

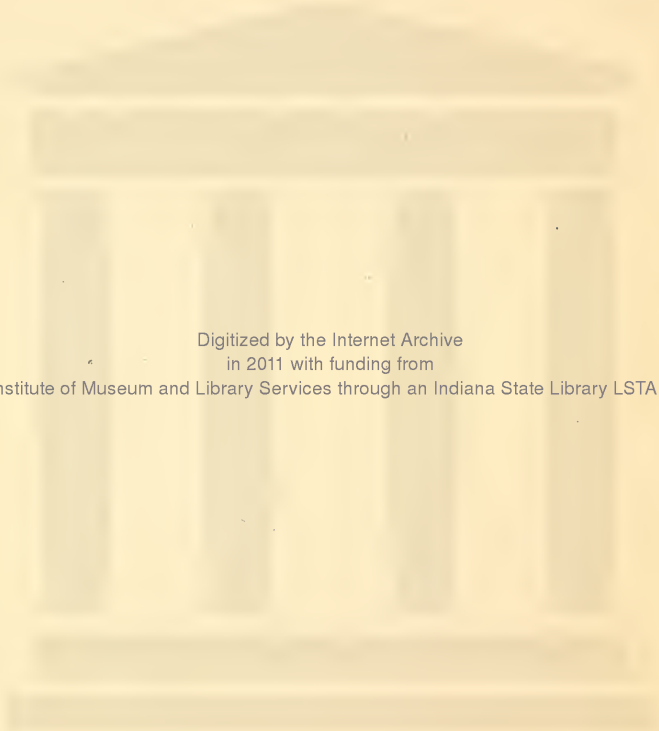


President's Administration;

Excerpts from

Benson J. Lossing's

"New History of the United States"

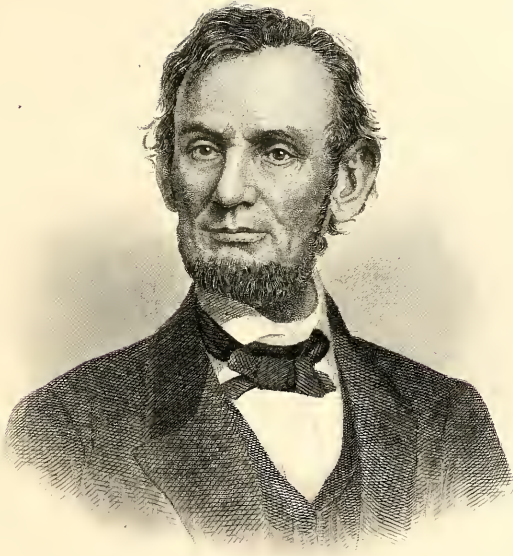


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A. Lincoln



CHAPTER XVI.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION. [1861—1865.]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,¹ the sixteenth President of the Republic, was inaugurated on the 4th day of March, 1861, under circumstances of peculiar interest. In expectation of open violence on the part of the disunionists, and their adherents, General Scott had made ample provision for the preservation of order by the strong arm of military power, if it should be necessary. This fact was known, and no disorder occurred. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney as quietly as on former occasions; and with a firm voice the new President read from the eastern portico of the Capitol to the assembled thousands his remarkable Inaugural Address. In it he expressed the most kindly feelings toward the people of every portion of the Republic, and his determination to administer the government impartially for the protection of every citizen and every interest. At the same time he announced his resolution to enforce the laws, protect the public property, and repossess that which had already been seized by the insurgents. The vast multitude then dispersed, and in the evening the usual pageant of an Inauguration Ball was seen. On the following day the Senate, relieved of most of the disunionists confirmed the President's cabinet nominations,² and the new administration began its memorable career.

The first business of the new cabinet was to ascertain the condition of the nation, especially its resources, and its ability to meet the crisis of rebellion, evidently at hand. Cobb had deeply injured the public credit, but the loyal men in Congress had adopted measures for restoring it. The army and navy promised very little aid. The former was composed of only 16,000 men, and these were principally on the frontiers of the Indian country,³ while sixteen forts had already been seized by the insurgents, with all the arsenals in the cotton-growing States.⁴ The little navy, like the army, had been placed far

¹ See note 1, page 543.

² He nominated William H. Seward, of New York, for Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, for Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, for Secretary of War; Gideon Wells, of Connecticut, for Secretary of the Navy; Caleb Smith, of Indiana, for Secretary of the Interior; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, for Postmaster-General; and Edward Bates, of Missouri, for Attorney-General.

³ Many of the officers of the army were natives of Slave-labor States, and a greater portion of these not only abandoned their flag and joined the insurgents, but attempted to corrupt the patriotism of the common soldiers. Among the most flagrant acts of this kind was the conduct of General David E. Twiggs, whom Floyd had placed in command of the troops in Texas, to assist in the work of rebellion. He first tried to seduce the troops from their allegiance. Failing in this, he betrayed them into the hands of the enemies of their country in February, 1861. His command included nearly one-half of the military force of the United States. They were surrendered to the rebellious "authorities of Texas," with public property valued at \$ 250,000.

⁴ The defensive works within the "seceding States," as they were called, were about thirty in number, and mounting over 3,000 guns. The cost of these works and their equipment was at least \$20,000,000. It is estimated that the value of National property which the insurgents seized before the close of Buchanan's administration was at least \$30,000,000.

beyond the immediate use of the government. Only forty-two vessels were in commission, and the entire force immediately available for the defense of the whole Atlantic coast of the Republic was the *Brooklyn*, of twenty-five guns, and a store-ship. A large number of naval officers, born in Slave-labor States, had resigned; and weakness and confusion in that arm of the public service were everywhere visible. The public offices were swarming with disloyal men. It was difficult to decide who were and who were not trustworthy, and as it was necessary for the President to have proper implements to work with, he was engaged for nearly a month after his inauguration in exchanging false for true men in the employment of the government. He knew that rising rebellion could not be suppressed by proclamations, unless the insurgents saw behind them the invincible power of the State, ready to be wielded by the President, with trusty instrumentalities. These he endeavored to find.



FORT SUMTER IN 1861.

Meanwhile rebellion was open and defiant, especially at Charleston. Soon after Major Anderson transferred his garrison to Fort Sumter,¹ the insurgents, who at once flocked to Charleston, began the erection of fortifications for the purpose of dislodging him. They seized the other forts that were for the defense of the harbor, and when, so early as the second week in January, a government vessel (*Star of the West*) attempted to enter with men and provisions for Fort Sumter, and with the National flag at her fore, she was fired

¹ Page 549.

upon by great guns and driven to sea.¹ When the Confederation was formed at Montgomery,² they commissioned Major P. G. T. Beauregard, a Louisiana creole, who had deserted his flag, a brigadier-general, and sent him to command the insurgents at Charleston. Under his direction Fort Sumter was besieged; and when, early in April [1861], the government informed the authorities of South Carolina that supplies would be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably or forcibly, Beauregard was ordered by Davis and his fellow-disunionists to demand its immediate surrender. This was done [April 11], when Anderson, whose supplies were nearly exhausted, agreed to evacuate the fort within five days, if he should receive no relief from his government. Hoping to "fire the Southern heart" by bloodshed, the Secessionists would not wait for so peaceable a way for gaining possession, and under their direction Beauregard, with thousands of armed men at his back, opened full thirty heavy guns and mortars upon the fort [April 12], which was defended by only about seventy men.³ The little garrison gallantly responded, and fought bravely, with a hope that a naval expedition, which they knew had been sent for their relief, might arrive in time to raise the siege. A heavy storm prevented the succor. Provisions were exhausted. The buildings in the fort were set on fire by the shells of the insurgents, and a greater portion of the gunpowder had to be emptied into the sea, to prevent its ignition by the flames. Finally, hopeless of aid, and almost powerless, Anderson agreed to evacuate the fort. This he did on Sunday, the 14th, and retired with the garrison to the government vessels hovering outside the harbor, bearing away the flag of Fort Sumter. Precisely four years afterward [April 14, 1865] he took it back, and raised it again over the fortress, then an almost shapeless mass of ruins. *He evacuated, but did not surrender Fort Sumter*, and he and its flag, the emblem of the sovereignty of his government, were borne to New York.⁴ Thus commenced

CIVIL WAR, IN 1861.

Twenty-four hours after the evacuation of Fort Sumter, the President issued a proclamation, in which he called out the militia of the country for three

¹ This overt act of treason and of war was commended by the Legislature of South Carolina, which resolved, unanimously, "That this General Assembly learns with pride and pleasure of the successful resistance this day by the troops of this State, acting under the orders of the Governor, to an attempt to re-enforce Fort Sumter." The public press of Charleston said: "We are proud that our harbor has been so honored," and declared that "if the red seal of blood was yet lacking to the parchment of their liberties," there should be "blood enough to stamp it all in red! For, by the God of our fathers," shouted the exultant journalist, "the soil of South Carolina shall be free!"—*Charleston Mercury*, January 9, 1861.

² Page 547.

³ A Virginia Congressman, named Roger A. Pryor, made a speech in the streets of Charleston on the night of the 10th. A convention was then in session in Virginia, in which the Unionists were holding the Secessionists in check. Pryor, in defending the seeming hesitancy of his State, said: "Do not distrust Virginia. Strike a blow! The very moment that blood is shed, Old Virginia will make common cause with her sisters of the South." This cry for blood was telegraphed to Montgomery the next morning. It was consonant with the malevolent spirit of the more zealous Secessionists everywhere. Gilchrist, a member of the Alabama Legislature, said to Davis, Walker, Benjamin, and Memminger: "Gentlemen, unless you sprinkle blood in the face of the people of Alabama, they will be back in the old Union in less than ten days." And so Davis and his "Cabinet" ordered Beauregard to shed blood, and "fire the Southern heart."

⁴ F. W. Pickens, then Governor of South Carolina, made the evacuation of Sumter the occa-

months' service, to the number of seventy-five thousand men, to suppress the rising rebellion.¹ The Secretary of War simultaneously issued a requisition upon the several States for their prescribed quota.² These calls were received with unbounded favor and enthusiasm throughout the Free-labor States. In the six Slave-labor States included in the call, they were treated with scorn and defiance, the Governors sending insulting responses to the President, while Davis and his fellow-disunionists at Montgomery received the Proclamation with "derisive laughter." In the Free-labor States there was a wonderful uprising of the people. Nothing like it, in sublimity of aspect, had been seen on the earth since Peter the Hermit and Pope Urban the Second filled all Christian Europe with religious zeal, and sent armed hosts, with the cry of "God wills it! God wills it!" to rescue the Sepulcher of Jesus from the hands of the infidel. The Republic was to be rescued from the hands of the assassin. Men, women, and children felt the enthusiasm alike; and, as if by preconcerted arrangement, the National flag was everywhere displayed, even from the spires of churches and cathedrals. In cities, in villages, at way-side inns, all over the country, it was unfurled from lofty poles in the presence of large assemblies of people, who were addressed frequently by some of the most eminent orators in the land. It adorned the halls of justice and the sanctuaries of religion; and the "Red, White, and Blue," the colors of the flag in combination, became ornaments of women and tokens of the loyalty of men.

The uprising in the Slave-labor States at the same time, though less general and enthusiastic, was nevertheless marvelous. The heresy of State supremacy, which Calhoun³ and his disciples adroitly called State *rights*, because a *right* is a sacred thing cherished by all, was a political tenet generally accepted as orthodox.⁴ It had been inculcated in every conceivable form, and on every conceivable occasion; and men who loved the Union and deprecated secession were in agreement with the Secessionists on that point. Hence it was that, in the tornado of passion then sweeping over the South, where reason was dis-

sion for an exultant speech in the streets of Charleston, on that Sunday. "Thank God," he exclaimed, "the war is open, and we will conquer or perish. We have humbled the flag of the United States." Alluding to his State as a sovereignty, he said, "That proud flag was never lowered before to any nation on the earth. . . . It has been humbled to-day before the glorious little State of South Carolina." The churches of Charleston that day were resonant with disloyal harangues. In old St. Philip's the venerable and blind Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church cried out: "Your boys were there, and mine were there, and *it was right that they should be there.*" And in the Roman-Catholic Cathedral Bishop Lynch had a *Te Deum* chanted in gratitude to God for the beginning of the most horrid civil war on record!

¹ The President's authority for this act may be found in the second and third sections of an act of Congress approved February 28, 1795. That law would not allow the President to hold them to service for more than three months.

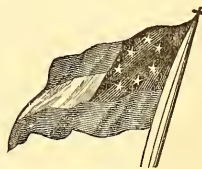
² The quota of each State was as follows, the figures denoting the number of regiments: Maine, 1; New Hampshire, 1; Vermont, 1; Massachusetts, 2; Rhode Island, 1; Connecticut, 1; New York, 17; New Jersey, 6; Pennsylvania, 16; Delaware, 1; Tennessee, 2; Maryland, 4; Virginia, 3; North Carolina, 2; Kentucky, 4; Arkansas, 1; Missouri, 4; Ohio, 13; Indiana, 6; Illinois, 6; Michigan, 1; Iowa, 1; Minnesota, 1; Wisconsin, 1;

³ See note 3, page 459.

⁴ This was in the form of a political dogma, which declares that each State is a sovereign; that the Union is only a league of sovereign States, and not a nationality; that the States are not subservient to the National government; were not created by it, do not belong to it, and that *they* created that government, whose powers they delegate to it, and that to them it is responsible. Such was the essential substance of the old Confederation, before the National Constitution was

carded, thousands of intelligent men, deceived by the grossest misrepresentations respecting the temper, character, and intentions of the people of the Free-labor States, flew to arms, well satisfied that they were in the right, because resisting what they believed to be usurpation, and an unconstitutional attempt at the subjugation of a free people on the part of the National government.

Within a week after the attack on Fort Sumter the insurrection assumed the huge proportions of a great rebellion. Its forces were at work in all the Slave-labor States, and the most extraordinary exertions were immediately put forth by the disunionists to execute the first and most important part of their plan, namely, the seizure of the National Capital. Thousands of their followers, armed with weapons taken from their government, were pressing into Virginia for that purpose. At the time of his inauguration at Montgomery¹ Jefferson Davis had said: "We are now determined to maintain our position, and make *all who oppose us smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel*;"² and he now began to carry out that threat with a high hand, while his lieutenant, Alexander H. Stephens, who a few months before had declared and proven that rebellion against the government would be a monstrous crime,³ now hurried toward Richmond, making Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia ring with his cry of "*On to Washington!*" Le Roy Pope Walker, Davis's "Secretary of War,"⁴ had prophesied on the day when Fort Sumter was attacked [April 12, 1861], saying: "The flag that now flaunts the breeze here will float over the dome of the old capitol at Washington before the first of May. Let them try Southern chivalry, and test the extent of Southern resources, and it may float eventually over Faneuil Hall, in Boston." The most intense desire to seize Washington City prevailed among the insurgent leaders, and the people of the cotton-planting States soon realized the promise uttered by Governor Pickens: "You may plant your seed in peace, for Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of battle."



THE CONFEDERATE FLAG.⁵

Virginia did, indeed, bear much of the brunt of battle. It was now in an uproar, and its people was soon made to feel the terrible effects of the treason of some of their leading politicians. They had assembled a convention to consider the subject of secession from the Union. The Unionists were the

framed. That Constitution refutes this heresy of State sovereignty and supremacy, in terms and spirit: "We, the People," says its preamble, "do ordain and establish," &c. That Constitution was the work of the *people*, not of *State organizations*; and it is the political creator of every State since admitted into the Union, first as a Territory, and then as a State, solely by the exercise of the potential will of the people, expressed through Congress. Without the consent of Congress, under the provisions of the Constitution, no State can enter the Union. The National government is the creator of the States. See Section 3, Article IV. of the National Constitution.

¹ Page 547.

² See Lossing's *Pictorial History of the Civil War*, vol. I., pages 54 to 57, inclusive.

³ Page 541.

⁴ This is a picture of the flag of the "Southern Confederacy" adopted by the Secessionists and first unfurled over the State-House at Montgomery on the 4th of March, 1861.

majority in that body. The crisis had now come. The blow had been struck. The bloodshed evoked by the impassioned Pryor had occurred. Virginia, within whose ancient embrace was the capital of the nation to be destroyed, must be actively on the side of the conspirators, or all might be lost. Maryland, on the other side of the District of Columbia, was a doubtful auxiliary, for her loyal Governor and people were holding treason and rebellion in check in that State. The violent spirit of the disunionists everywhere manifested must not be backward in Virginia, the mother of Disunion; so the politicians, perceiving [April 16] that if the seats of ten Unionists in the convention could be made vacant an ordinance of secession might be passed, waited upon that number of such men and gave them the choice of voting for secession, keeping away from the convention, or being hanged. They kept away. The secession ordinance was adopted [April 17, 1861], and in defiance of an order of the convention that it should be submitted to a vote of the people, a committee appointed by that body, with John Tyler at its head,¹ concluded a treaty with Alexander H. Stephens, acting in behalf of Jefferson Davis, by which their commonwealth was placed under the absolute military control of the Confederacy. This was done within a week [April 25, 1861] after the Ordinance of Secession was passed, and a month before the time appointed for its submission to the people. When that day arrived, fraud and violence deprived the latter of their right.² Virginia became a part of the Confederacy, and, by invitation of its politicians, who had dragged the people into the vortex of revolution, the so-called "government" of the conspirators was transferred from Montgomery to Richmond, and there it remained during the war that ensued.

While troops were hurrying toward Washington from the Slave-labor States, to seize it, others, in larger numbers, were flocking from the Free-labor States to defend it. The secessionists of Maryland were active, and tried to place a barrier in the way of the loyal men in Baltimore, through which city they were compelled to pass. They slightly assailed some Pennsylvanians (five unarmed companies) who passed through on the 18th of April, and were the first of its defenders to reach the National capital;³ and on the following day a mob of ten thousand men assailed a single Massachusetts regiment (the Sixth), as it marched from one railway station to the other. A fight ensued. Lives were lost.⁴ The loyal people of the nation were terribly exasperated, and it was with difficulty that the city in which the tragedy occurred

¹ The commissioners consisted of John Tyler, William Ballard Preston, S. M. McD. Moore, James P. Holcombe, James C. Bruce, and Lewis E. Harvie.

² The bayonet was ready everywhere to control the elections. That Union men might be kept from the polls, Mason, the author of the Fugitive Slave Law [page 522], addressed a public letter to the people, telling those who were disposed to vote against the Ordinance that they must not vote at all, "and if they retain such opinions *they must leave the State.*" He asserted in another form Jefferson Davis's threat, that all opposers should "smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel."

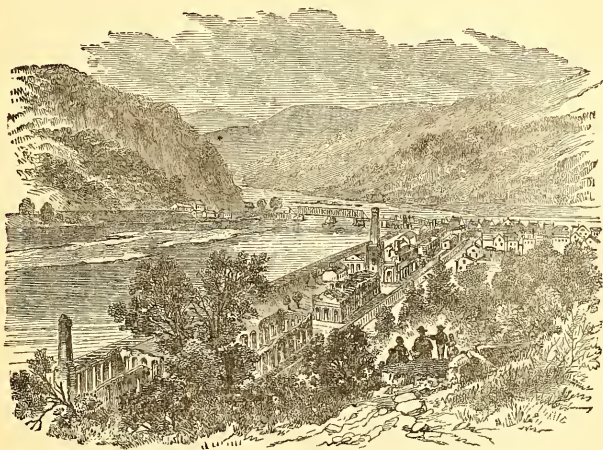
³ There were the *Washington Artillery* and *National Light Infantry* companies of Pottsville; the *Ringold Light Artillery*, of Reading; the *Logan Guards*, of Lewistown; and the *Allen Infantry*, of Allentown.

⁴ The mob, encouraged by the Chief of Police (G. P. Kane) and well-known citizens, assailed

was preserved from destruction. "Turn upon it the guns of Fort McHenry," said one. "Lay it in ashes!" cried another. "Fifty thousand men may be raised in an hour to march through Baltimore," exclaimed a third; and one of our popular poets (Bayard Taylor) wrote:—

"Bow down in haste thy guilty head!
 God's wrath is swift and sure:
 The sky with gathering bolts is red—
 Cleanse from thy skirts the slaughter-shed,
 Or make thyself an ashen bed
 O Baltimore!"

The defenders of the capital were not there any too soon. Already the Virginians had begun to play their part in the plan for seizing Washington. On the passage of the ordinance of secession by the Virginian convention,¹



HARPER'S FERRY IN THE SUMMER OF 1861.

Governor Letcher proclaimed the independence of the State and his recognition of the Confederacy; and, less than twenty-four hours afterward, troops were in motion for seizing Harper's Ferry and the Navy Yard near Norfolk.² Warned of their approach, and his force too small to make successful resistance, Lieutenant Jones, who was in command at Harper's Ferry, set fire to the Armory and Arsenal buildings there [April 18], and withdrew into Pennsylvania. The

¹ the troops with every sort of missile. Two of the troops were killed. One was mortally and several were slightly wounded. Nine citizens of Baltimore were killed, and a considerable number were wounded.

¹ Page 556.

² See note 1, page 550.

insurgents took possession of the post, and were about to march upon Washington, when they heard of its armed occupation by loyal men. At the same time, Virginians were before the Navy Yard at Gosport, opposite Norfolk, demanding its surrender. The commander of the station (Commodore McAuley) finding disloyalty to be rife among his officers, and apprehending immediate danger from foes without, prepared to abandon the post without resistance, and to scuttle the vessels. Commodore Paulding arrived while the vessels were sinking, and finding it to be too late to save them, he ordered them and the buildings of the navy yard to be fired. An immense amount of property was destroyed, and the Virginians, on taking possession, acquired, as spoils, about two thousand cannon. These armed many a battery throughout the Confederacy soon afterward.

The National capital was still in great danger. Thousands of insurgents from below the Roanoke were pouring into Virginia and pressing up toward Washington, while, for about a week, all communication between the capital and the loyal States was cut off. Under the sanction of the Mayor and Chief of Police of Baltimore, the bridges of the railways extending northward from that city were burned on the night after the massacre in its streets, and the telegraph-wires were cut. The President and his cabinet and the General-in-chief of the Army were virtual prisoners in the capital for several days, and were relieved just in time to prevent their actual capture, by the energy of the veteran General John E. Wool, and the Union Defense Committee of New York City, in forwarding troops and supplies in a manner to avoid the blockade of the direct highway at Baltimore, and to secure the capital. The well-known Seventh Regiment of New York and some Massachusetts troops, under General Benjamin F. Butler, proceeded by water to Annapolis [April 21], seized the railway between that city and its junction with the one leading from Baltimore to Washington [April 25], and took possession a few days later at the Relay House, nine miles from the former city, where the Baltimore and Ohio Railway turns northward toward Harper's Ferry. From that point, on the evening of the 13th of May, Butler, with a little more than one thousand men, went into Baltimore, under cover of intense darkness and a thunder-storm, and quietly took post on Federal Hill, an eminence commanding the city.¹ The first intimation the citizens received of his presence was a proclamation from him, published in a newspaper the next morning, assuring all peaceable persons of full protection, and intimating that a greater force was at hand, if needed, for the purposes of the outraged government. Troops then passed quietly through Baltimore to Washington City,² and at the middle of May the capital was safe. Thus rebellion in Maryland was throttled at the beginning, and it was kept from very serious mischief during the war that ensued.³

¹ Butler's troops consisted of the entire Sixth Massachusetts, which was attacked in Baltimore on the 19th of April [page 556]; a part of the New York Eighth; Boston artillerymen, and two field-pieces. They were placed in cars, headed, as a feint, toward Harper's Ferry. At evening they were backed into Baltimore, just as a heavy thunder-storm was about to break over the city, and the troops, well piloted, went quietly to Federal Hill.

² Three days earlier [May 10] Pennsylvanian troops passed unmolested through Baltimore to Washington, under Colonel Patterson.

³ General Scott had planned an expedition for the seizure of Baltimore, to consist of four

At the beginning of May, by violence and other methods, the Secessionists and their friends had seized the government property to the amount of \$40,000,000; put about forty thousand armed men in the field, more than half of whom were then concentrating in Virginia; sent emissaries abroad, in the name of "commissioners," to seek recognition and aid from foreign powers;¹ commissioned numerous "privateers" to prey upon the commerce of the United States;² extinguished the luminaries of light-houses and beacons along the coasts of the Slave-labor States, from Hampton Roads to the Rio Grande,³ and enlisted actively in their revolutionary schemes the governors of thirteen States, and large numbers of leading politicians in other States.⁴ Encouraged by their success in Charleston harbor,⁵ they were investing Fort Pickens, which had been saved from seizure by the vigilance and energy of Lieutenant Slemmer, its commander.⁶ INSURRECTION had become REBELLION; and the loyal people of the country and the National government, beginning to comprehend the magnitude, potency, and meaning of the movement, accepted it as such, and addressed themselves earnestly to the task of its suppression. The President called [May

columns of three thousand men each, to approach it simultaneously from different points. Butler, by bold and energetic action, accomplished the desired end in one night, with a thousand men. Scott could not forgive him for this independent action. He demanded his removal from the command of that department. The President complied, promoted Butler to Major-General, and gave him a more important command, with his head-quarters at Fortress Monroe.

¹ These were William L. Yancey [see page 544], of Alabama; P. A. Rost, of Louisiana; A. Dudley Mann, of Virginia, and T. Butler King, of Georgia. Yancey was to operate in England, Rost in France, and Mann in Holland and Belgium. King seems to have had a kind of roving commission. These men so fitly represented their bad cause in Europe, that confidence in its justice and ultimate success was so speedily impaired, that they went wandering about, seeking in vain for willing listeners among men of character in diplomatic circles, and they finally abandoned their missions with disgust, to the relief of European statesmen, who were wearied with their importunities and offended by their duplicity.

² Davis summoned his so-called "Congress" to meet at Montgomery on the 29th of April. He had already announced, by proclamation [April 17, 1861], his determination to employ "privateers" against the commerce of the United States, and the "Confederate Congress" now authorized the measure, with the unrighteous offer, by the terms of the Act, of a bounty of \$20 for the destruction, by fire, water, or otherwise, on the high seas, of every man, woman, or child—"each person"—that might be found by these "privateers." That the men engaged in this business, under the sanction of the Secessionists, were pirates, is shown by the laws of nations. Piracy is defined as "robbery on the high seas without authority." Davis, Toombs, and their fellow-disunionists had no more authority to commission privateers, as legalized pirates are called, than had Jack Cade, Nat. Turner, or John Brown, for they represented no acknowledged government on the face of the earth.

³ The light-houses and beacons darkened by them, between Cape Henry, in Virginia, and Point Isabel, in Texas, numbered 133.

⁴ These were Letcher, of *Virginia*; Magoffin, of *Kentucky*; Ellis, of *North Carolina*; Harris, of *Tennessee*; Jackson, of *Missouri*; Pickens, of *South Carolina*; Brown, of *Georgia*, Moore, of *Alabama*; Pettus, of *Mississippi*; Rector, of *Arkansas*; Moore, of *Louisiana*; Perry, of *Florida*; and Burton, of *Delaware*. Only Governor Hicks, of *Maryland*, and Houston, of *Texas*, of the fifteen Slave-labor States, were loyal to the National government. The former remained so until his death; but Houston yielded in the course of a few months, and became a reviler of the President and the loyal people.

⁵ Page 553.

⁶ Early in January [1861], Lieutenant Slemmer received information that Fort Pickens and other fortifications on Pensacola Bay, under his charge, would be seized by the Governor of Florida. He took measures accordingly. Observing a gathering cloud of danger, he placed all the public property he possibly could, and his garrison, in stronger Fort Pickens. The insurgents seized the Navy Yard on the Main (Fort Pickens is on Santa Rosa Island), and tried to secure the fort, but in vain. Slemmer held it until he was re-enforced, at about the time when Fort Sumter was abandoned, when a large number of troops, under General Bragg (who had abandoned his flag), were besieging it.

3, 1861] for sixty-four thousand more troops (volunteers) to serve "during the war," and eighteen thousand men for the navy. Forts Monroe and Pickens were re-enforced, and the blockade of the Southern ports, out of which the Secessionists were preparing to send cruisers, was proclaimed.

The first care of the government was to secure the safety of the capital, and for this purpose Washington City and its vicinity was made the general gathering-place of all the troops raised eastward of the Alleghany Mountains. When, on the 4th of July, Congress met in extraordinary session, pursuant to the call of the President, in his proclamation for troops on the 15th of April,¹ there were about 230,000 volunteers in the field, independent of the three months' men, a larger portion of whom were within ten miles of the capital. Congress approved the act of the President in calling them out, and authorized [July 10, 1861] the raising of 500,000 troops, and an appropriation of \$500,000,000 to defray the expenses of the kindling Civil War.² Towns, villages, cities, and States had made contributions for this service to an immense amount, and the people of the Free-labor States, of every political and religious creed, were united in efforts to save the life of the Republic. At the same time Confederate troops in Virginia, estimated at more than 100,000 in number, occupied an irregular line, from Harper's Ferry, by way of Richmond, to Norfolk. Their heaviest force was at Manassas Junction, within about thirty miles of Washington City, and there, very soon, the first heavy shock of war was felt.

Congress felt the necessity of bending all its energies to a speedy ending of the rebellion. From the beginning of the trouble it was evident that most of the foreign governments and the ruling classes of Europe would view with satisfaction a Civil War that might destroy the Republic, give a stunning blow to Democracy, and thus renew their lease of power over the people indefinitely. Most of the foreign ministers at Washington, regarding the secession movements in several States as the beginning of a permanent separation, had announced [February, 1861] to their respective governments the practical



SALMON P. CHASE.

¹ Page 553.

² Secretary Chase, whose management of the financial affairs of the country during a greater portion of the period of the war was considered eminently wise and efficient, asked for \$240,000,000 for war purposes, and \$80,000,000 to meet the ordinary demands for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1862. He proposed to raise the \$80,000,000 in addition to \$60,000,000 already appropriated, by levying increased duties, and by excise, or by the direct taxation of real and personal property. To raise the amount for war purposes, he proposed loans, to be issued in the form of Treasury notes and bonds, or certificates of debt, to be made redeemable at a future day, not exceeding thirty years distant.

Salmon P. Chase was a native of New Hampshire, where he was born in 1808. In 1830 he commenced the practice of the law in Cincinnati, and was one of the founders of the "Liberty Party" in Ohio, in 1841. In 1849 he was chosen a Senator of the United States, and in 1855 was elected Governor of Ohio. Mr. Lincoln appointed him Secretary of the Treasury in 1861, and afterward Chief Justice. He died May 7, 1873.

dissolution of the American Union; and statesmen and publicists abroad affected amazement because of the folly of Congress in legislating concerning tariff and other National measures, when the nation was hopelessly expiring! And before the representative of the new administration (Charles Francis Adams) could reach England, the British ministry (already having an agreement with the Emperor of the French that the two governments should act in concert concerning American affairs) procured, in behalf of the disunionists, a Proclamation of Neutrality by the Queen [May 13], by which a Confederate government, as existing, was acknowledged, and belligerent rights were accorded to the insurgents.¹ Other European governments hastened to give the Confederates similar encouragement. Only the Emperor of Russia, of all the reigning monarchs, showed sympathy with our government in its great trouble. Considering this, and the possibility that they might, with equal unseemly haste, recognize the independence of the Confederates, and possibly lend them material aid, Congress worked diligently in preparations to confront the rebellion with ample force. While doing so, that rebellion assumed the proportions of CIVIL WAR in a sanguinary battle fought so near the capital that the sounds of great guns engaged in it were heard there.

Blood had already been spilled in conflicts on battle-fields. The importance of holding possession of Western Virginia, and so the control of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, which connected Maryland and the capital with the great West, was apparent to the Confederates. Equally important was it for them to possess Fortress Monroe, and efforts to seize and hold both were early made. The strife for Western Virginia began first. The people of that region were mostly loyal, and had already taken steps toward a separation from the Eastern or rebellious portion of their State. Troops were accordingly sent from Richmond to restrain their patriotism. The people rushed to arms, and under the leadership of Colonel B. F. Kelley, a considerable force was organized in the vicinity of Wheeling, where, early in May, a mass convention of citizens had resolved to sever all connection with the disunionists at Richmond. A delegate convention was held there on the 13th of May, and made provision for a more formal and effective convention on the 11th of June. In that body, about forty counties were represented, and an ordinance of secession from the old Virginia government was adopted. They established a provisional government [June 20, 1861], and elected Francis H. Pierpont Chief Magistrate. The people ratified their acts in the autumn, and in convention formed a State Constitution. In June, 1863, WEST VIRGINIA WAS admitted into the Union as a new State.

¹ British sympathy for a rebellion avowedly for the purpose of strengthening and perpetuating the institution of slavery, was a strange spectacle. Among the people of the earth, the English appeared pre-eminently the opposers of slavery. And so, in fact, the great body of the people of England were. It was the government and the dominant class in that country—the *governing few* as against the *governed many*—who were thus untrue to principle. The Queen and the Prince Consort did not share in the unfriendly feeling toward us. As parents they could not forget the exceeding kindness bestowed by our people upon their son, the heir-apparent of the throne, who visited this country in 1860; and it is known that her Majesty restrained her ministers from recognizing the independence of the Confederates, as they were anxious to do.

The government perceived the necessity of affording aid to the Western Virginia loyalists, and General George B. McClellan, who had been placed in command of the Department of the Ohio, was ordered to assist Kelley in driving out the Confederate troops. Thus encouraged, the Virginia commander moved on Grafton, when the Confederate leader, Porterfield, fled to Philippi. Thither he was followed by Kelley, and also by Ohio and Indiana troops, under Colonel Dumont. They drove Porterfield from Philippi [June 3] after a battle (the first after war was proclaimed), in which Kelley was wounded, and for a while matters were quiet in that region. Grafton was made the head-quarters of the National troops in Western Virginia.



SEAL OF WEST VIRGINIA.

Meanwhile Confederate troops under Colonel Magruder, who had abandoned his flag,¹ had been moving down the peninsula between the James and York Rivers, for the purpose of attempting to seize Fortress Monroe. General Butler, in command at the latter post, informed that the insurgents were in a fortified camp at Big Bethel, a few miles up the peninsula, resolved to dislodge them, for the two-fold purpose of making Fortress Monroe more secure, and for carrying out a plan he had conceived of seizing the railway between Suffolk and Petersburg, and, menacing the Weldon road which connected Virginia with the Carolinas, draw Confederate troops back from the vicinity of Washington. He sent a force under General E. W. Pearce for the purpose, one column moving from Fortress Monroe, and the other from Newport-News, on the James River. Meeting in the gloom before dawn, they fired upon each other, alarmed the Confederate outposts, and caused a concentration of all the insurgent forces at Big Bethel. There a conflict occurred [June 10, 1861], in which Lieutenant J. T. Greble, a gallant young artillery officer, was killed. He was the first officer of the regular army who perished in the Civil War. The expedition was unsuccessful, and returned to Fortress Monroe.

The misfortune at Bethel was atoned for the next day [June 11], when Colonel (afterward Major-General) Lewis Wallace, with a few Indiana troops, dispersed five hundred Confederates at Romney, in Hampshire County, Virginia. It was a most gallant feat. Its boldness and success so alarmed the insurgents at Harper's Ferry, that they fled to Winchester [June 15], eighteen miles up the Shenandoah Valley, and there, under the direction of their accomplished commander, Joseph E. Johnston,² they made preparations for resisting the threatened invasion of that region. The evacuation of Harper's Ferry was followed by its speedy occupation by National troops. On the day after

¹ "Mr. Lincoln," said Magruder to the President, at the middle of April, "every one else may desert you, but *I* never will." The President thanked him. Two days afterward, having done all in his power to corrupt the troops in Washington, he fled and joined the insurgents.—See Greley's *American Conflict*, i. 506.

² Johnston was a veteran soldier, and had been a meritorious officer in the National army. He had taken command of the Confederates at or near the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers, late in May, and had about 12,000 men under his command.

Johnston's flight, General Robert Patterson threw 9,000 men, from the Pennsylvania militia, across the Potomac at Williamsport, but was compelled to recall them in consequence of a requisition from the General-in-Chief to send his most efficient troops to Washington, then in peril. On the 2d of July Patterson crossed with about 11,000 troops, and took post at Martinsburg. His advance, under General Abercrombie, met, fought, and conquered at Falling Waters a considerable force under the afterward famous "Stonewall" Jackson.

In the mean time stirring events were occurring in Western Virginia. For a time it seemed as if Wallace, near Cumberland, must be cut off, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railway pass into the possession of the insurgents. But that vigilant officer gallantly maintained his position against great odds, while General McClellan, advancing southward from Grafton, was striking the Confederates in the Tygart River region severe blows. Porterfield had¹ been succeeded by General Garnett, whose head-quarters were at Beverly, in Randolph County; and the notorious Henry A. Wise,² bearing the commission of a Brigadier-General, was with a force in the Valley of the Great Kanawha River, where he was confronted by General J. D. Cox.

McClellan's entire command was composed of about 20,000 troops. A portion of these, under General W. S. Rosecrans, fought and conquered a force under Colonel Pegram on Rich Mountain, not far from Beverly, on the 11th of July. This alarmed Garnett, who, with a portion of his force, fled into the wild mountain region of the Cheat River, pursued by General T. A. Morris, of McClellan's command. Morris overtook Garnett at Carricksford, on a tributary of the Cheat River, where a sharp conflict ensued. Garnett was killed and his troops were dispersed. Another portion of his followers, who fled from Beverly toward Staunton, had been pursued to the summit of the Cheat Mountain range, where an outpost was established under the care of an Indiana regiment. General Cox, in the mean time, had driven Wise out of the Kanawha Valley, and the war in Western Virginia seemed to be at an end. McClellan was called to the command of the Army of the Potomac [July 22], as the forces around Washington were designated, and his own troops were left in charge of General Rosecrans.

While these events were occurring beyond the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains,³ others of great moment were attracting public attention to the National capital and its vicinity. Toward the close of May, it was evident that the Confederates were preparing to plant batteries on Arlington Heights, which would command Washington City. Robert E. Lee, of Arlington House,⁴ an accomplished engineer officer in the army, had lately resigned, and had joined the insurgents under circumstances peculiarly painful.⁵ He

¹ Page 562.

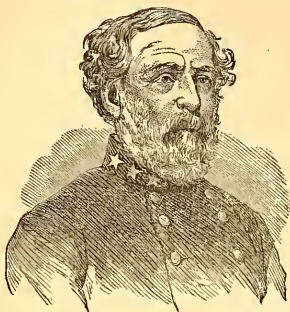
² Page 539.

³ These are nearly parallel ranges of mountains which divide Virginia between the Ohio and the Atlantic slopes.

⁴ This was for more than fifty years the residence of the late George Washington Parke Custis [see note 1, page 532], who was the father-in-law of Colonel Lee. It overlooked the Potomac, Washington City, and Georgetown, and batteries on the range of hills on which it stood, called Arlington Heights, would command the National capital completely.

⁵ Lee was then a lieutenant-colonel in the cavalry service, stationed in Texas, and, after the

was now chief of the Virginia forces, knew the value of batteries on Arlington Heights, and had, it is believed, been there with engineers from Rich-



ROBERT E. LEE.

mond. To prevent that perilous movement, troops were sent over from Washington City [May 24, 1861] to take possession of Arlington Heights and the city of Alexandria, on the river below. The troops for the occupation of the Heights crossed the bridges from Washington and Georgetown, while those sent from Alexandria went by water. The New York Fire Zouaves¹ were the first to enter Alexandria, where their gallant young commander, Colonel Ellsworth, was speedily killed.² At the same time, fortifications were commenced on Arlington Heights, where Fort Corcoran was speedily built by an Irish regiment [Sixty-ninth], and named in honor of their commander, Colonel Corcoran. This and Fort Runyon, near the Long Bridge, built by New Jersey troops, were the first regular works erected by the Nationals at the beginning of the Civil War, and the first over which the flag of the Republic was unfurled. A few days later a flotilla of armed vessels, under Captain Ward, after encountering a battery erected by the insurgents on Sewell's Point, not far from Norfolk, moved up the Potomac, and at Aquia Creek, sixty miles below Washington, had a sharp but unsuccessful engagement [May 31 and June 1] with Confederate batteries constructed there.

election of Mr. Lincoln, he was permitted to leave his regiment and return home, when he was cordially greeted by General Scott, who loved him as a son, and gave him his entire confidence. In this relation Lee remained, making himself conversant with all the plans and resources of the government for the suppression of the rebellion, and at the same time keeping up a continual communication with its enemies, until more than a week after the attack on Fort Sumter, and six days after the Secessionists at Richmond had promised him the position of commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces. Then [April 20] he resigned his command, hastened to Richmond with his important knowledge of affairs at the National capital, joined the Secessionists against his government, and speedily rose to the position of general-in-chief of the Confederate army.

¹ These composed a regiment under the command of Colonel E. E. Ellsworth, who were uniformed in the picturesque costume of a French corps, first organized in Algiers, and bearing the name of Zouave. These were famous in the war on the Crimea [page 526], and their drill, adopted by Ellsworth, was exceedingly active. The first Zouave organization in this country was that of a company at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under Captain (afterwards Major-General) Lewis Wallace, in 1860. A few weeks later, Captain Ellsworth organized a company at Chicago. There were many Zouave regiments at the beginning of the war, but the gay colors of their costume made them too conspicuous, and that uniform soon fell into disuse. See next page.

² Ellsworth's death, and the circumstances attending it, produced a profound impression. Over an inn in Alexandria, called the Marshall House, the Confederate flag [page 555] had been flying for several days, and, immediately after landing at the city, Ellsworth proceeded to remove it. He went to the roof, took it down, and, while descending a flight of stairs, the proprietor of the inn, waiting for him in a dark passage, shot him dead. The murderer was instantly killed by one of Ellsworth's companions. On the day previous to the invasion of Virginia [May 23], William McSpeddon, of New York City, and Samuel Smith, of Queen's County, New York, went over from Washington and captured a Confederate flag. This was the first flag taken from the insurgents.

About a month later [June 27] Captain Ward attacked the Confederates at Matthias Point, farther down the Potomac, where his force was repulsed and he was killed. At this place, and in its vicinity, the Confederates established batteries that defied the National vessels, and for many months that river, a great highway for supplies for the Army of the Potomac, was effectually blockaded by them.

While these stirring events were occurring eastward of the Alleghanies, others equally important were observed in the Mississippi valley. In May and June, 1861, Civil War was kindling furiously wherever the slave-system prevailed, for it was waged in the interest of that institution. In the border Slave-labor States of Kentucky and Missouri, the contest began early. The governor of each (Beriah Magoffin, of Kentucky, and Claiborne F. Jackson, of Missouri) was in complicity with the Secessionists; and in Kentucky, Simon B. Buckner, a captain of the National army, who had been placed at the head of a military organization known as the Kentucky State Guard, was employed by them, through its potential means, for corrupting the patriotism of the young men of that commonwealth. His work was facilitated by the leading politicians of that State, who claimed to be Union men, but who, at the outset, resolved to withhold all aid to their government in suppressing the rising rebellion.¹ They succeeded in placing their State in a position of neutrality in the conflict, and the consequence was that it suffered terribly from the ravages of war, which might have been averted had the great majority of the citizens, who were loyal, been allowed to act in accordance with their feelings and judgments.

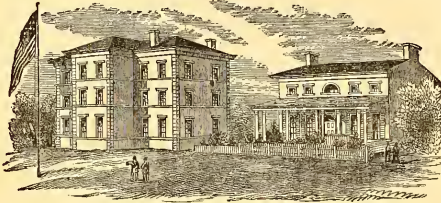
In Missouri the loyalists were the majority, but the disloyal governor and leading politicians, in their endeavors to unite its destinies with the slaveholders' Confederation, caused that State, too, to be desolated by war. So early as at the close of February [1861], a State convention was held at the capital, in which not an openly avowed disunionist appeared. It reassembled at St. Louis [March 4], when Sterling Price, a secret enemy to the government, but pretending to be its friend, presided. The loyal men gave a loyal tone to the proceedings, and the Governor, despairing of using that body for his trea-



ELLSWORTH ZOUAVE.

¹ The *Louisville Journal*, the organ of the so-called Unionists of Kentucky, said of the President's proclamation calling for troops to put down rebellion: "We are struck with mingled amazement and indignation. The policy announced in the proclamation deserves the unqualified condemnation of every American citizen. It is unworthy, not merely of a statesman, but of a man. It is a policy utterly harebrained and ruinous. If Mr. Lincoln contemplated this policy in his inaugural address, he is a guilty dissembler; if he conceived it under the excitement aroused by the seizure of Fort Sumter, he is a guilty Hotspur. In either case he is miserably unfit for the exalted position in which the enemies of the country have placed him. Let the people instantly take him and his administration into their own hands if they would rescue the land from bloodshed, and the Union from sudden and irretrievable destruction."

sonable purposes, turned to the more disloyal Legislature for aid. The latter yielded to his wishes, and, under the inspiration of Daniel M. Frost, a native of New York, and a graduate of the Military Academy at West Point, they made arrangements for enrolling the militia of the State, and placing in the hands of the governor a strong military force, to be used against the power of the National government. Arrangements were also made for seizing the



ARSENAL AT ST. LOUIS.

National Arsenal at St. Louis, and holding possession of that chief city of the Mississippi valley. For this purpose, and with the pretext of disciplining the militia of that district, Frost, commissioned a brigadier-general by the Governor, formed a camp near the city. But the plan was frustrated by the vigilant loyalists of St. Louis and Captain Nathaniel Lyon, commanding the military post there. When it became evident that Frost was about to seize the arsenal, Lyon, with a large number of volunteers, surrounded the rebel's camp, and made him and his followers prisoners.

The government and the authorities of Missouri now took open issue. Satisfied that the Secessionists had resolved to secure to their interest that State and Kentucky, the National authorities took possession of and fortified Cairo, at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and of Bird's Point, a low bluff opposite, on the Missouri side of the "Father of Waters." It was a timely movement, for Governor Jackson speedily called [June 12, 1861] into the service of the State of Missouri fifty thousand of the militia, "for the purpose of repelling invasion," et cetera, and at Jefferson City, the capital of the commonwealth, he raised the standard of revolt, with Sterling Price¹ as military commander. At the same time the authorities of Tennessee, who, led by the disloyal Governor, Isham G. Harris, had placed that State in a military relation to the Confederacy similar to that of Virginia,² were working in harmony with Jackson, their troops being under the command of General Gideon J. Pillow. That officer was making earnest efforts for the seizure of Cairo, when, early in July, Leonidas Polk, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of



STERLING PRICE.

¹ Page 565.² Page 556.

the Diocese of Louisiana, and a graduate of West Point Academy, succeeded him in command. Meanwhile, Lyon, who had been promoted to Major-General, and placed in command of the Department of Missouri, moved a strong force against the insurgents at the State capital. With 2,000 men he went up the Missouri River in two steamers. When he approached Jefferson City the insurgents fled. He hotly pursued, and overtook, fought, and dispersed them near Booneville. The vanquished Missourians again fled, and halted not until they had reached the southwestern borders of the State. Lyon now held military control of the most important portions of it.¹

There was now great commotion all over the land. War had begun in earnest. Confederate pirate-ships were depredating upon the ocean. The fife and drum were heard in every hamlet, village, and city, from the St. Croix to the Rio Grande. Compromises and concessions seemed no longer possible. The soothing lullaby of the last "Peace Convention"² was lost in the din of warlike preparations, and it was evident that the great question before the people, whether the retrogressive influence of slave institutions or the progressive civilization of free institutions should prevail in the Republic, could only be settled by the arbitrament of the sword, to which the friends of the former and the enemies of the Union had appealed. A mighty army of defenders of the Republic was rapidly gathering and earnestly drilling at its capital, and was animated by an intense desire (shared by the loyal people) to go forward, disperse the army of the conspirators, and drive their chief and his counselors from Richmond, where, with great energy, they were devising and putting into execution plans for the overthrow of their government. The gratification of that desire was promised when, at the middle of July, the General-in-Chief gave orders for the movement of the army upon the foe at Manassas, then commanded by Beauregard.³

Lieutenant-General Scott was too feeble to take command of the army in the field,⁴ and that duty was assigned to General Irwin McDowell, then at the head of the Department of Virginia. Already Ohio and South Carolina troops

¹ He so held the whole region north of the Missouri River, and east of a line running south from Booneville on that stream to the Arkansas border, thus giving the government the control of the important points of St. Louis, Hannibal, St. Joseph, and Bird's Point, as bases of operations, with railways and rivers for transportation.

² The Virginia Secessionists repeated the trick of a "Peace Convention" [see page 549] on a more limited scale after they had dragged their State into the Confederation. They proposed a convention of delegates from the border Slave-labor States, to be held in Frankfort, Kentucky. The 27th of May was appointed as the day for their assembling. There were present no delegates from Virginia, and only five beside those appointed in Kentucky. Those present professed to be eminently "neutral," and talked of "wrongs endured by the South," and the "sectionalism of the North," and regarded the preservation and National protection of the slave-system as "essential to the best hopes of our country." The trick was too apparent to deceive anybody, and had no effect. It was the last "peace conference" of its kind.

³ Page 553. On taking command of that army, at the beginning of June, Beauregard, who was noted throughout the war for his official misrepresentations, ludicrous boastings, and signal failures as a military leader, issued a proclamation so infamous and shameless, considering the conduct of himself and his superiors at Richmond, that honorable Confederate leaders like Johnston, Ewell, and Longstreet blushed for shame.

⁴ He was afflicted with dropsy and vertigo, and for four months previously he had not been able to mount a horse.

had measured strength at Vienna, a few miles from Washington, in an encounter [June 17th] concerning the possession of the railway between Alexandria and Leesburg;¹ and now the National army was eager to repeat the contest on a larger scale. The opportunity speedily offered. A little more than 30,000 troops moved from Arlington Heights and vicinity² toward Manassas at the middle of July, and on the 18th a portion of these, under General Tyler, had a severe battle at Blackburn's Ford, on Bull's Run, not far from Centreville, in Fairfax County. The Nationals were repulsed and saddened, and the Confederates were highly elated. The loss of men was about equally divided between the



WINFIELD SCOTT IN 1865.³

combatants, being about sixty on each side.

McDowell's plan was to turn the right flank of the Confederates, and compel both Beauregard and Johnston to fall back; and Tyler's movement near Blackburn's Ford was intended as a feint, but ended in a battle. The result of that engagement, and his observations during a reconnoissance on the following day [July 20], satisfied McDowell that his plan was not feasible. He therefore resolved to make a direct attack on the foe. It was important that it should be done speedily, because the terms of enlistment of his "three months men"⁴ were about to expire, and Patterson, yet at Martinsburg, was in a position to give him instant assistance, if necessary. The latter had been ordered to so menace Johnston as to keep him at Winchester and prevent his re-enforcing Beauregard, or to go to the support of McDowell, if necessary. Such being the situation, the commander of the Nationals felt confident of success, and at two o'clock on Sunday morning, the 21st of July [1861], he set his army in motion in three columns—one under General Tyler, marching to menace the Confederate left at the Stone Bridge over Bull's Run, on the Warrenton road, while two others, under Generals Hunter and Heintzelman, taking a wide circuit more to the left, were to cross the stream at different points, and

¹ The National troops were commanded by Colonel A. McD. McCook, who had been sent out to picket and guard the road. They were accompanied on this occasion by General Robert C. Schenck. The Confederates were in charge of Colonel Maxey Gregg, who had been a leading member of the South Carolina Secession Convention.

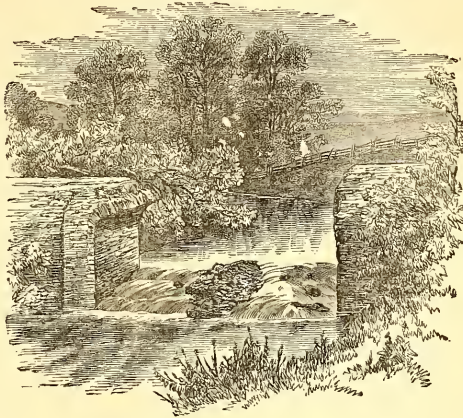
² At this time the main body of McDowell's troops, about 45,000 strong, occupied a line, with the Potomac at its back, extending from Alexandria, nine miles below Washington, almost to the Chain Bridge, six miles above the capital. The remainder of the National army, about 18,000 strong, was at or near Martinsburg, under General Patterson. Both armies were liable to a sudden decrease, for the terms of enlistment of the "three months men" were about expiring. The main Confederate army, under Beauregard, was at and near Manassas Junction, in a very strong defensive position, about half way between the more eastern range of the Blue Ridge and the Potomac at Alexandria. Johnston's force at Winchester was larger than Patterson's, and was in a position to re-enforce Beauregard without much difficulty. He made his position quite strong, by casting up earthworks for defense.

³ See page 485.

⁴ Page 551.

make the real attack on Beauregard's left wing, menaced by Tyler. At the same time troops under Colonels Richardson and Davies were to march from near Centreville, and threaten the Confederate right.¹ These movements were duly executed, but with some mischievous delay, and it was well toward noon before the battle was fairly begun.

Beauregard had planned an attack on McDowell at Centreville, the same morning. The authorities at Richmond, informed of the latter's movements, had ordered Johnston to hasten to the aid of Beauregard, who was now compelled to act on the defensive. After several hours' hard fighting, with varying fortunes on both sides, and the mutual losses dreadful, the Nationals,



RUINS OF THE STONE BRIDGE.

with superior numbers, were on the point of gaining a complete victory, when from the Shenandoah Valley came six thousand of Johnston's fresh troops, and turned the tide of battle. Johnston had managed to elude Patterson, and had hastened to Manassas, followed by his troops, and there, as senior in rank, he took the chief command. Patterson, awaiting promised information and orders from the General-in-Chief (which he did not receive), failed to re-enforce McDowell, and when, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, Johnston's troops swelled the ranks of Beauregard to a volume greater than those of his foes, the Nationals were thrown back in confusion, and fled in disastrous rout toward Washington City.² Jefferson Davis had just arrived on the battlefield when the flight began. He sent an exultant shout by telegraph to his

¹ The Confederate army lay along a line nearly parallel to the general course of Bull's Run, from Union Mills, where the Orange and Alexandria railway crosses that stream, to the passage of the Warrenton turnpike, at the Stone Bridge several miles above.

² A large number of civilians saw the smoke of battle from Centreville and its vicinity. Several members of Congress, and many others, went out from Washington to see the fight, as they would a holiday spectacle, not doubting the success of the National troops. These were seen flying back in the greatest terror, while Congressman Alfred Ely, and one or two other civilians, were captured, and held as prisoners in Richmond for several months. Among the fugitives was W. H. Russell, correspondent of the *London Times*, who, notwithstanding he had not seen the battle, wrote an account of it the same night, while in an unfit condition, as he acknowledged, to write any thing truthfully. It was very disparaging to the Nationals, and filled the enemies of the Republic in Europe with joy, because of the assurance it gave of the success of the disunionists.

fellow-Secessionists at Richmond,¹ and the whole Confederacy speedily rang with its echoes; while the remnant of the vanquished army hastened back in fragments to the defenses of Washington, and the gloom of deepest despondency overshadowed the loyal heart of the nation for a moment. While one section of the Republic was resonant with sounds of exultation, the other was silent and cast down for a moment.

The extraordinary session of Congress² had not yet closed, when the disaster at Bull's Run occurred. That event did not disturb the composure or the faith of that body. Friends of the Confederates who yet lingered in the National Legislature were using every means in their power to thwart legislation that looked to the crushing of the rebellion;³ but the patriotic majority went steadily forward in their efforts to save the Republic. When the battle occurred, they had under consideration a declaratory resolution concerning the object of the war on the part of the government, and while the capital was filled with fugitives from the shattered National army, and it was believed by many that the seat of government was at the mercy of its enemies, Congress deliberated as calmly as if assured of perfect safety, adopted the Declaratory Resolution,⁴ and made thorough provisions for prosecuting the war vigorously. The same faith and patriotic action were soon visible among the loyal people. Their despondency was momentary. Almost immediately they recovered from the stunning blow to their hopes and desires. They awakened from the delusive and dangerous dream that their armies were absolutely invincible. There was at once another wonderful uprising of the Unionists, and while the Confederates were wasting golden moments of opportunity in celebrating their victory, thousands of young men were seen flocking toward the National capital to join the great Army of Defense. Within a fortnight after the battle just recorded, when the terms of service of the "three months men" had

¹ From Manassas Junction he telegraphed, saying:—"Night has closed upon a hard-fought field. Our forces were victorious. The enemy was routed, and fled precipitately, abandoning a large amount of arms, ammunition, knapsacks, and baggage. The ground was strewn for miles with those killed, and the farm-houses and the grounds around were filled with the wounded." "Our force," he said, "was 15,000; that of the enemy estimated at 30,000." This was not only an exaggeration, but a misrepresentation. From the most reliable authorities on both sides, it appears that, in the final struggle, the Nationals had about 13,000 men, and the Confederates about 27,000. The latter had been receiving re-enforcements all day, while not a man crossed Bull's Run after twelve o'clock at noon to re-enforce the Nationals.

² Page 560.

³ Page 549. Slidell, Yulee, and other Senators, remained for some time, for the avowed purpose of preventing legislation that might strengthen the hands of the government.

⁴ J. J. Crittenden offered the following joint resolution:—"That the present deplorable Civil War has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States now in revolt against the constitutional government, and in arms around the capital; that in this National emergency Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to its country; that this war is not waged on our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established usages of those States; but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease."

This resolution was adopted by an almost unanimous vote in both Houses of Congress. It alarmed the disunionists, for it positively denied those false allegations with which they had deceived the people. They were so fearful that their dupes might see it and abandon their bad cause, that no newspaper in the Confederacy, it is said, was allowed to publish the fact.

expired, more than an equal number of volunteers were in the camp or in the field, engaged for "three years or the war." Nine-tenths of the non-combatants shared in the faith and fervor of those who took up arms, and the people of the Free-labor States presented a spectacle difficult to comprehend. That terrible crisis in the life of the nation was promptly met, and the salvation of the Republic was assured. At the same time that "United South" against the government, which the Secessionists had loudly proclaimed months before, now became a reality. The prestige of victory, the pressure of a terrible despotism, and the menaces of banishment and confiscation acts, passed by the Confederate "Congress," together with the prospect of the establishment of a new nation, suddenly carved by the sword out of the Republic, with whose fortunes it seemed their duty and interest to link themselves, so affected the great body of the Unionists at the South, that they yielded to necessity, and the voice of opposition was speedily hushed into silence.¹

On the day after the Battle of Bull's Run [July 22, 1861], General McClellan, whose troops had been successful in Western Virginia,² was called to the command of the army at Washington. He at once set about the reorganization of that broken force with skill and industry. It was perfected by the middle of October, when seventy-five thousand well-armed³ and fairly disciplined troops were in a condition to be placed in active service in the field. McClellan's moral power was then tremendous. He had the confidence of the army and the whole country, and he was called a "Young Napoleon." And when, on the 1st of November, General Scott resigned his position, and on his recommendation his place as General-in-Chief was filled by the appointment of McClellan,⁴ that act was hailed as a promise of a speedy termination of the rebellion, for he had said that the war should be "short, sharp, and decisive." He spent the remainder of the autumn, and the whole winter, in making preparations for a campaign for the capture of Richmond; and when, at the beginning of March, his force, which was called the GRAND ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, was put in motion, it numbered 220,000 men.⁵ In the mean time,

¹ The pressure brought to bear on the Union men was terrible, and the youth of that class were driven into the army by thousands, because of the social proscription to which they were subjected. The zeal of the women in the cause of rebellion was unbounded, and their influence was extremely potential. Young men who hesitated when asked to enlist, or even waited to be asked, were shunned and sneered at by the young women; and many were the articles of women's apparel which were sent, as significant gifts, to these laggards at home. Men who still dared to stand firm in their true allegiance were denounced as "traitors to their country," and treated as such.

² Page 563.

³ We have observed [page 549] that Secretary Floyd, in preparation for the rebellion, had stripped the arsenals and armories of the Free-labor States, and filled those of the Slave-labor States. It was necessary for the government to send to Europe for arms. For that purpose Colonel George L. Schuyler, of General Wool's staff, was dispatched [July, 1861], and he purchased 116,000 rifles, 10,000 revolvers, 10,000 cavalry carbines, and 21,000 sabers, at an aggregate cost of little over \$2,000,000. Impediments were at first cast in the way of his purchase of arms in England and France, the sympathy of those governments being with the conspirators. He purchased the greater portion of them in Vienna and Dresden.

⁴ See General Orders, No. 94, November 1, 1861.

⁵ Of this number, about thirty thousand were sick or absent. Among the latter class were several hundred prisoners captured at Bull's Run and Ball's Bluff, on the Upper Potomac. The prison-life of captives among the Confederates was often very terrible.

that point Lyon hastened when he heard of the apparent peril that threatened Sigel, and on the 13th he took command of the united forces. Meanwhile the insurgent Missourians had been largely re-enforced by troops from Texas and Arkansas, and at the close of July the combined force, about 20,000 strong (a large proportion cavalry), under Generals Price, Ben McCulloch, Pearce, Rains, and McBride, were marching on Springfield. Lyon's force did not exceed 6,000 men (400 cavalry) and eighteen cannon.

Feeble as he was, Lyon went out to meet the advancing foe. In a beautiful valley, at a place called Dug Springs, nineteen miles from Springfield, he met, fought, and vanquished his enemies, under McCulloch and Rains. So desperate were the charges of a few of Lyon's cavalry, under Stanley, that Confederate prisoners inquired: "Are they men or devils?" Lyon returned to Springfield [August 4], and a few days later [August 9] the Confederate army, under the general command of McCulloch, wearied and half-starved, encamped at Wilson's Creek, about ten miles south of the town. Lyon again went out to meet them, marching his little force in two columns, before dawn the next morning [August 10]; one led by himself, to attack their front, and the other by Sigel, to fall upon their rear. A battle opened at an early hour. The brunt of it fell upon Lyon's column, for Sigel's, deceived by a trick,¹ was early dispersed or captured. Lyon's troops, inspired by their leader, fought great odds with vigor and gallantry. The commander was everywhere seen, encouraging his men, until at about nine o'clock in the morning he fell mortally wounded, and was succeeded in command by Major Sturgis. The battle ceased at eleven o'clock, when the Nationals were victorious. It was not safe for them to remain on the field of victory, nor to risk another encounter, so, on the following morning [July 11], the whole Union force, led by Sigel, retreated in good order toward Rolla, safely conducting to that place a government train valued at a million and a half dollars.

The loyal civil authorities of Missouri were now striving against powerful influences to keep the State from the vortex of secession. The popular convention,² which reassembled at Jefferson City on the 22d of July, declared the government of which the traitor Jackson was the head to be illegal, and organized a provisional government for service until a permanent one should be formed by the people. Meanwhile, Reynolds, Jackson's lieutenant-governor, issued a proclamation at New Madrid, as acting chief magistrate, in which he declared the State to be separated from the Union, and that, by "invitation of Governor Jackson," General Pillow had entered Missouri at the head of Tennessee troops, to act in conjunction with M. Jeff. Thompson, a native leader, in upholding the secession movement. Jackson was then in Richmond, nego-

¹ Sigel's force was composed of twelve hundred men and six guns. He marched so stealthily that the first intimation the Confederates had of his presence was the bursting of the shells from his guns over Rains's camp. The Confederates fled, and Sigel took possession of their position, when it was reported that some of Lyon's column were approaching. When these, dressed like Sigel's men (they were Confederates in disguise), were within less than musket-shot distance of the latter, they opened a destructive fire upon the Unionists with cannon and small arms, spreading consternation in his ranks. He lost all but about three hundred men and one field-piece.

² Page 565.

tiating with the "government" for the annexation of Missouri to the Confederacy; and the vain and shallow Pillow¹ assumed the pompous title of "*Liberator of Missouri*," dating his orders and dispatches, "Head-Quarters Army of Liberation." Although the conditions of annexation were not complied with, men claiming to represent Missouri performed the farce of occupying seats in the so-called "Congress" of the Confederates at Richmond during a greater portion of the war.

At this critical juncture, John C. Fremont,² who had lately returned from Europe with some arms for his government, and bearing the commission of Major-General, was appointed to the command of the Western Department, with his head-quarters at St. Louis. He found every thing in confusion, and much that was needed for the public service. He went vigorously at work in the important duty assigned him. He fortified St. Louis, and took measures for making the important posts of Cairo and Bird's Point³ absolutely secure, for these were menaced by Pillow and his associates. These measures alarmed the disloyal inhabitants and the invading troops, but when the retreat of the Nationals from Springfield and the death of Lyon⁴ became known, the secessionists assumed a bold and defiant attitude. They gathered in armed bands throughout the State. The civil authority was helpless; so Fremont, seeing no other way to secure the supremacy of the National government than by taking the whole power in his department into his own hands, declared martial law [August 31, 1861], and warned the disaffected that it would be rigorously executed. He acted promptly in accordance with his declaration, and the insurgents began to quail, when his vigor was checked by his government.⁵

Soon after the battle at Wilson's Creek, Price was abandoned by McCulloch, with whom he could not agree, when he called upon the Missouri secessionists to fill his ranks, and early in September he was moving with a considerable force northward toward the Missouri River, in the direction of Lexington, where nearly three thousand National troops were collected, under Colonel J. A. Mulligan. Colonel Jefferson C. Davis was then at Jefferson City with a larger force, and General John Pope was hastening in the direction of Lexington from the region northward of the Missouri, with about five thousand men. Price, aware of danger near, pressed forward and laid siege to Lexington on the 11th of September. Mulligan had cast up some intrenchments there, but his men had only about forty rounds of ammunition each, and his heavy armament consisted of six small cannon and two howitzers—the latter useless, because he had no shells. Price had an overwhelming force, and opened fire on the 12th. Re-enforcements came to him, and the insurgents finally numbered

¹ Page 566.

² Pages 488 and 530.

³ Page 566.

⁴ Page 573.

⁵ In his proclamation of martial law, Fremont declared that whoever should be found guilty of thereafter taking an active part with the enemies of the government in the field, should suffer the penalty of confiscation of their property to the public use, and have their slaves, if they possessed any, made forever freemen. This raised a storm of indignation among the so-called Unionists of the Border Slave-labor States, whose good-will the government was then trying to secure, and that efficient measure against the rebellion, which, two years later, the government itself used, Fremont was then forbidden to employ.

about twenty-five thousand men. Mulligan and his little band made a gallant defense until the morning of the 20th [September, 1861], when he was compelled to surrender.¹ He had held out with hopes of success, but when re-enforcements approached it was too late for them to penetrate to his lines. This disaster was severely felt, and on the 27th of September Fremont put in motion an army of more than twenty thousand men for the purpose of retrieving it, and driving Price and his insurgents out of the State.

While these events were occurring in the heart of Missouri, important ones were taking place in Kentucky. Governor Magoffin² encouraged the secessionists as much as he dared. He allowed them to establish recruiting camps for the Confederate army; and when the loyal Legislature of the State assembled [September 2] he and his political associates, fearing the adverse action of that body, looked with complacency upon the invasion of the State, and the seizure of the strong position of Columbus [September 6], on the Mississippi, by Confederate troops under General (Bishop) Polk. In defiance of their avowed respect for the neutrality of Kentucky, the "government" at Richmond sanctioned the movement,³ and thus opened the way for the horrors of war, which filled Kentucky with distress. Columbus was held by the Confederates. The Legislature requested the Governor to call out the militia of the State "to expel and drive out the invaders," and asked the General Government to aid in the work. The Governor resisted, but was compelled to yield. General Anderson,⁴ in command there, at once prepared to act vigorously, and General Ulysses S. Grant, then in command in the district around Cairo, took military possession of Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee River. Thus ended the "neutrality" of Kentucky, which proved so disastrous to that State. Too late to avoid the consequences of that folly, the State now took a positive stand for the Union, and avoided many evils.

Felix K. Zollicoffer, formerly a member of Congress, invaded Kentucky from East Tennessee (where the Unionists were terribly persecuted)⁵ on the

¹ The private soldiers were paroled and the officers were held as prisoners of war. Mulligan lost 40 killed and 120 wounded. Price's loss was 25 killed and 75 wounded. The spoils were 6 cannon, 2 howitzers, 3,000 stand of small arms, 750 horses, a large quantity of equipage, and commissary stores valued at \$100,000. ² Page 565.

³ Some of the partisans of Davis, South and North, denied that he ever sanctioned this violation of the pledged faith of the Confederates to respect the neutrality of Kentucky. The proof that he did so is undeniable. His so-called Secretary of War, as a cover to the iniquity, telegraphed *publicly* to Polk, directing him to withdraw his troops from Kentucky soil. At the same time, Davis himself, with supreme power, telegraphed *privately* to Polk, saying: "The necessity must justify the act." For the proof, see Lessing's *Pictorial History of the Civil War*, II. 75

⁴ The defender of Fort Sumter [page 550] had been promoted to brigadier, and was then in command in Kentucky.

⁵ Jefferson Davis was quick to act upon the authority given him by the confiscation and banishment acts of his "Congress." In districts such as East Tennessee, and other mountain regions, where the blight of slavery was little known, the people were generally loyal to their government. When the Confederates held sway in such districts, the keenest cruelties were practiced upon the Union inhabitants. East Tennesseans were peculiar sufferers on that account through a greater portion of the war. Loyalists were hunted, not only by armed men, but by bloodhounds, with which fugitive slaves were pursued.* They were taken to military camps, abused by mobs,

* In the *Memphis Appeal* appeared an advertisement, in the autumn of 1861, for "fifty well-bred" and "one pair of thoroughbred bloodhounds, that will take the track of a man. The purpose," said the advertisement, "for which these dogs are wanted, is to chase the infernal, cowardly Lincoln bushwhackers [Unionists] of East Tennessee and Kentucky to their haunts, and capture them." This was signed by F. N. McNairy and H. H. Harris, Confederate officers in camp.

day after Polk seized Columbus,¹ and Buckner, already mentioned as the corrupter of the patriotism of the young men of that State,² who had established a camp in Tennessee just below the Kentucky border, acting in co-operation with the two invaders, attempted to seize Louisville, but was foiled by the vigilance of Anderson and the troops under him. Buckner advanced as far as Elizabethtown, but was compelled to fall back to Bowling Green, on the Nashville and Louisville railway, where he established an intrenched camp, and made it the nucleus of a powerful force gathered there soon afterward.

Let us turn again for a moment to the consideration of affairs in Missouri.

We have observed that Fremont set a heavy force in motion to drive the Confederates out of Missouri. He had formed a general plan for driving them out of the Mississippi Valley, and re-opening the navigation of the great stream which the insurgents had obstructed by batteries.³ It was to capture or disperse the forces under Price, and seize Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, and so completely turn the position of the forces under Pillow and others, as to cut off their supplies from that region and compel them to retreat, when a flotilla of gun-boats, then in preparation near St. Louis, could easily descend the river and assist in military operations against Memphis. If the latter should be successful, the army and navy might push on and take possession of New Orleans. Fremont accompanied his army in the initial movement of his plan, namely, against Price, and on the 11th of October, when well on his way toward Arkansas, his forces marching in five columns,⁴ he wrote:—"My plan is New Orleans straight. I would precipitate the war forward, and end it soon and victoriously." But he was not allowed to carry out his plan, and at Springfield, where his body-guard, under Zagonyi, had made one of the most memorable charges on record upon the strong foe,⁵ he was superseded in command by General David Hunter, and the army, instead of going forward, marched sadly back toward St. Louis at the middle of November. Meanwhile detachments of Fremont's army, under various leaders, had been doing gallant service against bands of insurgents in various parts of Missouri, the most notable of which were contests with M. Jeff. Thompson and his guerrillas, in the eastern part of the State, who were defeated and dispersed in October, chiefly by Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana troops.

thrust-into prisons, and some were hanged for no other crime than active loyalty to their government. Among the most notable of these sufferers in East Tennessee was Rev. Dr. Brownlow, a leading citizen, who had been a political editor at Knoxville for many years, was very influential as a citizen, and was feared and hated by the Confederates. His sufferings, and those of his fellow-patriots, form the subject of a volume from his pen, of great interest. At the close of the war he was elected Governor of the State (having been appointed Provisional Governor), and in 1867 he was re-elected by an immense majority of the legal voters of Tennessee.

¹ Page 575.

² Page 565.

³ So early as the 12th of January, 1861, three days after a convention of politicians in Mississippi had declared that State severed from the Union. Governor Pettus directed a battery to be planted at Vicksburg, with orders to halt and examine every vessel that should attempt to pass. Other batteries were soon planted there and upon other bluffs in the river, and for more than two years the commerce of the Mississippi was suspended.

⁴ Commanded respectively by Generals David Hunter, John Pope, Franz Sigel, J. McKinstry, and A. Ashboth.

⁵ Zagonyi charged upon nearly two thousand infantry and cavalry with one hundred and fifty of his men, routed the foe, and came out of the conflict with eighty-four of his little band dead or wounded.

Before being deprived of his command, Fremont, in pursuance of his plan, directed General Grant to make a co-operative movement on the line of the Mississippi River. Grant determined to threaten Columbus¹ by attacking Belmont, on the Missouri shore opposite, to prevent Polk assisting Thompson. With about 3,000 troops (mostly Illinois volunteers, under General John A. McClernand), in transports, accompanied by the wooden gun-boats *Tyler* and *Lexington*, he went down the Mississippi from Cairo, while another force was marching from Paducah² toward the rear of Columbus, under General Charles F. Smith, to divert Polk's attention from the river expedition. That expedition suddenly and unexpectedly appeared just above Columbus on the morning of the 7th of November, when the gun-boats opened fire on Polk's batteries. The troops were landed on the Missouri shore, three miles above Belmont, and immediately marched upon that place. Polk sent over troops under General Pillow to re-enforce the garrison there. A sharp engagement ensued, and the Nationals were victorious, but the ground being commanded by the batteries on the bluffs at Columbus, it was untenable, and Grant withdrew. Polk determined not to allow him to escape. He opened upon the retiring troops some of his heaviest guns, sent Cheatham to re-enforce Pillow, and then led over two regiments himself to swell the ranks of the pursuers. Grant fought his way back to his transports after suffering severely,³ and re-embarked under cover of the gun-boats and escaped. The battle was gallantly fought on both sides, and many deeds of daring are recorded.



LEONIDAS POLK.

Zollicoffer's invasion⁴ aroused the Unionists of Eastern Kentucky, and they flew to arms under various leaders. In a picturesque region of the Cumberland Mountains, known as the Rock Castle Hills, they fought and repulsed him. Still farther eastward in Kentucky, loyalists under General William Nelson fought and dispersed a Confederate force under Colonel J. S. Williams, near Piketon. The latter fled to the mountains at Pound Gap, carrying away a large number of cattle. These successes inspired the East Tennessee loyalists with hopes of a speedy deliverance, but they were compelled to wait long for that consummation. The Confederates, toward the close of 1861, had obtained a firm foothold in Tennessee, and occupied a considerable portion of Southern Kentucky, from the mountains to the Mississippi River, along a line about four hundred miles in length. At the same time the Nationals were preparing to drive them southward. Let us now consider events in the vicinity and eastward of the Alleghany Mountains, and along the sea-coast.

¹ Page 575.² Grant lost in killed, wounded, and missing, 485 men, and Polk 632.³ Page 575.⁴ Page 575.

In the autumn of 1861 the Confederates struggled severely for the possession of Western Virginia. General Robert E. Lee had been sent to take command of the troops left by Garnett and Pegram in Northern Virginia.¹ He made his head-quarters at Huntersville, in Pocahontas County, and early in August [1861] he found himself at the head of about 16,000 troops. Floyd, the late Secretary of War,² had been commissioned a brigadier-general, and sent to the region of the Gauley River, with troops to re-enforce the incompetent Wise, and to take chief command. Floyd was expected to sweep down the Kanawha Valley, and drive General Cox across the Ohio, while Lee should scatter or capture the National forces under General Rosecrans in Northern Virginia, and open a way into Ohio, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Preparatory to these decisive movements, Floyd took position between Cox and Rosecrans at Carnifex Ferry, on the Gauley River, a few miles from Summersville, the capital of Nicholas County, leaving Wise to watch the region nearer the junction of the Gauley and New River, which form the Kanawha.

Rosecrans had organized an army of nearly 10,000 men at Clarksburg, on the Baltimore and Ohio railway, and early in September he marched southward to attack Floyd, wherever he might be, leaving a force under General J. J. Reynolds to confront Lee in the Cheat Mountain region. With great labor Rosecrans's troops climbed over the Gauley Mountains, and on the 10th [Sept.], passing through Summersville, they fell upon the Confederates at Carnifex Ferry. A severe battle for three or four hours ensued. It ceased at dusk. Rosecrans intended to renew it in the morning, but his foes fled under cover of the darkness, and did not halt until they reached the summit of Big Sewell Mountain, thirty miles distant.

The battle at Carnifex Ferry was soon followed by stirring movements between Reynolds and Lee. The former was holding the roads and passes of the more westerly ranges of the great Alleghany chain, from Webster, on the Baltimore and Ohio railway, to the head-waters of the Gauley, crossing the spurs of the Greenbrier Mountains. When Rosecrans moved against Floyd, Reynolds was at the western foot of the mountains, not far from Huttonsville. Lee was farther south. His scouts were everywhere active, and it was evident, early in September, that he contemplated an attack either upon Reynolds or Rosecrans. He was watched with sleepless vigilance, and on the day after the battle at Carnifex Ferry it was perceived that he was about to strike the Nationals at Elkwater and on the Summit,³ for the purpose of securing the great Cheat Mountain Pass, through which lay the road to Staunton, and so obtain free communication with the Shenandoah Valley. His troops attacked the two posts just named [Sept. 12, 1861], and were repulsed. Lee then withdrew from the Cheat Mountain region and joined Floyd, between the Gauley and New River, where the combined forces under his command amounted

¹ Page 563.

² Page 549.

³ Here, as we have seen [page 563], General McClellan established a post, and left there an Indiana regiment, under Colonel Kimball. It was an important point on the great highway from Huttonsville, over the lofty ranges of mountains to Staunton.

to about 20,000 men. There he was confronted by Rosecrans with about 10,000 men, composed of the brigades of Cox, Benham, and Schenck.

Lee, whose campaign had been thus far a failure, was soon recalled and sent to Georgia. The excitable Wise was ordered to Richmond, and Floyd and Rosecrans again became competitors for victory. Floyd took post on the left or western bank of the New River late in October, from which he was driven [Nov. 12] by the forces under Rosecrans, and pursued about fifty miles southward. There Floyd took leave of his army, and a few months later he was seen in a disgraceful position at Fort Donelson, in Tennessee. Meanwhile General Kelley, who had recovered from his wounds,¹ was performing gallant service in defense of the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railway; and on the 26th of October he struck the insurgents a blow at Romney that paralyzed the rebellion in that region. General Robert H. Milroy, who had succeeded Reynolds, was also active in the Cheat Mountain region, with his headquarters, at first, at the Summit. In that vicinity he fought the Confederates under Colonel E. Johnston, of Georgia, and was repulsed. He was more successful in an expedition against the Confederates at Huntersville, Lee's old headquarters.² He dispersed the insurgents there late in December, destroyed their stores, and released some Union prisoners. This event closed the campaign in Western Virginia in 1861.

While the events we have just considered were occurring in Western Virginia and in the Mississippi Valley, others even more important in their relations to the great contest were occurring on the sea-coast. We have already considered some hostile movements in the vicinity of Fortress Monroe.³ In Hampton Roads (the harbor in front of that fortress) and the then smoking ruins of Hampton Village,⁴ a large land and naval armament was seen in August, 1861. It was designed for an expedition down the Atlantic coast, the land forces under General B. F. Butler⁵ and the naval forces under Commodore Silas H. Stringham. Its destination was Hatteras Inlet, eighteen miles from Cape Hatteras, where the Confederates had erected two forts (Hatteras and Clarke) on the western end of Hatteras Island. The fleet, composed of transports for the troops and war vessels, gathered off the Inlet toward the evening of the 27th of August, and on the following morning the navy opened fire on the forts and some of the land troops were put ashore. The assault was continued at intervals by both arms of the service until the 29th, when the forts were formally surrendered to Stringham and Butler by S. Barron, who com-

¹ Page 562.

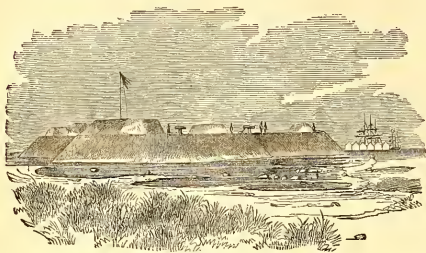
² Page 578.

³ Page 562.

⁴ After the battle at Big Bethel [page 562], General Butler abandoned the village of Hampton, which he had previously occupied, and confined his troops to Fortress Monroe and Newport-News. The whole country between Old Point Comfort, on which Fortress Monroe lies, and Yorktown, was thus left open to Confederate rule. Magruder, with about 5,000 men, moved down the peninsula and took post near the village of Hampton, for the purpose of closely investing the Fortress. Skirmishes ensued at Hampton bridge, and on the night of the 7th of August, Magruder, while drunken with liquor, ordered the village to be burnt. The act was performed by Virginians. So wanton was it that the venerable parish church, standing out of danger from the flames of the town, was fired and destroyed.

⁵ General Butler was succeeded in the command at Fortress Monroe by the veteran General John E. Wool.

manded a little squadron in Pamlico Sound, and Colonel Martin and Major Andrews, in command of the Confederate troops.¹ The post was then garrisoned by a portion of Colonel Hawkins's New York Zouave regiment, and the expedition returned to Hampton Roads. General Butler was then com-



FORT HATTERAS.

mmissioned to go to New England to "raise, arm, uniform, and equip a volunteer force for the war." It was done. Their immediate services will be observed hereafter.

Hawkins was re-enforced in September by some Indiana troops, and early in October the latter, then a few miles up the Island, were attacked

and driven back to the forts by some Confederates, who came over in steamers from Roanoke Island. Meanwhile Hawkins had issued a conciliatory address to the neighboring inhabitants of North Carolina. A convention of loyal citizens was held [Oct. 12], who called another, when a statement of grievances and a declaration of their independence of the Confederate government of North Carolina was adopted [Nov. 18, 1861]. There was so much promise of good in this movement, that the President ordered an election there for a member of Congress. One was chosen [Nov. 27], but this germ of active loyalty was soon crushed by the heel of Confederate power.² But the substantial victory gained by the National forces was a severe blow to the cause of the disunionists, for it opened the way to most important results in favor of the National authorities, as we shall observe hereafter.

During the summer of 1861, Fort Pickens and its vicinity were witnesses of stirring scenes. We have observed that the fort was saved from capture early in the year through the vigilance and bravery of Lieutenant Slemmer and his little garrison, and that it was re-enforced.³ The troops that first went to the relief of Slemmer [April 12, 1861] were marines from the government ves-

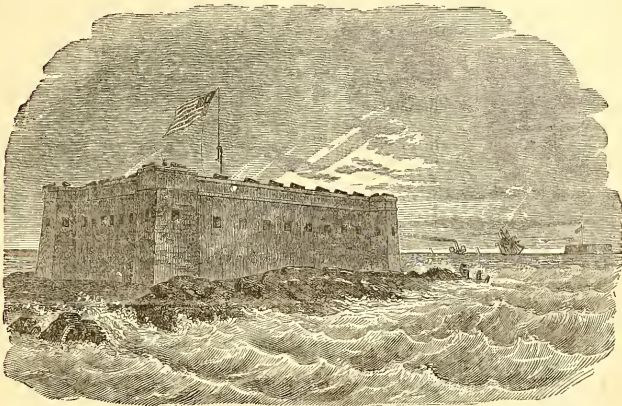
¹ Barron was a naval officer who had abandoned his flag and joined the insurgents. The captives received the treatment of prisoners of war. They were taken to New York, and afterward exchanged. Not one of the soldiers of the attacking fleet or army was injured in the fray. The loss of the Confederates was twelve or fifteen killed and thirty-five wounded.

² This movement was brought prominently before the citizens of New York by Rev. M. N. Taylor, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, at a meeting over which Mr. Bancroft, the historian, presided. Taylor said that "some 4,000 of the inhabitants living on the narrow strip of land on the coast had, on the first arrival of the troops, flocked to take the oath of allegiance, and this had cut them off from their scanty resources of traffic with the interior. They were a poor race," he said, "living principally by fishing and gathering of yoaikum, an evergreen of spontaneous growth, which they dried and exchanged for corn." The yoaikum is a plant which is extensively used in that region as a substitute for tea.

The appeal of Mr. Taylor in behalf of these people was nobly responded to by generous gifts of money, food, and clothing.

³ See note 6, page 559.

sels *Sabine* and *St. Louis*, lying off the fort, and artillerymen under Captain Vogdes, from the *Brooklyn*.¹ They were there just in time to co-operate with a loyal man at the Navy Yard in saving the fort from capture.² The garrison was again re-enforced, a few days later, by several hundred troops under Colonel Harvey Brown, who took the command, and Slemmer was furloughed for rest. Still later, while Bragg was gathering a large force in the vicinity, more troops were sent to defend the post. These were the New York Sixth regiment (*Zouaves*), Colonel William Wilson, who were encamped [June] on Santa Rosa Island, on which Fort Pickens stands. Early in October the Confederates on the main attempted to surprise and capture them. It was done in the dark, with the cry of "Death to Wilson! No quarter!"³ The assailed



FORT PICKENS.

Zouaves fought desperately in the gloom, and with the aid of help from the fort, under Majors Vogdes and Arnold, the invaders, after burning Wilson's camp, were driven to their boats with a loss of one hundred and fifty men, including some who were drowned. The Nationals lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, sixty-four men.

¹ Lieutenant Worden, of the Navy, was sent by the government overland with a message to the commander of the fleet off Pensacola, directing the re-enforcement of Pickens. On his return he was treacherously used by Bragg, and suffered a long captivity, as a prisoner of war, in the jail at Montgomery.

² This was Richard Wilcox. The Confederates were in possession of the Navy Yard at Warrington, opposite Fort Pickens, where Wilcox, unsuspected of loyalty, was employed as a watchman. He discovered that one of Slemmer's sergeants was in complicity with the Confederate commander in a plan for capturing the fort. Wilcox found means to apprise Slemmer of the fact. It was to have been executed on the night after Worden's arrival.

³ It was the general impression that Wilson's *Zouaves* were composed of New York "roughs," and the Southern people were taught to believe that they were sent for the purposes of plunder and rapine.

Fort Pickens had been silent since the spring-time. Late in November its utterances were heard for miles along the Gulf coast, mingled with the thunder of cannon on war-vessels, co-operating in an attack upon the forts and batteries of the Confederates on the Florida main, then manned by about seven thousand troops under Bragg. The fort, and the steamers *Niagara* and *Richmond*, opened on the Confederate works on the morning of the 22d of November. In the course of forty-eight hours, the heavy guns of the foe were silenced, and most of the Navy Yard, and the villages of Wolcott and Warrington, adjoining, were laid in ashes by shells from the fort. After that there was quiet in Pensacola Bay until the first of January [1862], when another artillery duel occurred, lasting about twelve hours, but with little effect.

Farther westward along the Gulf coast little sparks of war were seen at this time. The most notable of these was occasioned by a collision at the mouth of the Mississippi River [October 12], between the National blockading squadron, at the Southwest Pass, and a flotilla under Captain Hollins, of Greytown notoriety.¹ By a telegraphic dispatch to the "government" at Richmond, that startled the whole country, Hollins claimed a great victory, when the fact was that the only damage he had inflicted on his foe was slight bruises on a coal-barge, while he was driven up the river to Fort Jackson in great terror, because of the danger of his being caught and hanged as a traitor.² He was in command of a ram³ called *Manassas*, which promised to be formidable in

competent hands, and this fact hastened preparations for sending an expedition to the Lower Mississippi.

There was another land and naval armament in Hampton Roads in October, more formidable and imposing than the one seen there in August.⁴ There were fifty war-vessels and transports, and on the latter were 15,000 troops, under General T. W. Sherman. The fleet was commanded by Commodore S. F. Dupont, and all went to sea on a beautiful autumnal day (October 29, 1861), the flag-ship *Wabash* leading. Their destination was unknown to all but the chief commander, but each ship carried



S. F. DUPONT.

¹ See note 3, page 522.

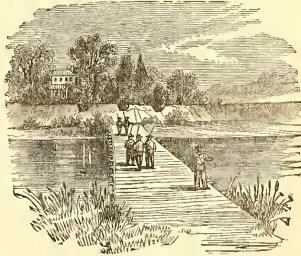
² The following is a copy of the dispatch, dated at Fort Jackson, below New Orleans, October 12, 1861:—"Last night I attacked the blockaders with my little fleet. I succeeded, after a very short struggle, in driving them all aground on the Southwest Pass bar, except the *Preble*, which I sunk. I captured a prize from them, and after they were fast in sand, I peppered them well. There were no casualties on our side. It was a complete success.—HOLLINS." This dispatch and the facts caused the silly Hollins to be "peppered" well with ridicule.

³ A "ram" was an iron-clad vessel with a long, strong, sharp-pointed iron beak extending from its bow, by which, when the vessel, impelled by steam, was in full motion, another might be pushed, penetrated, and sunk. These were very formidable weapons of war on the rivers.

⁴ See page 579.

sealed orders, to be opened in the event of a dispersion. That contingency occurred. The expedition had just passed Cape Hatteras, when a terrible storm arose, and on the morning of the 2d of November only one of the other vessels might be seen from the deck of the flag-ship.¹ The sealed orders were opened. These directed a general rendezvous off Port Royal entrance, on the coast of South Carolina, and there all of the vessels, excepting four transports, were gathered around their leader by the evening of the 4th. The four transports had been lost, but no life was sacrificed, in the great storm.

Port Royal entrance is between Hilton Head and Phillip's Island, and on each was a fort that commanded the channel. In Port Royal Sound was a small flotilla under Commodore Tattnall, and this, with the land troops who garrisoned the forts, comprised the obstacles to the entrance of the expedition. These were soon removed. On the morning of the 7th [Nov. 1861] every thing was in readiness. Dupont's war-vessels moved in, and, making an elliptical course, poured upon the forts² a storm of shell that soon silenced them. Tattnall's little fleet fled to the shelter of narrower waters; the land troops under Generals Wright and Stevens went on shore and took possession, and the Confederates abandoned the region and hastened to the main. The National forces took possession of Beaufort and the surrounding islands which the white people had abandoned,³ and the last effort of the Confederates to defend them was at Port Royal Ferry, where, after a severe engagement [January 1, 1862], they were defeated and dispersed. Dupont, meanwhile, had taken possession of Tybee Island, at the mouth of the Savannah River, without opposition; and at the close of 1861 the National authority was supreme over the coast islands, from Wassaw Sound to the North Edisto River, well up toward Charleston. At about the same time an ineffectual attempt was made to temporarily close the harbor of Charleston, as a part of the method of blockade, by sinking vessels laden with stones in its channels of ap-



PORT ROYAL FERRY.

¹ This storm gave great hope of disaster to the National cause, among the Confederates, to whom the departure of the expedition was known. They declared that the elements were assisting them. "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera," said a jubilant Richmond journal, and added, "So the winds of heaven fight for the good cause of Southern Independence. Let the Deborahs of the South sing a song of deliverance."

² The work on Hilton Head was named Fort Walker, in honor of the Confederate "Secretary of War;" and that on Bay Point of Phillip's Island, Fort Beauregard, in honor of an insurgent leader.

³ The negroes, generally, remained, excepting those whose masters had compelled them to accompany them in their flight. Those who remained were soon organized into industrial communities, and a large quantity of the valuable "Sea-Island Cotton," which the owners had not burnt on leaving, was secured. The faith of the slaves in the National government, and their belief that the invaders were their friends, and were to be their deliverers from bondage, were here first exhibited in a remarkable degree. They had been assured that the "Yankees," as all the inhabitants of the Free-labor States were called, were coming to steal them and sell them into

proach.¹ While the "stone fleet," as these vessels were called, was approaching, a fearful conflagration laid a large portion of the city of Charleston in ruins.

Let us now turn from the sea-coast, and observe the current of events at and near the National capital.

The new organization of the Army of the Potomac, as we have observed,² was perfected at the middle of October. The Confederates, under Johnston, were yet lying in comparative inactivity near the field of their victory at Bull's Run, in July,³ with the head-quarters of their leader at Centreville. Because of a lack of cavalry and adequate subsistence, Johnston had been compelled to lie idle, and see the army of his opponent grow immensely in the space of a few weeks. He knew it would be simple rashness to do as the shallow Beauregard desired, and attack the intrenched Nationals at Washington; and because of the interference of Davis, as Confederate experts say, he had not the means for executing his favorite scheme of crossing the Potomac into Maryland, and taking the National capital in reverse. So for several months these principal armies of the combatants lay within thirty miles of each other, without coming into a general collision. The people on both sides became impatient of delay. In the hearts of the loyalists still burned the desire which had given to their lips the cry of "On to Richmond!" but the memory of the disasters at Bull's Run⁴ made them circumspect and quiet. From time to time they were cheered by rumors and movements which promised an immediate advance. There were grand reviews, active drills, and sometimes skirmishes with the Confederates, whose audacity became amazing as the autumn advanced and the Nationals remained quiet. Their pickets approached within cannon-shot of Washington City, and for weeks they held Munson's Hill, where their flag might be seen from the dome of the Capitol.

We have observed⁵ that the Confederate batteries blockaded the Potomac. So early as June [1861] the Navy Department had called the attention of the military authorities to the possibility and danger of such an event, but nothing was done to prevent it until the close of September, when Confederate batteries were planted along the Virginia shore of the stream. Preparations were then made by McClellan to act in conjunction with the gun-boats on the Potomac in removing these perilous obstructions, but his delays, and his failure to co-operate with the naval force at the proper moment, paralyzed all efforts, and that blockade, so disgraceful to the government, and especially to the great army near the capital, was continued until the Confederates voluntarily evacuated their position in front of Washington, in March following.

worse bondage in Cuba; and horrible tales were told to them of the "Northerners," who were described as monsters intent upon killing them and burying them in the sand. But that simple people did not believe a word of these tales. They universally believed that the Lord had sent the "Yankees" to take them out of bondage; and when our ships appeared, they were seen with little bundles of clothing on the shores, desiring to go on board.

¹ The "stone fleet" was composed of twenty-five old vessels, chiefly whalers, which sailed from New England heavily laden with granite. These were sunken in the four channels, but were soon removed by the currents or lost in quicksands, for their presence was scarcely perceptible after a few days.

² Page 571.

³ Page 569.

⁴ Page 570.

⁵ Page 565.

The Army of the Potomac was judiciously posted for offensive or defensive measures from Budd's Ferry, on the Lower Potomac, to Poolesville, near the Upper Potomac. As it increased in numbers, it needed more space on the Virginia side of the river than the narrow strip between the Potomac and the Confederate outposts. Measures were accordingly taken for pushing back the foe, and these resulted in skirmishes. One occurred near Lewinsville [Sept. 12, 1861] between the National troops, under General W. F. Smith, and Confederates, under Colonel J. E. B. Stuart, afterward the famous cavalry leader, in which the Nationals were victors. A little later [September 15] some Confederates crossed the Potomac and attacked troops under Colonel J. W. Geary, not far from Darnestown, in Maryland, and were repulsed. Emboldened by successes, the Nationals advanced, and at the middle of October they permanently occupied a line from Fairfax Court House well up toward Leesburg. The Confederates retired from Munson's Hill [Sept. 28] and other advanced posts,¹ and fell back to Centreville without firing a shot.

Early in October some National troops crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry,² to seize some wheat at mills near there belonging to the Confederates. Menaced by approaching foes, they called for help. Colonel Geary led six hundred men to their aid, and on the hills back of the village of Harper's Ferry, he had a severe contest [Oct. 16, 1861] with a superior force on his front and the heights near. He finally repulsed his foe, and the whole invading force recrossed the river into Maryland. This movement was speedily followed by a more important one. For some time the left wing of the Confederate army under General Evans had been lying at Leesburg, confronted by a considerable National force under General Charles P. Stone, encamped between Conrad's and Edward's ferries, on the Upper Potomac. On being informed (erroneously) that the Confederates had left the vicinity of Leesburg, McClellan ordered General McCall to make a reconnoissance from Drainsville in that direction, and telegraphed to Stone to aid the movement by a feint indicative of an intention to cross with his whole force. This was done at both ferries, and a part of a Massachusetts regiment, under Colonel Devens, was ordered to Harrison's Island, in the Potomac, abreast of Ball's Bluff. A reserve of three thousand men, under Colonel E. D. Baker, a member of the National Senate, acting as brigadier, was held in readiness to cross promptly, if necessary.

Misinformation concerning the position of the Confederates, and supposing McCall to be near to assist, if necessary, Stone ordered some Massachusetts troops, under Colonels Devens and Lee, to cross to the Virginia main from Harrison's Island. They found no foe between Ball's Bluff and Leesburg. But Evans was near in strong force, watching them, and at little past noon [Oct.

¹ For several weeks the Confederate works on Munson's Hill had been looked upon with much respect, because of their apparently formidable character. They were really slight earth-structures, inclosing, by an irregular line around the brow of the hill, about four acres of ground, and the principal armament, which had inspired the greatest awe, consisted of one stove-pipe and two logs, the latter with a black disc painted on the middle of the sawed end of each, giving them the appearance, at a short distance, of the muzzles of 100-pounder Parrott guns! These "Quaker guns," like similar ones at Manassas, had for six weeks defied the Army of the Potomac.

² Page 557.

21, 1861] he assailed the invading troops, who had fallen back to the vicinity of Ball's Bluff. Baker had already been sent with reserves to Harrison's Island, clothed with discretionary power to withdraw the other troops, or re-enforce them. Supposing the force under McCall and others to be near, he concluded to go forward. On reaching the field, he took the chief command by virtue of his rank, and was soon afterward instantly killed.¹ His troops, unsupported,² were overwhelmed by a superior force, and pushed back in great disorder toward the bluff. They were driven down the declivity at twilight, where, unable to cross the swollen flood for want of transportation, they fought desperately a short time, when they were overpowered, and a large number were made prisoners. Many perished in trying to escape.³ The entire National loss was full a thousand men, and two pieces of cannon. It was a disaster inexplicable to the public mind. An explanation was loudly called for, but the General-in-Chief declared that an inquiry "at that time would be injurious to the public service." It was stifled, and General Stone, whom McClellan at the time acquitted of all blame,⁴ was afterward made a victim to appease the popular indignation.⁵

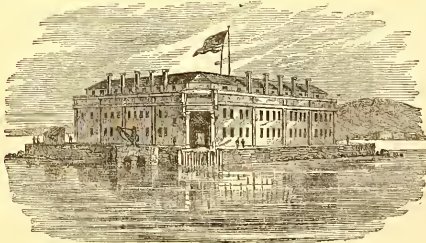
¹ Eye-witness said that a tall, red-haired man suddenly emerged from the smoke, and when within five feet of Baker discharged into his body the contents of a self-cocking revolving pistol, and at the same moment a bullet pierced his skull just behind his ear. His death produced a profound sensation, and public honors were paid to his memory afterward. He was one of the most eloquent men in the National Senate.

² McClellan had ordered McCall, the previous evening, to fall back to Drainsville. He neglected to inform Stone of this order. Had he done so, Baker would have recalled the troops on the Virginia side, and the disaster at Ball's Bluff would have been prevented.

³ Only one large flat-boat was there, and that, with an overload of wounded and others, at the beginning of its first voyage, was riddled by bullets and sunk. The smaller vessels had disappeared in the gloom, and there was no means of escape for the Unionists but by swimming. Some, attempting this, were shot in the water, others were drowned, and a few escaped.

⁴ On the evening of October 22, 1861, McClellan, who had gone to the head-quarters of Stone, telegraphed to the President, saying, "I have investigated this matter, and General Stone is without blame."

⁵ A hundred days after the battle, when General Stone, in command of about 12,000 men, was preparing to strike the Confederates under D. H. Hill, lying opposite his camp, he was



FORT LAFAYETTE.

arrested at midnight in Washington City, by order of General McClellan, who directed him to be conveyed immediately to Fort Lafayette, near New York, then used as a prison for persons charged with treasonable acts. There he was kept in close confinement fifty-four days, when he was transferred to Fort Hamilton, near. He was released on the 16th of August, 1862, but for nearly a year afterward he was denied employment in the field. General Stone was never informed why he was arrested, and no charge of misconduct of any kind was ever officially made against him. He appears to have been made a scape-goat for the sins of his superiors. Without any apparent cause, that faithful officer and zealous friend of the country was made to suffer, unjustly, the cruel suspicion of being a traitor. For a full vindication of his loyalty, made upon evidence, see *Lossing's Pictorial History of the Civil War*, ii. 146.

For the space of nearly two months after the disaster at Ball's Bluff, the public ear was daily teased with the unsatisfactory report: "All is quiet on the Potomac!" The roads leading toward the Confederate camps near Bull's Run were never in better condition. The entire autumn had been a magnificent one in Virginia. Regiment after regiment was rapidly swelling the ranks of the Army of the Potomac to the number of two hundred thousand men, thoroughly equipped and fairly disciplined, while at no time did any reliable report make the number of the Confederate army over sixty thousand. Plain people wondered why so few, whom politicians called "ragamuffins" and a "mob," could so tightly hold the National capital in a state of siege, while so large a number of "the bravest and best men of the North" were in and around it. But what did plain people know about war? Therefore it was that when, late in December, the "quiet on the Potomac" was slightly disturbed by General E. O. C. Ord, who, with his brigade, fought a smaller number of Confederate foragers [Dec. 20, 1861], under J. E. B. Stewart, near Drainsville, and whipped them soundly, after a severe contest, the loyal people were delighted, for it gave them assurance that the Army of the Potomac was ready to fight bravely, whenever permitted to encounter the foe.

While the friends of the government were anxiously waiting for the almost daily promised movement of the Grand Army toward Richmond as the year [1861] was drawing to a close, and hearts were growing sick with hope deferred, two events, each having an important bearing on the war, were in progress: one directly affecting the issue, and the other affecting it incidentally, but powerfully. One was an expedition that made a permanent lodgment of the National power on the coast of North Carolina, and the other was intimately connected with the foreign relations of the government. Let us first consider the last-mentioned event.

We have already observed that the disunionists, at an early period of their operations, sent commissioners to Europe to seek recognition and aid from foreign governments.¹ Their employers soon perceived the incompetency of these men to serve their bad cause acceptably, and they commissioned James M. Mason² and John Slidell,³ two of their ablest and most unscrupulous competitors, full "ambassadors," the former accredited to the British government and the latter to the French government. These "ambassadors," each accompanied by a secretary, left Charleston in a blockade-runner on a stormy night [October 12, 1861] and proceeded to Cuba, where they took passage in the English steamer *Trent* for St. Thomas, intending to go from there in the regular packet to England. Off the northern coast of Cuba the *Trent* was intercepted [November 8] by the National war-steamer *San Jacinto*, Captain Charles Wilkes,⁴ who took from the British vessel the two "ambassadors" and their secretaries, and conveyed them in the *San Jacinto* to Boston harbor, where they were placed in Fort Warren, then used, like Fort Lafayette,⁵ as a prison for political offenders.

¹ Page 559.

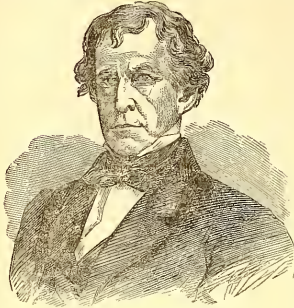
² Page 522.

³ Page 335.

⁴ The commander of the South Sea Exploring Expedition, mentioned on page 476.

⁵ Page 586.

The act of Captain Wilkes was applauded by all loyal men, and was justified and commended by the Secretary of the Navy, who assured him



CHARLES WILKES.

that it had the "emphatic approval of the Department." It was in strict conformity to the British interpretation, theoretically and practically, of international law, but it was in violation of often uttered American principles in relation to the rights of neutrals—principles for the maintenance of which the United States declared war against Great Britain in 1812.¹ With great inconsistency, the British government regarded it as a national insult, and, before any communication could be had with our government, made extensive preparations for war, with the

same unseemly haste which characterized it in procuring the Queen's proclamation of neutrality.² A peremptory demand was made for the delivery of Mason and Slidell, and, when the matter became a subject for calm discussion, that demand was complied with, not because it was made in a truculent spirit, but because fidelity to American principles required it.³ The "embassadors" were delivered [January 1, 1862] on board the British gun-boat *Rinaldo*, in which they were conveyed to St. Thomas, where

¹ Page 409.

² Page 561. The British press and British speakers in the interest of the government, led by the *London Times*, indulged in the coarsest abuse of the government and loyal people of the United States. So urgent seemed the necessity for preparations for war, that on Sunday, the day after the arrival of the news of the "Trent outrage," as it was called, reached England, men were engaged in the Tower of London in packing 2,500 muskets to be sent to Canada. Orders were issued for a large increase in the naval squadrons on the North American and West India stations, and the great steam-packet *Persia* was taken from the mail service to be employed in carrying troops to Canada. American securities were depressed, and fortunes were thereby made by wise persons, under the shadow of high places, who purchased and held them for a rise. The whole warlike movement was made to appear still more ridiculous, when our Secretary of State (William H. Seward), with inimitable irony, offered [January 12, 1862] the use of the railway that extends through the United States territory from Portland, Maine, into Canada, for the transportation of British troops to be sent to fight us, the St. Lawrence at that winter season being frozen, and therefore useless as a channel for British transports.

³ The calm thoughtfulness of President Lincoln, in the midst of the storm of passion that prevailed on the reception of the news of the capture of Mason and Slidell, was a salutary power. To the writer, who had an interview with him a few hours after the news reached Washington, he said: "I fear the traitors will prove to be white elephants. We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting, by theory and practice, on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain shall now protest against the act, and demands their release, we must give them up,



WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

they embarked for England. They were treated with marked contempt in Great Britain, and soon passed into obscurity.¹ This act of our government disappointed the hopes of the Secessionists, for they expected great advantages to accrue to their cause by a war between Great Britain and our Republic. It silenced the arrogant pretensions of Great Britain concerning its right of search and of impressment, and made its hasty and belligerent actions in the premises appear like an extremely ridiculous farce.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CIVIL WAR. [1861—1865.]

THE public mind was just becoming tranquil after the excitement caused by the "*Trent* affair," when its attention was keenly fixed on another expedition to the coast of North Carolina, already alluded to. The land and naval armaments of which it was composed were assembled in Hampton Roads early in January, 1862. It comprised over one hundred steam and sailing vessels (warriors and transports), and about sixteen thousand troops, mostly recruited in New England. Of this expedition General Ambrose E. Burnside was commander-in-chief, and the naval operations were intrusted to flag-officer Louis M. Goldsborough, then the commander of the North Atlantic Naval Squadron. Burnside's lieutenants were Generals Foster, Reno, and Parke, each in command of a brigade. The fleet was in two sections, in charge respectively of Commanders Rowan and Hazard. The expedition went to sea on the 11th of January [1862]. Its destination had been kept a profound secret.

This, like the other expeditions, encountered gales in the vicinity of stormy Cape Hatteras. Pamlico Sound and Roanoke Island was its destination, and it was several days before the



A. E. BURNSIDE.

apologize for the act as a violation of our doctrines, and thus forever bind her over to keep the peace in relation to neutrals, and so acknowledge that she has been wrong for at least sixty years," This was the key to the admirable action of our government by the able Secretary of State.

¹ "Already," said a leading *Liverpool* journal, on their arrival, "the seven weeks' heroes have shrunk to their natural dimensions;" and the *London Times*, speaking of the demand made by the government, and of their release, spoke of them as "worthless booty," and said, "England would have done just as much for two negroes."

vessels, dispersed by the wind, had entered Hatteras Inlet. It was February before the expedition moved to an attack upon Roanoke Island, which the Confederates had fortified. They had also obstructed the channels near it, and within these was a little flotilla of armed vessels, under the command of Lieutenant W. F. Lynch, who had abandoned his flag. The batteries planted at different points numbered about forty heavy guns, which had been taken from the Navy Yard at Gosport,¹ and were manned by North Carolina troops, under the chief command of Colonel H. M. Shaw.² Upon the principal one of these (Fort Bartow), Goldsborough opened fire toward noon of the 6th of February, and that night, in the midst of a cold storm of rain, about eleven thousand troops were landed. These moved early the next morning to attack intrenchments that stretched across the narrower part of the island, General Foster leading. The Confederates made a gallant defense, but were driven before the Nationals, who outnumbered them.³ One after another of the other works yielded, the Confederate flotilla fled up Albemarle Sound, and Roanoke Island passed into the possession of the National forces.⁴ This was the severest blow the Confederates had yet experienced. It exposed the entire main of North Carolina bordering on Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds to the National power, and opened a door of entrance to Norfolk in the rear.⁵

The Confederate flotilla was followed [February 9] by Rowan, and in the Pasquotank River, near Elizabeth City, not far from the Dismal Swamp, it and land batteries were attacked by the National gun-boats. The vessels were abandoned, the batteries were silenced, and Lynch, with his men and the land troops, retired into the interior. The National flag was then planted on one of the shore batteries, and this was the portion of the main of North Carolina first "re-possessed" by the government. The conquest was followed by others for securing the control of the Sounds and the adjacent country; and Burnside and Goldsborough jointly issued a proclamation [February 18, 1861] to the peaceable inhabitants, assuring them that the government forces were there as their friends and not as enemies, and inviting them to separate themselves from the rule of the Secessionists and return to their allegiance. This was met by a savage counter-proclamation by the Governor of North Carolina, and the poor, oppressed people, who longed for deliverance, were held firmly under the yoke of the Confederate despotism. Here we will leave the National forces in the waters of North Carolina, preparing for other victories soon, and

¹ Page 558.

² General Henry A. Wise had been the chief commander, but at this time he was on Nag's Head, a sand-spit outside of Roanoke Island, and reported ill.

³ In this attack a part of the Ninth New York (Hawkins's Zouaves), led by Major E. A. Kimball, made a gallant charge across a narrow causeway and drove the garrison from the redoubt. These, and portions of the Fifty-first New York and Twenty-first Massachusetts, entered the works at about the same time, and the colors of the Fifty-first were first planted on the battery.

⁴ The National loss incurred in the capture of Roanoke Island was about 50 killed and 222 wounded. That of the Confederates was 143 killed, wounded, and missing. The spoils of victory were forty-two heavy guns, three being 100-pounders.

⁵ The disaster spread consternation throughout the Confederacy. Davis, in a communication to his "congress," casts reflections upon the Confederate troops engaged in the fight, but a committee of that body charged the loss of the island to the remissness of Benjamin, the "Secretary of War."

observe the course of military events in the Valley of the Mississippi. There we left Fremont's dispirited army marching toward St. Louis,¹ Southern and Western Kentucky in the hands of the Confederates,² and all Tennessee under the heel of their military power.

Late in 1861, the Department of Missouri was enlarged,³ and General H. W. Halleck, who had been called from California, was placed in command of it, and General Hunter was assigned to the command of the Department of Kansas.⁴ General Don Carlos Buell was placed in charge of the Department of the Ohio,⁵ and the Department of New Mexico was intrusted to Colonel E. R. S. Canby. Such were the military divisions of the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains at the close of 1861, when Halleck, with his head-quarters at St. Louis, was holding the secessionists and insurgents in check with a vigorous hand. General Pope was assigned to all the National troops between the Missouri and Osage Rivers, in which region Price had been gathering recruits, after Hunter's retrograde movement.⁶ Detachments from Pope's army smote these banded recruits here and there; and finally, at a bridge on the Black-water Creek, near Milford, Colonel Jefferson C. Davis fought and captured about a thousand insurgents,⁷ and secured as spoils nearly as many horses and mules, and a large quantity of munitions of war. By vigorous movements, Pope swept over the State west of Sedalia, toward Kansas, far enough to foil the attempt of organized recruits to join Price, and to compel that leader to withdraw, in search of subsistence and safety, to the borders of Arkansas.

Late in December, Price, encouraged by promises of re-enforcements from Arkansas, concentrated about twelve thousand men at Springfield. Against these a strong force under General S. R. Curtis, assisted by Generals Asboth, Sigel, Davis, and Prentiss, moved in three columns early in February. Price fled with his army on the night of the 12th and 13th of that month, and did not halt until he reached a good position at Cross Hollows, in Northern Arkansas. He was driven a little farther south by the advance of the pursuing Curtis, and from near Pea Ridge, in Arkansas, he reported to Governor Jackson that he was "confident of the future." With



S. R. CURTIS.

¹ Page 576.

² Pages 575 and 577.

³ It now included Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas, and that portion of Kentucky lying west of the Cumberland River.

⁴ This included the State of Kansas, the Indian Territory west of Arkansas, and the Territories of Nebraska, Colorado, and Dakota.

⁵ This included the State of Ohio and the portion of Kentucky lying eastward of the Cumberland River.

⁶ Page 576.

⁷ Among the captives was Colonel Magoffin, brother of the Governor of Kentucky.

equal confidence of the future, Halleck reported that he had purged Missouri of armed insurgents, and that the flag of the Republic was waving in triumph over the soil of Arkansas. Curtis had crossed the line on the 18th of February, his soldiers cheering with delight as they saw the old banner waving in another of the so-called Confederate States.

Curtis pushed on after Price, capturing squads of Missouri recruits, skirmishing with the rear-guard of the fugitives at several places, and finally driving the whole Confederate force over the range of hills known as the Boston Mountains. Then he fell back to Sugar Creek, not far from Bentonville, and encamped in a strong position. Price, meanwhile, had been joined by McCulloch; and early in March Earl Van Dorn, the Confederate commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, and one of the most dashing and energetic officers in that region, arrived at his camp and took chief command. There, too, he was joined by the notorious Albert Pike with a band of Indians, trained by him for savage warfare,¹ and these forces combined, almost twenty-five thousand strong, prepared to fall upon Curtis and drive him out of Arkansas. The force of the latter did not exceed eleven thousand men, with forty-nine pieces of artillery.

Van Dorn advanced so cautiously that Curtis was not aware of his approach until he was very near [March 5], when the latter concentrated his forces near Mottsville, a short distance from Pea Ridge, a spur of the Ozark Mountains. There, on the morning of the 7th of March, Van Dorn, who was assisted by Generals Price, McCulloch, McIntosh, and Pike, having accomplished a flank movement, in which a part of his force had a sharp contest with some troops under Sigel, proceeded to attack Curtis's main body in the rear. The latter promptly changed front to meet him, and took the initiative of battle. The struggle that ensued was very severe, and resulted in the loss to the Confederates of Generals McCulloch and McIntosh, who were mortally wounded, and many brave soldiers on both sides. The battle was renewed the next morning, when the Confederates were soon routed, and Van Dorn's army was so suddenly broken into fragments, and so scattered in its flight, that Curtis was puzzled to know which way to pursue. The victory for the Nationals was complete, but the spoils were few.² Curtis held the battle-field. Van Dorn retired behind the mountains, and disappeared on the borders of the Indian country. At length the victor, perceiving no formidable foe in that region, moved leisurely toward the Mississippi River, in the direction of Helena.

¹ Pike was a native of Boston, but long a resident in the Slave-labor States. He was commissioned by Governor Reesor to organize the most savage of the Indian tribes (Choctaws and Chickasaws) on the borders of Arkansas. He raised two regiments, was commissioned a brigadier, and with them he joined the army of the Confederates. He dressed himself in gaudy costume, and wore a large plume on his head to please the Indians; and before the battle at Pea Ridge, it is said, he maddened them with liquor, that they might allow the savage nature of their race to have unchecked development. In their fury they respected none of the usages of civilized warfare, but scalped the helpless wounded, and committed atrocities too horrible to mention. After the war this man was among the earliest of the most conspicuous rebels, who was "pardoned" (as relief from amenability to law was called) without trial by President Johnston.

² Curtis lost 1,351 killed, wounded, and missing. Van Dorn never reported his loss officially, but estimated it at about 600. The brunt of the strife fell upon the division of Colonel Carr, composed chiefly of Iowa and Missouri troops. He lost 701 men.

While these events were occurring in Missouri and Arkansas, Hunter was busily engaged in suppressing rebellion on the borders of Kansas, and war was kindling in Canby's Department of Texas.¹ We have seen how Twiggs betrayed his army in the latter State;² now the instruments of the disunionists attempted similar measures for attaching New Mexico to the Confederacy. Colonel Loring, a North Carolinian, had been sent there for the purpose, in 1860, by Floyd, the disloyal Secretary of War.³ He was made commander of the Department of New Mexico, and he employed Colonel George B. Crittenden, an unworthy son of Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky,⁴ to corrupt the troops in that region. He failed, and Loring and Crittenden were compelled to flee from the country to avoid the wrath of the loyal soldiery. The fugitive officers found those of a garrison on the frontiers of Texas ready to aid them in their treasonable designs. By these the troops were led out from the fort and betrayed into the hands of Texas insurgents, when it was believed New Mexico would fall an easy prey to the Confederate power. Otero, the delegate of that Territory in Congress, was in practical complicity with the Secessionists, and all seemed working well for their cause, when Canby⁵ arrived and changed the aspect of affairs. The loyal people gathered around him. His regular troops, New Mexican levies, and volunteers, soon made a respectable force, and these were speedily called to action, for Major H. H. Sibley, a Louisianian, who had abandoned his flag, invaded the Territory at the middle of February with 2,300 Texans, most of them rough "Rangers," when Canby was at Fort Craig, on the Rio Grande. Near that post (at Valverde), on the 21st of February [1862], Canby and Sibley had a battle. The former, defeated, fled to Fort Craig, but the latter, alarmed at Canby's developed strength, instead of following, hurried toward Santa Fé, the capital of the Territory. Canby followed. Sibley captured but could not hold Santa Fé, and he was soon driven over the mountains into Texas. The area of the active rebellion now extended from Maryland to New Mexico, and was everywhere marked by vigor and terrible malevolence.

Let us now see what was further done toward the execution of Fremont's plan for crushing the rebellion in the Mississippi Valley.⁶

We have observed how the Confederates obtained a foothold in Southern and Western Kentucky.⁷ Under the shadow of military power there, a convention of secessionists was held [November 18, 1861], at which, with ludicrous gravity, a declaration of independence and an ordinance of secession were adopted, a provisional government was organized, and delegates were chosen



TEXAS RANGER.

¹ Page 591.² Note 3, page 551.³ Page 549.⁴ Note 1, page 549.⁵ Page 591.⁶ Page 576.⁷ Pages 575 and 576.

to the "Confederate Congress"¹ at Richmond [Nov. 20, 1861]. Bowling Green, where Buckner had made his head-quarters,² and where Albert Sidney Johnston, an able officer, who had abandoned his flag, was now in chief command, was made the capital of the new State. Meanwhile Johnston was concentrating troops there, and General Hardee was called from Southwestern Missouri to supersede Buckner. The position of Polk, at Columbus,³ was strengthened. Zollicoffer⁴ was firmly planted at the important Pass of Cumberland Gap—a passage-way between Kentucky and East Tennessee—and fortified posts were established between the extremes of the army, the most important of which were Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, and Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River.

In the mean time General Buell had organized a large force at Louisville.⁵ These were thrown forward along the line of railway toward Bowling Green, 40,000 strong, under General A. McD. McCook, and pushed the Confederate outposts beyond the Green River. In the mean time stirring events had occurred in Eastern Kentucky, where, near Prestonburg, on the Big Sandy, General Garfield fought [January 7, 1862] insurgents under Humphrey Marshall, and scattering them put an end to the military career of the latter leader. Farther westward a severe battle was fought [January 19], near Mill Spring, on the Cumberland River, between the Nationals, under General George H. Thomas, and Confederates led by Generals Zollicoffer and Crittenden.⁶ In this engagement Thomas was victorious. Zollicoffer was killed,⁷ and the Confederates fled into Northeastern Tennessee through a country almost barren of subsistence. The battle was fought desperately by both parties, for victory was specially desirable to both. It proved to be a great advantage to the winner, and disastrous to the cause of the loser, for it broke the Confederate line in Kentucky,⁸ opened a door of deliverance for the East Tennesseans, and prepared the way for a series of successful operations by which, very soon afterward, the invaders were driven from both States. By order of the President, the Secretary of War said, in a public thanksgiving to the officers, "In the prompt and spirited movements and daring at Mill Spring, the nation will realize its hopes."

¹ George W. Johnson was chosen provisional governor, with a legislative council of ten, a treasurer, and an auditor. The farce of representing Kentucky in the Confederate Congress, now commenced, was kept up during the entire war. The *people* had no voice in their appointment, and of such members a greater portion of the so-called "Confederate Congress" was continually composed.

² Page 576.

³ Page 575.

⁴ Page 577.

⁵ General Buell had under his command, early in January, 1862, about 114,000 men, chiefly citizens of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and loyalists of Kentucky and Tennessee, with about 126 pieces of artillery. This force was arranged in four grand divisions, commanded respectively by Brigadier-Generals Alexander McDowell McCook, Ormsby M. Mitchel, George H. Thomas, and Thomas L. Crittenden, acting as major-generals, aided by twenty brigade commanders. These divisions occupied an irregular line across the State, nearly parallel to that held by the Confederates.

⁶ This was the Crittenden employed to corrupt the army in New Mexico. See page 599.

⁷ Thomas lost 247 men killed and wounded. The Confederate loss was 349, of whom 89 were prisoners. The spoils of victory for Thomas were considerable, including twelve pieces of artillery, many small arms, and more than a thousand horses and mules.

⁸ Page 577.

It was now determined to concentrate the forces of Halleck and Buel in a grand forward movement against the main bodies and fortifications of the Confederates. Thomas's victory at Mill Spring had so paralyzed that line eastward of Bowling Green, that it was practically shortened at least one-half, and the bulk of the Confederates and their chief fortifications were between Nashville and Bowling Green, and the Mississippi River. During the autumn and early winter a naval armament, projected by Fremont for service on that river, had been in preparation at St. Louis and Cairo, for co-operation with the western armies, and at the close of January [1862] it consisted of twelve gun-boats, carrying one hundred and twenty-six heavy cannon, and some lighter guns, the whole commanded by flag-officer A. H. Foote, of the National navy. Seven of these were covered with plates of iron, and were built wide, so that, on the still waters of the rivers, when attacking fortifications, their guns might have almost the steadiness of those in land batteries.



H. W. HALLECK.

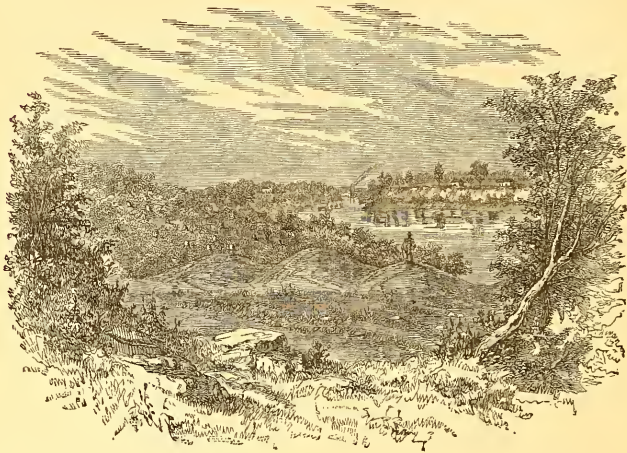
Some movements preliminary to the grand advance puzzled the Confederates and perplexed loyal spectators. There were reconnoissances down both sides of the Mississippi River from Cairo, and Thomas feigned a march in force into East Tennessee. Meanwhile an expedition against Forts Henry and Donelson¹ had been arranged. Halleck's troops, destined for the enterprise, were placed under the chief command of General U. S. Grant. Foote was summoned to the Tennessee River with his flotilla of gun-boats, and at dawn on the 3d of February, 1862, he was up that stream a few miles below Fort Henry, and Grant's army was landing from transports near. At noon on the 6th the flotilla opened its guns on the fort. The army was then in motion to co-operate, but before it could reach the scene of action the post was in possession of Foote, by surrender. The Confederate troops outside of the fort, panic-stricken, fled without firing a gun. The Commander (General Tilghman), and less than one hundred artillerists, had made a gallant defense, but were compelled to yield. This, and Fort Hieman, on the opposite side of the river, with all their armament, became spoils of victory²—a victory most important in its immediate and more remote effects. It not only gave a formidable post into the possession of the Nationals, but it proved the efficiency of gun-boats on the narrow rivers of the West. The National troops were now firmly planted in the rear of Columbus, and there was nothing left to obstruct the

¹ Page 594.

² The National loss was 2 killed and 33 wounded. Of the latter, 29 of them were wounded and scalded on board the gun-boat *Essex*, Captain W. D. Porter, whose boiler was exploded by a shot that entered it. The Confederate loss was five killed and ten wounded.

passage of gun-boats up the Tennessee to the fertile regions of Northern Alabama, and carrying the flag of the Republic far toward the heart of the Confederacy.

The fall of Fort Henry was followed by immediate preparations for an attack on Fort Donelson, a formidable work among the hills near the village of Dover, the capital of Stewart County, on the Cumberland River. The object was to reduce that stronghold, and then sweep over Tennessee with a large force into Northern Alabama. Foote had hurried back to Cairo to bring up his mortar-boats for the new enterprise, and Grant was equally active in pre-



VIEW AT FORT DONELSON.¹

paring soldiers for the work. He reorganized his army into three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals John A. McClelland, C. F. Smith, and Lewis Wallace, and on the evening of the 12th [February, 1862] the divisions of the first two, which had moved from Fort Henry that morning, invested Fort Donelson, which was then in command of ex-Secretary Floyd,² assisted by Generals Pillow³ and Buckner.⁴ Early the next morning picket-skirmishing speedily developed into a general battle between the investing troops and the

¹ This is a view sketched by the author in May, 1866, from the river-bank within the fort, overlooking the mounds of the water-batteries below, and down the river to the place where Foote's gun-boats lay, here indicated by the little steamboat in the distance.

² Pages 549 and 574.

³ Page 566.

⁴ Page 565.

garrison,¹ in which the former were beaten and fell back,² determined to wait for the arrival of Foote's flotilla, with which was coming a portion of Wallace's division. Wallace (who had been left at Fort Henry) was summoned to Fort Donelson by Grant, and at noon the next day he reported his whole division as on the field and ready for action. Meanwhile Foote's flotilla had arrived, but without the mortar-boats, and during the afternoon of the 14th it fought the water-batteries and guns from others bearing on the river with great gallantry, until the vessels were so much injured that they were withdrawn.³

The night of the 14th was one of anxiety in both camps. Foote hastened back to Cairo to have damages repaired and to bring up his mortar-boats, and Grant determined to wait for his return. The Confederates in the fort held a council of war, and resolved to make a sortie the next morning to rout or destroy the investing army, or to cut through it and escape to the open country in the direction of Nashville. The troops selected for this desperate measure, about ten thousand in number, were placed under Pillow and Buckner. Those led by the former were to strike McClernand on the right of the National line, while Buckner should fall upon Wallace's division in the center. The movement was attempted. McClernand, sore pressed, called upon Wallace for aid. It was promptly given, and, after a desperate and gallant fight by all, the Confederates were driven back to their trenches. "I speak advisedly," wrote Hillier, Grant's aid-de-camp, to Wallace, the next day, with a pencil on a slip of paper, "God bless you! You did save the day on the right." Meanwhile, Smith had been vigorously and successfully striking the right of the Confederates, and when darkness fell at evening the National troops were victorious, the vanquished garrison were imprisoned within the lines, and their leaders were busied with endeavors to solve the important question, How shall we escape? In a midnight conference, when it was found that they must surrender, Floyd and Pillow exhibited the greatest cowardice. Only Buckner acted like a man. The other two fled from the fort,⁴ and left the latter to surrender it the next morning [February 16, 1862].



LEWIS WALLACE.

¹ The *Carondelet*, Captain Walke, of Foote's flotilla, had gallantly contended with the water-batteries of the Fort.

² There had been a great change in the weather, and the troops, not prepared for it, suffered terribly from intense cold, and a lack of clothing and tents. A little snow had fallen, and insufficient food and shelter made their sufferings most severe.

³ Never was a little squadron exposed to a more severe fire. Twenty heavy guns were trained upon it, those from the hillsides, on which the main works of the fort lay, hurling plunging shot with awful precision and effect, when only twelve guns could reply. The four armored vessels in the fight (*St. Louis*, the flag-ship, *Carondelet*, *Pittsburg*, and *Louisville*) received in the aggregate no less than 141 wounds from the Confederate shot and shell, and lost 54 men killed and maimed.

⁴ The council of war was held at Pillow's head-quarters, in Dover. Between Floyd and Pillow there were criminations and recriminations, and each, fearing to fall into the hands of the Nationals, seemed to think of little else than his personal safety. When it was decided that they

That was a happy Sabbath for the Union troops. They had won a most important victory for the National cause.¹ Intelligence of it filled the conspirators with despair, and from that time no European court entertained serious thoughts of acknowledging the independence of the Confederate States, or recognizing them as a nation.² The victory produced great joy among the loyal people of the Republic. They and the government were satisfied that a withering blow had been given to the rebellion, and that henceforth its proportions would be less, and its malignity not so dangerous to the life of the Republic.³ When Fort Donelson fell, Kentucky and Missouri, and all of Northern and Middle Tennessee, were lost to the Confederates, and the more southern States, whose inhabitants expected to have the battles for their defense fought in the border Slave-labor States, were exposed to the inroads of the National armies.

Johnston now clearly perceived that Bowling Green⁴ and Columbus⁵ were both untenable, and that the salvation of the Confederate troops at those places required their immediate evacuation. He issued orders accordingly. The troops at Bowling Green marched in haste to Nashville, followed by Buell, and at the same time National gun-boats moved up the Cumberland to Clarksville, to co-operate with the land troops from Fort Donelson, under

would be compelled to surrender, Floyd quickly said; "Gentlemen, I cannot surrender; you know my position with the Federals [his treasonable acts while in Buchanan's cabinet]; it wouldn't do, it wouldn't do." Pillow, whose vanity made him over-estimate his importance, took a similar stand, and when Floyd offered to resign the command to him, he quickly replied: "I will not accept it—I will never surrender myself or my command." While speaking, he turned toward Buckner, who said: "I will accept, and share the fate of my command." Floyd and Pillow both stole away from the fort during the night, and saved themselves; and an epigrammatist of the day wrote concerning the former's infamous desertion of his troops, saying:—

"The thief is a coward by Nature's law;
Who betrays the State, to no one is true;
And the brave foe at Fort Donelson saw
Their light-fingered Floyd was light-footed too."

¹ Buckner sent a flag of truce to ask upon what terms Grant would accept the surrender of the troops and post. Regarding them simply as rebels, Grant replied: "No terms other than an unconditional surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." Buckner made a foolish reply, saying that he should feel impelled, notwithstanding "the brilliant success of the Confederate arms" the day before, "to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms" proposed. This was followed by the speedy surrender of the fort, with 13,500 men (including the sick and wounded) as prisoners of war, with 3,000 horses, 48 field pieces, 17 heavy guns, 20,000 muskets, and a great quantity of military stores. The National loss was estimated at 446 killed, 1,745 wounded, and 150 prisoners.

² The chief Confederates at Richmond received the intelligence with emotions of mingled dismay and anger. Following so close upon the fall of Roanoke Island (page 590), it greatly perplexed them. Notwithstanding Johnston tried to excuse the cowardice and perfidy of Pillow and Floyd, Davis ordered them to be suspended from command.

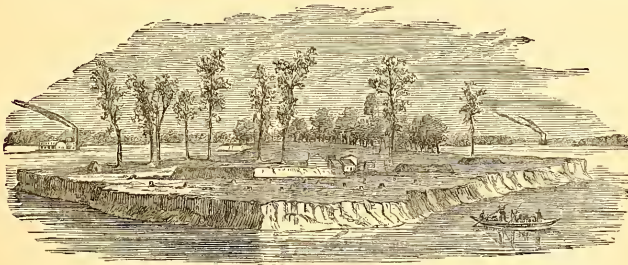
³ At Fort Donelson was successfully begun that system of army mail service devised by Colonel (afterward General) A. H. Markland, which was one of the wonders and among the most salutary measures of the war. "Within one hour after the troops began to march into Fort Donelson," General Grant wrote to the author, in July, 1866, "the mail was being distributed to them from the mail-wagons." Under the direction of Colonel Markland, this service was continued throughout the war, linking the army with home, and keeping off that terrible home-sickness which so often prostrates the volunteer soldier, physically and morally. For months an average of two hundred and fifty thousand military letters were received at and sent from the post-office at the National capital, daily.

⁴ Page 576.

⁵ Page 575.

General Smith, in movements against Nashville. Meanwhile, the panic in the latter place became fearful. The terrified Governor (Harris) fled, Johnston's army passed farther southward, and on the 26th of February Nashville was formally surrendered by the civil authorities and the National troops took possession.¹ Provision was at once made at Washington City for civil government in Tennessee, and Andrew Johnson was appointed Provisional Governor, with the military rank of Brigadier-General. He entered upon the duties of his office on the 4th of March, 1862, with the avowal that he should see to it that "intelligent and conscious treason in high places" should be punished.

Another bloodless victory soon followed the evacuation of Nashville. It was the taking possession by National troops, without opposition, of Columbus. Beauregard was then in command of the Department of Mississippi, and out-ranked Polk. The former, obedient to instructions from Richmond, ordered the latter to transfer his command, and as much of the munitions of war as possible, from Columbus to a safer place, when Polk went to New Madrid, Madrid Bend, and Island Number Ten, there to prepare for defense.



ISLAND NUMBER TEN.

Meanwhile Foote had moved down the Mississippi with a flotilla of gun-boats and transports, the latter bearing about two thousand men under General W. T. Sherman, and when they approached Columbus [March 4, 1862] they saw the National flag waving over its fortifications, having been planted there the evening before by a scouting party of Illinois troops, from Paducah. A garrison was left to hold the post, and Foote returned to Cairo to prepare for a siege of the new position of the Confederates, which the latter hoped to make impregnable.

New Madrid, at a great bend in the river, with Island Number Ten, a few

¹ Floyd and Pillow, who fled from Fort Donelson, were in command at Nashville, the order for their suspension not having yet reached head-quarters. As the Nationals approached they were again overcome with terror, when they fired the bridges over the Cumberland at Nashville, in defiance of the protests of the citizens, and scampered away southward by the light of the conflagration, leaving the more courageous Forrest with his cavalry to cover their inglorious flight. Floyd died miserably not long afterward, and Pillow sunk into merited obscurity.

miles above, was a thousand miles, by the current, from New Orleans, yet it was now regarded as the key to the Lower Mississippi. Its importance was perceived by both parties. General McCown was placed in command there, and General Beauregard commanded in person at first on Island Number Ten.¹ They were there just in time to prevent the occupation of these places by the Nationals, for while Johnston was flying southward from Bowling Green, General Pope, dispatched from St. Louis [February 22] by General Halleck, was pressing toward New Madrid with Ohio and Illinois troops. He appeared before that post on the 3d of March, and found it occupied by McCown, supported by a Confederate flotilla of gun-boats under Captain Hollins.² He sent to Bird's Point³ for siege-guns, and on the 13th [March, 1862] he opened a heavy fire on the Confederate works and Hollins's gun-boats. That night, during a violent thunder-storm, the Confederates evacuated New Madrid and retired to Island Number Ten, with a loss unknown. Pope lost fifty-one killed and wounded.

Island Number Ten now became the chief objective of attack and defense. Beauregard had thoroughly fortified it. Pope desired to cross the Mississippi at New Madrid with his troops, and to march over Madrid Bend and attack the post, while Foote should assail it from the river. He begged the latter to allow gun-boats to run by and come to his aid, but Foote thought it too perilous to do so, and while the navy was pounding away at the defenses of the Island,⁴ Pope was chafing with impatience to do something to help the besiegers. At length he caused the execution of a plan suggested by General Schuyler Hamilton for flanking the Island. This was the cutting of a canal through a swamp, from the river above the Island to a bayou that flows into the Mississippi at New Madrid, below the Island.⁵ Through this transports and gun-boats might pass. Perceiving this, and the peril threatened by it, the Confederates sunk steamers in the river to prevent the passage of vessels, and endeavored to flee from the Island. They were intercepted and captured by Pope's troops under Stanly, Hamilton, and Paine; and Island Number Ten, with its batteries and supports, and over 7,000 prisoners, became the spoils of victory for Pope and Foote.⁶ This was another severe blow to the Confede-

¹ At about this time Beauregard sent out a proclamation to the planters of the Mississippi Valley, calling upon them to consecrate to the use of the Confederacy their church, plantation, and other bells, to be converted into cannon. There was a liberal response to the appeal, and the contributions were all sent to New Orleans. There they were found by General Butler, who sent them to Boston, where they were sold by auction and devoted to peaceful uses.

² Page 582.

³ Page 566.

⁴ Foote began the siege on Sunday morning, the 16th of March, and opened upon the Confederate works heavy shells from rifled guns and thirteen-inch mortars. "Island Number Ten," wrote Foote to the Secretary of the Navy on the 19th of March, "is harder to conquer than Columbus, as the island shores are lined with forts, each fort commanding the one about it."

⁵ This canal was twelve miles in length, and was cut in the space of nineteen days, half the distance through a growth of heavy timber. The width of the canal through this timber was fifty feet, and in some places the trees were sawed off four feet under water. It was a wonderful monument to the engineering skill and indomitable perseverance of the Americans. On the night before its completion [April 3], Pope's wishes concerning the aid of gun-boats were partially gratified. The gallant Commander Walke performed the perilous feat of running by the batteries with the *Carondelet*, at midnight, during a heavy thunder-storm. This, with steamers that came through the canal, enabled Pope to operate on the river below New Madrid, in connection with Foote.

⁶ The number of prisoners taken by Foote and Pope together was 7,273, including three

rates, from which they never recovered. They almost despaired. It seemed probable that Memphis, one of their strongholds on the Mississippi, where they had immense workshops and armories, would soon share the fate of Columbus, and that the great river would be patrolled by National gun-boats from Cairo to New Orleans, and the rich trans-Mississippi country be separated from the rest of the Confederacy. Panic prevailed all the way down to the Gulf, for already, as we have seen, Curtis had broken the power of the Confederates in Arkansas,¹ and a heavy force was making its way up the Tennessee River, in the direction of Alabama.

Grant newly organized his forces after the capture of Fort Donelson, and made vigorous preparations for ascending the Tennessee from Fort Henry, where General Wallace was in command, and where head-quarters were temporarily established. Immediately

after the fall of Fort Henry² Grant had sent three gun-boats up the Tennessee, under Lieutenant-Commander Phelps, who penetrated the country as far as Florence, in Alabama. Phelps reported the existence of much loyal feeling in that region, and this made the Unionists anxious to push on and occupy the country. That movement was now attempted. Corinth, on the Memphis and Charleston railway, was the grand objective, the possession of which, with the railways running east and west, and north and south, and intersecting



U. S. GRANT.

there, would give immense power to the army. Troops in large number were sent up the Tennessee in transports to Savannah and its vicinity, and some, under General Sherman, went much farther up the river. Finally, at the beginning of April [1862], the main body of Grant's army was encamped between Pittsburg Landing and Shiloh Meeting-House, eighteen or twenty miles from Corinth. At the latter place Beauregard had been for some time gathering an opposing force, and at the period in question General A. S. Johnston was there, and in chief command.

While this movement up the Tennessee was occurring, General Buell's army was slowly making preparations to march southward, overland, and join Grant's at Savannah. He left Nashville late in March, leaving General Negley in command there. A part of his force, under the energetic General Mitchel, pushed rapidly southward, captured Huntsville [April 11], on the Memphis and Charleston railway, and secured control of that road for a hundred miles,

generals and 273 field and company officers. The spoils of victory were nearly 20 batteries, with 123 cannon and mortars, the former ranging from 32 to 100-pounders; 7,000 small arms; many hundred horses and mules; an immense amount of ammunition, and four steamers afloat.

¹ Page 592.

² Page 595.

between Tusculumbia on the west and Stevenson on the east. Mitchel had thus placed his little army midway between Corinth and Nashville, opened communication with Buell, and controlled the navigation of the Tennessee for more than one hundred miles. His swift marches and his conquests had been accomplished without the loss of a single life.¹

Meanwhile very important events had occurred on the Tennessee River. The bulk of the National army, under Grant, was encamped, as we have observed, between Pittsburg Landing and Shiloh Meeting-House.² The division of General Lewis Wallace was stationed at Crump's Landing, below, to watch the movements of the Confederates west of the Tennessee in that region. On the memorable Sunday morning, the 6th of April [1862], the main army, lying near the river, stretched across the roads leading from Corinth to Pittsburg and Hamburg Landings, from the Snake Creek to the Lick Creek. It was commanded by Generals Sherman, McClernand, Prentiss, W. H. L. Wallace, and Hurlbut. At that time the Confederate forces under General A. S. Johnston, led by Generals Beauregard, Polk, Bragg, Hardee, and Breckenridge, as principal commanders, had advanced from Corinth to a point within four miles of the National camp, without being discovered. Almost the first intimation given of their near approach was their vigorous attack, early on that beautiful spring morning, first upon Sherman, and then upon Prentiss, on his left. The columns of the latter were broken up, and the general and a larger portion of his men were captured. All day long the battle raged. Grant had come upon the field early from his head-quarters below, and directed the storm of conflict on the part of the Nationals as well as he could, but night found his army terribly smitten and pushed back to the verge of the Tennessee River, then full to the brim with a spring flood, and Beauregard, who had succeeded Johnston, slain on the field that day, telegraphing a shout of victory to his employers at Richmond.³ One more blow, vigorously given, might have driven the Nationals into the turbulent waters, or caused their captivity. A blow was given, but so feebly, on account of prompt and effective responses by two gun-boats (*Tyler* and *Lexington*), and some heavy guns hastily placed in battery, that the Nationals stood firm.⁴

¹ In a stirring address to his troops, Mitchel said: "You have struck blow after blow with a rapidity unparalleled. Stevenson fell, sixty miles to the east of Huntsville. Decatur and Tusculumbia have been in like manner seized, and are now occupied. In three days you have extended your front of operations more than one hundred miles, and your morning guns at Tusculumbia may now be heard by your comrades on the battle-field made glorious by their victory before Corinth." This address was on the 16th of April, when the battle of Shiloh, recorded in the text on the next page, had been fought and won by the Nationals.

² Page 601.

³ The following is a copy of the dispatch, dated "Battle-field of Shiloh, April 6, 1862: We have this morning attacked the enemy in a strong position in front of Pittsburg, and after a severe battle of ten hours, thanks to Almighty God, gained a complete victory, driving the enemy from every position. The loss on both sides is heavy, including our commander-in-chief, General Albert Sidney Johnston, who fell gallantly leading his troops into the thickest of the fight."

⁴ During a lull in the battle, toward evening, three light earthworks were thrown up, in semicircular form, half a mile back from the river-bluff, and twenty-two heavy guns were mounted on them. The gun-boats had been brought up to the mouth of a little creek that traverses a ravine at Pittsburg Landing, and up that hollow they hurled 7-inch shells and 64-pound shot in curves that caused them to drop into the midst of the Confederates. At nine o'clock in the evening the battle ceased.

Buell had been slowly advancing to join Grant. His vanguard appeared on the opposite side of the Tennessee toward the evening of the day of battle. These crossed; and all night long other battalions of Buell's army were coming up the river. At midnight General Lewis Wallace, who had been ordered up from Crump's Landing, arrived with his division. Grant's army was now safe. The fruits of victory were snatched from Beauregard. Before sunrise next morning Wallace opened the contest anew on the Confederate left, where Beauregard commanded in person. Others speedily co-operated, and again the battle became general along the whole line. The Confederates were steadily pressed back by a superior force, all the while fighting most gallantly. They were pushed through and beyond the National camps seized by them on Sunday morning. Perceiving that all was lost, they fled, in the midst of a cold storm of rain and sleet, to the heights of Monterey, in the direction of Corinth, covered by a strong rear-guard under Breckenridge,¹ and there encamped. They had lost over 10,000 men in battle, and full 300 of the wounded died during that terrible retreat of nine miles.² Fifteen thousand of the Nationals were killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the hospital steamers that went down the Tennessee were crowded with the sick and maimed. The slain troops were speedily buried, the dead horses were burned, and



BURNING HORSES ON SHILOH BATTLE-GROUND.

every sanitary precaution was observed. The Confederates were not pursued far in their flight; and both parties, one on the battle-field and the other at Corinth, prepared for a renewal of the struggle.

Beauregard's army was so shattered, that he sent an imploring cry from Corinth to Richmond for help.³ The way seemed opened for his immediate destruction, and Grant was anxious to walk vigorously in it. But his superior, General Halleck, who now came from St. Louis [April 12] and took command

¹ His force was about 12,000 men. Beauregard said to him, "This retreat must not be a rout. You must hold the enemy back, if it requires the loss of your last man."

² An eye-witness wrote:—"I passed long wagon-trains filled with wounded and dying soldiers, without even a blanket to shield them from the driving sleet and hail." Beauregard reported his loss at 1,728 killed, 8,012 wounded, and 957 missing—total, 10,697. Grant reported his loss 1,735 killed, 7,882 wounded, and 3,956 prisoners—total, 13,573. Subsequent statements show that the loss on each side was about 15,000.

³ He said he could not then muster more than 35,000 effective men, but that Earl Van Dorn [see page 592] might join him in a few days with 15,000. He asked for re-enforcements, and said,—"If defeated here we lose the Mississippi Valley, and probably our cause." This dispatch, written in cipher, General Mitchel intercepted at Huntsville, when he seized the telegraph office there.

of the victorious army, thought otherwise, and the impatient troops loitered near Corinth until their foe had fully prepared for another contest. Twenty days after the battle, the *Grand Army of Tennessee*, as it was now called, moved [April 27] nine miles, and a week later [May 3d] it moved near to Corinth, making vigorous use all the while of pick-ax and spade. On that day troops under Generals Paine and Palmer pushed on to Farmington, east of Corinth, and fought and conquered Confederates at an out-post there, but they in turn were driven back to their lines. For twenty-seven days longer the Nationals kept digging and piling the earth, in a siege of the Confederates, who were every day growing stronger, and continually annoying the besiegers by sorties. Finally, on the 29th of May, the Confederates were expelled from their advanced batteries, and Halleck prepared for a sanguinary battle the next morning. All that night the vigilant ears of his sentinels heard the continuous roar of moving cars at Corinth, and their lips reported to their chief.



P. G. T. BEAUREGARD.

At dawn [May 30] skirmishers were sent out, but no foe confronted them. Then the earth was shaken by a series of explosions, and dense smoke arose from the bosom of Corinth. "I cannot explain it," said Halleck to an inquiry made by Sherman, when told to "advance and feel the enemy." There was no enemy there to feel. Beauregard had evacuated Corinth during the night, burned and blew up what he could not carry away, and after an exciting flight before pursuers for a short distance, the ridiculous boaster¹ gathered his scattered troops at Tupelo, many miles southward of Corinth, and there left them (as he sup-

posed temporarily) in charge of Bragg, while he retired to Bladen Springs, in Alabama, to find repose and health.² Halleck took possession of Corinth, and shortly afterward he was called to Washington City, to perform the duties of General-in-Chief of all the armies of the Republic.

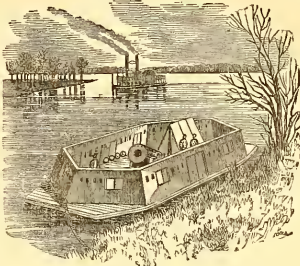
Meanwhile there had been stirring events on the shores of the Mississippi. Soon after the capture of New Madrid and Island Number Ten,³ Commodore Foote went down the river with his flotilla, and General Pope's army on

¹ On the 8th of May Beauregard issued a pompous address to his army, then composed of his own and the forces of Vau Dorn. "Shall we not drive back to Tennessee," he said, "the presumptuous mercenaries collected for our subjugation? One more manly effort, and, trusting in God and the justness of our cause, we shall recover more than we lately lost. Let the sound of our victorious guns be re-echoed by those of Virginia on the historic battle-field at Yorktown." On that day the Confederates fled from Yorktown before McClellan's troops.

² Jefferson Davis, whose will was now law, took this occasion to get rid of Beauregard, and put Bragg in permanent command of the army. He "passionately declared," said the Confederate General Jordan, that Beauregard should not be reinstated, "though all the world should urge him to the measure."

³ Page 599.

transports, to attempt the capture of Memphis. At Fort Pillow, on the first Chickasaw bluffs, eighty miles above Memphis by the river, the expedition was confronted by a Confederate flotilla under Hollins,¹ and three thousand troops under M. Jeff. Thompson.² The post was besieged by Foote on the 14th of April, with gun-boats and mortar-boats, while Pope's troops obeyed Halleck's call to Shiloh. The navy was left to do the work; but there was no serious fighting until the 10th of May, when Hollins attacked the flotilla. A sharp fight ensued between the armored vessels, while the heavy guns of the fort assisted Hollins, but he was repulsed; and for more than a fortnight afterward the two flotillas lay watching each other. Then a "ram" squadron under Colonel Charles Ellet, Jr.³ joined the National flotilla, and preparations were made for another battle, when, on the night of the 4th of June, the Confederates, having



A MORTAR-BOAT.

heard of the retreat of Beauregard from Corinth, fled from Fort Pillow, fleet and army, as fast as steam could carry them, and took position for the defense of Memphis. Commodore Davis (Foote's successor⁴) followed, and in a very severe engagement with the Confederate flotilla in front of Memphis [June 6, 1862] was victorious. Thompson and his troops fled, and the National standard was soon seen floating in the air over the affrighted town. This event was soon followed by the entrance and occupation of the city by troops under General Wallace, fresh from the successful siege of Corinth.

All Kentucky, Western Tennessee, and Northern Mississippi and Alabama, were now in the possession of the National authorities, and it was confidently expected that East Tennessee would almost immediately be in the same position. When Buell joined Mitchel, after the close of the siege of Corinth, the latter urged his superior to march directly into and occupy that region. But Buell would not consent, and various efforts which Mitchel had made, preparatory to such an expedition, were rendered almost fruitless. His commanders had been keeping danger from his rear and making the foe on his front exceedingly circumspect. Negley, Turchin, Lytle, and others had been operating in the region of the railway between Decatur and Columbia; and the first-named had climbed over the mountains northeast of Stevensen, drove the

¹ Page 600.

² Page 573.

³ This squadron had been suggested by Colonel Ellet, who was the eminent civil engineer who constructed the Niagara Suspension Bridge, and under his superintendence the rams had been built. They were river boats, some with stern wheels and some with side wheels, whose bows were strengthened by additions of heavy timber, and covered with plates of iron.

⁴ At the siege of Fort Donelson Commodore Foote's ankle had received a severe contusion from a piece of falling timber. It became so painful, that on the 9th of May he was compelled to withdraw from active service. On retiring, he left the command of the flotilla with Captain C. H. Davis.

Confederates before him near Jasper, and on the 7th of June [1862] appeared on the Tennessee River, opposite Chattanooga. With a little help, that key to East Tennessee and Northern Georgia might have been captured and held, but it was refused; and ten days afterward, when the Confederates, without a struggle, evacuated Cumberland Gap, the "Gibraltar of the Mountains," and allowed General George W. Morgan, with a few Ohio and Kentucky troops, to occupy it, Buell refused to march in at the open door, to the relief of East Tennessee, and the persecuted inhabitants of that loyal region were compelled to wait much longer for deliverance. The cautious Buell and the fiery Mitchel¹



ORMSBY M. MITCHEL.

did not work well together, and the latter was transferred to another field of duty. For a short time now there was a lull in the storm of war westward of the Alleghanies, but it was only the calm before a more furious tempest.

Let us now turn to a consideration of events on the coast of North Carolina, where we left Burnside and the accompanying naval force,² preparing for more conquests. That expedition appeared in the Neuse River, below New Berne, on the evening of the 12th of March [1862], and early the next morning about fifteen thousand land troops went ashore, and marched toward

the defenses of that city, which were in charge of a force under General Branch. At daylight on the 14th the Nationals moved to the attack in three columns, commanded respectively by Generals Foster, Reno, and Parke, the gun-boats in the river, under Commodore Rowan, co-operating. A very severe battle ensued, in which the Nationals were conquerors. Pressed on all sides by a superior force, the Confederates fled from the field across the Trent, burning the bridges behind them, and escaped, with the exception of the killed and wounded and two hundred made prisoners.³ The Nationals took posses-

¹ With the sanction of General Buell, Mitchel sent out an important expedition toward the middle of April. It was composed of twenty-two picked men, led by J. J. Andrews, and their duty was to destroy the railway between Chattanooga and Atlanta. They went in detachments to Marietta, in Georgia, where they joined, and at a station a few miles northward of that town they seized the train in which they were traveling, while the conductor and passengers were at breakfast, and started for Chattanooga, doing what damage they could to the road. They were pursued, and were finally so closely pressed that they abandoned the train and fled to the woods. Some escaped, some were captured, and nine of them, including Andrews, the leader, were hung.

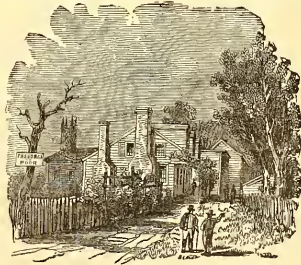
² Page 590.

³ The National loss was about one hundred killed and four hundred wounded. The loss of the Confederates, in killed and wounded, was less. The spoils of victory were important, consisting of the town and harbor of New Berne; eight batteries, mounting forty-six heavy guns; three batteries of light artillery, of six guns each; a number of sailing vessels; wagons, horses, and mules; a large quantity of ammunition and army supplies; the entire camp equipage of the Confederates, and much turpentine, rosin, and cotton. Most of the white inhabitants fled to Goldsboro', on the Weldon Railway.

sion of the city of New Berne, and then proceeded to attempt the capture of Fort Macon, at the entrance to the harbor of Beaufort. The expedition was intrusted to the command of General Foster, who effected a lodgment on Bogue Island, a long sand-spit on which Fort Macon stands, and from batteries which he planted there he began a bombardment of the fort on the morning of the 25th of April. Some gun-boats, under Commander Lockwood, participated in the attack. At four o'clock in the afternoon the garrison gave tokens of submission, and early the next day the fort and its occupants were surrendered to the Nationals.² At the same time troops under General Reno were quietly taking possession of important places along the waters of Albemarle Sound and threatening Norfolk in the rear. At a place called South Mills, near Camden Court House, Reno's troops encountered the Confederates in a sharp engagement, and defeated them. Winton, at the head of the Chowan; Plymouth, at the mouth of the Roanoke, and Washington, at the head of the Pamlico River, were all seized and occupied by the National troops. Burnside now held almost undisputed sway over the coast region, from the Dismal Swamp nearly to the Cape Fear River, until called to the Virginia Peninsula, in July, to assist McClellan.

While Burnside and Rowan were operating on the coast of North Carolina, Sherman and Dupont³ were engaged in important movements on the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia, having for their first object the capture of Fort Pulaski, on Cockspur Island, near the mouth of the Savannah River. Batteries were planted on Big Tybee Island, under the skillful direction of General Q. A. Gillmore, so as to command the fort;⁴ and on the 10th of April [1862]

¹ Burnside made his head-quarters at the fine old Stanley mansion in the suburbs of New Berne. Almost before the smoke of battle was dissipated, the Christian spirit of the friends of the government was made conspicuous in acts of benevolence. Vincent Colyer, a citizen of New York, and originator of the *Christian Commission* of the army, was with the expedition on an errand of mercy. Under the sanction of Burnside, he distributed to the sick and wounded the generous contributions of the loyal citizens of the North, and assumed a fostering care of the poor and ignorant colored people, from whose limbs the hand of the victor had just unloosed the shackles of hopeless slavery. He opened evening schools, and had over eight hundred eager pupils, when Edward Stanley, a North Carolinian, who had been appointed Military Governor of the State, making use of one of the barbarous slave-laws of that commonwealth, which made it "a criminal offense to teach the blacks to read," closed them. Stanley also made zealous efforts to return fugitive slaves to their masters; and the hopes of that down-trodden race in that region, which were so delightfully given in promises, were suddenly extinguished. Stanley's administration was happily a short one.



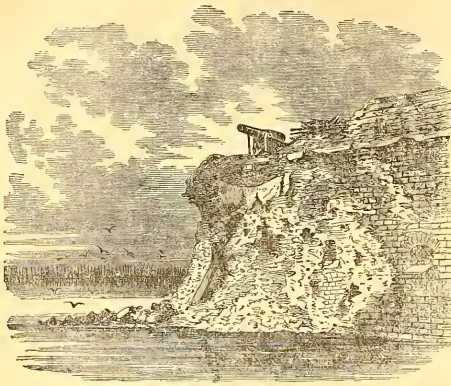
COLYER'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

² The fruits of the victory were the fort and five hundred prisoners, the command of the important harbor of Beaufort, twenty thousand pounds of gunpowder, and a large amount of other ordnance stores.

³ Page 582.

⁴ The planting of these batteries, all things considered, was a wonderful feat of engineering skill. The island is a marsh, and the armament had to be carried over it on causeways built with great labor. "No one," said Gillmore, in his report, "can form any but a faint conception of the

General Hunter, then in command of the Department, summoned the garrison to surrender. It was refused, and thirty-six heavy rifled cannon and



FORT PULASKI BREACHED.

mortars, constituting eleven batteries, opened fire upon it. The bombardment continued until late the next day, when the fort was so shattered and its magazines so exposed to fiery missiles, that it was untenable.¹ On the morning of the 12th, the fort, with its garrison of three hundred men and considerable spoil, was surrendered to the Nationals. The battle had been a hard-fought but almost bloodless one.² The victory was

important, for it enabled the Nationals to close the port of Savannah against blockade-runners.³

While Gillmore and Viele were besieging Fort Pulaski, Commodore Dupont and General Wright were making easy conquests on the coast of Florida. They captured Fort Clinch, on the northern end of Amelia Island, early in February [1862], and this was the first of the old National fortifications "repossessed" by the government. The Confederates fled from the fort, and from the town of Fernandina near. They abandoned other forts along the coast in the same way, and the Nationals took possession of them. A flotilla of gun-boats and transports, with troops, under Lieutenant Thomas Holdup Stevens, was sent up the St. John's River to capture Jacksonville (March 11), and was successful. At about the same time Commander C. R. P. Rogers

herculean labor by which mortars of eight and a half tons weight, and columbiads but a trifle lighter, were moved in the dead of night over a narrow causeway bordered by swamps on each side, and liable at any moment to be overturned and buried in the mud beyond reach." The causeways were built of poles and planks, and the guns were placed in battery on heavy plank platforms.

¹ Ten of the guns of the fort were dismounted; and so destructive of masonry had been the Parrott projectiles, that there was imminent danger of their penetrating the magazine. Some of these projectiles went through six or seven feet of solid brick wall!

² The assailing troops were under the immediate command of General Viele. He had but one man killed. The spoils were, the fort, forty-seven heavy guns, forty thousand pounds of gunpowder, and a large supply of fixed ammunition and commissary stores.

³ We have seen [page 561] how the British government proclaimed its neutrality at the beginning. British subjects at once entered into the dishonorable business of violating the blockade, not only declared [page 560], but well sustained by force, and supplying the insurgents with arms, ammunition, and necessaries of every kind. Fast-sailing steamers were built for the purpose, and painted a gray color, so as not to be distinguished in even a light fog. They frequently eluded the blockaders, and rendered great service to the enemies of our government.

took possession of St. Augustine; and the Confederates abandoned Pensacola and the fortifications on the main opposite Fort Pickens. Dupont returned to Port Royal at the close of March, and found Sherman in possession of Edisto Island, well up toward Charleston. And so it was, that before the first anniversary of the fall of Fort Sumter, the whole Atlantic coast, from Cape Hatteras to Perdido Bay, excepting the harbor of Charleston and its immediate surroundings, had been abandoned by the insurgents.

Turning again to Hampton Roads, we see General Butler there at the head of another expedition.¹ He had completed his recruiting in New England,² and on the 23d of February [1862] he received orders, as commander of the Department of the Gulf, to co-operate with the navy, first in the capture of New Orleans and its approaches, and then in the reduction of Mobile, Galveston, and Baton Rouge, with the ultimate design of occupying Texas. On the 25th of February he sailed from Hampton Roads with nearly 14,000 men; and thirty days later he re-embarked on Ship Island, off the coast of Mississippi, in the Gulf of Mexico. It was already in possession of National troops, under General Phelps, and a naval force was there under Commodores Farragut and Bailey. With these officers Butler arranged a plan of operations against New Orleans. A fleet of bomb-vessels under Commander David D. Porter had been prepared to co-operate with the forces which rendezvoused at Ship Island, and early in April an extensive armament was in the Mississippi River,³ prepared to attack Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on the banks of that stream, at a sharp bend, seventy-five miles above the passes of the river into the Gulf.

General Mansfield Lovell, formerly a New York politician, was in command at New Orleans and of its defenses, among which were the forts just named.⁴ He and the people of that region supposed these defenses to be impregnable,⁵ and they rested in fancied security until late in April, when startling events undeceived them.

All things were in readiness for an assault on the forts on the 17th [April, 1862], and a battle with these fortifications began on the morning of the 18th,



D. D. PORTER.

¹ Page 579.² Page 580.³ The fleets of Farragut and Porter comprised forty-seven armed vessels, eight of which were large and powerful steam sloops of war. Butler's troops, composed of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Michigan men, were borne on five transports.⁴ Fort Jackson was built by the government. Fort St. Philip was an old Spanish work, which figured somewhat in the war of 1812. They were near each other, on opposite sides of the river. The general command of these, and other river defenses below New Orleans, was intrusted to General J. R. Duncan, formerly an office-holder in the city of New York.⁵ A leading newspaper said:—"Our only fear is that the Northern invaders may not appear. We have made such extensive preparations to receive them, that it were vexatious if their invin-

Farragut commanding the squadron of gun-boats, and Porter the mortar fleet, the former being the chief officer. Soon perceiving but little chance for reducing the forts, Farragut made arrangements to run by them with his gun-boats. This was attempted on the night of the 23d, the mortar-boats keeping their position and covering the advance with their fire. It was a most perilous undertaking. Obstructions below the fort were first removed, and then, under the heavy fire of the Confederates, the squadron moved up the swift current (the Mississippi was full to the brim), and soon encountered a formidable fleet of rams and gun-boats lying just above the forts. One of the most terrific naval fights on record ensued,¹ in which Farragut and commanders Bailey and Boggs were most conspicuous. It resulted in victory for the Nationals. Within the space of an hour and a half after the National vessels left their anchorage, the forts were passed, the struggle had occurred, and eleven of the Confederate vessels, or nearly the whole of their fleet, were destroyed.² The National loss was thirty men killed, and not more than one hundred and twenty-five wounded. All of Farragut's vessels which had passed the forts, thirteen in number, rendezvoused at the Quarantine, which was the first government property in Louisiana "repossessed" by the National forces.

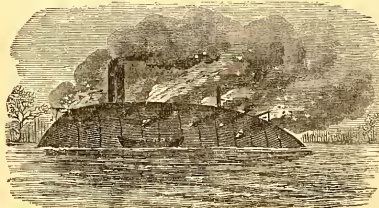
While this desperate battle was raging, the land troops under Butler were preparing to perform their part in the drama. They were landed in the rear of Fort St. Philip, and in small boats they made their way to the Quarantine on the Mississippi [April 27] through narrow and shallow bayous. Their appearance alarmed the Confederates, and a mutiny in the garrison of Fort Jackson, caused by their menace, compelled the surrender of the forts.³ Meanwhile Farragut had gone up to New Orleans with his fleet. He had been preceded by intelligence of disasters below, and there was a fearful panic in the city. Four millions of specie was sent away by the banks, and a vast amount of private property, with many citizens, was soon on the wing.

eible armada escapes the fate we have in store for it." In and around New Orleans was a force of about 10,000 armed men. In order to deceive the people, it was given out by the authorities that there were more than 30,000 troops ready for the defense of the city; and the redoubtable Hollins was spoken of as "a Nelson in his way!"

¹ "Combine," said Major Bell, of Butler's staff, who was present, "all that you have ever

heard of thunder, and add to it all you have ever seen of lightning, and you have, perhaps, a conception of the scene." And all this noise and destructive energy—blazing fire-rafts sent down upon the current to destroy the National vessels; the floating volcanoes sending forth fire, and smoke, and bolts of death, and the thundering forts and ponderous rams—were all crowded, in the gloom of night, within the space of a narrow river.

² Among the vessels destroyed was the ram *Manassas*, which was set on fire, and went roaring down the stream. Finally, like a huge amphibious mon-

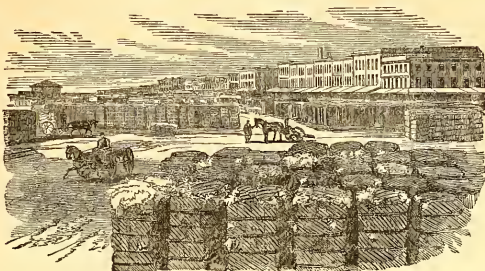


RAM "MANASSAS" ON FIRE.

ster, it gave a plunge, and disappeared in the turbulent waters.

³ The number of prisoners, including some taken at the Quarantine, was about 1,000. The entire loss of the Nationals, from the beginning of this contest until the capture of New Orleans, was 40 killed and 177 wounded.

Women were seen in the streets crying, "Burn the city! burn the city!" Vehicles were everywhere observed carrying cotton to the levee to be destroyed; and when, on the 25th, Farragut, with nine vessels, approached the town, a sheet of flame and pall of smoke, caused by the burning of cotton, sugar, and other property, was seen along the levee a distance of five miles.¹ The city was utterly defenseless. The troops had mostly fled, and Farragut held the rebellious



THE LEVEE AT NEW ORLEANS.

citizens in check by the fear of his shells,² until the arrival of General Butler with his troops on the first of May. These were landed. The General made his head-quarters at the St. Charles Hotel, and there, in conference with the city authorities and some leading citizens, he foreshadowed a policy that proved effectual in maintaining order. By the most vigorous action the rebellious spirit of leading politicians was subdued, the refractory were punished, the poor were relieved, and the peaceful were protected.³ The capture of New

¹ More than a dozen large ships, some of them laden with cotton, and as many magnificent steam-boats, with unfinished gun-boats and other vessels, were seen in flames. In this conflagration no less than 15,000 bales of cotton, valued at \$1,500,000, were consumed.

² Captain Bailey was sent ashore with a flag to demand the surrender of the city, and the taking down of the Confederate flag from the government custom-house and mint. This was refused, when a force landed, and unfurled the National flag over the mint. As soon as the force retired, some young men, led by a notorious gambler named Mumford, pulled it down and dragged it in derision through the streets. When Butler, who arrived soon afterward and took command, heard of this, he wrote to the Secretary of War, saying:—"This outrage will be punished in such manner as in my judgment will caution both the perpetrators and abettors of the act, so that they shall fear the stripes if they do not reverence the stars of our banner." Mumford was afterward active in inciting a mob to violence, when he was arrested, tried for and convicted of treason by a court-martial, and hung.

³ The Mayor of the city, John T. Monroe, one of the most violent of the Secessionists, was very refractory for a while, but, with all others like him, he was soon compelled to be quiet. Butler discovered a list of subscribers, composed of bankers, merchants, and other wealthy citizens, to a fund for carrying on the rebellion. These he assessed for the benefit of the poor, to the amount of twenty-five per cent. on their subscription. Foolish women, of the wealthy and rebellious class, defied the military authority; and one of these, with the low manners of the degraded of her sex, deliberately spat in the faces of two officers in the street. Forbearance was no longer a virtue, and Butler issued an order which effectually cured the growing evil. It publicly directed the treatment of women, so acting, to be such as would be given to the abandoned of their sex.* This order, which was perverted and misrepresented, produced the most intense

* The following is a copy of the document called the "Woman Order," dated New Orleans, May 15, 1862:—
"General Order No. 23:

"As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans, in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter, when any female shall, by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation.

"By command of
Major-General BUTLER.

"GEORGE C. STRONG, Assistant Adjutant-General, Chief of Staff."

Orleans was the heaviest blow the Confederacy had yet received, and for a while it staggered under its infliction.¹

Let us now return to a consideration of the Army of the Potomac, which we left in a quiet condition after the little flurry at Drainsville.

At the beginning of 1862, when the Grand Army numbered full 200,000 men, the prospect of its advance seemed more remote than ever, for the fine



GEO. B. MCCLELLAN.

autumn weather had been succeeded by storms and frost, and the roads were becoming wretched in Virginia. The people were impatient and the President was dissatisfied. He could get no satisfaction from the General-in-Chief (McClellan) when he inquired why that army did not move. He therefore summoned [January 10, 1862] Generals McDowell and Franklin to a conference with himself and cabinet, for he had resolved that something must be done by the Army of the Potomac, either with or without the General-in-Chief. Other conferences were held, in which McClellan participated; and in a general

order on the 27th of January, the President directed a simultaneous forward movement of all the "land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces." This order sent a thrill of joy through every loyal heart. It was heightened by another order, directing McClellan to form all of the disposable forces of the army, after providing for the safety of Washington, into an expedition for operating against the Confederates at Manassas. But the General-in-Chief had other plans, and, instead of obeying, he remonstrated. He proposed to take his army to Richmond, by way of the Chesapeake Bay and the peninsula between the York and James Rivers, instead of falling upon the Confederates at Manassas. Discussion followed. A council of officers decided in favor of McClellan's plan. The President dissented from their views, but acquiesced in their decision. Orders were issued for the movement. Still there was delay, and finally, on the 8th of March, the Executive issued an order for the army to advance by the Chesapeake as early as the 18th of that month.

At that moment events were occurring which caused a material modification of the plans of the General-in-Chief. The Confederates suddenly evacuated Manassas [March 8 and 9] and hastened toward Richmond. The Army of the

excitement throughout the Confederacy, and Davis issued a proclamation of outlawry against Butler.

¹ "It annihilated us in Louisiana," said a Confederate historian of the war, "diminished our resources and supplies by the loss of one of the greatest grain and cattle countries within the limits of the Confederacy, gave to the enemy the Mississippi River, with all its means of navigation, for a base of operations, and finally led, by plain and irresistible conclusion, to our virtual abandonment of the great and fruitful Valley of the Mississippi."

Potomac followed as far as the deserted post, and some cavalry a little beyond; and the loyal people rejoiced because the march on Richmond had begun. They were instantly disappointed. The whole Grand Army of the Potomac was ordered back, and the few Confederates who had been keeping it in check for months' were allowed to make their way peacefully to Richmond, and there prepare to hold that grand army in check for many months at another point. The government was now satisfied that the burden of care which had been laid upon the General-in-Chief was greater than he was able to bear, and the President kindly relieved him [March 11, 1862] of much of it, by dividing the great labor of command, and leaving in McClellan's charge only the Army of the Potomac.²

The evacuation of Manassas was simultaneous with the sudden appearance of a new naval power in Hampton Roads, the operations of which formed one of the causes for a modification of McClellan's plans for moving against Richmond. It was the notable iron gun-boat called the *Monitor*, constructed on a novel plan for offensive and defensive war.³ It was then known that the *Merrimack*, sunk at Norfolk,⁴ had been raised and converted into a formidable iron-clad warrior. Its speedy appearance in Hampton Roads was expected, and dreaded, because it would greatly imperil the wooden vessels of the government there. On the 8th of March it suddenly made its appearance. It moved directly upon the sailing frigates *Congress* and *Cumberland*, at the mouth of the James River, and destroyed them. It also attacked other armed vessels, and then seemed to take a little rest for the task of utterly destroying the warriors and transports in Hampton Roads on the following morning. The intervening night was consequently passed in great anxiety by the National commanders on land and water in that region. There seemed to be no competent human agency to avert the threatened disasters,

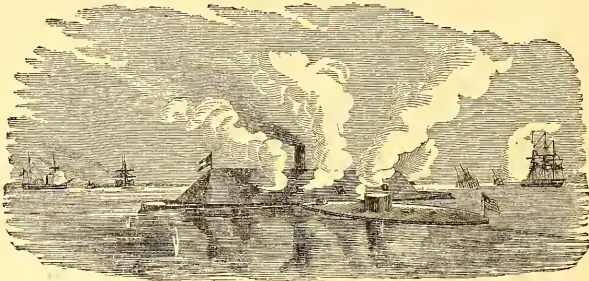
¹ Johnston, informed of the strength of the Army of the Potomac, was satisfied that he could not withstand its advance, and had been preparing for the evacuation for several weeks, but with such skill that McClellan was not aware of it. This was necessary, for his troops were so few that he could not form a respectable rear-guard to cover his retreat, with his supplies. Wooden guns took the place of some of his heavy ones at Manassas, when his ordnance was sent away. So well had Johnston managed to deceive McClellan as to his force, that on the day when he evacuated Manassas, the chief of McClellan's secret service corps reported 98,000 Confederate soldiers "within twenty miles of Manassas," and a total of 115,000 in Virginia, with 300 field-pieces, and twenty-six to thirty siege-guns "before Washington." At the same time General Wool, at Fortress Monroe, and General Wadsworth, back of Arlington Heights, gave the government (what were subsequently proven to be truthful) statements, from reliable information, that not over 50,000 troops were then in front of the Army of the Potomac. The actual number seems to have been but 40,000.

² By the President's order, dated March 11, 1862, General McClellan was relieved of the command of other military departments. To General Halleck was given the command of the troops in the Valley of the Mississippi and westward of the longitude of Knoxville, in Tennessee; and a Mountain Department, consisting of the region between Halleck and McClellan, was created, and placed in charge of General Fremont. The commanders of departments were ordered to report directly to the Secretary of War.

³ This vessel presented the appearance on the water of a simple platform, sharp at each end, lying just above the surface, on which was a round revolving iron Martello tower, twenty feet in diameter and ten feet in height above the deck, and pierced for two guns. This turret, or tower, was made to revolve, so that the guns could be brought to bear independent of the position of the hull of the vessel. The hull and turret were of heavy iron, and impervious to shot and shell. This vessel was the invention of Captain John Ericsson, a scientific Swede, who had then been a President of this country full twenty years. Theodore R. Timby invented the revolving turret.

⁴ Page 558.

when, at a little past midnight [March 9, 1862], a mysterious thing came in from the sea between the capes of Virginia, lighted on its way by the blazing *Congress*.¹ It was the *Monitor* on its trial trip, commanded by Lieutenant John L. Worden.² That gallant officer was soon made acquainted with the situation, and prepared to meet the devouring monster in the morning. Before sunrise, on that beautiful Sabbath day, it came sweeping down the Elizabeth River. The *Monitor*, like a little David, hastened to meet the Confederate Goliath. As it drew near, its invulnerable citadel began to move, and from it were hurled ponderous shot in quick succession. These were answered by broadsides from the *Merrimack*. The combat was terrible. From the turret



COMBAT BETWEEN THE MONITOR AND MERRIMACK.

and deck of the *Monitor* heavy round shot and conical bolts glanced off as pebbles would fly from contact with solid granite. The *Merrimack* was finally disabled by its mysterious antagonist, and fled up to Norfolk.³ The safe navigation of Hampton Roads, and, to some extent, that of the James River, was secured to the National vessels. The event produced joy in every loyal heart, and Ericsson, the inventor, and Worden, the commander, shared in the public gratitude.⁴

Impressed with the belief that the navigation of the James River was now

¹ The *Cumberland* was sunk and the *Congress* was set on fire by the *Merrimack*. The magazine of the latter exploded, and destroyed what was left of her by the flames. Nearly one-half of the officers and crews of both vessels were killed or wounded. Of the 434 men of the *Congress*, only one-half responded to their names the next morning at Newport-News. The dead were buried at that place, and their remains are among those of scores of Union soldiers. On a board, in the form of a cross, at the head of one of the latter, whose name and history are unknown, might have been read in 1866 one of the most touching and poetical epitaphs ever inscribed. It read: "A SOLDIER OF THE UNION MUSTERED OUT."

² Note 1, page 581.

³ Franklin Buchanan, a veteran officer of the National navy, who had abandoned his flag, was the commander of the *Merrimack* (which the Confederates named *Virginia*), and was so badly wounded in the engagement that he was unfitted for service for some time.

⁴ Worden was severely injured during the engagement. In the turret of the *Monitor* was a small peep-hole, out of which the commander might see how to direct the turning of it, so as to bring the guns properly to bear. While Worden was looking through this, a heavy shot struck squarely in front of the peep-hole, shivering some cement there and casting it violently into the face and

free for the National gun-boats, McClellan, in accordance with the decision of a council of officers [March 13], proceeded to transfer the Army of the Potomac to Fortress Monroe, from which, as a base, it might march on Richmond. It was important for the security of Washington City, at the same time, to hold the Confederates in check in the Shenandoah Valley. Already the dashing General Lander, by a successful attack on "Stonewall Jackson" at Blooming Gap [February 14, 1862], had made that leader circumspect. Now General N. P. Banks was in command in the Valley. When Johnston evacuated Manassas, Jackson, who had taken post at Winchester, moved farther up the Valley, followed by some of Banks's troops. The latter fell back, and a considerable force under General Shields took post at Winchester. Jackson returned, and at Kernstown, near Winchester, he and Shields had a severe engagement on the 22d of March,² at the close of which the defeated Confederates went in swift retreat up the Valley, followed far by Banks, who remained in that region to watch the foe, while McClellan should move on Richmond by way of the Virginia Peninsula.

At the beginning of April McClellan was at Fortress Monroe, and began his march [April 5] up the Peninsula, with fifty thousand men, in two columns, led respectively by Generals Heintzelman³ and Keyes, one in the direction of Yorktown and the other toward Warwick Court House, nearer the James River. The Confederates, under Magruder,⁴ about eleven thousand strong, were stretched across McClellan's path, from the York to the James, and by a skillful and deceptive display of strength in numbers, kept the Army of the Potomac before them (which speedily numbered one hundred thousand men) at bay for a month,⁵ its leader calling earnestly for re-enforcements to enable him to move forward. He closely besieged his foes at Yorktown, and when the latter perceived that it was no longer prudent to remain, they fled up the Peninsula [May 3, 1862] and made a stand behind a strong line of works in front of Williamsburg. The bulk of the National army pursued, under the directions of General Sumner, while McClellan remained at Yorktown, to superintend the forwarding of an expedition up the York River, under General Franklin, to flank the Confederates.

eyes of the commander. The shock was so great that the persons in the turret were prostrated. Only Worden was seriously hurt. For several days afterward his life was in great peril. He recovered, and did gallant service afterward on the Southern coast.

¹ Thomas J. Jackson, who became one of the most renowned of the Confederate leaders, was in command of a brigade at the battle of Bull's Run, where his men gallantly withstood all assaults. "See!" exclaimed another leader (General Bee), when trying to rally panic-stricken troops, "there stands Jackson like a stone wall!" The latter was ever afterward called "Stonewall Jackson," and his troops the "Stonewall Brigade."

² Shields reported his loss at nearly 600 men, of whom 103 were killed. Jackson's loss was over 1,000. It was estimated at 1,500 by Shields.

³ In Heintzelman's column were the divisions of Fitz-John Porter, Hamilton, and Sedgwick; and with Keyes were the divisions of Generals Couch and W. F. Smith.

⁴ Page 562.

⁵ The tedious operations of a regular siege, by casting up intrenchments, were under the direction of General Porter. Frequent skirmishes occurred during the siege, but only one that had the semblance of a battle. That was on the 16th of April, when General Smith attacked the Confederates on the Warwick River, between the mills of Lee and Winn. He was repulsed, with the loss of one hundred men on his part and of seventy-five on the part of his foe. McClellan's army suffered much from sickness during the month's detention in that swampy region.

The works in front of Williamsburg were strong, extending across that narrowest part of the Peninsula from estuaries of the York and James Rivers. There the Confederate leader left a strong rear-guard to check the pursuers, while the main body (a greater portion of which had not been below Williamsburg), then under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston, who had come



JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.

down from Richmond, should retreat up the Peninsula. Johnston's intention was to concentrate all his troops near Richmond, and then give battle. The pursuing force, after their advance under General Stoneman had been checked in front of the Confederate works, pushed boldly up to attack them under such leaders as Hooker, Kearney, and Hancock, who were conspicuous on that occasion. Hooker began the assault early on the morning of the 6th [May, 1862], and bore the brunt of battle almost nine consecutive hours, when Kearney came to his assistance, and Hancock turned the

left of the Confederates. The latter, overpowered, retreated, and such was their haste, that they left nearly eight hundred of their wounded behind.¹ McClellan came upon the battle-field toward the close of the engagement, and the next morning he sent tidings of the victory to the government from the ancient capital of Virginia. Johnston was then pressing on toward the Chickahominy, with fearful anticipation of disaster if again struck in his retreat by the Nationals; but the pursuit there ended, and McClellan's army, during the succeeding ten or fifteen days, made its way leisurely to the Chickahominy, behind which Johnston was then safely encamped.² In the mean time Franklin's expedition, too long held at Yorktown by the Commander-in-Chief to win the advantages of a flank movement, had secured a strong footing near the head of the York River, and there, on the bank of the Pamunkey River, General McClellan established his base of supplies for the Army of the Potomac.

On the 20th of May [1862], McClellan's army was on the borders of the Chickahominy River, and a portion of it, under General Casey, occupied the heights on the Richmond side of the stream, on the New Kent road. In the mean time important events had occurred in the rear of the Army of the Poto-

¹ So vigorous was the assault of Hooker, that Johnston sent back a greater part of his force to the assistance of his rear-guard. The final retreat was made under the lead of General Longstreet, one of the best of the Confederate generals.

² On the evening after the battle, McClellan telegraphed to the Secretary of War that the Confederates were before him in force probably greater than his own, and strongly entrenched, and assured the Secretary that he should "run the risk of holding them in check there." At that time Johnston's 30,000 men were fleeing as rapidly as possible toward the Chickahominy before McClellan's victorious 100,000 men. Experts on both sides declared that had the pursuit been continued, in the morning after the battle at Williamsburg, the National army might have crushed that of the Confederates, or followed them directly into Richmond.

mac. General Wool,¹ in command at Fortress Monroe, had long desired to attempt the capture of Norfolk. Permission was at length given him by the President and Secretary of War.² With a few regiments he landed [May 10, 1862] in the rear of the Confederate works below Norfolk, and marched triumphantly toward the city. The Confederate forces there, under General Huger, destroyed the *Merrimack*,³ and fled toward Petersburg and Richmond. Norfolk was surrendered to Wool by the civil authorities. The Confederate vessels of war in the James River fled up toward Richmond, and were followed by National gun-boats, under Commodore Rogers, to Drewry's Bluff, eight miles below the capital of the Confederates, where they were checked [May 15] by a strong fort.

Important events had also been occurring in the Shenandoah Valley and the adjacent region. At about the time of the siege of Yorktown, General Fremont was at Franklin, among the mountains of Western Virginia. General Banks was at Strasburg, in the Shenandoah Valley, and General McDowell was at Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, for the double purpose of covering Washington and co-operating with McClellan. Jackson had been joined by the skillful Ewell, in the vicinity of Harrisonburg. Other troops were near, and he was watching Banks closely. At McDowell [May 8], west of Staunton, he struck one of Fremont's brigades, under General Milroy, a severe blow, while Ewell pressed Banks back to Strasburg. Jackson and Ewell soon afterward captured and dispersed [May 23] a National force under Colonel Kenly, at Front Royal, and sent Banks flying down the Shenandoah Valley from Strasburg, hotly pursued to Winchester. There Ewell attacked him [May 25], and after a severe contest he continued his flight to the banks of the Potomac, near Williamsport. The National capital was now in peril, and McDowell was ordered to send a large force over the Blue Ridge, to intercept the Confederates, if they should retreat, while Fremont should march on Strasburg from the west, for the same purpose. Jackson perceived his peril, and his whole force fled up the valley in time to elude the troops on their flank. Fremont pursued them up the main valley, and Shields, with a considerable force, marched rapidly up the parallel Luray Valley. At a place called Cross Keys, near Harrisonburg, Fremont overtook Ewell, when a severe but undecisive battle ensued [June 7]. Jackson was then at Port Republic, a few miles distant, sorely pressed by Generals Carroll and Tyler. He called Ewell to his aid. The latter moved off in the night. Fremont followed; but Ewell



T. J. JACKSON.

¹ Page 413, and note 5, page 579.

² Wool's command was not under the direction of McClellan. It remained an independent one so long as that veteran was at the head of that department.

³ Page 614.

managed to cross the Shenandoah and burn the bridge behind him before Fremont could reach that stream. Meanwhile Jackson's assailants had been repulsed, and on the 9th of June the whole National army on the Shenandoah retraced their steps. So ended the second great race of the National and Confederate troops in the Shenandoah Valley.

When Rogers went up to Drewry's Bluff,¹ the James and York Rivers were both opened as highways for supplies for the Army of the Potomac. McClellan determined to continue his base at the head of York, until he should form a junction with McDowell. That event was postponed by others in the Shenandoah Valley, just recorded, and the two great armies stood face to face near Richmond toward the close of May, with little expectation of aid from their respective comrades in that Valley. Their first collision was on the 23d, near Mechanicsville, when the Confederates were driven, and the army and loyal people were thrilled by a general order issued by McClellan the next day, which indicated an immediate advance upon Richmond. Every thing was in readiness for the movement, and the Confederates were trembling in anticipation of it.² McClellan hesitated, and the golden moments of opportunity were spent in flank movements, which resulted in severe struggles, that were fruitless of good to the National army.³

The skillful and vigilant Johnston, soon perceiving the perilous position of the National forces, divided by the fickle Chickahominy,⁴ and the timidity of their chief, marched boldly out from his strong intrenchments before Richmond to attack them. On the afternoon of the 31st [May, 1862], a heavy force of the Confederates fell furiously upon the most advanced National troops, under General Casey, and a sanguinary battle ensued. Casey fought his foe most gallantly, until one-third of his division was disabled, and he was

¹ Page 617.

² The appearance of Rogers's flotilla before Drewry's Bluff simultaneously with McClellan's advance toward the Chickahominy produced the greatest consternation in Richmond, especially among the Secessionists. Davis, their chief, almost despaired, and the general expectation that the National forces would speedily march into Richmond, caused the chief leaders to make preparations for flight. The "archives of the government," so called, were sent to Columbia, South Carolina, and to Lynchburg. The railway tracks over the bridges at Richmond were covered with planks, so as to facilitate the passage of artillery, and every man who was active in the rebellion trembled with fear. The Legislature of Virginia, then in session, disgusted with the cowardice and perfidy of Davis and his chief associates in crime, passed resolutions calling upon them to act with manliness and honor, and to stay and protect at all hazards the people they had betrayed. This action, it is believed, was inspired by the manly Johnston, then at the head of the army, whose virtues were a standing rebuke to the cold selfishness of the chief conspirator.

³ The troops engaged were regular cavalry under General Emory; Benson's horse-battery; Morrell's division, composed of the brigades of Martindale, Butterfield, and McQuade, and Berdan's sharpshooters; three batteries under Captain Griffin, and a "provisional brigade," under Colonel G. K. Warren, in support. Their first encounter was near Hanover Court House [May 27], when a charge by Butterfield's brigade dispersed the Confederates. At the same time General Martindale was contending with fresh troops that came up from Richmond, and attacked him while moving between Peake's Station and Hanover Court House. Porter sent assistance to Martindale, when the Confederates, outnumbered, fell back, with a loss of 200 men dead on the field, and 700 made prisoners. The National loss was 350.

⁴ The Chickahominy River is a narrow stream, and liable to a sudden and great increase of volume and overflow of its banks by rains. For this reason it might, in a few hours, become an impassable barrier between bodies of troops where bridges did not exist. In this instance the Confederates had destroyed the bridges.

driven back by an overwhelming force. Troops sent to his aid by Keyes could not withstand the pressure, and all were driven back to Fair Oaks Station, on the Richmond and York River Railway, where the struggle continued. Heintzelman and Kearney pressed forward with re-enforcements, but fresh Confederates were there to meet them, and it seemed at one time as if the whole of the National forces on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy were doomed to destruction. At that critical moment the veteran General Sumner appeared, with the divisions of Sedgwick and Richardson, and checked the Confederate advance by a storm of canister-shot from twenty-four guns. But they soon pressed forward again and fought gallantly, notwithstanding Johnston, their chief, who was directing the battle, was severely wounded and borne away. Finally, at eight o'clock in the evening, a bayonet charge by five regiments broke the Confederate line into dire confusion. The contest was renewed in the morning [June 1], and after a struggle for several hours, in which Hooker's command also was engaged, the Confederates withdrew, and retired to Richmond that night. So ended the battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines.

For nearly a month after this the Army of the Potomac lay along the Chickahominy, a few miles from Richmond, in a very unhealthful situation, quietly besieging the Confederate capital. Robert E. Lee¹ succeeded Johnston, and he was joined by Jackson and Ewell, with a force so considerable that he prepared to strike McClellan a deadly blow. Fifteen hundred of his cavalry, under J. E. B. Stewart,² made a complete circuit of the Army of the Potomac at the middle of June, threatening its supplies at the White House,³ near the head of York River, and gaining valuable information. Meantime the public expectation was kept on the alert by frequent assurances that the decisive battle would be fought "to-morrow." For that purpose re-enforcements were called for, and sent; yet the cautious commander hesitated until Lee made a movement which compelled him to take a defensive position, and prepare to abandon the siege and retreat to the James River. That movement was made on the 26th of June. Jackson, with a considerable force, marched from Hanover Court House to turn McClellan's right, and fall upon his communications with his supplies at the White House; and at the same time a heavier force, under Generals Longstreet and D. H. and A. P. Hill, crossed the Chickahominy near Mechanicsville, and assailed the National right wing, commanded by General Fitz John Porter. A terrific battle ensued near Ellison's

¹ Page 564.

² Page 585.

³ The *White House* was the name of an estate on the Pamunkey River, that belonged to the Custis family by inheritance from Mrs. Washington, whose first husband owned it. Her great-grand-daughter was the wife of Robert E. Lee, and this property was in the possession of the latter's eldest son when the Civil War broke out. The name was derived from the color of the mansion on the estate at the time Washington was married to Mrs. Custis. It was white, and thus distinguished from others. That mansion was demolished more than thirty years before the war, and near its site was another, of modest form and dimensions, which was called the "White House." This was held sacred, for some time, by the Union troops, in consequence of a false impression given by the family that it was the original "White House." When McClellan changed his base to the James River, and his stores were fired, the modern "White House" was consumed.

Mill, which resulted in the defeat of the Confederates, who suffered a fearful loss.¹

Notwithstanding this victory, McClellan decided that the time had come for him to fly toward the James River, if he would save his army. He was



VIEW ON THE CHICKAHOMINY NEAR MECHANICSVILLE.

left to choose between a concentration of his whole force on the left bank of the Chickahominy, and give general battle to Lee's army; to concentrate it on the right bank, and march directly on Richmond, or to transfer his right wing to that side of the stream, and with his supplies retreat to the James River. He chose the latter course, and made preparations accordingly.² He ordered the stores at the White

House to be destroyed if they could not be removed, and held Porter's corps in a strong position near Gaines's Mills, a short distance from Ellison's Mill, to give protection as far as possible to the supplies, and to the remainder of the troops in the removal of the siege-guns, their passage of the river, and their march toward the James. There, between Cool Arbor³ and the Chickahominy, in line of battle on the arc of a circle, Porter stood when attacked by the Hills and Longstreet,⁴ on the afternoon of the 27th of June. Very severe was the battle that ensued. Porter, hard pressed, sent to McClellan, then on the opposite side of the Chickahominy, for aid, but the commander, believing Magruder's 25,000 men at Richmond to be 60,000 in number, could spare only Slocum's division of Franklin's corps. Later, the brigades of Richardson and Meagher were sent, and these arrived just in time to save Porter from annihilation, for his shattered and disheartened army was

¹ It was between 3,000 and 4,000 men. The National loss was about 400. The latter were well posted on an eminence; the former were much exposed in approaching over lower and open ground.

² According to official and other statements by the Confederates, Richmond was at that time entirely at the mercy of the Army of the Potomac, it being defended by only 25,000 men under Magruder, who in his report declared that if McClellan had massed his force and moved on Richmond while Lee was beyond the Chickahominy, he might easily have captured it. "His failure to do so," said Magruder in his report, "is the best evidence that our wise commander fully understood the character of his opponent."

³ The place of an ancient tavern and summer resort for the inhabitants of Richmond two generations before.

⁴ Page 619.

falling back to the river in disorder, closely pressed by the foe. The appearance and cheers of the fresh troops encouraged the fugitives, who re-formed, checked the alarmed pursuers, and drove them back to the field they had won. So ended the battle of Gaines's Mills.¹ During that night Porter's corps withdrew to the right bank of the Chickahominy, destroying the bridges behind them.

McClellan now turned his back upon Richmond, with his face toward the James, and gave orders for his army to move through the White Oak Swamp in the direction of Turkey Bend, on that river. Keyes led the way [June 28]. Porter followed; and after these moved a train of 5,000 wagons, laden with ammunition, provisions, and baggage, and a drove of 2,500 beef cattle.² So well was this movement masked from Lee, that he had no suspicion of it until more than twenty-four hours after it began.³ He had observed, in the morning, some singular movements of the divisions which remained behind, and some skirmishes had taken place, but he supposed McClellan might be preparing to move his forces and give battle in defense of his stores at the White House, or, if he retreated, would take the route on the left bank of the Chickahominy, by which Johnston came up from Williamsburg.⁴ But on the night of the 28th the amazing fact was disclosed to Lee that a greater portion of the Army of the Potomac had departed, not to give battle on the north side of the Chickahominy, nor to retreat down the Peninsula, but to take a new position on the James River. Scouts had already informed him that a large portion of the supplies at the White House had been removed, and that the remainder, and the mansion itself, were then in flames.

McClellan had full twenty-four hours the start of Lee, yet he found himself compelled to struggle for life in that retreat. His rear-guard, under Sumner, was struck at Savage's Station, where a severe battle was fought [June 29]. It continued until late in the evening, when the Confederates recoiled; and before morning [July 1], the whole of McClellan's army was well on its way toward the James. Franklin, with a rear-guard, had been left to hold the main bridge over White Oak Swamp Creek, and so to cover the withdrawal of the army to the high open country of the Malvern Hills; and at that point and at Glendale,⁵ a short distance to the right, severe engagements ensued. The battle at the latter place was very sanguinary, in which the Pennsylvanians under McCall suffered much. That leader was captured, and General Meade was severely wounded. By the timely arrival of fresh troops under

¹ The National loss was about 8,000 men, of whom about 6,000 were killed and wounded. The Confederate loss was about 5,000. Porter lost twenty-two siege-guns.

² The sick and wounded men, who could not march, were left behind, with surgeons, rations, and medical stores. These fell into the hands of the Confederates, and the men suffered terribly. The reason given for this abandonment of the helpless, and the sending away of the ambulances empty, was, that so large a number (about 2,500) of wounded and sick men would embarrass the army in its flight, and its escape might be impossible.

³ All day long Magruder and Huger had reported to Lee that the National fortifications on their front were as fully manned as usual, and Lee supposed his foe was preparing for an offensive movement.

⁴ Page 616.

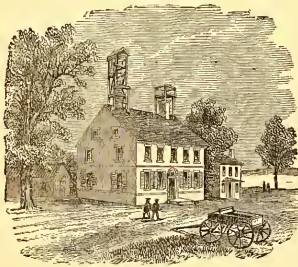
⁵ The name of an estate. The battle occurred on the property of several owners. It is sometimes called the Battle of Frazier's Farm.

Hooker, Meagher, and Taylor, victory was given to the Nationals; and early the next day the Army of the Potomac, united for the first time since the Chickahominy first divided it,¹ was in a strong position on Malvern Hills,² in sight of the James River. It was not considered a safe place for the army to halt, for it was too far separated from its supplies; so, on the morning of the 1st [July, 1862], McClellan went on board the gun-boat *Galena*, and proceeded down the river to "select the final location for the army and its depots." This was fixed at Harrison's Bar, a short distance from Malvern Hills.

Preparations were made on Malvern Hills for a battle. Lee concentrated his troops at Glendale for that purpose on the morning of the 1st [July, 1862], and resolved, with a heavy line under Jackson, Ewell, Whiting, the Hills, Longstreet, Magruder, and Huger, to carry the intrenched camp of the Nationals by storm, and "drive the invaders," he said, "into the James." This was attempted. A furious battle ensued, in which Porter, Couch, and Kearney were the chief leaders of fighting troops on the part of the Nationals, and these were assisted by gun-boats in the river. The struggle was intense and destructive, and did not cease until almost nine o'clock in the evening, when the Confederates were driven to the shelter of the ravines and swamps, utterly broken and despairing. The victory for the Nationals was decisive, and the Union leaders expected to follow it up, pursue Lee's shattered columns, and enter Richmond within twenty-four hours, when they were overwhelmed with disappointment by an order from the Commander-in-Chief (who had been on the *Galena* most of the day) for the victorious army to "fall back

still farther" to Harrison's Landing.³ This seemed like snatching the palm of victory from the hand just opened to receive it, but it was obeyed, and on the evening of the 3d of July the Army of the Potomac, broken and disheartened, was resting on the James River, and on the 8th what was left of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia was behind the defenses of Richmond.⁴

Very grievous was the disappointment of the loyal people when they heard of this disastrous result of the campaign



THE HARRISON MANSION.

against Richmond, and most astounding to the government was the assurance of

¹ Page 616.

² These form a high rolling plateau, sloping toward Richmond from bold banks toward the river, and bounded by deep ravines, making an excellent defensive position.

³ McClellan's order produced consternation and great dissatisfaction among the officers and men. The veteran General Kearney was very indignant, and in the presence of several officers said: "I, Philip Kearney, an old soldier, enter my solemn protest against this order for a retreat. We ought, instead of retreating, to follow up the enemy and take Richmond; and, in full view of all the responsibilities of such a declaration, I say to you all, such an order can only be prompted by cowardice or treason."

⁴ The aggregate loss of the National army during the seven days' contest before Richmond, or from the battle near Mechanicsville [May 23] until the posting of the army at Harrison's Bar, was

the commander of the Army of the Potomac, three days after the battle on Malvern Hills, that he had not "over 50,000 men left, with their colors!" Within the space of a hundred days 160,000 men had gone to the Peninsula. What had become of the vast remainder? The anxious President hastened to the head-quarters of McClellan for an answer to that question, for the latter was now calling for more troops, to enable him to "capture Richmond and put an end to the Rebellion." The President found nearly 40,000 more men there than the general had reported, and yet 75,000 were missing. He could get no satisfactory statement from McClellan,¹ and he found that several of the corps commanders had lost confidence in the chief. In view of this fact, the concentration of Confederate troops in the direction of Washington, and the assurance of McClellan that his army was not strong enough to capture Richmond by "one hundred thousand men, more rather than less," it was thought advisable by the President to withdraw that army from the Peninsula and concentrate it in front of the National capital. Orders were given accordingly. McClellan was opposed to the measure, and at once took steps to defeat it.

Here we will leave the Army of the Potomac for a little while, and observe events nearer the National capital, with which its movements were intimately connected. To give more efficiency to the troops covering Washington, they were formed into an organization called the Army of Virginia, and placed under the command of Major-General John Pope, who was called from the West² for that purpose. The new army was arranged in three corps, commanded respectively by Major-Generals McDowell, Banks, and Sigel.³ In addition to these, a force under General S. D. Sturgis was in process of formation at Alexandria; and the troops in and around Washington were placed under Pope's command. He also had about five thousand cavalry. His army for field-service, at the close of June, numbered between forty and fifty thousand effective men. He wrote to McClellan, cordially offering his co-operation with him, and asking for suggestions. The cold and vague answer assured Pope that he need not expect any useful co-working with the commander of the Army of the Potomac.

Immediately after the retreat of McClellan to Harrison's Landing,⁴ the Confederates formed plans for the capture of Washington City; and when, at the close of July, Halleck⁵ ordered the Army of the Potomac to prepare to move

reported by McClellan at 1,582 killed, 7,709 wounded, and 5,598 missing, making a total of 15,249. Lee's loss was never reported. He declared that he captured 10,000 prisoners, and took 52 pieces of cannon and 35,000 small arms.

¹ After his return to Washington, the President wrote to McClellan [July 13], asking him for an account of the missing numbers. He reported 88,665 "present and fit for duty;" absent by authority, 34,472; absent without authority, 3,778; sick, 16,665, making a total of 143,580. The government was much disturbed by one item in this report, namely, that over 34,000 men, or more than three-fifths of the entire number of the army which he had reported on the 3d, were absent on furloughs granted by permission of the commanding general, when he was continually calling for re-enforcements and holding the government responsible for the weakness of his army. The President said to him: "If you had these men with you, you could go into Richmond in the next three days."

² Page 600.

³ Page 572.

⁴ Page 622.

⁵ Halleck was now acting General-in-Chief. See page 604.

to the front of the National capital, and join Pope in its defense, Lee moved with energy to execute the orders of his masters, before the junction of the two Union armies could be effected. Satisfied that no further movements against Richmond were then contemplated, he was left free to act in full force. In the plan of the Confederates was the expulsion of the National troops from the soil of Slave-labor States, the invasion and plunder of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and the dictation of terms of peace at Cincinnati and Philadelphia; and the people of the "Confederate States" were made to expect a speedy vision of Davis in the chair of Dictatorship at Washington City. These dreams were almost realized before the heats of summer had departed.

Pope moved vigorously toward the advancing Confederates, in the direction of Richmond, at the middle of July, and some of his cavalry destroyed railway-tracks and bridges within thirty-five miles of the Confederate capital. Meanwhile a heavy force under "Stonewall" Jackson had gathered at Gordonsville, and Pope's main army was near Culpepper Court-House, between the Rappahannock and Rapid Anna Rivers. They each advanced in force, and at the foot of Cedar, or Slaughter Mountain, a few miles west of Culpepper Court-House, they had a severe battle on the 9th of August. The Nationals were under the general command of Banks, ably assisted by Generals Crawford, Geary, Auger, and others. They were finally pressed back by overwhelming numbers and pursued, when the Confederates were checked by the timely arrival of Ricketts' division of McDowell's corps. The strife had been one of the most desperate of the war, a part of it hand to hand in the darkness, and under a pall of smoke that obscured the moon.² Two days afterward Jackson retreated precipitately to Gordonsville, leaving some of his dead unburied. He was chased, but a sudden rise of the Rapid Anna placed a barrier between the pursuers and the pursued. Both parties claimed the palm of victory in the battle of Cedar Mountain.

Soon after this conflict Pope and Jackson were both re-enforced. The former was joined by troops under Burnside, from North Carolina,³ and others under Stevens, from the coast of South Carolina; and the latter was strengthened by divisions under Longstreet, some troops under Hood, and Stuart's cavalry. Pope moved to the Rapid Anna, with the intention of holding that position until the arrival of the Army of the Potomac in his rear; but before that event occurred, he was compelled to fall back by the advance of Lee in crushing force. He retired behind the forks of the Rappahannock, closely pur-

¹ The name of this river has generally been spelled Rapidan. It is one of three rivers in that portion of Virginia bearing the name of Anna—namely, the Rapid Anna, North Anna, and South Anna. The first is the chief tributary of the Rappahannock, and the two latter form the Pamunkey River.

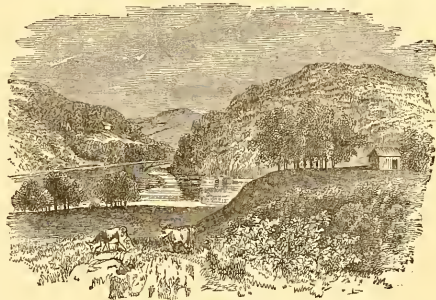
² General Crawford's brigade came out of that terrible fight a mere remnant. Some regiments lost half their number. General Geary, with Pennsylvania and Ohio troops, made desperate charges, and was severely wounded. General Auger was also wounded, and General Price was made prisoner. The National loss was about two thousand in killed and wounded, and that of the Confederates about the same.

³ Page 590. These had first gone to the Peninsula to aid McClellan, and were the first of the troops there who promptly obeyed the summons of the Army of the Potomac to the defense of Washington City.

sued by Lee's cavalry, and along the line of that river, above Fredericksburg, there was an artillery duel for two days [August 20 and 21, 1862]. Lee found that he could not force a passage of that stream, so he moved toward the mountains, for the purpose of flanking the Nationals. Pope made skillful and energetic efforts to thwart the design of his enemy, but the danger became greater every hour. Pope's force had been greatly weakened by fighting and marching, and the Army of the Potomac was coming to his relief so tardily, that he almost despaired of its arrival in time to be useful.¹

The National capital was now, late in August, in great peril. Pope, encouraged by the belief that McClellan's fresh troops, which had been resting for a month, would almost immediately re-enforce him, massed his army near Rappahannock Station [Aug. 23, 1862], for the purpose of falling upon a heavy flanking force. Movements to this end were made. Franklin, of the Army of the Potomac, had lately arrived with troops, and Heintzelman and Porter, of the same army, were also near, so that, on the 25th, Pope's army, and its re-enforcements at hand, with their backs on Washington and their faces to the foe, were about sixty thousand strong, but still somewhat scattered. On that day "Stonewall Jackson," leading the great flank movement, crossed the Rappa-

hannock, and with his accustomed celerity made his way over the Bull's Run Mountains at Thoroughfare Gap. At twilight on the 26th he was on the railway in Pope's rear, and between his army and Washington City. The Confederate cavalry swept over the country in the direction of Washington, as far as Fairfax Court-House and Centreville, and Jackson,



THOROUGHFARE GAP.

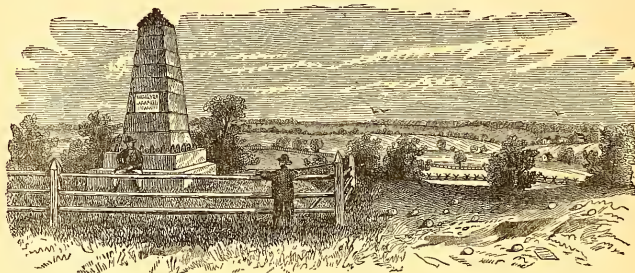
taking possession in strong force of Manassas Junction,² awaited the arrival of an approaching heavy column under Longstreet.

Both armies were now in a critical situation. Pope took vigorous measures

¹ At the close of July, Halleck ordered preparations for the removal of the Army of the Potomac from the Peninsula, and on the 3d of August he issued a positive order for it to move at once. McClellan protested. He told his government that the force under Pope was "not necessary to maintain a strict defensive in front of Washington and Harper's Ferry;" instructed his superiors that the "true defense of Washington was on the banks of the James, where the fate of the Union was to be decided;" and then awaited further orders. Halleck repeated his command, and urged McClellan to use all possible diligence in effecting the departure of his troops. After the battle of Cedar Mountain he told him there "must be no further delay" in his movements, for Washington was in danger. It was twenty days after McClellan received orders to transfer his army to Aquia Creek, on the Potomac, before they were executed, and that army failed to give Pope timely and sufficient aid.

² Pages 567 and 572.

for capturing Jackson, or at the least preventing the junction of his and Longstreet's forces. His plans, experts say, were well chosen, and, had they been as well executed by all of his subordinates, success must have crowned his efforts. But they were not, and disaster was the consequence. Longstreet, with the van of Lee's army, joined Jackson [August 29] near Groveton, not far from the Bull's Run battle-ground, and there the combined forces fought the whole of Pope's army, excepting Banks's command, then at Bristow's Station. The battle was very severe, but not decisive. The loss was about seven



MONUMENT AND BATTLE-GROUND NEAR GROVETON.¹

thousand on each side. Prudence counseled a retreat for Pope, but, still expecting immediate re-enforcements, he prepared for a renewal of the struggle in the morning. When morning came he was assured of no further aid from McClellan,² and he had then no alternative. He must fight. He prepared for battle. A movement of the enemy deceived him, and supposing Lee to be retreating, he ordered a pursuit. On a portion of the Bull's Run battle-ground, near Groveton, his advance was assailed [August 30] by a heavy force in ambush. A sanguinary conflict ensued, in which the Nationals were defeated and driven across Bull's Run by way of the Stone Bridge.³ At Centreville they were joined by the corps of Franklin and Sumner. Lee was not disposed to attack them there, so he sent Jackson [August 31], with his own and Ewell's divisions, to make another flank movement. This brought on another battle on

¹ After the war, Union soldiers, stationed near this battle-ground, erected a monument of the sand-stone of the vicinity, on the field of strife, to the memory of their comrades. The above picture shows the monument and the battle-field, looking toward Manassas Junction.

² Pope had received no re-enforcements or supplies since the 26th. He confidently expected rations and forage from McClellan, who was at Alexandria, and had been ordered to supply them, but on the morning of the 30th, when it was too late to retreat and perilous to stand still, Pope received information that supplies would be "loaded into available wagons and cars," so soon as he should send a cavalry escort for the train!—a thing utterly impossible. Meanwhile the corps of Sumner and Franklin, of McClellan's command, which might on that day have secured victory for the Nationals, were not permitted to go within supporting distance of the struggling army until the next day, when Pope, for want of support, had lost every advantage.

³ Page 569.

the 1st of September, at Chantilly, not far from Fairfax Court-House, in which Generals Kearney and Stevens were shot dead, and many gallant officers and men were mortally wounded.¹ The Nationals held the field that night, and on the following day [Sept. 2] fell back within the fortifications around Washington City.² Thus ended Pope's campaign in Virginia, and also his military career in the East. He had labored hard under many difficulties, and he bitterly complained of a lack of co-operation with him, in his later struggles, by McClellan and some of his subordinates.³



PHILIP KEARNEY.

The Republic now seemed to be in great danger, and the loyal people were very anxious. Already the President, by a call on the 1st of June, had drawn forty thousand men for three months from New England. Already the loyal governors of eighteen States, acting under the conviction of a large portion of their constituents, who were evidently losing confidence in the leader of the Army of the Potomac, had requested the President to call for three hundred thousand volunteers "for the war,"⁴ and he had complied [July 1]; and when Pope was struggling with Jackson near the Rapid Anna, he called [August 9th] for three hundred thousand men for nine months, with the understanding that an equal number of men would be drafted from the great body of the citizens who were over eighteen and less than forty-five years of age, if they did not appear as volunteers. These calls met with hearty responses, for the loyal people had determined to save the Republic. Thousands of volunteers were now flocking to the standard of their country. The Confederates were alarmed, and Lee was instructed to take advantage of the reverses to the National arms, and act boldly, vigorously, and even desperately, if necessary, in an attempt to capture Washington City. He was re-enforced by the divi-

¹ The National loss in Pope's campaign in Virginia, from the battle of Cedar Mountain to that of Chantilly, was never officially reported in full. Careful estimates make it (including an immense number of stragglers who were returned to their regiments) 30,000. Lee's loss was probably about 15,000.

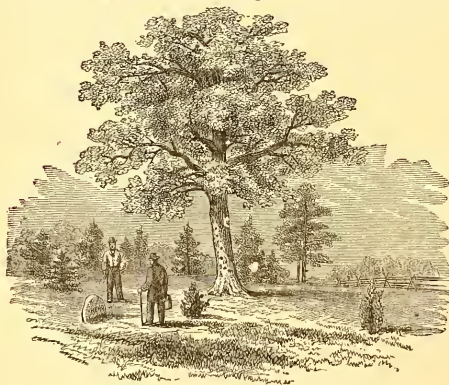
² See map on page 572.

³ During the last few days in which the Army of Virginia was struggling for life, the authorities at Washington, by commands and assistance, made every effort to induce McClellan to aid Pope, but in vain. And when, on the 29th of August, Halleck telegraphed to McClellan, saying, "I want Franklin's corps to go far enough to find out something about the enemy," the latter telegraphed to the President, saying:—"I am clear that one of two courses should be adopted: First, to concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope. Second, to leave Pope to get out of his scrape, and at once use all our means to make the capital safe."

⁴ Clamors began to arise on every side. Men of influence, whose faith in the "young Napoleon," as McClellan was fondly called, had been unbounded, now shook their heads doubtfully. They clearly perceived that if 150,000 to 200,000 men could not make more headway in the work of crushing the rebellion than they had done under his leadership, during full ten months, more men must be called to the field at once, and put under a more efficient leader, or all would be lost.

sion of D. H. Hill, and then, operating upon the original plan of General Johnston, of pushing into Maryland and getting in the rear of Washington,¹ he crossed the Potomac with almost his entire force by the 7th of September, with the belief that thousands of the citizens of Maryland would join his standard.²

The Army of Virginia had now disappeared as a separate organization, and, became a part of the Army of the Potomac, with McClellan still at its head. When the latter was informed of Lee's movement into Maryland, he left General Banks in command in Washington City, and with a greater part of his army, nearly 90,000 in number, he went in pursuit. He moved very cautiously, but was soon advised that Lee's plan was to take possession of Harper's Ferry, and open communication with Richmond by way of the Shenandoah Valley; and meanwhile to draw McClellan far toward the Susquehanna, and, turning suddenly upon him, defeat him and march upon Washington.³ McClellan followed him through Frederick and over South Mountain into the Antietam Valley. At Turner's Gap, on the South Mountain, a portion of the National army, led by Burnside, had a severe fight [September 14] with a part of Lee's, and at the same time another portion, under Franklin, was striving to force its



BATTLE-FIELD ON SOUTH MOUNTAIN.⁵

way over the same range of hills at Crampton's Gap, nearer Harper's Ferry. In the battle on South Mountain, the gallant General Reno was killed.⁴ The strife ceased at evening, and the Nationals were prepared to renew it in the morning. During the night the Confederates withdrew from the eminence, and Lee concentrated his forces near the Antietam Creek, in the vicinity of Sharpsburg.

¹ Page 584.

² Lee issued a proclamation [Sept. 8], and raised the standard of revolt. He called upon the Marylanders to join his invading host, assuring them that he had come to assist them in throwing off "the foreign yoke" they were compelled to bear, and to "restore the independence and sovereignty of their State." He discoursed fluently concerning the "outrages" and indignities inflicted upon them by their ever-generous National government; but his appeals were met by unexpected coldness. He found that the few disloyal Marylanders who had joined his army in Virginia did not represent the great mass of the people of that State. He lost more by desertion than he gained by recruits in Maryland.

³ McClellan's advance, on entering Frederick, found a copy of Lee's general order, issued on the 9th, which revealed his plan.

⁴ McClellan reported his loss in this engagement at 1,568, of whom 312 were killed. The Confederates lost about the same number in killed and wounded, and 1,500 prisoners.

⁵ This shows the part of the battle-field where General Reno was killed. The stone near the

All eyes were now turned toward Harper's Ferry, then in command of Colonel D. H. Miles, a Marylander. Franklin fought his way over the mountain at Crampton's Pass into Pleasant Valley, and on the evening of the 14th of September he was within six miles of Harper's Ferry, then strongly invested by troops under "Stonewall Jackson." They had possession of Maryland and Loudon Heights, which completely commanded that post. Its salvation from capture depended upon the ability of the garrison to hold out until relief should come. But Miles, either incompetent or disloyal, sent off his cavalry, two thousand strong, on the night of the 14th, and surrendered to Jackson the next morning, before the victorious Franklin could make his way thither.¹

McClellan followed the Confederates in their flight from South Mountain on the morning of the 15th [Sept., 1862], but was so impressed with the idea that they were on his front in overwhelming numbers, that he deferred an attack until the next day. The Confederates were posted along the right bank of the Antietam, and the Nationals on its left; and on the morning of the 16th the former opened artillery upon the latter. It was past noon before McClellan was ready, there being a lack of ammunition and rations, for which he waited. Finally, Hooker crossed the Antietam on the extreme left of the Confederates, and other troops were sent over during the night. Hooker's force had a sharp and successful fight, and rested on their arms that night; and both armies prepared for a decisive struggle in the morning. Hooker opened it at dawn on the Confederate left, and with varying fortunes the battle raged on that wing and along the center until late in the afternoon. Meanwhile the National left, under Burnside, had been contending with the Confederate right under Longstreet, with varied success; and when darkness fell upon the scene that night, both armies, sorely smitten, rested where for twelve or fourteen hours they had contended, the advantage being with the Nationals.²

The Confederates were now in a perilous position. Lee could not easily call re-enforcements to his aid, his supplies were nearly exhausted, and his army was terribly shattered and disorganized. McClellan, on the contrary, had fourteen thousand fresh troops near, and these joined him the next morning. It would have been an easy matter, it seems, to have captured the whole of Lee's army by a vigorous movement. Prudential considerations restrained McClellan,³ and when he was ready to move on his foe, thirty-six hours after the battle [Sept. 18], Lee, with his shattered legions, were behind strong batteries on the Virginia side of the Potomac, whither they had fled under the

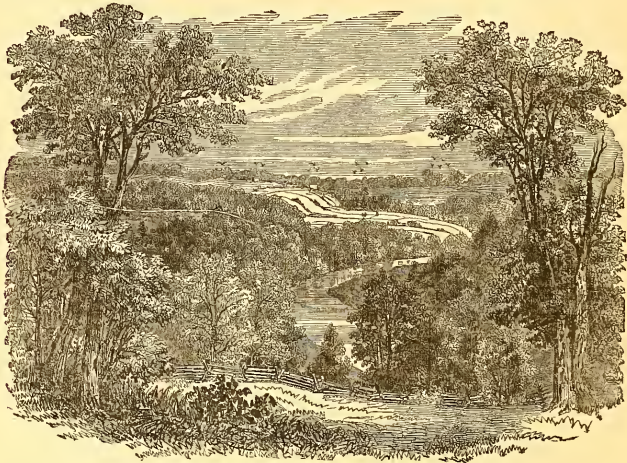
figure with a cane marks the spot where he fell. The chestnut tree was scarred by bullets when the writer visited the field, in the autumn of 1866.

¹ The number of men surrendered was 11,583, most of them new levies. The spoils were 73 cannon, 13,000 small arms, 200 wagons, and a large quantity of supplies.

² In this battle McClellan's effective force was 87,000, and Lee's 60,000. McClellan reported his entire loss at 12,469 men, of whom 2,010 were killed. Among the latter was General J. K. F. Mansfield, and General Richardson was mortally wounded. Lee's loss was probably somewhat larger. Six thousand of his men were made prisoners, and the spoils were 15,000 small arms, 13 cannon, and 39 battle-flags.

³ In his report he said:—"Virginia was lost, Washington menaced, Maryland invaded—the National cause could afford no risks of defeat." He therefore hesitated, and, in opposition to the advice of Franklin and others, deferred a renewal of the battle until Lee had placed the Potomac between the two armies.

cover of darkness the night before. A feeble attempt to follow was made, and quickly abandoned [Sept. 19], when Lee moved leisurely up the Shenandoah Valley, and McClellan took possession of Harper's Ferry. He now called for re-enforcements and supplies, and ten days after the battle, the government and the loyal people, who hourly expected the announcement that the Army of the Potomac was in swift pursuit of Lee's broken columns, were sadly disappointed by McClellan's declaration that he intended to hold his army where it was, and "attack the enemy should he attempt to recross into Maryland." The President hastened to McClellan's head-quarters [Oct. 1], and there became



VIEW OF THE ANTIETAM BATTLE-GROUND.¹

so well satisfied that the army was competent to move at once in pursuit of Lee, that he instructed its leader to cross the Potomac immediately for that purpose. Twenty days were spent in correspondence between the commander of the Army of the Potomac and the National authorities before that order was obeyed, during which time the beautiful October weather, when the roads were good in Virginia, had passed by, and Lee's army had become thoroughly recruited, strengthened, and supplied, and his communication with Richmond was re-established. On the 2d of November McClellan announced that his

¹ This was the appearance of that portion of the battle-ground where the struggle was most severe, on the Confederate left, as it appeared when the author sketched it, early in October, 1866. The five birds seen in the distance are over the spot where Mansfield was killed. The Antietam Creek is seen in the foreground. The view is from near the house of Mr. Fry, where McClellan had his head-quarters.

whole army was once more in Virginia, prepared to move southward, on the east side of the Blue Ridge, instead of pursuing Lee up the Shenandoah Valley, on the western side. The faith of the government and of the loyal people in McClellan's ability or disposition to achieve a victory by such movement was now exhausted, and on the 5th of November he was relieved of command, and General Burnside was put in his place. Thus ended McClellan's unsuccessful military career.

Burnside now reorganized the Army of the Potomac (then numbering about one hundred and twenty thousand men) and changed the plan of operations, by which the capture of Richmond, rather than the immediate destruction of Lee's army, was the objective. He made Aquia Creek, on the Potomac, his base of supplies, and took position at Fredericksburg, from which he intended to advance. Before he had accomplished that movement and was prepared to cross the Rappahannock, Lee had occupied the heights in rear of Fredericksburg, in full force, full eighty thousand strong. The bridges were destroyed, and Burnside could pass the river only on pontoons or floating bridges. These were constructed, and under cover of a heavy fire of artillery from Stafford Heights, the National columns crossed over. A sanguinary battle ensued on the 13th of December. Ter-

rible was the roar of three hundred Confederate cannon and half that number of National guns. The city was battered and fired. The Nationals were repulsed.¹ Two days more [December 14-15] they remained on the city side of the river, and then withdrew under cover of the darkness, and Lee took possession of Fredericksburg. Burnside was soon afterward superseded in com-



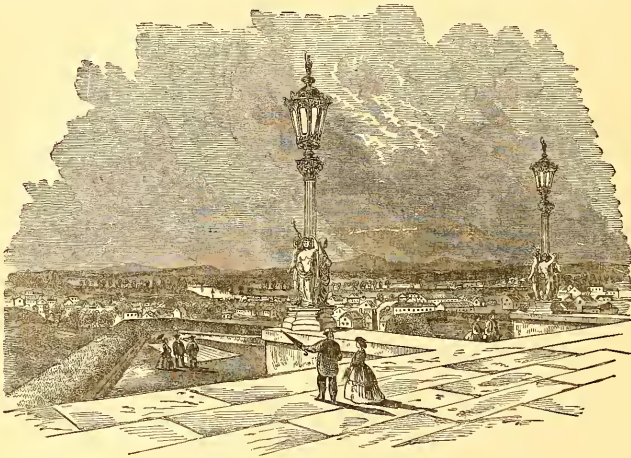
SCENE IN FREDERICKSBURG ON THE MORNING OF THE 12TH.

mand [January 26, 1863] by General Joseph Hooker. Here we will leave the Army of the Potomac, in winter quarters on the Rappahannock, and consider the stirring events in the great Valley of the Mississippi.

We left the Lower Mississippi, from its mouth to New Orleans, in posses-

¹ The National loss was about 15,000 men. A large number of the wounded (seventy per cent.) soon rejoined the army, their hurts being slight. There were 3,234 of the total loss reported "missing," many of whom soon returned, so that the absolute loss to the army, other than temporary, was not very large. The Confederate loss was probably about 7,000.

sion of the National forces under Butler and Farragut¹ at the beginning of the summer of 1862, and at the same time the river was held by the same power from Memphis to St. Louis. Southern Tennessee and Northern Alabama and Mississippi were also held by the Nationals, and the Confederate army, driven from Corinth, was at Tupelo.² At about this time a Kentuckian, named John H. Morgan, and a notorious leader of a guerrilla band who had penetrated his native State from East Tennessee, was raiding through that commonwealth, preparatory to the advent, under E. Kirby Smith, of an invading force of Confederates, the advance of an army under General Bragg. Another bold leader of Confederate horsemen was N. B. Forrest, who swept through Tennessee in various directions, and finally, at the middle of July, threatened



FORTIFICATIONS OF THE STATE-HOUSE AT NASHVILLE.³

Nashville, then in command of General Negley, who had caused fortifications to be built at points around the city, and breastworks to be thrown up around the State capitol in its midst. In the mean time Bragg was moving through the State eastward of Nashville, toward Kentucky, while General Buell was moving in the same direction, on a nearly parallel line, to foil his intentions.

General E. Kirby Smith, with a considerable force, entered Kentucky from East Tennessee, and pushed on in the direction of Frankfort, the capital of the

¹ Page 611.

² Page 604.

³ This is a view of the breastworks at one of the fronts of the capitol, seen near the three smaller figures, with a portion of the city, the Cumberland River, and the country around, as they appeared when sketched by the writer in May, 1866.

State. He fought a severe battle [August 30, 1862] with Union troops under General M. D. Manson, near Richmond, where General Nelson took command. The Nationals were routed and scattered, and Smith passed on to Lexington. The affrighted Legislature of Kentucky, then in session at Frankfort, fled to Louisville. The secessionists of that region warmly welcomed the invader, and the conqueror pushed vigorously toward the Ohio, with the intention of capturing and plundering Cincinnati. He was unexpectedly confronted there by strong fortifications constructed and a large force collected on the southern side of the Ohio, under the direction of the energetic General Lewis Wallace. By these the career of the invader was checked, the city was saved, and Wallace received the thanks of the authorities of Cincinnati and of the Legislature of Ohio, for "the promptness, energy, and skill exhibited by him in organizing the forces and planning the defenses" which saved the soil of that State from invasion.² Foiled in this attempt, Smith turned his face toward Louisville. He captured Frankfort,³ and there awaited the arrival of Bragg, who for almost three weeks had been moving northward from Chattanooga, with over forty regiments of all arms and forty cannon. His destination was Louisville.

Bragg crossed the Cumberland River at Carthage, and entered Kentucky on the 5th of September, his advance, eight thousand strong, pushing toward the railway between Nashville and Louisville. At Mumfordsville, on that railway, a National force under Colonel T. J. Wilder fought [September 14] some of the troops of the disloyal Buckner for five hours, and repulsed them. Two days afterward, a strong Confederate force under General Polk appeared, and, after another severe battle [September 16], Wilder was compelled to surrender. Bragg was elated by this event. Buell, then at Bowling Green, had sent no relief to Wilder, and he seemed to be so exceedingly tardy, that the Confederate leader had no doubt of an easy march upon Louisville. On the 1st of October he formed a junction with Kirby Smith's troops at Frankfort, and his marauding bands were out plundering the people in all directions.⁴ Then Buell, who had kept abreast of Bragg, turned upon the latter,



DON CARLOS BUELL.

¹ Page 577.

² Wallace was satisfied that nothing but the most vigorous measures would save the city. He declared martial law, and ordered the citizens, under the direction of the Mayor, to assemble an hour afterward, in convenient public places, to be organized for work on intrenchments on the south side of the river. "The willing," he said, "shall be properly credited, the unwilling promptly visited. The principle adopted is: citizens for labor—soldiers for the battle."

³ There Bragg performed the farce of making a weak citizen, named Hawes, "Provisional Governor of Kentucky."

⁴ On the 15th of September Bragg issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Kentucky, assuring them that he came as their "liberator from the tyranny of a despotic ruler." He told them

and near Perryville they had a severe battle on the 8th [October, 1862], in which the Confederates were so roughly handled that they fled during the night, and made their way as rapidly as possible toward East Tennessee.¹ Bragg pretended that he expected a general uprising in Kentucky in favor of the Confederate cause on his arrival, and was greatly disappointed. His invasion proved a disaster rather than a benefit. It might have proved utterly ruinous had the invaders been vigorously pursued in their retreat, but General Buell, like General McClellan, was too cautious to secure all of the advantages of a victory. The government perceived this, and at the close of October relieved him of his command, and gave it to General Rosecrans.² Then the title of his large force, called the Army of the Ohio, was changed to that of the Army of the Cumberland.

Simultaneously with the movement of Bragg toward Kentucky, was an advance of Generals Van Dorn and Price (who had been left in Mississippi) toward Tennessee; and strong bands of Confederates, under different leaders, were raiding through the western portion of that State, all working in aid of Bragg's movement. Rosecrans was then at the head of the Army of the Mississippi, whose duty was to hold the region in Northern Mississippi and Alabama which the capture of Corinth³ and the operations of Mitchel⁴ had secured to the Nationals. He was at Tusculum when word came from Grant that danger was gathering west of him. He moved his main force toward Corinth, when Price advanced to Iuka Springs,⁵ and captured a large amount of National property there.

General Grant, in chief command in that region, had watched these movements very vigilantly, and now he sent a force under General Ord to cooperate with Rosecrans against Price. Before Ord's arrival, Rosecrans, with a greatly inferior force, attacked Price [September 19], and, in a severe battle near the village of Iuka Springs, the Confederates were beaten.⁶

he must have supplies for his army, but that they should be fairly paid for. He had neither means nor intention to do so. He plundered the people, without inquiring whether they were his friends or foes; and he started to flee from the State with a wagon train of stolen supplies forty miles in length, but so fearful was he of capture that he left a large portion of his plunder behind. In truth, the invasion of Kentucky by Kirby Smith and Braxton Bragg was nothing but a great plundering raid, and the wealth of that State and of Southern Indiana and Ohio was the chief object of their march from the Tennessee toward the Ohio River.

¹ Buell's entire army numbered at this time about 100,000 men. Bragg's force in Kentucky was about 65,000. Only portions of each army were in the battle near Perryville. Buell reported that his force which advanced on Bragg was 58,000 strong, of whom 22,000 were raw troops. He reported his loss in the battle at 4,348, of whom 916 were killed. Among the slain were Generals Jackson and Terrell. The Confederate loss is supposed to have been nearly the same. Bragg claimed to have captured 15 guns and 400 prisoners.

² Page 563.

³ Page 604.

⁴ Page 601.

⁵ This is a celebrated summer resort for the people in the Gulf region. It is on the Memphis and Charleston railway, a few miles east of Corinth.

⁶ The disparity of numbers in this engagement was very great. "I say boldly," reported General Hamilton, on the 23d of September, "that a force of not more than 2,800 met and confronted a rebel force of 11,000, on a field chosen by Price, and a position naturally very strong." Only a small portion of Rosecrans's force was engaged, and these won the victory, but with fearful loss to the few National regiments in the fight. The men of the 11th Ohio Battery suffered dreadfully. Seventy-two were slain or wounded, and all the horses were killed before the guns were abandoned. The appearance of their burial-place on the battle-field, when the writer visited the spot, in the spring of 1866, is seen in the engraving on the next page. Rosecrans reported his

They fled southward, pursued some distance by the victors, and at Ripley, in Mississippi, the forces of Van Dorn and Price were united. Then they moved upon Corinth, now occupied by Rosecrans, and there, on the 3d and 4th of October [1862], a sanguinary battle was fought, in which both parties displayed the greatest valor. The Nationals were behind the fortifications, and had some advantage in that respect.¹ The struggle was fearful, and ended in the repulse of the assailants, who fled southward, vigorously pursued as far as Ripley.²



GRAVES OF THE ELEVENTH OHIO BATTERY-MEN.

The repulse of the Confederates at Corinth was followed by brief repose in the department over which General Grant had chief command. But there were stirring scenes lower down the Mississippi River. The hills about the city of Vicksburg had been covered with fortifications, and the capture of this point, and the works at Port Hudson below, which constituted the only formidable obstructions to a free navigation of the river, was now an object toward which military movements in the Southwest were tending. Curtis, whom we left, after the battle of Pea Ridge, marching eastward,³ was making his way toward Helena for that purpose, and the forces under Butler and Farragut were at work for the same end. So early as the 7th of May [1862], Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, had been captured, and Far-

loss in this battle at 782, of whom 144 were killed. He estimated the Confederate loss at 1,438. He captured from them 1,629 small arms and 13,000 rounds of ammunition and other war materials.

¹ The fortifications thrown up around Corinth by the Confederates had been strengthened by the Nationals and new batteries constructed. At one of these, called Fort Robinet, the struggle was very severe. In four lines Texans and Mississippians approached to assail it, in the face of a terrible storm of grape and canister shot. They reached the ditch, paused for a moment, and then, with a brave leader (Colonel Rogers) bearing the new Confederate flag* in his hand, they attempted to scale the parapet, when the concealed Nationals behind suddenly arose, and poured murderous volleys of bullets upon them that swept them down by scores.



CONFEDERATE FLAG.*

² In this retreat troops under General Ord had a severe battle at Davis's Bridge, on the Hatchee River, with a part of Van Dorn's column, in which the Union general was severely wounded. Rosecrans reported his loss in the battle at Corinth and in the pursuit at 2,359, of whom 315 were killed. He estimated the Confederate loss, including 2,248 prisoners, at a little more than 9,000. Among the trophies were fourteen flags, two guns, and 3,363 small arms. Rosecrans reported that, according to Confederate authority, they had 38,000 men in the battle, and that his own force was less than 20,000.

³ Page 592.

* By a recent Act of the Confederate "Congress," the "Stars and Bars" of the first Confederate flag [page 556] had been superseded by a white flag, the stars on a blue field arranged in the form of a cross.

ragut's vessels went up to Vicksburg and exchanged greetings with others that came down from Memphis. Vicksburg was attacked on the 26th of



DAVID G. FARRAGUT.

June, and Farragut, with his flag-ship (*Hartford*) and other vessels, ran by and above it. He besieged Vicksburg, and attempted to cut a canal across the peninsula in front of it, so as to avoid the city and its fortifications altogether. But these operations failed, and the fleet went down the river. Not long afterward the National troops at Baton Rouge, under General Williams, were assailed [August 5, 1862] by Confederates under Breckinridge. Williams was killed, but the Confederates were repulsed,¹ and this result was followed by the destruction of the formidable Confederate ram *Arkansas*² [August 6]

by the *Essex*, Captain Porter, and two other gun-boats. Then Porter went up the river to reconnoiter, and on the 7th of September he had a sharp fight with the growing batteries at Port Hudson.

At the beginning of September General Butler was satisfied that the Confederates had abandoned all idea of attempting to retake New Orleans, so he sent out some aggressive expeditions. The most important of these was for the purpose of "repossessing" the rich La Fourche district of Louisiana. The command of it was intrusted to General Godfrey Weitzel. He soon accomplished the task, after a sharp engagement [October 27] near Labadieville, in which he lost eighteen killed and seventy-four wounded, and captured two hundred and sixty-eight prisoners. A large portion of Louisiana, bordering on the western shore of the Mississippi, was brought under the National control before the close of the year,³ when General Butler was relieved of the command of the Department of the Gulf, and General Banks became [December 16] his successor.

In the mean time there had been active military movements in Missouri and Arkansas. Since the autumn of 1861, General J. M. Schofield had been in command in the former State, and with twenty or thirty thousand men, scattered over the commonwealth, he made successful warfare on the Confederate

¹ The National loss was 371, of whom 82 were killed. The Confederate loss is unknown. One hundred of the latter were made prisoners.

² This ram was built in the Yazoo River, in the rear of Vicksburg, and was intended to sweep the National gun-boats from the Mississippi. She came down to assist Breckinridge in the assault on Baton Rouge. Five miles above that place she was attacked, driven ashore, set on fire by her commander, and by the explosion of her magazine was blown into fragments.

³ The rebellion had paralyzed the industrial operations in that region, and General Butler thought it expedient, as a State policy, and for the sake of humanity, to confiscate the entire property of La Fourche district. He appointed a commission to take charge of it, who employed the negroes and saved the crops. Two Congressional districts were "repossessed," and in December the loyal citizens of New Orleans elected two members of Congress.

guerrilla bands late in the summer of 1862. From April until September of that year, about one hundred battles and skirmishes occurred in Missouri. Troops from Arkansas, who came thither to aid their insurgent brethren, were driven back. These formed a nucleus for a force which, late in September, was gathered in Arkansas, full forty thousand strong, under T. C. Hindman, a former member of Congress. Against these Schofield marched with what was called the Army of the Frontier. Joining General J. G. Blunt, in the southern part of Missouri, the combined forces, ten thousand strong, sought the insurgents. The latter were shy, and hovered cautiously among the Ozark Hills. A portion of them were attacked near Maysville [October 22] by Blunt, and driven in disorder into the Indian country. Six days afterward, another portion, mostly cavalry, were struck by General Francis J. Herron, and driven to the mountains. Soon after this ill health compelled Schofield to leave the field, and the command devolved on General Blunt.

Hindman now determined to strike a decisive blow for the recovery of his State. Toward the close of November he had collected an army about twenty thousand strong on its western border. His advance was attacked by Blunt on the Boston Mountains on the 26th of that month, and were driven toward Van Buren, when Blunt took position at Cave Hill. Hindman, with about eleven thousand men, marched from Van Buren to crush him. Blunt sent for Herron, then in Missouri, to come and help him. He did so, and at a little settlement called Prairie Grove, on Illinois Creek, they utterly defeated Hindman in a severe battle, and drove his shattered army over the mountains. In the mean time there was bloody strife in Texas, where Confederate rule was supreme, and the Unionists there suffered the rigors of a reign of terror unparalleled in atrocity. Some attempts had been made to "repossess" important points of that State, especially the city of Galveston. So early as May, 1862, a demand for the surrender of that city had been made by the commander of a little squadron and refused, and so matters remained until the 8th of October, when the civil authorities of Galveston surrendered it to Commander Renshaw, of the National navy.

Let us now see what was occurring eastward of the Mississippi, bearing upon the capture of Vicksburg, at the close of 1862. Grant had then moved the bulk of his army to the region of Holly Springs, in Mississippi, where he was confronted by Van Dorn; and

Rosecrans, who succeeded Buell,¹ was moving southward from Nashville.

Rosecrans found the Army of the Ohio (now the Army of the Cumberland)



WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS.

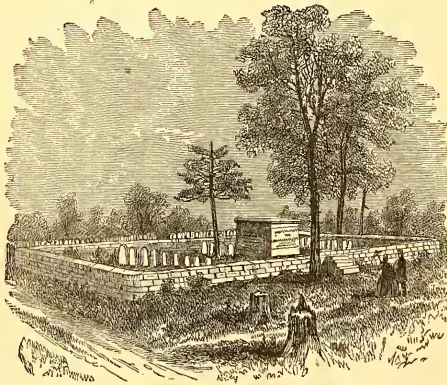
¹ Page 634.

in a sad condition—wasted in substance by marches and conflicts, and demoralized by lack of success—"its spirit broken, its confidence destroyed, its discipline relaxed, its courage weakened, and its hopes shattered."¹ Its effective force was only sixty-five thousand, and its cavalry was weak in number and equipment, while the rough-riders of Forrest and Morgan were very strong and bold. That army was in the vicinity of Bowling Green and Glasgow when Rosecrans took command of it, and Bragg had concentrated his forces at Murfreesboro', below Nashville, from which went out expeditions that seriously threatened the latter city. Perceiving its peril, Rosecrans moved in that direction at the beginning of November, and very severe encounters between his forces and Bragg's warned the latter that he had now a loyal, earnest, and energetic leader to deal with, and he became circumspect.

Rosecrans prepared to move upon Bragg, and on the morning of the 26th of December, the bulk of his army, about forty-five thousand in number, went forward, and, after various preliminary operations, it appeared before the Confederate post at Murfreesboro' on the 29th of December. Both armies made vigorous preparations for battle. Rosecrans had among his subordinate leaders Generals McCook, Thomas, Crittenden, Rousseau, Harker, Palmer, Sheridan, J. C. Davis, Wood, Van Cleve, Hazen, Negley, Mathews, and others; and Bragg had Polk, Breckinridge, Hardee, Kirby Smith, Cheatham, Withers, Cleborne, and Wharton. The armies lay upon each side of Stone's River, within cannon-shot distance of Murfreesboro'. There a most sanguinary battle was begun on the morning of the 31st [Dec., 1862], and raged until evening with varied success,

when the Nationals had lost very heavily in men and guns, but were not disheartened.² The gallant Rosecrans had been seen at every post of danger during the battle, and his men had perfect confidence in him.

Bragg that night felt sure of victory, and expected to find his foe in full retreat before morning. He was mistaken. There was Rosecrans ready for battle. The astonished Bragg moved cautiously, and



MONUMENT ERECTED BY HAZEN'S BRIGADE.

¹ *Annals of the Army of the Cumberland*, by John Fitch.

² To the brigade of Acting Brigadier-General W. B. Hazen was freely given the honor of saving the day for the Nationals. Upon his gallant band the brunt of battle fell at a critical moment, when his thirteen hundred men, skillfully handled, kept thousands at bay, and stayed

the sum of that day's [Jan. 1, 1863] operations was some heavy skirmishing. On the following morning [Jan. 2] the conflict was renewed. The struggle was terrific. Both sides massed their batteries and plied them with destructive effect. For a time it seemed as if mutual annihilation would be the result. Finally, a charge by seven National regiments¹ decided the day. The Confederates were scattered by it, and in the space of twenty minutes they lost two thousand men. So ended, in complete victory for the Nationals, the battle of Stone's River or Murfreesboro'.² Bragg retreated to Tullahoma, in the direction of Chattanooga, and Rosecrans occupied Murfreesboro'. Such continued to be the relative position of the two armies for several months afterward.

While for more than a year and a half the National armies had been striving to crush the gigantic rebellion, the loyal people and the government had been contemplating the propriety of striking a withering blow at the unrighteous Labor System, for the spread and perpetuation of which the war was waged by the Secessionists and their friends. The subject of slavery, and its abolition, as a war measure, occupied much of the attention of Congress during its session in the winter of 1861-62. The public mind had been for a long time excited by the conduct of several military commanders who had returned fugitive slaves to their masters. This was forbidden by law; and the Republican party³ in Congress pressed with earnestness measures looking to the emancipation of the slaves as a necessary means for suppressing the rebellion. The President, kind and forbearing, proposed to Congress to co-operate with any State government whose inhabitants might adopt measures for emancipation, by giving pecuniary aid; but the slave-holders everywhere refused to listen to any propositions tending to such result. So Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, over which it had control; and finally that body gave the Chief Magistrate discretionary power to declare the emancipation of all slaves in States where rebellion existed, under certain conditions, and to employ them in the armies of the Republic. Accordingly, on the 22d of September, 1862, the Chief Magistrate declared it to be his purpose to issue a proclamation on the first of January, 1863, pronouncing forever free the slaves within any State or designated parts of a State, the people whereof should then be in rebellion. At this the Secessionists sneered, and their friends compared the proclamation to "the Pope's bull against a comet;" and on the designated day the insurgents were more rampant than ever. The President, who had hoped that kindness might affect the misled people, now saw that

the tide of victory for the Confederates, which had been rolling steadily forward for hours. On the spot where the struggle occurred Hazen's men erected a monument to the memory of their slain comrades.

¹ The 19th Illinois, 18th, 21st, and 74th Ohio, 78th Pennsylvania, 11th Michigan, and 37th Indiana.

² Rosecrans officially reported his loss at nearly 12,000 men, while Bragg *estimated* it at 24,000. Rosecrans had 1,533 killed. Bragg admitted a loss of 10,000 on his part, of whom 9,000 were killed and wounded. Among the killed were Generals Rains and Hanson.

While the movements of the two armies were tending toward the decisive battle, Bragg's superior cavalry were raiding over Western Tennessee, to prevent communication between Grant and Rosecrans, and to strike the communications of the latter with Nashville. At about the same time a successful counter-raid into East Tennessee was made by General S. P. Carter.

³ Page 529.

every concession was spurned with scorn, and on the designated day [January 1, 1863], he issued the threatened Proclamation of Emancipation.¹ Then the shackles fell from the limbs of three millions of slaves; and from that hour when the nation, by its chosen head, proclaimed that act of justice, the power of the rebellion began to wane. The conspirators were struck with dismay, for *they* well knew that it was a blow fatal to their hopes. It touched with mighty power a chord of sympathy among the aspirants for genuine freedom in the elder world; and from that hour the prayers of true men in all civilized

¹ The following is a copy of that proclamation:

Whereas, On the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate, as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, Ste. Marie, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord [L. S.] one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

lands went up to the throne of God in supplication for the success of the armies of the Republic against its enemies.¹

While the National government was thus working for the elevation of the race, the "Confederate States government" at Richmond was putting forth amazing energies in the prosecution of measures for the perpetuation of slavery. Their "Provisional Constitution" had been succeeded by a "Permanent Constitution," and Jefferson Davis had been elected [Feb. 22d, 1862] "Permanent President" of the Confederacy for six years.² In the "Congress" at Richmond were delegates from all the Slave-labor States excepting Maryland and Delaware, and resolutions were adopted and measures were devised for prosecuting the war with the greatest vigor, declaring that they would never, "on any terms, politically affiliate with a people who were guilty of an invasion of their soil and the butchery of their citizens." With this spirit they prosecuted the war on land, and by the aid of some of the British aristocracy, merchants, and ship-builders, they kept afloat hostile craft on the ocean, that for a time drove most of the carrying trade between the United States and Europe to British ships. One of the most noted of these marauding vessels was the *Alabama*, built, equipped, armed, provisioned, coaled, and manned by the British,³ and commanded by Raphael Semmes. She roamed the ocean a simple sea-robber;⁴ and during the last ninety days of 1862, she destroyed by fire no less than twenty-eight helpless American merchant vessels. While her incendiarism was thus illuminating the sea, the *George Griswold*, laden with provisions, furnished by the citizens of New York who had suffered most by the piracies, was out upon the ocean, bearing a gift of food from them, valued at one hundred thousand dollars, to the starving English operatives in Lancashire, who had been deprived of work by the rebellion. And that ship of mercy was convoyed by an American



RAPHAEL SEMMES.

¹ The first regiment of colored troops raised by the authority of an act of Congress was organized in Beaufort District, South Carolina; and on the day when this proclamation was issued, a native of that district (Dr. Brisbane), who had been driven away many years before because he emancipated his slaves, announced to these troops and other freed people the great fact that they were no longer in bonds.

² Page 547

³ His immediate advisers, to whom he gave the titles of the cabinet ministers of his government at Washington, were Judah P. Benjamin, "Secretary of State;" George W. Randolph, "Secretary of War;" S. R. Mallory, "Secretary of the Navy;" C. G. Memminger, "Secretary of the Treasury;" Thomas H. Watts, "Attorney-General;" and John H. Reagan, "Postmaster-General."

⁴ While these vessels were a-building in England, and their destination was known, the American minister in London called the attention of the British government to the fact. He failed to elicit any action that might prevent their going to sea, fully manned and armed. It was painfully evident that the government was willing they should go to sea in aid of the rebellion.

⁵ Immediately after the attack on Fort Sumter [page 553], Jefferson Davis recommended, and his fellow-disunionists in "Congress" authorized, the employment of armed vessels to destroy

ship of war to protect her from the torch of a foe lighted by British hands. The subsequent career of the *Alabama* will be considered hereafter.

Let us now turn again to a consideration of military events.

At the close of 1862, the Civil War was in full career. Up to that time the loyal people had furnished for the contest, wholly by volunteering, more than one million two hundred thousand soldiers, of whom, at the beginning of 1863, about seven hundred thousand were in the service. The theater of strife was almost co-extensive with the Slave-labor States, but the most important movements were those connected with preparations for a siege of Vicksburg, and the capture of Port Hudson, twenty-five miles above Baton Rouge. Between these places only, the Mississippi was free from the patrol of National war-vessels, and it was determined to break that link between the Confederates east and west of the river. For that purpose Grant concentrated his troops near the Tallahatchee, where the Confederates were strongly posted. Troops under Hovey and Washburne came over from Arkansas to co-operate with him, and early in December his main army was at Oxford, and an immense amount



JOHN C. PEMBERTON.

of his supplies were at Holly Springs. The latter, through the carelessness or treachery of the commander of their guard, were captured by Van Dorn on the 20th. This loss compelled Grant to fall back and allow a considerable Confederate force, under General J. C. Pemberton, to concentrate at Vicksburg.

Meanwhile, in accordance with Grant's instructions, General W. T. Sherman moved down the Mississippi from Memphis, with a strong force, and siege-guns, to beleaguer Vicksburg. Troops from Helena joined him at Friar's Point [Dec. 20], and there he

was met by Admiral D. D. Porter, whose naval force was at the mouth of the Yazoo River, just above Vicksburg. The two commanders arranged a plan for attacking Vicksburg in the rear, by passing up the Yazoo a few miles and

American shipping on the high seas. These, according to the laws of nations and the proper definition of the word, were *pirates*. A pirate is defined as "a robber on the high seas," and piracy, as "taking property from others by open violence, and without authority, on the sea." These vessels, and their officers and crews, answered this definition, for Davis and Toombs, who signed their commissions, were not "authorized" to do so by any real government on the face of the earth. The "government" they represented had no more "authority" than Jack Cade, Daniel Shays, Nat Turner, or John Brown. Hence these Confederate marauders were not "privateers," but "pirates." Semmes's vessel had neither register nor record, and no ship captured by her was ever sent into any port for adjudication. She had no acknowledged flag or recognized nationality. All the regulations of public justice which discriminate the legalized naval vessel from the pirate were disregarded. She had no accessible port into which to send her captives, nor any legal tribunal to adjudicate her captures. She was an outlaw roving the seas, an enemy to mankind.

reducing batteries along a line of bluffs, by which approaches to it were defended. This was undertaken, but after a severe battle on the Chickasaw Bayou [Dec. 28, 1862], in which Sherman lost about 2,000 men, and his foe only 207, the Nationals were compelled to abandon the enterprise. At that moment [January 2, 1863] General McClelland¹ arrived, and, ranking Sherman, took the chief command.

Toward the middle of January the army and navy in the vicinity of Vicksburg went up the Arkansas River and captured Fort Hindman, at Arkansas Post [January 11, 1863], a very important position. The fort and much valuable property was destroyed.² Meanwhile Grant had come down the river from Memphis, and arrangements were at once made for a vigorous prosecution of the siege of Vicksburg. He organized his army into four corps,³ and encouraged the enlistment of colored men. He weighed well all proposed plans for the siege, and being satisfied that the post was too well fortified to warrant an attack on its river front, he determined to get in its rear. First the canal begun by Farragut⁴ received his attention. It was a failure, and that project was abandoned. Other passages among the neighboring bayous were sought, and finally a strong land and naval force made its way into the Yazoo's Bluff,⁵ and so gaining the rear of Vicksburg. The expedition was repulsed at Fort Pemberton, near Greenwood, late in March, and the enterprise was abandoned. Porter, with amazing energy and perseverance, tried other channels, but failed. A record in detail of the operations of the army and navy in that region, during the winter and spring of 1863, would fill a volume.

In the mean time there were stirring scenes on the bosom of the Mississippi. Some of the war-vessels passed by the batteries at Vicksburg [Feb., 1863], for the purpose of destroying Confederate gun-boats below, but were themselves captured.⁶ Later, when Grant had sent a strong force down the west side of the river, under McClelland and McPherson, toward New Carthage, Porter determined to run by Vicksburg with nearly his whole fleet, and the transports and barges. This was successfully done on the night of the 16th of April. Six more transports performed the same perilous feat on the night of the 22d, and Grant prepared for vigorous operations against Vicksburg on the line of the Big Black River, on its flank and rear.

Let us now turn for a moment, and see what was occurring in the Department of the Gulf under General Banks, the successor of General Butler, who

¹ Page 577.

² The National loss was 980 men. The Confederates, to the number of 5,000, were made prisoners, and the spoils were 17 cannon, 3,000 small arms, and a large quantity of stores.

³ These were commanded respectively by Generals McClelland, Sherman, Hurlbut, and McPherson.

⁴ Page 636.

⁵ This was at the end of the range of bluffs extending from Vicksburg to the Yazoo.

⁶ One of them was the powerful iron-clad *Indianola*. She was attacked, injured, and captured. While the Confederates were repairing her, Porter, one evening, sent down the river an old flat-boat, arranged so as to imitate a gun-boat or ram. It seemed very formidable, and drew the fire of the Vicksburg batteries as it passed sullenly by them. Word was sent to warn Confederate vessels below, and the *Indianola* was blown into fragments to prevent her being captured by this supposed ram.

was co-operating with Grant against Vicksburg, and was also charged with the task of gaining possession of Louisiana and Texas. Galveston, as we have seen, was in possession of a National naval force.¹ Banks sent troops to its support, and on the morning of the first of January, 1863, the Confederates, under General Magruder,² attacked the troops and the war-vessels. A severe struggle ensued, which resulted in the defeat of the Nationals. Galveston was repossessed by the Confederates, but on account of a vigorous blockade, at once established by Farragut, the victory was almost a barren one.

Banks now turned his attention to the recovery of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, and along its shores. Already a force under General Grover occupied Baton Rouge; and early in January [1863] a land and naval force under General Weitzel and Commodore Buchanan was sent into the Tèche region, a



A LOUISIANA SWAMP.

country composed of fertile plantations, extensive forests, sluggish lagoons and bayous, and almost impassable swamps. The expedition was successful. Banks now concentrated his forces, about 12,000 strong, at Baton Rouge, for the purpose of co-operating with Admiral Farragut in an attempt to pass the now formidable batteries at Port Hudson. This was attempted on the night of the 13th of March, when a terrible contest occurred in the gloom between the vessels and the land batteries. Only the flagship (*Hartford*) and companion (*Albatross*) passed by. Then Banks again sent a large portion of his available force into the interior of Louisiana,

where General Richard Taylor was in command of the Confederates. The troops were concentrated at Brashear City early in April, and moved triumphantly through the country to the Red River, accompanied by the Department commander. At the close of the first week in May they were at Alexandria, on the Red River, where Banks announced that the power of the Confederates in Central and Northern Louisiana was broken. With this impression he led his troops to and across the Mississippi, and late in May invested Port Hudson.

We left Grant, late in April, below Vicksburg, prepared for new operations against that post.³ By a most wonderful raid, performed by cavalry under

¹ Page 637.

² Page 562.

³ Page 643.

Colonel Grierson, in the heart of Mississippi,¹ he was satisfied that the bulk of the Confederate soldiers of that region were near Vicksburg, under Pemberton. So he prepared to act with vigor. Porter attacked and ran by [April 29] the batteries at Grand Gulf, and Grant's army crossed the river at Bruinsburg, a little below, pushed on, and near Port Gibson gained a decisive victory [May 1] over the Confederates.² Meanwhile Sherman, who had been left to operate in the Yazoo region, and had made another unsuccessful attempt to capture Haines's Bluff,³ was ordered to march down the west side of the Mississippi and join the main army. This junction was effected on the 8th of May, near the Big Black River, and the whole army pressed on toward Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, where General Joseph E. Johnston was in command. In a severe battle at Raymond [May 12], on the way, the Confederates were defeated.⁴ Such, also, was the result of a battle at Jackson [May 14], when the Confederates were driven northward, the city was seized, and a large amount of public property was destroyed. Then the victors turned toward Vicksburg, and fought [May 16] a severe battle with the Confederates under Pemberton at Champion Hills, and were victorious.⁵ Grant pressed forward, and after a battle at the passage of the Big Black River [May 17], the Confederates were again driven. Grant crossed that stream, and on the 19th of May his army, which for a fortnight had subsisted off the country, invested Vicksburg, and received supplies from a base on the Yazoo established by Admiral Porter.

Grant made an unsuccessful assault upon Vicksburg on the day of his arrival. Another, with disastrous effect on the Nationals, was made three days later [May 22], when Porter with his fleet co-operated, and then Grant commenced a regular siege, which continued until the first



CAVE-LIFE IN VICKSBURG.

¹ Grierson left Lagrange, Tennessee, on the 17th of April, with a body of cavalry, and swept through the country southward, between the two railways running parallel with the Mississippi River, striking them here and there, smiting Confederate outposts, and destroying public property. At times his troops were scattered on detached service, and often rode fifty and sixty miles a day, over an exceedingly difficult country to travel in. They killed and wounded about 100 of the foe; captured and paroled full 500; destroyed 3,000 stand of arms, and inflicted a loss on the Confederates of property valued at about \$6,000,000. Grierson's loss was 27 men, and a number of horses.

² The National loss was 840 men. They captured 3 guns, 4 flags, and 580 prisoners.

³ Page 643.

⁴ The National loss was 442 men, and that of the Confederates 823.

⁵ The National loss was 2,457. The loss of the Confederates in the battle was about the same, besides 2,000 prisoners.

week in July, and produced the greatest distress in the city, and in the beleaguered camps. Shot and shell were hurled upon it daily from land and water, and the inhabitants were compelled to live in caves¹ cut in the clay hills on which Vicksburg is built, as the only safe place for their persons. At length one of the principal forts was blown up by a mine made under it by the Nationals, and other mines were ready for their infernal work. Famine was stalking through the city and the camps. Fourteen ounces of food had become the allowance for each person for forty-eight hours, and the flesh of mules had been pronounced a savory dish.² Pemberton now lost all hope of aid from Johnston, in Grant's rear (who had been watching for an opportunity to strike the besiegers), or the salvation of his army, and on the 3d of July he offered to surrender. That event took place on the morning of the 4th, when 27,000 men became prisoners of war, and the stronghold of Vicksburg passed into the possession of the National power.³

This victory, won simultaneously with another at Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania, produced unbounded joy in all loyal hearts. It was followed a few days later by the surrender of Port Hudson, which had been besieged by General Banks for forty days, his gallant troops at times performing great achievements of valor and fortitude. He had been ably supported by Farragut and his squadron. The missiles sent by the army and navy had caused great destruction within the fortifications. The ammunition and provisions of the garrison were nearly exhausted, and when news came of the fall of Vicksburg, General Gardner, the commander of Port Hudson, despairing of succor, surrendered the post, and its occupants and spoils, on the 9th of July. Then, for the first time in

¹ The streets of Vicksburg are cut through the hills, and houses are often seen far above the street passers. In the perpendicular banks formed by these cuttings, and composed of clay, caves were dug at the beginning of the siege, some of them sufficiently large to accommodate whole families, and in some instances communicating with each other by corridors. Such was the character of some made on Main Street, opposite the house of Colonel Lyman J. Strong, for the use of his family and others, and of which the writer made the sketch on page 645, in April, 1866. These caves were then in a partially ruined state, as were most of them in and around Vicksburg, for rains had washed the banks away, or had caused the filling of the entrances. In this picture the appearance of the caves in their best estate is delineated, with furniture in accordance with descriptions given to the writer by the inhabitants.

² "This day," wrote a citizen of Vicksburg in his diary, under date of June 30, "we heard of the first mule meat being eaten. Some of the officers, disgusted with the salt junk, proposed to slaughter some of the fat mules as an experiment; as, if the siege lasted, we must soon come to that diet. The soup from it was quite rich in taste and appearance. Some of the ladies ate of it without knowing the difference."

³ Grant and Pemberton met under a live-oak tree, on a slope of the hill on which the fort that was blown up was situated, and there agreed upon terms of surrender. That tree was soon afterward cut down and converted into canes and other forms, as mementoes of the event. A marble monument, with suitable inscriptions, was afterward placed on the spot. It soon became mutilated, and in its place a 100-pounder iron cannon was erected, and suitably inscribed.

General Grant thus stated the result of the operations of his army from Port Gibson to Vicksburg: "The result of this campaign has been the defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg; the occupation of Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg and its garrison and munitions of war; a loss to the enemy of thirty-seven thousand (37,000) prisoners, among whom were fifteen general officers; at least ten thousand killed and wounded (among the killed Generals Tracy, Tilghman, and Green), and hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of stragglers, who can never be collected and reorganized. Arms and munitions of war for an army of sixty thousand men have fallen into our hands, besides a large amount of other public property, consisting of railroads, locomotives, cars, steamboats, cotton, &c., and much was destroyed to prevent our capturing it."

more than two years, every impediment to the free navigation of the Mississippi was removed. Powerful portions of the Confederacy were thus severed and weakened, and the loyal people of the land were jubilant with the hope and expectation that the end of the terrible strife was nigh. The blow dismayed the Secessionists, and the wiser men in the Confederacy clearly perceived that all was lost.¹

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CIVIL WAR. [1861—1865.]

WHILE a portion of the National troops were achieving important victories on the banks of the Lower Mississippi,² those composing the Army of the Potomac were winning an equally important victory not far from the banks of the Susquehanna. We left that army in charge of General Joseph Hooker after sad disasters at Fredericksburg;³ let us now observe its movements from that time until its triumphs in the conflict at Gettysburg, between the Susquehanna and Potomac rivers.

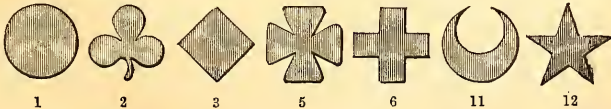
From January until early in April, Hooker was employed in preparing the weakened and demoralized Army of the Potomac for a vigorous campaign. It lay on the northern side of the Rappahannock River, nearly opposite Fredericksburg, and, with the exception of some slight cavalry movements, it remained quiet during nearly three months of rest and preparation. It was reorganized,⁴

¹ The blow was unexpected to the Confederates. They knew how strong Vicksburg was, and were confident that the accomplished soldier, General Johnston, would compel Grant to raise the siege. Even the *Daily Citizen*, a paper printed in Vicksburg, only two days before the surrender (July 2), talked as boastfully as if perfectly confident of success. In a copy before the writer, printed on wall-paper, the editor said: "The great Ulysses—the Yankee generalissimo surnamed Grant—has expressed his intention of dining in Vicksburg on Saturday next, and celebrating the Fourth of July by a grand dinner, and so forth. When asked if he would invite General Joe Johnston to join him, he said, 'No! for fear there will be a row at the table.' *Ulysses* must get into the city before he dines in it. The way to cook a rabbit is, 'first catch the rabbit,' &c." In another paragraph, the *Citizen* eulogized the luxury of mule-meat and fried-kitten.

² See page 646.

³ See page 631.

⁴ The army was arranged in seven corps, named, respectively, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th, 6th, 11th, and 12th, and each was distinguished by peculiar badges, worn on the hat or cap, and composed of scarlet, white, and blue cloth, made in the forms shown in the engraving, whose numbers correspond with those of the respective corps, as follow:—



The corps composed twenty-three divisions; and at the close of April [1863], the army consisted of 110,000 infantry and artillery, with 400 guns, and a well-equipped cavalry force, 13,000 strong. The corps commanders were Generals J. F. Reynolds, D. N. Couch, D. E. Sickles, G. G. Meade, J. Sedgwick, O. O. Howard, and H. W. Slocum.

and weeded of incompetent and disloyal officers.¹ Measures were taken to prevent desertions and to recall a vast number of absentees.² Order and discipline were thoroughly established; and, at the close of April, Hooker found himself at the head of an army more than one hundred thousand in number, well disciplined, and in fine spirits. General Lee, in command of the Army of Northern Virginia, then lying on the Fredericksburg side of the Rappahannock, had been equally active in reorganizing, strengthening, and disciplining his forces. A vigorous conscription act was then in operation throughout the Confederacy, and in April, Lee found himself at the head of an army of little more than sixty thousand men of all arms,³ unsurpassed in discipline, and full of enthusiasm. A part of his army, under General Longstreet, was absent in Southeastern Virginia, confronting the troops of General J. J. Peck, in the vicinity of Norfolk. Yet with his forces thus divided, Lee felt competent to cope with his antagonist, for he was behind a strong line of intrenchments reaching from Port Royal to Banks's Ford, a distance of about twenty-five miles.

We have observed that only some cavalry movements disturbed the quiet of the Army of the Potomac in the winter and spring of 1863. Early in February the Confederate General W. H. F. Lee made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise and capture National forces at Gloucester, opposite Yorktown; and at a little past midnight of the 8th of March, the notorious guerrilla chief, Moseby, with a small band of mounted men, dashed into the village of Fairfax Court-House, and carried away the Union commander there and some others. A few days later the first purely cavalry battle of the war occurred not far from Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock, between National troops under General W. W. Averill and Confederates led by Fitz-Hugh Lee. Averill encountered Lee while he was pushing on toward Culpepper Court-House, from the Rappahannock, when a severe contest ensued, and continued until late in the evening, when Averill retreated across the river, pursued to the water's edge by his foe. Each lost between seventy and one hundred men.

Early in April, before the ranks of his army were full, Hooker determined to advance, his objective being Richmond, for the terms of enlistment of a large portion of his men would soon expire. He ordered General Stoneman to

¹ There were officers in that army, high in rank, who were opposed to the policy of emancipating the slaves as a war measure, which, from the beginning, had been contemplated by the government. The proclamation of the President to that effect developed this opposition in considerable strength, and this in connection with the active influence of a part of the Opposition party, known as the Peace Faction, upon the friends of the soldiers at home, had a most depressing effect upon the army. The men were impressed with the idea that it was becoming a "war for the negro," instead of "a war for the Union." Officers known to be inclined to give such a tone of feeling to their men were replaced by loyal men, in active sympathy with the government in its efforts to crush the rebellion.

² When Hooker took command of the army, he found the number of reported absentees to be 2,922 commissioned officers and 81,964 non-commissioned officers and privates. This, doubtless, included all the deserters since the organization of the Army of the Potomac, and the sick and wounded in the hospitals. It is estimated that 50,000 men, on the rolls of that army, were absent at the time we are considering, namely, the close of January, 1863.

³ Lee's army was composed of two corps, commanded respectively by Generals J. Longstreet and T. J. ("Stonewall") Jackson. His artillery was consolidated into one corps, under the command of General Pendleton as chief.

cross the Rappahannock with a large force of cavalry, strike and disperse the horsemen of Fitz-Hugh Lee, of Stuart's cavalry, known to be at Culpepper Court-House, and then, pushing on to Gordonsville, turn to the left, and destroy the railways in the rear of Lee's army. Heavy rains, which made the streams brimful, foiled the movement at its beginning, and Stoneman and his followers swam their horses across the Rappahannock, and returned to camp. Hooker then paused for a fortnight, when he put his whole army in motion, for the purpose of turning Lee's flank. He sent ten thousand mounted men to raid on his rear, and threw a large portion of his army (Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Corps) across the Rappahannock, above Fredericksburg, with orders to concentrate at Chancellorsville, in Lee's rear, ten miles from that city. This was accomplished on the evening of the 30th [April, 1863], when over thirty-six thousand troops threatened the rear of the Confederate army.



JOSEPH HOOKER.

Meanwhile, the left wing of Hooker's army (First, Third, and Sixth Corps), under General Sedgwick, left near Fredericksburg, had so completely masked the movements of the turning column, by demonstrations on Lee's front, that the latter was not aware of the peril that threatened his army until that column had crossed the Rappahannock, and was in full march on Chancellorsville. Hooker expected Lee would turn and fly toward Richmond when he should discover this peril, but he did no such thing. On the contrary, he proceeded to strike his antagonist a heavy blow, for the twofold purpose of securing the direct line of communication between the parts of Hooker's now severed army, and to compel him to fight, with only a part of his force, in a disadvantageous position, at Chancellorsville, which was in the midst of a region covered with a dense forest of shrub-oaks and pines, and tangled undergrowths, broken by morasses, hills, and ravines, called The Wilderness. For this purpose, Lee put "Stonewall" Jackson's column in motion [May 1] toward Chancellorsville, at a little past midnight.

Early in the morning Jackson was joined by other troops, and the whole force moved upon Chancellorsville by two roads. Hooker sent out a greater part of the Fifth and the whole of the Twelfth Corps, with the Eleventh in its support, to meet the advancing columns. A battle ensued; and the efforts of Lee to seize the communications between the parts of Hooker's army, just alluded to, were foiled. But the Nationals were pushed back to their intrenchments at Chancellorsville, and there took a strong defensive position.

Both commanders now felt a sense of impending danger, for both armies were in a critical position in relation to each other. Hooker decided to rest on the

defensive, but Lee, in accordance with the advice of Jackson, took the bold aggressive step of detaching the whole of that leader's corps and sending it on a secret flank movement, to gain the rear of the National army. The movement was successfully made, though not entirely unobserved; but the troops seen moving behind the thick curtain of The Wilderness thickets were supposed to be a part of Lee's army in retreat. While General Sickles, in command of that portion of the line where the discovery was made, was seeking positive knowledge in the matter, Jackson, who had gained the National rear, solved the problem by bursting suddenly from behind that curtain with twenty-five thousand men, falling suddenly and firmly upon Hooker's right, crumbling it into atoms, and driving the astounded column in wild confusion upon the remainder of the line. A general battle ensued, in which the residue of the Confederate army, under the direct command of General Lee, participated, he having attacked Hooker's left and center. The conflict continued until late in the evening, when the Confederates sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Jackson, who was accidentally shot, in the gloom, by his own men.¹

Hooker made new dispositions to meet the inevitable attack the following morning [May 3, 1863]. He had called from Sedgwick the First Corps, full twenty thousand strong, and it arrived that evening and swelled the National force at Chancellorsville to about sixty thousand men. He had also ordered Sedgwick to cross the Rappahannock at once, seize and hold the town and heights of Fredericksburg, and push the bulk of his force with all possible haste along the roads to Chancellorsville. He also changed a portion of the front of his own line so as to receive the expected attack. During the night Lee effected a slight connection between the two wings of his army, and soon afterward, Stuart, at dawn, shouted at the head of the Confederate column on Hooker's right, "Charge, and remember Jackson!" whose troops he was leading, and fell furiously upon a portion of the line commanded by General Sickles. Lee attacked Hooker's left and center again. The struggle was severe and sanguinary, and when, toward noon, Sickles, finding himself sorely pressed, sent to Hooker for re-enforcements, the chief had just been prostrated by an accident, and for a brief space the army was without a head.² There was an injurious delay, and finally, after long and hard fighting, the whole National army was pushed from the field, and took a strong position on the roads back of Chancellorsville, leading to the Rapid Anna and Rappahannock. Lee's army was now united, while Hooker's remained divided.

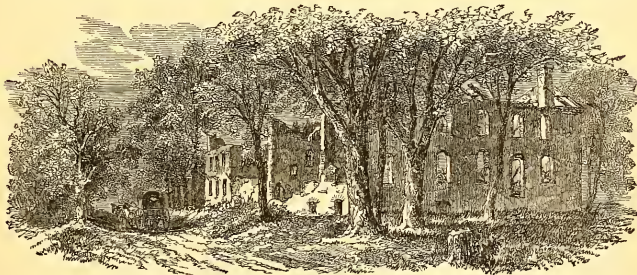
Sedgwick had endeavored to obey Hooker's command to join him, but failed to do so. He had thrown his army across the river on the morning of the 2d [May], and was lying quietly when he received the order at midnight. He moved immediately, and took possession of Fredericksburg. General

¹ Jackson had been reconnoitering in front of his forces, and, when retiring in the darkness, he and his companions were mistaken by their friends for Union cavalry, and were fired upon. Jackson fell, pierced by their bullets, and some of his staff were killed. His arm was shattered, and afterward amputated. He died on the 10th of May.

² A cannon-ball struck a pillar of the Chancellor House, and hurled it with such force against Hooker, that it stunned him. The command then devolved on Couch, but Hooker was able to resume it in the course of a few hours.

Early was then in command on the heights. Sedgwick formed storming columns in the morning, drove the Confederates from the fortified ridge, and with nearly his entire force pushed on toward Chancellorsville. At Salem Church, a few miles from Fredericksburg, he was met and checked, by a force sent by Lee, after a sharp fight, by which he lost, that day, including the struggle for the heights in the morning, about five thousand men. Instead of joining Hooker, Sedgwick found himself compelled, the next day, in order to save his army, to fly across the Rappahannock, which he did, near Banks's Ford, on the night of the 4th and 5th of May. Hooker, meanwhile, had heard of the perilous situation of Sedgwick, and, on consultation with his corps commanders, it was determined to retreat to the north side of the river. Lee had prepared to strike Hooker a heavy blow on the 5th. A violent rain-storm prevented, and that night the Nationals passed the river in safety without molestation. On the same day the Confederate army resumed its position on the heights at Fredericksburg. Both parties had suffered very severe losses.¹

While Hooker and Lee were contending at Chancellorsville, a greater portion of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, commanded by Stoneman,



RUINS OF THE CHANCELLOR MANSION.²

were raiding on the communications of the Army of Northern Virginia. They crossed the Rappahannock [April 29], and swept down toward Richmond in the direction of Gordonsville. Unfortunately for the efficiency of the expedition, the command was divided, and raided in various directions, one party, under Kilpatrick, approaching within two miles of Richmond. They destroyed much property, but the chief object of the expedition, namely, the breaking up of the railways between Lee and Richmond, was not accomplished, and the week's work of the cavalry had very little bearing on the progress of the war.

¹ The National loss was reported at 17,197, including about 5,000 prisoners. They left behind, in their retreat, their dead and wounded, 13 pieces of artillery, about 20,000 small-arms, 17 colors, and a large quantity of ammunition. The Confederate loss was probably about 15,000, of whom 5,000 were prisoners, with 15 colors, and 7 pieces of artillery.

² The villa and out-buildings of Mr. Chancellor constituted "Chancellorsville." That mansion was beaten into ruins during the battle. The picture gives its appearance when the writer sketched it, in June, 1866.

We have observed¹ that Longstreet was operating against General Peck in the vicinity of Norfolk. The latter officer, with a considerable force, was in a strongly fortified position at Suffolk, at the head of the Nansemond River, from which he kept watch over Norfolk and the mouth of the James River, and furnished a base for operations against Petersburg and the important Weldon railway. Early in April [1863], Longstreet made a sudden and vigorous movement against Suffolk, expecting to drive the Nationals from that post, seize Norfolk and Portsmouth, and perhaps make a demonstration against Fortress Monroe. But Peck met his foe with such skill and valor that Longstreet was compelled to resort to a siege. In this he failed, and on hearing of the battle at Chancellorsville, he withdrew and joined Lee, making that commander's army nearly as strong as that of his antagonist. Hooker's losses, and the expiration of the terms of his nine months' and two years' men, to the number of almost 30,000, about to occur, greatly reduced his numbers. Lee's army was buoyant,² and Hooker's was desponding.

Impelled by false notions of the temper of the people of the Free-labor States, and the real resources and strength of the government, and elated by the events at Chancellorsville, the Chief Leader now ordered Lee to invade Maryland and Pennsylvania again. Hooker suspected such intention, and so reported, but the authorities at Washington were slow to believe that Lee would repeat the folly of the previous year. But he did so. By a flank movement he caused Hooker to break up his encampment on the Rappahannock, and move toward Washington, after there had been some sharp cavalry engagements near the river, above Fredericksburg. Lee sent his left wing, under Ewell, through Chester Gap of the Blue Ridge, into the Shenandoah Valley. He swept down rapidly to Winchester, and drove Milroy [June 15, 1863], who was there with seven thousand men, across the Potomac into Maryland and Pennsylvania, with the loss of nearly all of his artillery and ammunition. He also lost many men in the race from Winchester to the Potomac, but saved his trains.

Hooker, at the same time, had moved from the Rappahannock to Centreville, for the purpose of covering Washington, while Longstreet marched on a

¹ See page 648.

² The Confederates and their friends were full of hope at this time. The repulse of the Army of the Potomac seemed to promise security to Richmond for some time. Vicksburg and Port Hudson [see page 646] then seemed impregnable; and the promises of the disloyal Peace Faction at the North, of a counter-revolution in the Free-labor States, seemed likely to be soon fulfilled. The news of the Battle of Chancellorsville inspired the friends of the Confederates in England, and these were clamorous for their government to acknowledge the Confederacy as an independent nation; and in the spring of 1864 a large body, representing the ruling classes in England, formed a league, to assist the Confederates, called the *Southern Independence Association*. But the British government wisely hesitated, and only the Pope of Rome, of all the rulers of the earth, ever recognized "President" Davis as the head of a nation. In a friendly letter he addressed him as "the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America." At this time a scheme of the French Emperor for destroying the Republic of Mexico and aiding the Confederates, was in operation, 20,000 French troops and 5,000 recreant Mexicans being engaged in the work. The Austrian Archduke Maximilian was made Emperor of Mexico by means of French bayonets, but when the Civil War closed, in 1865, and the scheming Napoleon saw that our Republic was stronger than ever, he abandoned the enterprise and his dupe, and Maximilian, overthrown, was shot by order of the legitimate Republican Chief Magistrate of Mexico.

parallel line along the eastern bases of the Blue Ridge, watching for an opportunity to pounce upon the National Capital. Cavalry skirmishes often occurred, for the hostile forces were continually feeling each other. Meanwhile fifteen hundred Confederate cavalry had dashed across the Potomac in pursuit of Milroy's wagon-train, swept up the Cumberland Valley to Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, destroyed the railway in that region, and plundered the people. This raid produced great alarm. Governor Curtin issued a call for the Pennsylvania militia to turn out in defense of their State, and the National authorities had taken measures to meet the peril. When, a little later, the Confederate army was streaming across the Potomac, about fifty thousand troops, or one half the number the President had called for from the States nearest the Capital, were under arms. Almost one half of these were from Pennsylvania, and fifteen thousand were from New York. The apathy shown by Pennsylvanians when danger seemed remote, now disappeared.

By skillful movements, Lee kept Hooker in doubt as to his real intentions, until Ewell's corps had crossed the Potomac at Williamsport and Shepards-town [June 22 and 23], and was pressing up the Cumberland Valley. Ewell advanced with a part of his force to within a few miles of the capital of Pennsylvania, on the Susquehanna, while another portion, under Early, reached that river farther down, after passing through Emmetsburg, Gettysburg, and York, and levying contributions on the people. These movements created an intense panic, and with reason, for at one time it seemed as if there was no power at hand to prevent the invaders from marching to the Schuylkill, and even to the Hudson. Three days after Ewell crossed the Potomac, Longstreet and Hill followed, and on the 25th of June [1863] the whole of Lee's army was again in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

The Army of the Potomac was thrown across the river at and near Edwards's Ferry, one hundred thousand strong, having been re-enforced by troops in the vicinity of Washington.

A difference of opinion now arose between Generals Hooker and Halleck (the latter then General-in-Chief of the armies), concerning the occupation of Harper's Ferry. Their views were irreconcilable, and the former offered his resignation. It was accepted, and General George G. Meade was placed in command of the Army of the Potomac, and did not relinquish it until the close of the war. A change in the commanders of an army in the presence of an enemy is a perilous act, but in this case no evil followed. General Meade assumed the command on the 28th of



GEORGE G. MEADE.

June, when the army was lying at Frederick, in Maryland, in a position to dart through the South Mountain Gaps upon Lee's line of communication, or

upon his columns in retreat, or to follow him on a parallel line toward the Susquehanna.

Lee was about to cross the Susquehanna at Harrisburg, and march on Philadelphia, when he was alarmed by information of the position of the Army of the Potomac in increased force, which was threatening his flank and rear. He observed at the same time the rapid gathering of the yeomanry of Pennsylvania, and troops from other States on his front, and he thought it prudent to abandon his scheme of further invasion. He immediately recalled Ewell, and ordered a concentration of the Army of Northern Virginia in the vicinity of Gettysburg, with a view of falling upon the Nationals with crushing force, and then marching on Baltimore and Washington, or, in the event of defeat, to have a direct line of retreat to the Potomac.

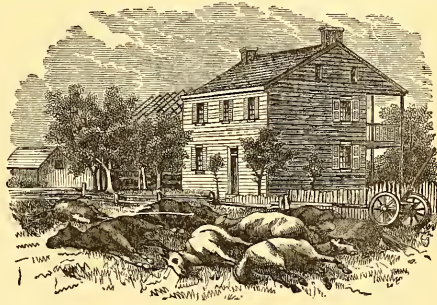
In the mean time Meade had put his army in motion toward the Susquehanna, but it was not until the evening of the 30th of June that he was advised of Lee's evident intention to give battle in full force. Satisfied of this, he prepared to meet the shock on a line south of Gettysburg. He had already sent his cavalry forward to reconnoiter. At Hanover, east of Gettysburg, Kilpatrick's command encountered [June 29] and defeated, in a sharp fight, some of Stuart's cavalry, and on the same day Buford and his horsemen entered Gettysburg. The Confederates were not yet there, and on the following day the First Corps, commanded by General J. F. Reynolds, reached that place. General Hill was then approaching from Chambersburg, and that night Buford lay between the Confederates and Gettysburg. On the following morning [July 1] he met the van of the Confederates. A hot skirmish ensued. Reynolds hastened forward to the scene of action, and on Oak or Seminary Ridge a severe battle was fought, in which Reynolds was killed. Meanwhile the Eleventh (Howard's) Corps came up, and the conflict assumed grander proportions, for Lee's troops were concentrating there. The Nationals were finally pressed back, and under the direction of Howard took an advantageous position on a range of rocky heights back of but close to Gettysburg, forming two sides of a triangle, whereof Cemetery Hill, nearest the town, was the apex. There the Nationals bivouacked that night, and Meade and the remainder of the troops hastened to join them. Lee's army occupied Seminary Ridge that night.

Both commanders were averse to taking the initiative of battle, and it was between three and four o'clock in the afternoon of the 2d before the struggle was renewed. Then Lee fell heavily upon Meade's left, commanded by Sickles. A sanguinary contest ensued, which gradually extended to the center, where Hancock was in command. The chief struggle was for a rocky eminence, called Round Top Ridge, or Little Round Top; but the Nationals firmly held it against fierce assaults. Heavy masses were thrown against Hancock, but these were cast back with heavy losses; and, at sunset, the battle ended on the left and center of the Nationals. When the sounds of conflict died away on that part of the field, they were heard on the right and right center, where Slocum and Howard were in command. Howard was on Cemetery Hill, and Slocum on Culp's Hill. Against these Early and Johnson, of Ewell's corps,

advanced with great vigor. They were thrown back from Cemetery Hill, but succeeded in penetrating, and holding for the night, the works on the extreme right of Slocum's command. It was near ten o'clock at night [July 2, 1863] when the battle ended, and the advantage seemed to be with the Confederates.

Both parties now prepared for another struggle the next day. It was begun at four o'clock in the morning [July 3], when Slocum drove the Confederates out of his lines, and some distance back. It required a hard fight for four hours to accomplish it, but it was done. Then Ewell was firmly held in check. Round Top Ridge, on Meade's extreme left, was impregnable, and so Lee determined to assail his more vulnerable center. He spent the whole forenoon in preparations for an attack, and, at one o'clock, he opened upon Cemetery Hill and its immediate vicinity one hundred and forty-five cannon. A hundred National guns quickly responded, and for the space of two hours Gettysburg and the surrounding country were made to tremble by the thunder of more than two hundred cannon. Then, like a stream of lava, the Confederates, preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, swept over the plain, and assailed the National line. Fearful was the struggle, and fearful the loss. At near sunset the assailants were repulsed at every point, and the great and decisive *Battle of Gettysburg* was won by the Army of the Potomac. It had been fought with amazing courage and fortitude by both armies, and each was dreadfully shattered by the collision.¹ The writer was upon the ground a few days after the battle, when full two hundred dead horses were still unburied. The annexed picture shows a group of them as they fell in the road in front of a farmhouse, near General Meade's head-quarters.

On the evening of the day after the battle [July 4, 1863], Lee began a retreat toward Virginia, and, the next day, was followed by Meade, who



SCENE ON THE GETTYSBURG BATTLE-GROUND.

chased him to the Potomac, at Williamsport, above Harper's Ferry. There, by strong intrenchments and a show of force, Lee kept Meade at bay until he could construct pontoon bridges, when, over these, and by fording the river above, the whole remnant of his army, his artillery and train, passed into Virginia, and escaped, much to the disappointment of the loyal people. When it was known that the Confederates had been beaten at Gettysburg, and were in full retreat,

¹ The National loss during the three days of conflict was 23,186 men, of whom 2,834 were killed, 13,709 wounded, and 6,643 were missing. Lee, as usual, made no report of his losses. He spoke of them as having been "severe." A careful estimate, made from various statements, places it at about 30,000, of whom 14,000 were prisoners.

it was expected they would be captured at the margin of the swollen Potomac. But that disappointment speedily gave way to a feeling of satisfaction because of the important victory. That battle proved to be the pivotal one of the war—the turning point in the rebellion. The scale of success was then turned in favor of the National cause. It was so regarded at the time, and in view of the importance of the victory, the President, as the representative of the nation, recommended the observance of a day [Aug. 15] “for National thanksgiving, praise, and prayer.”¹

While the loyal people were rejoicing because of the great deliverance at Gettysburg, and the government was preparing for a final and decisive struggle with its foes, leading politicians of the Peace Faction, evidently in affiliation with the disloyal secret organization, known as *Knights of the Golden Circle*,² were using every means in their power to defeat the patriotic purposes of the Administration, and to stir up the people of the Free-labor States to a counter-revolution. This had been their course for several months during the dark hours of the Republic, before the dawn at Gettysburg; and the more strenuous appeared the efforts of the government to suppress the rebellion, more intense was their zeal in opposing it. This opposition was specially active, when the President, according to the authority of Congress, found it necessary, in consequence of the great discouragements to volunteering produced by the Peace Faction, to order [May 8, 1863] a draft or conscription to be made, to fill up the ranks of the army. This measure, the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and arbitrary arrests, were severely denounced. These, and the arrest and punishment, for treasonable practices, of C. L. Vallandigham, a citizen of Ohio and late member of Congress, one of the

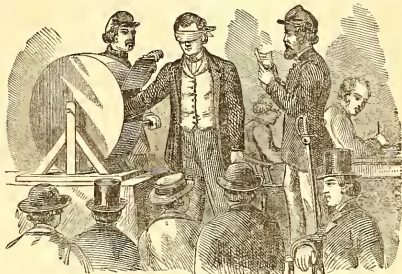
¹ The Secretary of State, satisfied that the rebellion would soon be ended, addressed [August 12, 1863] a cheering circular to the diplomatic agents of the government abroad, in which he recited the most important events in the history of the war thus far, and declared that the country “showed no signs of exhaustion of money, men, or materials;” and mentioned the fact that our loan was purchased, at par, by our citizens at the average of \$1,200,000 daily, and that gold was selling in our market at 23 and 28 per cent. premium, “while in the insurrectionary region it commanded 1,200 per cent. premium.” According to the report of the Confederate “Secretary of the Treasury,” at that time, the Confederate debt was over \$600,000,000. At about the same time “President” Davis sent forth an address, for the purpose of “firing the Southern heart,” and reconciling the people to the merciless conscription they were then subjected to, filled with the most flagrant misrepresentations. He told them, in effect, that the Northern people were little better than savages. “Their malignant rage,” he said, “aims at nothing less than the extermination of yourselves, your wives, and your children. They seek to destroy what they cannot plunder. They propose as spoils of victory that your homes shall be partitioned among wretches whose atrocious cruelty has stamped infamy on their government. They design to incite servile insurrection, and light the fires of incendiarism whenever they can reach your homes; and they debauch an inferior race, heretofore docile and contented, by promising them the indulgence of the vilest passions as the price of their treachery.”

Davis was then exasperated by the failure of an attempt of his to gain an official recognition by the government, by means of a trick. He sent his Lieutenant, Alexander H. Stephens, under a false pretense, at the moment when Lee, as he thought, was marching triumphantly on Philadelphia, to seek an interview with the President, as the representative of the “government,” so-called, at Richmond. Stephens went to Fortress Monroe, but was not permitted to go farther. His mission to Washington doubtless had a twofold object, namely, an official recognition of the Confederacy by the act of treating with it, and for the purpose of proclaiming the “Confederate government,” with Jefferson Davis as Dictator, from the portico of the Capitol, when Lee should seize Washington, as it was confidently believed he was about to do.

² See page 520.

most conspicuous leaders of the Peace Faction,¹ furnished that active fragment of the Democratic party² with pretenses for the most bitter denunciations of the government, and violent opposition to its measures.

The inflammatory appeals of politicians excited the passions of the more dangerous classes in cities, and finally led to a fearful riot in the city of New York, at the middle of July, the immediate pretext being opposition to the Draft, which commenced there on Monday, the 13th. A mob suddenly collected, destroyed the apparatus for making the Draft, and burned the building. Like a plague this public disorder seemed to break out simultaneously at different points in the northern part of the city, and for three days the commercial metropolis was at the mercy of lawless men and women, chiefly natives of Ireland of the lower



DRAFTING.

class, and disloyal men from Slave-labor States. The cry against the Draft soon ceased, and was followed with that of, "Down with the Abolitionists! Down with the Nigger! Hurrah for Jeff. Davis!" Arson and plunder became the business of the rioters, and maiming and murder was their recreation. The colored population of the city were special objects of their wrath. These were hunted down, bruised, and killed, as if they had been noxious wild beasts. Men, women, and children shared a common fate. An asylum for colored children was sacked and burned, while the poor, affrighted orphans, some beaten and maimed, fled in terror to whatever shelter they could find. Finally, the police, aided by some troops, quelled the riot with the strong arm of power, after a sacrifice of full four hundred human lives, and the destruction of property valued at \$2,000,000. After that, the Draft was resumed, and went quietly on.³

¹ General Burnside, in command of the Department of the Ohio, issued an order for the suppression of sedition and treasonable speech and conduct. Vallandigham, whose sympathy with the cause of the Confederates had been conspicuously shown from the beginning, denounced this order, and openly violated it. He was arrested, tried by a military commission, found guilty, and, by orders of the President, was sent within the Confederation, with a penalty of imprisonment should he return. He was treated with contempt by his "Southern friends," and soon made his way in a blockade-runner to Halifax, and thence into Canada.

² The Peace Faction of the "Democratic" or Opposition party did not fairly represent the great mass of the members of that party. It was essentially disloyal: they were loyal. Yet the influence of that faction was so potent, that it controlled the policy of the party as an organization. Its aims appeared no higher than the control of the emoluments and offices of the government; and the encouragement it continually held out to the Conspirators, by falsely representing the Opposition party as friendly to their cause, and discouraging volunteering and other efforts for putting down the rebellion, prolonged the war at least two years, and, as a consequence, tens of thousands of precious lives, and tens of millions of treasure, were wasted.

³ Horatio Seymour, who was one of the ablest of the leaders of the Peace Faction, and then Governor of the State of New York, had denounced the government as a despot, because of the

There appears to be ample evidence that preparations had been made among the disloyal politicians of the Free-labor States, at the time we are considering, for a counter-revolution, which should compel the government to make terms of peace with the Confederates, on the basis of a dissolution of the Union and the independence of the so-called Confederate States. The invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, so as to encourage the Peace Faction, was a part of the drama;¹ and chiefly for the encouragement of the same class in the Western States, and to form a nucleus for armed opponents of the government in that region, the notorious guerrilla chief, John H. Morgan, was sent into Indiana and Ohio at the close of June, with over three thousand mounted men. He crossed the Ohio River from Kentucky into Indiana, some distance below Louisville, and, pushing a little into the interior, made a plundering raid eastward through that State and Ohio, well toward the Pennsylvania border. There was an uprising of the people because of his presence, but not such a one as the Peace Faction had led him to expect. Within forty-eight hours after Morgan entered Indiana, sixty thousand of its citizens had responded to the call of the Governor to turn out and drive him out of it. Equally patriotic were the people of Ohio. Morgan was pursued, and finally captured, with a remnant of his band, nearly all of whom were killed or made prisoners. The truth seemed to be that the reverse of Lee at Gettysburg had disconcerted the leaders of the Peace Faction, and they were compelled, by prudence, to postpone their revolutionary operations. The riot in New York seems to have been an irregular manifestation of an organized outbreak in that city, when, as it was expected, the neighing of the horses of Lee's cavalry would be heard on the opposite banks of the Hudson.

When Lee escaped into Virginia [July 14, 1863], and moved up the Shenandoah Valley, Meade determined to follow him along the route pursued by

arrest and punishment of Vallandigham, "not," he said, "for an offense against law, but for a disregard of an invalid order, put forth in an utter disregard of the principles of civil liberty." He opposed the Draft; mildly and without effect he interposed his authority as Governor to quell the riot, and sent his adjutant-general to Washington to demand the suspension of the Draft. This he told the mob, and said: "Wait till my adjutant returns from Washington, and you shall be satisfied." He wanted the Draft postponed until the courts should decide whether it was constitutional, but this obvious advantage to the Confederates, who were then filling their ranks by a rigorous conscription, the President refused to give, and the Draft went on.

¹ Lee's invasion was counted on largely as an aid to the Peace Faction in carrying out their plans. And after his failure, and he was lying quietly near the Rapid Anna, in September, the *Richmond Enquirer* said: "The success of the Democratic party [at the approaching election] would be no longer doubtful, should General Lee once more advance on Meade. . . . He may so move and direct his army as to produce political results, which, in their bearing upon this war, will prove more effectual than the bloodiest victories. Let him drive Meade into Washington, and he will again raise the spirits of the Democrats, confirm their timid, and give confidence to their wavering. He will embolden the Peace party should he again cross the Potomac, for he will show the people of Pennsylvania how little security they have from Lincoln for the protection of their homes."

Matthew F. Maury, formerly Superintendent of the National Observatory, and one of the most active enemies to his country, said, in a letter to the *London Times*, on the 17th of August, 1863: "There is already a Peace party in the North. All the embarrassments with which that party can surround Mr. Lincoln, and all the difficulties that it can throw in the way of the War party in the North, operate directly as so much aid and comfort to the South. . . . New York is becoming the champion of State Rights in the North, and to that extent is taking Southern ground. . . . Vallandigham waits and watches over the border, pledged, if elected Governor of Ohio, to array it against Lincoln and the war, and go for peace."

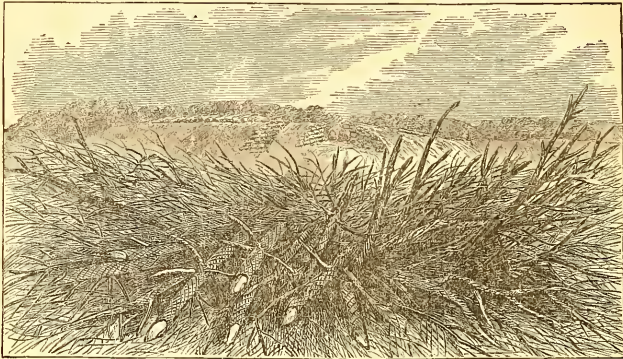
McClellan in his race for the Rappahannock with the same foe the year before,¹ keeping close to the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge, and using its gaps as circumstances might dictate. The Army of the Potomac crossed the river on the 17th and 18th of July, and moved rapidly forward, getting the start of its antagonist, which had lingered between the Potomac and Winchester. Lee tried to recall Meade, by threatening another invasion of Maryland. He failed, and then marched rapidly up the Shenandoah Valley to meet the dangers that threatened his front and flank. There were skirmishes in the mountain-passes during this exciting race, one of which, at Manassas Gap, so detained Meade's army, that Lee, by a quick movement, went through Chester Gap, and took position in front of the Nationals, between the Rappahannock and Rapid Anna rivers. Meade slowly advanced to the Rappahannock, and then the two armies rested for some time. Both were somewhat weakened by drafts upon them for men to serve elsewhere. Finally, at the middle of September, Meade crossed the river and drove Lee beyond the Rapid Anna, where the latter took a strongly defensive position. In the mean time Meade's cavalry had not been idle, and divisions under Buford and Kilpatrick had considerable skirmishing with those of Stuart between the two rivers.

General Meade contemplated a forward movement for some time, and Lee, feeling able to cope with his antagonist, proposed to march directly on Washington, at the risk of losing Richmond, but he was overruled by his "government." So he proceeded to employ the more cautious measure of turning Meade's right flank, and attempting to get in his rear and seize the National Capital. He had moved some distance for this purpose, and was on Meade's flank before the latter was aware of it. Then a close race in the direction of Washington, by the two armies, occurred for the third time. The Army of the Potomac was the winner, and reached the heights at Centreville, the first objective [October 15, 1863], before its antagonist. There had been some severe collisions on the way. Gregg's cavalry was routed, with a loss of five hundred men, at Jeffersonton. Stuart, with about two thousand men, hung closely upon the rear flank of Meade's army, and at Auburn he came near being captured, with all his men. He escaped, however; and from that point to Bristow Station there was a sharp race. There a battle occurred between the corps of Generals Warren and Hill, in which the pursuing Confederates were repulsed, and the Union force moved on and joined the main army, then at Centreville. At Bristow Station Lee gave up the race, and fell back to the Rappahannock, destroying the Orange and Alexandria railway behind him. Meade slowly followed, after the railway was repaired, attacked the Confederates at Rappahannock Station, on the river, and, after a severe battle, drove them toward Culpepper Court-House.

Lee now took post again behind the Rapid Anna, and Meade's army lay quietly between the two rivers until late in November, while he was watching for a favorable opportunity to advance on his foe, whose forces, he had observed, were spread over a considerable surface, in the direction

¹ See page 631.

of Gordonsville. But Lee had begun the construction of strong defenses along the line of Mine Run, and Meade determined to advance and attempt to turn his position. It would be a perilous undertaking at that season of the year, for it involved the necessity of cutting loose from his supplies, which could not be carried with safety to the south side of the Rapid Anna. The risk was taken. The troops were provided with ten days' rations, and, crossing the river on the 26th [November, 1863], pushed on in the direction of Mine Run, along the line of which were strong intrenchments, defended by heavy *abatis*



ABATIS.¹

General Warren, in the advance, opened a battle, but it was soon found that the Confederates were too strongly intrenched to promise a successful assault. So Meade suspended the attack, withdrew, and established his army in winter quarters on the north side of the Rapid Anna. So ended the campaign of the Army of the Potomac in 1863.

In Western Virginia, adjoining the great theater in which the armies of the Potomac and of Northern Virginia were performing, there had been very few military movements of importance since the close of 1861. In the summer of 1863 a raiding party, under Colonel Tolland, went over the mountains from the Kanawha Valley, and struck the Virginia and Tennessee railway at Wytheville. Finding sharp resistance, they retraced their steps with great suffering. A little later, General W. W. Averill went over the mountain-ranges from Tygart's Valley, with a strong cavalry force, destroyed Confederate salt-works and other property, and menaced Staunton. He fought Confederate cavalry near White Sulphur Springs for nearly two days [August 26 and 27], and was compelled to retreat. Early in November he started on

¹ *Abatis* is a French term in Fortification, for obstructions placed in front of works, composed of felled trees, with their branches pointing outward. Such obstruction is represented in the engraving.

another expedition, pushing the Confederates before him in the mountain regions, and nearly purging West Virginia of armed rebels. He pushed forward for the purpose of breaking up the Virginia and Tennessee railway, which was the chief communication between the armies of Lee and Bragg, and on the 16th of December, after a perilous march, over icy roads, he struck that highway at Salem, and destroyed the track and other property over an extent of about fifteen miles. The Confederates in all that region were aroused, and no less than seven different leaders combined in an attempt to intercept Averill's return, but failed. The raider escaped, with two hundred prisoners, and a loss of only six men drowned, five wounded, and ninety missing.

Let us now turn our attention to events in Tennessee, where we left the large armies of Rosecrans and Bragg, after the Battle of Stone's River, the former at Murfreesboro' and the latter a little further southward.¹ Bragg's line was along the general direction of the Duck River, from near the Cumberland mountains westward,² and in that relative position the two armies lay from January until June [1863], Rosecrans waiting to complete full preparations for an advance, before moving. Meanwhile, detachments of the two armies, chiefly of mounted men, were active in minor operations. At the beginning of February, General Wheeler, Bragg's chief of cavalry, with Wharton and Forrest as brigadiers, concentrated his forces, over four thousand strong, at Franklin, a little south of Nashville, and, advancing rapidly to the Cumberland River, attempted to capture the post of Fort Donelson,³ then commanded by Colonel Harding. They were repulsed, after considerable loss on both sides. General J. C. Davis was operating in Wheeler's rear, and hastened his departure from the region of the Cumberland. A little later, General Earl Van Dorn was found hovering around Franklin with a considerable force of cavalry and infantry, and against these General Sheridan and Colonel Colburn were sent. The latter was compelled to surrender [March 5] to superior numbers, while the former drove Van Dorn southward across the Duck River.

There was a severe struggle eastward of Murfreesboro' [March 18] between troops under Colonel Hall and those of Morgan, the guerrilla chief, in which the latter were worsted, and lost between three and four hundred men. Early in April Van Dorn was again in the vicinity of Franklin, with a force estimated at nine thousand men, the object being to seize that post, preliminary to an attack on Nashville, the great depository of Rosecrans's supplies. General Gordon Granger was then in command at Franklin, where he was building a fort on the bank of the Harpeth River, and, being forewarned, he was prepared for an attack, which Van Dorn made on the 10th [April, 1863]. The Confederates were repulsed and retired to Spring Hill, after a loss of about

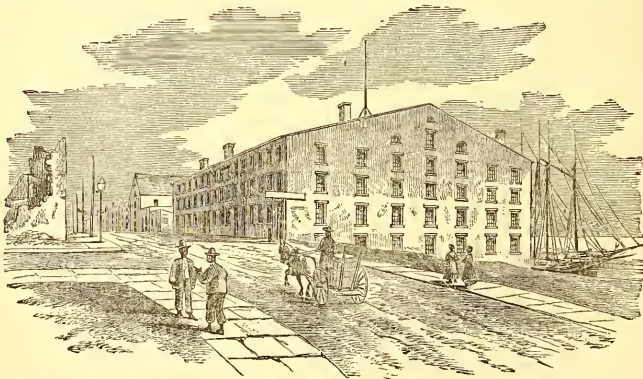
¹ See page 639.

² Bragg's line extended from Columbia, on the west, to McMinnville, on the east. His infantry occupied the space between Wartrace and Shelbyville; his cavalry, on his right, stretched out to McMinnville, and on his left as far as Spring Hill, between Franklin and Columbia.

³ Forrest had been operating at one or two other points on the Cumberland, for the purpose of cutting off Rosecrans's supplies by way of that river, for his army was chiefly subsisted by provisions that came down from the region of the Ohio River.

three hundred men. The Union loss was less than forty.¹ A few days later a detachment of Rosecrans's army, under General J. J. Reynolds, drove a band of Morgan's men from McMinnville [April 20], and destroyed a good deal of Confederate property there; and these and lesser expeditions, sent out from time to time, while Rosecrans was procuring cavalry horses and making other preparations for an advance, caused great circumspection on the part of the Confederates.

A more ambitious expedition than any previously sent out by Rosecrans, moved toward the middle of April, under Colonel A. D. Straight, for the purpose of crippling the resources of the foe. He left Nashville in steamers [April 11], and, debarking at Fort Donelson, crossed over to the Tennessee River at Fort Henry, and ascended that stream to the borders of Mississippi and Alabama, gathering horses for his use on the way. At Tusculumbia, most of his troops being then mounted, Straight turned southward, and, sweeping through Alabama in a curve bending eastward, pushed on toward Rome, in Northern Georgia, where extensive iron-works were in operation, and Atlanta, an important railway center. The cavalry of Forrest and Roddy followed. The parties skirmished and raced; and finally, when near Rome, Straight's exhausted command was struck and mostly captured [May 3, 1863], when



LIBBY PRISON, RICHMOND.

they were sent to Richmond, and confined in the famous Libby Prison. From that loathsome place the leader and one hundred of his officers escaped, in February following, by burrowing under the foundations of the building.

As June wore away, and the Army of the Cumberland (Rosecrans's) was

¹ Van Dorn was one of the most dashing of the Confederate leaders. He was shot soon after the battle we have just considered, by an indignant husband, whose wife the Confederate leader had dishonored.

yet lying at Murfreesboro', the public, unable to comprehend the obstacle to its advance, became impatient of the delay. The cavalry of that army was then in a fair condition, and its supplies being abundant, Rosecrans, on the 23d of June, ordered an advance, his grand objective being Chattanooga. Bragg, his antagonist, was strongly entrenched among hills favorable for defensive operations. Yet the Army of the Cumberland, moving in three corps, commanded respectively by Generals Thomas, McCook, and Crittenden, was so skillfully managed, that the Confederates were soon pushed from their position along the line of the Duck River, back to Tullahoma. When Bragg saw Rosecrans seize the mountain passes on his front, and threaten his flanks in his new position, he fled [June 30, 1863] without offering to give a blow in defense of a line of most formidable works which he had cast up in the course of several months.

Rosecrans now pressed hard upon the rear of the fugitive Confederates, but the latter having the railway for transportation, kept out of his reach, and pushed as rapidly as possible over the Cumberland Mountains toward the Tennessee River, which they crossed at Bridgeport, destroyed the bridge behind them, and hastened to Chattanooga.¹ Rosecrans advanced his army to the base of the mountains, when, finding Bragg too far ahead to be easily overtaken, he halted his entire force, and rested more than a month while gathering supplies for his army at proper places,² and repairing the railway from the high table-land at Decherd, down through the mountain pass of Big Crow Creek, to Stevenson. At the middle of August he moved forward, his army stretched over a long line east and west, with cavalry on its flanks. In the course of four or five days it crossed the mountain ranges and stood along the shores of the Tennessee from above Chattanooga westward for a hundred miles, startling [August 21, 1863] Bragg by its apparition, the thunder of cannon on the eminences opposite that town, and the screaming of shells over the Confederate camp.

Early in September, Thomas and McCook crossed the Tennessee with their corps at points each side of Bridgeport, where the railway spans it, and by the 8th had secured the passes of Lookout Mountain as far as Valley Head, while Crittenden's corps took post at Wauhatchie, in Lookout Valley, nearer the river. Informed of these threatening movements, Bragg abandoned Chattanooga, passed through the gaps of the Missionaries' Ridge³ to the West Chickamauga River, in Northern Georgia, and posted his army in a strong position near Lafayette, to meet the National forces expected to press through

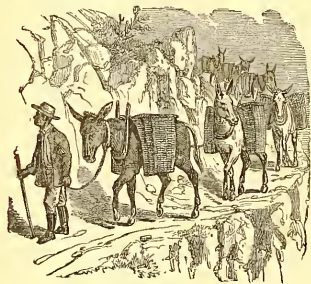
¹ This expulsion of Bragg's army from Middle Tennessee, by which a greater portion of that State and Kentucky was left under the absolute control of the National authority, was a disheartening event for the Confederates, and they now felt that every thing depended upon their holding Chattanooga, the key of East Tennessee, and, indeed, of all Northern Georgia.

² Bragg had stripped that mountain region of forage, so Rosecrans waited until the Indian corn, in cultivated spots, was sufficiently grown to furnish a supply. Meanwhile he gathered supplies at Tracy City and Stevenson, and thoroughly picketed the railway from Cowan to Bridgeport.

³ The writer was informed by the late John Ross, the venerable Chief of the Cherokee Nation, that this undulating ridge, lying back of Chattanooga and rising about 300 feet above the Tennessee River, was named the Missionaries' Ridge because missionaries among the Cherokees had a station on the southeastern slope of it.

the mountain passes. This was done in expectation of precisely what Rosecrans proceeded to do, namely, pass through the mountains, and threaten his enemy's communications between Dalton and Resaca. Rosecrans came to this determination with the mistaken idea, when informed by Crittenden that Bragg had left Chattanooga, that the latter had commenced a retreat toward Rome. Crittenden, who had made a reconnaissance on Lookout Mountain, and from its lofty summit looked down upon Chattanooga and observed that Bragg had retreated from it, immediately moved his corps into the Chattanooga Valley, and on the evening of the 10th of September, encamped at Rossville, within three or four miles of the deserted village. Thus, without a battle, the chief object of the movement of the Army of the Cumberland over the mountains was gained. With great ease Bragg had been expelled from Middle Tennessee, and was now held at bay in an unfortified position, away from the coveted stronghold and strategic position of Chattanooga.

General Burnside, who was in command of the Army of the Ohio, was now brought into active co-operation with Rosecrans, having been ordered to pass over the mountains into East Tennessee to assist that leader in his struggle with Bragg. When summoned to that field, he concentrated his command, then in hand, about twenty thousand in number, at Crab Orchard, in Southeastern Kentucky. He prepared for a rapid movement. His infantry were



PACK-MULES.

mostly mounted; his cavalry and artillery had good horses, and his supplies were carried on pack-mules, that more facile movements might be made than a wagon-train would allow. On the day when Bragg was startled by the great guns of his pursuer at Chattanooga [August 21, 1863], Burnside began his march over the Cumberland mountains, a cavalry brigade in advance. They soon passed the great ranges, and were speedily posted on the line of the railway southwesterly from Loudon, on the Tennessee River, so as to connect with Rosecrans at Chattanooga. General

Buckner, who commanded about twenty thousand troops in East Tennessee, had retired on Burnside's approach, and joined Bragg, and the important mountain pass of Cumberland Gap was soon in possession of the Nationals. The great valley between the Alleghany and Cumberland mountains, from Cleveland to Bristol, seemed to be permanently rid of armed Confederates.¹

¹ The magnificent Valley of East Tennessee has an average width of seventy-five miles, and a length of two hundred miles. The loyal inhabitants of that region received the National troops with open arms. It is difficult to conceive the intensity of the feelings of the Union people along the line of Burnside's march. "Everywhere," wrote an eye-witness, "the people flocked to the roadsides, and, with cheers and wildest demonstrations of welcome, saluted the flag of the Republic and the men who had borne it in triumph to the very heart of the 'Confederacy.' Old men wept at the sight, which they had waited for through months of suffering;

Believing, as we have observed, that Bragg had begun a retreat toward Rome, Rosecrans pushed his troops through the gaps of Lookout Mountain to strike his flank, but he soon ascertained that his foe, instead of retreating, was concentrating his forces at Lafayette, to attack the now attenuated line of the Army of the Cumberland, whose left was at Ringgold and its right near Alpine—points, by the National line, about fifty miles apart. Rosecrans immediately ordered the concentration of his own troops, to avoid and meet perils that threatened them. This was quickly done, and at a little past the middle of September [1863], the contending forces confronted each other, in battle array, on each side of the Chickamauga Creek, in the vicinity of Crawfish Spring and Lee and Gordon's Mill, the line of each stretching northward to the slopes of the Missionaries' Ridge.

General Thomas took position on the extreme National left, and opened battle on the morning of the 19th [September], by attacking the Confederate right. The conflict raged almost without intermission until four o'clock in the afternoon, when there was a lull. It was renewed by the Confederates at five o'clock, and continued until dark. On the right center there had been some severe fighting, and when night fell the advantage appeared to be with the Nationals. In the mean time Longstreet, who had been sent from Virginia, by Lee, with his corps, to help Bragg, and had passed through the Carolinas and Georgia to Atlanta, was now coming up with his forces. He arrived on the field that night, and assumed command of Bragg's left, and on the morning of the 20th the Confederates had full seventy thousand men opposed to fifty-five thousand Nationals.

Both parties prepared to renew the struggle in the morning. Thomas's troops intrenched during the night. A heavy fog enveloped the armies in the morning, and when it lifted, between eight and nine o'clock, a most sanguinary battle was commenced on the wing where Thomas was in command. It soon raged furiously along the whole line. Finally a desperate charge was made upon the temporarily weakened right center of the Nationals, when the line was broken. The right wing was shattered into fragments, and fled in disorder toward Rossville and Chattanooga, carrying along upon its turbulent and resistless tide Rosecrans, Crittenden, and McCook, while Sheridan and



GEORGE H. THOMAS.

children, even, hailed with joy the sign of deliverance. Nobly have these persecuted people stood by their faith, and all loyal men will rejoice with them in their rescue at last from the clutch of the destroyer." "They were so glad to see Union soldiers," wrote another, "that they cooked every thing they had, and gave it freely, not asking pay, and apparently not thinking of it. Women stood by the roadside with pails of water, and displayed Union flags. The wonder was where all the 'Stars and Stripes' came from."

Davis rallied a portion of it upon another road. Rosecrans, unable to join Thomas, and believing the whole army would be speedily hurrying, pell-mell, toward Chattanooga, pushed on to that place to make provision for holding it, if possible. But Thomas stood firm, and for awhile fought a greater part of the Confederate army, enduring shock after shock, and keeping it at bay until he could withdraw his forces, in obedience to an order from Rosecrans. This was done in good order, and the worn and wearied troops took position in the Rossville and Dry Valley gaps of the Missionaries' Ridge, where they bivouacked that night. On the following evening the whole army fell back to Chattanooga; and within forty-eight hours after the battle it was so strongly entrenched that it defied Bragg, who had not thought it prudent to follow the retreating forces from the battle-field. He contented himself with taking possession of the Missionaries' Ridge and Lookout Mountain. Victory was won by the Confederates in the battle of Chickamauga, but at a fearful cost to both armies.¹

The Army of the Cumberland was now closely imprisoned at Chattanooga. By holding Lookout Mountain, which abuts upon the Tennessee River, Bragg commanded that stream and cut off Rosecrans's communication with his supplies at Bridgeport and Stevenson, and compelled him to transport them in wagons, over the rough mountains, fifty or sixty miles. This was a severe and precarious service. For awhile the army was on short allowance, and not less than ten thousand horses and mules were worked or starved to death in the service. In the mean time a change in the organization of the army was effected. It was determined by the government to hold Chattanooga, and for that purpose it was ordered that the armies under Burnside, Rosecrans, and Grant, should be concentrated there. Over these combined forces Grant was placed. His field of command was called the Military Division of the Mississippi.²

When Grant arrived at Chattanooga, late in October, he found Thomas alive to the importance of securing a safe and speedy way for supplies to reach that post. Nearly the whole of Bragg's cavalry had been operating against

¹ The National loss was reported at 16,326, of whom 1,687 were killed. The total loss of officers was 974. It is probable the entire Union loss was 19,000. The Confederate loss was 20,950, of whom 2,674 were killed. Rosecrans brought off from the field 2,003 prisoners, 36 guns, 20 caissons, and 8,450 small-arms.

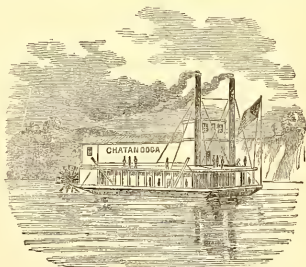
² Rosecrans was relieved of the command of the Army of the Cumberland, and was succeeded by Thomas, and General W. T. Sherman was promoted to the command of Grant's Army of the Tennessee. Rosecrans was ordered to St. Louis, and was placed in command of the Department of Missouri.

Before Grant was called to his enlarged command, he had taken measures for securing every advantage of the victories at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. He sent his paroled prisoners (see page 646) to the Confederate lines at Jackson, and on the same day ordered Sherman to lead a heavy force against Johnston, whose troops were hovering in the rear of Vicksburg. His headquarters was at Jackson, and when Sherman advanced, he concentrated his forces there, behind intrenchments. From there he was driven on the 13th of July, when he fled toward the interior of Mississippi. Grant cast up a line of fortifications around Vicksburg, and with these, and the expulsion of Johnston, that post was made secure. On the day of the fall of Vicksburg, the important post of Helena, in Arkansas, farther up the Mississippi, was attacked by a heavy force of Confederates, but they were repulsed with heavy loss; and when Grant was summoned to the command at Chattanooga, the freedom of navigation on the Mississippi River seemed to be permanently secured.

his line of communications among the mountains. They had seized and destroyed wagon-trains, and, notwithstanding they were driven here and there by Union cavalry, these raiders made the safe transportation of supplies so doubtful, that the troops at Chattanooga were threatened with famine. Thomas had already devised a method of relief. General Hooker had been sent with the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps (Howard's and Slocum's), from the Army of the Potomac, to guard Rosecrans's communications. He was now at Bridgeport with a part of these forces, and it was proposed that he should cross the Tennessee with them, and, pushing into Lookout Valley, threaten Bragg's left, and cover the river to a point where a short route by land to Chattanooga might be obtained. Grant approved the plan, and it was executed. Hooker reached Wauhatchie, in Lookout Valley, after some fighting, on the 28th of October, and at the same time General W. F. Smith came down from Chattanooga, and threw a pontoon bridge across the river at a point only a few miles from that town.¹ This movement, a Richmond journal said, deprived the Confederates "of the fruits of Chickamauga."

From the hour when Hooker entered Lookout Valley, his movements had been keenly watched by the Confederates on Lookout Mountain, and at midnight [October 28, 29] a strong body of them swept down from the hills and fell suddenly upon the Nationals at Wauhatchie, commanded by General Geary, expecting to surprise them. They were mistaken. Geary was awake, and met the attack bravely; and, with the help of troops from Howard's (Eleventh) corps, repulsed the assailants, and scattered them in every direction. From that time the safe passage of the river, from Bridgeport to Brown's Ferry, was secured. Bragg's plans for starving the National army were defeated, and a little steamboat, called *Chattanooga*, was soon carrying provisions up the river, in abundance.²

While these events were occurring near Chattanooga, others of importance were seen in the great Valley of East Tennessee. Burnside's forces were busied in endeavors to drive the armed rebels out of that region, and in so doing several skirmishes and heavier engagements occurred, the most prominent of which were at Blue Springs and Rogersville.



THE CHATTANOOGA.

Meanwhile, Longstreet was sent by

¹ Eighteen hundred troops, under General Hazen, went down the river in batteaux at about midnight [October 26 and 27], gliding unobserved by the Confederate sentinels along the base of Lookout Mountain, where the Tennessee sweeps around Moccasin Point, and, with other troops that went down by land, seized Brown's Ferry and threw a pontoon bridge across the river there. Hooker's troops coming up, connected with those at the ferry, and secured its possession to the Nationals.

² There was no steamboat to be found on the Tennessee River in that region, so mechanics of the army built one for the public service, and called it *Chattanooga*.

Bragg to seize Knoxville and drive the Nationals out of East Tennessee. He advanced swiftly and secretly, and on the 20th of October struck the first startling blow at the outpost of Philadelphia, and drove the Nationals to the Tennessee, at Loudon. Below that point he crossed, and moved on Knoxville, but was temporarily checked by Burnside in a severe fight at Campbell's Station, each losing between three and four hundred men. Burnside fell back to Knoxville, where he was strongly entrenched, closely followed by Longstreet, who began a regular siege of the place.

While the Confederates were besieging Knoxville, stirring events were occurring near Chattanooga. Grant had been waiting for the arrival of forces under Sherman, to enable him to advance on Bragg and send relief to Burnside. So early as the 22d of September, that commander had been ordered, with as many troops as could be spared from the line of the Mississippi, to proceed to the help of Rosecrans. These troops were on the line of the Memphis and Charleston railway, at the middle of October, and toward the close of the month they were summoned by Grant to Stevenson, to head off an anticipated flank movement by Bragg, in the direction of Nashville. When Sherman arrived there, events were in such shape that Grant thought it proper to attack Bragg as speedily as possible, for the twofold purpose of preventing his flight southward, which he suspected was his design, and to demoralize or weaken Longstreet's force and compel him to abandon the siege of Knoxville.

Grant determined to aim his first heavy blow at Bragg's right, on the Missionaries' Ridge. Sherman was directed to cross the Tennessee, and menace his right on Lookout Mountain, and then secretly recross, move to a point above Chattanooga, cross again, and advance on the Ridge. All this was satisfactorily done. Meanwhile, it was thought best to make a movement from the center, at Chattanooga. This was performed [November 23] by Thomas, when a commanding eminence in front of the Missionaries' Ridge, called Orchard Knob, was seized by the Nationals and fortified. Hooker was then ordered to attack Bragg's right on Lookout Mountain early the next morning, so as to attract the attention of the Confederates while Sherman should cross the Tennessee above Chattanooga.

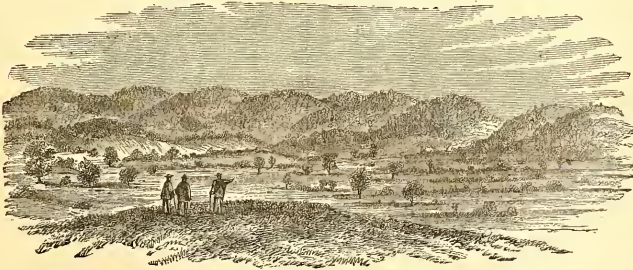
Hooker performed his prescribed duty with vigor and success. He opened his guns upon the breastworks and rifle-pits of the Confederates along the steep, wooded, and broken slopes of the mountain, and then his troops, dashing vigorously forward, swept every thing before them, and captured a large portion of their foes on their front. Then the victors scaled the rugged sides of the mountain, up to the muzzles of cannon planted in a hollow far toward its summit, and driving the Confederates there around an arable belt in the direction of the Chattanooga Valley, established a line firmly on the eastern face of the mountain, with its right resting at the palisades at its top. During a greater part of the struggle which ended in this advantage to the Nationals, Lookout Mountain was hooded in a mist that went up from the Tennessee in the morning, and Hooker's troops were literally fighting in the clouds, and were hidden from their listening brethren at Chattanooga below, who heard the thunders of the cannon, but could only get an occasional glimpse of the

Union banners.¹ Perceiving the danger of having their only way of retreat to the Chattanooga Valley cut off, the Confederates occupying the summit of the mountain fled at midnight, masking their retreat by an attack on the Nationals, in the gloom. In the bright sunlight and crisp morning air the next day, the National flag was seen by delighted eyes below, waving over Pulpit Rock, on the top of Lookout Mountain, where, only a few days before, Jefferson Davis had stood and assured the assembled troops that all was well with the Confederacy.

While Hooker was fighting on Lookout Mountain, Sherman's troops were crossing the Tennessee on pontoon bridges. They were all over at noonday, and, pressing forward, secured a position on the northern end of the Missionaries' Ridge. That night [November 24] both armies prepared for a struggle in the morning. Bragg withdrew all of his forces from Lookout Mountain, and concentrated them on the Missionaries' Ridge; and on the following day [November 25, 1863] they were attacked there in flank and front. Sherman moved early along the ridge, with flank columns at the base on each side. Hooker descended from Lookout Mountain, and, entering Ross's Gap, made a similar movement upon Bragg's



PULPIT ROCK.

THE MISSIONARIES' RIDGE, FROM THE CEMETERY AT CHATTANOOGA.²

right, in the afternoon. A terrible struggle ensued, which Grant, standing on

¹ During this struggle, a battery, planted on Moccasin Point, under Captain Naylor, did excellent service. It actually dismounted one of the guns in a Confederate battery, on the summit of the mountain, 1,500 feet above the river.

² This ridge is made up of a series of small hills, with gaps or passes between. The hill more in the foreground, at the left, is Orchard Knob, on which Grant made his quarters during the battle of the 25th.

Orchard Knob, watched with the most intense interest. The center, under Thomas, was ordered forward. The eager soldiers cleared the rifle-pits at the foot of the ridge, and then scaled the acclivity. The Confederates were speedily driven from their stronghold, and fled in the direction of Ringgold; and that night the Missionaries' Ridge blazed with the camp-fires of the victors.¹ Early the next morning, Sherman, Palmer, and Hooker went in pursuit of Bragg's flying army. His rear-guard, under Cleburne, the "Stonewall Jackson of the South," was struck at Ringgold, and, after sharp fighting, was driven. Then Grant's troops fell back, and General Sherman was sent to the relief of Burnside. Bragg retreated to Dalton, established a fortified camp there, and was succeeded in command by General Joseph E. Johnston. Davis made Bragg General-in-Chief of the Confederate armies.

Immediately after his arrival before Knoxville, Longstreet opened some of his guns [November 18, 1863] upon the National works, and sharply attacked



JAMES LONGSTREET.

their advance, under General W. P. Sanders, who was in immediate command there. A severe but short engagement ensued, in which Sanders was killed, and his troops were driven back to their works. From that time until the dark night of the 28th, Longstreet closely invested Knoxville.² Then, alarmed by the news of Bragg's disaster at Chattanooga, and being re-enforced by nearly all of the Confederate troops then in East Tennessee, he proceeded, at midnight, to assail Fort Sanders, the principal work of the defenses of Knoxville. It was a strong, bastioned earth-work. The

troops that defended it, as well as others there, were under the immediate command of General Ferrero. A gallant defense was made. A heavy storming party of Confederates, who made a most courageous attack, were repulsed

¹ The Union loss was 5,616, of whom 757 were killed. The Confederate loss was a little over 9,000, of whom 6,000 were prisoners. Grant captured, 40 pieces of cannon and 7,000 small-arms. General Halleck said, in a report of the operations of the army: "Considering the strength of the rebel position and the difficulty of storming his intrenchments, the Battle of Chattanooga must be regarded as the most remarkable in history. Not only did the officers and men exhibit great skill and daring in their operations in the field, but the highest praise is also due to the commanding general for his admirable dispositions for dislodging the enemy from a position apparently impregnable."

² When the siege commenced there was in the commissary department little more than one day's rations, and supplies could then be received only from the south side of the Holston, across a pontoon bridge, the foe holding the avenues of approach to Knoxville on the north side of the river. Burnside's efforts were directed to keeping open the country between the Holston and the French Broad, and every attempt of Longstreet to seize it was promptly met. A considerable quantity of corn and wheat, and some pork, was soon collected in Knoxville, but almost from the beginning of the siege the soldiers were compelled to subsist on half and quarter rations, without coffee or sugar. Indeed, during the last few days of the siege, the bread of their half-rations was made of clear bran.

with fearful loss, and Knoxville was saved.¹ Sherman's forces were then pressing forward, and on the morning of the 3d of December, when Longstreet perceived that his army was flanked, he raised the siege, and withdrew toward Virginia. Then Sherman and his troops returned to Chattanooga. Because of the victory at the latter place and the salvation of Knoxville, the President recommended the loyal people to give public thanks to Almighty God "for the great advancement of the National cause."

Let us now turn again to the Atlantic coast, and consider the most prominent events there after the departure of Burnside from North Carolina and the seizure of the coasts of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.² Burnside left General Foster in command of the troops in North Carolina; and from New Berne, which was his principal head-quarters, the latter sent out expeditions from time to time to break up rendezvous of Confederates and scatter their forces, for it was evident that they were watching opportunities to recapture lost posts in that State. Sometimes sharp skirmishes would ensue, and heavy losses occur. In one of his raids to Goldsboro' [December, 1862], for the purpose of damaging the Weldon and Wilmington railway, Foster lost over five hundred men. He attempted to establish communication with the National forces at Suffolk and Norfolk, but when Burnside was repulsed at Fredericksburg,³ and Confederate troops sent from North Carolina to assist Lee in that campaign were thereby released, he abandoned further attempts at that time. Finally, General D. H. Hill was ordered to make a diversion in favor of Longstreet at Suffolk,⁴ where, with a considerable force, he first menaced New Berne, and then marched on Little Washington. He invested that place [March 30, 1863], and the little garrison of twelve hundred men were speedily cut off from the outside world. Finally, the Fifth Rhode Island Regiment went to its relief, from New Berne [April 8], by water. The blockade of the river was run [April 13], and the garrison was relieved; and when, a little later, Foster marched upon Hill, the latter withdrew to the interior of the State. During the succeeding summer Foster kept up his raids, until he was called to take the place of General Dix, in command at Fortress Monroe.

Looking farther down the Atlantic coast, we observe vigorous preparations for an attempt to take Charleston. Admiral Dupont was working with General Hunter to that end, in the spring of 1862, when, at the middle of May, a slave named Robert Small (a pilot), and a few fellow-bondmen, came out of the harbor of Charleston in the Confederate steamer, *Planter*, delivered her to Dupont, and communicated information concerning military affairs at Charles-

¹ The charge of the storming party was greatly impeded by a novel contrivance. Between the *abatis* and rifle-pits in front of Fort Sanders, the ground was covered with the stumps of recently felled trees. Extending from one to another of these stumps were strong wires, about a foot above the ground, and these tripped the assailants at almost every step. Whole companies were prostrated by this wire net-work, and at the same time the double-shotted guns of the fort were playing fearfully upon them. Yet the assailants pressed up, gained the ditch, and one officer actually reached the parapet and planted the Confederate flag there. He soon rolled dead into the ditch, which was swept by a bastion cannon. Lieutenant Benjamin, chief of artillery in the fort, actually took bomb-shells in his hand, ignited the fuses, and threw them over into the ditch, where they produced great destruction of life.

² See pages 607 and 608.

³ See page 631.

⁴ See page 652.

ton of great value. Hunter concentrated troops on Edisto Island, preparatory to throwing them suddenly upon James's Island, and marching swiftly on the deeply offending city, while other troops were sent to break up the railway connecting the cities of Charleston and Savannah. Meanwhile the Confederates prepared to meet the Nationals on James's Island; and, finally, when Union troops crossed over to that island, under the direction of General Benham, and attacked [June 16, 1862] Confederate works at Secessionville, they were repulsed with great loss. This event postponed the intended march on Charleston, and in September Hunter was superseded by the energetic General O. M. Mitchel. That officer was making preparations for vigorous measures for indirect operations against Charleston, when he sickened and died [Oct. 30]. General Brannan attempted to carry out his plans against the Charleston and Savannah railway, but he found that road so well guarded at points to which he penetrated that he could not accomplish his purpose.

After Mitchel's death little was done by the military in the Department of the South until the following spring. The navy in that region was somewhat active in other than mere blockading service. Late in February [1863], the famous blockade runner, *Nashville*, imprisoned in the Ogeechee River, below Savannah, was attacked by the "monitor" *Montauk*, commanded by Captain John L. Worden, and destroyed [Feb. 28, 1863]. She had been lying under the protection of the guns of Fort McAllister, and upon this work Commander Drayton tried the guns of some armored vessels a few days later, but without serious effect. Meanwhile Admiral Dupont was preparing for a vigorous attack on Charleston. Hunter was again in command of the Department of the South, and was strengthened, for co-operation with Dupont, by twelve thousand troops from North Carolina. Four thousand men, under General Truman Seymour, were stationed in a masked position on Folly Island at the beginning of April, and on the 6th of that month Dupont crossed Charleston bar with nine "monitor" vessels, leaving five gun-boats outside as a reserve squadron. It had been determined by the government to speedily reduce the offending city to subjection, for resisting forces were yet intensely active there.¹

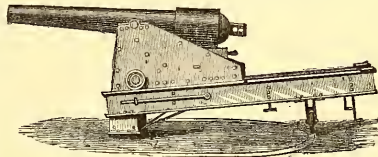
Dupont moved up to attack Fort Sumter, the most formidable obstacle in the way to Charleston. The Confederate batteries near were ominously silent, until the advanced vessels became entangled in a terrible net-work of torpedoes and other obstructions. Then Fort Sumter, and other batteries, bearing an aggregate of nearly three hundred guns, opened a concentric fire upon the assailants, repulsed them after a sharp fight, and destroyed the *Keokuk*, one of the smaller but most daring of the monitors. The fact was, the harbor was filled with formidable obstructions, and around it were guarding batteries

¹ At the close of January [1863] two formidable "rams" darted out of Charleston harbor in the obscurity of darkness and fog, and attacked the blockading squadron. Two of the ships were quickly disabled, and compelled to strike their colors. Although the assailants fled back to Charleston without taking possession of the disabled vessels, the "government" at Richmond actually proclaimed to the world that the blockade of Charleston harbor was raised.

of great strength,¹ and the attempt to enter it was necessarily a failure. The land troops were not in a condition to co-operate, excepting in the event of the reduction of Fort Sumter.

There was comparative quiet along the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia for some time after Dupont's attack on Fort Sumter. General Hunter was succeeded [June 12, 1863] by General Q. A. Gillmore.² He found a little less than eighteen thousand troops in the Department, with arduous duties to perform.³ There were eighty effective cannon and an ample supply of small-arms, munitions and stores, at his command. With these forces and supplies he set about organizing an expedition for the capture of Charleston by troops and ships. He determined to seize Morris Island and its fortifications, and from it batter down Fort Sumter and lay the city in ashes by his shells, if not surrendered. Dupont, having no faith in the scheme so far as the navy was concerned, was relieved of the command of the fleet there, and was succeeded by Admiral Dahlgren on the 6th of July.⁴

Gillmore found Folly Island, next to Morris Island, well occupied by Union troops on his arrival. He caused batteries to be erected to bear upon the latter, so as to make way for his forces to cross Light-House Inlet to that island, and attack Fort Wagner. These fortifications were well made behind a curtain of pine-trees, under the direction of General Vogdes, and a large number of cannon, mostly Parrott guns, were planted on them. Then General Terry was sent to James's Island with a force



A PARROTT GUN.

¹ The fortifications consisted of two batteries on Sullivan's Island seaward from Fort Moultrie, and Battery Bee, landward from it. On Mount Pleasant, on the main near the mouth of Cooper River, was a heavy battery. In front of the city was Castle Pinckney; and on a submerged sand-bank, between this work and Fort Johnson, was Fort Ripley, or Middle-ground Battery. Along the southern border of the harbor were Fort Johnson and some batteries. On Morris Island, not far from Fort Sumter, was Battery Gregg, on Cummings's Point, from which the first shot was hurled at Fort Sumter in 1861; and back of it was Fort Wagner, a very strong work, stretching entirely across Morris Island at that point. Across the channels of the harbor, rows of piles had been driven, and there were chains composed of railway iron linked; and across the main channel



TORPEDO.

a cable was stretched, from which hung festoons of torpedoes in the form given in the engraving, which were to be exploded by electricity, through wires extending from apparatus at Forts Sumter and Moultrie. At one point, where a space in the row of piles had been left open, inviting a ship to enter, was a submerged mine containing 5,000 pounds of gunpowder.

² See page 607.

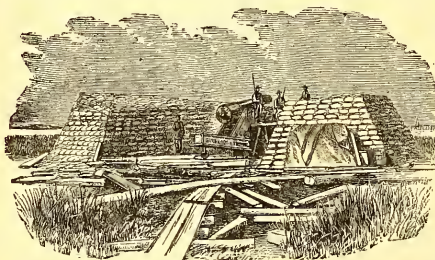
³ The Department did not extend far in the interior, but its line parallel with the coast was about two hundred and fifty miles in length. This was to be picketed, and posts at different points were to be maintained.

⁴ At about the time of Gillmore's arrival, rumors reached Dupont that a powerful "ram" was nearly ready, at Savannah, to make a raid on his blockading squadron, near the mouth of the Savannah River. This was the swift blockade-runner *Fingal*, which, unable to escape to sea, had been converted into an armored warrior of the most formidable kind, and named *Atlanta*. Dupont sent two monitors (*Weehawken* and *Nahant*) to Warsaw Sound to watch her. She appeared in those waters on the morning of the 17th of June. She was supposed by the Confederates to be an overmatch for both monitors; and gun-boats, filled with spectators, accompanied her to tow

to mask the real intentions of the Nationals, when General Strong, with two thousand men, went in boats to Morris Island, landed suddenly [July 10, 1863], and, with the help of the batteries on Folly Island, drove the Confederates to Fort Wagner. Strong allowed his troops to rest until the next morning, when he assailed Fort Wagner, but was repulsed. These movements greatly alarmed the Confederates, and Beauregard and the Mayor of Charleston advised all non-combatants to leave the city.

Fort Wagner was stronger than Gillmore suspected it to be, and he determined to attempt to reduce it, first by a bombardment, and if that failed, then by a regular siege. A line of batteries were erected across the island within range of Fort Wagner, and Dahlgren's fleet took position to open fire on that work. This was done by the land and naval forces on the 18th [July], with a hundred great guns; and while, at sunset, a heavy thunderstorm was sweeping by, arrangements were made for another assault on the fort. Terry had withdrawn from James's Island after a sharp fight, and now Gillmore's troops were concentrated for the important work. Two assaulting columns moved upon the fort. The first, under General Strong, was repulsed with great slaughter. The second, and smaller one, under Colonel H. S. Putnam, met a similar fate.¹

Gillmore now abandoned the plan of direct assault, and began a regular siege, approaching the fort by parallels. He also, with great labor, planted a



THE SWAMP ANGEL

battery in the midst of a marsh between Morris and James's Islands, on which was mounted a 200-pounder Parrott gun, called "The Swamp Angel," from which shells were hurled into Charleston, a distance of five miles.² Finally, Gillmore's preparations for attack on Fort Wagner were completed, and on the 17th of August fire

from twelve batteries, and from Dahlgren's fleet, was opened upon it and Fort Sumter. Before night the walls of the latter began to crumble, and its guns

back to Savannah the captured iron-clads. She first encountered the *Weehawken*. Four shots from the latter caused the *Atlanta* to haul down her colors; and instead of sweeping the blockading squadron from the coast, and opening southern ports to the commerce of the world, as was expected by the Confederates, she was sent to Philadelphia, and exhibited for the benefit of the Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon of that city.

¹ Strong was mortally wounded, and Putnam was killed. In this assault a regiment of colored troops from Massachusetts, under Colonel Shaw, performed gallant deeds. Shaw was killed, and the Confederates, supposing they were disgracing the young hero, buried him in a pit in the sand under a large number of his slain negro troops.

² The mud on which this battery was constructed was about sixteen feet in depth. Piles were driven through it to the solid earth, and on these, timbers were laid. Colonel Serrell, of New York, had the matter in charge, and he assigned to a lieutenant the superintendence of the work. When the spot chosen for building the battery was shown to the latter, he said the thing was impossible. "There is no such word as 'impossible' in the matter," the colonel answered,

were silenced, under the pounding of Dahlgren's cannon. The land troops pushed the parallels closer to Fort Wagner, and at near midnight, of September 6th, Terry was prepared to storm the works. It was soon ascertained that the Confederates had abandoned them. Gillmore immediately took possession of Fort Wagner and Battery Gregg, turned their guns upon Fort Sumter and Charleston, and made the "Cradle of Secession" a desolation in the world of business. Fort Sumter was made apparently harmless, yet a garrison remained there, and when one night [Sept. 8] a party from the fleet attempted to surprise and capture the fort, they were repulsed with terrible loss. Finally, late in October, Gillmore opened heavy guns upon it, and made it a sloping heap of rubbish from the parapet to the water.¹

Let us now change our field of observations, in the extended theater of the war, from the sea-coast to the region beyond the Mississippi River, a thousand miles farther westward, and see what of importance occurred there since the battle of Prairie Grove,² the re-occupation of all Texas by the Confederates,³ Banks's march to the Red River,⁴ and the battle at Helena,⁵ in July, 1863. Missouri and Arkansas, after brief repose, were convulsed by the machinations of disloyal citizens and the contests of hostile troops. Marmaduke, a noted leader, suddenly burst out of Arkansas, and fell upon Springfield, in Missouri, early in 1863, when he was repulsed with a loss of two hundred men. After reverses at other points, he fled back into Arkansas early in February. There were some stirring movements in Northwestern Arkansas at about the same time. Two thousand Confederates attacked a Union force under Colonel Harrison, at Fayetteville [April 18, 1863], when the assailants were repulsed, and fled over the Ozark mountains.

Marmaduke, meanwhile, had gone to Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, and there, with the chief leaders in that region, planned a raid into Missouri, chiefly for the purpose of capturing National stores at Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi River. With about eight thousand men, he pushed rapidly into that State, and following the general line of the St. Francis River to Frederickton, turned eastward, and moved on Cape Girardeau. General McNeil was there to receive him, and after a severe engagement [April 26, 1863], drove Marmaduke out of the State.

In May, three thousand Confederates, under Colonel Coffey, menaced Fort Blunt [May 20] in the Indian country just west of Arkansas, but did not ven-

and directed the lieutenant to build the battery, and to call for every thing required for the work. The next day the lieutenant, who was something of a wag, made a requisition on the quartermaster for one hundred men, eighteen feet in height, to wade through mud sixteen feet deep, and then went to the surgeon to inquire if he could splice the eighteen-foot men, if they were furnished him. This pleasantry caused the lieutenant's arrest, but he was soon released, and constructed the work with men of usual height.—Davis's *History of the One Hundred and Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment*, page 253.

¹ In his annual report to Congress, in December, 1863, the Secretary of the Navy, in summing up the operations of that arm of the service on the Southern coast, said: "Not a blockade runner has succeeded in reaching the city for months, and the traffic which had been to some extent, and with large profits, previously carried on, is extinguished. As a commercial mart, Charleston has no existence; her wealth, her trade, has departed. In a military or strategic view, the place is of little consequence; and whether the rebels are able, by great sacrifice and exhaustion, to hold out a few weeks, more or less, is of no importance."

² See page 637.

³ See page 644.

⁴ See page 644.

⁵ See note 2, page 666.

ture to attack. So they moved off, with a large drove of cattle, for some weaker prey. A little more than a month later, a wagon-train for Fort Blunt was attacked [July 1] by Texans and Creek Indians. These were repulsed, and the train reached the fort in safety. Just then a great peril threatened that post. Six thousand Confederates were approaching to assail it. General Blunt had just arrived. He at once led three thousand troops, with twelve light cannon, to attack the Confederates. He found them at Honey Springs, under General Cooper, where he fell upon them suddenly. After two hours' hard fighting [July 17], the Confederates gave way. Only an hour afterward, General Cabell, whom Cooper was expecting, came up with three thousand Texan cavalry. It was too late. Cabell did not think it prudent to attack Blunt, and so he moved across the Canadian River into Texas.

Guerrilla bands were now active in Blunt's rear. Early in August, about three hundred of these, composed chiefly of desperate characters of Missouri, and led by a white savage, who had assumed the name of Quantrell, crossed into Kansas, and attacked the town of Lawrence [August 13], inhabited chiefly by Unionists. The town was wholly without defenders, and the guerrillas murdered people and destroyed property without hindrance. In the course of a few hours, one hundred and forty persons were murdered, and one hundred and eighty-five buildings were in flames. This crime produced horror and indignation; and when, ten days afterward, the guerrilla chief, M. Jeff. Thompson, was captured, it was very difficult to shield him from personal injury.

Soon after the capture of Vicksburg, General Steele organized an expedition at Helena for the capture of Little Rock. He moved, on the 10th of August, with about twelve thousand men and forty cannon. He crossed the White River at Clarendon, and pushing back the Confederates under Marmaduke, reached the Arkansas, below Little Rock, on the 7th of September. A part of his forces, under General Davidson, crossed to the south bank, and upon opposite sides of the river the two columns moved on Little Rock. Marmaduke made some opposition, but with General Price and others, and all the troops in that vicinity, he abandoned the Arkansas capital, leaving several steamers on fire. On the evening of the 10th [Sept., 1863], Steele's forces occupied the city and the fortifications. The Confederates retreated rapidly to Arkadelphia, on the Washita River. This successful campaign occupied forty days.

Blunt, meanwhile, was trying to bring the Confederates and Indians in the region west of Arkansas to battle, but failed to do so; and Cabell, with a large force, hastened to the aid of Price at Little Rock. He did not reach there in time, but joined Price in his retreat to Arkadelphia. Blunt took possession of Fort Smith, and garrisoned it; and early in October, when on his way from Kansas to that post, with an escort of a hundred cavalry, he was attacked [October 4], near Baxter's Springs, by Quantrell and six hundred guerrillas. The escort was demolished; an accompanying train was plundered and burned, and Blunt, with about a dozen followers, barely escaped with their lives to Little Fort Blair. The Confederates in that region, now finding their supplies



Engraved by J. H. P. H. H.

Drawn by White

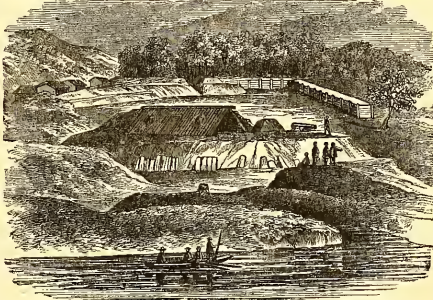
Departure for the War



to be nearly exhausted, a part of Cabell's command, under Colonel Shelby, undertook a raid into Missouri, to procure some. In the southwestern part of that State they were joined by a considerable force under Coffey, when the combined army was twenty-five hundred strong. They penetrated the State to Booneville [October 1, 1863], on the Missouri River, but were quickly driven back into Arkansas by Generals Brown and McNeil, when the latter was placed in command of the Army of the Frontier. Comparative quiet prevailed in Missouri and Arkansas after that for some time, the only hostile movement of note being an attack [Oct. 25] by Marmaduke upon Pine Bluff, on the Arkansas River, with two thousand men and twelve guns. The little garrison, under Colonel Clayton, with the help of two hundred negroes in making barricades, drove off the assailants, after a contest of several hours.

Let us now see what was occurring west of the Mississippi, in the Gulf Department, commanded by General N. P. Banks. When that commander

withdrew from Alexandria, on the Red River, to invest Port Hudson,¹ General Dick Taylor, whom he had driven into the wilds of Western Louisiana, returned, took possession of the abandoned towns of Alexandria and Opelousas, and garrisoned Fort de Russey, early in June [1863]. Then he swept rapidly through the State toward the Mississippi, and in



FORT DE RUSSEY.

the direction of New Orleans, causing Banks to draw in his outposts to Brashear City. But this post was soon captured [June 24, 1863], with an immense amount of public property, and a thousand prisoners.² A few days later, a Confederate force, under General Green, attempted to seize Fort Butler [June 20], at Donaldsonville, on the Mississippi, but were repulsed, with a loss of over three hundred men; and, on the 12th of July, the same leader attacked some troops under General Dudley, in the rear of Donaldsonville, when, after a partial success, the Confederates were driven, and retreated out of that district. This was about the last struggle of Taylor's troops to gain a foothold on the Mississippi, for Banks's force, released by the fall of Port Hudson,³ quickly expelled the Confederates from the region eastward of the Atchafalaya.

¹ See page 644.

² The Confederates took possession of the fort there, with its ten guns; also, a large amount of small-arms, munitions of war, provisions, &c., the whole valued at full \$2,000,000. A thousand refugee negroes were also seized there, and remanded into slavery worse than they had endured before.

³ See page 646.

Banks now turned his thoughts to aggressive movements. Grant visited him early in September, when the two leaders united in an earnest expression of a desire to move, with their combined forces, on Mobile. But the representations of Texan loyalists, then in Washington City, caused the government to order an expedition for the recovery of Texas. Banks fitted out one, to make a lodgment in that State at Sabine Pass, on the boundary-line between Louisiana and Texas. He sent four thousand veteran troops for the purpose, under General Franklin; and Admiral Farragut detailed, as a co-operative naval force, four gun-boats, under Lieutenant Crocker. The expedition crossed the bar at Sabine Pass on the 8th of September [1863], when, instead of the troops landing, according to instructions, and taking the Confederate works in reverse, the gun-boats proceeded to make a direct attack. They were repulsed by a handful of men behind a small work, armed with eight guns,¹ and the expedition returned to New Orleans, leaving behind two steamers, with fifteen rifled-guns, two hundred men as prisoners, and fifty men killed and wounded.

The notice given to the Confederates by this unfortunate expedition, of a design to invade Texas coastwise, caused an abandonment of the scheme at that time, and Banks concentrated his forces on the Atchafalaya, for the purpose of penetrating that State by way of Shreveport, on the Red River. There appeared insuperable obstacles to an expedition over that route. Banks determined to make an attempt to seize and hold the harbors of that commonwealth on the coast. General C. C. Washburn was ordered to mask the movement by marching from Brashear toward Alexandria, and, on the 26th of October, an expedition, consisting of about six thousand troops and some war-vessels, sailed from New Orleans directly for the Rio Grande. The troops, under the immediate command of General Dana, landed at Brazos Santiago, drove some Confederate cavalry toward Brownsville, thirty miles up the river, and, following them, reached that post on the 6th of November. Detachments were sent to other points, and in the space of a month National troops took possession of Texan seaports and fortified posts on the coast, from the Rio Grande eastward, to near the mouth of the Brazos. Only the latter place, and Galveston Island, were now held by the foe. There they had formidable works. At the close of the year all Texas west of the Colorado was abandoned by them.²

¹ This fort had a garrison of 200 men; but, at the time of the attack, all but forty-two were absent. Those present were chiefly Irishmen, and belonged to an organization known as the "Davis Guards." For their gallantry on this occasion, Jefferson Davis presented each man with a small silver medal, a representation of which may be found in Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Civil War*, iii., 222.

² While the events we have just noticed were occurring in the region westward of the Lower Mississippi, others, having a slight bearing upon the war, occurred on the same side of the great river, in the region of its upper waters. This was a war with the Sioux tribe of Indians, in the State of Minnesota. It broke out in the summer of 1862, when Little Crow, a saintly-looking savage in civilized costume, led his fellow-savages in the butchery of the white inhabitants at different places along the frontier settlements. These warriors besieged Forts Ripley and Abercrombie in the autumn, and in that region they massacred about five hundred white people—men, women, and children. Finally, troops under General Sibley captured about five hundred of the savages, and thirty-seven of the worst offenders were hanged. Little Crow was shot by a private citizen while the savage was picking blackberries. His skeleton is preserved in the Minnesota Historical Society. The war was not ended until the summer of 1863, when General Pope was in command of that Department.

Before proceeding to a consideration of military affairs in 1864, let us take a brief glance at the aspect of civil affairs at the beginning of that year. The management of the finances of the nation were yet in the hands of Mr. Chase.¹ The public debt had then reached the appalling sum of considerably over \$1,000,000,000;² the great war was in full career, and the debt was increasing every day; and yet the public credit, among American citizens, never stood higher. "The history of the world," said the Secretary of the Treasury, a year later, when he had been fully sustained by the people, "may be searched in vain for a parallel case of popular financial support to a National movement." The Secretary, in his report to Congress in 1862, had shown that, to meet all demands to the close of the fiscal year, at the end of June, 1864 (eighteen months), provision must be made for raising over \$900,000,000 more. Such a demand would have appalled the representatives of a less hopeful people. But they met the matter firmly, and took measures for raising the money. The people manifested their confidence in the government, by lending it, within the space of two months after the adjournment of Congress [March 3, 1863], \$169,000,000.

The finances of the Confederates were in a deplorable condition at the beginning of 1864. Their public debt, in round numbers, was \$1,000,000,000, with a prospective increase at the end of the year to full \$2,000,000,000. The currency in circulation amounted to \$600,000,000, and was so depreciated that the "government" could see nothing but ruin ahead. Few persons, besides deceived and sympathizing Europeans, particularly Englishmen,³ could be induced to take the "government" bonds willingly. The producers of the Confederacy were unwilling to take the promises of the "government" to pay for their products, and want had threatened their army with destruction. So the authorities at Richmond had boldly adopted the measure of seizing supplies for their armies; and, for the purpose of keeping their ranks full, had passed a law declaring, in substance, every white man in the Confederacy, liable to bear arms, to be *in the military service, and that upon failure to report for duty at a military station within a certain time, he was liable to the penalty of death as a deserter.*⁴

Notwithstanding these disabilities and the fading away of every hope of recognition by foreign governments, or the moral support of any civilized people,⁵ the Conspirators at Richmond, holding the reins of despotic power

¹ See page 560.

² The National debt on the first of July, 1863, was \$1,098,793,181. It was estimated that at the same period in 1864 it would be \$1,686,956,190. The average rate of interest on the whole debt, without regard to the varying margin between coin and notes, had been reduced from 4-36 per cent., on the first of July, 1862, to 3-77 per cent. on the first of July, 1863.

³ The Confederates negotiated a loan in Europe of \$15,000,000, on the security of cotton to be sent abroad and sold. Members of the *Southern Independence Association*, in England, composed of persons of the ruling class, were heavy losers by the transaction.

⁴ The history of civilized nations has no parallel to this act. Mr. Davis and his "cabinet" had then reached a critical point in their career. They well knew that failure in their tremendous undertaking would be ruin to themselves, and they seemed willing to sacrifice every man, ruin every family, waste all the property in the Confederacy, and see their fair section of the Republic converted into a wilderness in a desperate effort to win success. They seemed to regard the "common people" as of no account.

⁵ On the 1st of April, 1864, Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, forwarded to Jefferson Davis, by permission of our government, a letter from Earl Russell, the British Foreign Secretary, in which, in the name of "her Majesty's government," he protested against the further

with firm grasp, resolved to carry on the war regardless of consequences to their wearied and oppressed people. They employed the President's Proclamation of Emancipation¹ as a means for "firing the Southern heart," and they put forth the grossest misrepresentations to deceive the people. They devised schemes for retaliation, and the most cruel measures toward negro troops and their white commanders were proposed. They refused to recognize captive negro soldiers as prisoners of war, and sought, by threats of vengeance, to deter negroes from enlisting. But more prudent counsels prevailed, for it was seen that such measures might be retorted with fearful effect. The President stood firm concerning emancipation. His proclamation was the exponent of the future policy of the government. Congress passed laws in consonance with it. The organization of negro troops for military service was authorized and carried out, and the government took the just ground that *all* its soldiers should have equal protection. The slave-holders were exasperated. The Peace Faction protested. The loyal people said to the government, Be firm. "The signs," the President said, "look better." More than fifty thousand square miles had been recovered from the Confederates in the West. The autumn elections [1863] showed that the friends of the government, who had spoken at the ballot-box, were overwhelming in numbers and moral strength. The government took fresh courage, and adopted measures for a vigorous military campaign in 1864. The President, with the hope of weakening the moral strength of the Confederates issued a generous Amnesty Proclamation,²

procuring of pirate vessels within the British dominions by the Confederates. After courteously reciting facts connected with the matter, Russell said: "Under these circumstances, her Majesty's government protests and remonstrates against any further efforts being made on the part of the so-called Confederate States, or the authorities or agents thereof, to build, or cause to be built, or to purchase, or cause to be purchased, any such vessels as those styled 'rams,' or any other vessels to be used for war purposes against the United States, or against any country with which the United Kingdom is at peace and on terms of amity; and her Majesty's government further protest and remonstrates against all acts in violation of the neutrality laws of the realm."

These words from one who, personally and as the representative of the British government, had given the insurgents all the "aid and comfort" a wise business prudence would allow, kindled the hottest indignation of the chief leaders, and Jefferson Davis instructed one of his assistants (Burton N. Harrison) to reply that it "would be inconsistent with the dignity of the position he [J. Davis] fills as Chief Magistrate of a nation comprising a population of more than twelve millions, occupying a territory many times larger than the United Kingdom, and possessing resources unsurpassed by those of any other country on the face of the globe, to allow the attempt of Earl Russell to ignore the actual existence of the Confederate States, and to contemptuously style them 'so-called,' to pass without a protest and a remonstrance. The President, therefore, does protest and remonstrate against this studied insult; and he instructs me to say that in future any document in which it may be repeated will be returned unanswered and unnoticed." The scribe of the irate "President" added: "Were, indeed, her Majesty's government sincere in a desire and a determination to maintain neutrality, the President would not but feel that they would neither be just nor gallant to allow the subjugation of a nation like the Confederate States, by such a barbarous, despotic race as are now attempting it."

¹ See page 640.

² The President offered full pardon, and restoration of all rights of property, excepting as to slaves, to all persons (with specified exceptions), who had participated in the rebellion, who should take a prescribed oath of allegiance to the government. The persons excepted were all who were or had been civil or diplomatic agents of the so-called Confederate government; all who had left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who were or had been military or naval officers of the so-called Confederate government above the rank of colonel in the army and lieutenant in the navy; all who left seats in the National Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned commissions in the National Army or Navy, and afterward aided the rebellion; and all who had engaged in any way in treating colored persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war.

and a prescription for the reorganization of States wherein rebellion existed. The new Congress (XXXVIIIth) had heavy majorities of loyal members in both Houses.

The National forces in the field at the opening of 1864 numbered about 800,000. Those of the Confederates were about half that number. The former were ready and disposed to act on the offensive; the latter, generally, stood on the defensive. The government and people were tired of delays and the almost indecisive warfare of posts, as the struggle had been up to this time. It was evident that proper vigor in the control of the armies could only be obtained by placing that control in the hands of one competent man in the field. For this purpose Congress created the office of Lieutenant-General. The President nominated Ulysses S. Grant to fill it. The Senate confirmed the nomination [March 2, 1864], and that successful leader was commissioned [March 8] General-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States, and made his head-quarters in the field, with the Army of the Potomac.

Grant had no sympathy with a system of warfare half coercive and half persuasive. That had been tried too long for the public good. He believed his government to be right and the Confederates wrong. He regarded sharp and decisive blows as the most merciful in the end, and calculated to save life and treasure, and so he resolved to make war with all the terrible intentions of war, and end it. He at once organized two grand expeditions, having for their geographical objectives the capture of Richmond in Virginia and Atlanta in Georgia; and their prime object was the destruction of the two great armies of the Conspirators, commanded by Lee and Johnston. The Army of the Potomac, destined to conquer Lee, was placed under the command of General George G. Meade; that intended to fight Johnston was intrusted to General W. T. Sherman. Events proved the wisdom of Grant's choice.

Before considering these great campaigns, let us notice, briefly, other important movements in the country between the mountains and the Mississippi River, and the region beyond that stream.

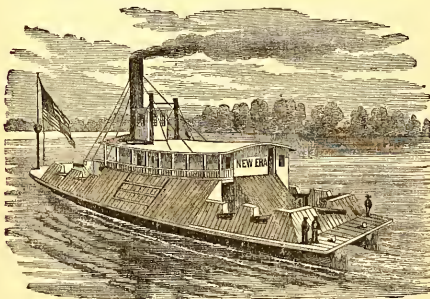
When Sherman went to the assistance of Rosecrans,¹ he left General J. B. McPherson in command at Vicksburg. Late in October [1863] that officer went out with about eight thousand men, to drive the Confederates from the line of the railway between Jackson and Canton, but was met by a superior force [October 21], and returned without fighting. Meanwhile, the Confederate guerrilla chief, Forrest, with about four thousand men, broke into West Tennessee from Northern Mississippi, and making Jackson, in that State, his head-quarters [December], sent out foraging parties in various directions. Troops were sent by Hurlbut, at Memphis, to catch him, but he managed to escape with much plunder. Sherman soon afterward reappeared in Mississippi, and on the 3d of February he left Vicksburg with about twenty-three thousand effective men, for a grand raid through that State, in the direction of Montgomery, in Alabama, and to march on Mobile, if circumstances should warrant the movement. General (Bishop) Polk was then in command in that

¹ See page 668.

region, with a large force of infantry and cavalry. He made but a feeble resistance, and fell back as Sherman moved victoriously to Meridian, at the intersection of important railways. There the latter halted, and waited for a division, chiefly of cavalry, under General W. S. Smith, expected from Tennessee. Sherman's path from Jackson to Meridian, was marked by the destruction of the railway, its station-houses and rolling stock, besides stores and other public property; and during a week that he staid at Meridian he made the most complete destruction of railroads each way from that point. In the mean time Smith failed to join him. He started late, and was driven back by a Confederate force under Forrest and others. Sherman, at the end of a week, laid Meridian in ashes, and returned to Vicksburg with four hundred prisoners, a thousand white Union refugees, and about five thousand negroes. His raid spread dismay throughout the Confederacy, from the Mississippi to the Savannah, and inflicted a heavy loss on the foe.¹

Sherman's raid caused Johnston, at Dalton, in Northern Georgia, to send troops to the aid of Polk. Informed of this, Grant, at Chattanooga, sent the Fourteenth Army Corps, under General Palmer, to menace Johnston and compel him to recall his detachments. The retrograde movement of Sherman caused these detachments to fall back, when Palmer, confronted by a superior force, after some severe fighting [February, 1864], between Ringgold and Dalton, returned to Chattanooga.

Forrest, whose sphere of duty had been enlarged, was now charged with that of preventing re-enforcements from reaching Johnston's opponent, from the region of the Mississippi, by keeping them employed there. Late in March he made a rapid raid through Tennessee and Kentucky, to the Ohio at Paducah, with about five thousand men, capturing Union City and Hickman by the way. He assailed the fort and garrison at Paducah, under Colonel



NEW ERA.

Hicks, and was repulsed, when he hurried to attack Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi, above Memphis, commanded by Major L. F. Booth, with a garrison composed largely of colored troops. This post Forrest besieged on the 13th of April. Booth was assisted in the defense by the gun-boat *New Era*, Captain Marshall, but was overcome by a trick rather than by arms. Forrest

sent in a flag of truce, demanding a surrender of the fort, and while it was

¹ The sum of injury done to the Confederates during Sherman's raid, including that of Smith, and an expedition which Porter sent simultaneously to attack Yazoo City and distract the Con-

there, and the summons was under consideration, he secretly placed large numbers of his troops in ravines near, where they might effectually fall upon the fort from points where their presence was least expected. This was done, with the cry of "No quarter," when a large number of the garrison, who threw down their arms, were slaughtered by methods most cruel. The poor negro troops were objects of the direst vengeance of the assailant.¹ "Forrest's motto," said Major C. W. Gibson, one of his men, to the writer, "was, 'War means fight, and fight means kill—we want but few prisoners.'" This principle was fully illustrated by Forrest by his cruel deed at Fort Pillow.²

An attempt was made to intercept Forrest in his retreat southward from Fort Pillow. It failed. Some weeks later General Sturgis was sent out from Memphis with a large force into Mississippi, to hunt up and beat him, when the former was attacked near Gun Town, on the Mobile and Ohio railway, by Forrest, and, after a severe battle [June 10], was compelled to fly

federates, may be stated in general terms as follows: The destruction of 150 miles of railway, 67 bridges, 700 trestles, 20 locomotives, 28 cars, several thousand bales of cotton, several steam mills, and over 2,000,000 bushels of corn. About 500 prisoners were taken, and over 8,000 negroes and refugees followed the various columns back to Vicksburg.

The expedition sent to Yazoo City consisted of some gun-boats, under Lieutenant Owen, and a detachment of troops under Colonel Osband. They did not then capture the place, but inflicted considerable damage, and returned with a loss of not more than 50 men. Yazoo City was soon afterward occupied by a Union force, composed of the 8th Louisiana and 200 of the Seventh Mississippi colored troops, and the 11th Illinois. They were attacked by a superior force on the 5th of March. A desperate fight ensued. The assailants were finally driven away by some re-enforcements from below, and soon afterward the town was evacuated. The Union loss in this struggle was 130. That of the Confederates was about the same.

¹ There was much opposition to the employment of negroes as soldiers, until quite a late period of the war. At the breaking out of the rebellion, colored men in the Free-labor States offered their services as soldiers, but they were not accepted. When General Hunter took command in the Department of the South, he proclaimed the freedom of the slaves, and was about to organize regiments of colored men. The government would not sanction his proceedings. When General Phelps, commanding a short distance from New Orleans, proposed to make fighters of those colored men who fled into his camp from their masters, and was ordered by General Butler to employ them only as servants, he declared that he was not "willing to become a mere slave-driver," and threw up his commission and returned to Vermont. But, as the war went on, and prejudice gave way to necessity, the enlistment of colored men into the army was authorized. Their usefulness was proven at Milliken's Bend, Port Hudson, Fort Wagner, and other places. In March, 1863, the Adjutant-General of the armies was sent to the Mississippi Valley for the purpose of promoting the enlistment of colored troops. During the war full 200,000 of these dusky soldiers were seen in the uniform of the armies of the Republic. For awhile the Confederates refused to consider them as prisoners of war and subjects of equal exchange with white captives. But they were finally compelled to acknowledge their equality as soldiers, and accept the conditions imposed by necessity.

² In a report of a sub-committee of the Congressional *Committee on the Conduct of the War*, made shortly after the deed, the perpetration of the most horrible cruelties were proven. One or two illustrative instances will suffice: "All around were heard cries of 'No quarter! Kill the damned niggers! Shoot 'em down!' and all who asked for mercy were answered by the most cruel taunts and sneers. Some were spared for a time, to be murdered under circumstances of the greatest cruelty. . . . One negro, who had been ordered by a rebel officer to hold his horse, was killed by him when he remounted; another, a mere child, whom an officer had taken up behind him, was seen by Chalmers [General Chalmers, one of Forrest's leaders], who at once ordered the officer to put him down and shoot him, which was done." They burned huts and tents in which the wounded had sought shelter, and were still in them. "One man was deliberately fastened down to the floor of a tent, face upward, by means of nails driven through his clothing and into the boards under him, so that he could not possibly escape, and then the tent set on fire. Another was nailed to the side of a building outside of the fort, and then the building set on fire and burned. . . . These deeds of murder and cruelty ceased when night came on, only to be renewed the next morning, when the demons carefully sought among the dead, lying about in all directions, for any of the wounded yet alive, and those they found were deliberately shot."

back to Memphis as rapidly as possible, with very heavy loss. Another expedition, under General A. J. Smith, composed of about twelve thousand men, was sent on a similar errand. He fought and defeated Forrest near Tupelo [July 14], and then returned to Memphis. Three weeks afterward Smith returned to Mississippi, with ten thousand men, in search of Forrest, but while he was there, that bold leader, with three thousand picked men, flanked him, dashed into Memphis in broad daylight, hoping to capture some Union generals at the Gayosa House, and then fled back to Mississippi.

Let us now look across the Father of Waters, and see what was occurring there in 1864.

Early in January, General Banks received orders from Halleck, the General-in-Chief of the armies, to organize an expedition for the recovery of Texas, to go by way of the Red River, to Shreveport, in the vicinity of which was a considerable Confederate force, under General E. Kirby Smith and other leaders. It was proposed to have troops from Sherman's command, and a fleet of gun-boats under Admiral Porter, to co-operate directly with Banks, while Steele, at Little Rock,¹ should more remotely aid the expedition. Accordingly, early in March, Porter was at the mouth of the Red River [March 7], with his fleet, and transports with Sherman's troops under General A. J. Smith. The latter were landed at Simms's Port on the Atchafalaya. They marched to Fort de Russy² and captured it [March 14, 1864], and then, on transports, went up the river to Alexandria, and took possession of the town [March 16]. Banks's column had marched, meanwhile, from the vicinity of Brashear City, under General Franklin, and moving by way of Opelousas, arrived at Alexandria on the 26th. Banks had arrived there two days before. Smith's troops went forward, driving the Confederates who were gathering on their front, and took post twenty miles farther up the river, in the direction of Shreveport.

The water in the Red River was low, and falling, and it was with much difficulty that the fleet and transports got above the rapids at Alexandria. They did so after a few days of hard labor. Banks's column, meanwhile, had advanced to Natchitoches, eighty miles above Alexandria [April 3], the Confederates, in increasing numbers, falling back as they advanced. Smith's troops on transports, and the fleet, advanced to Grand Ecore, near Natchitoches, and from that point the great body of the expedition moved toward Shreveport. The larger gun-boats could go no further, so a detachment of Smith's command, under General T. Kilby Smith, accompanied the transports and lighter gun-boats, with supplies for the army.

The expedition encountered the Confederates on the way, now and then, but they invariably fell back, until they reached Sabine Cross Roads, not far from Mansfield, where they made a stand in heavy force. There Banks's cavalry, and part of his infantry and artillery, engaged in a sharp struggle [April 8], when they were forced to retreat a short distance by overwhelming numbers. Franklin came up with re-enforcements late in the afternoon, when the whole body of National troops were routed with heavy loss of men and

¹ See page 676.

² See page 677.

materials of war. Fortunately the fine division of General Emory was near, and took a stand at Pleasant Grove to receive the fugitives and resist the Confederates. Another heavy battle ensued, when the Nationals were again victorious. They thought it prudent, however, after the battle, to fall back to Pleasant Hill, fifteen miles in the rear, for it was not certain that General Smith would come up in time to aid the wearied troops on the field of victory. There the united forces took a strong position. The Confederates had followed closely, and there another severe battle was fought [April 9, 1864], which resulted in another victory for the Nationals. Banks proposed to move again toward Shreveport, in the morning, but the unanimous opinion of the officers of his and Smith's command, was that it would be best for the expedition to fall back to the Red River, at Grand Ecore.¹ The transports and guarding troops, and the lighter gun-boats, which had gone up to Loggy Bayou, after some fighting on the way with Confederates on the banks of the river, joined the army at Grand Ecore.

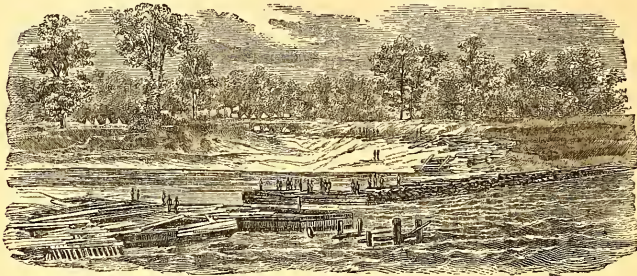
The troubles of the expedition were not at an end. It was determined to fall back to Alexandria, and it was an easy matter for the army to do so, but the water in the Red River was so low, and still falling, that it was difficult to get the fleet over the bar at Grand Ecore. This was accomplished, however, and on the 17th of April the fleet started down the river, when one of the vessels was sunk by a torpedo. The army moved on the 21st [April, 1864], but was met at the passage of the Cane River, where the Confederates, on Monet's Bluff, confronted them. These were dislodged by skillful maneuvers and sharp fighting, and the National forces entered Alexandria on the 27th, after an absence of twenty-four days. Some of the fleet had a severe struggle with a battery at the mouth of Cane River, but the vessels ran by it in the darkness, excepting a pump-boat. The expedition against Shreveport was now abandoned, and it was determined to return to the Mississippi.

The fleet encountered a most serious obstacle at Alexandria. The water was so low that it was impossible for the vessels to pass over the rapids. A means had been suggested, by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Bailey, Engineer of the Nineteenth Corps, so early as the day of the battle at Pleasant Hill, when a retreat was thought of. It was to dam the river at the foot of the rapids, so as to deepen the water on them, and thus, when the vessels were there, open a sluice and allow them to go down with the deep current.² This

¹ The chief reasons offered were: (1.) The difficulty in bringing his trains which had been sent forward on the road toward Grand Ecore, in time to move quickly after the flying Confederates; (2.) A lack of water for man or beast in that region, excepting such as the wells afforded; (3.) The fact that all surplus ammunition and supplies of the army were on board the transports sent up the river, and the impossibility of knowing whether these had reached their destination; (4.) The falling of the river, which imperiled the naval part of the expedition; and (5.) The report of a scouting party, on the day of the battle, that no tidings could be heard of the fleet. "These considerations," said Banks, "the absolute deprivation of water for man or beast, the exhaustion of rations, and the failure to effect a connection with the fleet on the river, made it necessary for the army, although victorious in the struggle through which it had just passed, to retreat to a point where it would be certain of communicating with the fleet, and where it would have an opportunity for reorganization."

² Admiral Porter, in his dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy, said: "The work was commenced by running out from the left bank of the river a tree-dam, made of the bodies of very

was done successfully. All of the vessels passed the rapids safely into the deep water below, made so by an upward current of the brimful Mississippi, one hundred and fifty miles distant. With very little further trouble, the whole expedition moved down to the Mississippi. At Simms's Port on the



BAILEY'S RED RIVER DAM.

Atchafalaya, General Canby appeared, and took command of Banks's troops, and the latter returned to New Orleans. General Smith returned to Mississippi, and Porter resumed the service of patrolling the Mississippi River.

General Steele had not been able to co-operate with the expedition, as was expected. He started southward from Little Rock late in March with about eight thousand troops, and was soon joined by General Thayer, commander of the Army of the Frontier. They pushed back Price, Marmaduke, and others, who opposed them in considerable force, and captured the important post of Camden [April 15, 1864], on the Washita River. It was a difficult one to hold, and Steele soon abandoned it, and returned to Little Rock, after a severe battle at Jenkinson's Ferry on the Sabine River. So ended, in all its parts, the disastrous campaign against Shreveport for the repossession of Texas. Its failure was owing to a radically defective plan, over which the leaders had no control.¹

large trees, brush, brick, and stone, cross-tied with other heavy timber, and strengthened in every way ingenuity could devise. This was run about three hundred feet into the river. Four large coal-barges were then filled with brick, and sunk at the end of it. From the right bank of the river cribs filled with stone were built out to meet the barges."

¹ General Banks had so often objected to taking the route of the Red River, for Texas, that when Halleck again urged it, he did not feel at liberty to demur. He laid before the General-in-Chief a memorial, in which were explicitly stated the obstructions to be encountered, and the measures necessary to accomplish the object in view. It recommended as indispensable to success: (1.) Such complete preliminary organization as would avoid the least delay in movements after the campaign had opened; (2.) That a line of supply be established from the Mississippi, independent of water-courses, because these would become unmanageable at certain seasons of the year; (3.) The concentration of the forces west of the Mississippi, and such other force as should be assigned to this duty from General Sherman's command, in such a manner as to expel the enemy from Northern Louisiana and Arkansas; (4.) Such preparation and concert of action among the different corps engaged as to prevent the enemy, by keeping him constantly employed, from operating against our positions or forces elsewhere; and (5.) That the entire force should be placed under the command of a single general. Preparations for a long campaign was also advised, and the month of May was indicated as the point of time when the occupation of

The failure of the Red River expedition, and the expulsion of Steele from the region below the Arkansas River, emboldened the Confederates, and they soon had almost absolute control of the State. Raiding parties roamed at will; and very soon the Unionists were awed into silence, and the civil power, in a great degree, passed into the hands of the enemies of the Republic. This condition of affairs was favorable to a long-contemplated invasion of Missouri by Price, which had both a military and political object in view. In the Western States, and particularly in Missouri, were secret associations in sympathy with the Confederates, known as *Knights of the Golden Circle*³ and "Sons of Liberty." An arrangement appears to have been made for an armed uprising of the members of these associations, when Price should enter the State, and he was induced to do so by promises of being joined by over twenty thousand of these disloyal men. The vigilant Rosecrans, then commander of the Department of Missouri,³ discovered their plans, made some arrests, and so frightened the great mass of these secret enemies of the government, that when Price appeared, he found very few recruits.

Price, and Shelby, with nearly twenty thousand followers, entered South-eastern Missouri, late in September, and pushed on to Pilot Knob, half way to St. Louis from the Arkansas line. There General Ewing, with a single brigade, struck him an astounding blow that made him very circumspect. Fortunately Rosecrans had just been re-enforced by volunteers from the surrounding region, and by troops under General A. J. Smith, which had been stopped at Cairo on their way to join Sherman in Northern Georgia, with others under General Mower, which speedily arrived. Price saw that a web of peril was rapidly weaving around him, so he abandoned his design of marching upon St. Louis. He hastened toward Jefferson City, but passed on without touching it, and fled toward Kansas, closely pursued. It was an exciting chase, and was made lively, at times, by sharp encounters. Finally, early in November, Price was driven into Western Arkansas with a broken and dispirited army. It was the last invasion of Missouri.

Turning our attention eastward, at about this time, we observe some stirring events in East Tennessee. After Longstreet's retirement from Knoxville⁴ he lingered some time between there and the Virginia border. General Foster took Burnside's place as the commander of the Union troops there. Some severe skirmishing occurred at different places, but no pitched battle; and, finally, Longstreet withdrew into Virginia, to re-enforce the menaced army of General Lee. The notorious Morgan and his guerrilla band lingered in

Shreveport might be anticipated. "Not one of these suggestions," said General Banks in his report, "so necessary in conquering the inherent difficulties of the expedition, was carried into execution, nor was it in my power to establish them." There existed that bane of success, a divided command. Banks, Porter, and Smith, acted independently of each other, as far as they pleased, there being no supreme authority to compel unity or co-operation in action.

¹ After Steele took possession of Little Rock in the autumn of 1863, the Unionists of Arkansas held a Convention there, and proceeded to re-establish civil government according to the prescription contained in the President's Amnesty Proclamation. Now the State was so absolutely under the control of the Confederates, that the disloyal government called a session of the old Legislature [September 22, 1864], and elected a representative in the so-called "Senate" of the Confederates, at Richmond.

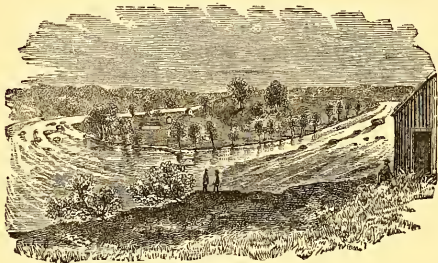
² See page 520.

³ See note 2, page 666.

⁴ See page 671.

East Tennessee a few months longer. At the close of May he went over the mountains into Kentucky, and raided through the richest portions of that State, well up toward the Ohio, for the purpose of drawing Union troops, then threatening Southeastern Virginia, in that direction. General Burbridge hastened after him, and struck him such blows that his shattered column went reeling back into East Tennessee. At Greenville, early in September, Morgan was surprised, and was shot dead while trying to escape. Soon after this, Breckinridge moved into East Tennessee with a considerable force; and from Knoxville to the Virginia line, was a theater of stirring minor events of the war.

Early in 1864, there were some movements having in view the capture of Richmond, and the release of Union prisoners in the Libby, and on more horrible Belle Isle in the James River. The first of these which attracted much attention, occurred in February, when General B. F. Butler, then in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, sent about fifteen hundred troops against Richmond. The expedition, owing to treachery, was fruitless. Later, General Kilpatrick, with five thousand cavalry, swept around Lee's



BELLE ISLE.

right flank, down to Richmond, and into its outer line of fortifications [March 1, 1864], but was compelled to retire. At about the same time Colonel Dahlgren, with a part of Kilpatrick's command, appeared before Richmond [March 2, 1864], at another point, but was repulsed, and while retiring, was killed

The Confederate authori-

ties were so exasperated by the audacity of Kilpatrick, that they contemplated the summary execution of ninety of Dahlgren's command, who were captured;¹ and they actually placed gunpowder under Libby Prison for the purpose of blowing it up with its hundreds of captive Union soldiers, should they attempt to escape!² A few days later, General Custer, with a considerable force,

¹ *A Rebel War Clerk's [J. B. Jones] Diary*, March 5, 1864. The Richmond press, in the interest of the Confederates, strongly recommended the measure. "Let them die," said the *Richmond Whig*, not by court-martial, not as prisoners, but as *hostes humani generis* by general order from the President, Commander-in-Chief."

² *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, March 2, 1864. "Last night," says the *Diary*, "when it was supposed probable that the prisoners of war at the Libby might attempt to break out, General Winder ordered that a large amount of powder be placed under the building, with instructions to blow them up if the attempt were made." Seddon would not give a written order for the diabolical work to be done, but he said, significantly, "the prisoners must not be allowed to escape, under any circumstances," "which," says the diarist, "was considered sanction enough. Captain — obtained an order for and procured several hundred pounds of gunpowder, which was placed in readiness. Whether the prisoners were advised of this I know not; but I told Captain — it would not be justifiable to spring such a mine in the absence of their knowledge of the

threatened Lee's communications in the direction of Charlottesville and the Shenandoah Valley.

We now come to the consideration of one of the great campaigns, planned by General Grant, namely, that of the Army of the Potomac under General Meade, against the Army of Northern Virginia under General Lee, and Richmond, the head-quarters of the Conspirators. Grant, as we have seen,¹ made his head-quarters with the Army of the Potomac, which was re-organized, and divided into three corps, commanded, respectively, by Generals Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick, and known in the order of the commanders named, as the Second, Fifth, and Sixth. General Burnside, who, since his retirement from East Tennessee, had been re-organizing his old Ninth Corps, was ordered forward, and joined the Army of the Potomac, on the Rapid Anna. Re-enforcements rapidly filled the armies, and at the close of April [1864], Grant gave orders for Meade in Virginia, and Sherman in Northern Georgia, to advance.

The Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapid Anna, into the tangled region known as The Wilderness, on the morning of the 4th of May. At that time Lee's army lay strongly intrenched behind Mine Run,² and extending from the Rapid Anna almost to Gordonsville. It was also divided into three corps, under Ewell, Hill, and Longstreet. Grant intended to move swiftly by Lee's flank, masked by The Wilderness, and plant the Union army between that of the Confederates and Richmond; but the latter was vigilant, and boldly leaving his intrenchments, attacked the Nationals in The Wilderness. A very sanguinary battle ensued [May 5 and 6], on that strange battle-field,³ by which both armies were shattered, but without any decided advantage gained by either. It continued two days, when Lee withdrew behind his intrenchments, and Meade prepared to get out of The Wilderness, into the open country near Spottsylvania Court-House, as soon as possible. In this sanguinary battle, the gallant Union General Wadsworth was killed, and the Confederate General Longstreet was wounded.

General Warren led the movement out of The Wilderness, and Grant's plan of flanking Lee would doubtless have been successful, but for delays. When, on the morning of the 8th [May, 1864], Warren emerged into the open country two or three miles from Spottsylvania Court-House, he found a part of Lee's army across his path, in strong position behind intrenchments previously cast up, and the remainder rapidly arriving. Before the whole of the Army of the Potomac could arrive, that of Northern Virginia was there and ready to oppose Grant in flanking movement. Dispositions were made for battle,

fate awaiting them in the event of their attempting to break out, because such prisoners are not to be condemned for striving to regain their liberty. Indeed it is the *duty* of a prisoner of war to escape if he can."

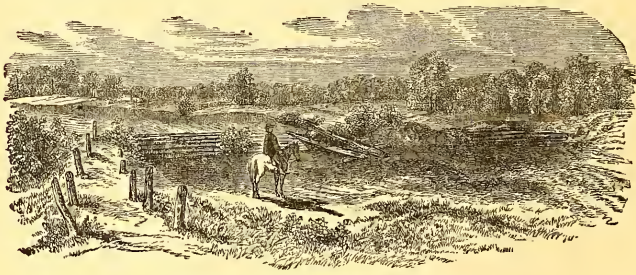
¹ See page 681.

² See page 660.

³ Covered with a thick growth of pine, cedars, and shrub-oaks, and tangled under-brush, it was a country in which maneuvering, in the military sense, was almost impossible, and where by the compass alone, like mariners at murky midnight, the movements of troops were directed. The three hundred guns of the combatants had no avocation there, and the few horsemen not away on outward duty were compelled to be almost idle spectators. Of the two hundred thousand men there ready to fall upon and slay each other, probably no man's eyes saw more than a thousand at one time, so absolute was the concealments of the thickets. Never in the history of war was such a spectacle exhibited.

after some skirmishing on the morning of the 9th, and that day was spent in preparations. The gallant Sedgwick was killed while superintending the arrangement of a battery. Every thing was in readiness for battle on the morning of the 10th. It opened vigorously, and raged furiously all day, with dreadful losses on both sides. On the following morning [May 11, 1864], General Grant sent to the government that famous dispatch in which occurred his declaration, "*I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer.*"

Early on the 12th, another and equally sanguinary contest ensued, when Hancock broke through the Confederate lines, gained a great advantage, and held it. Another day of terrible fighting ensued, and did not wholly cease until midnight, when Lee suddenly withdrew behind his second line of intrenchments, and was apparently as strong as ever. In the space of eight days, the Army of the Potomac had lost nearly thirty thousand men. Yet Grant, sent a cheering dispatch to the government; and the whole country was listening with the deepest anxiety for tidings from the two great armies. Finally, Grant determined to turn Lee's present position, and made dispositions accordingly. Lee proceeded to thwart him, and a severe battle occurred on the 19th of May, in which the Nationals were successful in repulsing Lee, but with fearful loss to themselves. About forty thousand of the army that crossed the Rapid Anna was now disabled. Lee had lost about thirty thousand.



THE PLACE WHERE SEDGWICK WAS KILLED.¹

When the Army of the Potomac emerged from The Wilderness, General Philip H. Sheridan, with a greater portion of the National cavalry, went upon a raid on Lee's rear. He swept down into the outer line of works before Richmond, fighting and killing on the way, a few miles north of the city, the eminent cavalry officer, General J. E. B. Stuart, and destroying the railways and a vast amount of public property. He pushed on to the James River below, and then returned to the army. In the mean time a co-operating force, under General Sigel, in the Shenandoah and Kanawha Valleys, was active. A part of

¹ This is from a sketch made by the author in June, 1866, taken from the breastworks in front of the Union line. Toward the right is seen the logs of the battery, the construction of which Sedgwick was superintending, and near which he fell. The bullet came from the clump of trees on the knoll seen more to the right, on rising ground.

it under Sigel in person, fought Confederates under Breckinridge, at New Market [May 15], when the Nationals were routed. Another part, under Generals Crooke and Averill, moved out of the Kanawha Valley, and proceeded toward the Virginia Central railway, to destroy it, and also some lead mines near Wytheville. But little was accomplished. Later than this, General Hunter, who had succeeded Sigel in command, fought [June 5] the Confederates at Piedmont, not far from Staunton, where he was joined by Crook and Averill. Then the whole body, twenty thousand strong, went over the mountains to capture Lynchburg. It was too strong; and Hunter, after destroying a vast amount of property in that region, withdrew into West Virginia, and was not able to join in the campaign for several weeks afterward.

While the Army of the Potomac was struggling with Lee, General Butler, who had been joined by troops, under General Gillmore, which had been called up from Charleston, made effective co-operative movements. He went up the James River [May 4, 1864], in armed transports, with about twenty-five thousand men, followed by a squadron of gun-boats under Admiral Lee, and unarmed transports. Fort Powhatan, Wilson's Landing, and City Point, at the mouth of the Appomattox River, were seized, and Butler proceeded at once to take possession of and hold the peninsula of Bermuda Hundred between the rivers James, and Appomattox. Simultaneously with this movement up the James, General Kautz, with five thousand cavalry, went out from Suffolk, to break up the railways south and west of Petersburg; while Colonel West, with fifteen hundred mounted men went up the Peninsula, forded the Chickahominy, and took post on the James River, opposite City Point. All this was done with scarcely any opposition, for Confederate troops were then few in that region.

General Butler proceeded to cast up a strong line of intrenchments across the peninsula of Bermuda Hundred, and to destroy the railway between Petersburg and Richmond. The former place was then at his mercy, and might have been easily taken, but misinformation from Washington made Butler move cautiously. Meanwhile, the withdrawal of Gillmore's troops having relieved Charleston of immediate danger, left the Confederate forces there free to act elsewhere. So, when Butler moved up the James, Beauregard was summoned to Richmond with all the troops he could collect. He passed over the Weldon road before Kautz struck it, and filled Petersburg with defenders before Butler could move upon it in force. His columns were receiving accessions of strength every hour, and while Butler was intrenching, Beauregard was massing a heavy force on his front along the line of the railway. Finally, on the morning of the 16th [May], while a dense fog shrouded the country, he attempted to turn Butler's right flank, which was connected with the James by a thin line. A National brigade was utterly overwhelmed by the first heavy blow, when two regiments, standing firmly at the junction of roads, checked the victors. At the same time a force that had fallen on Butler's front, was repulsed. The assault was renewed, on the National right, when the Union troops all fell back to their intrenchments. In this collision the Nationals lost about four thousand of their number, and the Confederates, about three thou-

sand. For several days afterward there was some sharp fighting in front of Butler's line. Kautz, meanwhile, had been on the railway communications in the rear of Petersburg, inflicted considerable but not very serious damage, and returned to head-quarters.

And now Grant's flanking column was moving grandly forward. Lee had the advantage of higher ground, and a more direct road to Richmond, and when the Army of the Potomac approached the North Anna River, near the Fredericksburg railway crossing, it found its antagonist strongly posted on the opposite side, to dispute its passage. A heavy battle ensued [May 23], when Lee withdrew a little to a stronger position. Grant became satisfied, after careful examination of that position, that he could not carry it. So he withdrew [May 26], and resumed his march on Richmond, well eastward of his foe, Sheridan, with the cavalry, in the advance; and on the 28th the entire Army of the Potomac was south of the Pamunkey River, with an unobstructed communication with its new base of supplies at White House, near the mouth of that stream. But Lee, moving by a shorter road, was again in a strongly intrenched position on the National front, covering the turnpike and the two railways to Richmond. There heavy battles were fought [May 28, 29], when Grant, again finding Lee's position too strong to be carried, began another



PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

flanking movement, with the intention of crossing the Chickahominy near Cool Arbor. Sheridan had seized an eligible position at Cool Arbor, and there, on the following day, the Army of the Potomac was re-enforced [May 31] by ten thousand men under General W. F. Smith, sent up by Butler from the Army of the James at Bermuda Hundred.

Meade now gave orders for an advance upon the foe, and the forcing of a passage of the Chickahominy. Here was the old battle-ground where McClellan and Lee fought two years before, and here were now some sanguinary engagements preparatory to the final struggle which occurred on the 3d of June, when the Army of the Potomac attempted to break through the lines of the Army of Northern Virginia, and cross the Chickahominy. The struggle was fearful and bloody, but brief. Twenty minutes after the first shot was fired, full ten thousand Union men were killed or wounded. The Nationals lost no ground, but did not attempt to advance farther. They were attacked that night, but repulsed their assailants. Another attack the next day, and also at night, had a similar result, but with heavy losses on both sides.¹ Mean-

¹ The total loss of the Unionists in the struggle around Cool Arbor, was 13,153, of whom 1,705 were killed, 9,042 wounded, and 2,405 missing.

while the Nationals were gradually moving to the left, and on the 7th [June] that wing touched the Chickahominy. Then Sheridan was dispatched with two divisions of cavalry around Lee's left. He tore up the railways in that direction, and scattered all Confederate forces that opposed him until he reached Gordonsville, where he found them so numerous that he retraced his steps.

Grant now formed the bold resolution to cross the Chickahominy far to Lee's right, and then pass the James River and attack Richmond from the south. This resolution startled the authorities at Washington with fears that Lee might turn back and seize that city. Grant had considered all the contingencies incident to such a bold movement, and feared no evil from it.¹ To this end the whole army was put in motion [June 12, 13]. The most of the troops crossed the Chickahominy at Long Bridge, and moved toward the James by way of Charles City Court-House, carrying with them the iron work of the railway between the Chickahominy and White House. The passage of the river was safely made by the army on ferry-boats and pontoon bridges on the 14th and 15th of June. At the same time unsuccessful efforts were made by a portion of the Army of the James to seize Petersburg before aid should come down to Beauregard from Lee. The failure to do so was a sad misfortune, and from that time, for about ten months, Petersburg and Richmond sustained a most pressing siege.

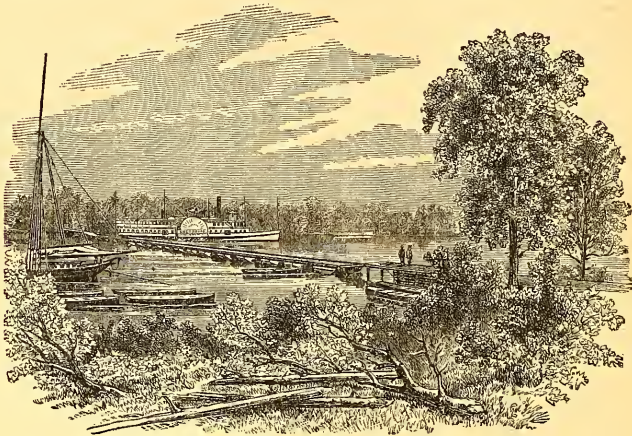
General Grant established his head-quarters at City Point, and thither Meade hastened, after posting his army [June 16], to consult him, when it was determined to make a general assault that evening on Petersburg. It was done by the combined corps of Warren, Hancock, and Burnside, at a heavy cost of life, but with the gain of a slight advance of the National line. It was evident that a greater portion of Lee's army was now south of the James River. A force under Terry, sent out by Butler to seize and hold the railway, was driven by Longstreet and Pickett. Another general assault was ordered on the morning of the 18th, when it was found that the Confederates had withdrawn to a stronger line of works nearer Petersburg. The attack was made in the afternoon, and resulted in no gain to the Nationals, but in a heavy loss of men.

It was now evident that Petersburg could not be carried by a direct assault, so a flanking movement was made for the purpose of seizing and cutting the Weldon road, and turning the Confederate right. The turning column was heavily attacked [June 22, 1864] by General A. P. Hill, and were falling back, when Meade arrived. Then the line was restored, and, by an advance at nightfall, nearly all of the lost ground was recovered. The Weldon road was reached the next morning, but just as destructive operations upon it were commenced, Hill struck the Nationals a stunning blow, which made them recoil. In this unsuccessful flank movement, the Unionists lost about four thousand men, mostly by capture. At the same time General Wilson, with his own and Kautz's cavalry, struck the Weldon railway at Reams's Station, destroyed the

¹ The country between Lee's shattered army and Washington, was thoroughly exhausted by the troops that had passed over it, and had Lee attempted such a movement, Grant could have sent troops from the James by way of the Potomac for the protection of the capital much sooner than Lee could have marched to the attack.

buildings and track, and then pushed on to the Lynchburg road. This was also destroyed over a distance of twenty-two miles. In the prosecution of this destructive business, the cavalry went on to the Staunton River, when they turned, and found themselves compelled to fight their way back. Wearing and worn, the shattered column reached the army, with a loss of their guns, train, and nearly a thousand men made captive.

Butler now threw a pontoon bridge across the James River at Deep Bottom, over which troops passed and menaced Richmond. Lee sent a force to con-



PONTOON BRIDGE AT DEEP BOTTOM.

front them, when Hancock crossed over, flanked the Confederate outpost, and drove them back to the shelter of strong works at Chapin's Bluff, not far below Fort Darling, on Drewry's Bluff. These Sheridan attempted to flank. Lee was so alarmed by these movements within a few miles of Richmond, that he withdrew a large portion of his army from the south side of the river to meet the menace, when Grant took the opportunity to make a vigorous attempt to carry the Confederate lines before Petersburg. He had secretly run a mine under one of their principal forts, in front of Burnside's position, and this was sprung on the morning of the 30th of July. The explosion produced a large crater where the fort stood, and by it about three hundred inmates of the work perished. At the same moment the National Artillery was opened along the whole line, but a simultaneous assault that was to have been made at the point of the explosion for the purpose of penetrating the Confederate works, was not undertaken in time, and the scheme failed.¹

¹ Owing to a lack of readiness on the part of the attacking column, the assault was not made until the Confederates had recovered from the shock, and massed troops at the breach. These

There was now a brief lull in operations before Petersburg and Richmond, during which there were some stirring events in Maryland. When Hunter disappeared beyond the mountains,¹ General Early, who had been sent by Lee to drive the former from Lynchburg, hastened to the Shenandoah Valley, and, with about fifteen thousand men, swept down to and across the Potomac, driving General Sigel into Maryland. Early did not stop to molest some of Sigel's command on Maryland Heights at Harper's Ferry, but pushed on to Hagerstown and Frederick. His was a powerful raid, for the purposes of plunder and a possible seizure of Baltimore and Washington, but chiefly to cause Grant to send heavy bodies of troops for the defense of the latter city, and so compel him to raise the siege of Petersburg.

At that time the only force at hand to confront Early were a few troops commanded by General Lewis Wallace, whose head-quarters were at Baltimore. That energetic officer proceeded at once to a judicious use of the small force under his control, in which he was ably seconded by the gallant General E. B. Tyler. On hearing of Early's movement, General Grant had sent the Sixth Corps, under General Wright, to Washington, and, fortunately, the Nineteenth Corps, under General Emory,² arrived at this juncture at Fortress Monroe, from New Orleans. The division of General Ricketts, of that corps, was immediately sent to Baltimore, and with these, and such troops as he could gather in his department, Wallace made a stand behind the Monocacy River, not far from Frederick. There, with his handful of men, he fought Early [July 9, 1864], whose cavalry were making demonstrations on his flanks. Wallace was compelled to fall back on Baltimore after heavy loss.³ Then Early pushed on toward Washington, but the check and lesson given him by Wallace so retarded his movements that the Sixth and Nineteenth Corps arrived there in time to save the city from capture. Early withdrew from in front of Washington on the night of the 12th, and with much booty crossed the Potomac into Virginia at Edwards's Ferry. General Wright pursued him through Snicker's Gap to the Shenandoah River, where, after a sharp conflict [July 19], Early began a retreat up the Valley, and Wright returned to Washington. Threatenings in that valley caused both the Sixth and Nineteenth Corps to be quickly sent there, and soon afterward occurred Sheridan's brilliant campaign in that region, which will be noticed presently.

A fortnight after the failure of the mining operations at Petersburg, Grant sent another expedition to the north side of the James, at Deep Bottom, composed of the divisions of Birney and Hancock, and cavalry under Gregg. As before, Richmond was seriously threatened, but in engagements on the 13th and 16th of August, no decided advantage to the Unionists was gained, excepting the incidental one of assisting similar demonstrations on the right of the Confederates, against which Warren was impelled, for the purpose of seizing

repulsed the assaulting column when it moved forward, and inflicted a loss on the Unionists of about 4,400 men.

¹ See page 691.

² See page 684.

³ He lost nearly two thousand men, including 1,282 who were made prisoners, or were otherwise missing. His killed numbered 98, and his wounded 579.

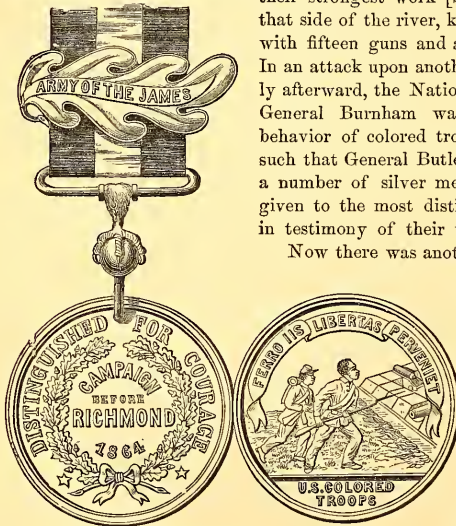
the Weldon road. This he effected [August 18], with a loss of a thousand men. There he commenced intrenching, when a stronger force than he had encountered endeavored to regain the road. In so doing they temporarily broke [August 19] Warren's line, and captured twenty-five hundred of his men, including General J. Hayes. But the Nationals held the road in spite of all efforts to dislodge them. They repulsed another heavy attack on the 21st, and on the same day Hancock, who had returned from the north side of the James, struck the Weldon road at Reams's Station, and destroyed the track for some distance. The Confederates attacked them in heavy force, when they were most gallantly opposed by Miles and others. The Nationals were finally driven off after a loss of 2,400 men out of 8,000 men; also five guns.

For a month after this there was comparative quiet along the lines, when National troops moved simultaneously upon the right and left flanks of the Confederates. That of Warren, on their right, was more for the purpose of masking a more formidable one by Butler on their left, on the north side of the James, with the Tenth Corps, under Birney, and Eighteenth, under Ord. Warren gained some advantage by pushing forward the National lines, but that gained by Butler was of far more importance. He stormed and captured

their strongest work [September 29, 1864] on that side of the river, known as Fort Harrison, with fifteen guns and a line of intrenchments. In an attack upon another fort near, immediately afterward, the Nationals were repulsed, and General Burnham was killed. The gallant behavior of colored troops in this charge was such that General Butler, after the war, caused a number of silver medals to be struck and given to the most distinguished among them, in testimony of their valor on that occasion.

Now there was another pause for a month,

when an attempt was made to turn the Confederate right, while Butler menaced their left on the north side of the James River. The bulk of the Army of the Potomac was massed on Lee's right, and moved [October 27] upon his works on Hatcher's Run, west of the Weldon road.



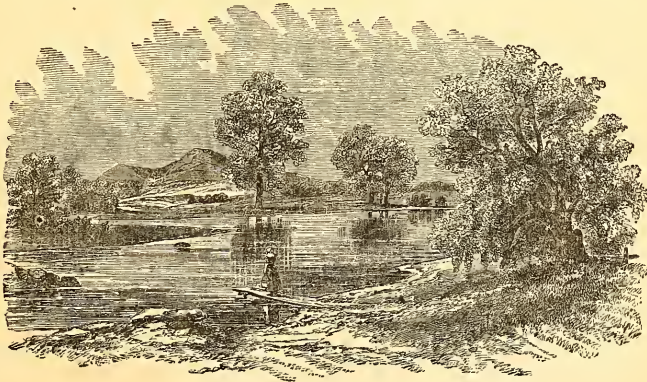
THE BUTLER MEDAL.

For that position there was a severe struggle, which resulted in a repulse of the Nationals, and their final withdrawal [October 29] to their intrenchments in front of Petersburg. From that time until the opening of the spring cam-

paign, little was done by the Nationals immediately in front of Petersburg and Richmond, excepting an extension of their line to Hatcher's Run. Up to the first of November, from the fifth of May, the losses of the Army of the Potomac had been fearful—a little more than 88,000 men. Probably the entire loss among troops engaged in the campaign against Richmond during that time was 100,000 men.

In the mean time there had been stirring events in the Shenandoah Valley. On the day after Wright and Early fought,¹ Averill, moving up from Martinsburg, had a contest with and worsted a Confederate force near Winchester [July 20], taking prisoners and guns. Two or three days afterward, Crook was driven back from that neighborhood by a strong attacking party, and it was evident that Early had not, as was expected, hastened to rejoin Lee, but was in full force in the Valley, and ready to fight. His own estimate of his power was evinced by his sending General McCausland and others on a raid into Maryland and Western Pennsylvania, at which time they burned about two-thirds of the city of Chambersburg. When the raiders turned again toward the Potomac, Averill, who was in the vicinity of Chambersburg, followed, but they went back to Virginia with plunder, without much molestation.

When information of this daring raid reached Washington, the Sixth and Ninth Corps were sent first in quest of the invaders, and then into the Shenan-



VIEW AT CEDAR CREEK.

doah Valley, where they were joined by Hunter's troops. The whole force, about 30,000 strong, was placed under the command of General Sheridan early in August. After a month's preparation, he assumed the offensive against Early, and by a series of brilliant movements and a sharp battle, he sent him

¹ See page 695.

"whirling up the Valley," as he expressed it. First there was a severe battle near Winchester [Sept. 19], when Early retreated to the strong position of Fisher's Hill, not far from Strasburg. He was driven from this vantage ground on the 21st, with heavy loss, and fled to the mountains with not more than half his army with which he had at first met Sheridan. The latter fell back to a position behind Cedar Creek, near Strasburg, where, on the 19th of October, Early, who had been re-enforced, and had come down to Fisher's Hill, fell suddenly and crushingly upon the Nationals, and came near overwhelming them with destruction. They fell back to Middletown and beyond, where, under the chief direction of General Wright, they turned upon their pursuers. Sheridan had just come up from Winchester. A sharp conflict ensued, when the tide was turned, and Early was again sent in swift retreat up the Shenandoah Valley, with heavy loss. Sheridan's short campaign in the Valley was a brilliant success, and ended hostilities in that region, for he nearly annihilated Early's army, and Lee could spare no more men for warfare away from Richmond.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CIVIL WAR. [1861—1865.]

LET us here turn from a consideration of the campaign against Richmond, and its defenders, for awhile, and observe the progress of that against Atlanta and the army that stood in the way of the National advance. General William T. Sherman was chosen by Grant, to lead the troops in the campaign in



W. T. SHERMAN.

Georgia, and he set out from the vicinity of Chattanooga, at the beginning of May, with nearly 100,000 men.¹ His antagonist, General Joseph E. Johnston, then at Dalton, had about 55,000 men.² Johnston was in a strong position at Dalton, the approaches to it, through gaps in a mountain range, being strongly fortified. Sherman, when he moved forward, was satisfied that a direct attack on Johnston's front, through Buzzard's Roost Pass in Rocky Face Ridge, would be disastrous to his men, so he began that series of mas-

¹ Sherman was the commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi, which Grant held at the time of his promotion. His force for the campaign comprised three armies, namely: Army of the Cumberland, led by General George H. Thomas, 60,773; Army of the Tennessee, General McPherson, 24,465; and Army of the Ohio, General Schofield, 13,559; total, 98,797.

² Johnston's army was divided into three corps, commanded respectively by Generals Hardee, Hood, and Polk.

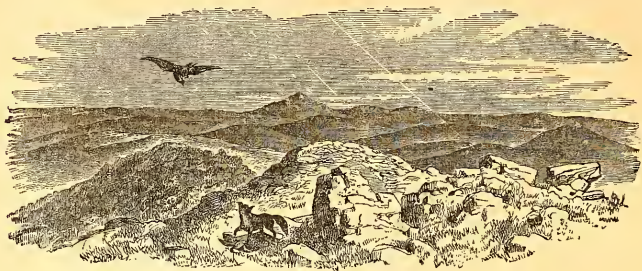
terly flank movements by which he compelled his adversary (who was determined to save his army), to abandon one strong position after another.

Sherman menaced Johnston on front and flank, on the 7th of May, when the latter abandoned his position at Dalton, and fell back behind strong works at Resaca, which extended from the Oostenaula River, northward. When Sherman approached, Johnston sent out troops to attack a portion of his command. A sharp fight occurred [May 15], about two miles from Resaca Station, in which the Confederates were driven, and retreated, across the Oostenaula covered by the corps of Hardee. The Nationals closely pursued, Thomas following directly in the rear of the fugitives, while McPherson and Schofield took routes to their right and left. General J. C. Davis and his division pushed on to Rome, where they destroyed mills and founderies of great importance. Near Adairsville, Johnston made a brief stand against the central pursuing column, but on the near approach of the Nationals, he continued his retreat to a strong and fortified position at Cassville. There he evidently intended to give battle, but he thought it prudent to move on [May 19], when he crossed the Etowah River, burnt the bridges behind him, and took another good position covering the Allatoona Pass, in a mountainous region.

Sherman now rested his army a little. He perceived that Johnston's position was almost impregnable, so he determined to flank him out of it, by moving well to the right, and concentrating his army at Dallas. Johnston attempted to thwart the movement, and in that vicinity a severe but indecisive battle was fought [May 25]. Johnston's army, meanwhile, had been very busy in casting up intrenchments between Dallas and Marietta, over a broken wooded region, in which it was very difficult for troops to operate. In that region much skirmishing and fighting occurred, and finally, on the first of June, Johnston was compelled to evacuate the Allatoona Pass. He also, soon afterward, abandoned his intrenchments near New Hope Church and Ackworth. Sherman now garrisoned Allatoona Pass, and made it a secondary base of supplies, he having caused the railway and its bridges between there and Chattanooga to be put in order. He was now re-enforced by infantry, and cavalry, making his army nearly as strong as when it left Chattanooga; and he moved forward [June 9] to Big Shanty, not far from the great Kenesaw Mountain, around and upon which, as well as upon Lost Mountain and Pine Mountain, the Confederates had lines of intrenchments.

In this region there was much maneuvering and fighting, for a few days, in the midst of almost incessant rain, during which General (Bishop) Polk was killed. By persistent assaults, Sherman compelled Johnston to abandon, first, Pine Mountain [June 15], then Lost Mountain [June 17]; and finally, after some sanguinary engagements, in which both parties suffered terribly, he was compelled to evacuate the great Kenesaw Mountain [July 2], overlooking Marietta. At dawn on the 3d, the National banner was seen waving over that peak, and at eight o'clock in the morning Sherman rode into Marietta, close upon the rear guard of Johnston's army, then hastening to the Chattahoochee River, near Atlanta, closely pursued by the Nationals. Sherman hoped to strike Johnson a fatal blow while he was crossing that stream, but that skillful

leader so quickly covered the passage by strong intrenchments, that his army was all across, excepting troops holding the works, early on the morning of the 5th, without having been molested.



SUMMIT OF GREAT KENESAW MOUNTAIN.¹

Sherman promptly advanced to the Chattahoochee, where quick and successful turning movements by Schofield and Howard, caused Johnston to abandon the line of the river, and retreat toward Atlanta [July 10, 1864]. He formed a new line, covering that town, with the Chattahoochee on his left, and Peachtree Creek on his right. Now the two armies rested a little; and at that time



J. B. HOOD.

Johnston was relieved of command, and General J. B. Hood, of Texas, was appointed to fill his place. The former had been careful to preserve his army. His force was every way inferior to that of his antagonist, and he knew that in pitched battles he would doubtless lose a large portion of his men and materials. The "government" at Richmond were dissatisfied with his wise caution, and committed his army to a dashing and brave soldier, who preferred the quick work of brute force to the slower achievements of military science. Hood received from

Johnston full fifty thousand effective men, of whom 10,000 were cavalry. With these he resolved to fight, and not retreat.

On the 16th of July, General Rousseau joined Sherman with 2,000 cavalry;

¹ This is from a sketch made by the author in May, 1866. The high peak in the distance is Lost Mountain. The eminence on the extreme right is Pine Mountain, on which General Polk was killed while watching the movements of troops.

and on the 19th such of the National forces as had not crossed the Chatahoochee, passed over it. Then the left, led by Schofield and McPherson, advanced with the intention of striking the railway east of Decatur, that connects Atlanta with Augusta. Thomas, at the same time, crossed Peach-tree Creek at several places, and heavy skirmishing occurred along the entire front of the advancing columns. McPherson struck and destroyed the railway for several miles, and Schofield reached Decatur. Hood had determined to give battle at an auspicious moment, and on the afternoon of the 20th he fell heavily upon the corps of Howard and Hooker, and a part of Palmer's, but was repulsed after a most gallant struggle, in which both sides suffered severely.¹

On the morning of the 22d [July, 1864], Sherman discovered that the Confederates had abandoned the heights along Peach-tree Creek, and it was concluded that Hood, following the example of Johnston, was about to evacuate Atlanta. The army was at once moved rapidly toward that city, when, at an average of two miles from it, it encountered a very heavy line of intrenchments, which had been cast up the previous year, with Hood and his army behind them. General Blair, commanding the Seventeenth Corps, had carried an important point the night before, and was in full view of the city, and preparations were made for assailing the Confederate lines in heavy force, when they were compelled to perform less acceptable service. Hood had been holding the Nationals in check with a small part of his army, and had made a long night march around with his main body, and now he fell with crushing force upon Sherman's rear. The first assault was made by Hardee; and at about the same time, McPherson, who was riding about alone in the woods, and in fancied safety, making observations, was shot dead, when General Logan succeeded to the command of his troops. A terrible battle, that lasted for hours, succeeded Hardee's assault, when, toward evening, the Confederates, who had lost very heavily, unable to carry the coveted points, desisted. The assault was soon renewed, and after another desperate struggle, the Nationals were victorious, and the Confederates retired to their works.²

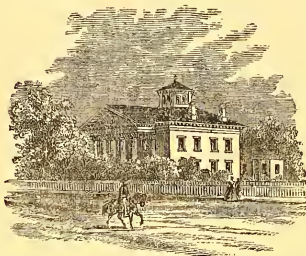
Hood now seemed more disposed to be quiet, and Sherman dispatched cavalry to make raids on the railways in the rear of his antagonist. Generals E. M. McCook and Stoneman were sent on this business, on different routes, but with the intention of co-operating. Failing in this, their operations, though important, fell short of Sherman's expectations. Stoneman effected very little, and his force, divided and weakened, was captured or dispersed, and himself made prisoner. Meanwhile Sherman made dispositions for flanking Hood out of Atlanta, when the latter attacked the Nationals [July 28], and a sanguinary battle ensued. Hood was repulsed with heavy loss, and soon perceiving that Sherman was gradually getting possession of the railroads by

¹ The Union loss, mostly of Howard's corps, was about 1,500 men. Sherman estimated the Confederate loss at 5,000. They left 500 dead, and 1,000 severely wounded, on the field, besides many prisoners.

² The National loss in the struggles of that day was 3,722, of whom about 1,000 were prisoners. Sherman estimated Hood's total loss at not less than 8,000. He left 2,200 dead on the field, within the Union lines, and 1,000 prisoners.

which the Confederates in Atlanta received their supplies, he sent his cavalry to retaliate in kind, by striking Sherman's communications. This absence of Hood's cavalry gave Sherman a coveted opportunity to harm his antagonist seriously. He dispatched Kilpatrick at the middle of August with 5,000 horsemen, to break up the railways leading, one toward Montgomery, in Alabama, and the other to Macon, in Georgia. This raid was successful, and was followed by a movement of nearly the whole army from Atlanta to the railways in its rear, when Hood, fatally dividing his army, sent a part under Hardee, to fight Howard at Jonesboro', twenty miles south, on the Macon road, while he, with the remainder, staid at Atlanta. There was a desperate battle at Jonesboro' [August 31], in which the Nationals were victorious. Howard lost about 500 men, and Hardee 2,500. The Confederate works covering Jonesboro' were captured, and Hardee retreated.

On hearing of the disaster at Jonesboro', Hood took up his magazines at Atlanta, and fled to a point of junction with Hardee. Sherman took possession of the city and fortifications, and found that Hood had not only left the place desolate by the destruction of factories, founderies, and other industrial establishments, but had left scarcely any food for the inhabitants. It was impossible for Sherman to subsist both them and his army, so he humanely ordered them to leave for the North or the South, as their inclinations might lead them.¹



SHERMAN'S HEAD-QUARTERS IN ATLANTA.

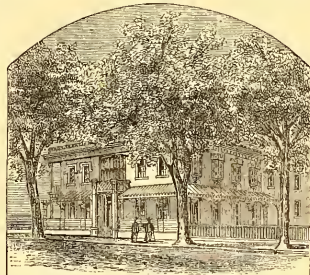
While Sherman was resting his army at Atlanta, Hood flanked his right, crossed the Chattahoochee, and made a raid upon his communications. With a strong force he threatened Sherman's supplies at Allatoona Pass, then lightly guarded, but General Corse hastening up from Rome assisted in saving them. Not doubting it to be Hood's intention to push up into Tennessee, Sherman sent Thomas to Nashville, so soon as he heard of Hood's flank movements; and leaving Slocum (who had succeeded Hooker) in command at Atlanta, he pushed the bulk of his army in the direction of Allatoona Pass, and from the top of Great Kenesaw, told Corse, by signal, that help was near, and to hold out until it should reach him. The Confederates were repulsed, and then Hood moved northward, threatening posts along the line of the railway, under instructions, to entice his adversary out of Georgia. Sherman closely followed him, well up toward Chattanooga, when the route of the chase deflected westward. In Northern Alabama, Sherman relinquished it, and sending Schofield, and most of his cavalry, under Wilson, to Thomas at Nashville, he returned to Atlanta, taking with him the garrisons of posts, dismantling the

¹ In government wagons, and at the cost of the government, over 2,000 persons with much furniture and clothing were carried south as far as Rough and Ready, and those who desired to go north, were kindly taken to Chattanooga.

railway, and burning founderies, &c. He cut loose from all his communications on the north, and prepared for a march to the sea.

Sherman's great march to the sea was begun, with 65,000 men of all arms, on the 11th of November, 1864, on which day he cut his telegraphic communications with the North, and was not heard from for some time, excepting through Confederate newspapers. His army moved in two grand divisions, the right led by General O. O. Howard, and the left by General H. W. Slocum. General Kilpatrick led, with 5,000 cavalry. Much of Atlanta was destroyed before they left it, and the railways and public property were made desolate in the track of the two heavy columns. Wheeler's cavalry afforded the chief annoyance to the army on its march. Feints were made here and there, to distract the Confederates, and were successful. The destination of the Nationals from the beginning, had been Savannah or its vicinity, but the foe sometimes thought it was Augusta, and then Milledgeville. They passed on, and on the 13th of December, [1864], General Hazen captured Fort McAllister, on the Ogeechee River, not far from Savannah. That city was immediately invested, and on the night of the 20th, Hardee, in command there with 15,000 troops, evacuated it, and fled to Charleston, after destroying much public property. On the following day the National troops took possession of Savannah,¹ and there rested. The army had marched two hundred and fifty-five miles in the space of six weeks, inflicting much injury on the Confederates, but receiving very little injury in return.² As Sherman approached the coast, General Foster, commanding in that region, made valuable co-operative movements; and when Hardee fled to Charleston, he occupied strong positions on the railway between the two cities, at Pocotaligo, and other places.

There were some stirring scenes in 1864, in the region of the Atlantic coast between the Pamlico and St. John's rivers, which had passed into history when Sherman reached the estuaries of the sea at the close of that year. We left Gillmore easily holding Charleston with a tight grasp at the close of 1863.³ Information had then reached him, and the government, that Florida was ready to step back into the Union, through the open door of amnesty, but needed a military escort, for there were some active Confederate troops, under



SHERMAN'S HEAD-QUARTERS IN SAVANNAH.

¹ Sherman, in a dispatch to the President, said: "I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns, and plenty of ammunition, and also about 25,000 bales of cotton.

² Sherman lost during the march, 567 men, whereof only 63 were killed. He captured 1,328 men, and 167 guns. He found and used ample subsistence on the route, amounting, in the aggregate, to 13,000 beeves, 160,000 bushels of corn, and over 5,000 tons of fodder; also 5,000 horses, and 4,000 mules. He burned about 20,000 bales of cotton, and captured 25,000 bales, at Savannah.

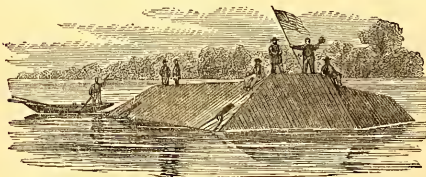
³ See page 675.

General Finnegan, yet within her borders. General Gillmore accordingly sent General Truman Seymour, with about six thousand troops, horse and foot, to assist in the restoration of Florida to the Union.¹ He entered the St. John's River on a fleet of steamers and sailing vessels, with an imposing display, and on the 7th of February, took possession of the ruined city of Jacksonville, from which Finnegan had fled on Seymour's approach.

Finnegan was immediately pursued, Colonel Henry, with cavalry, leading in the chase. He drove the Confederates from place to place, capturing their guns, their stores, and men, and was closely followed by Seymour with the residue of the army. Finally, Seymour concentrated his forces at Sanderson, and, with about five thousand men, moved toward the Suwannee River. At Olustee Station, where the railway that crosses the peninsula passes through a cypress swamp, he encountered Finnegan [February 20, 1864], in a strong position, and in a severe battle that ensued, was repulsed. He retreated to Jacksonville in good order, burning, on the way, stores valued at \$1,000,000. In that unfortunate expedition Seymour lost about two thousand men.

At about that time Rear-Admiral Bailey destroyed important salt-works, on the Florida coast, which were valued at \$3,000,000. There were some raids in Florida in the course of the summer, but after the battle at Olustee, very little was done toward the restoration of Florida to its place in the Union.² In Georgia, Sherman's invasion was absorbing all interest. In South Carolina, very little of importance, bearing upon the progress of the war, was accomplished. There were some unsuccessful offensive movements in the vicinity of Charleston. Gillmore's guns kept watch and ward over the harbor and city, while he and some of his troops went up the James, to assist in operations against Petersburg, and Richmond, as we have seen.³

There were some events a little more stirring, in North Carolina, early in 1864. On the first of February, a Confederate force under General Pickett, menaced New Berne, and destroyed a fine gun-boat lying there. A few weeks later, General Hoke marched seven thousand men against Plymouth [April 17,



THE ALBEMARLE.

1864], near the mouth of the Roanoke River, where General Wessells was in command of a garrison of about twenty-four hundred men, with some fortifications. A formidable "ram," called the *Albemarle*, lying in the

Roanoke, assisted in the attack, and on the 20th, Wessells was compelled to

¹ The President commissioned, John Hay, one of his private secretaries, as major, and sent him [January 13], to Hilton Head, for the purpose of accompanying the expedition, to act in a civil capacity, if circumstances should require him to.

² On the 20th of May there was a Union Convention, at Jacksonville, to take measures for the restoration of civil authority in Florida. No practical advantage resulted from the gathering.

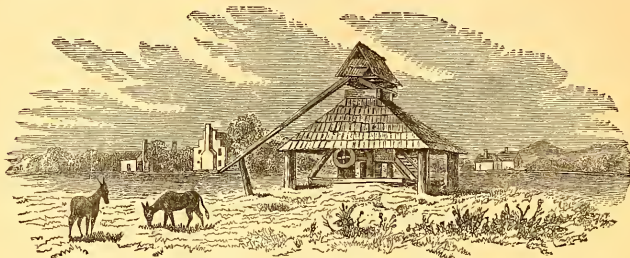
³ See page 691.

surrender the place, with sixteen hundred men, twenty-five guns, and a large quantity of small-arms and stores. After the fall of Plymouth, General Palmer abandoned [April 28] Washington, at the head of Pamlico Sound, and Hoke summoned New Berne to surrender, expecting the co-operation of the *Albemarle* in a siege. She was enticed from her safe anchorage under the guns at Plymouth, and after a severe fight with the *Sassaues*, was compelled to flee for safety up the Roanoke. The siege of New Berne was abandoned, and Hoke was called to the James River. Several months later, the gallant Lieutenant Cushing, of the navy, destroyed [October 27], the dreaded *Albemarle* with a torpedo, in the Roanoke. Four days afterward, the National troops re-entered Plymouth. After that the war in that region consisted chiefly of a series of encounters between Union raiders and detachments of Confederates.

When Sherman sent Thomas to Nashville, he gave him the widest discretionary powers. These were used with great judgment, and Thomas prepared for the stirring events which soon followed, with wise skill. Hood, as Sherman had anticipated, pushed across the Tennessee River, Forrest's cavalry heralding his advance. That active leader went raiding up the railway that leads from Decatur to Nashville, when he was met at Pulaski by Rousseau, and compelled to turn eastward to the Chattanooga road. Rousseau again confronted him at Tullahoma. At the same time General Steedman was marching against him in considerable force from another direction. Forrest eluded them, and for awhile, in September and October [1864], there were stirring scenes between the Tennessee and Duck rivers, for several detachments of National troops were vainly endeavoring to catch the bold raiders. At length, late in October, Hood appeared near Decatur, in Northern Alabama, then held by General Gordon Granger. He menaced that post, but only as a mask to the passage of his army over the Tennessee, near Florence. Forrest was again on the war-path, co-operating with Hood, and caused the destruction, at Johnsonville, on the Tennessee River, of National stores and other property, valued at \$1,500,000.

Hood had been re-enforced by a part of Dick Taylor's army, and he now pressed vigorously northward with more than 50,000 men, a large number of them natives of Tennessee and Kentucky. Thomas had about 30,000 immediately available troops, with nearly as many more scattered over Tennessee and Northern Alabama. He sent troops forward to impede rather than prevent Hood's march on Nashville, and was successful. Schofield, with a strong force at Pulaski, fell back, as Hood advanced, across Duck River, with his train; and at Columbia he kept the Confederates on the south side of that stream until his wagons were well on toward Franklin, where he took a position on the 30th of November, and, casting up intrenchments, prepared to fight, if necessary, until his trains should be safely on their way to Nashville. Hood came up in the afternoon, and attempted to crush his opponent by the mere weight of numbers. A most desperate struggle ensued. At the first onset the Confederates drove the whole National line, capturing the works and guns, and gaining, apparently, a complete victory. A counter charge was

made, when the Confederates were driven out of the captured works, the guns were recovered, ten flags and three hundred men were captured from the assailants, and the National line was restored, chiefly through the skill and



VIEW ON THE BATTLE-GROUND AT FRANKLIN.

bravery of General Opdyke, directing gallant soldiers. Hood made desperate but unavailing attempts to retake the works, and the battle raged until toward midnight. Hood's loss was terrible—at least one-sixth of his effective force.¹

Schofield now fell back to Nashville, carrying with him all of his guns, when Hood advanced and invested that post with about 40,000 men. Thomas had been re-enforced by General A. J. Smith's troops, which had just come from assisting in chasing Price out of Missouri.² Thomas's infantry was fully equal in numbers to those of his adversary, but he was deficient in cavalry. Rousseau was in Fort Rosecrans, at Murfreesboro', to hold the railway to Chattanooga, and Thomas allowed Hood to remain in front of him as long as possible, so as to give himself time to increase his own supply of horses and obtain means for transportation. Finally, on the 15th of December, Thomas moved out upon Hood. The battle was opened by the Fourth Corps, under General T. J. Wood. The Confederates were driven out of their works, and pressed back to the foot of the Harpeth hills with a loss of 1,200 prisoners and 16 guns. Wood again advanced the next day [Dec. 16, 1864], and with other troops, after a severe battle, drove the Confederates through the Brentwood Pass. They left behind them most of their guns, and a large number of their companions as prisoners.³ They were hotly pursued for several days, Hood turning occasionally to fight. Forrest joined him at Columbia, and formed a covering party; and at near the close of the month Hood escaped across the Tennessee River with his shattered columns. So ended, in complete victory

¹ The Confederate loss was reported by General Thomas at 6,252, of whom 1,750 were killed. The National loss was 2,326, whereof 189 were killed. Nearly 1,000 were captured.

² See page 687.

³ In the two days' battles, Thomas captured 4,462 prisoners, of whom 287 were officers, one of them a major-general; also fifty-three guns and many small-arms.

for the Nationals, Thomas's admirably managed campaign in Tennessee.¹ Hood's army had now ceased to be formidable in numbers or spirit, and at Tupelo, in Mississippi, that commander was relieved, at his own request, on the 23d of January, 1865, and was succeeded by Beauregard.

Let us now turn a moment from the consideration of the struggle on the land, to some events of the war on the ocean. We have already noticed the pirate ship *Alabama*,² commanded by Raphael Semmes. The same man had previously commanded the pirate ship *Sumter*, which, after a brief but destructive career on the ocean, was blockaded by the ship-of-war *Tuscarora* at Gibraltar, and there sold early in 1862. A superior cruiser, built for the Confederates, in England, called the *Florida*, afterward roamed the sea in charge of J. N. Maffit. Also the *Georgia*, built in Great Britain, and sailing under British colors. These freebooters captured and destroyed scores of ships, and cargoes valued at many millions of dollars; and they drove at least two-thirds of the carrying trade between the United States and Europe into British bottoms. They were heartily welcomed into all British ports; and the remonstrances of the American Minister in London against the building, fitting out, and encouragement of these marauders, as we have seen,³ were of no avail. Three others were added by British shipmasters in 1864 (*Tallahassee*, *Ohustee*, and *Chickamauga*), whose ravages quickly swelled the sum total of damage inflicted upon American commerce by Anglo-Confederate pirates.⁴

The new cruisers were equally destructive, and great efforts were made to capture them. The *Georgia* was seized off the port of Lisbon in August [1864], by the *Niagara*, Captain Craven; and on the 7th of October, the *Wachusett*, Captain Collins, captured the *Florida* in a Brazilian port.⁵ The

¹ Thomas had sent Stoneman from his army, and Burbridge from Eastern Kentucky, in November, to confront Breckinridge in East Tennessee. They drove him out of that region, and captured Abingdon, in Virginia, where they destroyed a large quantity of Confederate stores. In these movements there had been severe skirmishes. These were continued. The Confederate cavalry was commanded by General Vaughan, and these were repeatedly attacked by General Gillem in that mountain region. Stoneman, who had been followed in his advance on Wytheville, by Breckinridge, turned upon him at Marion, when the latter fled over the mountains into North Carolina. East Tennessee was now entirely cleared of Confederate troops.

General Thomas reported that during his campaign, from September 7, 1864, to January 20, 1865, when all was quiet in the region of his command, he had captured, including officers, 11,587 prisoners, besides 1,332, who had been exchanged. He had also administered the oath of allegiance to 2,207 deserters from the Confederate armies, and captured 72 serviceable guns and 2,079 small-arms. His total loss during the campaign was about ten thousand men, which he estimated to be less than half that of the enemy.

² See page 641, and note 5, same page.

³ See note 4, page 641.

⁴ At the beginning of 1864 the pirates then on the ocean had captured 193 American merchant ships, whereof all but 17 were burnt. The value of their cargoes, in the aggregate, was estimated at \$13,445,000. So dangerous became the navigation of the ocean for American vessels, that about 1,000 of them were sold to foreign merchants, chiefly British.

⁵ This act the Secretary of State disavowed in behalf of our government, on the ground of the unlawfulness of any unauthorized exercise of force by this country within a Brazilian harbor. At the same time, while making this reparation, he declared that Brazil justly owed reparation to the United States for harboring the pirate. On that point he said that the government maintained that the *Florida*, "like the *Alabama*, was a pirate, belonging to no nation or lawful belligerent, and, therefore, the harboring and supplying of these piratical ships and their crews, in belligerent ports, were wrongs and injuries for which Brazil justly owes reparation to the United States, as ample as the reparation she now receives from them."

Alabama had already been sent to the bottom of the sea by the *Kearsarge*, Captain Winslow, off the French port of Cherbourg, where the two vessels



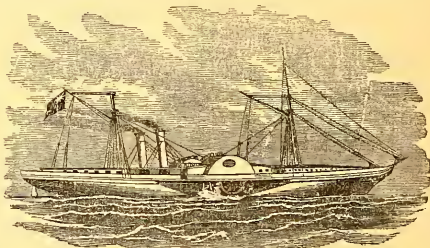
JOHN A. WINSLOW.

had a combat on Sunday, the 19th of June. After a mutual cannonade for an hour, the *Alabama* was disabled and in a sinking condition, when she struck her flag, and in twenty minutes went down. The *Alabama* had a British tender near, named the *Deerhound*, which was active in rescuing Semmes and his officers, so that they might not be captured and become prisoners of war.¹ The "common people" of the ship were rescued by the *Kearsarge* and a French vessel.

Soon after the destruction of the *Alabama*, measures were taken for further

diminishing the aid continually given to the Confederates by British vessels, by closing, against the blockade-runners, the ports of Mobile and Wilmington,

the only ones now remaining open to them. These having double entrances, made it difficult for blockading squadrons to prevent the swift, light-draft blockade-runners, from slipping in with valuable cargoes of supplies, and slipping out with cargoes of cotton.² It was resolved to seal up Mobile first, and for that purpose



BLOCKADE-RUNNER.

Admiral Farragut appeared [August 5, 1864] off the entrance of Mobile Bay, with a fleet of eighteen vessels, four of them iron-clad, while a land force, sent from New Orleans, under General Gordon Grauger, was planted upon Dauphin

¹ The *Deerhound* was a yacht belonging to one of the British aristocracy, named Lancaster, who was in her, and watched with eagerness the fight between his friend Semmes and Winslow. It appears clear that he was there by previous arrangement, to afford the pirate any needed assistance in his power, and especially, in the event of disaster, to keep him out of the hands of the victor. This was done. He carried Semmes and his officers to England. At Southampton a public dinner was offered to Semmes; and a British admiral (Anson) headed a list of subscribers to a fund raised for the purpose of purchasing an elegant sword to present to the corsair.

² These vessels were generally painted a light gray, so that it was not easy to discern them in a fog, or the light haze that often lay upon the waters around the seaports. They were built for speed, with raking smoke-stacks, and were generally more nimble in a chase than their pursuers. A very large number of these vessels were captured, and it is believed that a balance-sheet, illustrative of the pecuniary results of the business, in the aggregate, would show a loss to the violators of law.

Island for the purpose of co-operating. Early on that day the fleet sailed in between Forts Morgan and Gaines, the vessels tethered to each other in couples, and the Admiral himself lashed to the rigging at the main-top of his flag-ship, the *Hartford*, that he might overlook his whole fleet, and not be thrown down by the shocks of battle.¹ All went safely, in spite of the opened guns of the fort, excepting the iron-clad *Tecumseh*, which was destroyed by a torpedo.² They drove before them three Confederate gun-boats. The forts were passed, their fire had become almost ineffectual, and the battle seemed to be over, when a Confederate "ram," called the *Tennessee*, commanded by Buchanan, of *Merrimac* fame,³ came swiftly down the bay, accompanied by the other gun-boats, and made a dash at the fleet. A brief but furious naval engagement now ensued, which resulted in the capture of the *Tennessee*, and a complete victory for the Nationals.⁴

Farragut now turned his attention to the forts. He shelled Fort Gaines, on Dauphin Island; and on the following day [August 7, 1864] it was surrendered, for Granger and his troops were threatening its rear. Then Farragut turned upon Fort Morgan, the far stronger work, situated on Mobile Point, on the site of Fort Bowyer.⁵ Granger's troops were transferred to that peninsula [August 17], and invested the fort, and on the 23d, its commander, seeing no chance for relief or escape, surrendered it.⁶ With the two forts the victors received one hundred and four guns, and 1,464 men. By this victory the port of Mobile was effectually closed, and the land operations against the city, which occurred some months later, became easier and more speedily effectual. The victories at Mobile and Atlanta,⁷ following close upon each other, with minor successes elsewhere, and the noble response given to the call of the President a few weeks before [July 18] for three hundred thousand men to re-enforce the two great armies in the field, gave assurance that the end of the Civil War and the return of peace was nigh. Because of these triumphs, and the hopeful aspect of affairs, the President issued a proclamation [Sept. 3, 1864] in which he requested the people to make a special recognition of divine goodness, by offering thanksgivings in their respective places of worship on the following Sabbath [Sept. 11]. And on the same day he issued orders for salutes of one hundred guns to be fired at several places in the Union.⁸

While the National armies were struggling desperately, but almost every-

¹ By means of a tube extending from his lofty position to the deck, Farragut communicated his orders. He exemplified in this act a characteristic remark of his own, that "exposure is one of the penalties of rank in the navy."

² The *Tecumseh* was commanded by Captain Craven. She was sunk almost instantly, and Craven and nearly all of his officers and crew went down in her. Only 17 men out of 130 were saved.

³ See page 614.

⁴ The Union loss in this contest was 335, of whom 165 were killed, including the 113 who went down in the *Tecumseh*. The Confederates lost nearly 300, chiefly in prisoners. Admiral Buchanan was severely wounded. With him were captured 190 men.

⁵ See page 438.

⁶ These forts were about thirty miles from Mobile. Into Fort Morgan about three thousand shells were cast before it surrendered.

⁷ See page 702.

⁸ At Washington, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Newport (Kentucky), St. Louis, New Orleans, Mobile Bay, Pensacola, Hilton Head, and New Berne.

where successfully, during the summer and autumn of 1864, the people in the Free-labor States were violently agitated by a political campaign, the chief objective of which, to use a military phrase, was the election of a President of the Republic, as Mr. Lincoln's term of office would expire early in the ensuing spring. At a "Union" National Convention, held at Baltimore on the 7th of June, a series of ten resolutions were adopted, by which the party there represented were pledged to sustain the government in its war against rebellion, and to uphold its position in regard to slavery. The acts of the President touching the prosecution of the war for the life of the Republic, were heartily approved, and an amendment of the Constitution, so as to do away with slavery forever, was recommended.¹ Mr. Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency by a unanimous vote of the delegates, and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, then Military Governor of that State, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.²

On the 29th of August, the Opposition, or "Democratic" party held a National Convention at Chicago, over which Governor Seymour, of New York, presided, and who, in his address on taking the chair, took strong ground against the war. Besides the delegates gathered there, a vast concourse of members of the "Knights of the Golden Circle," and other secret associations in sympathy with the Confederates, together with Confederate officers from Canada, crowded Chicago, and the most inflammatory speeches were made at outside meetings.³ It is asserted that the gathering of these disloyal men, and these inflammatory harangues, were parts of a scheme for making that the occasion for inaugurating a counter-revolution in the West, the first act to be the liberating and arming of 8,000 Confederate prisoners then in Camp Douglas, near Chicago, and at Indianapolis. These schemes were frustrated by the vigilance and energy of Colonel B. J. Sweet, then in command over Camp Douglas.⁴

¹ In these resolutions the noble services of the soldiers and sailors were recognized; the employment of freedmen in the public service was recommended; the duty of the government to give equal protection to all its servants was asserted; and the rigid inviolability of the National faith pledged for the redemption of the public debt, was enjoined as a solemn duty.

² Already there had been a convention at Cleveland [May 31, 1864], composed, as the call for it directed, of "the radical men of the nation." About 350 delegates were present, and after adopting a series of thirteen resolutions, they nominated General John C. Fremont for President, and John Cochrane of New York, for Vice-President. When, at a later period, it was seen that these nominations might make divisions in the Union ranks, both candidates withdrew.

³ Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict*, ii. 667, gives specimens of speeches by two clergymen belonging to the Peace Faction, at outside meetings in Chicago. One of them, named Chauncey C. Burr, said that Mr. Lincoln "had stolen a good many thousand negroes; but for every negro he had thus stolen he had stolen ten thousand spoons. It had been said that if the South would lay down their arms, they would be received back into the Union. The South could not honorably lay down their arms, for she was fighting for her honor. Two millions of men had been sent down to the slaughter-pens of the South, and the army of Lincoln could not again be filled, either by enlistments nor conscription." The other clergyman alluded to, named Henry Clay Dean, exclaimed: "Such a failure has never been known. Such destruction of human life had never been seen since the destruction of Sennacherib by the breath of the Almighty. And still the monster usurper wants more men for his slaughter-pens. . . . Ever since the usurper, traitor, and tyrant had occupied the Presidential chair, the Republican party had shouted 'War to the knife, and the knife to the hilt!' Blood has flowed in torrents; and yet the thirst of the old monster was not quenched."

⁴ Mr. Greeley says (*American Conflict*, ii. 668, note 19): "Weeks later, with larger means and a better organization, the Conspirators had prepared for an outbreak on the day of the Presidential election; but Sweet, fully apprised of their designs, pounced upon them on the night of Novem-

In the Convention there prevailed a decidedly anti-war feeling. C. L. Vallandigham¹ had come boldly from his exile in Canada,² and was the master-spirit of that body. He was the most active man on the committee appointed to prepare a platform or declaration of principles for the coming canvass, whereof James Guthrie, of Kentucky, was chairman. This was in the form of six resolutions, the second of which declared the war to be a failure, and that "humanity, liberty, and the public welfare," demanded its immediate cessation. The last resolution tendered the "sympathy of the Democratic party" for the soldiers in the field, and assured them that if that party should obtain power, they should "receive all the care and protection, regard and kindness," which they deserved.



C. L. VALLANDIGHAM.

The Convention then proceeded to nominate General George B. McClellan for President, and George H. Pendleton for Vice-President. The latter, next to Vallandigham, had been the most bitter opponent of the war, in Congress. The former had once been general-in-chief of the armies for crushing the rebellion. He accepted the nomination, and, with such candidates and such platforms, the two parties went into the canvass. The voice of the Convention, declaring the war a failure, had scarcely died away, when a shout went over the land, announcing the victories of Sherman and Farragut, and great guns thundered a joyful accompaniment to anthems of thanksgiving chanted by the loyal people. Mr. Lincoln was re-elected by an unprecedented majority, McClellan securing the electoral vote of only the two Slave-labor States of Delaware and Kentucky, and the State of New Jersey. The offer of sympathy and protection to the soldiers in the field, by the Chicago Convention, was answered by the votes of those soldiers in overwhelming numbers against the nominee of that Convention. They did not regard the war they had so nobly waged as "a failure," and they required no "sympathy and protection" from any political party.³

ber 6, making prisoners of Colonel G. St. Leger Grenfell, who had been John Morgan's adjutant; Colonel Vincent Marmaduke [brother of the Confederate general of that name]; Captain Cantrill, of Morgan's old command, and several Illinois Secessionists, thus completely crushing out the conspiracy, just as it was on the point of inaugurating civil war in the North."

¹ See page 656.

² See note 1, page 657.

³ On account of the secret operations of the Peace Faction, in giving "aid and comfort" to the enemies of the Republic, those who belonged to it were called, by the Unionists, *Copperheads*, in allusion to the habit of the venomous American snake of that name, which, unlike its equally venomous but more magnanimous fellow-reptile, that gives warning of danger to its intended victim, always bites from a hidden place and without any notice. The epithets of "Copperhead" and "Black Republican" (the latter in allusion to the desire of the Republican party to give freedom to the negro slaves), were rife among politicians during a greater portion of the Civil War.

Let us now return to the consideration of military events.

General Sherman gave his army more than a month's rest at Savannah, when he began his memorable march northward through the Carolinas. General Blair was sent, with the Seventeenth Corps, by water to Port Royal, and then to Pocoligo, to menace Charleston, while the bulk of the army crossed the Savannah River, into South Carolina, at different points at about the first of February [1865], the extreme left under General Slocum, with Kilpatrick's cavalry, passing it at Sister's Ferry. These forward movements at widely separated points, distracted the Confederates, and prevented their concentrating a large force anywhere. Incessant rains had flooded the whole low country by the overflow of rivers, and Wheeler's cavalry, hovering around the National advance, had felled trees everywhere in their path.

Steadily and irresistibly the entire army moved nearly due north in the direction of Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, which was surrendered to Sherman on the 17th of February. There had been, thus far, no formidable resisting force in front of the National army; and that which opposed it in the vicinity of Columbia, being under the command of the incompetent Beauregard,¹ was easily swept away. The flag of the Republic was raised over the old State House, and also the unfinished new one. Wade Hampton, in command of the Confederate rear-guard, had ordered all the cotton in the city to be piled in the public streets, and fired, notwithstanding the wind was blowing a gale. The consequence was that the city was set on fire, and a large portion of that beautiful town was laid in ashes.

The fall of Columbia was the signal for the Confederates to evacuate Charleston, which Sherman's army had now flanked. Hardee fled, and on the 18th [February, 1865], colored Union troops marched in and took possession of the city, which they found in flames, the torch having been applied by the Confederates when they left. Then the National flag was raised over Fort Sumter, where it was first dishonored by the Secessionists,² and on the fourth anniversary of the evacuation of that fortress, General Anderson,³ with his own hand, raised over the fort the identical flag which he had been compelled to pull down, but not to surrender.

Sherman moved onward into North Carolina, making a track of almost absolute desolation, forty miles in width, across South Carolina. The chief obstacles to his march, for some time, were the cavalry of Wheeler and Hampton, with whom Kilpatrick had some sharp skirmishes. The whole army reached Fayetteville, in North Carolina, on the 12th of March, and there Sherman communicated with the troops under General Schofield, on the coast. And now Johnston was on his front with a concentrated force drawn from the west and the coast region, together with Hardee's from Charleston, and cavalry, making an aggregate of not less than 40,000 men, mostly veterans.

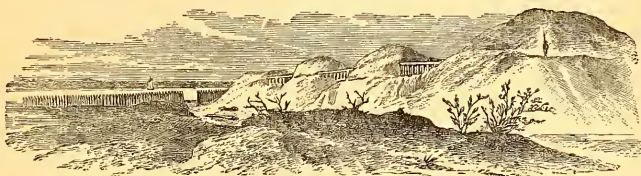
¹ Beauregard was placed in command of Hood's shattered army. [See page 707], and he was afterward succeeded by General Joseph E. Johnston, its old commander. At the time we are considering, the bulk of that army was pressing forward, under General Cheatham, to gain Sherman's front.

² See page 553.

³ See page 550.

In view of this formidable obstruction to his northward progress, and the necessity for giving rest to his army, Sherman halted at Fayetteville three days.

While Sherman was moving through the interior of South Carolina, there had been efficient and important co-operative movements on the coast of North Carolina. When it was determined to close up the harbor of Mobile¹ it was also determined to seal up that of Wilmington, the more difficult one to blockade effectually. An expedition was fitted out against the fortifications that guarded the entrance to it, in the autumn of 1864, composed of a powerful



INTERIOR OF FORT FISHER.

fleet under Admiral D. D. Porter, and land troops under the immediate command of General Godfrey Weitzel. This expedition, accompanied by General Butler, the commander of the Department, appeared off Fort Fisher late in December [1864], and made a combined movement against that work, the main fortification, on Christmas day. The fleet opened a terrible bombardment of the fort; and at the middle of the afternoon, a little over 2,000 troops were landed upon the narrow tongue of land on which the fortress stood; but its many guns, with one exception, having been untouched by the shells from the fleet, and being ready to sweep the peninsula with murderous effect, it was thought prudent not to make an attack; so the troops withdrew. The fleet remained, and General Grant promptly sent another land force, under General A. H. Terry, to co-operate with it in an attack on the fort.

Profiting by the experience of Christmas-day, Porter took a position for more effectual work on the fort, and under cover of a fire from the fleet, Terry landed, with 8,000 men on the 13th of January. A bombardment of more than thirty hours silenced a greater portion of the guns which commanded the peninsula, when the army, skillfully handled, and bravely acting in conjunction with 2,000 sailors and marines, assaulted and carried the works on the 15th. There Terry, who was too weak to advance, was joined on the 9th of February by General Schofield, who had been called from Tennessee, by Grant, and sent down the coast in steamers, from the Potomac. This re-enforcement raised the number of the land troops to about 20,000 men. Schofield, the senior officer, took command. Throwing a portion of the troops across the Cape Fear River, the Nationals advanced on Wilmington, the Confederates abandon-

¹ See page 709.

ing Fort Anderson, and burning the pirate steamers *Tallahassee* and *Chickamauga*,¹ lying in the river. They also fled from Wilmington, after burning cotton, and naval military stores there; and on the 22d of February [1865], the victorious Nationals entered that city. Soon after this an army tug and a gun-boat went up the Cape Fear, from Wilmington, and opened communication between Sherman and Schofield.²

At the end of three days of rest, Sherman's army advanced from Fayetteville, where they had destroyed the government armory, and the costly machinery which had been taken there from Harper's Ferry.³ The army moved, as before, in a deceptive and distracting way, a portion of the left wing covered by Kilpatrick, marching in the direction of Raleigh, while the remainder of the left, with the right wing, moved eastward toward Goldsboro', the real destination of the army. Rains had made the roads almost impassable, yet the troops moved steadily forward, and on the morning of the 16th [March, 1865], not far from Averysboro', Confederates under Hardee, about 20,000 strong, were encountered by Slocum. A severe battle ensued, which lasted until night, when the Nationals were victorious. Each party lost about four hundred and fifty men. The Confederates retreated toward Smithfield, under cover of darkness, when Slocum moved on toward Goldsboro'. He was soon attacked [March 18], near Bentonville, by nearly the whole of Johnston's army. That able leader fully expected to crush Slocum, before he could receive support; but he was mistaken. Six desperate assaults made by Johnston were repulsed, and when night fell, Slocum held his ground firmly. That night he was re-enforced, and the next day Johnston's forty thousand men were confronted by sixty thousand Nationals, who, in endeavoring to gain the flank and rear of their antagonist, frightened him away. Johnston retreated [March 21] rapidly on Raleigh.⁴ Sherman then moved on to Goldsboro', where he met Generals Schofield and Terry, who had fought their way from Wilmington, driving the Confederates before them, and entered that town on the 20th of March. Sherman now went in a swift steamer from New Berne to City Point, where he held a consultation [March 27] with the President, and Generals Grant and Meade, and returned to Goldsboro' three days afterward.

Let us now turn our attention to the Gulf region again. There we have seen Farragut and Granger, preparing the way for the capture of Mobile. After that, arrangements were made for securing the repossession of all Alabama. For this purpose General Canby, in command of the Gulf Department, moved [March, 1865] over twenty-five thousand troops against Mobile: while General Wilson, of Thomas's army, with fifteen thousand men, whereof thirteen thousand were mounted, swept down into Alabama, at about the same time, from the Tennessee River, with sixty days' supplies carried by a train of two hundred and fifty wagons. Wilson left Eastport, on the Tennessee, late in February, and pushed rapidly into Northern Alabama, across the head-waters of the Tombigbee River, and by quick movements menaced simultaneously

¹ See page 708.

² See page 713.

³ See page 557.

⁴ In the engagement near Bentonville, the Nationals lost 1,643 men, of whom 191 were killed. They buried 267 of their foes, left on the field, and took 1,625 prisoners.

Columbus, in Mississippi, and Tuscaloosa, and Selma, in Alabama. He first encountered Confederates in force, under Roddy, on the banks of the Cahawba. Forrest was in chief command in that region, and strained every nerve to cover Selma, on the Alabama River, where the Confederates had an arsenal and armory, and very extensive founderies. His efforts were vain. He was there with a motley force of about seven thousand horsemen, when Wilson arrived [April 2, 1865], with nine thousand cavalry. A sharp conflict ensued, but Wilson soon took the city, and the public works of the Confederates there were utterly destroyed.¹

Wilson moved toward Montgomery on the 10th, and reached that city, the capital of Alabama, on the 12th, when he found that the Confederates had just burned 125,000 bales of cotton. The city was instantly surrendered, and was spared. Then the raiders moved eastward [April 14], destroying railways and other public property, all the way to the Chattahoochee; and near Columbus, Georgia, they had a severe fight, captured the place and twelve hundred prisoners, and destroyed a large amount of property.² On the same day a part of Wilson's force captured Fort Tyler, a strong work commanding the railway crossing of the Chattahoochee at West Point. On the following morning, nearly the whole of his command were across that stream, on their way toward Macon, in Georgia, where they arrived on the 21st [March, 1865]. The remainder, under Cuxton, reached there on the 30th, after a destructive raid over a route of six hundred and fifty miles, in the space of thirty days. This march through Alabama and Georgia, so slightly resisted everywhere, made Wilson readily believe the assurance of General Howell Cobb, in command at Macon, that the war was virtually ended.³

While Wilson was on his triumphant ride, Canby was busy in the reduction of Mobile. The Seventeenth Corps reached Dauphin Island on the 12th of March, when Canby moved his entire disposable force against the Confederate defenses of that city. The Thirteenth Corps, General Granger, moved up from Mobile Point, to strike the post from the east, and General Steele, moved from Pensacola, with a division of colored troops, on Blakely. At the

¹ Wilson's loss in the encounter, was about 500 men. He captured 32 guns, and 2,700 prisoners, with vast stores of every kind. The Confederates had just burned 25,000 bales of cotton, and Wilson burned 10,000 more. The arsenal, foundries, and workshops of every kind were destroyed, and the town was sacked. When the writer was there a year later the place presented a scene of great desolation.

² The Confederate "ram" *Jackson* was destroyed; 15 locomotives, 250 cars, 115,000 bales of cotton, were burnt, and a vast amount of stores were consigned to destruction. With the prisoners were captured 52 field guns. Wilson's loss was only 24 killed and wounded.

³ There had been some important raids in Mississippi three or four months earlier than this, designed, chiefly, to attract attention from General Sherman's march through Georgia. One of these, under General Dana, went out from Vicksburg, to Jackson, fought a Confederate force on the Big Black River, and destroyed the railway [November 25, 1864], and a great deal of other property. Another, under General Davidson, went out from Baton Rouge, doing similar work, and alarming the garrison at Mobile. Another, led by General Grierson, went out from Memphis, [Dec. 21], and sweeping southeasterly through Northern Alabama to Tupelo, broke up the Mobile and Ohio railway some distance southward from Okolona, and destroyed a large quantity of stores. At the little railway station of Egypt he had a sharp fight, in which he routed his foes, and then went raiding through Mississippi. The expedition finally made its way to Vicksburg with 500 prisoners, 800 beeves, and 1,000 negroes. A great amount of property had been destroyed.

same time a brigade was transported to Cedar Point, on the west side of the bay, under a heavy fire of shells from the National iron-clad vessels. After a preliminary struggle, a siege was begun [March 25] in front of Blakely and Spanish Fort, the chief defenses of Mobile, in which the land troops and the fleet co-operated. These posts fell on the 9th of April. General Maury, in command at Mobile, now saw that the works immediately around the city were no longer tenable, and on the 10th and 11th, he fled up the Alabama, with nine thousand troops, leaving five thousand prisoners in the hands of the victors, with one hundred and fifty guns. The victory had cost the Nationals about twenty-five hundred men.¹

General Grant's chief business throughout the winter of 1864-65, was to hold the Confederate army and "Government" in Virginia, and prevent the former joining forces with Johnston in North Carolina, to crush Sherman. So, while Sherman was making his way from the Savannah, around to the Cape Fear and the Neuse rivers, Grant was holding Lee and his fifty thousand men, with a tight grasp, upon the James River. The Confederates well knew the reason of Grant's comparatively defensive attitude during the winter months, but were powerless either to strike him a damaging blow, or to compel him to be an aggressor. Only twice, during the winter, did he show a disposition to attack. Early in December Warren was sent out [Dec. 7, 1864] by Meade to destroy the Weldon road near the North Carolina line, which the Confederates were using to advantage; and again in February two corps, with cavalry, were sent [Feb. 5, 1865] across that road, to Dinwiddie Court-House, apparently for the purpose of feeling the strength of the Confederates in that direction, which resulted in a severe action, with a loss of about 2,000 men on the part of the Unionists, and 1,000 by the Confederates. The National gain was the extension of their line, permanently, to Hatcher's Run. In the mean time, the Confederates, perceiving the withdrawal of a large part of the naval force on the James River, for service against Fort Fisher,² sent a squadron³ down that stream, under cover of darkness [January 23, 1865], to do what mischief they might. They gained nothing, and lost one of their wooden gun-boats.

The Confederate horsemen, under Mosby, Rosser, McNeil, and others, were somewhat active in West Virginia, and in the vicinity of the Baltimore and Ohio railway, during the winter. Sheridan was then at Winchester, in the Shenandoah Valley. He easily brushed away these annoyances on his flank, and at the close of February, he left head-quarters with 10,000 mounted men for a grand raid, ordered by Grant, on Lee's communications generally, and against Lynchburg, his great store-house of supplies, especially. Sheridan swept through Staunton [March 2], scattered Early's forces at Waynesboro,⁴ and proceeded to Charlottesville, destroying the railroad on the way. There

¹ Before he evacuated the city, Maury sunk two powerful rams which had been built there. In addition to the loss of men, the Nationals had four gun-boats, and one transport sunk by torpedoes.

² See page 713.

³ The squadron consisted of three iron-clad, and five wooden gun-boats, and three torpedo boats.

⁴ Early had 2,500 men. Sheridan captured 1,600 of them, with 11 guns, 17 battle-flags, and 200 loaded wagons.

he demolished manufactories, bridges, and other property, when, satisfied that Lynchburg was too strong for him, he divided his forces, one column for the destruction of the railway in the direction of Lynchburg, and the other for the demolition of the James River Canal. Then he passed around Lee's left to White House, and joined the Army of the Potomac on the 27th of March.

Sheridan's raid was most destructive, and it thoroughly alarmed Lee, who clearly perceived that he must break through the armies encircling him, and form a junction with Johnston, or his own army, and with it the Confederacy, must perish. For that purpose he concentrated his forces near Grant's center, in

front of Petersburg, and made a desperate attack on Fort Steadman, for the purpose of cutting in two the Army of the Potomac. They carried that work, but were no further successful, and the assault was not only repulsed, with heavy loss to the Confederates,¹ but it resulted in the gain to the Nationals of a portion of their antagonists' line. Lee's chance for escape into North Carolina was



INTERIOR OF FORT STEADMAN.

made more remote, by this movement. Grant had now prepared for a general advance by his left, and for that purpose, large bodies of troops were called from the Army of the James on the north side of the river. The grand movement was begun on the 29th [March, 1865], when Sheridan, with 10,000 cavalry, was on the extreme left of the Union army, joined on his right by the Second and Fifth Corps, under Humphreys and Warren, while General Parke held the extended lines. Lee perceived the imminent peril of his army, and hastened to attempt to avert it. Leaving Longstreet with 8,000 troops to hold Richmond against the depleted Army of the James, he massed his forces on his endangered right. A desperate struggle ensued, chiefly by Warren, on the Union side, in which, at one time, Lee was almost victorious. Meanwhile Sheridan was vigorously co-operating, but was driven at Five Forks, to Dinwiddie Court-House [April 1, 1865], where he held his position until his foe withdrew under cover of night. The heavy fighting in that vicinity resulted in final success for the Nationals.

On the evening of the first of April, Grant ordered the guns all along the front of Petersburg to open upon the Confederate works and the city. It was done, and an awful night it was for the Confederate troops in the trenches, and the few inhabitants in the town. At dawn [April 2, 1865], the works were

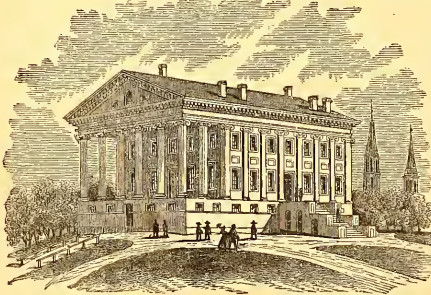
¹ Each army lost about 2,500 men in the struggle.

assailed by infantry, and some of them were carried. Equal success was attending similar efforts on the extreme left. Longstreet had come down from Richmond to help, but it was too late. Lee held Petersburg, but his right was too much crushed to hope to retrieve disasters in that direction. He had lost 10,000 men; and he now saw but a narrow door through which there was any possibility for his army to escape into North Carolina, and that was liable to be shut any moment. So he telegraphed to Davis, at Richmond, in substance: "My lines are broken in three places; we can hold Petersburg no longer; Richmond must be evacuated this evening."¹

A scene of wildest confusion appeared in the Confederate Capital that afternoon, when it became known that the city was to be evacuated by the troops. Consternation filled the minds and hearts of all friends of the "government," and hundreds fled from the doomed town. Davis and his "Cabinet" were speedily on the wing to secure their personal safety; and, at midnight, a lurid glare shot up from the brink of the river. The Confederate authorities, in disregard of the danger to the city, had ordered the burning of warehouses containing military stores. These were then in flames; and before sunrise a greater portion of the principal business part of Richmond was a crumbling, smoking ruin. At an early hour, General Weitzel (who was in command of the troops on the north side of the river), with his staff, entered the abandoned and burning city, followed by colored troops; and then Lieutenant J. L. De Peyster, of Weitzel's military family, raised the flag of the Republic over the State Capitol. General G. F. Shepley was appointed Military Governor of Richmond, and Lieutenant-Colonel Manning was made Provost-Marshal.²

Davis and his "Cabinet"—his more immediate associates in the Rebellion—fled to Danville, whither Lee hoped to follow with his army. But

loyal men, with trusty arms, stood in his way. Petersburg had also been evacuated, and the Army of Northern Virginia, reduced to about 35,000 men, was concentrated at Chesterfield. They moved rapidly westward, but were confronted by Sheridan not far from Amelia Court-House. There were active movements and considerable fighting for three or four

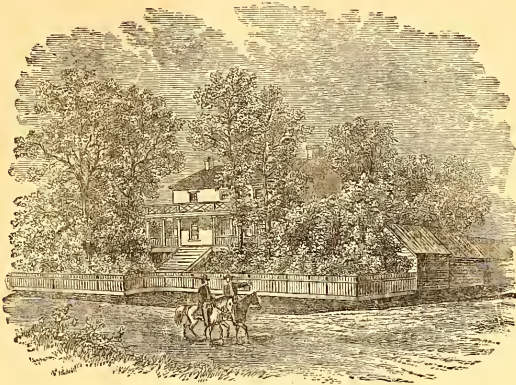


THE CAPITOL AT RICHMOND.

¹ This was on Sunday forenoon, April 2, 1865. The message found Davis in the house of worship he was in the habit of attending. He left the church immediately, without saying a word to any one, but nobody misinterpreted his exit.

² Weitzel took 1,000 prisoners in the city, besides 5,000 sick and wounded, in the hospital. Also 500 guns, full 5,000 small-arms, 30 locomotives, 300 cars, and a large amount of other public property.

days afterward, while Lee was making desperate efforts to escape. Finally, near Appomattox Court-House, the last charge of the Army of Northern Virginia, with the hope of breaking through the National lines, was made on the morning of the 9th of April. It was unsuccessful; and on that day, Grant



M'LEAN'S HOUSE.

and Lee met at the house of W. McLean,¹ near the Court-House, where terms of surrender on the part of Lee, were agreed upon. These terms were very generous.²

¹ It is a curious fact that Mr. McLean, whose residence at the beginning of the war was on a portion of the battle-field of Bull's Run, and had left that region for another that promised more quiet, was again disturbed by the clash of arms at the close of the war.

² The Confederate army, officers and men, were paroled on the condition that they were not to take up arms against their government until properly exchanged. "The arms, artillery, and public property," ran Grant's letter to Lee [April 9, 1865], "to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside."

This generous offer of full amnesty for Lee and his companions-in-arms, who had been waging war for four years against their government, was gladly accepted by them; and on the following day [April 10, 1865] Lee, profiting by that generosity, and under the shield of that sacred promise, issued an address to his troops, commendatory of their devotion to the cause of the Confederacy in the following words:—

"After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. I need not tell the brave survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them; but feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that would compensate for the loss that must have attended a continuance of the contest, I determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen. By the terms of agreement, officers and men can return to their homes and remain until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you his blessing and protection. With an increasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration for myself, I bid you all an affectionate farewell."

President Lincoln had been at City Point several days previous to the evacuation of Richmond, and two days after that event [April 4] he was conveyed to that city in a gun-boat, and with Admiral Porter and a small escort went to the head-quarters of General Weitzel, in the house lately occupied by Jefferson Davis, where he received a large number of army officers and citizens. He afterward rode around the city in an open carriage, and then returned to City Point. This visit was repeated two days afterward [April 5,] when Mr. Lincoln returned to Washington City, full of joy because of the prospect of a speedy return of peace. There was gladness throughout the Republic; and the sounds of rejoicing were swelling louder and louder everywhere, when they were suddenly hushed into silence by the awful tidings that the hand of an assassin had taken the life of the good President. While Mr. Lincoln was seated, with his wife, in a private box in a theater at Washington City, on the evening of the 14th of April, a man named John Wilkes Booth crept stealthily behind him, and shot him through the head with a pistol-ball. Then leaping upon the stage with the cry of "*Sic semper tyrannis*"—the legend of Virginia's State seal—Booth turned to the audience, brandishing a dagger, and exclaimed, "*The South is avenged!*" and immediately fled out of the theater by a back passage. The murderer was soon afterward mortally wounded in an attempt to capture him; and several of his confederates, one of whom attempted to assassinate the Secretary of State, the same evening, were arrested, tried by a military commission, and hung.¹

Mr. Lincoln expired on the morning of the 15th of April, and less than six hours afterward, his constitutional successor, Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, took the oath of office as President of the Republic.²

¹ There appears to have been a conspiracy for assassinating not only the President, but other members of the Executive Department of the government; also General Grant and distinguished leaders of the Republican party. The object seems to have been to put out of the way men in high places opposed to the Confederation who, on the death of the President, might administer the government, hoping thereby to produce anarchy which in some way might lead to the accession to power of the leaders of the rebellion. By a strange oversight in the managers of the scheme, the Vice-President, who would legally succeed the murdered President, seems to have been omitted in their list of victims, there being no evidence that any attempt was made to take his life. He immediately assumed the reins of government without any disturbance of its functions; and on the 2d of May he issued a proclamation which was countersigned by William Hunter, "acting Secretary of State," charging that the crime of Booth and his associates had been "incited, concerted, and procured, between Jefferson Davis, late of Richmond, Va., and Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George N. Saunders, W. C. Cleary, and other rebels and traitors against the government of the United States, harbored in Canada." He offered a reward of \$100,000 for the arrest of Davis, and from \$10,000 to \$25,000 each for the arrest of the other persons named.

² Mr. Johnson requested Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet ministers (see note 2, page 551) to remain, and they did so. At that time they consisted of William H. Seward, Secretary of State; Hugh McCullough, Secretary of the Treasury; Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy; John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior; James Speed, Attorney-General; and William Dennison, Postmaster-General. Mr. Chase, the former Secretary of the Treasury, had been elevated to the seat of Chief-Justice of the United States, on the death of Judge Taney. Mr. Stanton had succeeded Mr. Cameron in the War Department, early in 1862; and President Lincoln, satisfied that the public good required the removal of Montgomery Blair, the Postmaster-General, had asked him to resign. The request was granted, and Mr. Dennison was put in his place. Caleb Smith had died, and Mr. Usher had taken his place.



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