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# THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

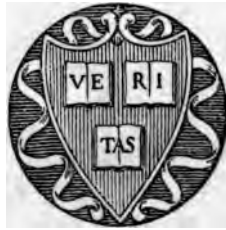
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Gurney Professor of History and  
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To Charles H. Haskins, with the greetings  
of Frederick G. Russell



# THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN









WILLIAM FREEMAN VILAS

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**WISCONSIN HISTORY COMMISSION: ORIGINAL PAPERS, No. 1**

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**A VIEW OF  
THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN**

**A Paper read before the Madison Literary Club,  
October 14, 1907**

**BY WILLIAM FREEMAN VILAS, LL. D**

**LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OF TWENTY-THIRD WISCONSIN VOLUNTEER  
INFANTRY**

**WISCONSIN HISTORY COMMISSION**

**AUGUST, 1908**

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WISCONSIN HISTORY COMMISSION

(Organized under the provisions of Chapter 298,  
Laws of 1905, as amended by Chapter 378,  
Laws of 1907)

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FREDERICK J. TURNER

*Professor of American History in the Univer-  
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*Representing Department of Wisconsin, Grand  
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*Chairman, COMMISSIONER ESTABROOK*

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*Committee on Publications, COMMISSIONERS LEGLER,  
THWAITES, AND TURNER*





## PREFACE

Chapter 378 of the Laws of Wisconsin for 1907, providing for the Wisconsin History Commission—four of whose five members act therewith in an ex officio capacity—sets forth the duty of this Commission as follows:

Section 2. It shall be the duty of such commission to develop a plan and gather and arrange in a systematic order the material for a history of the part Wisconsin and its citizens took in the civil war and, for such purpose, the commission is authorized:

(a) To secure the reprinting of rare published material and the publication of contemporary manuscripts,

(b) To stimulate research among the younger generation of students,

(c) To secure the preparation of meritorious recollections and the preparation of company and regimental histories by the survivors of the civil war,

(d) To secure the preparation of scholarly monographs and papers based upon the materials secured by the above methods and to still farther add to the collection already existing in the state historical society, all to be held for the benefit of the state and in the official archives thereof.

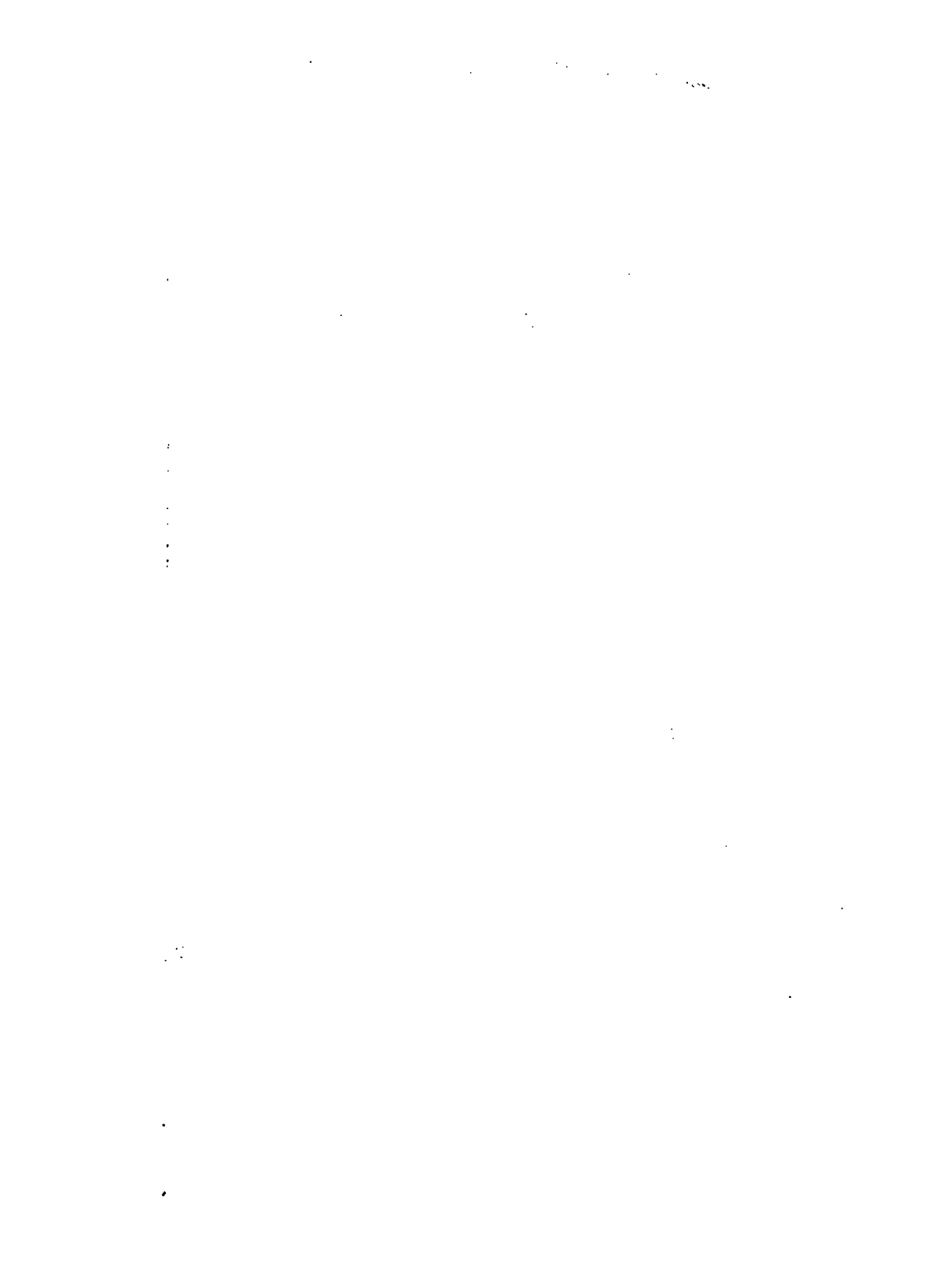
In accordance with these instructions, the Commissioners have voted to inaugurate two series of publications bearing directly on Wisconsin's part

## PREFACE

in the War of Secession: First, a series of Original Papers, of which the present essay by Colonel Vilas is worthily the initial number; Second, a series of Reprints of Valuable and Scarce Material, to follow in due course.

The purpose of the Commission is merely to select and publish such material bearing upon Wisconsin's participation in the war as, from considerations of rarity or of general excellence, it is deemed desirable to disseminate. Opinions or errors of fact on the part of the respective authors have not been modified or corrected by the Commission—save as members may choose to append thereto individually-signed foot-notes. For all statements, of whatever character, the author alone is responsible, whether the publication be in the form of Original Narratives or of Reprints.

The Commissioners beg to tender their most cordial thanks to Miss Minnie M. Oakley, Head Cataloguer of the Wisconsin Historical Library, who has with much labor and professional skill prepared for this publication a Selected List of References, having especially in view Wisconsin's share in the Vicksburg Campaign.



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## A VIEW OF THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

A JUST perception of the relation of things is said to characterize, perhaps to define, genius. It surely is the genius of history; without which the narrative of events and personages presents but a Chinese painting. Whether the survey be of mankind in general progress, of the career of some particular people, or of a critical period in the course of either, existing and coming conditions will be seen to swing on dominating events, or, sometimes, persons; and often such events ruled by such persons. Primitive men, meaning none earlier than the light of history first discloses, were driven to create gods and god-like heroes as the performers necessary to explanation; and, though science has driven such actors into the mists of fable and folklore, modern wonder still remains unsatisfied with less than special interposition by an overruling Providence. Con-

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trasted with such events, the multitudinous things of current passing are insignificant of guidance and effect, the filling and background incidents of the picture; however true it also be that often some potential germ progresses through the common life of men undiscovered, to an ultimate development of enormous good or ill.

That the American civil war was such a determining crisis to the American Republic—probably also to the progress of mankind—none will question; though what the full consequence, or what the special forms of such consequence, may arouse differences in speculation, and certainly must yet await the exposition of time. That, however, is another subject.

Limiting our view to that conflict itself, I purpose only to recount some indisputable, I think undisputed, facts, with a view to your drawing two important conclusions from them: the first, that considered as a performance in the military art, the final Vicksburg campaign surpassed in all that challenges submissive admiration any other campaign or triumph of the war; the other, that the final success of the national cause, the salvation

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of the Union, doubtless turned on the capture of that stronghold. And, as a most interesting factor you will, I believe, see that, at the supreme crisis of events, the intrepid perception by one mind of the true relation of things, with resultant resolution, not only unaided but consciously single and defiant, swung all these mighty results to the eventual preservation of the Federal Union and the triumph of humanity. History shows us similar events and similar judgments, indeed; yet but few and far between; and none, perhaps, of surpassing consequence in future beneficial fruition.

The limits of this occasion will tolerate but summary recall of conditions and deeds, with no summoning of proofs, and little exposition of the military reasoning. Little, indeed, will be needful, if only the facts can be clearly seen. Yet to that perception you must contribute something of imagination. For, after a long enjoyment of the peace, good order, marvellous progress, and prosperity purchased for this generation by the deeds of its predecessor, it is no light or easy task to reproduce the mental condition, the trials, sacrifices, distresses, fears, and sorrows which bore so heavily



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on the American people in the seventh decade of the nineteenth century.

It was not until the third year of the war that Vicksburg fell, July, 1863. And how stood till then the Union cause in the field of arms? It is not too much to say, fearfully doubtful; warranting the hopes so prevalent among the courts and lordlings of Europe that again the institutions of Liberty must succumb, and the past be repeated by burying her aspirations in a new grave, under a monument dedicated to the rule of kings.

There had been a vast amount of bloody fighting. On the conspicuous Eastern theatre, the first year of struggle had been signalized by the humiliating *faux pas* of Bull Run. The second year had seen McClellan's splendid army repulsed in disaster from its fateful Peninsular Campaign; followed by the overwhelming of Pope's attempt to stay the victorious enemy in Virginia, and the Washington capital in trepidation; then the invasion of Maryland, barely turned back by the desperate conflict of Antietam, with no ensuing advantage but Lee's withdrawal to original lines in Virginia. Again, after renewed recuperation, that

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splendid war-tried Army of the Potomac, in December, 1862, was led in heroic sacrifice to the fruitless slaughter of Fredericksburg; only again to fall back to lines of defence about Washington.

It is a noble testimony to the quality of those citizen-soldiers that the discipline and *morale* of that army could be so refreshed that victory at Chancellorsville was undoubtedly within its power; but alas! again to be turned to overwhelming disaster for the want of a competent general.

And then, after that carnage and humiliation of early May, 1863, the North saw with consternation the victorious legions of Lee pour over Pennsylvania, loudly menacing the chief cities and very heart of the North!

Looking next to the Western field beyond the Mississippi, the scene is again one of blood and fierce contest, without decisive results. The battles of Wilson Creek, Pea Ridge, and Prairie Grove, in obstinate valor and conduct yielded no superiority to other contests in the field; but aside from substantially quieting Missouri by confining hostile operations to territory south of its borders,

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and preventing in some degree recruiting Southern armies from that region, little effect upon the ultimate solution was accomplished.

On the Atlantic and Gulf coasts lodgments had been gained on islands and shore points which contributed aid to the blockade, but otherwise made little impression. The most notable gain of this character was the capture of New Orleans, which shut up the lower Mississippi as an avenue for the Confederacy to the sea, and afforded opening to the navy.

The central field of operations had been most profitable to the Union cause. The capture of Forts Henry and Donelson required the abandonment of Island No. Ten, which, with the ensuing reduction of Fort Pillow, practically left the Mississippi so far down as Memphis, and below, to a mere trial between the Union and Confederate gunboats, that quickly ended by the latter's defeat when the meeting came. Shiloh, the first great field fight of the war, in April, 1862, Perryville in October, Iuka in September, with Corinth in October, followed by the days of battle at Stone River which ushered in the year 1863, all conflicts

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of desperate valor and human havoc, had practically given over to Union control most of Kentucky and western Tennessee. Yet, within striking distance, still lay the hostile armies of the West, and the territory so gained might easily become debatable ground; while at most it reached to no vital point of Confederate strength.

Thus, when the third year of the war was already opened, a general view presents no "practicable breach" in the Confederate lines. We had control of the mouth and lower waters of the Mississippi, and also of its waters above Helena, and had relieved the navy somewhat on the North Carolina coast and in the region of Savannah; inconsiderable advantages. We had indented at the centre their line of defense, as originally established, by pressing back their forces in Kentucky and Tennessee. In the West, although Missouri was less a Southern recruiting ground, and more under our control, the Confederacy still held in firm attachment most of its other valuable territory beyond the river, with its wealth of supplying power in men and material. All internal communication of vital importance, all which com-

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bined the East and the West, remained open and approximately secure. Port Hudson and Vicksburg held above four hundred miles of river between them, and the broad fields of Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas still continued their subsidies to the Confederate cause.

And this after more than two years of desperate effort, when the Northern treasury was spent, its accumulated debt a thousand millions, its currency less than two for one; when the killed and wounded of her best soldiery already overran one hundred thousand, beside many thousands in Southern prisons; while disease had carried off twice as many more. True, exhaustion was not yet near, and the Confederacy also had undergone like great sufferings. But already conscriptions had become necessary in the North; enlistments sorely dragged; and even faithful patriots could not conceal discouragement. No interruption of the hostile government; no place of vital strategic importance taken; indeed, the one chiefly sought, the Confederate capital, farther than ever from reach; and the second in splendor if not first in real consequence, Vicksburg, additionally fortified,

## GENERAL VIEW

and seemingly impregnable; as indeed it proved, to any front attack.

Imagine the strain upon the temper of public opinion in the North! For what were they contending at such cost, with business disordered and in many lines destroyed, taxes multiplied upon subjects never touched before, the fortunes of many dissipating daily, homes without number in mourning and all heavy with anxiety for their absent ones in mortal peril, while the overhanging gloom seemed continually blacker with no clear ray of hope? For what this fearful sacrifice? Why, but to preserve a united country, to keep in fraternal relations with themselves, in a perfect equality of enjoyment, the people with whom they waged such war! The appeal was to the imagination of the Northern people, not their selfishness; to their conception of benefits to generations to come, to the world and humanity, rather than present returns; to perpetuate the legacy of the Revolutionary fathers. It was enough! For the ruling spirit was liberty-loving Anglo-Saxon, descended of British and German stock; the godlike ichor

## VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

which had run in the brains of Luther, of Cromwell, of Washington and his compatriots!

The phrases of the time were redolent of this spirit. One, apposite to present interest, specially related to the great Father of Waters, that magnificent river which with its tributaries serves a territory twice greater than France and Germany combined, affording continuous navigation from regions ice-bound in winter to the lands of the palm; along whose course almost every useful and pleasing product of nature is offered in rich abundance to man; a fluvial emblem of the dream of liberty; and keenly resenting the thought of its subjection to the exactions of hostile governments, many currents of feeling converged in the demand that the Mississippi should "run unvexed to the sea."

However, none better than the Richmond government knew its importance. Lacking its control, the Confederacy was not confederate; and their care for that dominion was, therefore, commensurate with its necessity. After the upper waters were lost, their efforts upon the lower were redoubled, and applied with intelligent skill to the

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points indicated by nature herself. To a comprehension of the events of that campaign, a good understanding of the natural conditions is therefore of first importance.

The southern region west of the Mississippi is a vast alluvial plain with hardly a high bank south of Cairo, except at one point, Helena in Arkansas. Against its annual floods levees constitute almost the only protection, and often its lower waters invade a breadth of fifty miles, swelling the bayous and streams and covering the country between to an extent which renders it temporarily a vast, shallow lake. Necessarily, little opportunity opens on that side for military operations, either to exert control of its navigation or to combat such control. But the eastern shore provides conditions for dominion over its waters, abundantly satisfactory. From far down in Louisiana up to Vicksburg, the eastern bank is a continuous highland, with the river generally so near its foot that but narrow strips of flat ground intervene, while bluff headlands and banks with their bases in its floods rise frequently to command the bends where the confined waters are narrowest and most easily brought under



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the range of artillery. Of these points, the northern, and the most defensible, is Vicksburg. Here the tortuous river—and the meander was insignificantly crooked in comparison—in its flow above the town heads almost due northeast for four or five miles, with a low-lying point for its right bank, and immense swamps on its left; then, with a short, abrupt turn, flows directly back southwestwardly for a like distance along the foot of the Vicksburg hills, one to two hundred feet high; thus exposing the river for many miles at and below the bend to the perfect range of the Confederate artillery, which was so powerful and so well placed as to sweep the flat projecting tongue on the Louisiana side as well as the river itself.

Above Vicksburg, the range of highlands, when coming up from the south, for the first time recedes from the Mississippi, bending toward the northeast, and the hills now support the Yazoo River, from which, and the swamps of its margin, they rise precipitously. Twelve miles above Vicksburg, on the Yazoo, is Haines's Bluff, with the Walnut Hills between the two overlooking the river and swampy grounds below; and all were

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scientifically fortified with heavy guns adapted to a plunging fire; a perfect barrier to guard the flank of the impregnable city.

Now, also, the topography of the eastern side of the Mississippi lends further aid by denying approach to Vicksburg in any practicable form of attack along that shore. The Yazoo debouches into the Mississippi through a mass of cypress swamps, nearly opposite Young's Point, a few miles above where the great river makes its northeasterly turn toward Vicksburg. From the Walnut Hills there extends to the north, above the Yazoo and between the range of eastern highlands and the Mississippi, a large low-lying plain, reaching up to within not many miles of Memphis, and similar in character to the country on the western side. The Coldwater, Tallahatchie, and Yallahusha rivers, which combine their waters to form the Yazoo, flow through the upper and easterly part of this plain; the Coldwater being also joined to the Mississippi, opposite to Helena, by a navigable bayou or cut-off known as the Yazoo pass. The Big Sunflower River also flows through the central portion of this plain into the lower currents of the

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Yazoo. This region is of great fertility; producing rich forests of gum, cottonwood, tulip, sycamore, and other woods, impenetrably tangled with vines and cane. It may be imagined what an immense natural cover, one hundred fifty miles long by forty to fifty wide, was thus interposed between Vicksburg and any approach to it from the river below Memphis.

These considerations indicate something of the problem presented to the Northern general. South of Vicksburg the difficulties seemed no less. In 1862, Admiral Farragut had sailed thither from New Orleans, and with him General Williams and a small army. Their operations consisted of little more than an attempt to cut a canal through the tongue of land on the Louisiana shore, and turn the river from the city. It proved impracticable, and was abandoned amid the loud jeers of the Southern newspapers and people who thought nature their secure ally. Nevertheless the Confederate government exerted itself to more perfectly control the river; especially by fortifying Port Hudson, four hundred miles down and likewise of great natural strength, together with additions

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to the defences of the water front of Vicksburg, and by building a line of circumvallation in its rear; somewhat later, also, by heavily fortifying Grand Gulf, a bold sugar-loaf promontory forty miles below, around whose base the waters of the Big Black flow into the Mississippi. Indeed, so completely was the city covered from below and so entire was the Confederacy's control of communication between the Eastern and Western portions of its territory, that no practicable attempt seemed open to the Union cause but from above, in the circumstances then presented by the war. It was, indeed, planned to attempt the capture of Port Hudson; but to transport by sea a sufficient army to proceed against Vicksburg from the south was obviously an unpromising undertaking.

Contemplating then from the north, the possibilities of a campaign against the formidable stronghold of Rebellion, there seemed open to choice but some six plans. The first was the most directly in accord with strict military principles: taking Memphis for a base of supplies, to advance along the upland through Mississippi with the hope to draw out to battle and beat the Confeder-

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ate army in the field, and so eventually to reach the defences on the land side. This also offered compliance with that axiomatic demand of strategy, that the contingency of disaster should not be left unprovided with a line of retreat. It appealed also to Grant's especial theory of the conduct of the war, that the true objective was not so-called "strategic points," but the enemy's army, the destruction of which would open desired places to easy seizure.

Accordingly in November, 1862, he advanced with 30,000 men on this line, and eventually proceeded as far as Oxford. But Pemberton would offer no chance of battle; Grant found his line of supplies so long as both to be troublesome and to require much force to guard; General Halleck from Washington checked attempt to hold the country south of the Tallehatchie; and, to cap all, the surprise by Van Dorn of Holly Springs, the intermediary base where Grant had gathered a million of dollars' worth of stores which the enemy destroyed, determined his withdrawal from this attempt. It is humiliating to add that the cowardice of a Wisconsin officer, Colonel Murphy of the

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Eighth Infantry, the Eagle regiment, who basely yielded the post at Holly Springs which he could easily have defended, furnished the sole reason for that disaster; because, but for his action, his men would have protected the place. It is not a consolation that he was promptly cashiered.

The second plan of attack, designed also to be contributory to the first, had already been entered upon, some days before Holly Springs was taken. Sherman, with another corps, was to proceed by the river directly to Vicksburg, ascend the Yazoo, and attempt to gain the city, or at least to effect lodgment on the upland, where, with the co-operating movement of Grant on the line he was pursuing, a base of supplies could be established for both armies near enough to afterwards enable a successful investment by them of the land defences in the rear.

If Grant could engage Pemberton in the field, Sherman might haply find a force he could overcome; while, as Grant himself has written, "if Pemberton could not be held away from Vicksburg, I was to follow him; \* \* \* if the enemy

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should fall back I would follow him even to the gates of Vicksburg.”

Sherman's troops embarked at Memphis on the 19th of December, reached Millikin's Bend by Christmas, and on the 26th debarked on the Yazoo swamps. That Vicksburg's front was impossible was, of course, perfectly known. It was then seen that Haines's Bluff and the Walnut Hills were equally beyond hope of assault. Yet the attempt was bravely tried. It encountered not only the insuperable difficulties of nature and art, but also a superior army which Murphy's cowardice had in the meantime, without Sherman's knowledge, rendered it impossible for Grant to pursue. There was nothing for Sherman but to withdraw, with the new information so gained that Vicksburg's northern flank was as safe as its front, and that any base on the Yazoo must be found above Haines's Bluff.

It was now desirable for Grant to bring on his forces and come himself to take command at Vicksburg.

While awaiting this, Sherman took his fleet up the White River, through the "cut-off" to the

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Arkansas, and thence up to Fort Hindman, or Arkansas Post, which, with the navy's aid, was soon brought to surrender with a loss of somewhat over 5,000 men, nearly 4,800 being taken prisoners. This served excellently to limit later interruptions of the Mississippi's navigation from that side, besides in so much reducing the general strength of the enemy that might otherwise have been made available to Vicksburg's help.

Upon Grant's arrival below and assumption of general command on January 30th, 1863, it may be well conceived the possible remaining plans of operation were all reviewed with intent care. Three were undertaken at once, so that whichever proved available might be prosecuted. One of these continued the purpose which had already been fruitlessly essayed. It was revival of effort to establish a base on the interior highlands east of the Yazoo. Attempts to this end were resolutely prosecuted, through difficulties and dangers most arduous and hazardous. To recount the details would be a long story.

The State of Mississippi had formerly built a levee to shut out the entrance of water through the



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Yazoo Pass. This was now cut and the gunboats of the navy passed through, after great labor in removing logs and trees with which the enemy had for several miles filled the Pass from the abundant forests. By way of Moon Lake they followed the Pass into the Coldwater, thence to the Tallahatchie, and down that river to its junction with the Yallabusha, by which the Yazoo is formed, near the town of Greenwood; altogether some two hundred and fifty miles from the point where they left the Mississippi. Brigadier-General Ross with 4,500 men on twenty-two light transports came after, on February 15th, and General Quimby was later sent with a supporting division. But the Confederates had built at a peculiarly favorable position a work called Fort Pemberton to defend the Yallabusha and Yazoo, on a point covered and surrounded with water so as to be beyond the reach of infantry and only assailable by the gunboats. These made two attacks upon it, but failed in both, though aided by a battery which was successfully planted on shore. Meanwhile the enemy was hurrying troops to Greenwood, and both Ross and the navy were in danger of being

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cut off by obstructions to the streams above, and captured by superior force.

To save them, and still further to attempt to gain a base for his army, Grant devised another amphibious expedition from below. Admiral Porter with five gunboats and four mortar boats set out upon a sinuous route; up the Yazoo to Steele's Bayou, up Steele's to Black Bayou, up the Black to Deer Creek, by the Deer Creek to Rolling Fork, by the Rolling Fork to the Big Sunflower, and thence to the Yazoo above Haines's Bluff, and below Greenwood; altogether some one hundred and fifty miles through swamp and forest. Sherman was to co-operate with a division of troops, marching where a footing could be found, or following in light transports where necessary.

It was a fantastic venture, befitting the adventurous daring of the entire campaign. The forests hung with branches and vines over the waters, obstructing logs lay in their beds, trees must be sawed far below the surface, and frequent bends were so sharp as only to be turned by warping with cables. Chimneys, guards, and pilot houses were swept off, the transports especially being torn and bat-

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tered; and some indication of the struggle appears from the fact that but four miles of headway were once made in twenty-four hours. After some days Porter got near to the Rolling Fork, being then some thirty miles ahead of Sherman. A large hostile force had been brought to oppose the expedition and big trees were felled behind the gunboats to cut off escape, as well as before to impede progress. Sharpshooters then assailed Porter from the banks, against whom he could not use his great guns with effect, because under the banks, and his peril became serious. Getting word of it to Sherman, that general hurried his troops on after his fashion, marching by night through the canebrakes by the light of candles. He arrived in the nick of time to rescue Porter, who was hard beset by some 4,000 Confederate troops. Farther advance was hopeless, the gunboats backed out, and the troops withdrew. Meantime Ross had extricated himself above; Quimby had joined him, commanding both divisions, and himself had renewed the effort to get to the highlands. He, however, also demonstrated only the impossibility of it; and thus, after many trying weeks, the utter hopelessness of

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the plan to establish a base of operations on the uplands above Vicksburg had to be confessed.

Necessarily, the other plans were addressed to getting the army and fleet south of the city, with a view to operate against it from below. That which immediately suggested itself was to try again to cut the canal which General Williams had begun. This was especially urged upon Grant from Washington, Halleck writing him that President Lincoln "attaches much importance to this." The attempt was most faithfully made; though, after he saw the ground, Grant for many reasons had little faith in its success. Four thousand men, detached by relays from different corps, worked upon it for some two months; dredge boats were brought to aid the undertaking; and for a moment there arose a hope of good result. But on March 8th, a rising flood in the Mississippi broke the dam at the upper end of the canal, soon after burst its levees, and inundated both the entire peninsula and back country, also, almost to the Tensas River. The troops were driven off, and much loss of implements and other damage ensued. When the flood subsided, some effort was renewed; but the

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enemy had built a battery which commanded the scene, and drove off the dredges; and it had to be recognized that nature had seemingly issued its edict of "No Thoroughfare here."<sup>1</sup>

There remained another plan, among those contemplated from the beginning of these operations, by which to open a route to the river below; and this, also, Grant began to promote the next day after he assumed command in January. It was from the first, however, probably as impracticable as it was wildly adventurous. The idea was to open a waterway from Lake Providence, on the west bank seventy miles above Vicksburg, which was part of an old channel of the Mississippi about six miles long, into the Tensas River, thence to the Washita, and through that to the Red River, by which the Mississippi could again be entered not

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<sup>1</sup> It is a curious supplement to the story, that in the year 1876 the river itself accomplished what men could not. With a roar that resounded afar, it suddenly burst entirely through the peninsula, but at another place than the canal, and in an instant the channel of the river was so changed as to leave the city several miles away. The old bed, from above the bend, around it and along the front of Vicksburg, is now known as Centennial Lake. Recently, by means of a canal from the Yazoo, built by the federal government, the navigation of the river, through the lower Yazoo and this canal has been restored to the city's enjoyment.

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far above Port Hudson; and, after reducing that bulwark below, to bring the army up again to assail Vicksburg on the eastern side. These three rivers were navigable, and the Tensas runs in a general parallel to the Mississippi, some twenty miles or more west of it, heading not very far below Lake Providence. The first problem was to get into it, which could only be done through the Baxter Bayou, with which Lake Providence connects, and the Macon Bayou, or river, which not only receives the Baxter but itself unites with the Tensas. The attempt broke down right there. The luxurious forests which overhang their banks had in the course of years filled these bayous with big trunks to such a degree that their removal was essential. In some shallower portions, also, trees growing in the very water would require to be cut far below its surface to admit the passage of vessels. To render navigable perhaps sixty miles of such entanglement before the season of low water, was hopeless. The entire route, also, would have been some five hundred miles long, through dense encompassing forests, exposed to many risks, besides the chances offered to the enemy to harass the

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fleet with sharpshooters on the banks, or still more serious opposition. It was a daring conception, exciting to the imagination, and appealing strongly to the spirit of adventure. But the cool judgment of Grant condemned it; and though the bank of the Mississippi was cut, its waters let into Lake Providence, and weeks of work expended on the route by McPherson's corps, it was rather to employ the men than from belief in results.

One other plan, much less extensive, but no more successful, was also essayed by General Grant. He had proposed it, he says, to General Halleck as early as the 4th of February. This was to make use of a network of small bayous, which actually connect from Milliken's Bend above Vicksburg down to Carthage below, so that by opening the Mississippi into them they might perhaps be rendered capable of carrying vessels. Miles of dense timber growing in parts of these had to be cut out, however, and by the time the work was done the river had fallen and the scheme was therefore impracticable; although some small vessels made the passage. So this project but added one more to the list of failures, which

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seemed fated to overwhelm the great enterprise on which the army had wrought so long and so hard.

In these severe, heart-breaking labors and disappointments the winter of 1862-63 wore away. The trials of the army had been increased by the presence of disease incurred by many hardships and exposures, living upon wet ground, and for a time the want of suitable food to conserve health. There was hardly a day of sunshine, and the wet mattress below was blanketed by a counterpane of constant gloom overhead. Graves could not be dug in the soil where a sunken half barrel furnished a well, yet of water poisonous to drink. The levees were burrowed to lay away the dead, and for a time, no coffins being furnished, they were rudely boxed with such scraps of lumber as remaining old fences and buildings would supply. The scene and the prospect seemed equally cheerless.

It may be imagined that all this was not comforting to Grant. Still, perhaps his lesser trials. His mind was subjected to many anxieties beside. He was not then the hero of Vicksburg, but apparently hopelessly entangled in its toils. Machina-



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tion at Washington to supplant him had been persistently busy, and had not Halleck been a true soldier and Lincoln wise and steadfast, would have likely won. The gibes of Southern newspapers upon so many successive failures found a counterpart in frequent criticisms at the North; for the greater, or at least the noisier, portion of mankind always possess a superior knowledge of the way to do things over those who are doing them; and it was not to be gainsaid that the heavy clouds of discouragement throughout the North were of menacing portent to the seemingly baffled commander. But all this only enabled him the better to illustrate the favorite maxim of Hastings, *Mens æqua in arduis*. He had, indeed, exhausted the methods of approach seemingly allowable by the laws of military strategy. But it is for genius to see above the rules which limit action to mankind in general.

There remained a plan of conduct open to a daring spirit. How long he had meditated it, how clearly he foresaw all its possibilities, we are left to conjecture, though there are some indicia to aid us. He only says he had all the winter contem-

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plated moving the army by land on the Louisiana side, so soon as the falling of the river should render it practicable, and had given no word to any of his purpose. The time had now come.

He then first spoke of it in confidence to Admiral Porter, by whose co-operation only was it possible. For Porter must take his gunboats below, and also convoy transports; to provide ferrage across the river, for the army when there, and so far as thus possible, supplies. It was obviously impossible to entirely provision the troops below over such a long, perilous, and insufficient road as the army might possibly march by. Porter lacked neither skill nor daring. And he possessed also what naval commanders sometimes want: entire freedom from jealousy of the army leaders, and a generous readiness to accept Grant's plans. He did not hesitate, but cordially undertook the dangerous task.

Then Grant's bold project first became known to his generals.

It is an interesting commentary upon its military nature, that his warmest friend and ablest general, Sherman, instantly endeavored to dissuade him,

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both by personal interview and written communication, representing how grossly he was overriding the fundamental axiom of strategy in exposure of his army, and begging that at least he would invoke the opinions of his generals in a council of war. Others of his best officers took similar ground. Grant, however, never resorted to a council of war, and remained unshaken.

It is to be observed also, that at this time he intimated no purpose of the campaign he finally conducted; but went no further than to propose, after Grand Gulf should be gained, the movement of a single corps, or a sufficient army, to assist General Banks in the reduction of Port Hudson. This was an essential to the approval of the campaign by the general and president at Washington; and fortunately it coincided with their views.

A division had been started ahead in March and early in April others followed; one division after another gradually struggling on, by night as well as by day, through the overflowed country, sometimes in single file on an uncovered levee, sometimes on transports through the submerged forests. The Twenty-third Wisconsin, to which I

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belonged, enjoyed all these varieties of travel, threading, in one stage of the route, many miles on a steamboat through woods deep in water, where often a turn could be made only by carrying forward by skiff a line to be fixed to a tree ahead.

On the night of the 16th of April, Admiral Porter ran the batteries with seven gunboats, one of them having the captured ram, "Price," lashed to it, convoying three transports, each towing barges laden with coal. All but two captains and one crew of the transports refused the attempt; and volunteers from the army supplied the places of those whose courage failed. It was a wild night. The Confederates were ready, and previously-prepared buildings and other bonfires, both in Vicksburg and on the Louisiana point opposite, illuminated the river soon after the start. The fleet was for over two hours under fire, and every vessel was repeatedly struck, the gunboats returning the fire vigorously. Yet all passed the ordeal, no gunboat being disabled; and only one steamboat lost. This having been set on fire was abandoned by the crew, her barges being first cut loose, and drifted to New Carthage, a blazing mass.

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Yet strange to say, though some were wounded, not a life was lost. General Sherman, out in the river in a small boat watching the awful scene, himself picked up from the water the pilot of the lost steamer; and its crew got ashore in their yawls. Later on, six other transports and a dozen barges loaded with supplies, all in the hands of army volunteers, repeated the perilous experiment; and five of the steamers and half of the barges got safely by; one man only being killed, though several were wounded.

The Thirteenth Corps was at New Carthage by about April 20th, and divisions of the Seventeenth working along behind. Reconnoissances showed no practicable ground for landing on the eastern bank above Grand Gulf, and the advance army was pushed on to Hard Times, some seventy miles from Milliken's Bend, and three or four above Grand Gulf, with a view to attack that citadel. On the 29th this attempt was made. With all his force of eight gunboats Admiral Porter assailed the fortifications for five hours and a half, while the army was embarked on transports tied up at Hard Times; a forlorn hope of four regiments,

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one from each division of the corps, the Twenty-third Wisconsin representing A. J. Smith's division, floating on two steamers lashed to the captured ram, "Sterling Price", down and up near the scene of the naval battle; General Grant himself seated in a chair on a small swift tug, often in range, from which he watched the results. The day was rich in sunshine, and the spectacle, perfectly open to the view, was of entrancing interest, such as few lifetimes can afford. But the navy could not silence the enemy's guns, and it would have been sheer folly to have attempted to land an army and carry that steep pyramid, not only so defended, but with a series of rifle pits running around it filled with men. I heard many general officers express their wish to try it. But Grant decided otherwise, and no one act in the campaign so much stimulated the confidence of his army in his leadership as this refusal in the plain view of all the troops there present; inspiring the universal feeling that when he called to action there should be a fair chance to win.

He had predetermined his course, if the navy

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could not reduce the works; and that night the whole fleet ran the Grand Gulf batteries successfully, the army marched below on the Louisiana side, unobserved by the enemy, and all day long on April 30th, the ferriage of the troops went on from DeShroon's, Louisiana, three miles below Grand Gulf, to Bruinsburg, Mississippi, six miles farther down. He had expected the day before to land at Rodney, some miles lower; but, with happy fortune, had learned from a negro during the night that there was both good landing at Bruinsburg, and a good road thence to Port Gibson.

By dark on the 30th Grant found himself with about 20,000 men on solid ground on the eastern side of the river. He had neither personal baggage, tents, nor even horses, though he there borrowed a horse, and a saddletree with stirrups, from General A. J. Smith. It affords insight to his self-confident genius and courage to read his own words about it:

“When this was effected I felt a degree of relief[!] scarcely ever equalled since. Vicksburg was not yet taken it is true, nor were its defenders demoralized by any of our previous moves. I was

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now in the enemy's country, with a vast river and the stronghold of Vicksburg between me and my base of supplies. But I was on dry ground on the same side of the river with the enemy."

Thus internally rejoiced the man who meant to fight, who felt his capacity to fight, and only wished to be able to meet the enemy.

He lost no time. All night long the army pushed on, and before daybreak encountered the foe. General Bowen, learning our movements, had marched out from Grand Gulf, hoping to hold Grant in check on the hills near Port Gibson till expected reinforcements arrived. He failed. From opening daylight till after dark on the first of May, though he posted his forces with advantage and skill, he was assailed and driven from hill to hill in what was virtually a succession of battles, over ground of great difficulty; being a series of ridges, seventy-five to a hundred feet high, with deep and narrow intervening ravines filled with timber, canes, vines, and thorns.

But, while wearied by loss of sleep, our soldiery was full of ardor, and when utter darkness compelled cessation, though it was not certainly



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known, the battle was entirely won. Soon after the morrow's dawn the retreat of the enemy was discovered and Port Gibson seized. The Twenty-third Wisconsin, having been thrown forward before daybreak in front of the army, as skirmishers, was the first regiment to enter, and, in honor of it, was provost guard of the town for the day.

Immediate pursuit was made, destroyed bridges rebuilt, and by nightfall of the 3d, after many severe skirmishes, the enemy was driven across the Big Black at Hankinson's Ferry, fifteen miles beyond Port Gibson, too fiercely to permit them to destroy the bridge; and our front was held from that point to Willow Springs. Of course, Grand Gulf was necessarily abandoned by the enemy and Porter took possession on May 3d. Thither Grant himself rode that morning, having, as he says, for a week, "had no change of underclothing, no meal except such as I could pick up sometimes at other headquarters, and no tent to cover me." He might have added, very scanty sleep. It is most interesting to note his tireless activity in such circumstances, the sure sign of a clear and fearless perception of his task. Refreshing himself on

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a gunboat with a bath, a "square meal" and clean underclothing borrowed of a naval officer, he wrote with his own hand letters to Halleck, dispatches to be telegraphed from Cairo, orders to his corps commanders, and to General Sullivan, commanding above Vicksburg, thus covering the cares of a wide area, only finishing at midnight. Then he took horse and rode through the night to Hankinson's Ferry, arriving about daybreak. Not only power of mind, but youthful power of body is essential to such generalship.

I pause to bring up one operation left behind in the story, because not only of its contributing force to the events told, but to exhibit Grant's tenderness of consideration and Sherman's patriotic and splendid subordination. The Fifteenth Army Corps had been assigned the left and rear of the army, doubtless because Grant knew Sherman would need no counsel or spur, while he should be at the front. On the 27th of April, when contemplating assault on Grand Gulf, Grant wrote Sherman of his desire to have a seeming attack on Haines's Bluff, to distract the enemy's attention

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from his operations. Yet it looked hard to ask Sherman to undergo again an apparent repulse, who had been so sorely abused in Northern newspapers and derided in the South for his failure there in the Christmas season before. And so Grant's letter to him ran: "The effect of a heavy demonstration in that direction would be good so far as the enemy are concerned, but I am loth to order it, because it would be so hard to make our own troops understand that only a demonstration was intended, and our people at home would characterize it as a repulse. I therefore leave it to you whether to make such a demonstration. If made at all, I advise that you publish your order beforehand, stating that a reconnoissance in force was to be made for the purpose of calling off the enemy's attention from our movements south of Vicksburg, and not with any expectation of attacking."

Sherman's reply the next day was characteristic: "I will take ten steamers and ten regiments and go up the Yazoo as close to Haynes' as possible without putting the transports under the rifled guns of the enemy. We will make as

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strong a demonstration as possible. The troops will all understand the purpose, and will not be hurt by the repulse. The people of the country must find out the truth as they best can; it is none of their business. You are engaged in a hazardous enterprise, and, for good reasons, wish to divert attention; that is sufficient for me, and it shall be done. I will be all ready at daylight." What a help to the country had Grant enjoyed such generals when he came afterwards to command in Virginia! The effect of this demonstration, it was afterwards learned, was prodigious; so misleading the Confederate commander that instead of throwing his superior forces upon Grant's advance, as he might have done, Bowen was left to defeat at Port Gibson, Grand Gulf lost, and the Federal army safely stretching in bold front with its left over the Big Black, before the true import of the movement was known.

There now remained, primarily, the quick concentration of the scattered army. Sherman was already coming with speed; other divisions in rear were pushed forward; and by the 8th of May, all but Blair's and McArthur's were on the ground.

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The supreme moment had arrived. Grant had at hand, counting Sherman's, about 33,000 men, unembarrassed by baggage or useless trains, stripped to fight, as hardy, confident, ardent, as ever went to battle. Before him lay the long-sought enemy, in fact nearly double his number, though he then supposed the difference less, and beyond was the great prize of victory, the impregnable city. True, the president and general-in-chief expected him to move south and join Banks against Port Hudson. But what a lame and impotent conclusion to operations already so brilliant! Long before a promise of success there, the enemy might easily in their own country pile superior forces upon him, while he could expect small reinforcement, if any. Already his route of supplies was so long as both to be inadequate and perilous. Then, happily, long before his daring plan could be known at Washington and countermanded to him, it would be tried to conclusion. No! he would dally no more! The light of genius pointed the way. It was the hour of fate. *Aut cita mors, aut victoria læta.* Distributing such supplies as had been provided, he cast off all communications,

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and set out to find another base in the enemy's rear.

Whether he had before contemplated this contingency is unknown, though not improbable. He only tells us he decided then, on hearing at Grand Gulf from Banks, that he could not reach Port Hudson until May 10th, and then with only 15,000 men. Undoubtedly his loyalty to superiors proves his primary intention to have been, as he says, to send a corps to Banks and reduce Port Hudson before proceeding further against Vicksburg. But whatever may have lain in his mind, the hour of change was a happy one for his country and his fame.

His new plan took form according to his general views of the conduct of the war. He held the bridge over the Big Black at Hankinson's, and Vicksburg could have been directly proceeded against. But the rebel army lay outside in three separate detachments, and he forthwith went into the open country against them. Every division of his army was in constant movement and his control of them all in co-operation was so obvious, the "fit" of every command to its proper place of help

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so plain, that it was a frequent remark among officers at the time that no army was ever better in hand.

I will make the story short; captivating though it be to follow the rapid adjustments and re-adjustments, as to his quick discernment new points and ways to strike suggested themselves.

Pemberton commanding above 50,000 men, came out from Vicksburg with most of his force and lay, irresolute, at Edward's Station, a few miles east of the Big Black. Another force was gathering at Jackson, fifty miles from Vicksburg; while Gregg, at Raymond, fourteen miles southwest from Jackson, had 5,000. Had they been united and skillfully handled, they should have crushed Grant. But he rapidly extended to the east his line, generally facing north, McPherson on the right, Sherman in the centre, McClelland reaching on the left to the Big Black, and advanced it to within about seven miles of the Vicksburg & Jackson railroad where it lay the night of May 11th. On the 12th McPherson suddenly extended to the right and threw Logan with his division upon Gregg, and sent him flying in rout to

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Jackson, with a loss of over 800. Grant then quickly addressed his whole force on Jackson, McPherson going to Clinton where, on the 13th, he destroyed a portion of the Vicksburg & Jackson railroad, Sherman following into Raymond, and McClelland, who had been amusing Pemberton by movements in his front, coming after so as to have divisions in supporting reach of either, and also ready to confront Pemberton if he attempted attack from the rear. Early on the 14th, in torrents of rain, over roads deep in mud and in places covered with water, McPherson from Clinton and Sherman from Raymond marched to Jackson, having mutually arranged their hour of arrival together, and by eleven o'clock had made all dispositions for attack. On the evening before, General Joe Johnson had arrived there from Tennessee and taken command, having about 11,000 men present, but expecting more soon to join him. McPherson and Sherman each encountered the enemy's advance some distance out, opened the battle, and by noon were close to his intrenchments around the city. But Johnson chose to save his force while possible, and stood no longer. He



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evacuated Jackson and withdrew to the north, losing 17 guns and 845 men. He, however, halted only six miles out on the Canton road, desiring to effect a junction with Pemberton.

But Grant had another opportune gift from favoring fortune. A spy, whom Hurlbut had sometime before drummed out of Memphis with great show of indignation as a rebel sympathizer, had so imposed upon the Confederates that he was sent, as one of three messengers going separately, to Pemberton with Johnson's dispatch written the night before; but he brought his copy instead to General McPherson, so that Grant had it on the 14th. It required Pemberton to move upon the troops at Clinton, and to establish communication between them at once so that reinforcements might be given him. Immediately McPherson was ordered to move back, McClelland and Blair (who had lately got up) instructed, and all to concentrate all their troops at Bolton, twenty miles west of Jackson, with "all dispatch." On the night of the 15th, Hovey's division, which was nearest, bivouacked there, with the others conveniently near; all gathered in but Sherman, who was left at

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Jackson to destroy railroads, bridges, and military factories. Pemberton had not on the 14th, as he should, obeyed Johnson's order to attack Grant's rear, deeming it too hazardous. He was not a Grant. Early on the morning of the 16th Grant was waked from sleep to receive two men with the news that during the night they had passed through Pemberton's army, that it was then at Edwards's Station, but advancing east, comprising eighty regiments of foot and ten batteries, estimated at 25,000. It was clear that the decisive battle was at hand. His action was instant. By seven Sherman had received at Jackson his order to hasten with his army, the first division of which began to march in an hour. Blair likewise was ordered up, and every disposition made for complete concentration, all previous arrangements having been such as to render it most easy. Grant, who had passed the night at Clinton, himself pushed early to the front, cleared the roads of wagon trains, and hurried forward the troops. Pemberton had planted his forces to great advantage on Champion's Hill, excellently adapted to defence by its precipitous front with a deep ravine

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at its foot. The ensuing battle was fiercely contested for many hours, but between three and four of the afternoon, the retreat began, and the rout of the enemy was severe. His loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was over 6,000, one division under Loring was cut off from his right, wandering away south, and never got in to Vicksburg, and the troops retreating to the Big Black were demoralized and in disorder.

Grant says that had he known the local geography so as to have availed of an opportunity he did not appreciate, or had McClelland fought his corps with the ardor he ought to have shown, Pemberton could not have got back to Vicksburg with an organized force. The Union troops lost nearly 2,500 in this hot battle.

But it decided the campaign. No chance of junction with Pemberton remained to General Johnson; though Pemberton might, and as Grant thought should, have abandoned Vicksburg and after crossing the Black have made a quick march north on its western side and then have reached Johnson. But he did not, and before daybreak Grant pushed after him, to find that his rear was

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making a final stand at their works of defence around the Black River bridge.

It was Sunday morning. Services began with daylight, and before church bells for forenoon service at home were ringing, deployment of our line having been made with Carr's division on the right, Osterhaus next and Burbridge's brigade on the left, the whole line swept over the open field—a beautiful spectacle—and the enemy's intrenchments beyond, and the beginning of the end was complete. We took 18 guns and 1,751 prisoners, losing 39 killed, 237 wounded, and 3 missing.

A signal incident here occurring, which dramatically emphasizes Grant's glory, I will use his own words to tell:

“While the troops were standing as here described (that is, just as the deployment was about finished), an officer of Bank's staff came up and presented me with a letter from General Halleck, dated the 11th of May. It had been sent by way of New Orleans to Banks to be forwarded to me. It ordered me to return to Grand Gulf and to cooperate from there with Banks against Port Hudson, and then to return with our combined forces

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to besiege Vicksburg. I told the officer that the order came too late, and that Halleck would not give it now if he knew our position. The bearer of the dispatch insisted that I ought to obey the order, and was giving arguments to support his position when I heard great cheering to the right of our line, and, looking in that direction, saw Lawler in his shirt sleeves leading a charge upon the enemy. I immediately mounted my horse and rode in the direction of the charge, and saw no more of the officer who delivered the dispatch; I think not even to this day."

Such was the value of Grant's reckoning on the time necessary to countermand his operations; such his happy fortune in the fact!

The retreating enemy succeeded in burning so much of the bridge that it could not be used. Three were immediately undertaken, one upon rafts, one on cotton bales used as pontoons, a third by felling trees; lumber being stripped from cotton gins and other buildings; and by the following morning the army began to cross. But for that day's delay, it is possible the Union troops might

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have joined the Confederates in going into Vicksburg.

Meantime, Sherman, who could not get up in time to fight at Champion's Hill, except that Blair's division belonged to his corps, was turned off at Bolton by orders to cross the Black at Bridgeport on the upper Jackson road, Blair being also sent there. They, too, built a bridge and crossed that night. Grant himself had gone to Sherman, and early next morning this column pushed through to Haines's Bluff, driving away a force of the enemy, and soon the two stood up on the hill-crest, looking down on the ground whence Sherman had looked up most wistfully in vain some months before. Generously and enthusiastically he there told Grant that to that minute he had felt no assurance of success, never could see the end clearly, before; but now had ended one of the greatest campaigns of history, whatever the final result. There is a picture for some painter's brush; those friends, chief heroes of the war, outlined on the sky above that hilltop, in conference upon such a conclusion to such a struggle of arms!

It was among many officers during that cam-

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paigned a theory that Sherman's intuitive and flashing perceptions were the silent but unflinching Grant's great auxiliary, both in divining the purposes of the enemy and devising best to meet them. Nor did Grant ever speak, in his generous consideration of this friend, till Sherman, with noble magnanimity, himself freely poured forth the truth that all the brilliancy and daring of conception, not less than the rapid skill of swift and bold execution, were Grant's and Grant's alone; while he had himself opposed the plans and doubted the event: thus limiting commendation, mostly justly his due, to that of loyal, zealous, and able obedience and support. His later splendors of achievement abundantly testified that he lacked nothing of quality for the highest command when invested with its responsibilities; another lesson, so needful to men, that a just subordination is the best evidence of capacity for great leadership.

By the evening of the 19th, on which day a hot assault was made upon the enemy's left intrenchments towards the north, our army was drawn near the works in continuous line from the Walnut Hills to a distance below the Baldwin's Ferry

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road, communication with the fleet opened on the Yazoo, and a base of supplies established on its bluffs; a base with no long line to protect.

Twenty days since crossing the river; one hundred and eighty miles of marching done; five battles and many skirmishes fought; an enemy far excelling in total numbers so skillfully beaten in detail that in no engagement was his strength available; many guns captured and thousands of the enemy destroyed or taken; twenty days passed with five days' rations, and pickings! And what a transformation. So shortly before, that army was still completing months of weary toil, distress, disappointment, amid Southern scoffing and Northern disheartenment, marching in the Louisiana swamps, gazing at the lofty, unassailable, hopeless fortress over the river, which now, presto! so suddenly lay within its clutch.

It is needless to my purpose to describe the succeeding particulars. Naturally, the Confederate authorities strove to raise an army for relief. But Halleck not only, like a true soldier, generously praised, but, without being asked, sent Grant the abundant reinforcements he instantly saw were



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needful. And Grant, failing in no care, fortified his rear until he was almost within a second Vicksburg, like Cæsar at Alesia. So of course, there was fighting, mining and countermining; day and night were active and noisy, and many a heroic deed was done along the seven or eight miles of investment. Enough there was for a long and charming tale by a competent pen.

And Vicksburg fell, spectacularly on the Nation's birthday, with 31,600 prisoners, and 172 cannon, 60,000 small arms and much ammunition; "the largest capture of men and material ever made in war" up to that time. So soon as known, Port Hudson's commander gave up that fortress; a necessary sequence.

And the Mississippi ran unvexed to the sea; the Confederacy was hopelessly split in twain; the backbone of the rebellion was broken.

The effects of this campaign upon the fortunes of the Confederacy were decisive. As Grant has said: "The fate of the Confederacy was sealed when Vicksburg fell." At the subsequent siege of Jackson a truce of two or three hours afforded opportunity for conversation with Confederate offi-

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cers, and they freely declared their cause to be ruined. It will be a question for historical debate whether any justification remained for further resistance of the Union arms. For, notwithstanding all the subsequent heavy fighting on many fields, the end could not on any righteous ground of hope be escaped. The enemy was confined to their Eastern states, and the assistance they had so much benefited by from west of the Mississippi was forever lost.

What if Grant had failed in that campaign? If Vicksburg had been held, and Port Hudson with it? No answer can be given, not subject to controversy. In that case, it is probable Lee would not have invaded Pennsylvania, nor Gettysburg been fought. The whole line of Confederate defense would have remained as it stood at the end of the second year of the conflict; and what might have ensued from Northern disheartenment in such a condition, may be seriously questioned.

That this campaign outstrips in all the characteristics of brilliant and daring strategy any other NORTHERN CA of the war, requires no amplification of argument.

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The simple facts demonstrate the conclusion. All military men recognize it. It is no disparagement of other achievements to so compare it with them. The battle of Gettysburg was an awful struggle; yet, as Greely says of it, "it was won; but that was all." That campaign was a desperate effort of Lee, spurred in June, 1863, by the obviously impending calamity of Vicksburg's fall, and the necessity of some countervailing stroke. He was simply resisted at a favorable point, and by a Union army which greatly outnumbered his. Its results left him still on his former lines in Virginia, covering Richmond. The subsequent campaigns at Chattanooga, the advance thereafter to Atlanta, and Grant's final one in Virginia, were all, though most ably conducted, but the direct advance of superior forces upon positions of the enemy in front, while Sherman's magnificent march to the sea was interrupted by no hostile force, and concluded by easy captures of seaboard posts.

General Grant, in conversation with me, gave this judgment of the military aspect of this campaign; in no sense as a self-laudatory one, but as

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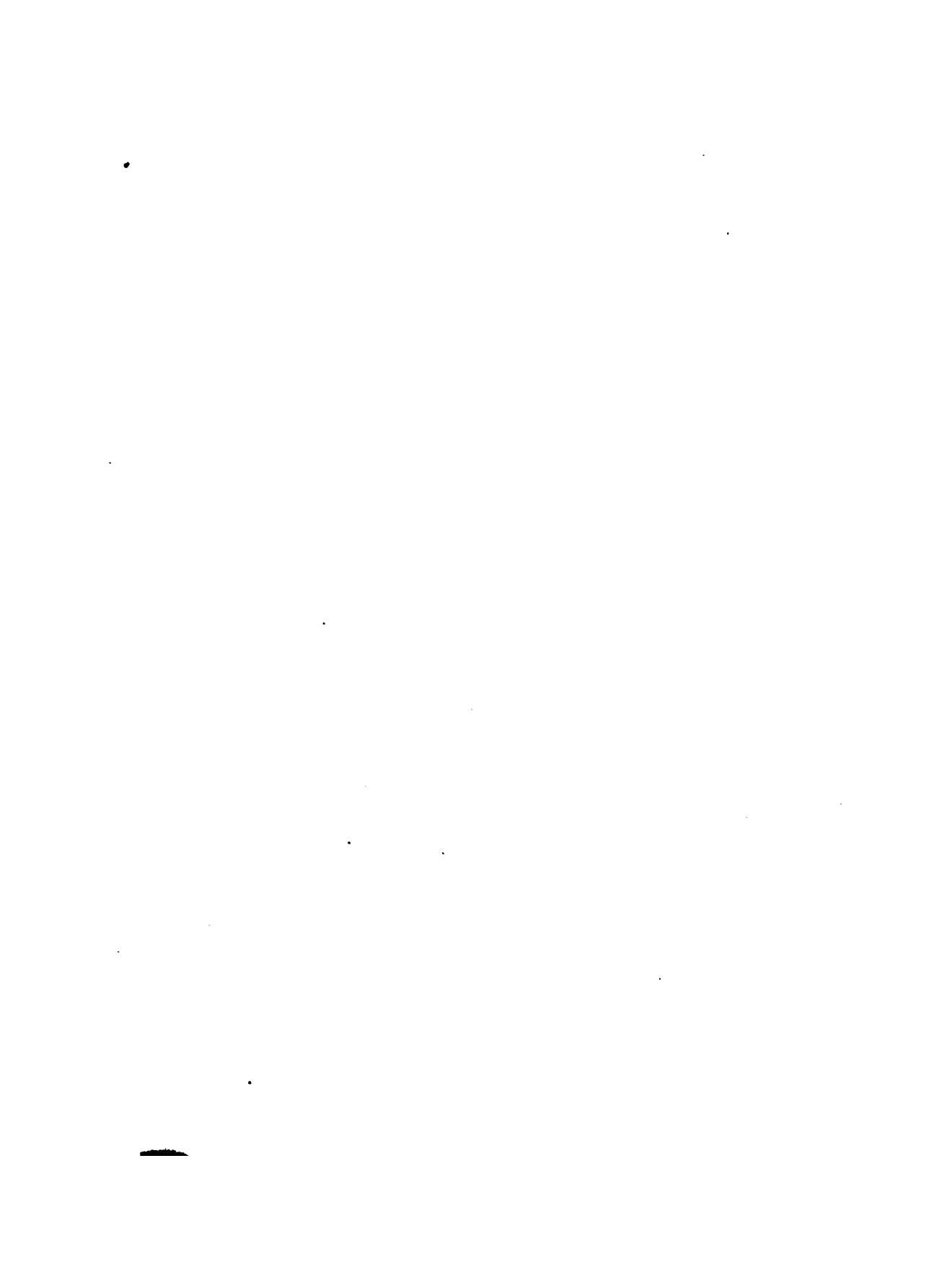
the merest statement of a fact, which all soldiers know.

The value of a single man to the cause of human progress has been often illustrated. Who that reads the story of the Revolution can fail to see that American Independence turned on the personal qualities and conduct of George Washington? Who deny that the Commonwealth of England rested on Cromwell?

With no extravagance of speech, in no spirit of personal worship, but as the merest recognition of historic truth, the people of the United States, rejoicing in the immensity of their power, their riches, their liberties, and happiness, cannot fail to give thanks to that Providence who proffered to their desperate need in the war that saved the Union, their previously unknown and unpretending fellow-citizen, Ulysses S. Grant.



## APPENDIX



## WISCONSIN SOLDIERS IN THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

**S**EVENTEEN organizations from Wisconsin participated in the movement against Vicksburg; the service of a few of these was not in the fighting line, but they indirectly contributed. There were thirteen regiments of infantry; the Eighth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Fourteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-third, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-ninth, and Thirty-third; one regiment of cavalry, the Second; and three batteries of artillery, the First, Sixth, and Twelfth. Of the infantry, only the Eleventh, Fourteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-third, and Twenty-ninth regiments shared the entire preceding campaign and were in the line of investment from the beginning until the surrender. The Sixteenth, Twenty-fifth, and Twenty-seventh did not have places in the line of investment; and the other in-



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fantry regiments were respectively in that line for but parts of the siege. The cavalry regiment was not directly concerned in the siege, or near the lines of it; its First battalion was on duty in Missouri during the entire campaign; and the Second and Third battalions were on out-post duty, unattached to any particular corps, at Snyder's Bluff on the Yazoo, during the latter part of the siege. The three batteries served throughout the campaign, and had positions in the line of investment until the surrender.

What here follows is designed as the briefest statement possible of the part taken in the operations against Vicksburg, after January, 1863, by each of these organizations, with no attempt at any history of them. Together with this, are approximately given the points of location of the several monuments placed by the State in the Vicksburg national military park, being generally the points of encampment, or rather bivouac, of the several organizations which were in the line of investment; and also the inscriptions carved on these monuments respectively.

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The Vicksburg national military park consists, generally speaking, of an irregular strip of land extending from the river above Vicksburg adjacent to the national cemetery there, in a somewhat semi-circular direction, for about eight miles to the river south of Vicksburg, at but two points so much as half a mile in width and for large distance much narrower; the interior or western border being generally along the line of the Confederate works of defence, while the exterior or eastern border is generally within, or, in some parts, about on the lines of the Union investment.

Along the western border is Confederate Avenue, 8.19 miles long, following and just in rear of the line of Confederate defences. On the other side is Union Avenue, 7.43 miles long, extending from the cemetery only a part of the way around towards the south, where it connects in the neighborhood of Fort Garrott with Confederate Avenue. Other avenues, among them Grant, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa Avenues, complete the park system of inter-communication extending on the Union side to the river below the south fort.

Approximately thirteen hundred acres are em-

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braced; and, inasmuch as the Confederate line was upon a range of hills or ridges, while the Union lines were on similar though not so regularly connecting ranges, with deep valleys between these lines for the most part, the view over the field is more extensive and picturesque than such parks usually afford. The Union monuments are placed along the Union lines of investment, while Confederate monuments are along the Confederate line of defence. Besides the regimental (or organization) monuments, there will be a number of markers, smaller stones, with inscriptions showing the various points which the indicated organizations attained to in the different assaults or attempts against Vicksburg before or during the progress of the siege. These markers will respectively bear the inscription of the name of the State in raised letters, the designation of the regiment, with its brigade, division, and corps, and the briefest statement of the action in which it attained that point; as *Assault, May 22. Marks farthest advance.* This inscription will be found on the markers of six regiments participating in

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that assault—the Eighth, Eleventh, Fourteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Twenty-third.<sup>1</sup>

The Wisconsin commission, under the act of 1903, have provided for thirteen organization monuments, besides seven markers. Of these, eleven are of like design and size, simple and plain in appearance. They rise twelve feet in height, are composed of six stones, the two lower bases being of Barre (Vermont) granite; and the four above, risers, die, and apex, of Montello (Wisconsin) granite. The first base is one stone, nine feet six inches square, one foot thick; and the second six feet six inches square, one foot thick; and both these are of hammered finish, showing the light grayish color. The third stone is four feet ten inches square and one foot six inches thick; the fourth three feet eight inches square, one foot nine inches thick; the fifth, three feet seven inches

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Vilas had expressed a desire to insert at this point a note. This was, to the effect that after the Wisconsin Commission had taken action in regard to the matter, some difference of opinion arose between that body and the National Commission, concerning the manner of statement in the several inscriptions, and correspondence is in progress relative thereto; this may possibly result in changes in several of the inscriptions given below. Unfortunately, the author did not prepare the explanatory note before being taken ill.—Editor.

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square and three feet nine inches thick; and the sixth, three feet five inches square and three feet thick, tapering to an apex (meaning by "thick" the vertical measurement of the stone). These four Montello stones are highly polished in the rich reddish brown color of that granite. On the top stone of each in large high raised letters appears the word "Wisconsin." On the third stone in like letters is the designation of the regiment, as "Eighth Infantry." Above is the brigade, division, and corps designation to which it belonged; and on the fifth stone or die is the inscription showing nothing more than the names of the field officers of regiments, and battery officers, *present at the siege*, the engagements and casualties of the command. The inscriptions are copied later in this notice.

Of these eleven monuments one will commemorate the Sixteenth, Twenty-fifth, and Twenty-seventh foot regiments and the Second cavalry, which were not in the line of investment; the four inscriptions being placed respectively upon the four sides of the monument, so that each is representative of the regiment like the others. This

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monument will be located on Grant Avenue, not very far from where Grant's headquarters stood. The other ten monuments will be commemorative of the ten foot regiments which actually served in the line of investment for more or less time; and will be located as before said, at the sites of their bivouacs.

Two monuments will represent the batteries; one for the First, and the other for the Sixth and Twelfth, whose positions in the line adjoined. The design for the single monument is special and difficult of presentation in mere words; the double monument is in design but a doubling of the single one, substantially. The inscriptions on these will show the name, WISCONSIN, designation of the battery and the corps, together with officers present at the siege and the engagements and the casualties; in like manner with the regimental organizations. It has been the purpose of the commission to admit no discrimination between different regiments or batteries in their commemoration upon the field. For the most part these monuments will be widely scattered; and, except as to those represent-



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ing Ransom's brigade, hardly any two of them will be within eye-sight of each other.

The legislature of 1907 made an appropriation of \$100,000 for a general State monument to commemorate the services of Wisconsin soldiers in this campaign. The commission has invited the presentation of designs for this monument; but at this writing no design has been received or selected. It will probably require an additional year, and perhaps more, to build this monument. When completed, it is hoped that suitable dedication ceremonies may be conducted there, with opportunity for a reunion on the scene, of the Wisconsin soldiers who participated in the events of 1863.

The Eighth Infantry was in the Second Brigade, Brigadier-General Joseph A. Mower, of the Third Division, Brigadier-General James M. Tuttle, of the Fifteenth Army Corps, commanded by General Sherman.

This regiment carried during its service, as a companion to the colors, the famous eagle, "Old Abe;" and is therefore commonly known as the Eagle Regiment.

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The command landed on the first of April, 1863, at Young's Point, Louisiana. On the 2nd of May they marched with the army for Hard Times Landing, which they reached on the 7th, and thence crossed to Grand Gulf with Sherman's corps. They were engaged at Jackson and one of the first to enter the city when it was taken. Lieutenant-Colonel Jefferson was appointed provost marshal. They marched with Sherman's corps thence to the line of investment of Vicksburg and participated in the assault on the 22nd of May. On the 25th of May they were sent towards Mechanicsburg, in watch of the Confederate general, Joseph E. Johnson, but shortly returned to Haines's Bluff. On the third of June they were sent up the Yazoo River and on the fourth again proceeded towards Mechanicsburg, where a sharp engagement was had with the enemy, in which he was routed, leaving his dead and wounded and some forty prisoners in the hands of the Eighth, which was the only Federal regiment actually engaged. Shortly after, they were brought down to Young's Point, Louisiana. From thence they marched on the 14th to Rich-



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mond, where they routed a small force of the enemy. Thence they returned to their station at Young's Point, where they remained until after the surrender.

Their monument stands on Union Avenue near the Graveyard Road, and bears the following inscription:

Colonel, George W. Robbins.

Lieut.-Colonel, John W. Jefferson.

Major, William B. Britton.

Engaged: Jackson, May 14th; Assault, May 22nd;  
Mechanicsburg, June 4th; Richmond, Louisiana,  
June 5th.

Aggregate Casualties: 44. Killed, 3, wounded, 19,  
missing, 22.

Lieutenant Willard D. Chapman, killed.

Captain Stephen Estee, mortally wounded.

On one side, also, a sculpture *in relief* of Old Abe is shown.

Their marker stands on the Graveyard Road near the Confederate stockade redan on that road.

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The Eleventh Infantry was in the Second Brigade, Brigadier-General Michael K. Lawler, of

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the Fourteenth Division, Brigadier-General Eugene A. Carr, of the Thirteenth Army Corps, commanded by Major-General John A. McClermand until the 18th of June, when he was relieved and General E. O. C. Ord was placed in command.

This regiment had been stationed at Lake Providence during a part of March, and from thence it took part in the movements of the Thirteenth Corps, participating in its engagements and being in the first line of intrenchments from the beginning to the end of the siege.

The monument of the Eleventh stands on Union Avenue, following the foremost line of the army, not far south from the Jackson railroad. The inscription is:

Colonel, Charles L. Harris.

Lieut.-Colonel, Charles A. Wood.

Major, Arthur Platt.

Engaged: Port Gibson, May 1; Big Black River Bridge,

May 17; Assault, May 22; Siege, May 23-July 4.

Aggregate Casualties: 151. Killed, 14, wounded, 137.

Lieutenant Hiram E. Smith, killed.

Captain Daniel Hough, Captain John Alfred Peaslee,  
and Lieutenant James Law, mortally wounded.

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The marker which points the farthest advance made by this regiment in the assault of the 22nd of May stands placed close to the Confederate line, in rear and a little south of Railroad Redoubt.

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The Twelfth Infantry was in the Third Brigade, commanded by its own Colonel, George E. Bryant, of the Fourth Division, Brigadier-General Jacob G. Lauman, of the Sixteenth Army corps, Major-General Stephen A. Hurlburt, and did not reach the field of Vicksburg until the 11th of June. This regiment had embarked at Memphis on May 11, landed on the 13th on the western bank, thence marched across the Louisiana peninsula and was ferried to Grand Gulf, where it arrived on the 18th of May. From that time it was engaged in guard duty over the army stores collected at that point, until the 9th of June, when it proceeded to the Vicksburg field by way of Warrenton. Coming late upon the scene, and being located in the southern part of the field where the configuration of the ground was different, the Twelfth did not establish itself so near the lines as

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some others; but contributed most efficient and useful service in that part of the field. Its monument is placed on Illinois Circle near Hall's Ferry Road and bears this inscription:

Colonel, George E. Bryant.  
Lieut.-Colonel, Dewitt C. Poole.  
Major, William E. Strong.  
Engaged: Siege, June 11-July 4.

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The Fourteenth Infantry, in the Second Brigade, Brigadier-General Thomas E. G. Ransom, of the Sixth Division, Brigadier-General John McArthur, of the Seventeenth Army Corps, commanded by Major-General James B. McPherson, was in the ranks of the army on the Louisiana side of the Mississippi from the 20th of January, 1863. Part of the time they were at Lake Providence, whence they took part in the exploration of Bayou Baxter, and also in an expedition to the American Bend, where over 3,000 bales of Confederate cotton were captured. They marched with the Seventeenth Corps through Louisiana to Perkins Landing, crossed to Grand Gulf on the 13th of

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May, and reached Raymond on the 16th, while the battle of Champion's Hill was in progress. Thence they marched to the lines around Vicksburg. Their monument stands on Union Avenue and Wisconsin Circle north of the Jackson Road. The inscription is:

Colonel, Lyman M. Ward.

Lieut.-Colonel, James W. Polleys.

Major, Asa Warden.

Engaged: Skirmish, May 19; Assault, May 22; Siege, May 23-July 4.

Aggregate Casualties: 104. Killed, 15, wounded, 85, missing, 4.

Lieutenant Colin Miller, mortally wounded.

The marker indicating their farthest point of advance at the time of the assault is placed South of the Graveyard Road close to the Confederate line.

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The Seventeenth Infantry, of the same brigade, division, and corps as the Fourteenth, had participated during the winter in work on the canal, then went to Lake Providence; from whence they sailed on the 20th of April to take part in the campaign. They crossed the Mississippi on the 12th

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of May and thence shared the experiences of McArthur's division, participating with it in the entire siege operations. Their monument stands on Union Avenue and Wisconsin Circle, near that of the Fourteenth. Its inscription is:

Colonel, Adam G. Malloy.

Lieut.-Colonel, Thomas McMahan.

Engaged: Skirmish, May 19; Assault, May 22; Siege, May 23-July 4.

Aggregate Casualties: 59. Killed, 5, wounded, 48, missing, 6.

Its marker stands well forward on the field near that of the 14th, but not so close to the Confederate line.

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The Eighteenth Infantry was also brigaded with the Fourteenth and Seventeenth. Its experience in Louisiana, in crossing the river, and in engagements and siege service were substantially the same as the Fourteenth and Seventeenth; except that they participated in the battle of Jackson, losing twenty-one killed and wounded.

Their monument stands also on Union Avenue not far from the Minnesota State Memorial. Its inscription is:

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Colonel, Gabriel Bouck.

Lieut.-Colonel Samuel W. Beall.

Major, Charles H. Jackson.

Engaged: Jackson, May 14; Champion's Hill, May 16;

Assault, May 22; Siege, May 23-July 4.

Aggregate Casualties: 43. Killed, 8, wounded, 35.

Lieutenant William H. Alban, mortally wounded.

Its marker is on the ridge that runs south from the Confederate Great Redoubt, just south of the Jackson Road.

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The Twentieth Infantry of the Second Brigade, Brigadier-General W. W. Orne, of Major-General Francis J. Herron's Division, sailed from Missouri on the 3d of June, arrived at Young's Point, Louisiana, on the 13th, crossed the river below Vicksburg on the 15th, and took position on the left of the Union line some twelve hundred yards from the Confederate trenches, substantially closing the line of investment with the river south of Vicksburg. Coming late, and separated by difficult ground from the enemy, the service of this division consisted mainly in the completion of the Union investment and gradual approach to the

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Confederate works, together with restraining the enemy's escape.

Their monument stands in the southwestern portion of the field on Illinois Avenue, and bears the following inscription:

Colonel, Henry Bertram.

Lieut.-Colonel, Henry A. Starr.

Major, Augustus H. Pettibone.

Engaged: Siege, June 15-July 4.

Casualties: Wounded, 2.

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The Twenty-third Infantry, in the First Brigade, Brigadier-General Stephen G. Burbridge, of the Tenth Division, Brigadier-General Andrew J. Smith, of the Thirteenth Army Corps, came with Sherman's command when the attempt was made in the previous December upon Haines's Bluff, participated in the capture of Arkansas Post, spent the winter at Young's Point and Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, thence proceeded south with the Thirteenth Corps, participating in the attempt to take Grand Gulf as one of four regiments picked to lead the landing and attack, the battles



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of Port Gibson, Champion's Hill, the Big Black, and in all the operations of the siege. Major-General Bowen and Colonel Montgomery, who brought out the flag of truce for the surrender of Vicksburg on the 3d day of July, came from the lunette in front of the Twenty-third's bivouac, and were received by Captain Joseph E. Green of Company D, who was brigade officer of the day, and in command of the forces at the rifle pits immediately in front of the Confederate works.

The regimental monument is a few rods north of Baldwin's Ferry Road on Union Avenue, near the "Burnt Chimneys." The inscription is:

Colonel, Joshua J. Guppey.

Lieut.-Colonel, William F. Vilas.

Major, Edgar P. Hill.

Engaged: Port Gibson, May 11; Champion's Hill, May 16; Big Black River Bridge, May 17; Skirmishes, May 19 and May 20; Assault, May 22; Siege, May 23-July 4.

Aggregate Casualties, 55. Killed, 5, wounded, 47, missing, 3.

Lieutenant Andrew J. McFarland, Lieutenant John Starks, mortally wounded.

The marker stands at the outside edge of the ditch or moat of the Confederate lunette on Bald-

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win's Ferry Road, now occupied by a Jewish cemetery.

The Twenty-ninth Infantry, in the First Brigade, Brigadier-General George F. McGinnis, of the Twelfth Division, Brigadier-General Alvin P. Hovey, of the Thirteenth Army Corps, participated with that corps in the capture of Arkansas Post, whence they returned to Helena, Arkansas. They shared in the attempt to secure a base by the movement through the Yazoo River, and arrived at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, on the 13th of April. From thence they went with the Thirteenth Army Corps in all its movements; took a conspicuously gallant part in the battle at Port Gibson, and again at Champion's Hill, and was in the line of investment throughout the siege.

Their monument stands on Union Avenue near and south of the Confederate Fort Garrott, and is inscribed:

Colonel, Charles R. Gill.

Lieut.-Colonel, William A. Greene.

Major, Bradford Hancock.

Engaged: Port Gibson, May 1; Champion's Hill, May 16; Assault, May 22; Siege, May 23-July 4.

Aggregate Casualties: 188. Killed, 29, wounded, 157; missing, 2.

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The Thirty-third Infantry was in the First Brigade, Colonel Isaac C. Pugh, of the Fourth Division, Brigadier-General Jacob L. Lauman, of the Sixteenth Army Corps. They embarked at Memphis on the 17th of May, reached Snyder's Bluff on the Yazoo on the 20th, and on the 25th of May took position in the line of investment before Vicksburg on the left, near where Wisconsin Avenue now is, sharing actively in the minor engagements by which that part of the line was advanced.

Their monument stands on Wisconsin Avenue and is inscribed:

Colonel, Jonathan B. Moore.

Lieut.-Colonel, Frederick S. Lovell.

Major, Horatio H. Virgin.

Engaged: Siege, May 25-July 4.

Casualties: wounded, 9.

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The Sixteenth Infantry was in the First Brigade, Brigadier-General Hugh T. Reed, of the Sixth Division, Brigadier-General John McArthur, of the Seventeenth Army Corps. In January, 1863, the regiment moved down the river and

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landed on the 1st of February at Lake Providence, Louisiana, where it was stationed until after the surrender of Vicksburg. Their inscription is upon one side of the monument common to four commands, previously mentioned, and is as follows:

Colonel, Benjamin Allen.

Lieut.-Colonel, Cassius Fairchild.

Major, Thomas Reynolds.

Served at Lake Providence, La., March 27-July 4.

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The Twenty-fifth Infantry, belonging to the Sixteenth Army Corps, went down the Mississippi from Columbus, Kentucky, on the 31st of May, and up the Yazoo River to Satartia, Mississippi, where they disembarked on the 4th of June. On the 5th, together with the Twenty-seventh Wisconsin and two other regiments, it was placed in a brigade under command of its colonel, Milton Montgomery, in Kimball's provisional division, and stationed near Haines's Bluff and thence at Snyder's Bluff during the remainder of the siege; making, however, on the 25th, an expedition against Greenville, in pursuit of a Confederate

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force. The inscription, on one side of the common monument, is as follows:

Colonel, Milton Montgomery.

Lieut.-Colonel, Samuel J. Nasmith.

Major, Jeremiah M. Rusk.

Served on Exterior Line, near Haines's Bluff, June 4-  
July 4; expedition to Greenville, June 25-July 1.

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The Twenty-seventh Infantry, of the Sixteenth Army Corps, likewise sailed from Columbus and landed at Snyder's Bluff, Mississippi, and there served with the Twenty-fifth, in Montgomery's Brigade of Kimball's provisional division, near Haines's Bluff. The inscription, on one side of the common monument, is as follows:

Colonel, Conrad Krez.

Lieut.-Colonel, John J. Brown.

Served on Exterior Line, near Haines's Bluff, June 4-  
July 4.

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The Second Cavalry was divided, the first battalion remaining at Rolla, Missouri, while the second and third battalions were employed on outpost duty to the northeast and east of our forces during the most of the siege. Their inscription is

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on the fourth side of the common monument, as follows:

Colonel, Thomas Stephens.  
Unattached Cavalry.  
Outpost Duty, June 16-July 4.

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The First Battery of light artillery, known as the La Crosse Artillery, was in the Ninth Division, Brigadier-General Peter J. Osterhaus, of the Thirteenth Army Corps; was in Sherman's expedition in December, 1862, against Haines's Bluff, participated in the capture of Arkansas Post, and thence accompanied the Thirteenth Army Corps to Young's Point, Milliken's Bend, thence below to Hard Times and across the river, and shared in the engagements at Port Gibson and Big Black and in all the siege operations. Their camp and guns were in the line of investment from the beginning to the end of the siege; located at a point called Fort Keigwin, some distance south of the Jackson railroad. Their captain was chief of artillery of the division.

Their monument stands on Union Avenue, near Kentucky Avenue, and is inscribed:

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Captain, Jacob T. Foster.

First Lieutenant, Daniel Webster.

First Lieutenant, Charles B. Kimball.

Second Lieutenant, Oscar F. Nutting.

Second Lieutenant, Ephraim L. Hackett.

Engaged: Port Gibson, May 1; Big Black River  
Bridge, May 17; Assault, May 22; Siege, May 23-  
July 4.

Aggregate Casualties: wounded, 8.

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The Sixth Battery of light artillery was in the Seventh Division, Colonel John B. Sanborn, of the Seventeenth Corps. Arriving on the 15th of April at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, they proceeded with that corps across the peninsula, crossed the river to Bruinsburg, Mississippi, on the 1st of May, took part in the battles of Jackson and Champion's Hill, and were in the line of investment from beginning to end of the siege. Their camp and guns adjoined those of the Twelfth Battery, being stationed about midway between the Baldwin's Ferry and Jackson roads, near the centre of the line. Their monument, shared with the Twelfth, bears this inscription on their half of it:

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**Captain, Henry Dillon.**

**First Lieutenant, Samuel F. Clark.**

**First Lieutenant, Thomas R. Hood.**

**Second Lieutenant, James G. Simpson.**

**Engaged: Jackson, May 14; Champion's Hill, May 16;**

**Assault, May 22; Siege, May 23-July 4.**

**Aggregate Casualties: 5. Killed, 1, wounded, 4.**

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The Twelfth Battery of light artillery was in the same division with the Sixth, and shared the same services during the movements from Milliken's Bend and in the rear; participating likewise in the siege, their guns being placed in the same line and near to those of the Sixth. The monument of the two batteries is placed on Union Avenue between their positions in the line, south of the Jackson Road; and the inscription on their part of it is:

**Captain, William Zickerick.**

**First Lieutenant, Edward G. Harlow.**

**Second Lieutenant, Marcus Amsden.**

**Engaged: Jackson, May 14; Champion's Hill, May 16;**

**Assault, May 22; Siege, May 23-July 4.**





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There is in the Wisconsin Historical Library a considerable mass of material in the form of contemporary newspaper clippings, all of it permanently mounted, and much of it admirably classified and indexed. The principal items of this character are: Ten large folio volumes, with a manuscript index to each volume, containing the contemporary correspondence (1861-65) of Wisconsin soldiers at the front, chiefly published in their home papers, and arranged by regiments—this collection having been made while the war was in progress by E. B. Quiner for his *Military History of Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1866); several similar volumes of Wisconsin war clippings, collected by other persons, and not classified—one of these on the Iron Brigade; and three folio volumes containing a supposedly complete collection of contemporary rosters of Wisconsin volunteers (1861-65), classified by the different arms of the service. In the Quiner volumes, clippings relating to the 8th regiment of infantry are contained in Volume 8; similar material from the 11th, 12th, 14th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 20th infantry are in Volume 9; in Volume 10 are clippings concerning the 23rd, 25th, 27th, 29th, and 33rd infantry, the 2d cavalry, and the 1st, 6th, and 12th batteries—all of these organizations being participants in the Vicksburg campaign.

There is also in the library a large collection of newspaper articles of later years, chiefly reminiscences by

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participants, relative to Wisconsin men and their achievements in the war. Some of these bear upon the Vicksburg campaign.

### Other Material

The library contains, as well, considerable manuscript material of service to Wisconsin historians of the War of Secession, such as enlistment rolls, copies of military orders, muster-rolls, reports, commissions, etc., and several narrations of specific events and of regiments. Without attempting a formal list, the following may especially be mentioned: two diaries and other material from Gov. C. C. Washburn; the papers of Brigade-Surgeon C. B. Chapman, of Madison; letters and other documents obtained by W. D. Love while writing his *Wisconsin in the Rebellion* (Chicago, 1866); diaries of George Fairfield and others; six large volumes containing the records of persons liable for military duty in nearly all the counties of Wisconsin; papers dealing with the draft; and a small manuscript volume containing autobiographical notes of veterans, obtained in 1880 by a special committee of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Wisconsin.

In addition to these original sources, bearing specifically on Wisconsin's record, the library possesses one of the largest and best selected collections in the United States of the general literature of the War, including State and governmental publications, much of it containing at least incidental references to the services rendered by Wisconsin troops in the various campaigns.







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