progress will keep pace. The fullness of time is approaching. Idols are falling down, superstitions are giving way, but the human heart endures, and must fix its affections on Him who gave his body a ransom for all. I am not discouraged; one needs only to visit a heathen land to admit the necessity of Christ's mission of peace and good-will toward men.

YEDDO, *September 8, 1875.*

I am waiting for an officer to come and escort our party to a grand review, and will improve the time in sending you a few thoughts.

We are having a delightful time—never better. Socially we are dined and tiffined (lunched) a little too much, but a large-hearted generosity makes us feel that we are welcome. The country is beauti-

ful; every landscape is a solace to the eyes. The people are amiable, and so polite as to make us wish we could imitate their manners. The servants are the best. Houses are never locked, trunks can be left open, jewelry and curios exposed, and nevertheless nothing will be stolen. It is rather startling to a foreigner on a hot day to see nothing but bare heads, bare arms, bare bodies, and bare legs. As one judges of the density of a crowd by the upturned faces, you can imagine that this *sans-souci* exposure of the person gives to a street the appearance of being alive with human beings. You must not imagine that all of the Japanese go about in this manner; many, and by far the great majority, wear dresses and robes very becoming to them. The children seem to enjoy the liberty of dress more than any one else. Up to four and five years old they run about regardless of appearances. On our way to the great image Dai-Butsu they stood in the streets in rows as naked as when they were born, saluted us with "Ohio! Ohio!" and crowed as lustily as so many young roosters.

September 8, 1875.

Yesterday we had a fatiguing day—a review of six battalions of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery. The Minister of War met us on the ground, and, after the review of infantry was over, excused himself till we had seen the artillery, engineers, and arsenal, when he met us in the garden of the late Prince Mirto, where a beautiful breakfast was served. There were two French officers present besides our own party. The

Vice-Minister of War was of the company. The house (Japanese) was one hundred and eighty years old. The grounds were the perfection of landscape-gardening. In one part was a miniature temple, representing the oldest temple in the empire, at Kioto, and a lake, the *fac-simile* of a lake in China. There was also a small Niagara, to which our attention was specially called. The dinner—for such in fact is every tiffin—was served in French style. Conversation was not so rapid as when interpreters are not required, but still we got on very well. After breakfast (12 M.) we went to the barracks, hospitals, etc., which surpass anything we have in America, and then went to Yokohama, where we three dined with General Van Buren. There were present the ministers of Italy, Belgium, and England, so that it might be termed a swell affair.

September 9, 1875.

Military labor and festivities are very exhausting. We sail Saturday for Hiogo, stop over there a week for the purpose of visiting Osaka and Kioto, and then go direct to Shanghai and Peking.

HIOGO, September 19, 1875.

Since writing you our party has been to Kioto, the capital of the Mikado for the last eleven hundred years. The city basks in a beautiful valley, surrounded by mountains which are covered with Italian verdure. As we looked upon the city from a lofty pagoda it seemed as if the smile of Heaven rested upon the plain, teeming with life and animation. We visited several of the large temples, in

which solemn stillness prevails, only broken when some worshiper rang a bell to awaken his god. In one temple there were one thousand distinct gilt images of Buddha. We sail to-morrow for Nagasaki and Shanghai. All of October will be consumed in the tour to Peking, and *en route* to Hong-Kong. My health is good, notwithstanding I have never worked harder.

STEAMER COSTA RICA,
BETWEEN NAGASAKI AND SHANGHAI,
September 23, 1875.

Tuesday morning, at three o'clock, we started on steamer Costa Rica for Shanghai. The sail to Nagasaki was the most beautiful I have ever seen. The Inland Sea is two hundred and eighty miles long and from four to twelve broad. Its shores are bounded by mountains from one thousand to seven thousand feet high, while the sea is studded with rocks and islands, sometimes two thousand to three thousand feet above its level. The conical shape prevails among the islands, many of them resembling in grace of outline the sacred Fusi-yama. Many of the peaks are covered with a crown of verdure, while the slope descends in cultivated terraces to the base, where nestle the thatched roofs of villages and hamlets. In the distance we could frequently see castles perched on rocks, looking down menacingly upon the cities at their feet. But the sea can not be described. It is the Hudson, with its Highlands; the St. Lawrence, with its Thousand Islands; Lake George, with its mountain-peaks, all overspread by an Italian sky, so soothing that the soul seemed to bathe in rivers of pleasure,

and to repose in the fields of Elysium. As the steamer glided through the tortuous channels, each turn of the wheel gave fresh delight, yet tinged with regret that the floating scenes of beauty were every moment becoming only themes for recollection, anticipation, enjoyment, remembrance, of ever-varying and changing views. Such was our voyage on the Inland Sea.

SHANGHAI, *October 24, 1875.*

This brick and mud city is the capital of the province of Chihili, of which Li-Hung Chang, the most powerful subject of the empire, is the viceroy, or governor-general. The only object of military interest is the arsenal, built by an Englishman named Meadows. It is inclosed by an earthen wall or parapet for defense, and occupies a mile square. At present only Remington cartridges, powder, and shell for cannon of different calibers, are manufactured, but machinery for Remington rifles is being erected.

In visiting any official in China you are invited into a room, simply furnished with round or square tables, stools, or mats, and are then invited to take tea, which is always clear and of the best quality. This ceremony completed, you can proceed to business. After our inspection of the arsenal, we were invited to dine with the quartermaster-general of the viceroy. Putting on all our war-paint, with our vice-consul as interpreter, we proceeded within the walled city, and arrived at his residence at four o'clock, P. M. The furniture of the dining-room was the same as I have already described, all the dishes being served on a round table without a table-cloth.

We were provided both with chop-sticks and knives and forks, but the dinner was exclusively Chinese. The courses were so many, and the dishes so numerous, that I can not do better than give you a bill of fare of a dinner we ordered at a Chinese restaurant at Peking as the most faithful approach I can make to a description :

CHINESE DINNER—BILL OF FARE.

First Course.—Tea.

Second Course.—Consisting of fruits and sweet-meats, viz.: lotus-seed fried; watermelon-seed; green dates; prunes; apples dried in honey; English walnuts; fresh apples; pears and grapes. This course remains on the table throughout the dinner.

Third Course.—Shrimps; Mongolia ham, boiled and cut up in small slices; chicken; wine made of rice. The wine is served *hot* in small glasses. Every time the servant passes it, if any remains in the glasses, it is poured back into the common reservoir, and again poured back into the glasses. This is another instance of Chinese economy.

Fourth Course.—Pickled eggs (these are buried for years in clay and salt, and undergo a species of decomposition, making them when exhumed resemble a dark gelatinous substance—taste them, “like a little man!”); pickled lotus-root; skin of duck’s feet boiled; pickled sea-weed. Note.—In Chinese cookery articles are always pickled in salt, never in vinegar.

Fifth Course.—This course was preceded by changing our paper napkins, and consisted of plover’s eggs stewed with shark’s fins and clabbered

milk (delicious); duck-kidneys; sea-weed; jelly; bamboo-shoots.

Sixth Course.—Fish-sinew soup; mushrooms and water-chestnuts stewed; stewed fish; tripe; stewed prawns; chicken stewed in jelly.

Seventh Course.—Duck smothered in jelly (delicious); jelly paté; fluid fat-meat hash.

Eighth Course.—Duck-feet-skin stewed; stewed mushrooms; stewed snails. (We bound ourselves to taste of every dish.)

Ninth Course.—Fish smothered in vinegar and jelly (good).

Tenth Course.—Meat dumpling; onion omelette.

Eleventh Course.—Vermicelli-soup.

Twelfth Course.—Stewed chicken; vegetable soup, with hashed-meat balls; pork smothered in flour.

Thirteenth Course.—Rice-soup; boiled rice; bullock's blood thickened; salt pickles.

Fourteenth.—We go to another table, and are served with tea and cigars.—*Finis.*

The dishes are generally brought in in small bowls, one or more at a time. Each guest dips his chop-sticks into the common dish, and eats directly from it, or transfers what he wants to a small saucer and then eats. It would be like placing one dish in the middle of a table, and then each one eating from it with a fork. The dinner with the quartermaster-general was interspersed with conversation on guns, cannon, tactics, army organization, etc. The saki, or sam-shu, as harmless as boiled milk, flowed freely. Our amiable host proposed healths often, and after each one showed us the bottom of his glass. When

we arose from dinner it was quite dark. Four soldiers, with lanterns, lighted us home, running swiftly before our horses.

As we came out into the street an enterprising reporter of a Chinese paper interviewed us, and I have no doubt, could we have read his report, we would have been pleased with his description of the foreign visitors.

This dinner was only preliminary to another. At eight o'clock we dined with the officers of the United States steamer *Monocacy*. These naval heroes were rather forlorn over the prospect of being frozen up for three months in the *Peiho*. Since the Tientsin massacres, foreign gunboats stay at Tientsin summer and winter. We left Tientsin at 8 A. M., and arrived at the Taku forts, at the mouth of the river, at 2 P. M. Here we went ashore to inspect the fortifications. Word had preceded us, so when we arrived everything was in readiness. Flags floated upon the parapets of all the forts, while at the wharf and along the route to the quarters of the commanding general no less than a hundred banners floated from staffs supported by faithful soldiers of the empire. "Terrible as an army with banners" was our first impression. Nevertheless, without palpitation we landed, rolled ourselves into carts, and proceeded along a line of troops. A battalion of ten companies was paraded, the companies presenting arms successively. On approaching the sally-port a salute of three guns was fired. With this we had to be satisfied, as it is the highest salute in the empire. Troops without arms were arranged in line in front of the general's quarters,

who came out, shook his own hands, then shook ours, and motioned us to enter his quarters. Having been served with tea, we went to see the fort, which is of mud or clay, made hard by pounding. Three or four Krupp guns, mounted upon cavaliers, overlook all the other guns of the fort. A German, Mr. L. Meyer, instructs the Chinese in the use of their muskets. It was in front of these forts, clumsy as they appear, that three or four English gunboats were sunk years ago. An attack from the sea-front was also bloodily repulsed. On another occasion these forts were taken from the rear, which the Chinese regarded as a very cowardly proceeding. After looking at the fort, we had taken our seats for another Chinese dinner, but the whistle of the steamer brought our visit to a close. We went back amid a display of banners, the roar of cannon, the clangor of trumpets, invited our hosts to America, bade them adieu, and, Columbus-like, sailed fearlessly to sea. Throughout our visit we have been treated courteously by the authorities. Prince Kung and the foreign ministers received us three days after our arrival; the viceroy and Li-Hung Chang called on us at the American legation, and sent his secretary, who goes as associate minister to England, to receive us at the arsenal and the Taku forts. From this you can see that our official experience has been delightful. From here we go to Hong-Kong, Canton, and Calcutta.

STEAMER KASHGAR, *November 13, 1875.*

To-day finds us *en route* from Hong-Kong to Singapore; and, as at sea we have plenty of time, I

must take up the thread of our travels, which was interrupted at Shanghai. On October 26th I went up the Yang-tse River as far as Chinkiang, one hundred and fifty miles from the mouth. At this point the Grand Canal crosses the river, making Chinkiang a great commercial center. The river is muddy like the Mississippi, and at some points is ten miles wide. At Chinkiang there is little of interest, except an iron pagoda, claimed to be seventeen hundred years old. I saw a few troops, dirty and ragged, armed with the old smooth-bore musket. The hills around the city are covered with the graves of the soldiers killed in the Taiping rebellion. A conical mound about three feet high marks each resting-spot. On the side of a sunken road, one of the coffins projected. Upon it the surviving friends sometimes place rice for the deceased. After his spirit is refreshed, beggars, and even dogs, eat what is left. I returned to Shanghai on the 28th, and on the 29th took the beautiful steamer *Ava*, of the French *Messagerie*, for Hong-Kong, where we arrived Monday, the 1st, at 6 A. M. The voyage was pleasant, though somewhat rough. For the first time, since leaving San Francisco, we were compelled to use racks at the table. On November 1st we visited our consul, Mr. Bailey, and arranged to call upon the governor, and General Colborne, commanding the forces. The governor was too ill to receive us, but we had a pleasant interview with the general, who invited us to tiffin the next day—a pleasant occasion, at which we met several officers of the Eightieth Regiment. Wednesday, November 3d, we took the steamer for Can-

ton, arriving there at 3 P. M. Mr. Geary gave me a letter to his house at Canton, where all three of us were entertained by Mr. Talbot.

November 4th.—We visited in the morning several curio-shops, where no end of beautiful objects were presented for purchase. The china-shops were particularly fascinating. In the afternoon we visited the arsenal, and saw them making guns of varied descriptions, among them breech-loading Spencer and Remington rifles, six or more feet long, with a caliber of one inch. On visiting the house of the superintendent, we saw for an instant his three wives, who were gaudily painted. He offered us wine, and seemed pleased that we had come to admire his works.

On our return we visited the Honan Temple, where, among other things, they keep sacred pigs, so fat that they can scarcely walk. In one of the priest's rooms was a sewing-machine, an evidence that foreign improvements are gradually being introduced.

November 5th.—We visited the house of a wealthy Chinese merchant. It was very large, and had many reception-rooms, most of them being furnished with black-wood, marble-top tables, and chairs. The partitions were frequently of carved wood and stained glass. The ladies' apartment we were not permitted to see. From the house we went to the military examinations, which consisted of tests in archery.

The Temple of Horrors is another place of interest. It is open to the people, who are permitted to see the different forms of punishment administered in the empire. The figures are life-size.

One represented a man being sawed in two from head to foot. He stands bound between planks, one in front, another in rear; two men with a cross-cut saw then begin at the top of the skull, and probably kill their victim at the first or second stroke.

Another represents a man on his face receiving the bamboo. Three hundred blows usually paralyze the lower limbs, and generally prove fatal.

A third figure represents beheading, quick and painless.

A fourth represents a man sitting under a red-hot bell, which is lowered over him, thus roasting him alive.

A fifth is a figure boiling in a caldron of hot water or oil.

A sixth is the figure of a man whose bones are being broken by a weight repeatedly falling upon him.

Another punishment, not represented, is cutting a man to pieces by inches, and consists of cutting out small pieces of flesh from time to time, from different parts of the body, until the man dies.

Such are some of the cruelties still practiced under Confucian civilization.

From the temple we went to a prison, where we saw poor, half-starved creatures, covered with sores and vermin, who may languish for years before being tried; and thence went to a court and witnessed a trial. The prisoner, bound with chains, kneeled before three judges, and, with face bowed to the ground, not daring to look at his accusers, answered the questions put to him. He was ac-

cused of stabbing, which he admitted; had he not done so, it is probable that he would have been whipped till he confessed. The knife he used was produced, and looked at by his judges, who made a report to the prefect, by whom sentence was pronounced.

These were some of the things we saw at Canton, which we left on the 6th, arriving at Hong-Kong at 3 P. M.

POINT DE GALLE, CEYLON, *November 25, 1875.*

We left Hong-Kong November 11th, on the steamer Kashgar, and arrived at Singapore on the 16th. The situation of the city near the extreme southern point of Asia, within two degrees of the equator, makes it a great distributing point from which steamers proceed to Hong-Kong, the Philippine Islands, Java, Australia, Calcutta, and Ceylon. Being a focal point for business, it is no less so for races. There you have the ubiquitous Chinese, the ruddy-faced Englishman, the copper-colored Malay, the swarthy Hindoo, the olive-colored Portuguese, and many other nationalities. The government is English, the architecture European, modified to suit the tropics. The weather is not so hot as it is many degrees to the north. Longer nights and frequent showers cool the air, and make the climate habitable for men of all nations.

You need only glance at the map to see the far-reaching—you might say overreaching—foresight of the English Government. Recognizing the vast wealth of the East, and the importance of opening up all of Asia for her manufactures, she has seized

every strategic point commanding the channel of commerce from Western Europe to Eastern Asia. Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Perim, commanding the only channel at the mouth of the Red Sea; Ceylon, Penang, Singapore, and Hong-Kong—are all in her possession.

Wherever there is a strait, she lays her iron grasp upon it. Her acquisition of Perim was interesting. A French naval commander, it is said, was sent to seize it in the name of his government. Being invited to dine on board a vessel in an English squadron, he indiscreetly revealed his mission, when an officer at the table recollected to have forgotten something, excused himself, and, while the Frenchman was regaled with wine, dispatched a ship to capture the barren rock, the importance of which had not before occurred to them. When the Frenchman arrived he found the cross of St. George floating over the coveted prize, and with it the command of the Red Sea, and the Suez Canal, had passed into the hands of his hereditary enemies.

With all their diplomacy, one can not fail to admire English pluck and enterprise. In the East her foundations are of granite. At every seaport her government or consular buildings loom up as emblems of her mighty power. The heathen look upon them and tremble; while Europeans and Americans are made to feel that, however great may be their countries, in Asia they must take a subordinate position.

We left Singapore at 4 P. M. on the 17th, sailed through the straits of Malacca, and arrived at Penang at 10 A. M. on the 19th. It is a city of about

sixty thousand, mostly natives and Chinese. We drove through tropical scenery to a waterfall about four hundred feet high, the only object of interest in the place. The celebrated Banca tin-mines are near Penang. The Hindoos at Penang are the handsomest men in figure we have yet seen. Tall, erect, lithe, clean-climbed, they are models of symmetry and action.

We sailed from Penang on the 20th, about 9 P. M., and on the 21st, in the bay of Bengal, crossed the antipodes of Willowbrook and Batavia. The bay was as placid as a lake, but the weather was hot, compelling us to sleep on deck. We arrived here yesterday, the 24th, and in a drive to Waka Walla, the only point of interest, passed the banana, the cocoanut, the nutmeg, the cinnamon, the clove, and other fragrant trees, which reminded us that we were in the land of spices.

DELHI, *December 10, 1875.*

From Ceylon we sailed to Bombay, where the only special object of interest I visited was the Hospital for Lepers. But the form of leprosy was not that as "white as snow" described in the Scriptures; it appeared rather to be a decomposition of animal tissue, resulting in loss of the fingers and toes, and even of the hands and feet. Nothing but the desire to see so ancient a disease tempted me to look upon these hopeless unfortunates.

December 2d.—We lunched with Sir Philip Woodhouse, Governor of the Bombay Presidency, and at 6.30 P. M. left for Delhi.

Providing ourselves with wraps and pillows, we

passed a comfortable night in the compartment-cars, which are so arranged as to give each passenger a lounge to himself. The morning of the 3d we found ourselves on the great plains of India, over which we have already traveled two thousand miles.

The country is entirely different from what I had anticipated. Far from being tropical in its vegetation, over the route we have traveled (*via* Allahabad), it resembles the plains of Illinois. Here and there groups of trees, looking like the live-oak of the South, diversify the landscape, and give to the country the appearance of a vast park. A small portion of the soil is cultivated, and, but for the censuses carefully taken by the English Government, we could not believe that India possesses a population of more than two hundred millions. Even the valley of the Ganges is sparsely settled, its mud-villages appearing at great distances from each other. After two days' ride in the cars we arrived on the evening of the 4th at Lucknow, famous for its siege during the mutiny of 1857. We spent Sunday the 5th at Lucknow, and on the 6th visited the Memorial Garden, and Church, at Cawnpore. In the garden is a statue of the Angel of Mercy placed over the well, into which were cast the remains of about two hundred and fifty women and children who were massacred by the mutineers.

Leaving Cawnpore at 2.30 P. M., we arrived at Agra at 11.30 P. M. On the morning of the 7th we visited the fort, which is by far the grandest mass of masonry I have ever seen. Its walls, built of red sandstone, are seventy feet high, and are flanked with circular bastions, giving it a contour of grace,

strength, and grandeur. Within its inclosure are the palaces of the Mogul emperors, also the celebrated Pearl Mosque. From the fort we drove to the Taj-Mahal, a tomb of white marble built by the Emperor Shah Jehan in memory of his wife. It stands on the banks of the Jumna, so beautiful in design and proportion as to excite the admiration of the world. In traveling in the East, no less than in Europe, one sees that all of the noblest works of art have been inspired by religion and love.

In the afternoon of the 7th we drove over to Futtehpore Sikree, a distance of twenty-one miles, where we spent the night amid the ruins of the city founded by the great Akbar. On the 8th we returned to Agra, visiting *en route* the tomb of Akbar, saw again the Taj by moonlight, and left at 10 P. M. for Delhi.

On arriving at Allygur I left Forsyth and Sanger, who continued on to Delhi, while I went to Moradabad to see Miss ——, and deliver to her the presents sent to her by her mother and friends. She is doing a noble work as a medical missionary, has her dispensary in the city, and visits all the sick women who send for her. On my way back I stopped an hour at Chundowsee, where the Methodist Mission was holding its annual conference. Mr. Parker met me at the depot, and drove me to the camp where services were just closing. In a large tent were gathered about seventy converted Hindoos and Mohammedans, of whom thirty-five were ministers. After service I went to Mr. Parker's tent, and was warmly welcomed by all the members of the mission, ladies and gentlemen. Their

zeal and devotion, and the success which is attending them in establishing schools, circulating the Scriptures, and especially in forming a native ministry, afford encouraging evidence that Christianity is steadily advancing in India.

Leaving Chundowsee at 9.20 I arrived here this morning at 7.30.

DELHI, *December 17, 1875.*

Upon arriving at Delhi on the morning of the 7th, Major Sanger was dispatched to Lord Napier's headquarters with the letter of General Sherman, to ascertain at what hour we could call and pay our respects. The message was answered by Captain Kennedy, who came to our hotel, and invited us to dine with Lord Napier in the evening. We found him in camp, most comfortably established, bright fires crackling on the hearths, the tents being furnished with sofas and easy-chairs. Ladies lent their graceful presence, making us feel that we were in a palace rather than a camp. Lord Napier is a splendid soldier, and a man of most easy and affable manners. The dinner was served as nicely as in permanent quarters.

The next day we were invited to accompany the "Chief," as the staff officers designate their commander, to a review of a division of infantry. The appearance of the men was excellent. British and native infantry stood side by side, the latter emulating the precision and steadiness of their white comrades. The marching, both in quick and double time, was exceedingly good; while the alternation of the helmet and turban imparted peculiar interest to the scene. This review, short as it was, showed

us the perfection of English discipline, which I have always admired. The men in ranks stood firm, and would no more have raised a hand than a cadet at inspection. After the review we witnessed a supposed attack of a village, according to the Prussian system. The skirmishers went forward in successive lines, rushing from position to position, as if thus, under the fire of an enemy, they could be made to obey every impulse of their leaders.

Sunday, 12th.—I attended morning and evening service at St. James's church. The observance of the Sabbath is a noticeable feature in the English army. There is no Sunday-morning inspection, neither morning nor evening parade. Instead of these military exercises, there is a church parade, attended by all of the men. The members of different denominations are then marched to their several churches; after which, the only duty of the day is attendance at roll-call.

Notwithstanding this absence of display, discipline of the highest type prevails—so high, in fact, that a second holiday per week (Thursday) does not seem to impair it.

Monday, December 13th.—Attended a review of the division of artillery at Bussunt. The distance from Delhi to Bussunt is ten miles, which we drove in a carriage, with the understanding that horses would be supplied us on our arrival. But here one of those *contre-temps* occurred which often lose battles. Both our own horses, and those of Lord Napier, had gone astray, having gone to Bussai instead of Bussunt. We, however, pushed forward, and on arriving at the grounds were supplied with an-

other mount. The artillery consisted of eleven batteries, both horse and mounted; and, what was more novel still, there was an elephant-battery. These huge beasts dragged along the forty-pounder siege-guns like so many toys. But the objection to them is, that no persuasion can make them stand fire; so, behind each gun follow nine or ten yoke of oxen, which replace the two elephants on approaching the field of battle. This of course doubles the expense, and should suggest the discontinuance of so needless a luxury. After the review, a mimic artillery-duel took place, half of the batteries being assigned to a defensive position, while the other half attacked.

Tuesday, December 14th.—We left Delhi at 4.20 P. M. on an expedition to the Himalayas. At 11 P. M. we arrived at Saharunpoor, where our party of five took carriages for Rajpore. These *garrics*, as they are called, are arranged so that the traveler can extend himself to his full length, enabling him, as the roads are smooth, to get a good sleep. After much vociferation, and a firm refusal on our part to pay in advance the expenses of a round-trip to Rajpore and return, our procession consisting of an omnibus containing General Forsyth and Major Sanger, and three garrics, in which Mr. Gillette, of England, Mr. Cryder, of New York, and myself were ensconced, began to move.

As we had but two days to go to the mountains and back, it was important to reach Rajpore by 7 A. M. Our first difficulty was, that each relay of ponies was balky. After much coaxing, whipping, pushing, and shouting, the obstinate creatures, from

standing stock-still, would break into a full gallop. With each burst of enthusiasm from the ponies, we cherished the hope of arriving at Rajpore at daylight, but were doomed to disappointment. Toward morning I heard confusion of tongues, and, looking out of my garry, perceived that the ponies had disappeared, and that I was being drawn up the mountain by coolies. In some of the other garries, oxen had been substituted. This was not so bad, for, by means of twisting their tails and tickling their backs, these little bullocks can be made to trot four or five miles an hour. Daylight found us out of temper and fifteen miles from Rajpore, but in front of us was the beautiful valley of the Doon, with its groves of bamboo, orchards of banana, and fields of tea. Beyond was a range of hills, seven thousand feet high, covered with patches of white, which we took to be snow, but afterward found to be the villages of Mussoorie and Landour. In the presence of so much beauty our better feelings prevailed, and we traveled joyfully onward to Rajpore, arriving there at noon. Here we breakfasted, and, taking ponies, immediately set out for Landour. The road, which was well made but very steep, zigzagged up the mountain along the edge of precipices and around bold headlands, offering us a succession of enchanting views. With each elevation the scene changed. Behind us was the valley of the Doon, with its streams looking like threads of silver winding across the plain; still farther was the range of hills a thousand feet high, separating the valley from the great plains beyond; above were the lofty peaks we must crown before the grand view would burst upon us.

Our ponies pushed on bravely. In seven miles they were to climb six thousand feet, equal to the height of Mount Washington.

At 4 P. M. we arrived at Mussoorie and Landour. Here, after taking refreshments, the proprietor of the hotel kindly offered to be our guide. Following him, we threaded the tortuous streets of the villages, until he brought us to a crest, whence, without preparation, the whole range burst into view. We were chained to the spot. At our feet was a valley, almost a chasm, thousands of feet deep; and twenty miles away rose the peaks of the Himalayas nestling in the clouds. Clad in white, reposing in solitude and grandeur, they stood before us the mighty witnesses of Him whose power is infinite and whose ways are past finding out. Reverently, I could not but feel "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork."

After the startling emotions of the first view had subsided, we proceeded to the highest peak in Landour (seven thousand and three hundred feet) to witness the sunset. Behind us, toward the setting sun, were the great plains, enveloped in purple mist, in which the waters of the Jumna sparkled like the fire of an opal. Below us were the white bungalows of English residents, who seek health in the hills, perched on the peaks, and half concealed by the spreading trees, which added their verdure to the charm. To the eastward, extending sixty or eighty miles, stood the mighty monarchs, bathed in pinkish light, up whose flanks the lengthening shadows crept, until the peaks and fleecy clouds alone caught the last rays of departing day.

The next afternoon, on our departure from Saharunpoor, sixty miles from the range, we had our last view. From that distance the mountains loomed up among the clouds, enabling us to realize their great height of five miles above the sea.

Friday, 17th.—We witnessed a grand cavalry review of thirteen regiments. They marched past first at a walk, in column of squadrons, then countermarched and passed at a trot. After which, they deployed into line and swept by at a gallop. The turban and the helmet; the elephants, with purple caparison, bearing spectators; the camels grazing in the distance; the ruins of Delhi—gave us a combination of Oriental and Occidental scenes to be found only in India.

Saturday, 18th.—We left Delhi at 11 A. M., and arrived at Calcutta on Monday, the 20th.

General Litchfield, United States consul-general, met us at the depot, and we are now enjoying his generous hospitality.

CALCUTTA, *December 23, 1875.*

Everything here is in excitement in anticipation of the visit of the Prince of Wales. The evening of our arrival we attended a Hindoo reception given by two *nawabs*. It did not differ from a European reception, except that there were some native singers, who, sitting on the floor, entertained us with a succession of plaintive nasal sounds not at all agreeable to the ear.

On the 22d we lunched at Government House. After lunch we were presented to his Excellency the viceroy, Lord Northbrook. He is an exceedingly affable man, a ready talker, and, belonging to

a business family—the Barings, of London—showed himself *au courant* with affairs, whether civil, military, or commercial.

He soon decided our future plans. The unsettled condition of Afghanistan bars that route, while, were we able to go to Kashgar, the passes would not be open before May or June. The only route now open is that through Persia. The viceroy told us we should have invitations to all the ceremonies in honor of the Prince of Wales, and that if any failed to reach us it would be purely accidental. The interview lasted about half an hour, and I need not say we retired well pleased with the ruler of nearly two hundred and fifty millions of people.

From Government House we drove to the residence of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, Sir Richard Temple, who rules sixty-three millions of people. Even colonels of the army, as civil commissioners, rule as many as five millions, equal in number to the population of the State of New York. Such are the capacities of the civil and military service in India.

December 22d.—We visited Fort William, and inspected the armory and barracks. The latter are the best in India, and show what care the Government takes of its soldiers. The men perform military duty only. The policing is done by coolies, the cooking is done by coolies, and, when the tired soldier seeks his rest at the end of the day, a coolie works his *punka*, and fans him to sleep. In hot weather, screens are hung before the doors of the quarters, and these are kept wet by coolies. The

rapid evaporation of the water cools the temperature within sufficiently to make life endurable.

While on the subject of coolies, I may as well speak of servants generally. At one house where we dined, twenty-four were employed. Of these, six found occupation in and about the kitchen, and a large number about the stables, one to each horse.

At another house thirty-nine servants, all men, constituted the domestic household. This horde was not fed by the employer. Each received about three dollars per month, and provided for himself.

The evening of the 22d we dined at Government House. The viceroy gave me the seat on his right, and throughout the dinner entertained me with conversation on every variety of subject. After dinner the company ascended to the drawing-rooms, and there we saw the viceroy receive several of the maharajas. These chiefs came into the room in gorgeous robes, their turbans glittering with diamonds. It was Europe and Asia again face to face. The native princes displayed their plumage like peacocks; the ruler of India, attired in a plain black suit, moved among them as modestly as his humblest guest.

December 23d.—In the afternoon we went to the landing to witness the reception of the Prince of Wales. As on the evening before, the native chiefs were the special objects of attention. Attired in their richest apparel, they stood resplendent, glittering in the sun. Patiala wore a turban which alone was valued at half a million dollars. About his head were festooned strings of diamonds; among them, those formerly belonging to the Empress Eu-

g nie. Any one of the precious ornaments he so lavishly displayed would have been a modest fortune. Pearls and emeralds also decked his clothes, enabling him to stand from head to foot a monument of Oriental splendor.

Other chiefs emulated but did not surpass Patiala. Some had their robes embroidered in gold, others in pearl and turquoise. Above their heads glistened sprays of diamonds, while here and there huge solitaires twinkled like the stars. Among the chiefs stood one of commanding stature, gorgeous in his robes, but, Naaman-like, a leper.

At 4.30 P. M. the prince left his ship under a royal salute from the fleet. On reaching the wharf an address was presented, to which he replied. He was then conducted to the platform, where the native princes and other dignitaries were presented, after which he immediately left for Government House. Thousands of people turned out to welcome him. After he had gone, Patiala and his friends stayed upon the platform, and with evident satisfaction permitted the people, as many as liked, to gaze upon a sight that will never be repeated. On retiring from the landing, at his request, I was presented to the Maharajah of Cashmere, who invited us to visit him at his capital.

In connection with this display, another scene deeply impressed me. A native woman fainted, and, as the throng passed by, I saw a frail girl bending over her, administering restoratives, whom I recognized as Miss W—, a young missionary from Brooklyn.

December 24th.—The city was illuminated in

honor of the Prince of Wales. From the Maidan, a great park, the public buildings and private residences were revealed in outline, making Calcutta, indeed, appear the City of Palaces. For miles the streets were a blaze of light. On each side wire was stretched like telegraph lines, from which, at intervals of six or eight inches, were hung small white and colored glasses, filled with oil and floating wicks. Other wires, similarly prepared, hung in festoons from those already described. The carriages thus moved through an avenue of light. Here and there triumphal arches spanned the streets; while illuminated trees, gateways, and other devices, increased the effect. All along the line, the streets were packed with people clad in white. Some of them stood on distant house-steps, and looked like specters unmoved by the display. Mohammedan and Hindoo gazed calmly upon the small procession of Europeans who, like conquerors, enjoyed the scene. No mark of enthusiasm was shown. We passed quietly through the flickering light, and, after a drive of five miles, returned to the home of our consul.

DELHI, *January 16, 1876.*

After leaving Calcutta we came directly to Delhi, stopping one day at Benares. The latter city, being sacred to the Hindoos, we found filled with temples. Flowers seemed to be the principal sacrifice to their deities; but with them were offered prayers and food. In rowing down the river we were most impressed with the rite of cremation. In the crisp morning we saw two bright fires burning on the shore, each containing about half a cord

of wood. Around them sat a row of half-clad Hindoos, apparently enjoying the warmth that proceeded from them. Others were bathing in the sacred Ganges, according to their morning custom. There was no sign of mourning; nothing to indicate that human remains were being reduced to ashes, then to be thrown into the sacred river. We could hardly believe that we were witnessing the form of burial which has so recently excited the world, yet here it is the highest act of respect that can be shown. If too poor to provide the wood, the last hope of the expiring Hindoo is to be thrown into the river.

We were glad to leave the city. In fact, when we shall have once seen the Asiatics of different countries, we shall all hope never to see them again, except it be the Japanese. The Prince of Wales is now here, receiving nearly the same hospitalities as at Calcutta. As American officers we have been treated with the greatest consideration, having been invited to every entertainment that has been given to him. He has also taken especial interest in us, having invited us to dine with him at his camp, and because I was absent, witnessing the manœuvres, he has given us another invitation. Everywhere every courtesy and hospitality have been extended to us. Last night we all went to call on the American missionaries, but found there were none. We, however, called on the English Baptist mission, which is in a flourishing condition. Dr. Smith told me they had six native congregations, presided over by native ministers, numbering about four hundred and fifty communicants. This morning I went to

the mission church and heard Dr. Smith preach in Hindoo. He says he speaks it with as much ease as English. The chapel was quite well filled, but many stayed away because of the cold. They go half-naked here, in latitude 29°, all the year round. Snow never falls, and to-day we can see the rose and peach in full blossom.

I send you a specimen of lace, which the ladies of the Baptist mission have taught the *zenanas* to make. These women scarcely ever go outside of their houses. The one who made this lace, I was told, had not been in the streets for many years until one of the ladies took her in a close carriage to see the illumination.

From here we go to Peshawer, thence back to Bombay. We have seen all there is of military interest, except the Punjaub, and, when that is done, I shall be glad to turn my face toward Persia. The ride from Bagdad to Teheran will be a long one, but I have no doubt it will do us all good.

RAWUL PINDEE, *January 20, 1876.*

We arrived here this morning, and have been compelled to wait over a day, in consequence of scarcity of carriage. The place is in a beautiful valley, where the orange grows in sight of perpetual snow. Yesterday we traveled parallel to the Himalayas, whose peaks, clad in white, loomed up twenty-six thousand feet above the sea. The sunset was particularly beautiful. Poor S——, in my last letters, has had to wade through nothing but the accounts of the Prince of Wales. Thank Fortune, we have finally got off from his route; so no

longer will mention have to be made of him. He, however, treated us, as American officers, with the greatest consideration, and we shall not soon forget his kindness. At the last dinner he gave each of us a print of himself and the princess.

We are now *en route* to Peshawer, the frontier station of India. It is at the mouth of the Kyber Pass, the route which, in all probability, Alexander took when he invaded India. We have now crossed the route of all the great conquerors of Asia—Genghis Khan, Kublai Khan, Tamerlane, and Alexander. I am not surprised at their success. The Asiatics are such cowardly wretches that one determined man can chase a thousand. I can imagine you to-day frozen up in mid-winter, while here, in latitude thirty-six, the oranges still hang on the trees. The spring crops are just coming on and look promising, but I wish you could see the native villages—nothing but mud-huts, so small and dark as to be unfit for pig-sties. Yet these people will not forsake them; they have no idea of luxury or comfort, and certainly do not care to learn from their English masters.

RAWUL PINDEE, *January 27, 1876.*

We left Rawul Pindée, by a government conveyance, at 8 A. M., on the 21st, and arrived at 4.30 P. M. at Attock, which is at the junction of the Indus and Cabul Rivers. The two streams unite in a large plain, apparently with the view of forcing their way through a range of hills which crosses the Indus immediately below the junction. A Mussulman fort, built by Akbar, dominates the rivers, and in

its day was a formidable obstacle to barbarian invasions.

Continuing our journey, we arrived at Peshawer at 3 A. M. on the 22d. After breakfast we called upon Colonel Yorke, who received us very kindly. In the afternoon he turned out the Twentieth Punjab Infantry, and the Fourteenth Native Infantry, for our inspection and review. These men are mostly recruited in the vicinity, and many of them are wild Afghans, who, in their love for fighting, make no distinction between their own people and other hostile tribes.

Sunday we attended the garrison church, and walked through the old native city. The latter resembled many of the cities we saw in China, except that the inhabitants were more squalid in appearance. If you could see the mud-houses of the Hindoos, without windows or furniture, filled with smoke and filth, you would realize that poverty is unknown in America. In these wretched huts many men live who are quite wealthy, not having learned that it is unnecessary to conceal their wealth from their English masters, as they were wont to do under their native rulers.

Monday, 24th.—Major Omaney organized for us an expedition to the Khyber Pass. Accompanied by him and several English officers, we proceeded to Jumrood, the frontier post of the English, thirteen miles from Peshawer, where we were met by one hundred and fifty armed Afghans from across the border.

Half-clad in sheep-skins, wearing the turban, and armed with matchlocks, swords, pistols, and knives,

a worse-looking set of cut-throats it is difficult to imagine. A general discharge of fire-arms from the parapet of the old fort of Jumrood signalized our approach. Here we took horses, and with our murderous-looking escort started for the pass, two miles off. We all thought how easy it would be for these fellows to close the pass and turn upon us: and our confidence was not increased by the sight of a murdered Afghan, whose grave was being dug by the road-side, and whose murderer, in retaliation, had bitten the dust before our return.

Such is their life. Claiming to be descendants of the "lost tribes of Israel," they mercilessly enforce the law, "Eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth." If a man is shot or stabbed, his friends hunt down the murderer like a wild beast.

These are the characteristics of the many tribes to whose tender mercies we would have committed ourselves, had we endeavored to cross Afghanistan against the counsel of the viceroy. They acknowledge no law, and are as independent of the Emir of Cabul as they are of the English. The latter they have been taught to fear, hence they rarely make forays upon the villages under English protection; but between each other, village against village, and family against family, are often arrayed in deadly hostility. In their faces there is no gleam of compassion, and they look as if to fire at a man from ambush, or to stab him in the dark, would be the greatest of secret pleasures. As we rode in the midst of the rabble we could see old men, and even boys of twelve and thirteen, bearing the deadliest weapons. From the cradle to the grave, war and

bloodshed appear to be their occupation; and even in cultivating the soil they never quit their weapons, lest every bush conceal an enemy.

The entrance to the pass was like a gateway between two cliffs, about one thousand feet high. Inside we ascended the gravelly bed of a dry stream, and then, taking a fine road, constructed by the English in 1841, we penetrated about three miles and a half, when the civil commissioner thought he had gone as far as was prudent. The mountains were treeless and verdureless, resembling those about Salt Lake.

On our return to Jumrood an excellent lunch awaited us, after which our Afghan friends amused us with feats of marksmanship. They proved that, with the old flint-lock musket, a bottle could readily be hit at one hundred and fifty yards. The day was a most pleasant one, and in interest was worthy of being classed with the day we visited the Nankow Pass, and the Great Wall of China.

Tuesday, 25th.—The whole garrison, consisting of two British and four native regiments of infantry, two native cavalry regiments, and three batteries of artillery, was turned out for review. The blending of uniforms and colors I have already described at Delhi; but here the picturesqueness was increased by the proximity of the mountains which, like a horseshoe, almost encircled us.

Above and beyond the troops were the Hindoo-Koosh, fifteen thousand feet high, completely covered with snow; while, in the gardens at our backs, could be culled the sweet lemon, and roses, almost in full bloom.

Peshawer lies almost in the center of a plain, fifty by sixty miles square; and, being nearly surrounded by mountains, in one of the hottest and most unhealthy places in India. British regiments are required to remain in it but one year. The Seventeenth Regiment, seven hundred strong, have all had chills and fever except eight men, and over three hundred were sick at one time.

Alexander wintered in the valley of Peshawer, then covered with forests, and the home of the rhinoceros. It was also in the devastating path of Tamerlane. To-day, under the English, it knows more peace and prosperity than in all the ages since Alexander.

We left Peshawer on Wednesday, the 26th, at 9 A. M.; stopped at Attock, where we "tiffined" with officers of the artillery, and resuming our journey arrived here, where for want of horses we are again detained. We shall, however, get off to-morrow, and then shall make our way almost directly to Bombay.

ARABIAN SEA, *February 17, 1876.*

This afternoon we shall sight Muscat. It lies on the Tropic of Cancer, and in summer is one of the hottest places on the globe. The thermometer frequently stands at 108° all night. The mountains behind it rise to a height of six thousand feet. The Bedouins vex the spirit of his Majesty the Sultan to such an extent that he frequently flees to the Persian shore. Whenever he has money in his coffers, they organize in the desert, advance to the gates of the city and demand a subsidy. If this be not forthcoming, they attack the place and compel

compliance with their demands. We shall be at Muscat but a few hours, and hope to arrive at Bushire on Thursday next. Then our work begins. The route is safe, and I have no doubt we shall find it pleasant. We are on a delightful little steamer, and as comfortable as if we were on the Hudson. One can not fail to admire English enterprise in the East. It has placed steamship lines along every coast, and now one can go around the world as easily as he can travel in his own country. Already I begin to think with pleasure of turning my face homeward.

BUNDER ABBAS, PERSIA, *February 20, 1876.*

We left Bombay, Friday, February 11th, at 6 P. M., on the steamer Umbala, for Bushire.

Monday, the 14th, we arrived at Kurrachee. The city contains about seventy thousand people, and lies in a low, flat plain, about twenty miles from the mouth of the Indus. The country back of the city is almost barren; yet, within, irrigation produces fine crops, and shows that only water is required to make the desert beautiful as a garden. Behind the city there is a range of verdureless hills, rising to eight hundred or a thousand feet. The harbor contained no less than eight steamers the morning we arrived, and we were naturally puzzled as to the reason for such a commercial appearance. It lies, however, in the fact that the port is the outlet for the valley of the Indus, which is navigable as far up as Moultan.

Tuesday, at 11 A. M., we sailed for Muscat, where we arrived on the morning of the 18th. The harbor is a small bay, protected on each side by pre-

cipitous rocks from three to five hundred feet high, which are crowned with castles bristling with cannon.

The city lies at the head of the bay, as in the neck of a funnel, and looks more like a place in Europe, in the middle ages, than the capital of an Oriental despot. The front of the city, and also the castles, were built by the Portuguese, when it was in their possession, who lost the city in a general massacre resulting, it is said, from the effort of the ruler to marry a native woman in defiance of the precepts of her religion.

Squeezed between barren, broiling rocks, on which the eye seeks in vain for verdure, the city claims geographically the benefit of both a tropical and temperate climate. It lies on the tropic of Cancer—an imaginary line which assumes a painful reality when, in summer, the torrid winds, sweeping across it, keep the thermometer at 108° night and day.

The only place of interest, as in most Asiatic towns, is the bazaar in which the tradesmen expose for sale the few wares and curiosities of the country.

We brought letters to Colonel Miles, the political agent of Great Britain, who received us kindly and invited us to lunch. But the great object of interest was our visit to the Sultan, or Imaum. On expressing a desire to pay our respects, the colonel sent a note to the palace, receiving in reply an appointment for 2 P. M. At that hour we proceeded through a narrow alley to the palace, which we approached from the rear. As the door was thrown open, an Arabian lion glared at us from his cage on

the left. A couple of horses stood on our right, while in front about a dozen ragamuffins, with knives, and arms of the oddest pattern, awaited to do us military honor.

On entering the court, his majesty sent his regrets that, in consequence of lameness, he was not able to receive us at the foot of the stairs. This flattering explanation having been interpreted, we mounted the rickety stairway, and at the top were met by the Sultan, who shook us cordially by the hand, and motioned us into an adjoining room. The furniture of the room was very simple, consisting of a green-covered table in the center, a sofa, and some chairs, arranged with military precision against the walls.

The Sultan wore a turban, a gray gown extending from his head to his feet, a white under-garment richly embroidered, and sandals which exposed his well-shaped bare feet.

His face is said to be the handsomest in Asia, but this I think an exaggeration, or at least a compliment to kingly vanity. He was, however, fine-looking, with a high forehead, arched eyebrows, aquiline nose, firm mouth, and patriarchal beard. A feeling of sadness seemed to overspread his countenance, which could be accounted for by his meditation on the lives of his predecessors, most of whom have died by violence; or by reflecting on his own experience, which has not been devoid of danger.

Only a few weeks since he was compelled to flee to Persia; was reinstated through the kind offices of England, and again finds himself tottering on his

throne, not knowing what moment some blood-thirsty wretch may dispatch him.

The conversation was not very edifying. We told him we had come from America, and, having learned accidentally that morning that we had a treaty with the Imaum of Muscat, we expressed the hope that the relations of the two countries might remain cordial. He then began to inquire about India, the Franco-German War, and particularly the war between the Khedive of Egypt and his brother the Sultan of Zanzibar. We told him that the armies of the Khedive had been repulsed. He said, for a great man with a great many soldiers, to attack a small man with a few soldiers, was mean and cowardly, and, as this accorded with our ideas as soldiers, we gave a formal assent.

During the course of the interview refreshments were served. The first consisted of a confection looking like cocoanut-candy, then followed coffee, after which the servant brought in four very large glasses filled with a transparent sweet fluid like sherbet. Politeness only requires one to take a sip; but some persons, thinking this would not be a suitable appreciation of hospitality, have been known to drink the entire glass, and have been very sick for their pains.

After removing the sherbet, the servant returned with a large server on which was a very small vial. For an instant I was puzzled, but recollecting that we were in the land of cassia, myrrh, and frankincense, a fortunate intuition suggested an Arabian perfume, so, placing the end of my finger in the neck of the vial, I wet it, and immediate-

ly stroked my mustache. The delicious odor of attar of roses soon filled the room, and, enveloped in perfume, we thanked his majesty for his kind reception, and took our departure.

We left Muscat Friday, at 7 P. M., and arrived here at 9 A. M. this morning (20th). At this port Alexander was met by his fleet about 325 B. C. The country has the same sterile aspect as at Muscat. The mountains a few miles in the interior rise to ten thousand feet, and are now capped with snow.

SHIRAZ, PERSIA, *March 6, 1876.*

From Bunder Abbas we went to Linjah, where we arrived at 1 P. M. on the 21st of February. The town is a squalid-looking place, scarcely distinguishable from the gray coast-line, and from the clay-colored mountains rising in the rear. We called on the sheik, and afterward visited the wells, and saw where he had walled in, and left to die, a thief, who had stolen one of his horses. This is not an uncommon punishment in Persia. They frequently compel the culprit to build his own tomb, which is just large enough for him to stand inside, and then placing him in it, head downward, pour it full of liquid lime. Death in this manner is almost instantaneous. The feet are allowed to project, where they remain as a terror to evil-doers, until they drop off from decay.

Another punishment, inflicted for minor offenses, is beating the bottom of the feet with sticks. This is done so mercilessly in some instances as to beat off the toes, and leave the offender a cripple for months.

The only European at Linjah was the agent of the British India Steamship Company, whom we took on board, a wretched sufferer from rheumatic fever. From Linjah we went to Bahrein in Arabia, where we arrived at 1 P. M. on the 23d. The town is on an island, and is celebrated for its pearl-fisheries. We endeavored to buy a few pearls, but found that during the fishing-season experts from the jewelers at Bombay had purchased the valuable ones, and sent them to India and Europe.

We left Bahrein on the morning of the 24th, and, sailing almost due north, reached Bushire at 10 A. M. on the 25th. Captain Campbell, commander of the British gunboat, came on board to call on us, and sent us ashore in his boat. We thence proceeded on horseback to the British residency, where we were delightfully received and entertained by Colonel and Mrs. Ross. This brave little woman has followed her husband to all his stations on the Persian Gulf, and wherever he has been has made him a home that has been admired by all who have had the good fortune to visit them.

The city lies on a flat peninsula of sand, and from the sea presents an imposing appearance; but a nearer approach, like that of Muscat, dispels the illusion, for it is built of rubble-stone and mud, with streets so narrow as to be easily roofed over, thus excluding the sun. We remained at Bushire Saturday and Sunday, completing our outfit for the long journey of more than a thousand miles on horseback. All superfluous baggage had to be sent off to Naples.

My kit, when made up, consisted of an undress

uniform, a dark winter suit, half a dozen collars, half a dozen handkerchiefs, one change of underclothing, half a dozen stockings, and a folding dressing-case. These articles are wrapped in several parcels, and are carried in saddle-bags made of Persian carpet, which are slung over the horse's back in rear of the saddle. The bedding consists of one comforter, a pillow, and a tick, which is filled with chopped straw at each station.

Our riding-suit is made of dust-colored corduroy. The coat is a short plaited frock, full of pockets; trousers cut tight like riding-breeches; leggings to the knee, and shoes, are made of brown leather. This suit, which we all wear, has been admired as the best traveling-dress that has been seen in Persia. All of the above outfit, after leaving Shiraz, is to be carried on the horses we ride.

For the trip to Shiraz we took three horses and six mules. The Persian saddle which we rejected, having English saddles of our own, covers the horse from his shoulders to his hips; the skirts are four inches thick, and the hideous, unsightly thing weighs not less than sixty pounds. To carry these three saddles, used as pack-saddles, required an extra mule. Our entire train consisted of three horses and six mules. The route at times not having been free from robbers, we each carried a carbine and revolver.

All of our arrangements having been completed, we took leave of Colonel and Mrs. Ross, and at 11.30 A. M. on the 28th of February commenced our march. Several gentlemen escorted us a short distance out of the city, and Dr. Andreas, of the Ger-

man scientific expedition, at our invitation, accompanied us to our first halting-place.

The road from Bushire, for about fifteen miles, is through sand, overflowed by the sea at high tide. The next few miles the land is flat, with here and there a patch of barley. With this exception, the only vegetation is a low sage-bush, which half covers the soil, and gives the ground a gray, mottled appearance. The date-palm appears here and there, wherever water is found. It being quite hot, the air rose tremblingly from the plain, giving rise to mirage, not so dazzling as to people the waste with villages and groves; yet, apparently, we saw lakes where no water existed, while the black tops of the date-palms seemed to stand trunkless, suspended above the horizon.

The first night we spent at Ahmadi in a handsome caravansary. These structures take the place of hotels throughout Asia, and in Persia are built by rich extortioners, who thus hope to smooth their way heavenward. They are built in the form of a square, usually one story high, and are entered through a pointed arched gateway. In the center of the court is a raised platform, about three feet high, upon which saddles and packs are deposited. Facing the court on all four sides are a number of arched recesses, with an aperture at the back of each leading into a dark room. These rooms, to which the arched recesses serve as parlors, are the only accommodation the traveler can hope for. In the center of each is a hole in the floor, about the size and depth of a hat. This serves for a fireplace, and, as there is no chimney, the smoke rises to the

blackened ceiling, and thence descends to plague the eyes and noses of the occupants. If no felt has been provided by the traveler to cover the aperture for the door, he must sleep in communication with the open air, no matter how cold.

In the angles stabling is provided for the animals. The best caravansaries usually have a room over the arched gateway, and also above the centers of the other sides. Even with this advantage there is no approach to luxury; yet the Persian, who, doubtless, has never seen anything better, looks upon them as the perfection of rest for the traveler.

We were most fortunate in securing a servant who speaks a little English. He had just made the trip from Teheran with Mr. and Mrs. Arnold, of London, whom we met at Bunder Abbas. Without him we would have been in a sorry plight, as not another servant was to be found in Bushire. His mess-kit is so small as to be carried in a pair of saddle-bags, and yet, with the small fire before described, he manages in a few minutes to give us an omelette, or a stew, to which no reasonable man can object. The night of the 29th we stopped at Dálíki, near the foot of the mountains. A short distance from the village we passed several sulphur and naphtha springs.

March 1st.—We clambered up the mountain-paths to the plain Konartakteh, eighteen hundred feet above the sea, thence still higher to the plain of Kamaraj, twenty-nine hundred feet above the sea. The mountains consisted simply of the up-turned edges of stratified rock, the inclination of

the strata being 45° , while the broken faces were frequently almost vertical. Near the summit of the pass, or *kotal*, leading to Kamaraj, we saw vast quantities of gypsum. The mountains were all treeless, but small patches of grass were here and there visible.

March 2d.—We left Kamaraj at 6 A. M., and spent the night at Kazeroon. When about three miles from the city we were met by the governor and a large body of horsemen, who escorted us to the governor's house. As we approached his gate a man struck off the head of a lamb, and, holding it up, exclaimed, "Welcome in the name of the Prophet!"

On our way in we were entertained with feats of horsemanship. Two men caracoled backward and forward across the road, leaping ditches and hedges, and firing their guns and pistols at each other. All this time the *calaon*, or pipe, about two and a half feet high, was kept circulating. Being in a complimentary frame of mind, I admired the governor's horse. He immediately gave him to me, and insisted on my taking him; but that was impossible, which, I half suspected, he knew before making the generous offer. On entering his house, breakfast was served in a room overlooking the court. It consisted first of sweetmeats, which were delicious; then melons and fruits; and, lastly, chickens, game, and meats. The cooking was good, and far superior to that of China and Japan.

At the breakfast there was present Sayed Mahomet, a descendant of the Prophet. Like the descendants of Confucius, those of the Prophet are

highly honored, and are insured a comfortable living. The one before us must have stood six feet four in his stockings. When sitting his beard reached to his girdle. On his head he wore a green turban, the sign of his lineage. With a high forehead, arched eyebrows, aquiline nose, and flowing beard, he lacked only the frost of age to make him the perfect type of the patriarch.

When breakfast was finished, the governor escorted us to a house in a large orange-grove, where we were allowed to refresh ourselves, after which tea was served in the garden. Toward evening we returned to the governor's house, where we dined. After dinner, which did not differ much from the breakfast, we went back to our quarters in the grove, and at daylight were off for Shiraz.

Two steep *kotal*s brought us to the plain of Dashi-tarjan, nearly six thousand six hundred feet above the sea. The night we spent at the telegraph-office. As I have already written you, the Anglo-Indian telegraph runs along the entire route from Bushire to Teheran. It is splendidly constructed, with cast-iron poles. Every forty or fifty miles there is a telegraph-office, and an operator who speaks English. At these offices we were kindly received and hospitably entertained. All along our line of march we had only to look at the telegraph-line, to remind us of the civilization to which we were hastening. In mountain-passes, where the poles were perched on dizzy heights, and the wires spanned gracefully the intervening chasms; or on the plains, where for miles the poles could be seen growing shorter and shorter, till lost in a point of the horizon, we felt

that we were not alone, and that our mute companion, though silent to us, was transmitting messages to hundreds of people in Europe, Asia, and even distant America.

We left Dashtiarjan at 5.55 A. M. on the 4th, and arrived at Shiraz at 6 P. M. Mr. Walker, the superintendent of the telegraph, came out to meet us, and made us very comfortable at his house. The pleasure of our visit was increased on account of his having a brother, Captain Fergus Walker, in the First Infantry.

Shiraz lies in a valley about forty miles long and twelve broad. Around the city the soil is well cultivated, but nearly nine tenths of the land is suffered to lie idle. We called on the governor, who is a brother-in-law of the Shah, and had a particularly pleasant interview, as he spoke French fluently, enabling us to dispense with an interpreter.

The only objects of curiosity at Shiraz are the tombs of the great poets Saadi and Hafiz. We were also shown a stream, about two feet wide, which the former has made immortal. These three objects, and a walk through the bazaar, constituted all of our sight-seeing at Shiraz.

TEHERAN, *March* 19, 1876.

We left Shiraz on Monday the 6th at 3 P. M., on chapar-horses for Ispahan, and passed the night in a chapar-khanah at Zirgan. Mr. Walker and several friends accompanied us a few miles on our road, and then left us to our new experience in Persian travel. There are no railroads, as you well know, in Persia; nor have we seen a wheeled vehicle of any description from Bushire to Teheran.

As a substitute, there are lines of post-horses established on all the main routes centering at the capital.

The distance between stations is from sixteen to twenty-eight miles. At each station there are from three to five chapar-horses, and such horses as are only to be met in Persia. Foundered, ring-boned, and spavined, they often start off on three legs; but, on warming to their work, they gradually get the use of the fourth, and then, breaking into an ambling gait, canter almost without a stop from one station to another. It hardly does to speak of their backs. The hard, inflexible Persian saddle, which looks like the roof of a small house, has made them so sore that it is far preferable to ride them in winter than summer. To the above defects must be added another which involves some peril to the rider, and that is, that they are knee-sprung and frequently stumble. Each one of us got a fall—horse and rider tumbling into a heap—yet we all escaped without a bruise or a scratch.

The stations are called chapar-khanahs, and are built exclusively of mud. In form they are like the caravansaries, with the exception that they have small, round towers at the angles, and that there is a single room over the arched gateway for the accommodation of travelers.

As you enter this room, through an aperture for a door, which has to be stopped with a felt or a blanket, the view of its mud floor, mud walls, and mud ceiling, is nowise cheering or encouraging. Presently the servant appears with a light, spreads your bedding, and then brings in a soup, and some kind of a stew, which he calls your dinner. After

you have eaten it—sitting cross-legged like a Turk—the only resource left is sleep.

Our cook was remarkable for the variety of uses to which he could apply the few articles composing our kit, a quality we had overlooked until one day we discovered that the soup had been served in our wash-basins! Fortunately our appetites had been appeased, but from that time we requested him to exert his ingenuity in other directions.

From Zirgan we went to the ruins of Persepolis, the ancient capital of the empire. The city was situated at the junction of five fertile valleys, and was surrounded with snow-capped mountains.

The ruins consist of the lower stories of the palaces of Darius and Xerxes, the Hall of Xerxes, and the propylæa of Xerxes. They stand on three terraces of different elevations, the walls supporting the terraces being about fifty feet high. The outside walls, which face the plain, are composed of large blocks of limestone, which required no little engineering skill to place one above the other. From the top of the walls the terraces extend back three or four hundred yards to the mountains, which rise precipitously in the rear. A broad, double staircase, up which our horses clambered, leads from the plain to the terraces. On the inner walls of the staircases, processions of men and beasts are sculptured in bass-relief; also in the gateway and on the sides of the doors of the palaces combats between men and beasts are represented in the same manner.

In the propylæa of Xerxes, beneath one of the huge winged lions, carved in large letters, was the

name "Stanley—New York Herald." The names of British ambassadors, and many other visitors, are also written or carved conspicuously on the columns of the different edifices. The grandest building must have been the Hall of Xerxes, which consisted of a massive roof supported by seventy-two columns, each seventy feet high and six feet in diameter.

Alexander visited Persepolis, and it is supposed burned its palaces. Behind the ruins, excavated in solid rock, are several tombs. The tomb of Darius is said to be at Nakh-i-Rustam. It consists of a Greek cross, sculptured in the face of a vertical cliff about two hundred feet high. In the center of the cross a door leads into a gallery excavated parallel to the horizontal arm. From the inner face of the gallery, if like the one we entered at Persepolis, three arched recesses are excavated, each of which contains two graves sunk beneath the floor. Above the door, on the horizontal arm, there are two tiers of human figures in bass-relief. At the top of the vertical arm there is a figure of the sun, and below it an altar of fire. Standing in front of the altar, a bow in his hand, the king adores the source of light and heat. To-day in Teheran the fire-worshippers render the sun the same homage as in the days of Cyrus. Neither Christianity, nor astronomy, nor the persecuting power of Mohammedanism, has sufficed to turn them from their ignorant worship. They move among the Persians probably the only true descendants of the people who lived twenty-four centuries ago when the empire was at the zenith of its power.

Leaving Persepolis and Nakh-i-Rustam we passed on to Saidan, where we spent the night.

Wednesday, 8th.—We proceeded to Dehbid. On our way we passed the tomb of Cyrus. It stands in a large plain about six thousand feet above the sea, surrounded by low mountains. The tomb, which looks like a small, one-story rectangular house, with massive roof and eaves, rests on a pyramidal pedestal, the steps of which are composed of blocks of marble nine feet long and three feet high. Around the base of the pyramid are fragments of columns which probably supported a stone roof above the tomb. Notwithstanding this edifice has disappeared, the elements for centuries have beaten in vain against the mausoleum of the great king. His sarcophagus is gone, his ashes are scattered to the winds, but his sepulchre still stands, almost the only monument of the greatness of his reign.

Near by is a solitary column about fifty feet high, and a high wall, the end of a hall, the only remains of the city of Pasargardæ. Among the many visitors to the tomb of Cyrus was Alexander. Unlike visitors at Persepolis, he did not inscribe his name thereon, but wrote it in blood from the gulf of Issus to the valley of the Indus.

Leaving Dehbid at 6 A. M., we spent the night of the 9th at Abadeh, the night of the 10th at Kumesheh, and arrived at Ispahan at 3.30 P. M. on the 11th, where we were the guests of Mr. Bruce, an English missionary. This brave man has had a hard time among the Armenians and Mussulmans. Four times he has been shot at, but still continues to work in the hope of success.

Ispahan lies in a large plain, with mountains rising in every direction. The soil is cultivated exclusively by irrigation, not only by artificial streams brought along the surface of the ground, but by subterranean streams brought from the mountains miles away.

To dig one of these streams, they sink a well near the base of the mountains till they find a spring of living water large enough to supply a stream three or four feet wide and a foot in depth. The first well is sometimes as many as three hundred feet deep. Having found water, they sink other wells, about every hundred feet, along the line of the proposed stream, the bottoms of which are on the same level as the first. A channel is then dug from the bottom of one well to another until, as the wells gradually decrease in depth, the water is brought to the surface miles from the source. On leaving Ispahan we followed one of these *connauts*, as they are called, for forty miles.

As soon as the water is brought to the surface it is conducted in ditches to the small fields, varying in size from one hundred to one thousand or two thousand square feet. For the purpose of being flooded, the fields are separated from each other by a raised furrow about a foot high. It is only after seeing the immense labor the poor people of Persia have to perform before receiving a grain from the soil, that one can appreciate the blessing of living in a country of rains and fruitful seasons.

At Ispahan we called upon the governor, who, although the eldest son of the Shah, is not the heir to the throne, as he was not born of a princess. The

heir is Governor of Tabriz, but is now in Teheran, where he has come to pay his respects to the Shah, on the opening of the New Year.

From Ispahan we came through to Teheran in four days, stopping the first night (13th) at Soh. The 14th we crossed the pass of Kohrud, eight thousand eight hundred feet above the sea. Notwithstanding the elevation and snow, we suffered more from the heat, and reflection of the sun, than on any day since leaving Bushire. The night of the 14th we spent at Kashan; the night of the 15th at Pul-i-dilak; and on the 16th, at 5.30, arrived at the British legation in Teheran.

The last two days from Ispahan we rode one hundred and sixty miles; on the other days we averaged from fifty to seventy.

The country from Bushire to Teheran is the most arid I have ever seen, and the poverty of the people passes description. During the famine of 1871-'72 one fifth of the population—more than a million souls—perished from starvation. In some villages and districts every man and beast perished. The people were so hungry that, when dogs were shot in the streets, they tore them to pieces and devoured their flesh raw. Even in Teheran the dead were allowed to decay in the streets. In some places children fell victims to the hunger of their parents.

On our way to Shiraz I visited a village. It consisted of a low stone shed, inclosing a court about one hundred feet square. In the center of the court was a huge pile of manure, and several stagnant pools of discolored water. The rooms which faced

the court were not more than ten feet square, and were without beds, windows, or floors. The people sleep on felts and skins, spread on the ground, and, to make up as much as possible for the want of fire, they bring their sheep and calves into their rooms to avail themselves of their animal heat. In the stalls I have described, which we would not use for the meanest of domestic animals, were crowded together one hundred and fifty men, women, and children, the picture of misery, filth, and despair.

This village was but one of many we passed along our route. We saw several which had been completely depopulated by the famine. Ruin everywhere prevailed. Even a large portion of Ispahan, which two hundred years ago was a city of several hundred thousand people, was a heap of rubbish and deserted walls. Most of the houses, including the roofs, are built of mud mixed with straw.

In cities like Shiraz and Ispahan the bazaars are built of brick, the streets being completely arched over, so that when one approaches the city he enters a tunnel, and emerges at a point several hundred yards away. On each side of the street, within the arcade, every article of merchandise is exposed to the best advantage. The salesmen sit cross-legged awaiting customers. If so fortunate as to be driving a bargain, a fierce discussion at once ensues, in which everybody is free to participate. Between the booths, an incessant crowd of people, horses, mules, camels, and donkeys, move up and down, but never in a hurry. The measured sound of bells, swinging slowly from one side to the other beneath

the necks of camels, tells of the arrival of caravans from distant parts of the empire.

No heavy stages or express-wagons are seen lumbering through the streets. As you crowd your way along, with perhaps the Mohammedans cursing you, and the camels gazing at you with their meaningless brown eyes, you feel that you are in a strange land in the far East.

In the days of Ahasuerus, Haman asked for the extermination of the Jews, and the king granted his request. Queen Esther, at the peril of her life, begged for her people; and, when Haman had met his fate, the king sent orders to the Jews to defend themselves. He could not revoke his first law, but the second gave courage to the Jews, and when assailed they slew five hundred people within the palace. To-day, the Shah could sport in the same manner with the lives of his people. Here, as in China, monarchy and absolutism culminate, and corruption is the order of the day. Even the Shah takes bribes, and when he wishes to extort money he announces a visit to some distant province, in order that the governors and officials may buy him off, rather than incur the expense of entertaining him. When he travels, his soldiers, like a swarm of locusts, devour the sustenance of the people.

Governorships are bought and sold; and, when the revenue is not forthcoming, the people are squeezed till they yield the last farthing.

TEHERAN, *March 20, 1876.*

When I left Bushire, supposing the fatigues of our journey would be great, I resolved not to write

any letters till our arrival at Constantinople, but to-day the English courier goes out, and I avail myself of the opportunity of sending you a line.

We left Bushire on the 28th ultimo, and came through in sixteen days, averaging from Shiraz from fifty to eighty miles per day. Were I writing to E——, I could give her some idea of the country by comparing it with New Mexico and Arizona, but I am glad you have never seen anything approaching it. India, China, and Japan give you some idea of wealth, but in Persia all is poverty and wretchedness. Things, however, are relative, and, I doubt not, the Persian whose ancestors have for centuries wrapped themselves in skins and felts, and slept on clay floors, thinks himself quite as well off as the laborers of America who enjoy the luxury of comfortable homes. Everywhere mud stares you in the face. Wells, houses, caravansaries, and even palaces are built of this ugly, cheap material. The rapidity with which the buildings wash away in heavy rains gives the entire country the appearance of being in ruins. I am glad to have seen Persia, but, were I now permitted to leave it, I would go off as the crow flies.

The population is, of course, mostly Mohammeden, but in Shiraz, Ispahan, and Teheran, there are many Armenians. There are also some fire-worshippers, who still hold to the religion of the days of Cyrus. Ten days ago I saw them at worship. Their walls were draped in mourning, and they were wailing and weeping most piteously.

The Armenians, until England interceded for them, were almost in a condition of slavery. They

could not ride in a public street, and they were permitted to be robbed by Mussulmans with impunity. Their form of worship is almost like that of the Roman Catholics, and their morality is but little above that of the Mohammedans. It is principally among them that our missionaries are employed. There are two American missionaries in Teheran and one also at Tabreez. Mr. Thompson invited the missionaries to meet us at one of the two dinners he gave in honor of our arrival.

I can not tell you how anxious I am to arrive in Constantinople, nor how glad I shall be when, in December, I turn my face toward home. Do the best I can, it is difficult to observe the Sabbath as I would like, and, while traveling, there is not the time nor the opportunity to observe the hours of devotion which your own home and occupations permit. Nevertheless, I find peace and comfort in this dreary land. Emily's Testament and the little book of Psalms which you gave me are my constant companions, and I read them daily with comfort to my soul.

We shall leave here on Wednesday, the 22d, and shall go, *via* Tabreez, Tiflis, and Poti, to Constantinople, where we hope to arrive on the 15th of April. There nearly four months' mail awaits us.

Our party look as brown as the Indians of the plains. My nose has peeled, and my ears have been as badly swollen by heat as they could have been by cold. In addition to this, an incipient beard, which I shall cut off at Naples, does not add to my personal appearance. To-morrow we attend the reception of the Shah, given in honor of the

opening of the new year. It is a ceremony which one cares to see but once. The diplomatic corps do not remove their shoes when they enter the presence of the Shah, but, by the terms of their treaties, they have to wear goloshes or overshoes, which they remove in the court of the palace.

We have all been very much distressed by the telegram, and, if it be true that the one of our Cabinet ministers whom we supposed to possess the most integrity has been guilty of corruption, it is time for the American people to take the subject of civil-service reform in hand. Beggarly salaries and rotation in office are gradually undermining the integrity of all our public servants, and, unless checked, will surely lead to disaster. The English minister at Teheran receives a salary of twenty-five thousand dollars in gold, is provided with a house elegantly furnished, and is supplied with a corps of trained servants. We ask a man to serve us as Secretary of State or War for eight thousand a year, and to pay all of his expenses. I love my country as much as any of its citizens, but I can not shut my eyes to its meanness.

TIFLIS, CAUCASUS, *April 12, 1876.*

It gives me no little satisfaction to inform you of our safe arrival here. We came in last night in a coach and six, our *conducteur* blowing his bugle with all his might. The journey across Central Asia is finished, and, while it has been fatiguing and very uncomfortable, has yet been enjoyable and full of instruction. We have seen Persia, an empire almost as old as China, and are

now enabled to compare Asiatic with European civilization.

You can not imagine the change we already perceive. At Julfa, on the Araxes, the frontier post of Russia, it was clear there was a change of government. The villages were no longer built exclusively of mud, but here and there were substantial one-storied houses, built of dressed stone. From the mouth of the Peiho to the river Araxes we have seen nothing but mud—mud houses, mud stables, mud mosques, mud palaces, and mud bridges. From Bushire to Teheran we did not see nor meet a wheeled vehicle. Everything is transported on camels, horses, mules, and donkeys. The entire country is reduced to poverty, and I believe no civilized people on earth enjoy so few of the creature comforts of life as the Persians. Their mud huts would disgrace the farm-yard of the poorest families of America. The Shah lives in grand state, resplendent in his diamonds, while his governors are sent forth to wring the last *quon* from the peasant which is not necessary to support life. We now turn to Europe. Already we can see that under Russian rule the citizen can accumulate and enjoy his property. When he dies, his emperor does not seize all of his effects, but the law gives them to his heirs and he can live in comfort, and also in the anticipation of making his children comfortable.

We shall spend about a week here. There is a military school here and a large garrison to look into, particularly the organization of the Cossacks, and this can not be done much within the time

stated. In passing through Tabreez we stopped with Mr. Easton, an American missionary who came on with us to Tiflis. As he knew Turkish well, he was of good service. The feature of our trip from Tabreez was the view of Mount Ararat. It stood out a graceful cone seventeen thousand feet high, rising like Vesuvius from a large plain. Close to it, and actually a part of it, stands Little Ararat, eleven thousand feet high. We climbed the mountain nearly to the snow-line, but had to give up the further ascent on account of a rain-storm that enveloped the summit.

Nakh-i-chiwan is so named because there Noah is supposed to have descended. We visited his tomb, but, as it did not appear to be more than fifty years old, we were at liberty to reject the tradition. The tomb of Cyrus, at Passargade, bears plainly the marks of twenty or more centuries; but the tomb of Noah, instead of being built of huge blocks of marble, was made of soft brick, incapable of resisting for even a century the severe weather of the Caucasus. Please excuse my writing; there has been an earthquake since commencing my letter.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *May 7, 1876.*

When I arrived I found two dozen letters awaiting me at the minister's. Craving for news from home, many I read before leaving the legation, but yours I reserved for the quiet of my own room.

The one from Philadelphia impressed me deeply. Never was Christian sympathy offered more opportunely, nor do I believe more gratefully received. I feel for — exactly as you do. He has sinned

and sinned deeply, and his sin does not consist in being found out. "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest and be clear when thou judgest."

The beauty of the fifty-first Psalm never impressed itself upon me until you spoke of it one day in connection with a negro who had committed murder. Your letter about — I have given to Forsyth and Major Sanger to read, and I know it will produce a deep effect upon them. Before I came here I had resolved to write to him, but I wished to wait until I could learn the particulars of his offense. Then came your letter, and I at once put my resolution into effect.

He can not construe sympathy with approval of his conduct, and it will certainly do him good to know that those upon whom he has bestowed so much kindness will not forsake him. God be with him, and grant that he may not be hardened by his offense, but be led to repentance, forgiveness, and peace! I do not wonder the country has been shocked by the disclosure, and that now so much distrust is entertained in regard to all our public servants. We need reform, permanent and sure—not a wave of indignation that sweeps a few knaves from office, to be succeeded only by others, but a new system that shall induce good men to enter the service of the Government. A one-term President, life-tenure, and good salaries, must lie at the foundation of any system that will bear good results. I need not tell you how much I enjoyed all the details of home news. . . . I have read some of Mr.

Moody's sermons with great interest. They are not strong, but power seems to pervade them. He must have the gift of the Holy Spirit, and I hope his success may awaken the ministry to a new sense of their duty. There is too much shirking the right way to awaken men to a sense of their shortcomings. Fraud, violence, speculation, dishonesty, and hypocrisy are never mentioned from the pulpit.

When I see the good Moody does, I wonder that the ministry is so supine. Why do they preach year in and year out to the ninety-and-nine that need no repentance, and leave the hundredth to perish—rather, the millions? Preaching always to the same congregation, they do not appreciate the application of the parable of the lost sheep, nor realize that in making the ministry a lucrative profession they have surrendered the manly independence so conspicuous in the character of all reformers. "The children of darkness are wiser in their day and generation than the children of light."

If the politicians wish to carry an election in a doubtful State, they at once send abroad for all the powerful speakers in their party. Why do not the ministers imitate them? Why, at least for two months every year, do not the ablest ministers exchange pulpits? If Dr. Hall were to go to Buffalo for a couple of months, thousands of people would go to hear him who never enter a church-door, just as in New York Moody has attracted crowds whose sole curiosity at first was to know "what will this babbler say?"

Again, they could speak the truth, denounce sins by name, and not fear a commotion. Let the

wealthy congregations which hang with delight on the eloquent words of their preachers make this sacrifice, and feel that, as a Christian duty they enable their pastors to go forth to other cities and proclaim the glad tidings. This subject has often been on my mind. The plan would be a simple one, and were there a few congregations to commence it, the results, I believe, would be astounding. Have you ever spoken to your many influential friends about it? To-day, for the first time since leaving Bombay, I have had the privilege of attending the communion-table. I hope so long an interval will not occur again.

The news has just come that the French and German consuls have been murdered at Salonica. If true, it may be the beginning of the end of the Eastern question.

This is a great city, and I do not wonder that Russia covets it. But she is not yet ready to move. North of the Black Sea there is a country as fertile as the great plains of Illinois, almost unpopulated. This must be settled up, and when an industrious population begins to find itself hemmed in by the Black Sea it will look southward to the other shore and demand the possession of the Golden Gateway.

We leave here on Tuesday for Naples, calling *en route* at Smyrna, Ephesus, Athens, Corinth, and Brindisi. At Tabreez we had our photographs taken. The dark individual in the background is the cook who wished to give us our soup in our wash-bowls. He is a good specimen of the Persian.

ROME, *May 28, 1876.*

From Constantinople we took steamer for Naples, touching at Smyrna for twelve hours, which enabled us to visit Ephesus, distant by rail forty-nine miles. We saw the prison where St. Paul was reported to have been confined, also the ruins of the theatre where the silversmiths and the mob shouted for two hours, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" Of the Temple of Diana nothing remains but the foundations. From Smyrna our steamer went to Athens, where she stopped over twenty-four hours, giving us ample time to see the Acropolis, surrounded by the Parthenon, the grandest of all Grecian ruins. Near by was Mars Hill, from which St. Paul, where the Athenians had gathered together to hear "what will this babbler say?" delivered his memorable address. Leaving Athens, we went to Sicily, stopping twelve hours at Messina. A carriage-ride of six miles took us to the famous Charybdis, opposite to which and four miles off is the equally celebrated Scylla. We passed between the rock and whirlpool without encountering any of the dangers so often alluded to in young ladies' compositions, and next touched at Palermo, where we were allowed two days. The Bay of Palermo is one of the most beautiful in the world, and the city, too, is worthy of its situation. We left Palermo in a sirocco, and had the most boisterous weather since leaving San Francisco. For the third time only we had racks in our tables. At Naples I completed my tour around the world, as I was there in 1868. The Sunday after our arrival I passed at Sorrento, where my precious

Emily spent a month with me in 1868. From Naples we came here by rail. I am glad once more to be in the land of railroads. The time at sea seems a dead loss. Now we can come and go when and where we please.

ROME, *June 4, 1876.*

Last Sunday evening I went to the church where the nuns sang, and from which Emily retired with such deep religious impressions. The music was not so celestial as on that occasion. For days it ran in my mind, and it seemed as if I could not forget it. To-day at church, in the hymn-book I opened at the hymn prefaced with "Thy will be done," and to the verse—

"If Thou dost call me to resign
What most I prize,
It ne'er was mine ;
I only yield Thee what is Thine—
Thy will be done."

I thank Him who taught us this prayer, and who bore all of our sorrows, that I can repeat it and now be grateful for the hope submission has given.

The service this morning was held in the new Episcopal church, which is scarcely more than roofed in. When finished it will be quite pretty. After service I remained at communion, which quite a number attended. Several Italians came into the church during service and looked on with curiosity.

A great change has come over the city since the occupation of the Italians. The atmosphere seems free, and the place has already made great strides in the way of building and improvements. In seek-

ing military information I see a good deal of the Italian officers. They are all bitter against the Pope and priesthood. One told me there was no religion in Rome, only superstition, and quoted an old proverb, "If you want to become a heretic, go to Rome." Another told me that not one officer in a hundred went to church except to see the pictures. It is not a feeling of infidelity or atheism that controls them, but disgust at the dissolute lives of the priests. No man ever goes to confession, except, perhaps, during Holy Week, when the priest touches him on the head with a cane, and, without opening his mouth, he goes away believing his sins are forgiven. One of the officers told me that the Protestant schools were increasing, and that the Methodists had twenty or more. Time must work reform. There is too much intelligence to permit religion to be made a mockery of much longer.

I shall get away from here this week, and, after visiting the military establishments of Florence, Turin, and Milan, hope to reach St. Petersburg by July 1st.

GENEVA, *June 25, 1876.*

It seems quite near home to get a letter from you dated June 2d. The American travelers were not very handsome, although their dress was considered the finest that had been seen in Persia. So much does locality control taste!

General Sherman, when I visited St. Louis *en route* to San Francisco, told me not to attempt to present the military organization of Europe in my report; that all I need to do would be to write four or five hundred pages of conclusions. Since

arriving in Europe, I have discovered that our military organization is so worthless that now I feel that even a thousand pages would not suffice to show it up. I do not know where I shall go on my return, but undoubtedly five or six months will be required to write my report, and this time will have to be spent in Washington, where I can have access to official data that I shall need for my argument. Yesterday morning I left Turin, and saw *en route* the Mont Cenis Tunnel. Down deep in the bowels of the earth, it will endure throughout time a monument of man's greatness. *En route* to St. Petersburg I have stolen four or five days to see the delightful scenery of Switzerland. Military matters keep me now very busy, and I often find myself too tired to sleep. Three or four days' relaxation will do me good.

ST. PETERSBURG, *July 16, 1876.*

In Geneva I met a graduate of West Point of the class of 1874. He told me that "Benedicite," one of the books given to his class, had found its way to Geneva, and was being read with great interest by a gentleman friend. The cadet read it and sent it to his father, who sent it to the gentleman.

My second trip into Russia is as interesting as the first. From Warsaw to Moscow, two days by rail, the country is an unbroken plain. Over the long, tedious route now traversed in so few hours the army of Napoleon toiled for months toward the goal which, no sooner than possessed, was enveloped in flames. Their victory turned to ashes, the

weary retreat began with death before them in all its forms. I could not but think constantly of the sufferings of that gallant army as I rode so comfortably toward the commercial capital of the Russian Empire. All along the route we passed through villages of the emancipated serfs. No marks of improvement were visible; no new houses told of the increasing prosperity of its humble occupants. In Russia, the nobles and the rich are exempt from taxation, and the burden falls on the peasant. All that he gets beyond the necessaries of life goes to the tax-collector. He lives in a log-hut with a thatched roof, and in winter shares his abode with his sheep, his cattle, and his pigs. The clothes that he puts on in autumn remain on his body till spring, and, next to the beasts, he must be the filthiest of all animals. Time must change all this, and now mutterings are heard against the privileges which give luxury to one class and degradation to another.

As I look out of my window I can see St. Isaac's Cathedral, one of the finest edifices in Christendom. The great pillars of red granite, the bronze bas-reliefs, the angels in bronze crowning the angles, and the dream of a dome covered with heavy gilt, are wonders of architecture. Within are rich marbles and several Corinthian columns of malachite. The church ranks, I think, next to the Milan Cathedral.

July 27, 1876.

Having a day of unexpected leisure, I shall employ a part of it in writing a short letter to you. I arrived here on the 13th, and, had I not been

school'd in patience, would be very much disgusted at the progress I have made, for I have not yet gained the slightest military information in regard to the Russian army. Everything is bound up in red-tape, and it takes time to cut it. Last Sunday and Monday I was at the camp and was presented to the Emperor. I should have a very poor opinion of you if you could not hold a more interesting conversation with a Russian than the Emperor did with me. "When have you come?" "When have you come?" "You have come to see the camp?" "How long you will stay?" constituted the essence of his remarks. In reply, being in the face of royalty, and not at liberty to speak except when spoken to, I was supposed to excel him in brevity, which was not difficult to do. There may be sufficient reason for imposing the above rule, for no doubt thousands of people would like to enlighten royalty by expressing views in season and out of season; but, looking on the Emperor as a miserable, sinful man, subject to all the weaknesses and passions of human nature, I could not but compare the interviews he deigns to accord to his fellow-men with that accorded to his humblest child by the King of kings and the Lord of lords. He who laid the foundations of the earth, the Maker of all things visible and invisible, tells us that his ears are ever open to our prayers, and bids us to come into his presence with joy and thanksgiving. No liveried servants bid us wait. No courtiers, shining in reflected light, can bar us from his presence. He meets us not in gilded palaces, but in the secret of the closet, where he imparts to us the communion

of his Holy Spirit, and fills our hearts with joy and peace.

TZARSKOYE-SELO, *August 20, 1876.*

The heat all over America must have been frightful. Here it is so chilly that during the manœuvres I wear double suits of winter under-clothes, the only means I have of keeping warm, as etiquette forbids any person riding in the suite of the Emperor to wear an overcoat except when his Majesty is so clad.

Foreign officers visiting the camp are treated in such a manner as to shame our government. We have a carriage constantly at our disposal. On days of ceremony we drive to the rendezvous of the troops, and there take beautiful saddle-horses, which belong to us during our stay. Since we came here, the Crown Prince of Italy, and the Kings of Denmark and Greece, with their consorts, have visited the Russian capital, and we have been present at all the ceremonies in their honor. The reviews are the perfection of military pageants.

When the Empress comes on the ground, the Emperor places himself at the head of his army and presents the troops amid the strains of martial music and hurrahs of the soldiers. The cheers are not always enthusiastic. The soldier, with his mouth half open and a stereotyped grin on his face, looks about as animated as the statues one sees of the "Laughing Faun." In stolidity and stupidity I have never seen anything approaching the Russian peasant.

After each ceremony or manœuvre is over, breakfast is served in one of the palaces for the suite and

the strangers, who number, all told, about one hundred. Dinner follows at six o'clock. At both breakfast and dinner five or six varieties of the choicest wines are provided from the imperial cellars. I am told that the dinners cost about five pounds a head. If so, there is need of reform in Russia. The horses required for the service of the suite and the strangers number seven hundred and fifty. As in the course of the manœuvres we migrate from palace to palace, you can imagine what must be the expense of maintaining a movable hotel, with guests, horses and carriages, and other impedimenta in proportion.

The Emperor has been very kind to us, and once, in common with the other foreign generals, I have had the pleasure of dining with him. He speaks French and German fluently, but is not so strong in English. Last Friday we had a beautiful ceremony in the *fête* of the regiment Probrijensky, or Transfiguration. Each regiment bears the name of some holy or saint's day, and on its recurrence celebrates it as we celebrate Christmas. On this occasion the regiment was formed on three sides of a square, and religious services were held in the center, according to the rites of the Greek Church. At the conclusion of the ceremony the Emperor and imperial family went forward and kissed the cross, after which holy water was sprinkled on the colors, and successively on all the men. After the ceremony was over, a breakfast was given to the men, consisting of black bread, soup, cold meat, and beer. Near by, under a canopy, breakfast was served for the Emperor and his guests.

When nearly over, the men rushed up in front of his Majesty, and loudly cheered the Kings of Denmark and Greece, and also the Emperor after he had proposed the health of the regiment.

The afternoon was spent in witnessing a bombardment of a field fortification, and at six o'clock the Emperor gave a dinner to the officers of the regiment whose hospitality he had enjoyed in the morning.

This dinner was made the occasion of decorating the foreign generals who were visiting the camp. On being spoken to about receiving this mark of imperial favor, I informed the officer that our Constitution forbade us to receive a foreign decoration, and that, with thanks, we would have to decline. At dinner we therefore saw the French, Austrian, and German generals with crimson scarfs and crosses of Ste. Anne or Stanislaus, while Forsyth and I sat modestly and contented by in our plain but not ugly uniforms.

The absence of decoration at once made us conspicuous in the presence of the whole company, so when the dinner was over, in order to show that no slight had been intended, the Emperor and Grand Duke Nicholas, his brother, came to us and held quite a long conversation. I felt rather proud than otherwise to be able to decline a favor from the Autocrat of all the Russias, which has no more significance than our own much-abused brevets.

Our visit here has given us as much of an insight into royalty as we had in India. We are now near the close of the Russian manœuvres, and will soon be on our way to Berlin and Vienna. Time

rushes headlong, and before we know it we will be rolling and pitching on the Atlantic.

BERLIN, *October 8, 1876.*

I fear I shall not be able to get away from Berlin before the 1st of November. The disagreeable experience we have had with our legation has cost us ten days, not to speak of the failure to see the manœuvres.

Berlin is a beautiful city, and the people impress me most favorably. If the Germans are not all blondes, the freshness and joyousness of their complexion are pleasant to behold. This applies to the women as much as to the men. The former, like Englishwomen, seem to enjoy better health than their sisters in America. I do not know to what it can be due, unless we ascribe it to the tonic effects of ale or beer.

The soldiers are handsome, cleanly young fellows, from twenty to twenty-three years of age. Their bearing denotes a good discipline, while the cheerful face shows an absence of oppression. The officers, who are well dressed, have no swagger, but they walk with the self-consciousness that, in the social scale, they stand next to the Kaiser.

I was somewhat surprised by the question addressed me by an officer of the famous German staff, who wanted to know whether our government or court language was French or English. There are a great many Europeans whose minds are cloudy on this subject. The amusements of Berlin are very inviting and inexpensive. You can take a family of ten to hear the best orchestra in the world

(Belse's), and have a private box, for a dollar and a quarter. If all drink beer at six and a half cents a glass, the total will be one dollar and ninety cents.

At this place you see the best families. The ladies take their knitting or crocheting; each family takes its table, and for three hours they listen to classic music, and drink their beer or sip their tea or coffee. At ten o'clock all amusements close, and the people go home, unless a *café* or restaurant tempts the appetite.

The German Government is all red-tape. It took two weeks to get permission to see what our War Department would have granted in half an hour.

With regard to coming to Willowbrook to write my report, the result of six months' labor there would be *nil*. When A—— is at Willowbrook he succeeds in reading many books, but he does so by going to the library immediately after breakfast, lighting his pipe, and turning a deaf ear to every proposal to go to Auburn or elsewhere. While he concentrates his attention I dissipate mine, and all my thoughts go fugitive. I might as well try to capture a flock of wild pigeons as to capture my thoughts and arrange them in logical order for official use. I shall, therefore, have to go to Washington, where I shall have access to books, papers, and figures, and other notes necessary for my argument.

I shall devote most of my attention to the subject of officers, and to showing our reckless extravagance in making war. When Germany fought France she put her army on a war-footing in eight

days, and in eight days more she had four hundred thousand men on French territory. It took us from April, 1861, to March, 1862, to form an army of the same size at an expense of nearly eight hundred millions of dollars. We can not maintain a great army in peace, but we can provide a scheme for officering a large force in time of war, and such a scheme is deserving of study.

My stay here is about over. I have been permitted to see the military schools and have learned much of the military system of Germany. How completely the nation is given over to warlike preparation is shown by the boys, who wear military caps, and by both boys and girls, who carry their books to and from school in knapsacks. This strain can not last long. After the late war, Parliament tied its own hands by voting supplies for seven years. When that period expires, discussion will again be resumed.

CHAPTER X.

REPORT ON THE ARMIES OF EUROPE AND ASIA.

TRAVELING in a foreign land appears, to a youthful, romantic mind, the most pleasant of all possible occupations. Every one hopes at some future time to go beyond the narrow confines of his native place, and to view with his own eyes the wonders of other countries. And whenever circumstances so order affairs as to make this dream a reality, the expectant Ulysses bids a hearty but hurried adieu to his home and friends, and turns his face longingly toward the distant shores. But here also anticipation, like all other pleasures, is found to surpass possession. The looked-for pleasure soon becomes fatigue, and finally satiety, *ennui*, homesickness, unite to turn the wearied traveler willingly back to his kindred and friends.

This experience, in its inception, growth, and maturity, is plainly shown in the home letters of General Upton, even before he had reached the boundaries of Europe. But, tethered by the bonds of official duty, he was forced to observe, record, and study the matters connected with his profession, and to endure as best he could the delays which official etiquette constantly interposed in his path. But, when his last official act was completed,

like an escaped prisoner he gladly hastened homeward.

After reporting for duty to the War Department, and upon the termination of a short leave granted him for the purpose of visiting his relatives, General Upton was assigned to duty at the artillery-school of practice at Fortress Monroe, where he reported March 1, 1877.

This school, established for the proper instruction of the subaltern artillery-officers of the army in the professional branches relating to their arm of the service, had been in successful operation for several years, and General Upton was at once put in charge of the instruction in military engineering, the art of war, law, and infantry tactics. Under his direction other officers were specifically intrusted with the direct management of these several departments of instruction.

In the art of war, and especially in that division relating to strategy and grand tactics, he was an enthusiast, and the success which attended his instruction in these branches was that which usually attends the master of an art who is at the same time a thorough teacher. He inspired his pupils with something of his own enthusiastic devotion, and succeeded in arousing the liveliest interest by pertinent illustrations from historical sources, exemplifying and illuminating each particular principle under discussion. In the study of these principles, from the simple to the more abstruse, he listened patiently to the crude explanation offered by each young officer, and then, by just criticism and careful correction, he swept away all difficulties, unraveled all

intricacies, and presented the finished problem so completely solved as to excite the greatest interest and to command the closest attention. His admirable analysis of each particular example taken from past history almost invariably commended itself to the growing judgment of his younger associates, and impressed them with the highest confidence in his judgment, and an admiration for his undoubted attainments as a general. In this respect, therefore, his tour of duty at Fortress Monroe will have its future importance and value in the fruit that will ripen from the seeds of professional instruction planted in the minds of those young officers who enjoyed the great benefit of his personal and official companionship at this period of their army training. Thus, the time available for the preparation of his report, being that left after the performance of his duties as an instructor, was necessarily limited. Day by day, as opportunity offered, he collected and arranged the military data from his voluminous notes, and digested his observations relating to the organization of foreign armies. It was a labor of no little magnitude to condense these into a professional report which would at the same time be compact and yet comprehensive in all of its details. But with untiring zeal and indefatigable labor he held steadfastly to his task, and, having obtained the requisite authority, he finally completed his report in a published book of over four hundred pages.* It is not possible nor necessary to give here anything more than a brief *résumé* of this work to enable the reader to

* "Armies of Asia and Europe," D. Appleton & Co., 1878.

acquire an intelligent opinion of its scope and character. But, for the military student to get a comprehensive view of his tour and to obtain a sound knowledge of its important lessons, a careful study of the report itself is indispensable.

General Upton possessed peculiar fitness for the duty to which he was assigned, and the means placed at his disposal for the accomplishment of his task were commensurate with its importance. To these points, therefore, it is well to refer briefly.

As his story so far shows, it is evident that he was an officer of rare merit and of excellent judgment and character; a graduate of the Military Academy, a brilliant commander of artillery, infantry, and cavalry during the late war, and the author of the infantry tactics in use in the army and militia. He had just completed an honorable tour of five years of duty as instructor of tactics and commandant of cadets at West Point, and was generally conceded to be one of the most accomplished soldiers of his day, an untiring, faithful, and methodical student of his profession, and was constantly supported by a genuine enthusiasm for the art of war. He was animated by an earnest desire to see his country free itself from the disadvantages of a policy of expedients, and establish a simple, economical, and efficient military system adapted to its real necessities, and governed by such just and correct principles as have been approved by all modern nations, as well as confirmed by its own bitter experience. Such was the man and such his capabilities for the task assigned to him.

Owing to the world-wide reputation which the

United States had gained in her unbounded resources, her untiring and steadfast adherence to principle, her immense sacrifices and expenditures in the successful prosecution and in the prestige arising from its happy termination of a great war, any of her military representatives would thus have been assured of the kindest reception from foreign governments. But Upton's commendatory letters contained something more than the usual diplomatic compliments. They were charged with expressions of appreciation of his character as a soldier of more than usual reputation, and thus insured a more than courteous reception, and a more thorough insight into military affairs. Possibly, moreover, as his country could in no way be regarded as an antagonist in a military or political sense, a greater latitude was allowed him as its representative in whatever investigations he wished to make in the art of war. Thus was the way made much more open than it would have been to one from a nation more deeply interested individually in the concerns of Europe or Asia.

To give the reader an insight only into the important deductions which General Upton drew from his observations, we will briefly condense his conclusions in the several important fields of his investigation, and, without further apology, make use of his own language whenever this may be practicable and convenient :

ARMY OF JAPAN.—Previous to 1867, the ideas which prevailed in the organization of this army, and in its military affairs, were not those of mod-

ern civilization. But in 1867, upon the solicitation of the Tycoon, a French commission was invited to undertake the task of instructing the Japanese troops in the tactics and regulations of the several arms of the service. But the revolution of 1868, which had for its principal object the restoration of the temporal power of the Mikado, brought the work of this military commission to a speedy close.

The Mikado, impressed by the importance of the modern system of the art of war, and desirous of firmly establishing his government, issued in 1871 his decree which established the imperial army of Japan, and obtained the aid of another French commission to organize and discipline it. This commission arrived in Japan in 1872. At the time of Upton's visit, it had already established at Yeddo the necessary institutions for the education of officers and non-commissioned officers in the various military branches, its military academy being modeled upon that of the United States at West Point.

The Japanese army was reorganized on a basis of one thousand men to each million inhabitants, for the peace establishment, with proper facilities for enlargement in time of war. The arms, equipment, drill, and discipline were modeled after the French types. Within three years (the interval between the arrival of the commission and General Upton's visit), substantial barracks had been erected, permanent institutions founded, and the army passed from the condition of an undisciplined horde to a respectably organized force. Insurrections no longer could gather headway, and success

attended Japanese military operations in Formosa and Corea. Japan, in the opinion of General Upton, turned at once from the stage of barbaric decadence to a progressive growth in civilization and enlightenment.

ARMY OF CHINA.—The numerical strength of the Chinese army can not be definitely stated, but is variously estimated at from half a million to a million men. It consists of the regular troops of infantry and cavalry stationed at Peking, with those at Hai-tien, and a hereditary or privileged soldiery called "Bannermen." These latter troops are seldom required to drill, and are therefore undisciplined, and are poorly armed.

Each province is obliged to support all the forces needed for its own defense and for that required for the defense of the empire, and hence the governors of provinces in time of peace seek to reduce their military forces to a minimum; corruption of the most flagrant kind exists, and its baleful influence permeates the military as well as the civil administration. China is as backward in its tactics as in its armament, and the military drills are mere burlesques compared with those of other armies. In China the profession of arms is without honor. Soldiers are considered as the refuse of society, and by the policy of the Government both officers and men are kept in hopeless ignorance, and are devoid of sentiments of magnanimity. The efficiency of the separate parts of the Chinese army depends on the character of the governor or highest civil authority that rules each province. But, lacking uniformity in their aims and methods, uniformity

is also wanting in the army; so that the troops in no two provinces are alike armed and equipped, but are as diverse as the characters of the governors who control them. Indeed, the result of General Upton's observations can be tersely stated to be that in no particular is there anything to be emulated, but everything to be avoided. The policy of China is essentially peaceful, but she has been twice subjugated, and to-day bears the yoke of a foreign dynasty whose ancestors were despised as barbarians. Within our own time repeated rebellions have imperiled the existence of the Government, and have only been suppressed after years of devastation, cruelty, and carnage. In the great Taeping rebellion the Government forces were repeatedly put to flight by the unorganized hordes who sought to throw off the imperial yoke, until finally China was obliged to call in foreign aid to recapture her cities.

Conquered by Mongols and Manchoos, the present dynasty, ruling nearly four hundred million people, and boasting of an army of more than five hundred thousand men, has suffered within a few years a European army of less than twenty thousand men to march to its capital and dictate the terms of peace.

China, servile in her admiration of the wisdom of past ages, attaining the highest stage of pagan civilization centuries before her competitors sprang into existence, remains motionless, a prey to corruption and discord. Without well-organized forces, without good roads or other means of speedy concentration, her seaboard provinces and even her

capital lie at the mercy of her enemies. If, reversing the picture, she were to adopt the Christian civilization; were to encourage purity, justice, truth, and integrity, by recognizing, as the basis of human action, responsibility to divine power; if, imitating the example of Japan, she were to establish schools and academies for the education of the officers and men of her army and navy, and were to make them feel that they were honored agents for the preservation of peace at home and to insure respect abroad—who could compute the vast resources and military strength of her people?

The realization of visions of peace and of conquest is within her grasp, but, delivered over to weakness, cruelty, ignorance, and superstition, history has yet to record whether she shall continue to be an independent nation, or, like India, become the vassal of a nobler people.

ARMY OF INDIA.—Upon the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, a complete reorganization of the army was effected. The causes which led to this were briefly these, viz.:

1. Irregular regiments, hastily equipped and led by brave and skillful English officers, fought with a zeal and steadiness approaching, if not equaling, that of the native regiments in the regular establishment. Owing to evils of detached service, by which many of the twenty-five European officers of each regiment sought employment in civil and political positions, these latter regiments were left in the hands of boys fresh from England who were without the slightest military experience; and, even when this

did not occur, those who remained with their regiments in time of peace, and were ambitious of distinction, were superseded at the opening of a campaign by officers hastily ordered back, whom years of detached service had unfitted for command.

2. The periods of detached service being indefinite, many officers sought exemption from the hardships and restraints of military discipline, knowing that the surest road to distinction lay in the civil service, in which officers were frequently appointed governors of millions of people.

3. Having grown old in such service, having enjoyed its pleasures and honors, having forgotten their tactics and regulations, their return to military duty produced jealousy and confusion, and was followed by the most dangerous and criminal of all experiments, that of sending men into action under incompetent leaders.

Therefore, since the irregular regiments fought well during the mutiny under three or four English officers, it was to be hoped that each regular regiment should do equally good service at least with seven or eight English officers, instead of twenty-five, and thus leave a surplus available for staff duty and detached service. From this idea came the organization of a staff corps in each presidency, embracing the combatant and non-combatant officers of the old Indian army.

For these reasons all the officers then in the staff, the artillery, and cavalry were ultimately merged into one body, "the staff corps," in each of the three presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. The transfer of an officer to this corps was conditioned

upon a certain proficiency in the native languages, in such a knowledge of his drill and duty as to qualify him to command a company of troops in all situations, and that his record should be such, while serving with his regiment, as to give evidence of his qualifications and fitness. This covers his probationary period, and he is then required to pass an examination of considerable range to test his military study and attainments.

After assignment to the staff corps, which is the ultimate destination of every European officer of the Indian army, the variety of service which they undergo is unequaled by that in any army in the world. Thus, they may serve in the commissariat, adjutant-general's, quartermaster-general's, or public works departments, with the native infantry or cavalry, or in the various branches of the civil service.

General Upton concludes that the military institutions of India present more features for our imitation than those of any army or country in Europe. In leading troops to battle the greatest skill is required on the part of officers, especially when the latter have but little confidence in themselves and in their subaltern or company officers. In this respect England has set us an example of distributing military talent which, had it been followed by our Government in the late civil war, would have saved thousands of lives and millions of treasure. In another respect her example, in the opinion of the author, is worthy of imitation; for she has succeeded with an army of two hundred thousand men in conquering and keeping in subjection an empire

of two hundred million without a single permanent staff corps. In our army all three corps are closed; the appointments are permanent, and no means are provided to weed out the inefficient or to encourage the aspiring. The military policy of the Government of India has unquestionably produced a beneficial effect in India upon the corps of officers, and has imparted to them a variety of military knowledge and experience not possessed by any other army.

At Calcutta we met a colonel who was a civil and military governor of four millions of people; at Muscat and Bushire military officers were intrusted with the diplomatic relations of India with Arabia and Persia; at the camp of Delhi the adjutant-general had previously been quartermaster-general, and was anticipating the expiration of his five years' service, which would give him the command of a brigade or a division.

All the officers we met at Delhi and elsewhere in India gave evidence that, whether in a military or civil capacity, they had been acting in spheres of responsibility far greater than those occupied by officers of other armies, and as a consequence showed a capacity and self-confidence far above their rank. The results attained in India are worthy of our closest study, and suggest whether in the impending reorganization of our army we should not as the first step establish a vital and interchangeable relation between the staff and the line. This idea will be found to have become a fruitful one in Upton's later life, and one which became the most potent in influencing his subsequent activity and labors.

THE ARMY OF PERSIA.—The effect of Asiatic civilization is conspicuously illustrated in the army of Persia. Corruption pervades every branch of military administration. The soldier who is too poor to escape the draft buys his time from his officers, and frequently remains at home when he is supposed to be in the ranks on the distant frontier. Even when following the colors of his regiment, by relinquishing his pay he may ply his trade or freely engage in commercial pursuits. Ordinarily the soldiers are small money-lenders, and the cavalry soldiers, with equal aptitude for gain, frequently hire out their horses or donkeys, and become the carriers of the country.

So prevalent is the employment of soldiers in all trades and professions that, when at Teheran reviews or manœuvres are ordered, it is not uncommon to see workmen, not suspected of being soldiers, drop their tools, don their uniforms, and take their places in the ranks. The duty completed, they return their clothing and muskets to the depot, and again resume work.

All these irregularities are well known, and are encouraged by the officers, who, in consequence of low salaries, seek through corrupt practices to eke out the means of support.

In no service in the world is it difficult for officers without principle to rob their government, and at the same time keep their accounts with apparent exactness. To avoid the danger of false muster, the soldier who is permanently absent is replaced by a substitute, who serves at a lower price; to enable the officers to draw his pay, the soldier simply leaves

in their possession his seal with his name, which the substitute attaches to the rolls.

With such relations between officers and soldiers it is impossible for discipline to survive. The substitutes only receive the instruction necessary to personate the soldiers who are absent, and so ignorant are they of arms and their use that only those which are worthless are placed in their hands. The drill is nothing but noise and display. The manœuvres are of the simplest kind. There is no commissariat; each infantryman provides his own food, and each cavalryman his rations and forage. As each soldier knows he must eat, he forages at every opportunity, and transports his supplies on a horse or donkey. There being no wagon-routes, wheeled vehicles are practically unknown, and, as a consequence, the number of animals accompanying an army often exceeds the number of men.

Bordered by Russia on the north, open to attack from Turkey on the west, accessible to England on the south, future events may soon prove that the capital of Persia, like that of all countries where military institutions are neglected, lies at the mercy of a few disciplined battalions.

Before passing to the consideration of the military organizations of Europe, General Upton thus alludes to the future of India, and it will be seen that, writing nearly ten years ago, he has, with remarkable prophetic vision, clearly foreshadowed much of what has already become established historical fact:

The largest concentration of troops in any one district in India is in the Punjaub, where there are from thirty to thirty-five thousand men, or nearly one half the force of the Bengal Presidency. It was through this door that Alexander, Genghis Khan, and Tamerlane entered India, and it is the door through which many Indian officers confidently expect the Russians.

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The continued occupation of India by England must afford a subject of deep speculation to statesmen, and all the causes that may contribute to prolong her rule deserve attentive consideration. . . . Since the mutiny was crushed, the whole face of India has changed. The Suez Canal enables English troops to be landed at Bombay in fewer weeks than before it took months, while the great lines of railway permit them to be sent directly to every important part of the empire.

But without aid from England the railway system by itself is sufficient to enable sixty thousand British troops to hold India almost indefinitely, even against the defection of the entire native army. Starting from Bombay, one trunk line goes to Madras, and, by its branches, opens up all of the southern peninsula; another stretches across to Allahabad, and connects with the great line of the Ganges, already completed from Calcutta to within two hundred miles of Peshawer; a second cross-line is in process of construction from Agra in the direction of Ahmedabad, and is completed to Nusseerabad; while a third cross-line from Lahore is completed to Mooltan, and will soon be extended

down the Indus to Kurrachee. As the link between Madras and Calcutta may be supplied by sea, four great lines of communication will shortly be opened from the shores of the Indian Ocean to the lines of the Ganges.

As the time has passed when the fate of India can be decided by a single battle, the lines of railway will be equally important in resisting invasion and in preserving peace.

Thoroughly prepared to suppress insurrection and rebellion, it is only when England beholds the encroachments of Russia that she becomes alarmed for her Eastern possessions. Like a wild beast gloating over its prey, she is conscious that the actual or supposed discontent of her subjects invites foreign nations to their rescue. Napoleon thought of emancipating them, and to Russia is ascribed the inheritance of his designs. Jealous of her great Northern rival, and not considering the barren wastes which extend hundreds of miles to the north and west of her frontiers, a future invasion, like a hideous nightmare, disturbs the dreams of the Indian rulers. The recent successes of Russia in Central Asia, by means of which the frontiers of the two powers have been brought nearly into contact, have increased the alarm; while the present war between Russia and the Turks is regarded as the sure forerunner of the great conflict.

With vast possessions stretching across two continents, and with only one natural outlet to the Atlantic, Russia feels that geographically she has a right to Constantinople, and, by the force of tradition, no less than by the irresistible weight of her

seventy million people, she demands, and ultimately will conquer, a free passage to the sea.

The expulsion of the Turks from Europe, whenever it may occur, will increase the dangers of England. Availing themselves of the sympathy of their co-religionists, who revere the Sultan as the successor of the Prophet, it is not impossible that the Turks should seek to indemnify themselves in Asia for their losses in Europe.

Largely outnumbering the Persians, and in every respect superior to them, the weakness of that kingdom invites subjugation; pressing onward in the footsteps of Alexander and Tamerlane, forty million Mohammedans stretch forth their hands for deliverance, and long for the restoration of the empire of the Moguls.

This may not be accomplished in one or a dozen campaigns; but, supported and encouraged by Russia, repeated invasions may involve the Indian Government in such expenditures as to induce it, in deference to an opinion already existing in England, to abandon India to her fate. But, without dwelling on the probabilities of Turkish aggrandizement, it is possible that the fate of India may be settled nearer home.

Constantly increasing, by her Eastern policy, the deadly feeling of hostility which already exists in Russia against her, the moment the former occupies Constantinople, England must seize upon Egypt. Once secure in Constantinople, the fleets of England can no longer oppose the designs of Russia. Converting the Black Sea into an inland lake, thus insuring her communications, a railroad from Trebi-

zond across to the valley of the Euphrates, and thence on to Damascus, will place Russia on the flank of England's line of communication. Thus brought face to face it is not impossible that these two great powers may change the face of Asia on the famous plain of Esdraelon.

General Upton prefaces the results of his study and observations of the military organizations of Europe with these remarks:

The study of military organization, to be profitable, must not only embrace the objects for which armies are raised, but the means adopted to enable them to accomplish these objects.

A glance at the armies of Asia shows that the Government of Japan, adopting a new civilization, has preserved its authority and consolidated its power by the maintenance of a military force of thirty-five thousand men, bearing the ratio of one thousand men to every million inhabitants.

In China an army varying from five hundred thousand to one million men, bearing the ratio of one or two thousand to every one million of the population, through corrupt and faulty organization is unable to preserve the peace. As a consequence, insurrection and rebellion frequently deluge the country with blood.

In India, as in Japan, a well-organized army of two hundred thousand men, bearing the ratio of one thousand to one million inhabitants, preserves tranquillity throughout the empire.

The chief object of all these armies is the maintenance of order and peace within their borders.

Turning from Asia to Europe, a remarkable contrast is presented. Claiming a higher civilization, we find from six to eight million young men taken from the family, the field, and the workshops to compose armies whose object is less the preservation of peace and the present status of their government than to contend for new territory and increased power in the ceaseless struggle for ascendancy which has characterized the history of Europe for the past thousand years.

To enable these vast armies to accomplish their mission, not only are the national resources exhausted, but human ingenuity is taxed to the utmost.

With the object for which they are maintained clearly in view, it is to the armies of Europe that we ought to look for the best military models; and if, through remoteness from formidable neighbors, or through the difference of our institutions, we are permitted to deviate from these models, either in details or in numbers, it should be only for such reasons as commend themselves to common sense, and can be vindicated by the wisdom and experience of other nations no less than ourselves.

After giving in sufficient detail the strength of the armies of Italy, Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and England, together with a succinct explanation of the organization of the various staff departments, and the means employed for the recruiting of troops and education of the officers, our author devotes considerable attention to the modifications which have resulted from the modern improvements in fire-arms, and in the tactics at pres-

ent existing among the infantry of the several countries. He then sums up in a comprehensive and yet compact form the conclusions applicable to our own service, and presents his views of the necessary reforms that should receive the attention of our Government.

These conclusions are at once so forcible and so radical in their scope that no mere brief can properly present them to the reader or military student. They demand earnest study on the part of every military man, and the freest discussion, before preconceived notions, or the conservative influence of previous training in our present military organization, can properly present objections to their forcible arguments.

In presenting the general principles which have governed the military nations of Europe in the organization of armies, Upton groups these in twenty-three statements.

Culling from these principles, we quote only those which are of the greatest importance, using his own forcible language, as the most efficacious for the general reader to get an outline of the conclusions to which his study and observation brought him.

Every citizen, in consideration of the protection extended to his life and property, is held to owe military service to his government. To equalize the burdens of military service, and to facilitate the equipment and mobilization of troops, each country is divided into military districts, to which are permanently assigned army corps, divisions, brigades,

regiments, and battalions, which draw from the districts all their recruits both in peace and war.

The army is maintained on two distinct footings—that of peace and war—each of which is determined by political considerations and financial resources; the ratio being generally that of one to two. The army on the peace-footing is but a training-school to prepare officers and men for efficient service in time of war. The duration of military service and general principle of drafting recruits are similar in all European countries; so that there exists in all a force undergoing training, called the regular or standing army; a part which has completed its active service, called the reserve; another the army of the second line, composed of troops of all arms, soldiers who have before served with the colors; and, finally, the great body of male citizens subject to military service in times of extreme necessity.

The line officers are in general educated for the military profession, at military academies, or are promoted from the ranks after displaying fitness for subordinate commands. The general staff officers, who acquire the highest professional training and widest experience, are required to alternate their service in the staff with service in the line. They thus keep in sympathy with the troops, know their wants and fighting qualities, and know how to manœuvre them in nearly every emergency that may arise.

Annual or biennial reports are required of commanding officers, which show the zeal, aptitude, special qualification, and personal character of every

subordinate under their command. Officers who manifest decided zeal and professional ability may be rewarded by rapid promotion. Those who display ignorance or incompetence, as evidenced by personal reports and special examinations, are not promoted, it being held that officers are maintained for the sole benefit of the Government.

The Government increases its chances of success, promotes economy, and preserves the *morale* of the troops, by keeping the regiments, batteries, and squadrons up to their fighting strength. Detached service is avoided by setting aside in each organization a number of non-combatants, such as artificers, teamsters, etc., who are never counted in the fighting strength. The vacancies in each organization are filled partly by men who have formerly served with the colors, and partly by recruits, who are soon taught by the old soldiers. The evil of detached service among officers is avoided by a complete staff organization on an independent footing, and especially by a separate organization of artillery and general military trains.

By the application of these principles Prussia, in 1866, was enabled to dictate terms of peace to Austria after a short campaign of six weeks; while in 1870, between the 15th of July and the 1st of September, Germany mobilized her forces, crossed the frontier, overwhelmed a great army, forced it to seek the shelter of its fortifications, securely invested it, captured an emperor at the head of a relieving army, and destroyed what was supposed to be the strongest military empire on the globe. In the first war the Prussian loss in killed, including

those who died of wounds and disease, was 10,877, and in the latter war the total loss was 40,881.

If we now compare our military policy during the first century of the republic with the present military policy of European nations, we shall find that the difference lies principally in this—that, while they prosecute their wars exclusively with trained armies, completely organized in all their parts, and led by officers specially educated, we have begun and have prosecuted most of our wars with raw troops whose officers have had to be educated in the expensive school of war. As the result of this policy the duration of our wars and the number of men called out have been as follows:

War of the Revolution....7	years.....	395,858
War of 1812.....2½	“	509,808
War with Mexico.....2	“	100,454
War of the rebellion.....4	“	2,683,759

In the war of the rebellion our losses in killed, including those who died of wounds and disease, were 304,369. The losses of the Confederates, as nearly as can be determined, were between two hundred and two hundred and fifty thousand men, making the total number of citizens who perished in the war exceed half a million.

Our author concludes that in order to diminish the disparity in the loss of life, due to the difference between our military policy and that of Europe, two plans suggest themselves, either of which, if matured in time of peace, and adhered to in time of war, will enable us to prosecute our future campaigns with economy and dispatch.

The first plan is to so organize, localize, and nationalize the regular army that by the mere process of filling its *cadres* it may be expanded to such proportions as to enable it, without other aid, to bring our wars to a speedy conclusion.

The second plan is to prosecute our future wars with volunteer infantry, supported by the regular artillery and cavalry, apportioning the regular officers among the volunteers in such a manner that all of the staff departments, and, if possible, all of the companies, battalions, brigades, and higher organizations shall be trained and commanded by officers of military education and experience.

Both of these plans, to be efficacious, must rest on the same foundation, viz. :

1. The declaration that every able-bodied male citizen, between certain ages, owes his country military service—a principle thoroughly republican in its nature, as it classifies in the same category and exposes to the same hardships the rich and the poor, the professional and non-professional, the skilled and unskilled, the educated and uneducated.

2. The division of the country into military districts and sub-districts, apportioning to them certain military organizations whose *cadres* shall be recruited within the limits assigned.

3. The abandonment by the Government of all payment of bounties, relying upon its right to draft men into the service whenever a district fails to furnish its quota.

4. The assumption by the Government of the recruitment of its armies through the medium of the provost-marshal-general's department, as was

done by both governments toward the close of the late war.

5. The inauguration of all the machinery for enrolling and drafting the moment war is declared.

6. The organization of regiments in all arms of the service, as in Europe, with depots representing them in the districts to which they belong, upon which depots requisitions shall be made by regimental commanders whenever vacancies are to be filled. It should be the duty of each depot to receive, arm, equip, and train all the recruits who volunteer or are drafted, and to forward them to their regiments; also, whenever recruits are wanted or men desert, to notify the provost-marshal of the district that the quota is deficient, in order that the number may be immediately supplied by volunteering or drafting.

7. All commissions to be issued by the President, apportioning the extra appointments among the States or military districts according to the number of troops furnished.

8. All commissions in the expanded organization to be provisional for the war; one third of the promotions to be reserved for distinguished skill and gallantry in battle, and to be made only on the recommendation of military commanders in the field or upon the report of boards specially appointed to investigate the act of skill or gallantry.

9. Promotion of all officers, after expansion, to be made on two lists—one being that of the regular arm of service, or staff department, to which the officer belongs, the second being the provisional list in the arm of service to which he is apportioned.

Each officer, on the contraction of the army, to return to duty with the rank attained in the regular list; one third of the promotions in the regular list to be regarded as original vacancies, to be filled by selection from the provisional list, no officer on the regular list being advanced more than one grade at a time; all promotions to the grade of second-lieutenant in the regular list to be made from cadets graduating from the Military Academy, and from lieutenants on the provisional list.

In the further presentation of this subject the author states that "neither of these plans can be successfully executed, nor can any other plan be devised for prosecuting our wars with economy of life and treasure, without special legislation looking to the increased efficiency and radical reorganization of the army." He then proceeds to discuss in detail the various branches of this important subject—the staff, personal reports, the suggested reorganization of the adjutant-general's department, the quartermaster's, the pay, signal, artillery and ordnance, and engineer corps. He next supplements this with his views as to the organization of the various arms of the service, both on a peace and war footing, and shows that his proposed peace establishment can be made expansive for time of war by the addition of two hundred and ten officers, and a slight diminution in the strength of the enlisted men over that required by the present expansive organization. The whole of his conclusions, being based on a careful study of foreign systems, and properly modified by the results of his own experience in our own service in peace and

war, are worthy of and entitled to the careful study of our military officers and statesmen. He says, finally :

In drawing my conclusions I have not been influenced by convictions as to what plans may or may not be adopted ; but, recognizing in the fullest degree that our present geographical isolation happily relieves us from the necessity of maintaining a large standing army, I have sought to present the best system to meet the demands of judicious economy in peace, and to avert unnecessary extravagance, disaster, and bloodshed in time of war.

Should we recoil before the small expenditures required to give us most of the advantages of an expansive peace establishment? We ought to bear in mind that in interest alone on our national debt, mostly accumulated as the fruit of an expensive military policy, we have paid in the last ten years more than eleven hundred and fifty million dollars.

The organization of national volunteers would give us in time of peace a regular army, a reserve, and the militia, and would enable us in time of war to prosecute our campaigns with vigor and economy, and with that regard for human life which becomes a free people.

In presenting this comprehensive report of his investigations abroad, it is needless to say that his conclusions and recommendations attracted the attention of the military profession, and created an active discussion on its merits in the daily press and military journals. And, while adverse criticisms of

many of its minor points were made, it is believed that no sound objection has been made or can be made against it as a whole. The question has not been settled as to what shall be our future military organization, but many of our prominent civil and military men are agreed that the present system is obsolete, and must be abandoned in the near future. Whatever new system may replace it, it is certain that the main features must be very similar to those which have been so boldly sketched by General Upton.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MILITARY POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

AN earnest believer in the existence of those higher qualities of our nature which cement men together in the strong bonds of brotherly comradeship, General Upton was capable of the most loyal friendship. His education and life in the army had fostered this natural tendency, and he had made many close friends, to whom he was in the habit of openly confiding the thoughts, opinions, and aspirations which actuated him through life. To one especially, Colonel Henry A. Du Pont, he was deeply attached. Classmates at West Point, brother artillery-officers during the war, associated for months together on the Board for the Assimilation of Tactics, and in constant, unrestricted correspondence, Upton's loyal heart experienced a reciprocity of affection peculiarly gratifying and almost essential to the demands of his nature.

Du Pont, who had gained the honors of his class at West Point, possessed a fine literary taste and a cultivated intellect which attracted and charmed Upton's practical and active mind. The special characteristics of each were complementary, but not antagonistic, and it was natural, therefore, that Upton, in writing his report, should turn to Du Pont for that criticism which he so much needed for his own

encouragement and confidence. In full sympathy with Upton's aims, Du Pont freely placed his talents at his friend's disposal.

This generosity on the one part and its recognition on the other are evident in the following extracts taken from letters written by Upton to Du Pont. These, also, show how the vastly more important work, "The Military Policy of the United States," grew out of the study of his report on the "Armies of Asia and Europe"; and, finally, they are valuable in exhibiting the origin of some of the more important views accepted by Upton as the fundamental principles upon which he constructed his "Military Policy."

He was led to the study of our military history, and to seek the causes of our existing military policy, in contrasting the condition of our army with those of other countries. He very soon found that a thorough mastery of his subject necessitated careful historical research, a close scrutiny of recorded events, and an unsparing sacrifice of all his leisure time. But he also became convinced that he had happened on a mine which, properly worked, would yield a treasure of the greatest value to his profession, and, above all, to the country. He therefore resolved to undertake its systematic development.

While he did not live to complete his work, yet it was in such a condition at the time of his death that it only required some finishing touches. These could best be given by his devoted friend Colonel Du Pont, to whom, with firm reliance in his ability and friendship, he confided the completion of his task.

Having been permitted to read the original manuscript of Upton's work by the courtesy of the editor, in order to embody a brief outline of its scope in this memoir, we finished the perusal with a deep sense of the military ability, enthusiastic patriotism, and wise statesmanship which animated its author from the beginning to the end.

The extracts of the letters referred to above form a sufficient introduction to this outline :

FORT MONROE, *April 1, 1877.*— . . My new duties will be very congenial to me. I have superintendence of all the studies of the officers and of the practical duties in infantry. In the one department of strategy and grand tactics I shall hope to repay to the Government all of the expense it incurred in sending me abroad.

West Point is, in my judgment, far superior to any academy abroad for preparatory training of officers. But, once in the service, we have nothing to compare with the war academies of Europe, except the Artillery School. You know how ignorant our generals were, during the war, of all the principles of generalship. Here, I think, we can correct that defect and form a corps of officers who in any future contest may prove the chief reliance of the Government.

My report has yet to be written. I doubt not it will disappoint many people, as I intend to expose the vices of our system, instead of simply describing the organizations abroad. We can not Germanize, neither is it desirable, but we can apply the principles of common sense, and by devis-

ing a plan in time of peace save the Government, in the event of war, much of the blood and treasure it has expended in its former contests.

September 30, 1877.— . . . I am going to trace our military policy from the beginning of the Revolutionary War to the present time, and, if possible, expose its folly and criminality. In reading over Washington's letters, I find many valuable descriptions of the very system that we are pursuing to-day. The account of the battle of the Brandywine was very interesting. Although it can not be claimed that our forefathers distinguished themselves on that day, Congress thought proper to reward their valor by voting a bounty of thirty hogsheads of rum as a compliment to their gallant services.

April 11, 1878.— . . . I have, as I have already informed you, the intention of writing a book called "The Military Policy of the United States," but by severely quoting history it would so bear down upon the militia as to make such an uproar as possibly to destroy the value of the book. Should we have war with England, ten or twenty years hence, and begin it as we did the last war, even with fifty thousand regulars, she could lay every one of our large sea-coast cities under contribution, and it would require two or three years to shake her off. I have a large amount of material already collected and arranged. Tell me what you think of the project.

The present drift of politics is leading to the destruction of property, and I would not be surprised to see universal repudiation of State and

municipal debts, accompanied by great private distress and prostration of business. In such a case our military policy would be as wretched and feeble as that of China.

November 6, 1878.— . . . I send by express what I consider the driest chapter of my proposed book, extending from the War of 1812 to the Florida War. The manuscript of the Revolution takes up two hundred and thirty-five pages; from the Revolution to 1812, one hundred pages; War of 1812, one hundred and fifty pages; this chapter, seventy-six; total, five hundred and fifty-five pages. The Florida War, Mexican War, rebellion, and conclusion, will take as much more. I have given up the hope of making the book popular with the general reader, as, to give it value with Senators and Representatives, it must be filled with facts and statistics. Please criticise what you see, as a friend, not sparing my feelings. Tell me if there is a spirit of captiousness, fault-finding, or personal prejudice. . . . General Sherman is very anxious to have me go on with the work, but he tells me that I will receive much abuse. He has read up to the War of 1812, and says I arraign the politicians as "extravagantly blind." My endeavor is to trace responsibility in every instance to its source, as the only means of producing a change for the better.

November 19, 1878.—The manuscript arrived this evening, and, after glancing over your criticisms and suggestions, there is scarcely one that I shall not be glad to adopt. Where you say I am too strong, I shall carefully amend. The one danger to which I am exposed is putting things in an offensive

light, when bare facts would better speak for themselves. . . . Both General Sherman and General Garfield have read the manuscript up to this chapter. The War of 1812 I feared would disgust them, but they say it is all right, adding the caution that I ought to fortify every assertion. . . . The book can not do immediate good, so I shall be in no hurry. The facts, however, may in future be of service to the statesman, and hence I am willing to collect them. The abuse for my pains I expect will be unlimited. . . . You ask if the President has delegated to generals the power to call out the militia. It was done during the Florida War, and also at the beginning of the Mexican War. In the late war the Fifth Artillery and all the new infantry regiments were raised by proclamation of President Lincoln, for which he could have been impeached, but Congress afterward legalized his action. I shall try to bring out all these facts, to show that our danger lies, not in having a regular army, but in the want of one.

November 28, 1878.— . . . Your difficulty about the militia, I think, has been solved by substituting the word "authorized" for "delegated." In the Seminole War General Jackson was authorized to call out the militia, but he was berated by the Senate committee for substituting volunteers instead.

January 13, 1879.— . . . I have glanced over your criticisms and suggestions sufficiently to discover that the manuscript can be greatly improved. They have been made with your usual care and judgment, and I am very grateful for them. Your criticism on my tendency to long sentences is emi-

nently just, and I shall profit by it. I never get involved in one without thinking of Evarts. . . . I feel that in submitting the manuscript to you, I shall escape much criticism not only as to style but to manner. . . . The book ought to be a candid presentation of facts bearing always on the final responsibility of Congress.

Until our Representatives appreciate this responsibility, we shall witness no improvement in our military policy. The staff, I expect, will defeat the present bill, and, as a result, the next Congress will not spare. Very shrewdly they pretend that it is designed to exalt the General of the Army above the Secretary of War, or the military above the civil power.

The facts which you will yet discover will enable me to take the ground that neither by the Constitution nor the laws is the Secretary of War entitled to exercise command, and that, whenever he departs from the sphere of administration to control military operations, he is nothing more nor less than a usurper. This is a little strong; but when one President has been impeached by the House for attempting to remove a Secretary who claimed that his orders were the President's orders, I think it time that some one should present his position to the army in its proper light.

The Constitution, laws, decisions of the Supreme Court, and of the Attorney-General, nowhere give him the authority to command. In administration he is independent of the President, and ought to be, as thereby the purse is separated from the sword.

Congress undoubtedly has the right to enable him to make all contracts for supplies, etc. This power belongs to it under the constitutional right to raise and *support* armies. Could it give him the right to command, then the army could at any moment pass under the absolute control of Congress. It was to prevent this that the Constitution declares that the President shall be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy. . . . I have gone far enough to see that most of our trouble has been caused by adhering to the fallacy of State sovereignty, and I wish, therefore, to develop the supreme power of Congress to raise armies more fully.

October 31, 1879.—I was much gratified with your commendation of the tone and method of the first chapter (of the civil war), and your suggestions shall be heeded. There should be no confusion in the names of the classes of troops. Volunteers can become veterans but not regulars. As to McDowell, he comes out so badly from the second Bull Run, that it is but charity to speak a good word for him at the first. Besides, with raw troops it is neck or nothing, dash or defeat. McClellan was always accused of being tardy and timid. Jackson, one of the best leaders of raw troops in history, always acted with blind confidence. It was the only chance he had of success. . . . The campaign of 1862 is very difficult. If I make it short, the reader may doubt my facts and conclusions. If too long, he may weary of the subject. If you want to know who was the cause of a three years' war after we created a disciplined army of six hundred thousand men, it was Stanton. But Stanton did not create

the system—the system created Stanton. This I wish to prove beyond contradiction.

December 28, 1879.—To-morrow I shall finish the original draft of the campaign of 1862. Its volume is startling. Twice I destroyed all that I had finished, because it fell short of carrying conviction. It may astonish you that I now regard McClellan, in his military character, as a much-abused man. For his political blunders he paid the penalty of removal; but the difference of opinion between him and the Administration would probably never have arisen but for the interference of Stanton. He was at the bottom of all the disasters of the year 1862, and, if this fact can be established, then the blame can be laid upon a system which still permits the Secretary of War to usurp military command. I began the work with the intention of avoiding politics; but it is impossible. Every military law has politics behind it, and the treatment will fall short unless every defect noticeable in the law is traced to its final cause.

February 28, 1880.—You know at one time I tried to avoid political entanglements, but it is impossible. When I take up the revision, the fallacy of State sovereignty must be exposed. It lies at the root of all the weakness in our military system. Did you see, for example, in the Florida War, that we went through the regular steps—first the militia, then the volunteers, and lastly fell back on the regulars?

The Mexican chapter brings you up to the rebellion, but I shall yet have to insert a chapter on command and administration, which will bring out

the controversy between General Scott and Jeff Davis, with the famous decision of Attorney-General Cushing, that "the order of a Cabinet minister is valid, as the order of the President, without any reference to or consultation with him." So long as this decision stands, we shall have Stantons who will not hesitate to usurp all the functions of the President and the general-in-chief. I shall discuss the case theoretically, and then trace its influence in prolonging the rebellion from one to four years.

June 19, 1880.—Sometimes, I am free to admit, I get discouraged. The McClellan question has run the manuscript up by nearly four hundred pages. The campaign of 1862, the most critical of the war, is hardly in shape for your painstaking revision. I fear I have made too many quotations, and yet nothing will be received as condemnatory of Stanton's interference unless substantiated by documentary proof.

It will be noticed, from the dates of the above letters, that Upton accomplished his arduous labor within the short period of two and a half years, and this is the more striking when we remember that he could only devote himself to it in the intervals occurring between his official duties. So wide is the range of his researches, and so many and important are the matters that receive his attention, that it is possible here to give but the merest passing notice of his voluminous manuscript. He has divided his subject into its several natural and component parts, and has endeavored to so proportion them according to their importance as to form

a complete and harmonious structure. These divisions, being those which mark the military epochs of our history, are :

1. The Military Policy during the Revolution.
2. From the Revolution to the War of 1812.
3. During the War of 1812.
4. From the War of 1812 to the Florida War.
5. During the Florida War.
6. During the Mexican War.
7. From the Mexican War to the War of the Rebellion.
8. During the rebellion as far as 1862, where the manuscript ends.

In each of these he gives a brief outline of the military condition of the country at the commencement of the period, the laws which controlled the military organization, the measures adopted to raise, equip, arm, subsist, and pay the forces employed, and an analysis of the several campaigns which resulted. He searches for the causes that brought about disaster, shows unmistakably their common parentage, and proves that most of our difficulties and dangers have been precipitated by a repetition of blunders which wise legislation and statesmanship should have prevented from recurring. He presents throughout the whole a clearly outlined military policy, based upon the Constitution, and demonstrates by irresistible arguments that it is essential not only for the future prosperity of the country, but for its continued safety and existence.

The Revolutionary period is characterized by the most flagrant corruption, the worst of all bad financial systems, and the most imbecile government

and control of the army. The history of the war is the recital of stupendous blunders. It was carried on by a Continental Congress, destitute of executive power, issuing "resolves" to practically independent States, whose troops professed no allegiance to Congress and but little to the States themselves. The troops, being enlisted for short periods, poorly armed, ill clad, and half starved, were forced to act on the defensive against a force superior in numbers and discipline, and should (by all the laws of probability) have been totally defeated and dispersed. That one of the foremost military powers of Europe failed to keep so rich and fertile a country in subjection, its people being so few and so disunited, and controlled by so indifferent a military policy, will ever be an historical mystery. Yet, by a series of what we must regard as providential circumstances, this ragged, half-starved, non-cohesive Continental army contrived to rescue the country from despotic government. To the blunders of England, the timely aid of France, and to the peculiar condition of European affairs, much of our success was due. Often so delicately poised was the balance, that its inclination could scarcely be predicted. Twice were dictatorial powers conferred on Washington, who, even in the most gloomy period, and in times of deepest distress, by his steadfast patriotism, unconquerable tenacity, and undoubted military talents, dissipated the clouds of discontent and revived the national hope. As a central figure in the Revolution, in encouraging his frozen veterans to hold fast, to suffer, and to endure, relying on a future recompense when the present offerings were

barren, while he was at the same time almost without hope of successful resistance, and the victim of the worst military policy that could be devised by human ignorance and imbecility, Washington is without a peer in history. His Revolutionary experience should be made the classic study of every child in the land, that his example should sink deep in its mind as the one true type of disinterested patriotism, and to whom it owes, under Providence, the blessings of the exuberant freedom that we now enjoy.

The lessons clearly taught by the Revolutionary War are outlined briefly: 1. Any unwise or feeble military policy is wasteful in men, money, and material; no sound reason can be advanced for the adoption of such a policy that can not with equal force be urged for a stronger one. That the military policy of the Continental Congress resulted in great losses, and was carried on at great expense and sacrifice, is shown by ample statistics obtained from the unquestioned authority of the public records; the total number of troops enlisted, many for very short terms, amounted to nearly four hundred thousand men, and had entailed an expenditure in pensions alone of over eighty million dollars.

2. Any nation attempting to combat disciplined troops with raw levies must maintain an army at least double that of the enemy, and even then without any guarantee of success. That voluntary enlistments based on patriotic sentiment, or on the payment of bounties, can not be relied on to supply troops for a prolonged war, but that the draft,

either with or without such enlistments, is the only safe reliance of a government in time of war.

3. That short enlistments at the commencement of a war compel the Government to resort to bounties, or the draft; that they are always destructive of discipline, constantly expose an army to disaster, and inevitably prolong war with its attendant evils.

4. That regular troops engaged for the war are the only safe reliance, and, in every point of view, the best and most economical.

5. That discipline gives value to troops; that it is the fruit of long training, and can only be had with a good corps of officers.

6. That the insufficiency of mere numbers to counterbalance the laxity of discipline should convince us that our policy in peace and war should be to have, in the words of Washington, "a good rather than a large army."

The mistakes committed during the Revolution did not prevent their repetition in the succeeding wars. The exultation and false security which resulted from the miraculous preservation of our liberties under the most trying and adverse circumstances, gave birth to a fallacious principle which has already cost the country great treasure and thousands of the lives of its best citizens. The belief that a "standing army is dangerous to the liberties of the country," readily accepted by the people, is but a counterfeit truth. Its falsity is apparent when the clear distinction is made between an army of citizens who owe military allegiance to the country, created by the sovereign will of the people, and one composed of the hirelings of des-

potic power. But the fallacious statement has found favor in the mouths of demagogues, and has been the key to unlock Pandora's box in the successive wars that have from time to time occurred.

Passing to the period from the close of the Revolution till the adoption of the Constitution, our author shows that, no attention having been paid to Washington's recommendation regarding the proper peace establishment, the army became a mere cipher in efficiency, and this was due to several causes. State sovereignty was arrayed against national unity, and was the primary cause. In 1784 the army was reduced to eighty persons; in 1785 Congress was forced to increase it to seven hundred for one year, in order to garrison the frontier posts, but the officers were apportioned among the States from which the troops were drawn. In 1787 the seven hundred men were raised for three years.

The Constitution created the war power of Congress, which thereafter became the responsible agent for the establishment of the armies of the republic. In 1789 the Secretary of War was made subject to the President instead of to Congress, and, because of the serious defect of non-expansion of the peace establishment, the President could only call out the militia or the undisciplined troops in emergencies, but could not increase the regular army by a single man. By the act of 1791 the power of appointing officers was transferred from the President to the Governors of States, and was practically a return to the methods in use during the Confederation.

In his treatment of the subject during this period, General Upton exhibits the successive changes in organization through which the army passed, quoting the acts of Congress relating thereto; shows clearly the causes which in the transition period from the Confederation to the adoption of the Constitution affected its strength and efficiency; outlines with sufficient brevity the events in which conflicts against the operation of law required the use of armed forces, such as Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts, and the whisky rebellion in Pennsylvania, with their attendant lessons; traces the influence of congressional action in defining, limiting, and modifying the powers of the President and the Secretary of War; portrays the effect of the military policy in the disasters attending the operations of the land-forces in the War of 1812, and contrasts these with the brilliant victories gained by the navy, which are shown to be due to its better policy of administration and superior organization.

It is almost impossible to read with patience, or without deep humiliation, the recital of the campaigns of the War of 1812. The attempts to disperse a small force of British regulars which had captured Hull's army at Detroit, defeated and captured Winchester's command at Frenchtown, once besieged Fort Meigs, and twice invaded Ohio, and only met with one small rebuff at the hands of a stripling of twenty-one years of age, in command of one hundred and sixty regulars at Fort Stephenson, convey a military lesson of the highest importance. Exclusive of the hastily organized and half-

filled regiments of regulars, it is shown that fifty thousand militia were called out from the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, to withstand a force of only eight hundred British regulars and their Indian allies in the Northwest. Equal prodigality and humiliation characterized the operations in the North, and official data show that during the year 1813 a total force of sixty-six thousand three hundred and seventy-six, mostly militia, were employed to observe a force of but twenty-six hundred British regulars and sailors. Employing raw troops and acting on the principle of short enlistments in the Creek War in Alabama necessitated the use of fifteen thousand militia to withstand a force of not more than fifteen hundred Indians. In 1814 the capture of Washington and the destruction of its public buildings completed the national humiliation. Intimately connected with the disasters of that year is the usurpation by the Secretary of War of military command in the field, and his interference in the plans of the military commanders, until the President was forced to resume his constitutional prerogative, and to direct that "the Secretary of War should give no order to any officer commanding a district without previously receiving Executive sanction."

Even the brilliant victory at New Orleans furnishes its example of lack of discipline, insubordination, and total disregard of obedience, which threatened for a time the success of our arms. As an evidence of our most unfortunate military conduct of the war, although at the same time of the liberality of the republic, it is stated that the pen-

sioners of the War of 1812 received from the public Treasury, during the fiscal year of 1873-'74, the sum of over two million dollars.

In this recital General Upton marshals his historical facts in the strongest array, and reaches his conclusions by reasoning as rigid and un fanciful as the supporting facts themselves.

Upon the close of the War of 1812 the army, by the act of March 3, 1815, ceased to be provisional and became a permanent organization, which, together with an increase in the number of cadets at the Military Academy, assured the cultivation of the military art. From this time, whenever the regular army met the enemy, it gave the best assurances of the wisdom of these measures. It not only sustained the national honor and preserved the military art, but established the standard of discipline for the volunteers and militia in future wars, and furnished competent military commanders whose records are not without credit.

Passing by the many interesting questions that had a most important bearing upon the military profession during the interval up to the Mexican War, and which the author discusses in the happiest manner, we refer briefly to some points developed in his analysis of the Mexican War.

So brilliant were the campaigns conducted by Generals Taylor and Scott, that the statement made by the author, that the war was fought under the same system of laws and executive orders as that of 1812, seems almost paradoxical. But the explanation shows that, in spite of our vicious military policy, the causes which brought such renown to

our arms are to be found in the military weakness of our adversary and the excellence of our regular army. He shows that we had ample time to prepare for the war, which was to be one of invasion and conquest; that the regular army, which amounted to less than seventy-five hundred men in May, 1846, might have been expanded so that at least eight thousand could have been given Taylor at Corpus Christi before the opening of the campaign; that, instead of adopting so wise a measure, contingent authority was conferred on him to call for volunteers from the Governors of Texas and Louisiana, without there being the slightest means provided for their equipment, supply, or payment; and that events forced him to open the campaign against an organized force of six thousand of the enemy with a strength of but twenty-two hundred and twenty-two men.

The responsibility of putting in jeopardy this small body of regular troops, and almost sacrificing the advantages of a first success, rests upon Congress, and in a measure upon the President. It extricated itself by the two battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, scoring for itself a victory which was due no less to the courage and discipline of its men and officers than to the skill of its commander. For these had been trained for six months in the camp at Corpus Christi, under officers four fifths of whom had received military education, while many had also had experience in the Florida War.

It was not until after these successes that the volunteers reached Point Isabel, and afforded a

striking instance of mismanagement and ignorant criminality on the part of the Government. Before the volunteering, commenced in excitement, could be stopped, over eight thousand were sent to General Taylor wholly destitute of equipment, arms, transportation, and indeed of everything needed for aggressive or defensive warfare, so that they were compelled to remain near this depot until the end of their enlistment (three months), and until they were discharged! They returned to their homes without firing a shot, and suffered a loss of one hundred and forty-five by disease, but twenty-five less than the total of our killed and wounded in the two battles of the 8th and 9th of May, 1846.

So quickly did the country respond to the call of the President of May 13, 1846, that General Taylor found it difficult to employ and subsist the volunteers who flocked to his standard, and he was compelled to leave over six thousand behind, which, however, by subsequent drill and discipline, formed an excellent army of the second line. The battle of Monterey was fought by his army of two divisions of regulars and one division of volunteers, six thousand in all. Buena Vista was fought by trained volunteers, whose valor justified his foresight in having them trained and disciplined. In this noted battle the enemy, twenty thousand strong, were utterly defeated by forty-three hundred volunteers, supported by but four hundred and fifty-three regular infantry and artillery. At the critical moment the splendid courage and skillful handling of the regular batteries, which, in the language of General Taylor, were "always in action at the right time

and in the right place," inspired the whole army, and snatched victory from almost certain defeat.

Scott's campaign affords striking lessons and many warnings of the fatal military policy adopted by the Government. After a series of extraordinary successes and remarkable trials, he reached Puebla, within three days' march of the enemy's capital, with an army reduced by expiration of service and sickness to five thousand eight hundred and twenty effective men. Here he was compelled to remain on the defensive for more than two months, while the enemy, profiting by the delay, recruited and reorganized his army to over thirty thousand men and one hundred pieces of artillery. And it was not until the 7th of August that General Scott, after receiving recruits in driblets, could muster ten thousand effective men, and secure the succession of marvelous victories which, on the 14th of September, culminated in the capture of the city of Mexico.

The military legislation with which Congress busied itself during this war receives sharp criticism from the pen of General Upton. Here and there are found acts which receive commendation, but it must be confessed that the major part, as exhibited by him, and clearly supported by the strongest array of facts, is alike discreditable to the statesmanship of our legislators and to the common sense of humanity. This period is so fully treated that we must content ourselves with commending the whole chapter to the careful study of every citizen who has at heart the honor of his country, that his pride may not blind him to the serious defects

which, uncorrected, may yet prove a danger to our future liberties, and to our existence as a nation.

At the close of the Mexican War the army was again reduced from thirty thousand eight hundred and ninety to ten thousand three hundred and twenty men, and the only trace left by it on the military organization was the addition of a single regiment of mounted rifles, the increase of each regiment of artillery by two companies, and the addition of one major to each infantry regiment. The army consisted then of fifteen regiments, varying in strength from five hundred and fifty-eight to eight hundred men each, without any provision for future contingencies. This was partially remedied by the act of 1850, which authorized the President to make use of the expansive principle to those regiments serving at remote posts and on the Western frontier, but it was not till 1853-'54 that advantage was taken of this authority. Too feeble to afford protection to the vast territory, the army received, by the act of March 3, 1855, two additional regiments of cavalry and two of infantry, making the total number of companies one hundred and ninety-eight, and which would have aggregated eighteen thousand three hundred and forty-nine men had the expansive principle been applied.

In 1858, as a measure of fancied economy, a regiment of mounted volunteers was authorized for Texas and two for Utah, whose officers were appointed from the States furnishing the troops. The principal military operations in this period, from 1848 to 1861, were confined to Indian troubles and the Utah Expedition, which had the effect of trans-

ferring nearly all the troops of the regular army west of the Mississippi.

As an historical study, that part of General Upton's work which we have so far briefly reviewed would alone be of the greatest interest, and amply repay attentive study. It is, however, but the prelude to the more careful presentation and analysis of the first years of the *great civil war*. Himself a prominent actor in many of its most important campaigns, he displays in this branch of his subject a masterly power of analysis, an intimate knowledge of the controlling circumstances, a settled conviction, and an earnest belief in the theoretical truth which he has set out to demonstrate. It forms by far the greater part of his work, and therefore can hardly be summarized within the assigned limits of this memoir. We can only refer, in a somewhat disconnected manner, to a few of the more prominent points of his analysis, and must content ourselves with commending this chapter to the most careful study of the interested student.

By the action of the previous Administration, one hundred and eighty-three companies of the line of the regular army had been sent to the extreme frontier; and, of the fifteen remaining, but five were available for garrisoning the nine permanent fortifications on the Southern Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The new Administration was thus effectually prevented from using any portion of the regular forces of the United States even for the defense of the capital. Recourse was of necessity had to undisciplined militia; and the humiliating spectacle was presented of the first body of militia

called into service from the District of Columbia exacting conditions of the Government, or of flatly refusing service! Throughout the North, to so low a standard had the military art descended among the militia—a few regiments in the great cities alone excepted—that, although numbering over three million men, they possessed neither instruction nor a respectable organization. They could not be considered in any sense a military force, and yet recourse must be had to them, and to them alone, in the exigencies then pressing.

Both the Revolutionary War and that of 1812 had distinctly shown that any system of national defense based on the consent and co-operation of the States possessed no element of strength or military value. And yet the President was forced to depend on this system, and avail himself of its assistance, because of the paucity of the regular army, its scattered condition, and the pressing need of speedy action.

The conduct of the Governors of the States in response to the call of the President was, as in 1812, largely controlled by their own political sentiments and party affiliations. In the North, the response was prompt and decisive; in the South, just the contrary; and in the border States it was characterized by a refusal, or a temporizing policy. In six of these latter, which afterward furnished nearly a quarter of a million men for the Government, the Governors assumed the responsibility of declining to accede to the request of the President, without even giving the people the opportunity of expressing their will.

The rebellion, spreading rapidly, soon covered a territory over three quarters of a million square miles in area, and involved over eight and a half millions of people. Both sections made ample preparations for war. On the part of the Government, a call for seventy-five thousand militia for three months was made; the South more wisely issued a proclamation for one hundred thousand volunteers for twelve months' service, and thus both repeated the blunder of short enlistments, but in different degrees.

Controlled by circumstances, the President was forced to assume dictatorial powers, and to usurp the functions of Congress in decreeing an increase of the regular army and navy, and in making a call for volunteers. He was impelled to this step as a measure of absolute necessity, inasmuch as Congress had neglected to provide for any system of national defense; and, although the new Congress promptly legalized his action, it is well to call attention to the historical fact that the President raised armies, provided a navy, and opened the doors of the Treasury to irresponsible citizens. This immense stride toward despotic power was attended with no serious danger to the liberties of the country, simply because of the personal character and patriotic devotion of the President, and the active spirit of liberty existing among the people whom he served.

Another anomaly in our history is also to be noticed in this crisis. The growth of business at the War Department increased with such rapidity that the Secretary was obliged to turn over to the

Secretary of the Treasury, as a pressing necessity, the organization of the forces called into service. Many of the details of this organization were discussed and recommended by an irresponsible board of three army officers, but the final decision was made by the Secretary of the Treasury. The author shows that the recommendations of this board, based on professional knowledge, had they been adopted, would have been of the greatest value and importance. But, unfortunately, those relating to the organization of the volunteer regiments, to their forming a part of the regular army of the United States, and to the methods of commissioning their officers, were not favorably considered, and the Government was committed by the action of a Cabinet officer other than the War Secretary to the mistaken and vicious policy of State troops in a war for national existence.

Other errors, which to the unprofessional mind might appear trivial, but which, once committed, were attended with disastrous results, are also noted and receive comment. Among these are the failure on the part of the Government to appreciate the value of the professional skill and training within its control, and to make use of them to the best advantage; its unwise action in regard to the tendered resignations of regular officers of Southern birth and affiliations, and, by readily accepting such resignations as were offered, contributing to the military strength of the rebellion; the retention of the regular army as a separate organized force, which, though insignificant in point of numbers, contained over six hundred well-instructed captains and subalterns

who could have been much more profitably employed in the great army of volunteers, in commands of higher importance; and, finally, in discouraging those regular officers who desired a field of wider usefulness from taking volunteer commissions.

The battle of Bull Run exhibits the folly of relying on an army composed of troops engaged for short enlistments, and was but a repetition of what had so often occurred in the War of 1812, but whose lessons seemed not to have been learned by those responsible for its happening. That the battle was brought about by the combination of many causes—such as the intemperate zeal of the press and loyal citizens in urging a speedy advance; the belief that the army would exhibit, in the aggregate, the same courage and bravery which existed in the patriotic citizen; that it possessed sufficient discipline and military instruction to overcome its adversary; and the weakness of the Government in risking at this time so much by yielding to popular clamor—is clearly shown in General Upton's analysis. The anxiety to profit by the service of those regiments whose time was about expiring brought about its share of the disaster, not only in Patterson's command, but also in the main army, where it is shown that at least one regiment, insisting on its right to discharge, marched from the field to the sound of the enemy's guns! The panic which followed the battle is shown to be the direct result of lack of discipline, want of confidence in commanders, and is strongly contrasted with the firmness displayed by the battalion of regular troops, under Sykes, which covered the retreat.

The other military operations of this year, which, in the excited state of public feeling, were then regarded as national disasters, added their depressing influence, and are shown to be, in the light of future estimation, minor skirmishes, important only in educating our troops in the expensive school of war.

The situation at the close of this first year of the war was such as to give us a most vigorous and abundant military legislation. Congress, in attempting to repair the mistakes previously committed, was prodigal in voting men and money for the vigorous prosecution of the war. It, however, was the victim of the fatal delusion that this generous disposition of our means and resources removed from its shoulders all other responsibility. It regarded the responsibility as being shifted to the shoulders of its generals, forgetting that armies require time for their evolution, drill and discipline for their efficiency, and can not be created by the mere stroke of the pen. The analysis of the military legislation of this epoch is most important, as our author points out the delusions which then characterized the military measures that engaged the attention of Congress. Rejecting in 1861 the principle of obligatory military service of its citizens, which had been declared in 1792, and still alarmed at the prospect of a regular army, Congress violated the practice of every civilized nation by calling out a vast number of untrained men without providing the necessary means to form them into disciplined troops, except by the most expensive and wasteful of all measures. It provided no regimental depots, and made no provision for keeping the regiments full, either by

voluntary enlistment or by the draft. It made no provision for officers of capacity or education, but intrusted the lives of its citizens and the conduct of affairs to ignorant and, in many cases, incompetent leaders. It gave, to those who proved themselves deserving, no hope of reward save through the Governors of the States. It permitted company officers to be elected by the men, and field officers by the company officers, to the certain destruction of discipline, and to the encouragement of the worst kind of intriguing. Until volunteering gave place to the draft, the troops were enrolled, subsisted, clothed, supplied, armed, equipped, and transported by State agents, and the Government paid the bills. It was forced to convene boards to examine into the qualifications of officers commissioned by State Governors, and to peremptorily dismiss large numbers of worthless officers from the service. According to our author, it is scarcely possible to contrive or to imagine a more vicious military policy than that with which we began the war and retained for a considerable time, and he shows that the responsibility rests upon our so-called statesmen, to whom the experience of history conveys no lessons worth the learning.

The campaigns of the war during the year 1862, as delineated by writers, present to the general reader an intricacy and confusion which are in striking contrast to the clear exposition made by General Upton. He divides the year into three periods, the first characterized by offensive operations on the part of the Union forces, the second by defensive, and the third by offensive operations again. He separates

the territory covered by the operations of war into three departments, the Eastern, Middle, and Western. He gives from official sources the data concerning the positions, strength, and movements of the contending forces, and the results of the operations belonging to each period. He closes each historical sketch with a critical analysis of the causes which determined our success or defeat. With an assertion well established that the advantage was greatly in favor of the Union forces at the beginning of the first period, he shows that at the end it had wholly passed over to the Confederates, although the period was marked by a succession of Union victories. He accounts for this change by reason of two facts: first, the great extent of front covered by our armies; and, second, that these armies were under the command of eight distinct officers, having no common head save the President of the United States.

During the second period the Government and the Confederacy conducted the war on contrary principles. The former fought as a confederacy, and the latter as a nation. To establish this statement General Upton contrasts the military policy of both antagonists. Thus, while the Government recognized the individuality of the States, appealed to them for troops, adhered to the principle of voluntary enlistments, gave the State Governors power to appoint commissioned officers, and encouraged them to organize new regiments, the Confederacy, on the other hand, repudiated State sovereignty, appealed directly to the people, ignored the Governors, took away their power to appoint officers,

vested it in their President, refused to organize new regiments, abandoned voluntary enlistments, adopted the principle of obligatory military service, and called into the army every white citizen between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. The effect was to greatly augment their strength, and, as the new troops were at once poured into the old organizations, three months only of instruction and discipline were sufficient to make them but little less efficient than veteran troops.

This period was one of marked disaster, and was followed by nearly as great a public depression as that of the first Bull Run. The third period found the contending forces, at its termination, in very nearly the same relative positions as those at the beginning of the year.

In reviewing the campaign of 1862, he inquires into the reasons why, with the marked and undoubted advantage of troops and resources, success did not attend our arms, and in answer he announces as the sufficient reason the unfortunate division of our forces into many separate and independent commands. He then endeavors to fix the responsibility. Differing in opinion with writers, who have blamed either the President or the general-in-chief, he shows that all our troubles have originated in a vicious military policy whose defective laws have tempted the President and the Secretary of War to assume the character and responsibilities of military commanders—responsibilities for which they were fitted neither by training nor education to undertake. The great War Secretary, Stanton, a man of imperious will, became the

supreme and controlling spirit in every military movement, and in the conduct of military affairs, and to his interference all our military disasters of that year may be traced.

Possibly no campaign of modern times has ever been subjected to such controversial discussion as the Peninsular campaign of 1862. Before General Upton began its critical study he accepted and believed what is unquestionably the more general and popular view. But, upon completing his analysis under this aspect, he recognized that it was neither historically nor philosophically correct, and, loyal to justice and truth, he destroyed his manuscript and again undertook its careful study.

In his final criticism he displays a master's hand. No hesitation or doubt marks the conclusions which he claims are the logical results of sound reason based on superabundant historical evidence. Stanton's accession to office and power was at once followed by the strongest evidence of his vigorous personality. The President's first war order was issued on the 27th of January, upon the suggestion of the Secretary of War. It ordered an advance of the Army of the Potomac on the 22d of February, and thus began what General Upton aptly designates as "War Department strategy," and which was destined to dissipate our resources and cover our arms with disaster. Other war orders followed; adverse influences began to undermine the confidence of the President in the general-in-chief until, on March 11th, war order number three relieved this officer from the control of the armed forces as a whole, and transferred

his functions to the hands of the energetic Secretary of War.

By thus assuming the direction of military affairs both the Secretary and the President became from this moment as much responsible for whatever of disaster might befall the army as if they had actually taken command in person in the field. No sooner had the commander of the Army of the Potomac sailed for Fortress Monroe than the disintegration of the forces which he had relied upon for his purpose, and which had been promised him, began to take place.

To establish the soundness of the position which General Upton so sturdily holds, he devotes six chapters to the campaigns of this year. In the first he describes the operations of the various theatres of war in general, so that a comprehensive view of the whole is presented to the reader. Then, because of its greater importance, he devotes the remaining chapters to the Army of the Potomac. These chapters are entitled "A Review of the Campaign of the Army of the Potomac from the 1st of April till the Close of the First Period of 1862"; "From its Arrival at Harrison's Landing till its Withdrawal from the Peninsula"; "The Second Battle of Bull Run"; "Conflict between the Secretary of War and General McClellan till the Restoration of General McClellan to Command"; and, finally, "From the Restoration till the Final Removal of General McClellan."

These chapters are full of interest, and the temptation has been great to give a brief synopsis of some of their startling and vivid military criticisms,

but no condensation is possible, for so unique is the method of discussion adopted by our author that, unconsciously, quotation follows quotation until one is forced to give all, or, choosing the other alternative, omit all. We must therefore content ourselves with directing the attention of the military student to this rich harvest of professional knowledge and instruction.

Suffice it to say that nothing less than a critical study will satisfy those who desire to obtain a comprehensive view of our military system, to learn its defects and become educated to its requirements. In the whole of his work General Upton does not display the least partisanship. He has strong convictions, founded on a thorough acquaintance with the details and practice of his profession, an intimate historical knowledge of the events which he describes, and has at his command the undoubted, well-established facts to sustain the views which he advocates. His object has not been to brighten tarnished military reputations, nor to glorify prominent personages of our history, but rather to mark clearly on our military chart the sunken rocks and hidden reefs that have in the past so nearly wrecked us, that these may be avoided in our progress toward our hoped-for happy destiny.

While engaged in the preparation of his great work, General Upton appreciated the value of honest criticism on the part of eminent civilians and military men. Among others he asked General Garfield, then occupying a most prominent political station, to examine his work. The following letters in response show that this man, eminent in both

military and political pursuits, had a high appreciation of its character :

MENTOR, LAKE COUNTY, OHIO, *June 28, 1878.*

DEAR GENERAL: Your manuscript was sent to me just as I was leaving Washington, and I have been so much engaged since then that I have not been able to read it until to-day. I am delighted with the chapters, and feel confident that they will be of great service to Congress and the country.

The wastefulness and danger which have attended our methods of providing for the necessities of war are set forth with great force by the naked recital of the policy adopted during the War of Independence, and I have no doubt the Wars of 1812 and 1861 will make the exhibit still more striking.

Permit me to offer a few suggestions :

1. A separate discussion of the origin of our traditional prejudice against a standing army, showing that there was ground for such a feeling in European states but not here, would be valuable.

2. It would make your work more valuable if you would give references at the foot of your pages to the sources of your authority for the numerous quotations.

3. Your dates would be better understood if you printed at the top of each page the year to which they belong.

4. When you come to our late war I hope you will discuss fully the evils and iniquity of the bounty system. It would have been a great saving if we had refused to adopt it at all.

I hope you will bring your book out, if possible,

before the next meeting of Congress. Expressing again my deep interest in the chapters I have read, I am, very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

MENTOR, OHIO, *July 22, 1878.*

GENERAL EMORY UPTON.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 5th instant came duly to hand. I was absent from home at the time, and have not been able to reply sooner. Your chapters, three to seven inclusive, are so full of interest that it was difficult to read them with any view to criticism. I was more than ever astonished that our fathers were able to succeed in the War of the Revolution with the prejudices that existed against a regular army, the want of system, and the great distress that prevailed at that time. I hope you will not soften the history of the horrible management of the War of 1812. I see nothing in these chapters that should offend any just political sentiment. I think the country will just now bear a good deal of plain talk on the whole subject, in view of the dangers of communism. Your plan for a national army, modeled somewhat on the German plan of a regular active force, Landwehr and Landsturm, is excellent, and I hope you will work it out so fully in its details that we can embody it in a bill to be introduced into Congress. I am satisfied we shall never be able to organize an effective national militia on the old plan. I send your manuscript to Batavia, in accordance with your request.

With kindest regards, yours very truly,

J. A. GARFIELD.

PORTLAND, MAINE, *September 3, 1878.*

DEAR GENERAL: I brought your manuscript of the military policy of the United States from the Revolution till 1812 with me to Maine, and have read it carefully and with great interest. I have suggested a few things on the margin, and would make only the further suggestion: it would add great force to your exhibit if you could find and quote a few crisp passages from the messages of Presidents, the reports of Secretaries of War, and from the debates in Congress, setting forth the evils of army organization complained of in your chapter from the Revolution to 1812. I am sure you will have no difficulty in finding them. The chapter is an admirable one, and greatly adds to the value of your book. I send the manuscript by express to Fortress Monroe.

Very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

MENTOR, OHIO, *November 12, 1878.*

DEAR GENERAL: I owe you an apology for so long neglecting to answer your letters, and for so long detaining your last manuscript chapters. But I was very busily engaged in the political campaign, and could only find time between meetings to read the very interesting pages you sent me. I made a few marginal suggestions and returned the manuscript to you last week. I am surprised that your publisher was not willing to assume the responsibility of publishing, for I can not doubt the work will be widely read. I hope we shall see it in print

soon. The work increases in value as it approaches our own times; and if it is brought down to the present time it can not fail to do much good.

With thanks for your kind congratulations on my election, I am, very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

CHAPTER XII.

PROFESSIONAL VIEWS ON MILITARY LEGISLATION, AND FINAL REVISION OF TACTICS.

MANY measures relating to the reorganization of the regular army were introduced into Congress during this period of Upton's intellectual activity. Several of these embodied important provisions that were radical in their nature, and therefore attracted unusual attention on the part of military officers and legislators. The most prominent measure, known as the "Burnside Bill," the result of a long and painstaking study by a joint committee of both Houses of Congress, was reported to the Senate on the 12th of December, 1878. Its provisions were immediately subjected to rigid scrutiny, and, as a sequence, the most violent opposition or strongest support was manifested by army officers, determined by their particular official position, training, or professional judgment.

The result of General Upton's study and experience was to place him among the advocates of the bill, and from the first he became one of its strongest advocates. If the conclusions which he reached in his study of the proper military policy of the country be accepted as sound and unanswerable, it is undeniable that some such reorganization as that provided by this bill is an inevitable consequence.

Believing this, he earnestly and ardently, in conversation and by letter, advocated its passage. On the 19th of January, 1879, he writes :

Should the latest army bill become a law, it will promote me immediately, and possibly send me to California. While wholly ready to follow the leadings of Providence, such a change would not appear favorable to my occupations at present. Still, if the new book should awaken a storm of abuse, I might find some recess in the Yosemite a very acceptable hiding-place. . . . Extracts from two of my private letters have been published, so I have, in a small way, come in for abuse ; but it does not worry me. Truth and honesty are on the side of the line, and the country will yet see the general of the army, under the President, in the full exercise of the authority belonging to his position. The "Military Policy" will not only show the evil wrought to the service by the usurpations of the Secretary of War, but Southern members of Congress will find that a similar evil helped to overthrow their cause. A double proof ought to convince honest men that a change should be made.

Not only does he make frequent mention in his private letters of his interest in these questions, but he often took occasion to express his opinions in communications for the public journals. He had by this time grown to such a stature in the estimation of military men, that whatever came from his pen merited and received weighty attention. He could always command a hearing, although he was

not always accorded a respectful answer to his arguments.

Among other questions affecting the well-being of the army, that known as "compulsory retirement of officers at the age of sixty-two" occupied his earnest attention and received his unqualified support. His advocacy of this principle was so vigorous that the strongest efforts of the opposition were directed against him. He was even attacked on the ground of personal interest, since his rank was such that, were the compulsory retirement at the age of sixty-two adopted, he would at once get his regiment, or at least be considerably advanced in his own grade. These insinuations, however, were without vitality, since Upton's purity of motives was so well established throughout the army that the only injury done him by their promulgation was that of wounding his own sensitive spirit. To one less in love with his profession, and to one who cared more for public opinion than for the public service and the principles of justice and truth, the possibilities of these unjust insinuations might have deterred him from entering so actively into the discussion. But belief with Upton meant action, and, disregarding all selfish reasons, he did what he thought would best advance the interests of the military service. He, therefore, having compiled many data bearing on this question, wrote an article entitled "Compulsory Retirement," which was published in the "United Service Magazine" in March, 1880.

In this article he shows from historical records that the great commanders who achieved celebrated

victories were young in years, and of necessity then in possession of their best mental and bodily activity. He points out from our own history that, because of our superannuated officers, "absenteeism" had largely existed in the army during war, and must continue to exist; that, in most of our wars previous to the rebellion, the older officers being generally absent from their commands, the regiments were led into battle by the junior field-officers, captains, and, in some instances, by lieutenants. He uses the records of the rebellion on both sides to prove that success is more certain with the physically active, and by the quick decision of young manhood, than with the slow caution which almost invariably accompanies the aged veteran. After giving numerous statistics to illustrate his argument, he concludes:

After considering the facts from ancient and modern history, as well as those within our own experience, should Congress still be tempted to base its legislation upon false deductions from the German system, it may find additional cause for reflection in the history of the Ute war now in progress. How many officers, with the irresolution of advancing years, would, like Dodge, have galloped into the darkness intent upon saving Thornburgh's command? When the news came that Thornburgh was killed; that Payne, Cherry, and their gallant comrades were fighting for life; when the country in suspense awaited tidings of another massacre like the one on the Little Big Horn, how many colonels of cavalry, sixty-five years of age, would, like Mer-

ritt, have attempted or dreamed it possible to march one hundred and sixty-five miles in two days?

As an example of his loyalty to what he believed to be the truth, even when he had long entertained contrary convictions, it may be well to preserve the following correspondence relating to the celebrated case of Fitz-John Porter, and which explains itself :

FORT MONROE, VA., *December 8, 1879.*

MY DEAR GENERAL: When, in 1862, General McClellan, after being relieved from command, rode the lines of his army, neither my regiment nor myself joined in the demonstrations of affection and applause which nearly everywhere greeted his appearance.

The son of an abolitionist, an abolitionist myself, both as a cadet and an officer, my sympathies were strongly on the side of the Administration in its effort to abolish slavery, and I could not, therefore, even indirectly participate in an ovation which might be construed as a censure on either the civil or military policy of the Government. With these views you will naturally infer that I have always been anti-McClellan, anti-Fitz-John Porter, and such is the fact.

Up to a few months ago, when I began our military policy during the rebellion, I believed that these officers, differing in politics from the Administration, had not done their whole duty to the country. But, in the process of this investigation, I have been compelled to change my mind. Like many millions of our people, my opinions were

vague and shadowy; they had no foundation in fact.

You will remember that from the 11th of March till the 11th of July, 1862, we had no general-in-chief. Our armies, numbering more than six hundred thousand men, were commanded by the President and the Secretary of War. Could I lay before you all the facts that have come under my observation, I believe you would be convinced that the causes of a four instead of a one year's war can all be traced to this brief but disastrous period.

It was during this time that the troops east of the Alleghanies were divided up into six independent commands. It was during the same period that the great army concentrated at Corinth, and which might have made a summer excursion to Vicksburg and Jackson, was dispersed from Memphis to Cumberland Gap, a distance of nearly three hundred miles. In both cases the result was the same. The Army of the Potomac was rolled back to the Potomac; the Army of the Ohio was called back to the Ohio. It may be added, as a further coincidence, that the commanders of the two armies, against whose protests the division of our forces was made, were relieved from their commands.

This was all that was done in the West; but in the East the reputation of another officer was blighted. The movements of Jackson in the campaign of the second Bull Run presented an opportunity to destroy Lee's army which was lost, as alleged by General Pope, through the willful disobedience of General Porter. On this charge the latter was tried, and not being able to present evi-

dence conclusive of his innocence he was convicted and sentenced to be cashiered.

His case will soon come before Congress and the whole country is now on the *qui vive* to know what course you will pursue.

You were a member of the original court by which he was tried. Then you were known only as a soldier, now you are recognized as a statesman. The memory of the immortal Lincoln pleads for no stigma to rest upon any officer or soldier who ever in battle risked his life for the Union.

Who, if he had the power, would not expunge from our history the crime of Benedict Arnold? Yet for sixteen years, until he has grown gray, the hero of Gaines's Mill, who for nearly a whole day fought thirty thousand against seventy thousand, whose skill was again acknowledged in the victory of Malvern Hill, has by the press and the people been unjustly denounced as a traitor.

Humanity recoils from the crime of the British Cabinet which shot Admiral Byng. In our own history the case of Fitz-John Porter is analogous. Public opinion is already setting strongly in his favor. No officer, who has read the recent report of the Board of Army Officers, now believes that the opportunity to destroy Jackson was lost on the 29th of August. If not, he was innocent. If you will read the official dispatches of General Pope to General McDowell on the 27th of August, directing that, on the morning of the 28th, he should march with his two corps of twenty-five thousand men from Gainesville to Manassas, his right on the Manassas Gap Railroad, his left thrown well to the east,

and then read McDowell's, Sigel's, and Reynolds's reports, showing that, in disregard of General Pope's explicit orders, all of these commands moved to Manassas on the south instead of the north side of the railroad, you will recognize at a glance that the opportunity to destroy Jackson was lost on the 28th.

On the morning of the 28th but one of Jackson's divisions was at Groveton. The other two were east of Bull Run.

Sigel, at Gainesville, three and a half miles west of Groveton, was ordered to march at the "earliest blush" of dawn. He did not make an effort to move till after 7.30.

Look at the maps accompanying the recent proceedings, and you will see that had Sigel, Reynolds, and King marched in *echelon* of columns north of the railroad, as explained in Reynolds's report ("Report of Military Operations during the Rebellion," page 276), the left division would have marched through Groveton before turning off the main pike to go to Manassas. The few shots fired by the enemy the moment Reynolds moved east of Gainesville would have been the prelude to a battle with Taliaferro's division at Groveton, which, being defeated by 9 A. M., would have left Ewell and Hill to be destroyed successively in the same manner. This done, the whole army could have faced about and caught Longstreet half-way through Thoroughfare Gap, and, destroying him, could have ended the rebellion.

Instead of this, the whole of McDowell's twenty-five thousand men, which faced eastward in the

morning, circled around Groveton on a radius of about two miles, and, having failed to discover the enemy till late in the day, finally, toward evening, took position facing west three miles east of Groveton. By this unfortunate movement, being on the left of the army on the morning of the 28th, Sigel and Reynolds found themselves on the right on the morning of the 29th. The other half of McDowell's command, Ricketts and King, were retreating on Bristow and Manassas. But the enemy was no longer divided. Longstreet testifies that he was in line of battle on the right of Jackson by 10.30 or 11 A. M., which was an hour earlier than when Porter arrived on what had now become the Union left.

These facts to me appear conclusive, and my desire that you should not make a mistake is my excuse for presenting them to you. Had General Pope alleged that his defeat was due to disobedience of his orders on the 28th, his name in history would have been placed among skillful commanders who at least deserved success, but in locating the loss of the battle a day too late, on the 29th, he now labors under the imputation of not having understood his own plans.

I have had no communication with General Porter, but have written you of my own motion.

Always a Republican, I desire simply to see justice done. The great party has saved the Union, and can well afford to restore to honor a man who has fought so gallantly for his country.

It is true, as the Board remarks, that he was harsh and unkind in his criticisms of his commander; but having read the history of the Revolution you

are aware that the officers and men of the Continental army could be for nearly seven years on the verge of mutiny, always denouncing Congress, yet always presenting a bold front to the enemy.

The case of Fitz-John Porter is already historic, and when the time comes your speech will also pass into history.

I do not think I overestimate your influence when I say that your position will be the position of the Republican party. God grant that you may dare to do right!

With kindest regards, sincerely your friend,
E. UPTON.

P. S.—You will find an exact parallel to McDowell's circling around Groveton in Jomini's "Napoleon," Eckmühl campaign, 1809.

Davoust was at Ratisbon, west of the Danube, with orders to join Napoleon at Abensberg. His artillery and trains were ordered to take the river-road; two columns, of two divisions each, were ordered to take two parallel dirt-roads on the left.

The Archduke Charles, between Napoleon and Ratisbon, moved upon Davoust, intending to destroy him; but his left column, instead of taking the river-road, encountered Davoust's left column marching in opposite directions. As a consequence, the two armies (Davoust had fifty thousand) turned on a pivot, and, at the close of the day, had exactly reversed their positions: Davoust faced toward Ratisbon, the archduke faced toward Abensberg. Napoleon, having thus united his army, gained the victory at Eckmühl.

To this letter General Garfield made the following reply :

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 10, 1879.*

MY DEAR GENERAL: Yours of the 8th instant came duly to hand, and has been thoughtfully and carefully read. I have not yet read a page of the commission on General Fitz-John Porter's case, but of course I shall read it with the utmost care as soon as I can find the time. I hope there is nothing in my nature that will prevent me from seeing the truth and acting upon it, even if it should lead me to reverse all my former opinions and actions on the subject; but I say to you frankly that it will require new and striking evidence to unsettle the conclusions of my mind in reference to that case. The court that tried Fitz-John Porter commenced their labors, as I know, with strong prepossession in his favor, and the developments of the trial were painful surprises to the court, several of whose members had been intimate personal friends of Porter. There was not in my heart, nor could I discover it in the conduct of other members, anything to indicate passion or political bias in the course of the trial; but, notwithstanding all this, we may have erred in our findings, and have mistaken the facts. Still, I am bound to say that a trial with witnesses fresh from the scenes concerning which they testified was far more likely to get at the actual facts than a commission taking the testimony of witnesses who spoke from memory seventeen years old. But, as I said before, I do not prejudge the case in its new aspects, I only give you my preliminary views.

I shall be glad to receive from you at any time any other points you may have bearing on the subject.

Very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

GENERAL E. UPTON,
Fort Monroe, Va.

Thus, during his tour at Fortress Monroe, was Upton's mind engaged in varied intellectual work. It may be called the literary and professional epoch of his life. His reputation as an intellectual soldier, in contradistinction to that of a fighting one, will be measured by the productions of his pen during this time. The public has yet to formulate its opinion of him in this respect, as the data by which its estimate can alone be made have not yet been presented for criticism. But his friends believe that, high as was his reputation in active service, on the march, in camp, in the care and discipline of his men, in the excitement of battle, in the quick perception of the varying possibilities which were suggested on the field of action, his fame will at least be equaled if not surpassed by this other aspect of his professional career, and they are willing to leave the decision to that most impartial of all judges, public opinion.

There are but few matters of minor interest to notice before we turn our attention to the sad events of Upton's last days of service.

These matters of absorbing and exacting interest, which occupied almost all of his leisure, did not cause him to neglect those other duties which are ever characteristic of the gentleman and Christian

soldier. He was punctilious in the discharge of his social obligations. His house, presided over by his sister Sara, was constantly filled with guests. Acquaintances, friends, and relatives, in an incessant stream, were the recipients of his hospitality. He was entirely free from ostentatious display, and yet his entertainments were generous and complete. With respect to the private soldiers under his command, it need only be said that he regarded them as men having the same feelings, attributes, and affections which he himself possessed. Exacting the strictest discipline, he tempered it with kindness and consideration. He established a Sunday service for them, got officers and their wives to unite with him in giving them religious instruction, helped them to correct thinking and right living, and set them the best example of soldierly conduct. And when he was established at the Presidio at San Francisco, even against the advice and in opposition to the belief of many that anything could be done to ameliorate the condition of private soldiers, he spared no expense in the establishment of a place of resort as an offset to the attractions of drinking-saloons, which had done so much to effect their demoralization. Sustained by a strong faith in the higher qualities of his men, he achieved a noble success, and to this day his work stands as a monument of their moral and intellectual growth, and of Upton's interest in and devotion to their material and moral necessities.

He soon felt the need of revising the tactics. The constant improvements in the accuracy and range of fire-arms forced upon him the conviction

that some modification in the formation of troops for attack and defense was imperative. Being alive to these changes and to their influence in the direction of a more open order, he directed his attention to the best means of meeting them. He describes in the following letter the successful result of a visit to the headquarters of the army at Washington in pursuance of his object:

FORT MONROE, *February 22, 1879.*

. . . The business part of my visit was to approach General Sherman on the subject of revising the tactics. It so happened that by opposite doors General Ewing (his brother-in-law) and myself entered his office at the same instant. The latter, as soon as we were presented, said, "I never witnessed your skirmish-drill till a day or two ago, and I want to tell you it is the prettiest thing I ever saw." General Schofield, already in the room, chimed in: "Did you read the account of a recent lecture delivered in London before the United Service Institution? The lecturer presented what he called the best formation for skirmishing, when Sir Garnet Wolseley stated that the proposed method was the same as the American system." General Sherman then spoke up, "Yes, that was your invention," and, too modest to reply, I submitted to the impeachment. The way being open, I told him that I wanted to perfect the system, when he said, "You revise it, bring it to me, and I will get it approved." This is what I have been looking forward to for a long time. If I can get it out before the "Military Policy," I shall not care how hard the wind blows.

To the final chapters of his book and to this revision of his tactics Upton now devoted his best energies. When fatigued with one he turned to the other. But he was not destined to complete either; both were left by him, however, in such a state as to need only the careful attention and editing which could be easily given by friendly hands. And it is pleasant to record that in each case such friends arose whose disinterested and unselfish labor has been as honorable and meritorious to themselves as it was creditable to Upton.

His promotion to the colonelcy of the Fourth Regiment of Artillery followed in the due course of time, and he was thereupon relieved from duty at Fortress Monroe and ordered to the Presidio, California, where he assumed command of his regiment on the 23d of December, 1880.

The revision of the tactics, upon which he was engaged at the time of his death, had been so far completed as to need but careful editing on the part of an officer familiar with the subject, and in complete accord with the advanced views of General Upton. His papers were at first confided to General Alexander, who, however, because of severe illness, was compelled to forego the task, and they were finally placed in the hands of Lieutenant E. J. McClernand, an officer of the Second Cavalry. This officer had just completed a creditable tour of duty at the Military Academy as an instructor of tactics, when, on reporting for duty with his regiment, General Alexander recognized his essential qualifications for the task which his illness had prevented him from completing. Lieutenant McCler-

nand had made a thorough study of tactics while on duty at West Point, and, with a generosity that is commendable, undertook this labor. Upon its completion, McClernand applied to the War Department, asking that a board be appointed to consider the revised tactics, in substantially the following language :

General Upton had been engaged in the revision of the tactics for infantry troops several years before his death. He had brought not only the learning and experience which he had gained in the preparation of his former edition, but also a vast amount of information acquired from a personal inspection of the armies of Europe and Asia. It is a subject of congratulation that he did so far accomplish his intentions as to make it possible for another to bring them to a successful completion ; indeed, all that he had left to be done consisted principally in the correction of details.

I have made it my business to study many systems of infantry tactics, American and European, and I believe those of General Upton will be pronounced by all military men to have few equals and no superiors. In accordance with the advice of Colonel Hasbrouck, the commandant of cadets, and instructor of tactics of the Military Academy, Miss Upton placed General Upton's manuscript in my possession, and requested me to complete it for presentation. Understanding that the War Department contemplated a revision of the infantry tactics, I conceived it proper to inform the adjutant-general of the existence of the completed manuscript em-

bodying a new system of tactics, and to request that the system be examined by a board of army officers.

A few of the changes, which are, however, of great and far-reaching importance, are here mentioned. The system is arranged for both a peace and a war footing organization.

ORGANIZATION OF A COMPANY OF INFANTRY.—
The company is to consist of :

PEACE.	WAR.
1 captain.	1 captain.
1 first-lieutenant.	2 first-lieutenants.
1 second-lieutenant.	2 second-lieutenants.
1 first-sergeant.	1 first-sergeant.
4 sergeants.	8 sergeants.
4 corporals.	16 corporals.
2 musicians.	4 musicians.
2 artificers.	2 artificers.
50 privates.	150 to 180 privates.
—	—
Total... 3 commissioned, 63 non-commissioned and privates.	Total.. 5 commissioned, 181 to 211 non-commis- sioned and men.

The habitual instruction of the company is in open or skirmishing order, and executing various movements in close order at the conclusion of each exercise. The company can be deployed as skirmishers from column of fours, double column of fours, and column of platoons, and also from line. It can lie down in column of fours, and open and close files while in column of fours. From column of fours it can execute on the right or left into line and continue the march ; can form line to the right,

left, or front, from double column of fours (a new movement), continuing the movement or halt, as desired; can form square against cavalry, form double column of fours, and finally execute several new movements when in column of platoons.

BATTALION ORGANIZATION.—The battalion usually consists of four companies, but may be either less or greater than four, but in the latter case is not to exceed six companies. The movements of the battalion comprise column at half distance; a line of double columns (the companies being in double column of fours), and some admirable formations for street-fighting. Some of the more complicated movements in the old tactics are greatly simplified, or are entirely omitted.

The normal order in the school of the battalion is the skirmishing. In this, two companies in the formation of skirmishers, with supports and reserves, constitute the fighting-line; the other two companies form the battalion reserve. When more than four companies form the battalion, the additional companies may be added to the fighting-line.

The general principles of attack are next delineated. The troops are placed in the open or skirmishing order before they arrive within effective range. Supports and reserves are held close to the fighting-line, as the present range of fire-arms is so great that, in order to render efficient assistance, all these troops must be under fire, except where protected by the inequalities of the ground. The method of using heavy lines of skirmishers and advancing at a run from cover to cover is adopted throughout, the supports and reserves being used

at the critical moment, and by their impetus carry the fighting-line forward.

In each position the skirmishers, singly or with their supports, seek to overwhelm the enemy by their fire, or tempt him to expend his ammunition. If he shows signs of weakness, they rush to the next cover and open fire as before. If unable to move forward on a line, they work forward man by man, those in front protecting the advance of those in rear by keeping down the enemy's fire. If the enemy gives way, he can be pursued by either the skirmishers or their supports, or by both combined; the reserve may also be added for pursuit. If the skirmishers are driven back they rally on the support, which will be in line, uncovering its front as quickly as possible, to enable it to open fire. These, in turn, if forced to retire, rally on the reserve.

In these tactics, as the conditions now require, the first importance is given to skirmishing.

REGIMENTAL ORGANIZATION.—The regiment is supposed to consist of three battalions, but the rules prescribed are applicable to a less or greater number. This school is quite similar to that of a brigade in the old tactics. The open order, having become a necessity because of the increased range, requires a greater distance apart of officers, and hence higher qualifications are demanded of them, and as a consequence more discretion is allowed subordinates.

As an intermediate instruction for young soldiers, between the squad drill and the school of the company, the school of the platoon is introduced, which is especially necessary on the war footing.

The object of the skirmishing in the school of the platoon is to teach men in detail the elementary principles of this order, the extended application of which is reserved for the school of the company and battalion.

Upton has abandoned the deployment by fours and substituted a more direct, simple, and rapid method. This, in my opinion, is a radical and an admirable change.

The platoon is habitually divided into two parts—the front rank constituting the skirmishers or fighting-line, and the rear rank the supports. The company on a war footing has a normal order of three lines or *échelons*, while in peace it has but two.

This review and professional opinion of Upton's latest labor on his tactics are most important in view of the report which was spread that his death was caused by his belief in his professional inability and consequent failure to overcome inherent difficulties in his tactics. That this report was wholly unwarranted the preceding pages clearly show, and we now seek the causes of his death in his own physical and organic prostration.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEATH.

WHEN, on the morning of the 15th of March, 1881, the telegraph flashed across the continent the startling intelligence that General Emory Upton had taken his own life during the preceding night, doubt, incredulity, sorrow, and deep distress in rapid succession possessed his many friends. Of all the honorable officers of the army he was the very last of whom such a fate would have been predicted, and yet it was true that his own hand had sent the bullet on its fatal mission. To even his most intimate associates this action was shrouded in the deepest mystery. He had hidden his great suffering, the sure precursor of his physical breaking-down, from every one, and only at a time of greatest agony had he been unable to conceal it from two of his brother officers just a day or two before his death.

The circumstances attending this death are so peculiar that we must pay careful attention to many matters which, considered alone, might be regarded as of but slight importance, but which in their entirety afford the only clew to the real cause of his distressful death. Let us then, in full justice to his memory, inquire into these circumstances.

Every man possesses a public and a private character which are not always in complete accord. When the unexpected happens, as in General Upton's case, the mind seeks a knowledge of those relations of life which are generally hidden from public view to satisfy the demands of a rational judgment, and to obtain a *vera causa* in complete accord with the act in question. Upton's life, in all of its minutest public, professional, and private details, offered not the slightest clew, to the ordinary observer, that could throw any light upon the true cause of his death. As an officer of the army he was the soul of honor; through all grades, from the humblest subaltern to major-general, he had served his country well—in peace with the most faithful devotion, in war with the greatest gallantry. He was beloved by his troops, esteemed by his associates, and honored by his country. Professionally, he devoted every energy and faculty to the study and practice of the military art; he was a constant, painstaking student, and had become well versed in all the details of war. Seeking to ennoble his profession, he kept constantly in view the good of the service above self-advancement. Personally an humble, undoubting Christian, a believer in a personal Saviour, he subordinated earthly aims to the heavenly, and ever looked to the higher life beyond the grave. If suicide be possible to such a man, then is no one secure from its terrible consequences.

Suicide is defined to be "the act of designedly destroying one's own life, committed by a person of years of discretion and of sound mind." Upton had

reached the years of discretion; he had taken his own life: and now we have to determine whether this was done designedly, and whether he possessed a sound mind on the night of the 14th of March, 1881.

This leads us to investigate his physical condition for some years prior to this fatal day.

To the casual observer, and even to his intimate personal friends, Upton for several years before his death appeared outwardly to be a splendidly developed man, in the full possession of robust physical health. He had in later years considerably increased his weight, his shoulders had broadened, and all his movements were characterized by his usual quick, nervous, and alert action. He gave every external promise of a long life. He had gained by merit alone a reputation and standing second to none in the army. He numbered among his personal friends many true men of high station and of noble character. Not one of his intimates suspected that death by his own hand could ever be possible. Doubtless he himself was as little aware of his actual danger as it was possible for a man to be to whom no certain warning had come. The following letters express his serenity and actual hopes at this near approach of death:

NEW YORK, *August 27, 1879.*

MY DEAR MOTHER: I am reminded that this is my fortieth birthday, and can not let it pass without expressing the gratitude that is in my heart for all the loving acts and sacrifices which you have bestowed upon me, who at best am but an un-

worthy son. Father, too, I must include, with full forgiveness for the many times he took advantage of my weakness to chastise me for acts which to a juvenile mind appeared perfectly proper. To-day I become half of an octogenarian. Will the next forty years be as eventful as the last? I hope not. As I look back to the day I last left home, I think of you as standing in the front door, father on the stoop, both enjoying the blessed peace which God gives to his loving children. Would that our heavenly Father might bless each of your children with a happiness as pure and serene as has been vouchsafed to their parents!

FORT MONROE, *February 1, 1880.*

To-day we enter upon the second month of the new year. . . . It has been most beautiful. At the chapel after the morning service we had the communion. I did not forget the loved ones at the mercy-seat. What an inestimable privilege it is to know, to love, and trust a Saviour who so loved us as to give his life for us! The Bible-class to-day numbered but four; yet it was to me at least a profitable hour. The strong point I tried to bring out was that religion is to be enjoyed now. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs *is* the kingdom of heaven." This great gift is ours to enjoy now. "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." What a precious promise this is! God does not willingly afflict or grieve his children. We may sorrow over the ills or trials of those we love, we may sorrow over our own frailties and short-comings, yet above all is the assurance that we shall be comforted. I have much this year to

be grateful for. My mental condition is much improved. Last year at this time I was much depressed. I had malaria, and did not mistrust it till Dr. Robinson told me of it at Newport. Now, whenever I feel pains in the back of my head, I take from thirty to forty grains of quinine in thirty-six hours, and at once feel relieved. To-morrow I shall begin the revision of the tactics—a work of three months, and shall then again begin the Policy.

WASHINGTON, *August 27, 1880.*

MY PRECIOUS MOTHER: My forty-first birthday would find me in excellent spirits, but for the reflection that to-day you may still be suffering from rheumatism or neuralgia. You may be sure that none of your children forget you, or fail to offer the prayer that our heavenly Father may make your bed in sickness and speedily restore you to health. The same prayers, too, are offered for father, who with you has been favored with the rich blessings which God gives to his children. A day like this should make one look forward to the end of life. We are all hastening to the Border-Lands, and beyond them by faith we can see those who have been near and dear to us in life.

Rachel, Le Roy, and Emily, are all awaiting that reunion which shall know no separation. They have received the crown of life, and to us it is promised if we remain faithful unto the end. It may be our heavenly Father's will to afflict us with pain in this world, but we have the assurance that eye hath not seen nor ear heard the things which he hath prepared for those that love him.

PRESIDIO, SAN FRANCISCO, *December 26, 1880.*

All this week I have been settling down, and, as I have had to make several trips to the city, the days have slipped away very rapidly. I shall furnish one room with a carpet for parlor, and sleep in the one in rear, off which is a bath. The oldest inhabitant is abroad, and says he has never seen such weather. I think he is right, for I am told it has rained every day since the 1st of December, and until to-day it has to my knowledge poured twenty hours out of twenty-four. This will be over in March. What effect it will have on my head it would be premature to say, but I don't expect to derive any benefit.

PRESIDIO, SAN FRANCISCO, *January 1, 1881.*

MY DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER: The first letter of the new year shall be to you, to wish God's greatest blessings to rest upon you. With us the new year begins bright and sunny. In the East we read of cold and storm, but above all the Lord reigns. I am glad that the 1st of January, 1881, has arrived, for now we can say that we hope this year to go East.

Most of the officers and their families are fond of this coast. Their children are all well, and, a few weeks excepted, the weather for most of the year is delightful. I shall soon be hard at work revising the tactics—I hope, for the last time. Then I shall go on with the book that is nearest my heart.

The officers to-day are out calling in full uniform. I was much gratified to learn from Sara's letter that both of my good parents are improving in health.

My prayers for the coming year will be that God will have you in his tender keeping.

PRESIDIO, SAN FRANCISCO, *January 2, 1881.*

MY DEAR SARA: I am beginning to feel quite domesticated. To-morrow the instruction begins on the new plan, and I shall hope soon to make my influence felt in the regiment. To-day I have had the company of an old West Point friend, General Tannatt. The last time I saw him I spent a week with him in the Rocky Mountains in 1866. Last night he came out with me, and has thus been my first guest. A multitude of associations came back when we, to-day, partook of the communion together. He and Benjamin and myself attended the first prayer-meeting established by General Howard at West Point. General Howard himself is in the city, and we all might have been together had we made an effort or thought of it.

This evening General Tannatt and myself took a four-mile walk. The road lies wholly in the Reservation and winds around the hills, one moment commanding a view of the bay, and the next looking off on the grand Pacific. At the Golden Gate we came upon Fort Point, a brick castle with four tiers of guns. The hill back of it is twice its height, and is connected with it by a bridge which abuts against the parapet. So we descended into the fort as they entered houses in the time of the Saviour, by going through the roof. To-day and yesterday have been the only fine days we have had, and they have been like the loveliest autumn days at Fort Monroe. This week I shall begin

work on the tactics, and shall press it till the revision is done.

These letters show a total ignorance of any serious danger which threatened his life. Indeed, in making a careful search throughout his voluminous correspondence, with the exception of a few fragmentary references to *malaria*, as in the letter to Mrs. Martin, of February 1, 1880, and to pains in his head, briefly referred to in a few instances, not the slightest evidence is found to warrant the suspicion that he was aware of his condition. That these ailments may have appeared trivial to him, and scarcely worth mentioning, might at once be inferred from the indifference which he invariably showed to personal physical suffering. Even in his home letters during the war, there is but the barest mention made of his severe wounds received in battle, and he dismissed them with a sentence or two, simply expressing his hope of speedy recovery. Hence, while it may be inferred that any mention of depression of spirits or slight illnesses might be taken to mean that they were like the attacks ordinarily attending even the most excellent health, they may have been in his case, and were, as we know from other sources, quite serious in their character.

While, in 1870-'75, General Upton was serving as commandant of cadets at West Point, he availed himself of the services of the dentist at the Academy, Dr. Saunders, for whom he ever entertained a great regard. Dr. Saunders, in reply to inquiries regarding General Upton's malady, says :

General Upton consulted me professionally shortly after he reported for duty as commandant of cadets at West Point. During one of his earlier visits to my office I heard a distinct and regular throbbing in his head, very faint, however, and not beating in unison with the temporal artery on which my hand rested. When I drew his attention to this, he expressed surprise at my hearing it, and told me he had noticed the sound occasionally for some time past, and was puzzled to account for it.

After this we discussed the subject at every visit. I advised him to see the post-surgeons, but they could give no satisfactory explanation of it.

As time passed, the pulsation or ticking became more and more distinct, and the annoyance from it increased to such an extent that the general could not sleep unless greatly fatigued, and when his rest was once disturbed it was almost impossible for him to sleep again.

I feared an aneurism, but never spoke my suspicion; I continually urged him to see a specialist. He consulted several physicians, but I do not think he tried any special treatment before going abroad.

His letters to me while away were always cheerful—no allusion being made to his head troubles. He appeared to be enjoying his trip greatly, and told me that he was accumulating loads of valuable data for future use.

When he returned, I congratulated him on his fine appearance, and I can remember well how anxiously he watched to see if I would find the old trouble. It was there.

He came to see me from time to time, and it was

plain that he grew more and more uneasy about his disease. The last time I saw him, in the early part of the year 1880, he exclaimed, "Cure me of this, and I will give you ten thousand dollars!" A minute afterward he said, "Allen understands it, and I will submit to his treatment." Whatever may have been the true nature of his fearful malady, we know not, probably never shall; but that he bore up manfully against a mysterious disease of whose presence he was ever conscious through its ceaseless knockings at the portals of his brain we have ample proof. That he struggled bravely and hopefully with it until reason left her throne, and death relieved him from his sufferings, all who knew him must admit.

In conclusion, let me say that during the many years he was a constant visitor at my office, we touched in the course of conversation on almost every topic—literature, law, politics, military matters, medicine, death, religion, etc. He was the most charming conversationalist I ever met—a bright, clear-headed man of affairs. At all times he was pronounced in his condemnation of suicide, not because he believed it, as is customary, a cowardly crime, but because "the Everlasting had fixed his canon 'gainst self-slaughter." Suicide was contrary to his religion. General Upton was a religious thinker, not an enthusiast, and no man ever lived more in accordance with his religious convictions.

In accordance with the resolution referred to above, Upton took the earliest opportunity to consult with Dr. Harrison Allen, of Philadelphia, and

to make arrangements to place himself under his care for medical treatment. But three references to this matter occur in his correspondence.

Governor's Island, July 6, 1880.—Dr. Allen told me, to-day, that he thought, if I could give him six weeks, he could cure my ailment, and I have resolved to take two months for that purpose.

Philadelphia, September 22, 1880.— . . . I feel quite settled after my stay here for nearly a week. You will, doubtless, be anxious about my treatment. It is by no means severe. The actual cautery gives very little pain. It was applied about an hour ago, and now I feel no disagreeable effects whatever. My trouble makes me feel uncomfortable to myself, and therefore I have not as yet disclosed myself to any of my friends.

November 3, 1880.— . . . Lest you should imagine that I am suffering all sorts of agony, I wish to tell you I am not. The cautery has been applied but once since my return, and the doctor says he is about through with it.

The hope entertained by Upton's physician and himself that this heroic treatment by electrical cauterization of the mucous membrane of the nasal passages would result efficaciously proved unfounded. He merely obtained temporary relief, and upon the expiration of his leave of absence he bade his friends adieu and proceeded to San Francisco to assume the command of his new regiment. From all obtainable data the writer of this memoir is unable to find the slightest evidence that would give the least color to any belief that General Upton at this time had the

remotest suspicion of his own danger. But a few days previous to his departure they spent an evening together, during which Upton for hours discoursed most charmingly and rationally upon the anticipated pleasure of his new duties and station, and gave a well-digested outline of his labors in the revision of his tactics and in the completion of his military policy. Most anxious was he to become again settled, and to resume the intellectual labor upon these works, whose completion seemed almost certain of realization.

To convey the best view of what is known of his malady and its treatment, the following letters, the first written by Mr. Samuel Powel, of Philadelphia, to Mrs. M——, and the other by Dr. Harrison Allen to the writer of this memoir, are quoted :

PHILADELPHIA, *May 12, 1881.*

. . . I feel now, as I have from the beginning, surprised and dazed by the terrible surprise which overtook us all in a moment, but which, I am sure, the duration of my life can not efface. This must make a lasting bond among us all who loved and admired that wonderful man.

The day after your letter came I called on Dr. Harrison Allen, who is an old acquaintance of mine, and I had with him a very full conversation about our friend, not only as to his malady and its treatment, but including General Upton's impressions as to his case, as he expressed them to Dr. Allen, and as Dr. Allen had recorded them in his case-book. I think the report, though very brief, will satisfy us that Dr. Hanford's views are well founded, and that

serious facts existed in General Upton's knowledge earlier than we probably have supposed. Bearing in mind the quiet, succinct language General Upton's brave and soldierly habits imparted to his sentiments, and the few words he was accustomed to use as to his own concerns, those who know him can best understand the full force of Dr. Allen's brief record.

General Upton told Dr. Allen, on presenting himself to him for the special treatment of his "nasal catarrh," that the affection had been of very long standing, and that, notwithstanding what may have been said, it certainly could not be referred to any specified origin; that it had insidiously crept upon him in his youth, and had given him trouble even at West Point. Latterly the affection had caused him great discomfort, and it had often so oppressed his faculties of mind that he became convinced that, unless decidedly relieved, he could not much longer be of any service to the Government.

This is the substance of what I derived from the reading of the record of Dr. H. Allen. He agreed with me that the description covered portentous meaning to those appreciating his patient's nature. Yet Dr. Allen did not, from his investigation while the treatment lasted, feel anxious about a serious result. The disease, he knew, was of an obstinate nature, but all along he expected good results from the system of treatment. It consisted in placing a very fine coiled wire upon any particular spot of the disordered membrane, and causing it to glow by electricity for a mere instant at a very high heat. This has the property of setting up a new action in

the circulation of the spot, and often renews the proper vital action which has lost its power through long-continued disorder and suppressed activity. It does not differ in principle from an old and very common remedy used by farriers called "firing" in the treatment of horses. It has been for a considerable time used in the treatment of various difficulties in human beings. . . .

Dr. Allen told me he had considerable experience with the method, and he had great and increasing success in employing it. He had good hopes, in the case of our friend, that it would prove ultimately successful. I gathered in conversation with him that he had no idea, on taking leave of General Upton, that there then existed any dangerous condition of the bones upon which the brain reposes.

It has occurred to me that perhaps some primary cause for the irritation of the visible membranes covering the lower surface of these bones may have existed on the brain-side, and that the serious disease may have been out of sight even to the speculum employed in such investigations. Dr. Allen saw no reason to suspect such a difficulty during treatment, but he recurred to the calm and plainly pronounced opinion of General Upton that his disorder came over him in such a way as to cloud his mind and confuse his thoughts, so he was convinced it would unfit him to serve the Government. This was not reiterated by the general, but his once stating it seemed to rise in memory with great force upon Dr. Allen, as it did upon me while conversing upon the sad history.

You would be much gratified by hearing Dr. Allen's relation of the impression General Upton made upon most of his fellow-patients while waiting with them his turn in the anteroom. Few of them who were detained in his company failed to ask Dr. Allen who could be that remarkable man they had met in his parlor. Dr. Allen was much impressed with his noble, generous nature, and sincerely lamented his most untimely loss, which was a great surprise to him.

Reflecting upon all I have heard, I think there must have been some local morbid cause, some actual disorganization of the brain-substance itself, and I am of the conviction that General Upton himself, months before his death, believed such to be the fact. That he was entirely unsuspecting of any remote assignable origin for it, beyond the mere insidious disorder for which he was under treatment, and for which he plainly said, so that Dr. Allen recorded it, that there was no known cause.

We have nothing to remember or to reason about beyond the pure and elevated nature of the man with whom all our intercourse, that of every one who ever came in contact with him, assures us of, that of all human beings General Upton most especially lived as he undoubtedly died, under the convictions of his conscience, and in the discharge of what he believed to be the right.

In response to a note of inquiry as to the nature of General Upton's disorder, Dr. Harrison Allen, on the 8th of March, 1884, wrote:

I duly received your letter of the 28th of February, and will gladly give you such information as is in my possession.

General Upton was suffering from a grave form of chronic catarrh when he was under my care. The nature of the disease was obscure, and I had not obtained sufficient light upon the subject to warrant proposing treatment other than that which had proved successful in my hands in other instances. I need scarcely say these measures did not secure the hoped-for relief, and when he left me in November it was with the understanding that he was to conduct an electrical treatment for a time, and that he would see me again for a second treatment.

General Upton had a symptom which I had never before seen in a person who had not a tumor growing somewhere in the region of the nose or the upper throat-passages. That symptom was a bloody, chocolate-colored phlegm. I was so impressed with this peculiar discharge that I examined the general repeatedly and anxiously for some additional evidence of growth, but, finding none, I was unable to arrive at a diagnosis that a tumor existed. I have ascertained that some persons have declared that the surgeons found a tumor of the bones of the nose, as these bones join those of the brain-case. Be this as it may, I found enough to excite my suspicions, but not enough to warrant surgical interference.

Respecting the connection existing between the disease and the suicidal mania, I can say little that has the value of evidence. General Upton com-

plained of a dull, dazed feeling about the brows and crown. The sensation was compared to a veil dropping down over his mental faculties. The general conceived that, since this feeling interfered with application, it might become his duty to resign from the army. As he expressed it, he feared he was no longer of use to the Government.

This state of mind often exists in the subjects of nasal catarrh, and was especially noticeable in General Upton's case.

I think it *probable* that the catarrh was a symptom excited by a slowly-growing tumor, or slowly-extending inflammation, which involved the remote recesses of the face, and, by a sudden change in its character, the membranes of the brain as well; or so excited the brain to morbid activity as to explain the suicidal mania. The report of the surgeons who made the *post-mortem* examination would be valuable in this connection. *

I fear I have not answered your inquiry as fully as you would like. At best, I can but frame a probability.

I became much attached to General Upton, and felt keenly the responsibility I assumed when he came under my care. In calmly reviewing the facts of his case, now that nearly four years have elapsed since he was here, I can not see that anything more could have been done than was attempted, and I can only express in conclusion profound pity that so noble a nature should have been lost to his country through the ravages of disease.

* None was made.

Colonel Henry C. Hasbrouck, a classmate of Upton's, and at the time of the latter's death an officer of his regiment and under his command, writes :

FORT ADAMS, NEWPORT, R. I., *February 10, 1882.*

. . . I shall give you concisely what came under my observation that had any bearing upon his death, and that might in my opinion be useful to you in the preparation of your memoir.

When he first joined the regiment he told me he was sorry to come out West ; that he particularly desired to remain East, in order to avail himself of the services of a specialist whom he had consulted about a catarrhal trouble that worried him. Long before, and up to the time of his death, he frequently complained about severe headaches. I particularly remember one instance, when we had been to the theatre together, to see the first representation of a play written by Captain Field, of the Fourth Artillery. I asked him his opinion of it, and he told me he could form none, as his head had so much pained him that he had no remembrance at all of the first act, and went on to say that he supposed he was going to have another one of his bad nights ; that he was frequently unable to sleep, and after lying down for a while would be compelled to get up and walk the room for some hours, and until he became so fatigued that he could get a little sleep before reveille.

Nearer the end I have heard him complain that he had been under the charge of the best specialists for his catarrhal trouble ; that they could give him no relief ; that he never could get cured ; that the

headaches were getting longer and more painful. He spoke of these things in such a simple, uncomplaining way, and he was all the time working so hard, and never neglecting even the slightest detail of a post duty or a drill, that it made but little impression upon me at the time.

It was Sunday morning, March 13th, that I first realized how much he was suffering. I happened to be alone with him in his office, and, in answer to my inquiry about his headache, he broke down completely, laid his head on his desk, and sobbed. After he was composed I walked with him to his quarters, and was much with him all that day and evening, and also Monday evening. He was very despondent, talked of the loss of his will-power, and of the respect of the officers of the regiment, spoke much of the failure of his tactics, and particularly of the system of deployment as skirmishers, said if his system was adopted it would involve the country in disaster in the next war.

All day Monday, the 14th, I was sitting on a court, and was not with him until evening. He attended to all his duties, and nothing unusual was noticed by any one except by the adjutant, Mr. Dyer, to whom he had also, but not to such an extent as to me, spoken of his ill-health and despondency. When I saw him Monday evening he was still depressed, but when I left him I thought he was in a somewhat more cheerful mood, and he had given a sort of promise that he would go to Monterey next day. That night he shot himself, and was found dead in his bed next morning.

There was no one in the house but his Chinese

servants, who slept in a room far removed from him, and who heard no noise nor disturbance during the night. I never thought at the time that his mind was affected, but I do now believe that it was. After his death I learned that he had exhibited some signs of loss of memory just previous to the 13th of March. He had forgotten and could not recall the names nor remembrance of some gentlemen and ladies whom he had met and traveled with in Japan; this seemed to have given him much trouble. He was unreasonably sanguine about his tactics. He told a gentleman in San Francisco that there would be no more war after his tactics were published; that the system was so perfect that, given two countries and their resources, the result of a conflict between them could be calculated with mathematical certainty.

My impression, when he first spoke to me about his troubles, was, that he was in a state of nervous depression, partly owing to his catarrhal troubles, but principally to overwork and hard study.

It seems to be the accepted opinion that the catarrhal trouble had extended up into the nasal sinuses, that pus had collected there and pressed upon the brain, and thereby produced the mental disorder that made him falsely imagine that he had lost the respect of his officers, that his tactics were a failure, etc., and, finally, that night when he retired, resulted in suicidal mania.

You know as well as I his ability and devotion to duty. Under all these troubles, and even through that last Monday, every detail of his duty as post and regimental commander was attended to as care-

fully as if he were in perfect health. No one knows what exertion of will was exacted to accomplish this under the burden he was struggling with.

I have never served under an officer who so thoroughly commanded the respect, confidence, and affection of those under him. His self-command during these last few days was so complete that no one but Mr. Dyer and I knew of his despondency.

That his mind was affected, and no longer capable of complete healthy action, and that this condition resulted from the rapid progress of his disease, whereby the brain had become involved in its turn, is unquestionably evident from the above narration. As collateral evidence of this alarming condition, the following letter, both as to date and character, shows that the delusion as to his tactics was, for the time being, the subject of his irresponsible thoughts.

PRESIDIO, SAN FRANCISCO, *March 13, 1881.*

MY DEAR SARA: Since writing to you, last Sunday, I have been in no little distress over the revision. It has seemed to me that I must give up my system and lose my military reputation. God only knows how it will eventually end, but I trust he will lead me to sacrifice myself, rather than to perpetuate a method which might in the future cost a single man his life. Whichever way it may turn, I know I shall have your sympathy, and may our heavenly Father bless and keep you and our precious father and mother!

I need all your prayers, for I would keep my integrity.

Friday I went over to Oakland to a luncheon. The city is flat, and has beautiful lawns strewn with flowers. I don't feel like writing any more. Only let me feel that I have your love and sympathy.

With a fervent kiss for you all, ever your affectionate brother,

EMORY.

Again, the unfinished letter to the adjutant-general, found on the desk in his quarters, relates to the same subject :

To the Adjutant-General U. S. A.

SIR: In my effort to revise the tactics so that they might apply to companies over two hundred strong, I discovered that the double column and the deployment by numbers, when compared with the French method, was a failure. The fours, too, I was forced to admit—.

With an extraordinary effort of will, resisting the attacks of the enemy, and yet with a heroism impelling him to withdraw from that service with which he felt he could no longer do his whole duty, he penned at the last moment, before the citadel of his mind was surrendered, the following :

PRESIDIO, SAN FRANCISCO, *March 14, 1881.*

To the Adjutant-General U. S. A.

SIR: I hereby tender my resignation as colonel of the Fourth Artillery.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. UPTON,

Colonel Fourth Artillery.

This heroic but misdirected act completed, Emory Upton's life on earth ceased. Disease, insidiously sapping at the foundations of his bodily organization, had finally intrenched itself in that highest of all physical organs, the brain, and his pure soul, having no longer a fit abiding-place on earth, sought its flight heavenward.

In reviewing the foregoing testimony, no one can question these conclusions which flow from it:

1. That his disease, known as a "chronic nasal catarrh," originating imperceptibly during his cadet life, grew unnoticeably, and after a long time became first annoying and finally distressful.

2. That, although he suffered from severe headaches from 1875 till 1879, wholly unaccountably to himself, professional opinion led him to believe that he was attacked by malaria, and that he then took the proper medicinal remedies in the hope of speedy recovery.

3. Finally, alarmed at the progress of his disease, he consulted an eminent specialist, and underwent heroic treatment for its cure, which, however, produced no permanent relief.

4. That now he began to fear that he could no longer be of any use to the Government, because of the frequent recurrence of his dreadful headaches, to the dropping of a veil over his mental faculties, attacks which, becoming more and more frequent, marked the rapid progress of his disease, until, in the language of his physician, "finally by a sudden change in its character the slowly extending inflammation involved the membranes of the

brain, or so excited the brain to morbid activity as to explain the suicidal mania.”

Just as any organ becoming diseased transmits false intelligence to the mind, so in this case, when the brain itself became the seat of disease, the acts which are directed by its working are no longer those of the heroic, Christian man, whose career we have followed. Disintegration, quickly followed by death, marks the period of irresponsible utterances and actions.

We have seen, from the testimony of Lieutenant McClernand, how futile were the expressed fears of Upton as to the failure of his tactics. Examined and tested by him, they are found to be without fault or defect. And yet, Upton's comrades being wholly in darkness as to their excellences or defects, it was the only matter upon which any explanation could be based for his sudden decease, in an event so perfectly startling and unexpected.

To the possible existence of any other specific disease which might have existed, and whose consequences might lead him to seek relief in death, the writer of this memoir, in pursuance of his duty, with a full sense of his responsibility, and in justice to Upton's memory, has directed his closest attention. And he has established in his own mind, by the strongest of all possible evidence, a firm belief that not only no other disease than that described by his physician existed, but that there is not even the slightest evidence to warrant even a suspicion of its existence.

If the proper estimate of a man's inherent character be that which is derived from the completed

history of his thoughts and actions from boyhood till the end of life, what is the reiterated and concurrent testimony as to the subject of our sketch? The pages of his life's history lie open before us. His letters as a boy, as a military student, an active soldier, and a traveler in foreign lands, are happily preserved, and, not one being written for the public eye, they give us an insight into his real nature and all record a clean, pure, and spotless life.

Such, also, is the testimony of those who enjoyed his friendship, and were permitted to sound the depths of his nature. The following letter of the Rev. E. P. Roe is here preserved in corroboration of this opinion.

THE DEATH OF GENERAL UPTON.

BY REV. E. P. ROE.

DEAR EVANGELIST: While pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Highland Falls, near West Point, I formed the acquaintance of General Emory Upton, then commandant of the cadets. His military reputation, his position, and especially his heroism and great usefulness in our national struggle for life, entitled him to respect; but his genial personal qualities soon developed that respect into admiration and warm friendship. For several years I saw him frequently; my wife and I were guests at his quarters, and we often had the pleasure of entertaining him and the members of his household at the parsonage. Our intimacy led to the frankest interchange of thought and feeling, and I had abundant opportunities of observing the work-

ings and tendencies of a strong and brilliant mind. His views on the great moral and political questions of the day were courageous, advanced, and, above all things, Christian. My interviews with him were always tonic in their effects, and his hearty sympathy with every phase of a pastor's work was a kindly inspiration to new and better effort. He spoke to me often and fully, both of his duty in relation to the cadets and his work in the line of authorship, and I saw without disguise the governing motives of his daily life and effort. In all sincerity I assert that I can not recall a single expression, or an inadvertent yet significant act, that indicated a selfish ambition or a debasing tendency. He was ambitious, but in the large, manly way characteristic of all men of unusual force and ability. It was never the self-seeking which grasps, snatches, or begrudges the meed of others. Never would he stoop a hair's breadth to any man or any power to gain an end; never would he disguise an honest conviction did his manhood prompt its expression.

His method of self-advancement was to serve his country with devoted and uncalculating loyalty, and to perform the duties of his station with scrupulous fidelity. He was regarded by the cadets as a severe disciplinarian on the plain and in camp, and as a kind and genial friend in his own quarters.

His Christian influence at West Point was unobtrusive, but decided and strong; and so consistent was his life that I can recall not even a word of criticism breathed against his religious profession or character. As is ever the case with forceful,

positive men, there were a few who did not like him; but never have I heard him spoken of in other terms than those of respect.

It is a fact, perhaps not generally known, that the cadets maintain among themselves a prayer-meeting, which in points of interest and attendance compares favorably with any existing in other colleges. This at least was true a few years since, and I think it is so still. While the general did not think it wise, in view of his relations to the young men, to attend these meetings, his interest in them was warm and constant; and occasionally, when my duties permitted me to be present, and I afterward referred to the simple, manly earnestness which was the refreshing characteristic of the words spoken and prayers uttered, his face would glow with honest gratification, that was as unmistakable as the light of day. I know that the chaplain of the post, the Rev. Dr. Forsyth, ever found in him a cordial and useful ally.

In later years, after he had made a tour of the world, by order of the Government, that he might study the military systems of other nations, I visited him at Fortress Monroe, and he returned the visit at my home at Cornwall-on-the-Hudson. I saw on these occasions only changes for the better—a broader and more liberal mind, a deeper enthusiasm for his profession, and an eager desire to make the army more effective for all the purposes for which it exists. He banished wholly from the mind the impression that rank and station were ends to be sought for their own sake. They were but the vantage-ground from which he hoped to

advance to a larger and wider usefulness. He seemed much impressed with grave defects in our military system and with the evils of political meddling and mismanagement, and was full of the hope of doing something to aid in bringing about changes for the better. There were in his manner the same direct gaze, the same twinkle of genial humor in his eyes, the same honest, manly ring to his words, nor had life abroad relaxed the high moral tone of his thought and convictions.

He was always broad and charitable in his views, but his liberality was not of that flabby kind which makes little distinction between right and wrong, and tolerates with easy-going indifference that which is questionable. In nice points of honor between man and man he was scrupulous to the last degree, and I have sometimes thought that the element of fear was left out of his nature or else driven forth by his resolute will.

Faults he undoubtedly had, as have all men; but I have rarely met one who had so few weaknesses.

To the manly strength of his character, his deep but unobtrusive devotion to the memory of his beautiful young wife gave an indescribable grace. Only to those who knew him well would he speak on this subject; but on one or two occasions I saw clearly that she was an abiding presence in the inner sanctuary, the "holy of holies," of his heart. Having had this insight, I saw that many of his characteristics were the result of the sacred, purifying influence of one to whom he was as constant as if she were a living wife. She was always his bride.

When, therefore, the tidings came that such a man had "committed suicide," I experienced a shock that I can not describe. It was as if something as stable as the everlasting hills had given way. Then almost instantly the conviction came that it was not suicide in the ordinary acceptance of the word—that there must be an explanation of the act which would prove him irresponsible.

Character is the most priceless possession of man or woman, and a character like his was the result of a long and continued growth. Many and varied circumstances and influences had combined to form it; but, above all, his resolute will, co-working in hearty accord and sympathy with the will of God, was the chief source of its strength and completeness. His faith was of the practical and genuine cast that entered into and controlled all that he said and did, and not a thing of forms and observances.

When a man commits an act that is strange, unaccountable, and in itself most evil, it is supremely unjust to disregard the logic of a good, noble life, and interpret the act in a sinister way, if any other explanation is possible. It is not the mantle of charity that is needed, but clear-eyed justice, that fairly estimates all the facts in the case. He is either base himself or else exceedingly superficial or ignorant who can believe that, after goodness and honor have become the warp and woof of character, a man can deliberately give himself up to crime. His taste for carrion is insatiable who will believe this when there is no adequate motive or overwhelming temptation. The fair and candid mind interprets the isolated act in the light of past

life and steadily maintained character, and, in an instance like this, feels assured that there must be an explanation which will leave no shadow on an illustrious name.

There are explanations which are neither forced nor far-fetched. How often the frail body suddenly gives way when greatly overtaxed! Experience proves that the overwrought mind is in greater danger. The facts are that General Upton was a martyr to a disease that apparently was incurable—catarrh in his head. His sufferings from this infirmity were almost constant, and for years he sought relief in vain. Last fall he put himself under the care of a specialist, and endured without flinching the pain of “actual cautery.” Any good physician can suggest, but never make the reader comprehend, the intensity of the anguish caused by this operation. Having received but little benefit from six weeks of treatment, General Upton returned to his friends greatly discouraged and oppressed with the feeling that he would eventually succumb to this disease.

Bearing this almost intolerable burden of physical pain, he resumed the duties of his rank and station, to which was superadded the mental effort to solve one of the most difficult military problems of the age. What man, what mind could long endure such a strain? Under these triple burdens there was a point beyond which he could not pass. He may not have realized this truth until the crisis was upon him, and with characteristic reticence he would be more inclined to hide than to speak much of his distress beyond the limits of his own family.

In the strongest of inspired language God has commended the charity that thinketh no evil. But little charity do they deserve who persist in thinking evil in the face of a good, pure life; little charity should they receive who heedlessly or venomously seek to destroy the character which has been built up by long years of patient continuance in well-doing.

I believe that my friend fought the good fight, that his warfare is accomplished, and that he has received a higher rank and richer reward than even the grateful nation he served so faithfully could bestow.

The funeral ceremonies at San Francisco were such as were befitting the well-beloved comrade and eminent soldier. His remains were brought to Willowbrook, attended by two of his former comrades, and after the final services of the Church they were placed by the side of those of his beloved wife in the cemetery of Fort Hill at Auburn.

On the fly-leaf of his Bible, under the date August 31, 1879, is inscribed in his own hand, "Whatsoever you do, do it heartily, as unto the Lord, and not unto man." Exemplifying this text throughout, strong in faith, ardent in piety, firm in adherence to the Church, zealous in his official duties, loved for his personal virtues, and honored for his official integrity, his earthly life, rounded and complete, presents a fitting prelude and preparation for that heavenly life whose reality he now unquestionably enjoys.

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