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J. STODDARD JOHNSTON

KENTUCKY

BY

COL. J. STODDARD JOHNSTON.

CHAPTER I.

THE "DARK AND BLOODY GROUND"—ORIGIN OF THE NAME—BATTLE GROUND OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN INDIANS—RECURRENCE OF CONDITIONS IN THE CIVIL WAR—RETURN OF PEACE—IMPORTANCE OF A CORRECT HISTORY OF THE SOUTH IN THE WAR, ESPECIALLY AS TO KENTUCKY—MISCONCEPTION AND MISREPRESENTATION—THE PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN THE STRUGGLE—MR. JEFFERSON'S VIEWS—ATTITUDE OF OTHER STATESMEN NORTH AND SOUTH—STATE RIGHTS AND NULLIFICATION IN THE NORTH—BLOOD NOT SHED IN VAIN—THE REPUBLIC MORE STABLE BY REASON OF THE SOUTH'S PROTEST IN ARMS.

AT the treaty at Watauga, Tenn., in March, 1775, when the Cherokees sold to the Henderson company for ten thousand pounds sterling the greater part of the territory embracing the present State of Kentucky, the chief, Dragging Canoe, said there was a dark cloud over that country. Another version is that he said it was "a dark and bloody ground." The whites, inquiring the meaning of his reference to a cloud, and fearing it implied an imperfect title, were assured with a stately wave of the hand by the stern chieftain that their title was unquestioned, but that he feared when the purchasers went to take possession the Indians of the north who frequented the land as a hunting ground would shed their blood and resist their occupancy.

Three days after the conclusion of the treaty, the purchasers, preceded by Daniel Boone with a small party, started for their newly acquired possessions, and within ten days the first blood was spilled in verification of the chief's ominous warning. The Indians of the north met

them almost at the very threshold, thus inaugurating a bloody war which lasted for twenty years, and gave to the State, which near its close had become a member of the Union, the sobriquet of "the dark and bloody ground." Kentucky holds this title after the lapse of more than a century of statehood. Tradition reaching back beyond Watauga had represented it as an untenanted expanse of forest and grassy plains in which the Indians of the north and south periodically hunted the buffalo, deer and other game, and across which were beaten war paths by which they were wont to make predatory excursions into the territory each of the other.

The aborigines yielded before the march of civilization. The axe of the pioneer felled the forest, and before a century had passed since Boone blazed away for the Transylvania company more than a million souls were dwelling in peace and happiness in the fair land whose natural beauties had been heightened by the skill of the husbandman and the embellishments of modern civilization. For a long season, interrupted only by the call to arms in the national defense, the dark cloud of the Indian legend seemed dispelled and the war path between the North and South obliterated forever. But the fancied security was illusory. In the very sunshine of a peaceful day the cloud suddenly loomed up on the horizon, and spreading with a blinding gloom, enveloped every home with its pall. Kentucky again became in very deed "the dark and bloody ground." The war-path was re-established and legions from the North and from the South threaded the ways which Boone had trod, and crimsoned her soil with their blood. The tragedy was heightened by the fate which arrayed father against son, and brother against brother. There was scarce a home across which the shadow of death did not fall.

A third of a century has passed since this deluge of blood swept the State. Peace has smoothed the wrinkled brow of war. The passions of strife have cooled into the

calm reflection of a philosophic retrospect. The discussions born of war have ceased, and the wounds of strife have so far healed as to admit of dispassionate review of the stirring events of that period. A new generation risen since the treaty of peace was written with the sword at Appomattox, has nearly displaced the actors in the great tragedy of the Confederate struggle, and they and the children of those who bared their bosoms to the storm, are eager to learn something more of the causes of this terrible war and of the heroism it evoked than they can find in the distorted publications of the press or the fireside narratives of its survivors.

The history of the great struggle which for four long years shook the continent and made the world stand aghast, has yet to be written. The personal observations of many hundreds of its participants have been printed, and many of the civil and military leaders have prepared volumes of more or less merit; and for many years yet to come these and others to follow will but form the material from the great mass of which, together with the official military records of both sides published by the government, the real history of our civil war will be written. When the actors shall all have passed away, and when to the narratives of actual participants shall succeed the periods of romance and the drama; when all traces of the war shall have disappeared save the imperishable monuments which will attest the valor of victor and vanquished alike; and when the two sections shall be as thoroughly welded into one as the houses of York and Lancaster after years of blood or those of the Stuarts and Hanover—some great mind like that of Gibbon or Macaulay will dispassionately, with the clear perspective of time, collate all this heterogeneous mass of material and give to the world the unbiased truth. The South can well await the verdict of prosperity when the evidence thus sifted of prejudice and free from distortions of error or malice shall be philosophically woven

into a narrative where only truth shall have a lodgment. Meantime as the era of the living actors is fast coming to a close, it behooves every one who can contribute, either from his own observation and experience or a careful study of the record, to the accumulation of such material for the use of such an historian and the instruction of the present and coming generations, to put his offering in tangible shape ere it be too late; for "the night cometh when no man can work."

While, therefore, it is a sacred duty both to the living and the dead for all who love truth for its own sake to aid in making up this record upon which posterity must pass, especially is it the duty of the people of the South to marshal the evidence upon which will rest their title to the future respect of the world. It naturally follows that the victor in a civil war has more ample material for history than the defeated side. Its record makes itself, its archives are intact, its muster rolls carefully preserved in State and Federal capitals, while pride and individual ambition secure the preservation of every incident of real or alleged valor which can be claimed as contributing to the result. On the other hand, the defeated in such a struggle, while as jealous of their good name, even in disaster, too often lack the power of preserving their records. Official papers become part of the spoils of war. Fire and pillage, added to authorized deportation, deprive them of the most valuable material, leaving in many instances the personal testimony of actual participants as the only adjunct to the scanty record rescued from a common destruction. In the present instance, the South was, after the war, paralyzed by the maladministration imposed upon the people and, for many years, more concerned as to whether it would have a future than with the preparation of its past history. But now, after having won additional title to the admiration of the world by her heroic struggles toward rehabilitation in peace, and having secured as the result of labor

and self-denial a fair measure of thrift, and a restoration to full civil equality, the work of marking the graves of her dead with fitting monuments and collecting into permanent form the record of the deeds of her sons begins to assume a practical phase.

While the duty is enjoined upon the States of the South proper whose autonomy has been preserved as actual members of the Confederacy, it is even more incumbent upon Kentuckians who survive to see that justice is done in history to their comrades, dead and living, who left their homes and all that makes life sweet to obey the dictates of conscience and vindicate their principles as God gave them to see their way. They exchanged luxury for want, the certain rank which awaited most of them for private station, home for exile, peace for war, and life for death itself, rather than turn their weapons against a kindred people struggling to maintain their convictions of right. The war has settled adversely to their views many questions; but while the superficial or ignorant may talk of the enormity of the treason which their advocacy implied, the enlightened student knows that in the first place no court has ever pronounced participation in the late war treason; and in the second, that if treason could be committed without an overt act, secession as a remedy for wrongs committed by the general government against the reserved rights of the States was, before the war, regarded by no means as such a monstrous doctrine as the resort to arms against it has made it. The very essence of the platform upon which Thomas Jefferson was elected, which he inspired, if he did not write, and which was introduced in and passed by the general assembly of Kentucky in 1798, had this initial resolution: "Resolved, That the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government, but that by compact under the style and title of the Constitution of the United States and by

amendments thereto, they constituted a general government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving each State for itself the residuary mass of right to their own self-government, and that whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers its acts are unauthoritative, void and of no force; that to this compact each State acceded as a State and is an integral party; that the government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the power delegated to itself, since that would have made discretion and not the Constitution the measure of its powers; but that as in all cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress."

For more than fifty years, up to the brink of the war, this resolution was reaffirmed by State legislatures and party conventions as containing the true theory of our government. It had been put forth by men who had taken a leading part in the war of the Revolution and the formation of the Federal Constitution, as embodying the principles upon which separation from Great Britain had taken place and the federative system of government had been founded. But it had a still further significance and object. Within a decade after the formation of the union of the States, dangerous heresies had gained a foothold, and a monarchical element, assuming the theory of a consolidated government, had passed acts such as the alien and sedition laws, and in many ways transcended the limits of the Constitution. By a silent, yet steady and peaceful revolution, our form of government was undergoing a radical change when Mr. Jefferson sounded the note of alarm and, upon the platform of the resolutions of 1798, overthrew the Federal party in 1800 and, in contradistinction to its contention for a strong central government with powers other than those specially delegated to it by the States, established

upon a firm basis the opposite and Democratic theory of our government which was maintained for more than half a century. No one dreamed that such principles were treasonable. Mr. Madison, who had been one of the most prominent in framing the Constitution, had used this language, "The States being parties to the compact and in their sovereign capacity, it follows of necessity that there can be no tribunal above their authority to decide in the last resort whether the compact made by them be violated, and consequently that, as parties to it, they must decide in the last resort such questions as may be of sufficient magnitude to require their interpretation." Chief Justice Marshall, who was a Federalist and neither personally nor politically in sympathy with Mr. Jefferson, in rendering a judicial decision in an important case said: "In America the powers of sovereignty are divided between the government of the Union and those of the States. They are each sovereign with respect to the objects committed to the other. If it be true that the Constitution and laws of the land made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land, it is equally true that laws of the United States made not in pursuance thereof cannot be the supreme law of the land." As long as these principles were observed in the administration of the government there was peace. It was not the South alone which maintained them as embodying the correct theory of the Constitution. Other States, both before and after the compact, had contended for them as the conditions under which the Union was formed or was possible. New York, among others, in ratifying the Constitution declared that the powers delegated by her could be resumed whenever perverted to her injury or oppression, and that every power not granted remained with her. Not only was this so, but Massachusetts was the very first to assert her sovereign rights, to the very verge of active hostility to the Federal government and affiliation with Great Britain in the war of 1812.

The Federal laws were nullified by governor and legislature and in 1814, at the darkest period of the war, the legislature declared that "it was as much the duty of the State authorities to watch over the rights reserved, as of the United States to exercise the powers which are delegated, and that States which have no common umpire must be their own judges and execute their own decisions." A mere reference to the Hartford Convention is sufficient to indicate the extent to which these sentiments prevailed in New England.

As time progressed and the profits of the slave trade fell off, and when the Northern slave States had sold their human chattels to the Southern planters, a two-fold system of oppression began, the successful execution of which required a relinquishment of such constitutional views and a revival of the Federalism which Mr. Jefferson had overthrown. The protective tariff system was devised as a special process by which one section of the country would build itself up at the expense of the other and grow wealthy under an unequal form of taxation but little short of legalized robbery. The South protested and pleaded against this discrimination, but except in one instance, in the case of South Carolina in 1832, there was never action other than in the form of legislative or party protest, and no overt act of war. The other form of hostility and unconstitutional action on the part of the Northern States against the South was in the nullification of the express provisions of the Constitution of the United States which recognized slavery in three articles and required slaves to be delivered up to their owners when they should escape into another State. This assertion of the "higher law" first took the form of fanatical agitation, and was condemned by such men as Edward Everett, who, in addition to the obligation which the Constitution enjoined, held that "the great relation of servitude in some form or other, with greater or less departure from the theoretic equality of men, is insepar-

able from our nation. Domestic slavery is not, in my judgment, to be set down as an immoral and irreligious relation. It is a condition of life as well as any other, to be justified by morality, religion and international law." The present generation, after having been drilled into the belief that the late war was a righteous measure to extirpate the horrid crime of slavery, will, as generations yet to come, find it difficult to understand how such a transition of public sentiment could occur in so short a time—from the embodiment of the most cultured and humane thought on the subject as cited above, to the fanaticism which in a few short years has made a saint of John Brown and declared the author of the emancipation proclamation an inspired man. The crusade once begun, grew rapidly from one of mere fanatical zeal and the agitation by voluntary associations and religious organizations, to the deliberate action of State legislatures, fifteen of which nullified the Constitutional provision and the laws passed to enforce the same, by imposing severe penalties upon those who sought to execute the fugitive slave law. In short, it grew from a small germ of sentiment without regard to law to a cruel attempt to incite servile war in Virginia, and finally to a great revolution which brushed aside law, constitutions, and American brotherhood, until a million men were in arms invading the homes and shedding the blood of a people who thought, as all early publicists and the most enlightened later ones maintained, that they were protected against such infraction of right by the very terms of the compact under which they lived. The action of the Southern States, looking to the protection of their constitutional rights from such a tidal wave of fanaticism by the peaceful expedient of withdrawing from the Union and resuming the sovereignty they had surrendered to the Federal government upon well-defined conditions, will not appear so illogical or revolutionary when it is reflected that the tenor of public opinion, as well as judicial

decision, was not adverse to belief in such a remedy. They proposed no war upon the government at Washington, nor upon any individual States, and no one had, until after their initial action, claimed that the right of coercion existed as a means of keeping them in the Union. The whole trend of sentiment in the North as well as the South, while many deprecated the wisdom or necessity of the movement, was that it was a question for them to decide as an exercise of a reserved right. In the North this expression, both as to the broad principle laid down by Mr. Jefferson as heretofore recited, and as to their right to decide for themselves, was clear and without ambiguity.

In 1859, at a convention in Cleveland, Ohio, in which Joshua R. Giddings, Senator B. F. Wade, Governor S. P. Chase and ex-Governor Dennison participated, resolutions were adopted using the language and reaffirming the strongest declaration of the Kentucky resolutions of 1798. In 1861 Wendell Phillips said in a speech at New Bedford, Mass., "Here are a series of States girdling the Gulf who think their peculiar institutions require that they should have a separate government. They have a right to decide that question without appealing to you or to me."

Three days after Mr. Lincoln's election Horace Greeley in the New York Tribune said: "If the cotton States shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may still be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless. We must ever resist the right of any State to remain in the Union and nullify or defy the laws thereof. To withdraw from the Union is quite another matter, and whenever a considerable section of the Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to another by bayonets." Quotations of a sim-

ilar character from sources equally as prominent could be multiplied indefinitely, showing that as far as Northern sentiment was concerned, the Southern States which passed ordinances of secession before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln had no reason to believe that their action would meet with the result which so soon changed the feeling of acquiescence in their movement, expressed by Mr. Phillips and Mr. Greeley, into a determination to compel them to remain in the Union by force of arms—an illusive dream from which they awoke too late to avert the consequence of their acts.

Justice to the brave men who gave or risked their lives in defense of the South, demands that the truth as they saw and see it shall be stated. No enemy respects a cringing foe, and a manly submission to the results of the war, in the most unreserved sense, does not imply the surrender of mental convictions as to the causes of the war or belief in the truth of the principles for which one fought. The conditions are indeed changed, and the results of the war embodied in the amendments have altered the Constitution so as to make views tenable before the war, incompatible with that instrument as amended. As an example of those changes, it may be noted that every one now is by virtue of the Fourteenth amendment a citizen of the United States, whereas previous to its adoption he was a citizen only by virtue of being first a citizen of the State in which he lived. The latter was the chief ground upon which paramount allegiance was held to be due to the State, whereas one of the revolutionary results of the war is that Federal citizenship is placed on the higher plane. But with this exception and the elimination of slavery, for the maintenance of which the South fought because it was made the particular issue upon which her right to regulate her domestic concerns was assailed, it is a question whether the effect of the war has not been to strengthen instead of to weaken the doctrine of Jefferson as to the relative rights and

duties of the State and Federal governments, barring the right of determining "the mode and measure of redress." At no time have the rights of the States been more clearly defined than now, some of the strongest decisions affirming them having been rendered since the war.

Great as was the sacrifice in blood and treasure, in view of the fact that sooner or later the conflict would have come and would have been more serious the longer it was deferred, it is the part of a wise philosophy to look upon the war as not wholly an unmixed evil. It has, in one sense, made the sections better acquainted and given each a better opinion of the other, while it has eliminated slavery, which would have always caused trouble in the body politic and perhaps could never have been removed except by some such desperate process of surgery. Above all, it has insured the peace and existence of the Republic and made firmer the foundations of our liberties and the guarantees of the Constitution. The most enlightened publicists of the world now reject the shallow allegation that the Southern States engaged in war merely to rivet the claims upon the slaves who proved their most faithful servants and recognized that they were making a heroic defense of the principle of community independence and the right to regulate their own domestic affairs, which is inseparable from the idea of true republican and federal liberty. The defense of this lone principle was worth the blood shed for it, and will make future generations count well the cost before either the central power or an aggregation of States undertakes to infringe upon the guaranteed rights of the co-equal States. In its national aspects the heroism evoked by the war is creditable to our martial spirit, while the final rehabilitation of the Union upon the terms of former equality, after the failure of Reconstruction, has taken from the vanquished the sting of defeat. To the nations of the world the spectacle has been a revelation, an en-

couragement to the oppressed and a warning to the despotic powers, showing as it does the vitality of our system and the ability to cope with any foe in defense of a common cause.

CHAPTER II.

ATTITUDE OF KENTUCKY BEFORE AND DURING THE WAR—ITS CLOSE KINDRED AND ALLIANCE WITH THE SOUTH—POLITICAL STATUS BEFORE THE WAR—ITS ACTION WHEN PRESIDENT LINCOLN CALLED FOR TROOPS—GOVERNOR MAGOFFIN'S REFUSAL TO RESPOND UNIVERSALLY ENDORSED—ORIGIN OF THE DOCTRINE OF NEUTRALITY—A UNION PROPOSITION—WHY THE SOUTHERN MEN ACQUIESCED—HOW THEY WERE DECEIVED AND OVERREACHED—EFFORTS OF SOUTHERN RIGHTS PARTY TO PROMOTE INTERNAL PEACE—ACTION OF THE LEGISLATURE—VIOLATION OF NEUTRALITY BY UNION PARTY—SECRET INTRODUCTION OF FEDERAL ARMS AND RECRUITING—WILLIAM NELSON'S ACTIVITY—LAST EFFORTS OF THE SOUTHERN ELEMENT—RESPONSE OF PRESIDENT DAVIS AND PRESIDENT LINCOLN—OCCUPATION OF COLUMBUS BY GENERAL POLK—ACTION OF THE LEGISLATURE—GENERAL ANDERSON TAKES COMMAND—REIGN OF TERROR—FLIGHT OF SOUTHERN LEADERS.

HAVING thus briefly glanced at the fundamental causes of the war: first, as indicated by the two opposite contending theories of constitutional construction; and second, as to the immediate occasion of the conflict in the question of slavery, it is proposed to show the part which Kentucky bore in the great struggle. Her attitude, both at the inception and during the progress of the war, has not been fully understood nor described without much error of statement, partly from a misconception of the facts and partly from their being colored by the prejudices or partialities of the writers. The position of Kentucky as a border State placed her in an embarrassing attitude. Allied to the Southern

States by similarity of institutions, by close ties of blood, of trade and political sympathy, her people yet too plainly saw the effect of her geographical position in case of war and had too broad a sense of the value of the Union to look with indifference upon the evidences of the gathering storm. There was comparatively little secession sentiment in the State. With all her sympathy for the South, Kentucky hoped to the last that the threatened dissolution of the Union could be averted. Her relations with her neighbor States to the north were cordial. In January, 1860, by invitation of the Ohio legislature, the legislature of Kentucky had visited Columbus as a body and the members of the two bodies had fraternized in the enjoyment of the most unrestrained sociability. In fact, the Ohio river, which was nominally a boundary between separate commonwealths, seemed rather to unite them only the more closely, and no human foresight could have predicted that within a little more than twelve months there would be such altered conditions.

The presidential election of 1860 found the people of Kentucky much divided in political sentiment. The split in the Democratic party at the Charleston convention resulted in two Democratic tickets, and out of a vote in Kentucky of 145,862, Breckinridge and Lane received 52,836, Douglas and Johnson 25,644, while the Constitutional Union ticket of Bell and Everett received 66,016 and Lincoln and Hamlin but 1,366. So that it will be seen that while the Bell and Everett ticket received a plurality of about thirteen thousand votes, the combined vote for the Democratic tickets was nearly as much in excess of that for the former. The small vote for the Republican ticket shows that even if it did not include all who sympathized in the objects of that party, it indicated the slight foothold it had obtained in Kentucky. On the other hand, while the platforms of all three of the other organizations were antagonistic to the Republi-

can position on the slavery question, and while the sentiment of sympathy with the South and its principles was almost unanimous, it is not to be inferred that this extended to an approval of secession as a practical remedy of existing troubles.

In January, 1861, a called session of the general assembly was held to consider the status of affairs, but a proposition to call a convention to decide as to Kentucky's ultimate action was promptly voted down. On the 21st of January a series of resolutions was introduced, declaring first, "that the General Assembly had heard with profound regret of the resolutions of the States of New York, Ohio, Maine and Massachusetts, tendering to the President men and money to be used in coercing sovereign States of the South into the Federal government;" second, requesting the governor of Kentucky to inform the executives of each of said States "that whenever the authorities of those States shall send armed forces to the South for the purpose indicated in said resolutions, the people of Kentucky, uniting with their brethren of the South, will as one man resist the invasion of the soil of the South at all hazards and to the last extremity." The first resolution was adopted unanimously, and the second by a vote of eighty-seven to six. This was unquestionably a fair reflex of the sentiment of Kentucky at this juncture. It was further shown by the action of the joint convention of the Bell and Everett or Constitutional Union party and the Douglas or Union Democratic party, held shortly before this, when the following clause was adopted as part of the platform: "That we deplore the existence of a Union to be held together by the sword, with laws to be enforced by standing armies." A Union State central committee was then appointed, consisting of the following persons, all of whom were the most pronounced and active Union men in the State: John H. Harney, William F. Bullock, Geo. D. Prentice, James Speed, Charles Ripley, William P. Boone, Philip Tom-

pert, Hamilton Pope, Nathaniel Wolfe and Lewis E. Harvie. After the fall of Fort Sumter, Governor Magoffin, in response to the President's call for troops, again voiced the sentiment of Kentucky when he said, "Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States."

On the 17th of April, two days after the above declaration, Hon. John J. Crittenden, who had just retired from the United States Senate and was the recognized Union leader of Kentucky, made a speech in Lexington in which he approved Governor Magoffin's action, and first of all proclaimed the doctrine of neutrality, to take no part in the impending war except as a mediator between the sections, and to resist aggression of her territory by either section. Upon the next day the Union central committee named above issued an address to the people of Kentucky. After endorsing the response of Governor Magoffin to the call for troops and favoring an armed neutrality, it said, "Whatever the future duty of Kentucky may be, we of course cannot with certainty foresee; but if the enterprise announced in the proclamation of the President should at any time hereafter assume the aspect of a war for the overrunning and subjugation of the seceding States through the full assertion therein of the national jurisdiction by a standing military force, we do not hesitate to say that Kentucky should promptly unsheath her sword in behalf of what will then have become a common cause. Such an event, if it should occur—of which we confess there does not appear to us to be a rational probability—could have but one meaning, a meaning which a people jealous of their liberty would be keen to detect, and which a people worthy of liberty would be prompt and fearless to resist. When Kentucky detects this meaning in the action of the government, she ought, without counting the cost, to take up arms at once against the government. Until she does detect this meaning, she ought to hold herself independent of both

sides, and to compel both sides to respect the inviolability."

A large meeting in Louisville, addressed by James Guthrie, ex-secretary of the treasury; Hon. Arch. Dixon, Hon. John Young Brown, and other strong Union men, advocated a similar policy. The Southern Rights men of Kentucky, anxious to avert war, and believing that united action in Kentucky on the lines proposed by the Union men would do so, accepted the terms proposed, and Gen. John C. Breckinridge, just then entered upon his term in the Senate and acknowledged as the Democratic leader, clasped hands with Mr. Crittenden with the assurance of hearty co-operation, and his followers sustained him in his efforts to maintain for Kentucky a position of strict neutrality. Had he declined to adopt the neutrality proposition and insisted upon the State's taking immediate action with the South, there can be no doubt that all opposition would have been overcome and Kentucky would have become an active and integral factor in the Southern Confederacy by formal State action.

But with the most patriotic purpose he yielded to the seductive persuasions of those who proved afterward that their protestations were only a plea for delay, and whose subsequent acts showed that the compact was scarcely sealed before it was broken. It is sickening to recall the duplicity which ensued. Many Southern men, foreseeing the result, yet abiding the pledge, left the State singly or by squads and entered the service of the South instead of maintaining hostile organizations within her limits. Unionists of prominence visited Washington and returned with assurances alleged to have been given by Mr. Lincoln that the neutrality would be respected. The Union press of Kentucky lulled the apprehensions of the people. The Louisville Journal said emphatically that Mr. Lincoln "knows that he cannot have troops from Kentucky to invade the South," and in every form in which assurance could be given, asseveration was

made that good faith would be maintained in supporting the policy of an armed neutrality. Yet within thirty days secret emissaries were sent from Washington to organize for the subjugation of the State and to raise recruits for the Federal army. Chief of these was William Nelson, a native Kentuckian and lieutenant in the navy, whose acquaintance and social standing with the principal Southern leaders insured him unusual facilities for his operations. He mingled freely with them at Frankfort and other points, apparently having no ulterior object, yet was busy arranging for the secret introduction of arms, the issuance of commissions and the distribution of contracts for beef, mules and other supplies. Through his instrumentality five thousand stand of arms were brought into Kentucky as early as the 20th of May, and a camp formed in Garrard county, which became known as Camp Dick Robinson, where in time a number of regiments were organized. This violation of the neutrality of Kentucky, the full extent of which was not, however, known until too late, first awakened the Southern men to a realization of the deception practiced upon them, and produced a mingled feeling of distrust and resentment.

Various expedients were resorted to with a view of staying the tide of war. On the 4th of May an election was held throughout the State for delegates to a Border State convention, when the ticket composed of Union men of prominence was elected without opposition, the Southern sympathizers then having confidence in the sincerity of their opponents and believing that they could be more efficient in securing favorable action. The members elected were as follows: John J. Crittenden, James Guthrie, R. K. Williams, Archie Dixon, Francis M. Bristow, Joshua F. Bell, Charles A. Wickliffe, Geo. W. Dunlap, Charles S. Morehead, James F. Robinson, John B. Huston and Robert Richardson. The convention assembled at Frankfort May 27th, and continued in ses-

sion until June 3d. Besides the delegates from Kentucky there were four from Missouri, H. A. Gamble, W. A. Hall, John B. Henderson and W. G. Pomeroy; and one from Tennessee. It resulted in an address to the people of the United States and also to the people of Kentucky, in which while the sectional troubles were deplored, and a strong plea made for the preservation of the Union, the refusal of Governor Magoffin to furnish troops to the general government to prosecute the civil war was endorsed, as also the policy of neutrality.

The legislature met in called session May 6th, and appropriated \$750,000 to arm the State under the direction of a military board, consisting of the governor, Samuel Gill, Geo. T. Wood, Gen. Peter Dudley and Dr. John B. Peyton, the arms to be distributed equally between the State Guard and such home guards as might be organized for home and local defense exclusively, but providing that neither the arms nor the militia were to be used "against the government of the United States, nor against the Confederate States, unless in protecting our soil against lawless invasion, it being the intention alone that such arms and munitions of war are to be used for the sole defense of the State of Kentucky." On the 16th of May the committee on Federal relations in the House of Representatives, composed of Geo. B. Hodge, Curtis F. Burnam, Nat Wolfe, John G. Carlisle, J. B. Lyle, A. F. Gowdy, Richard T. Jacob and Richard A. Buckner, reported the following resolutions:

"Considering the deplorable condition of the country and for which the State of Kentucky is in no way responsible, and looking to the best means of preserving the internal peace and securing the lives, liberty and property of the citizens of the State; therefore,

"Resolved, by the House of Representatives, that this State and the citizens thereof should take no part in the civil war now being waged, except as mediators and friends to the belligerent parties; and that Kentucky should, during the contest, occupy the position of strict neutrality.

“Resolved, that the act of the governor in refusing to furnish troops or military force upon the call of the executive authority of the United States under existing circumstances is approved.”

The preamble was adopted by yeas 82, nays none; the first resolution by yeas 69, nays 26, and the second resolution by yeas 89, nays 4. In accordance with this expression and in view of the current reports of the introduction of arms by Nelson and others, Governor Magoffin on the 20th of May issued his proclamation announcing the attitude of Kentucky as that of armed neutrality, “notifying and warning all other States whether separate or united, and especially the United States and the Confederate States, that I solemnly forbid any movement upon the soil of Kentucky, or the occupation of any port, post or place whatever within the lawful boundary and jurisdiction of this State, by any of the forces under the orders of the States aforesaid for any purpose whatever, until authorized by invitation or permission of the legislative and executive authorities of this State previously granted.” On the following day resolutions were offered to inquire into the introduction of Federal arms into the State, which excited a spirited debate, but without reaching a vote the session closed on the 24th.

In contemplating the attitude of Kentucky as disclosed by its record, it is difficult for one not an actor in those scenes to comprehend how such a status was possible and how the partisans of the two contending powers then marshaling their forces for battle, while so widely differing in their sympathies and aims, could yet present the appearance of such accord. This is to be explained by the fact that each regarded the neutrality or inaction of Kentucky from its geographical position as advantageous to their respective sides, while a large majority of the people still entertained a hope that the differences between the two sections could be arranged through the mediation of Kentucky. With Kentucky neutral the

friends of the South recognized that it gave an advantage to that section greater than any number of troops which she could contribute, since it guarded seven hundred miles of Ohio river front and made of the State a safe frontier in rear of which the armies of the South could organize free from molestation. They also felt an increased security against the ravages of war, granting that each side would act in good faith in maintaining the status quo; since they felt assured that self interest no less than explicit promise would prevent the compact being violated by the Southern armies, and believed that if it were broken by the other side, it would make the State practically a unit in opposition to the North. On the other hand the government at Washington assented to the truce for similar reasons; since it made the Tennessee line instead of the Ohio the limit of the Southern advance, and gave time for organization and for the ultimate occupation of Kentucky when the necessity should arise or the conditions prove favorable. No issue was raised as to either the right of the Federal troops to enter upon Kentucky soil or the duty of the State to obey the mandate of the Federal government.

The paramount power of the central authority as against the exercise of the State's right to determine her own action was not seriously questioned, and the leading Union men who afterward became prominent as civil and military officers enforcing the most arbitrary edicts, had no difficulty in advocating, as indeed they originated, the doctrine of neutrality. It was, in fact, a diplomatic stroke on their part as the only way of arresting the tide which from the beginning set so strongly toward the South. For several months both parties were playing for the advantage. It was a skirmish for position in which the result showed that the Union party won. It assumed at first the special championship of neutrality, alleging that it was the surest guarantee of peace, and operating on the fears or cupidity of those

peacefully disposed and alarmed at the danger which war would bring to their property. It was able to carry the special congressional elections June 20, 1861, by electing nine out of ten congressmen; and in August the State election resulted in the choice of a legislature with the same element largely predominating, the Southern Rights men recognizing that they had been outmaneuvered and making a comparatively feeble contest.

Recruiting meantime had been going on by both sides, with but a feeble and technical observance of the policy of neutrality. The Southern recruits had gone to the armies of the Confederacy singly or in small bodies, while a Confederate recruiting station known as Camp Boone was established in Montgomery county, Tenn., just south of the Kentucky line near Clarksville. The Unionists were no less active. Early in July Lovell H. Rousseau formed a camp in Indiana which he named Camp Joe Holt and recruited the Third Kentucky infantry, while at Camp Clay, near Cincinnati, Colonel Guthrie recruited the First, and Maj. W. E. Woodruff the Second Kentucky infantry. In Louisville, under the name of the "Union Club," a secret organization, a force amounting to over one thousand was raised and armed with guns secretly procured from Washington through the agency of Lieut. Wm. Nelson and Joshua F. Speed, an intimate personal friend of Mr. Lincoln. The most efficient Federal force, however, recruited in Kentucky at this time, was organized by Lieutenant Nelson in a quiet way at Camp Dick Robinson in Garrard county, about thirty-five miles south of Lexington. His operations, in fact, were so cautiously effected that it was not until the publication since the war of the official records that their full scope was understood. Hon. Garrett Davis, the most extreme Unionist in Kentucky, later United States senator, was active in co-operating with Nelson in the introduction of arms, but it was not at that time known that he was working directly under

the orders of the war department at Washington. In Vol. IV, Rebellion Records, page 251, appears the following letter from the adjutant-general of the army, which fully explains the secret plans of the Federal administration to gain possession of Kentucky:

Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, D. C., July 1, 1861.

Lieut. Wm. Nelson, U. S. N.,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Sir:—Your services having been placed at the disposal of the war department for the performance of a special duty, the secretary of war directs me to communicate to you the following instructions: It being the fixed purpose of the general government to maintain the Constitution and execute the laws of the Union and to protect all loyal citizens in their constitutional rights, the secretary directs that you muster into the service of the United States five regiments of infantry and one of cavalry in East Tennessee and one regiment of infantry in West Tennessee, to receive pay when called into active service by this department. You will designate the regimental and company officers, having due respect for the preferences of the regiments and companies, and send their names to this office for commissions. The ordnance bureau will forward to Cincinnati, Ohio, 10,000 stand of arms and accouterments, six pieces of field artillery, two smooth and two rifle bore cannon and two mountain howitzers and ample supplies of ammunition to be carried thence through Kentucky into East Tennessee, in such manner as you may direct, for distribution among the men so mustered into service and organized as Union Home Guards. You will also at the same time muster into the service or designate some suitable person to do so in southeast Kentucky three regiments of infantry, to be commanded and officered in the same manner as herein provided for the Tennessee regiments. All of the regiments aforesaid will be raised for service in East and West Tennessee and adjacent counties in East Kentucky. Blank muster rolls and the usual instructions to mustering officers will be sent to you from this office, and in carrying out this order you are authorized to employ such service and use such means as you may deem expedient and proper for its faithful execution. You will

likewise report frequently to this office as you progress with your work.

I am sir, etc.,

L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

On the 14th of July, 1861, Nelson in a letter from Cincinnati reported what had been done toward carrying out the foregoing instructions. He said that he had appointed Speed S. Fry, of Danville, to be colonel of the First regiment of infantry in the proposed expedition to Tennessee; Theophilus T. Garrard, of Clay county, colonel of the Second; Thomas E. Bramlette, of Adair county, colonel of the Third; and Frank Wolford, of Casey county to be lieutenant-colonel of the cavalry regiment authorized, reserving the colonelcy for W. J. Landram, who served in a cavalry regiment during the war with Mexico. He stated also that runners had been started in all directions, and that thirty companies of infantry and five of cavalry would soon be raised, and that he would muster in the companies now on duty immediately. Thus it will be seen that almost two months before the alleged violation of the neutrality of Kentucky by the occupation of Columbus by the Confederate forces under General Polk, which was made the pretext of the occupation of the State by the Federal power, the government at Washington had itself in the most formal and direct manner violated the agreement, under circumstances which strongly imply the connivance and concurrence of the very Union leaders who had advocated the doctrine of neutrality and pledged themselves and the State to maintain it.

The Southern Rights men, realizing that they had been overreached, held a private conference in Scott county on Sunday, the 18th day of August, 1861, at the residence of Romulus Payne, Esq., to consider what was to be done under the circumstances. There were present Governor Magoffin and twenty-seven of the leading men of the party from many parts of the State. After full discussion and

without any proposals for resistance by force of arms, it was resolved to send commissioners to Washington and Richmond to ascertain whether or not the neutrality of Kentucky would be respected, also to call a convention looking to the preservation of peace in Kentucky, to be held at Frankfort on the 9th of September. In accordance with the recommendation of the conference, within a few days Governor Magoffin appointed George W. Johnson, of Scott county, commissioner to Richmond, and Frank K. Hunt and W. A. Dudley, well-known Union men of Lexington, commissioners to Washington.

The letter borne by Mr. Johnson to President Davis, and the reply of the President here introduced, are to be found in *Rebellion Records*, Vol. IV, pages 378, 396.

Commonwealth of Kentucky,
Frankfort, Aug.—1861.

[date not given but about the 20th.]

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Richmond, Va.:

Sir: Since the commencement of the unhappy difficulties yet pending in the country the people of Kentucky have indicated a steadfast desire and purpose to maintain a position of strict neutrality between the belligerent parties. They have already striven by their policy to avert from themselves the calamity of war and protect their own soil from the presence of contending armies. Up to this period they have enjoyed comparative tranquillity and entire domestic peace. Recently a military force has been enlisted and quartered by the United States authorities within this State. I have on this day addressed a communication and dispatched commissioners to the President of the United States urging the removal of these troops from the soil of Kentucky and thus exerting myself to carry out the will of the people in the maintenance of a neutral position. The people of this State desire to be free from the presence of the soldiers of either belligerent, and to that end my efforts are now directed.

Although I have no reason to presume that the government of the Confederate States contemplates or have ever purposed any violation of the neutral attitude thus assumed by Kentucky, there seems to be some uneasiness felt among the people of some portions of the State oc-

casioned by the collection of bodies of troops along the Southern frontier. In order to quiet this apprehension and to secure to the people their cherished object of peace, this communication is to represent the facts and elicit an authoritative assurance that the government of the Confederate States will continue to respect and observe the position indicated as assumed by Kentucky.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

B. MAGOFFIN.

Richmond, Aug. 28, 1861.

Hon. B. Magoffin, Governor of Kentucky:

Sir: I have received your letter informing me that "since the commencement of the unhappy difficulties yet pending in the country the people of Kentucky have indicated a steadfast desire and purpose to maintain a position of strict neutrality between the belligerent parties." In the same communication you express your desire to elicit "an authoritative assurance that the government of the Confederate States will continue to respect and observe the neutral position of Kentucky."

In reply to your request I lose no time in assuring you that the government of the Confederate States of America neither intends nor desires to disturb the neutrality of Kentucky. The assemblage of troops in Tennessee to which you refer had no other object than to repel the lawless invasion of that State by the forces of the United States, should their government attempt to approach it through Kentucky without respect for its position of neutrality. That such apprehensions were not groundless has been proved by the course of that government in Maryland and Missouri and more recently in Kentucky itself, in which, as you inform me, "a military force has been enlisted and quartered by the United States authorities."

The government of the Confederate States has not only respected most scrupulously the neutrality of Kentucky, but has continued to maintain the friendly relation of trade and intercourse which it has suspended with the people of the United States generally. In view of the history of the past, it can scarcely be necessary to assure your excellency that the government of the Confederate States will continue to respect the neutrality of Kentucky so long as her people will maintain it themselves. But neutrality to be entitled to respect must be strictly main-

tained between both parties; or if the door be opened on the one side to aggression of one of the belligerent parties upon the other, it ought not to be shut to the assailed when they seek to enter it for purposes of self-defense. I do not, however, for a moment believe that your gallant State will suffer its soil to be used for the purpose of giving an advantage to those who violate its neutrality and disregard its rights over those who respect them both.

In conclusion I tender to your Excellency the assurance of my high consideration and regard, and am, sir,
Very respectfully yours, etc.,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

The letters which passed between Governor Magoffin and President Lincoln were not similarly published, but the substance of Mr. Lincoln's reply was that the force raised by Lieutenant Nelson consisted exclusively of Kentuckians and was raised at the urgent solicitation of Kentuckians. The President added, "Taking all means to form a judgment, I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that this force shall be removed beyond her limits, and with this impression I must decline to so remove it."

The result of this effort to save the State from the ravages of war confirmed the worst fears of the Southern men and correspondingly elated the Unionists, who threw off all disguise and advocated the occupation of the State by Federal troops. On the 15th of August, by general orders No. 57, from the adjutant-general's office at Washington, Kentucky and Tennessee had been made to constitute the Department of the Cumberland, and Gen. Robert Anderson was assigned to its command (Rebellion Records, Vol. IV, page 254), and within a short time it became evident that the crisis was near at hand.

The Peace convention called by the Southern Rights leaders was held at Frankfort on the 9th and 10th of September, 1861, but resulted only in the adoption of resolutions deploring the unnatural war, advocating strict neutrality, favoring the dispersing of the Federal camps in the State, and expressing readiness when that was done to assist in enforcing the removal of the Tennesseans

from our borders. For in the meantime, besides the presence of Nelson's force at Camp Dick Robinson, General Polk had on the 3rd occupied Columbus, and General Grant on the 5th Paducah. The legislature of Kentucky, which also met about this time, directed the governor "to inform those concerned that Kentucky expects the Confederate or Tennessee troops to be withdrawn from her soil unconditionally," and on the 18th formerly requested General Anderson, whom the records show to have exercised that function for several weeks, to take instant command and expel the invaders. Gen. George H. Thomas had on the 10th been assigned to the command of camp Dick Robinson in the following order:

Headquarters Department of the Cumberland,

Louisville, Ky., September 10, 1861.

Special Orders No. 3.

I, Brig-Gen. Geo. H. Thomas having reported for duty, will repair to Camp Dick Robinson, and will assume command of the brigade organized there. Lieutenant Nelson, U. S. Navy, who has done such good service to the cause of the Union by the zeal and untiring energy he has displayed in providing and distributing arms to the Union men of Kentucky and in collecting and organizing troops at Camp Dick Robinson, will accept the thanks of the brigadier-general commanding, who will be pleased to see Lieutenant Nelson and confer with him in reference to further action he may be charged with in this department.

By order of Brig.-Gen. Anderson.

C. B. THROCKMORTON, Acting Aide-de-camp.

Lieutenant Nelson within a few weeks was assigned to command in eastern Kentucky as brigadier-general.

It required but one more move to inaugurate war in Kentucky. There had been no act either by the authorities of the State or of the Southern sympathizers which could be construed as an act of war. There had been no recruiting camps within her borders, except those established by Nelson, and while many Kentuckians had entered the service of the Southern Confederacy, there had been a scrupulous abstinence from any act which would

violate Kentucky's attitude of neutrality. They were, however, none the less plain-spoken, as shown by the speeches and resolutions of the Peace convention held at the capital on the 9th and 10th of September. Their very forbearance from the commission of overt acts exasperated the Union leaders, who wished a pretext for extreme measures. Having no ground for arrests they began them at any rate, the first victims being ex-Gov. Charles S. Morehead and Col. R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, who, on the night of the 18th of September, 1861, were dragged from their beds and without warrant or charge preferred against them, were carried across the Ohio into Indiana, and thence sent east and imprisoned in Fort Warren, Boston harbor. Next day, under the false pretext that the Southern men were going to seize Lexington, but having really in view the arrest of ex-Vice-President John C. Breckinridge and other prominent Southern men quietly at their homes, Col. Thomas E. Bramlette, with his regiment, then at Camp Dick Robinson, marched for Lexington and took possession of that place at midnight or shortly thereafter. But General Breckinridge had been apprised of this purpose, and early in the evening left for Richmond via Prestonsburg and Pound gap. A number of other prominent Southern men, as Gen. William Preston, George W. Johnson, George B. Hodge, and William E. Simms, left at the same time to avoid arrest on the one hand and the inauguration of civil war at their own thresholds on the other. Thus was the long by-play which had been carried on by and between the Unionists of Kentucky and the Federal authorities for five months terminated in a manner which if it had not been the prelude of so much woe would have been farcical. The hand which had been gloved in velvet was suddenly revealed, mailed in steel and instigated to strike the blow by the spirit of a long pent-up vengeance. The dogs of war were turned loose, making flight or imprisonment the alternative of those who would not bow before the violence thus enthroned.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST CONFEDERATE TROOPS FOR THE CONFEDERATE ARMY—CAMP BOONE—GENERAL S. B. BUCKNER—OFFER OF FEDERAL COMMAND DECLINED—GENERAL ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON—ASSIGNMENT TO COMMAND—OCCUPATION OF BOWLING GREEN BY GENERAL BUCKNER—GENERAL ZOLLICOFFER AT CUMBERLAND GAP—GENERAL POLK HOLDS LEFT WING AT COLUMBUS—FEDERAL ADVANCE FROM LOUISVILLE—JOHN H. MORGAN—GENERAL SHERMAN SUCCEEDS GENERAL ANDERSON—HIS VIEWS AS TO LARGE FORCE NEEDED CONDEMNED—REPORT OF ADJUTANT-GENERAL THOMAS ON THE SITUATION—WAR MUST BE CARRIED TO SOUTHERN FIRESIDES—GENERAL SHERMAN SUPERSEDED BY GENERAL BUELL—FIRST ENGAGEMENT IN KENTUCKY—OTHER MOVEMENTS—CONFEDERATE ORGANIZATION AT BOWLING GREEN—KENTUCKY COMMANDS—THEIR HISTORY IN DETAIL.

THE first Kentuckians to leave the State for service in the Confederate army were two companies from Louisville, under command of Capts. Ben Anderson and Fred Van Osten. They embarked on a steamer for New Orleans, April 20, 1861. At Columbus they were joined by Capt. Jack Thompson's company, and became the Third Kentucky battalion, under command of Capt. Anderson, who was a graduate of West Point. On the 25th of April a company under Capt. Joseph Desha, from Harrison county, and three companies from Louisville under Capts. John D. Pope, J. B. Harvey and M. Lapielle, left Louisville for Nashville. They numbered about three hundred men. At Nashville they were joined by two companies from southwest Kentucky under Captains Edward Crossland and Brownson, and

proceeded to Harper's Ferry. The companies of Captain Pope, who was a veteran of the Mexican war, and Captain Desha, were formed into a battalion of rifle-sharpshooters under Captain Pope, who was made major. The other companies constituted a battalion under Major Blanton Duncan, of Louisville, who had been active in assisting to raise those from that city. They were assigned to the brigade of General Bartow, of Georgia, who was killed at the battle of Bull Run. Pope's and Duncan's battalions are reported in the return of the army of the Shenandoah, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's division, June 30, 1861. A number of other companies were tendered, but owing to the lack of arms the Confederate government was compelled to decline for the time any more recruits.

It was therefore deemed best to establish a camp to which volunteers from Kentucky could be sent for organization and drill until such time as arms and equipment could be furnished. In deference to the neutrality then in operation a location was secured in Tennessee off the line of the Memphis branch of the Louisville and Nashville railroad, just south of the boundary line between Kentucky and Tennessee, and about eight miles from Guthrie, Ky. This recruiting station was named Camp Boone, and here was organized during the summer the nucleus of the famous brigade of infantry known during the war and still designated as "the Orphan Brigade." Col. Phil. Lee, Maj. J. W. Hewett, Col. Robert A. Johnson, Gen. Thomas H. Taylor and Col. William Preston Johnston were among the most active in recruiting companies in Louisville. The first three became officers of the Second regiment, while the last two were made respectively the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the First regiment, formed of the companies referred to as having gone to Virginia in April, of which regiment Captain Crossland became major. This regiment was the first of any organized body of Kentuckians to see active service, participating in the affair at Dranesville and re-

ceiving honorable mention from the commanding general. In the following spring it disbanded by expiration of the term of enlistment, whereupon the men joined Kentucky commands nearer home. The commands enumerated and those subsequently organized were raised by individual Kentuckians, who bore the expense, except as to arms, which were furnished by the Confederate government.

Great exaggeration has been indulged in by the charge that the Confederate recruits were composed largely of the organized companies of the Kentucky State Guard and that they took out with them the State's guns. While it may be true that of the large number of men who went South from Kentucky, no record of whom exists, there were many who had been members of the State Guard and a few instances in which a company in whole or part went out with their arms, the number was small and many times overbalanced by the number of Federal guns sent from Washington during the period of neutrality. It was at one time common to charge that Gen. S. B. Buckner who, in May, 1861, when the legislature resolved to put the State in an attitude of defense, had been appointed by the governor inspector-general, had used his official position to induce the State Guard to enter the Confederate service. This charge, however, was wholly false. General Buckner exerted all his energies in good faith to obey the will of the legislature and to preserve the peace and neutrality of the State. To his judicious action and his wise counsel Kentucky owed in great measure its temporary exemption from trouble. By conference with Gen. George B. McClellan, who commanded the department embracing Ohio and western Virginia, Buckner secured his co-operation in maintaining the observance of Kentucky's neutrality. In July he was sent by Governor Magoffin to confer with President Lincoln, and received what he thought ample assurance on the same subject; but later finding out that arms were being introduced and recruits raised within the State while

Kentucky was made impotent to enforce her neutrality, he resigned his position, and as a private citizen observed his obligations and duties as such. It was well known to his friends that overtures were made to him by Gen. Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief, to enter the Federal army with rank only second to himself. In the fourth volume of the Rebellion Records, page 255, will be found the following letter from President Lincoln, designed to tempt Buckner into Federal military service:

Executive Mansion, August 17, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of War:

My Dear Sir: Unless there be reason to the contrary not known to me, make out a commission for Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, as a brigadier-general of volunteers. It is to be put in the hands of General Anderson and delivered to General Buckner or not at the discretion of General Anderson. Of course this is to be made a secret unless and until the commission is delivered.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Such commissions, as well as contracts for beef, mules and other army supplies, were successfully used about this time, but General Buckner was proof against such blandishments. He went to Richmond later, but declined a similar offer of rank pending the neutrality of Kentucky, and did not enter the Confederate service until all hope of staying the war in Kentucky had fled, and the State legislature had invited General Anderson to take command. He then followed the dictates of his conscience rather than interest. The initial operations in Kentucky center so much on General Buckner, and he was so conspicuous in the service during the war that it has been deemed proper for a better understanding of the situation pending hostilities, as well as for General Buckner's vindication, to give the details here narrated.

On the 10th day of September, Albert Sidney Johnston, who had in April preceding, upon hearing of the secession of Texas, resigned his commission in the old army and

the command of the department of the Pacific at San Francisco, to offer his sword to the State to which he felt he owed paramount duty—was assigned to command by the Confederate government. He had at the age of nearly sixty years crossed the desert on horseback, a journey of seventeen hundred miles to Austin, Tex., and from there had gone to Richmond. The following is the order of assignment:

Special Orders, No. 149.

Adjutant and Inspector-General's Office,
Richmond, Va., September 10, 1861.

14. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, C. S. Army, is assigned to the command of department No. 2, which will hereafter embrace the States of Tennessee, Arkansas and that part of the State of Mississippi west of the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern and Central railroad; also the military operations in Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas and the Indian country immediately west of Missouri and Arkansas. He will repair to Memphis, Tenn., and assume command, fixing his headquarters at such point as in his judgment will best secure the purposes of the command.

By command of the Secretary of War.

JOHN WITHERS, Asst. Adj.-Gen.

At that date General Buckner was not in the service, but after the occupation of Columbus, Ky., by General Polk, he had visited that place and endeavored to secure the withdrawal of the Confederate troops. This General Polk declined, alleging numerous instances in which the Federals had violated the neutrality of Kentucky; but agreed to withdraw his forces provided the troops of the Federal government were simultaneously withdrawn, with a mutual guarantee that no part of Kentucky should be occupied in the future. His efforts were futile and events rapidly culminated.

On the 15th of September, General Johnston, having arrived in Nashville, which he had selected as his headquarters, assumed command of his department. On the same day he notified the President at Richmond that he

had appointed General Buckner a brigadier-general subject to approval. General Buckner was assigned to the command of the forces then organizing at Camp Trousdale and Camp Boone, and on the same day directed to concentrate his forces for the occupation of Bowling Green. Accordingly, on the 18th of September, General Buckner took possession of Bowling Green with 4,500 infantry, and sent forward an advance of 500 men to occupy Munfordville, the point at which the Louisville & Nashville railroad crosses Green river. General Zollicoffer having previously been ordered to Cumberland Gap, the line of defense was thus established, with Columbus as the left, Bowling Green the center and Cumberland Gap the right. This was a line which from the topography of the country presented many serious difficulties, there being no direct communication by rail between the center and either wing and no possibility of rapidly concentrating the forces. But in addition to these obstacles the actual number of troops was wholly inadequate. General Polk's command, numbering about 10,000, was confronted by General Grant at Paducah, Cairo, and on the east side of the Mississippi, with a large force, embraced in the Western department commanded by General Fremont; General Buckner, at Bowling Green, had less than 5,000 with a formidable force collecting in his front from Louisville; and General Zollicoffer, at or near Cumberland Gap, had about 5,000 of all arms in a country scant of supplies and with no railroad base nearer than Knoxville. Threatening him was Gen. Geo. H. Thomas with a much larger force, well equipped and composed in great part of men familiar with the country.

On the night of September 17th, the day before General Buckner occupied Bowling Green, General Rousseau had with 2,000 men crossed from Indiana to Louisville, and the next day he moved in the direction of Bowling Green with an equal number of home guards; which body was soon reinforced by other troops, thus increasing the num-

ber of Federal arms to a force largely in excess of the Confederate forces and rendering the latter's advance north of Green river wholly impracticable. On the night of September 19th, Colonel Bramlette, with a regiment from Camp Dick Robinson, had as heretofore stated occupied Lexington, while from Cincinnati Federal troops were thrown forward in the same direction and the occupation of Kentucky by the contending armies became complete along the lines indicated.

On the night of the 20th Capt. John H. Morgan, of Lexington, evaded the vigilance of the Federal forces and left that place for the South, with a small body of mounted men which became the nucleus of his celebrated command. He had served in the Mexican war when barely of age, in General Marshall's cavalry regiment, and had come out of it a lieutenant. When the present crisis came, he was quietly engaged as a manufacturer of hemp. For several years previous he had been captain of the Lexington Rifles, an organization which he made conspicuous for fine discipline and drill. He had remained at home trusting to the assurance of peace and exemption from molestation, until the military arrests, of which mention has been made, when he determined to seek security in the Confederate camp at Bowling Green. From the inception of his march his force increased until on his arrival at his place of destination he found himself at the head of nearly two hundred men, most of whom were going there to join other organizations. At first his command was known as Morgan's squadron, but as in course of time it increased in numbers by the accession of daring spirits who were attracted by the novelty of the service, it was in succession the squadron, the regiment, the brigade, and the division. Morgan's arrival at Bowling Green made a valuable accession to the Confederate force assembled there, and from the very start he proved himself of invaluable service in scouting

to the front, cutting off detachments and harassing the enemy's lines of communication.

For nearly a month after the occupation of Bowling Green there was but little change in the attitude of the opposing forces, the commanders of each army being busy organizing their forces, increasing their numbers and strengthening their positions. While these operations in their detail belong more properly to the general history of the war, it will be well for a better understanding of after events to glance briefly at some of the leading features which marked this period. General Johnston had been suddenly placed in a command involving great responsibilities and with means altogether inadequate for the service expected of him. His raw troops were ill equipped, while his commissariat and other departments, as ordnance and transportation, had to be organized in the very face of a largely superior enemy. Comprehending fully the difficult problem before him, he addressed himself at once vigorously toward the work, and lost no opportunity to impress upon the authorities at Richmond the critical position he occupied and the necessity of a larger and better equipped force. Availing himself of the power conferred on him, he sent appeal after appeal to the governors of the States within his department, urging them to send reinforcements, arms and other equipments; but already there had been heavy drafts upon the same sources for the defense of Richmond and other exposed points, and this, together with an exaggerated statement of the forces under his command, resulted in comparatively small accessions. To his other expedients he added the construction of fortifications at Bowling Green, Cumberland Gap and at Forts Donelson and Henry—the latter respectively on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, to guard against invasion by water. In the light of the facts disclosed later, it seems strange that he should have remained so long unmolested at Bowling Green when the Federal numbers and resources were so largely

in excess of his. But the same exaggerated reports of his strength which lulled the people in his rear into a sense of security had a corresponding effect upon the apprehensions of the Federal authorities, and they became cautious in their movements and were determined to take no risks.

Gen. Robert Anderson, having served the purpose for which he was ordered to Kentucky, in the expectation that being a native he would add strength to the cause, was retained in Federal command but a few weeks, and was superseded by Gen. W. T. Sherman October 8, 1861. There was impatience in the North for an aggressive movement, and the cry of "on to Richmond" was repeated as to Bowling Green, spurring the authorities at Washington and causing already complaints of dilatoriness in Kentucky. But General Sherman, although placed in command in expectation of a more aggressive policy, was at once impressed with the magnitude of the undertaking. He had for some time been on the ground with General Anderson at Louisville, but nominally without command, and was thoroughly informed of the situation. On the very day on which he announced his assumption of command, in response to a letter from Garrett Davis, requesting that troops be sent to a certain locality, he said, with an ominous testiness: "I am forced into the command of this department against my will, and it would take 300,000 men to fill half the calls for troops." (*Rebellion Records*, Vol. IV, page 297.) He had lived in the South, having but lately resigned as superintendent of the Louisiana State military institute, and knew the spirit of the Southern people and the difficulty of the proposition to invade and hold their territory. He differed from the politicians who thought they could secure Kentucky with government contracts and commissions and that the war would be of short duration. Alarmed at his extravagant expressions on this score Simon Cameron, secretary of war, and Lorenzo Thomas,

adjutant-general of the United States, came to Louisville on the 16th of October on a tour of inquiry and inspection. Cameron's first telegram to President Lincoln was as follows: "Matters are in much worse condition than I expected to find them. A large number of troops needed here immediately." There were at that time, as shown by General Thomas' report on page 315 of the volume cited above, thirteen regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry and one battery, with another of six pieces expected in two or three days, in camp at Nolin river on the Louisville & Nashville railroad north of Green river; fourteen regiments of infantry and three batteries of artillery at Camp Dick Robinson or acting in conjunction with General Thomas' command, and one Indiana and three or four incomplete Kentucky regiments at Owensboro under Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden. This was exclusive of General Grant's force at and in the vicinity of Paducah.

Adjutant-General Thomas' report of October 21, 1861 (Rebellion Records, Vol. IV, page 313) says: "Left Indianapolis October 16th, for Louisville, Ky., where we arrived at 12:30 p. m. and had an interview with General Sherman, commanding the department of the Cumberland. He gave a gloomy picture of affairs in Kentucky, stating that the young men were generally secessionists and had joined the Confederates, while the Union men, the aged and conservatives, would not enroll themselves to engage in conflict with their relations on the other side. But few regiments could be raised. He said that Buckner was in advance of Green river with a heavy force on the road to Louisville, and an attack might be daily expected, which with his then force he would not be able to resist, but that he would fight them. He, as well as citizens of the State, said that the border States of Kentucky must furnish the troops to drive the rebels from the State. On being asked the question what force he deemed necessary, he promptly replied 200,000 men. This conversation

occurred in the presence of Mr. Guthrie and General Wood. The secretary replied that he supposed that the Kentuckians would not in any number take up arms to operate against the rebels, but that he thought that General Sherman overestimated the number and power of the rebel forces; that the government would furnish troops to Kentucky to accomplish the work; that he, the secretary, was tired of this defensive war, and that the troops must assume the offensive and carry the war to the firesides of the enemy; that the season for operations in western Virginia was about over, and that he would take the troops from there and send them to Kentucky; that he begged of General Sherman to assume the offensive and to keep the rebels hereafter on the defensive. The secretary desired that the Cumberland Ford and Gap should be seized and the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad be taken possession of, and the artery that supplied the rebellion cut. Complaint was made of the want of arms, and on the question being asked, 'What became of the arms we sent to Kentucky,' we were informed by General Sherman that they had passed into the hands of the home guards and could not be recovered; that many were already in the hands of the rebels and others refused to surrender those in their possession, alleging the desire to use them in defense of their individual homes if invaded. In the hands of individuals and scattered over the State these arms are lost to the army in Kentucky. Having ascertained that 6,200 arms had arrived from Europe at Philadelphia, 3,000 were ordered to Governor Morton [of Indiana], who promised to place them immediately in the hands of troops for Kentucky; the remaining 3,200 were sent to General Sherman at Louisville. Negley's brigade at Pittsburg, 2,500 strong, two companies of the Nineteenth [regulars] infantry, the Eighth Wisconsin at St. Louis, the Second regiment of Minnesota volunteers at Pittsburg, and two regiments from Wisconsin were then ordered to Kentucky, making in all a

reinforcement of about 10,000 men. We left Louisville at 3 o'clock p. m., for Lexington, accompanied by General Sherman and Mr. Guthrie, remained there a few hours and proceeded to Cincinnati, arriving at 8 o'clock p. m. At Lexington also we found that the opinion existed that the young men of Kentucky had joined the rebels; that no large bodies of troops could be raised in Kentucky and that the defense of the State must necessarily devolve upon the free States of the West and Northwest."

The above extract has been given at greater length than it otherwise would for the reason that it is a more graphic picture of the condition of affairs in Kentucky at that time than any pen of to-day can draw. The reader, of whatever sympathies as regards the late war, cannot but wonder what must have been the feelings of Mr. Guthrie and men of his position, who at the beginning declared that they would resist a war of invasion, when within a few months they heard Secretary Cameron declare that they must "carry the war to the firesides of the enemy."

The first engagement which took place in Kentucky, barring a few skirmishes between small bodies of cavalry, occurred on the 21st of October, 1861, when General Zollicoffer attacked the Federals at Camp Wild Cat in the Rockcastle Hills, a strong position, where he lost eleven killed and forty-two wounded. He fell back, but simultaneously the large Federal force retreated in a panic to Lancaster, abandoning much property and spreading dismay throughout central Kentucky. On the 24th of October, Burbridge advanced from Owensboro with a cavalry force to Morgantown and Woodbury, and had a skirmish with a detachment of Col. Wirt Adams' Mississippi cavalry, but fell back promptly. On the 7th of November occurred the battle of Belmont, in Missouri, opposite Columbus, Ky. Early on that day General Grant left Cairo with 3,000 men under convoy of gunboats and landed on the Kentucky side as if about to move on Columbus, but suddenly crossed to the Missouri side and

attacked Col. J. C. Tappan, at Belmont. General Polk discovered his movements in time to send reinforcements, and a heavy engagement ensued, with a loss of several hundred on each side. General Grant then withdrew, each side claiming a victory. The Confederate Congress passed resolutions of thanks to Generals Polk, Pillow and Cheatham. In eastern Kentucky, Col. John S. Williams, with a Confederate force consisting of his regiment, the Fifth Kentucky infantry, Shawhan's battalion and other commands in process of organization, amounting to eleven hundred men, was engaged in covering the approach to Virginia then threatened by Federal troops under General Nelson. On the 8th of November, while Colonel Williams was at Piketon, General Nelson advanced, when after a skirmish of his advance guard Williams occupied a mountain defile at Ivy Creek, fifteen miles in advance of Piketon. Next day the enemy advanced in heavy force and dislodged Capt. A. J. May, who with several hundred men, attempted to hold the pass. Colonel Williams in his report gives his casualties as 10 killed and 15 wounded and the enemy's loss at over 300, while General Nelson gives the Confederate loss as 32 killed and his own as 6 killed and 24 wounded. Colonel Williams in his report to General Humphrey Marshall, who on the 1st of November had been assigned to the command of that district, with headquarters at Abingdon, Va., reporting to Gen. A. S. Johnston, speaks of his command as "an unorganized and half armed, barefooted squad."

The Fifth Kentucky infantry was recruited by Colonel afterward Gen. John S. Williams, of Clark county, and organized in October, 1861, with the following officers: John S. Williams, colonel; A. J. May, of Morgan county, lieutenant-colonel; Hiram Hawkins, of Bath, major; William S. Rogers, A. Q. M.; J. H. Burns, A. C. S.; H. Ruth-erford, surgeon; Basil Duke, assistant surgeon. Its company organization for the first year was very incomplete un-

til upon General Bragg's campaign into Kentucky, when it was recruited to its full strength and reorganized with Hawkins as colonel, Geo. W. Conner, lieutenant-colonel; and Wm. Mynheir, major. Its company commanders were A. G. Roberts, E. C. Sturz, Thomas J. Henry, A. C. Cope, John C. Calvert, James M. White, Joseph Desha, and W. D. Acton. The regiment served at first in Virginia. In the Chickamauga campaign it was part of the Third brigade of Preston's division and soon after was permanently attached to the "Orphan brigade."

Such was the situation in Kentucky when on the 15th of November, 1861, Gen. D. C. Buell relieved General Sherman of his command. He had been assigned by orders dated November 9, 1861, to the department of the Ohio, consisting of the States of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and that portion of Kentucky east of the Cumberland and Tennessee. General Sherman was relieved at his own request, having by his failure to advance and his extravagant estimate of the troops needed brought down upon himself an avalanche of abuse, including the charge of insanity preferred by the Cincinnati Commercial. He had his inning later. Just before being relieved he was actively preparing for the defense of Lexington from an attack which he conceived imminent from General Johnston's forces at Bowling Green. An abstract from the consolidated report of General Sherman's force on November 10, 1861, gives an aggregate present and absent of 49,586. (Rebellion Records, Vol. IV, page 349.)

On the 28th of October, 1861, General Johnston moved his headquarters from Nashville to Bowling Green, and assumed immediate command of what was styled the army corps of Central Kentucky. The organization of his forces then was as follows:

FIRST DIVISION, MAJOR-GENERAL W. J. HARDEE.

Cavalry: Wirt Adams' regiment and Phifer's battalion.

Artillery: Swett's, Trigg's, Hubbard's and Byrne's batteries.

First brigade, infantry, Brig.-Gen. T. C. Hindman: Second Arkansas regiment, Lieut.-Col. Bocage; Sixth Arkansas regiment, Col. A. T. Hawthorn; Arkansas battalion, Lieut.-Col. John S. Marmaduke.

Second brigade, infantry, Col. P. R. Cleburne: First Arkansas regiment, Colonel Cleburne; Fifth Arkansas regiment, Col. D. C. Cross; Seventh Mississippi regiment, Col. J. J. Thornton; Tennessee Mountain Rifles, Col. B. J. Hill.

Third brigade, infantry, Col. R. G. Shaver: Seventh Arkansas regiment, Colonel Shaver; Eighth Arkansas regiment, Col. W. R. Patterson; Twenty-fourth Tennessee regiment, Col. R. D. Allison; Ninth Arkansas regiment, Lieut.-Col. S. J. Mason.

SECOND DIVISION, BRIG.-GEN. S. B. BUCKNER.

Cavalry: First Kentucky regiment, Col. Ben Hardin Helm; Tennessee regiment, Maj. J. J. Cox.

Artillery: Lyon's and Porter's batteries.

First brigade, infantry, Col. Roger W. Hanson: Hanson's, Thompson's, Trabue's, Hunt's, Lewis' and Cofer's Kentucky regiments.

Second brigade, infantry, Col. W. E. Baldwin: Fourteenth Mississippi regiment, Colonel Baldwin; Twenty-sixth Tennessee regiment, Colonel Lillard.

Third brigade, infantry, Col. John C. Brown: Third Tennessee regiment, Colonel Brown; Twenty-third Tennessee regiment, Colonel Martin; Eighteenth Tennessee regiment, Colonel Palmer.

RESERVE: Texas regiment cavalry, Col. B. F. Terry; Harper's and Spencer's batteries, artillery; Tennessee regiment, infantry, Colonel Stanton.

The Kentucky brigade is given above as announced in General Johnston's order upon assuming command. At that time the regimental organizations had not been fully completed and numbered as they were later. For the better identification of these commands, of which in

the course of this history frequent mention will be made, a brief summary of their organization will be given.

Hanson's regiment, the Second Kentucky, was organized at Camp Boone, July 21, 1861, with J. Morrison Hawes as colonel, a graduate of West Point, who was promoted brigadier-general before active operations began, and was succeeded by Col. Roger W. Hanson, with Robert A. Johnson, of Louisville, as lieutenant-colonel, and James W. Hewett, of the same place, major. Samuel K. Hayes, of Covington, was quartermaster and R. C. Wintersmith, of Elizabethtown, commissary, Dr. B. M. Wible, surgeon, and Rev. Joseph Desha Pickett, chaplain. The captains were, in alphabetical order of companies, James W. Moss, Robert J. Breckinridge, Phil. Lee, L. S. Slayden, Stephen E. Chipley, Hervey McDowell, John S. Hope, Anson Madeira, Gustavus Dedman, and John W. Owings.

The Third regiment, Thompson's, was also organized at Camp Boone shortly after the Second, with the following officers composing the field and staff: Lloyd Tilghman, of Paducah, a graduate of West Point, colonel; Albert P. Thompson, lieutenant-colonel; Ben Anderson, major; Capt. Alfred Boyd, A. Q. M.; Capt. J. Stoddard Byers, A. C. S.; Dr. J. W. Thompson, surgeon. Col. Lloyd Tilghman was appointed brigadier-general before active service began, and Colonel Thompson succeeded to the command of the regiment. We have no list of the company organizations.

The Fourth regiment, Trabue's, was recruited by Col. Robert P. Trabue at Camp Burnett, near Camp Boone, and organized in September with the following officers: Robert P. Trabue, colonel; Andrew R. Hynes, lieutenant-colonel; Thomas B. Monroe, Jr., major; G. P. Theobald, A. Q. M.; Geo. T. Shaw, A. C. S.; and Dr. B. T. Marshall, surgeon. The captains were Joseph P. Nichols, James Ingram, J. M. Fitzhenry, Willis S. Roberts, Ben-

jamin J. Monroe, John A. Adair, John L. Trice, W. P. Bramlette, Thomas W. Thompson.

Hunt's regiment was at first known as the Fifth, but it having been found that Col. John S. Williams had first appropriated that number, it was changed to the Ninth. It was recruited by Col. Thomas H. Hunt, of Louisville, after the occupation of Louisville by the Federals, and went into service with a temporary organization, which was not completed until some time afterward. Its officers became Thomas H. Hunt, colonel; J. W. Caldwell, lieutenant-colonel; J. C. Wickliffe, major; Henry W. Gray, A. Q. M. The captains were, John W. Caldwell, J. C. Wickliffe, William Mitchell, Ben Desha, Geo. A. King, James T. Morehead, Chris Bosche and J. R. Bright.

The Sixth, Lewis' regiment, was raised by Col. Jos. H. Lewis, of Glasgow, Ky., under similar circumstances to the foregoing, at Cave City, and organized as follows: Joseph H. Lewis, colonel; Martin H. Cofer, of Elizabethtown, lieutenant-colonel; Thomas H. Hays, of Hardin county, major; David C. Walker, A. Q. M.; John F. Davis, A. C. S.; R. S. Stevenson, surgeon, and H. H. Kavanagh, Jr., chaplain. The captains were, C. B. McClaskey, Geo. B. Maxson, Isaac Smith, D. E. McKendree, D. P. Barclay, W. W. Bagby, Granville Utterback, W. Lee Harned, Samuel B. Crewdson, John G. Jones.

The command designated as Cofer's regiment in the organization of Hanson's brigade was afterward consolidated with Lewis' regiment, and formed the Sixth regiment, of which Col. M. H. Cofer became second in command.

Lyon's battery, then commanded by Capt. (afterward Gen.) H. B. Lyon, was raised by H. B. Lyon and became Cobb's Kentucky battery. Byrne's battery was recruited by Capt. Ed. P. Byrne, a Kentuckian living in Greenville, Miss., who immediately after the falling of Fort Sumter began its organization. The guns, four 6-

pounders and two 12-pounder howitzers, were contributed by citizens of Washington county, Miss., and made in Memphis. Citizens of Louisville aided in the further equipment of the battery, and in July it rendezvoused at Camp Boone and was always known as Byrne's Kentucky battery. Its organization was as follows: Edward P. Byrne, captain; Guignard Scott, first lieutenant; Thomas Hinds, first lieutenant; Bayless P. Shelby, second lieutenant; John Joyes, Jr., second lieutenant; Elias D. Lawrence, first sergeant; Frank Peak, second sergeant. After the battle of Shiloh, where the battery did conspicuous service, Captain Byrne, promoted to major, commanded a battalion of horse artillery with Gen. John H. Morgan. Capt. Robert Cobb, who succeeded to the command of Lyon's battery, was from Lyon county, Ky., and the battery, known afterward by his name, was in constant service to the close of the war. Its officers were Frank P. Gracey, first lieutenant; Barclay A. James, second lieutenant; I. R. Dudley, first sergeant, and W. E. Etheridge, second sergeant. Spencer's battery of the reserve, in December strengthened by recruits from the five Kentucky regiments, became Graves' battery, under command of Capt. Rice E. Graves, a West Point cadet from Kentucky, who distinguished himself and fell on the second day at Murfreesboro. To the commands enumerated above must be added Morgan's cavalry squadron, and the Eighth Kentucky infantry, commanded by Col. H. B. Lyon, which completes the list of Kentucky organizations then in the field.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS—GENERAL JOHN C BRECKINRIDGE RESIGNS HIS SEAT AS U. S. SENATOR—ENTERS CONFEDERATE ARMY AT BOWLING GREEN—ORGANIZATION OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AT RUSSELLVILLE—GEORGE W. JOHNSON CHOSEN CONFEDERATE DEFEAT AT FISHING CREEK, CALLED BY FEDERALS BATTLE OF MILL SPRINGS—A SERIOUS DISASTER—DEATH OF GENERAL ZOLLICOFFER—GENERAL GEORGE B. CRITTENDEN—CRITICAL POSITION OF GENERAL JOHNSTON AT BOWLING GREEN—FALL OF FORT HENRY—GENERALS FLOYD AND BUCKNER SENT WITH THEIR DIVISIONS TO DEFEND FORT DONELSON.

BEFORE entering upon an account of the military operations which eventuated in the evacuation of Kentucky, it will be well to note briefly the political movements at this period. When the reign of terror was inaugurated in central Kentucky by the arrest of Southern men and their transportation to Northern prisons, a large number of leading Kentuckians, including some members of the legislature, sought safety in the Confederate lines, and most of them entered the army. Senator Breckinridge, upon his arrival in Bowling Green on the 8th of October, issued an address to the people of Kentucky, in which he reviewed the events of the past year and exposed the duplicity and usurpation which had placed Kentucky in the deplorable condition she then was, and closed by resigning his seat in the United States Senate. "To defend your birthright and mine," said he, "which is more precious than domestic ease or

property or life, I exchange with proud satisfaction a term of six years in the Senate of the United States for the musket of a soldier." How fully he vindicated his title to the honors with which Kentucky had wreathed his young brow, is shown in a military record as brilliant as that of his civil life; and how gratefully Kentucky recognized his sacrifices in her behalf is attested by the statue in imperishable bronze erected at Lexington a quarter of a century from that time, by the legislature of the State and his admiring fellow citizens.

On the 18th of November, 1861, a convention was held at Russellville, Ky., composed of delegates from the counties within the Confederate lines, and of refugees from many other counties within the Federal lines, comprising over two hundred members representing sixty-five counties. It was in session three days and adopted an ordinance of secession and a provisional form of State government. George W. Johnson, of Scott county, was chosen governor, and other executive officers named. Henry C. Burnett, Wm. E. Simms and William Preston were sent to Richmond as commissioners to negotiate an alliance with the Confederates, and as the result the Congress of the Confederate States admitted the State as a member of the Confederacy on the 10th of December, 1861. Two senators and twelve members of Congress were then elected provisionally by the executive council, and during the war a congressional ticket was elected biennially by the soldiers from Kentucky.* On the 14th of November Senator Breckinridge, who had been meantime commissioned brigadier-general, was assigned to the command of the Kentucky brigade, Buckner's division, and on the 16th he assumed command, with the following staff: Capt. Geo. B. Hodge, A. A. G.; Maj. Alfred Boyd, A. Q. M.; Capt. Clint McCarty, A. C. S.; and Capt. T. T. Hawkins, A. D. C.

* For the Provisional government, with members of Congress, see Appendix A.

With the accession of General Buell to the Federal command came a change of policy, looking to the shortening of lines and the greater concentration of troops in the direction of Bowling Green. General Thomas, who had been operating toward Cumberland Gap, was moved to Somerset and also occupied points on the upper Green river upon General Johnston's right flank. Preparations were also made for an advance upon the latter's front by repairing the Green river bridge at Munfordville. The condition of the roads on the Cumberland Gap line rendering movements there by either army impracticable, General Zollicoffer's command was transferred to Monticello, placing him in closer connection with General Johnston and looking to the better protection of the right flank. His force was also increased, and Maj.-Gen. Geo. B. Crittenden assigned to its command. Evidences of increased Federal activity were shown on General Johnston's left. The Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, which had been low, were made navigable for gunboats by the early winter rains; and General Johnston, who early foresaw the danger of having his line penetrated by a movement in force up those rivers, thus threatening Nashville and passing between him and General Polk, took every precaution to guard against such result. The best engineers had been sent to the narrow strip which separates these two rivers just south of the Tennessee and Kentucky line, and fortifications erected at Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland rivers. Similar fortifications had been made at Clarksville, Tenn., to which place Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, who had been stationed with a force of observation at Hopkinsville, was assigned. Subsequently he was placed in charge of Fort Henry.

But a serious disaster occurred on General Johnston's right flank in the defeat of General Crittenden at Fishing Creek, Pulaski county, Ky., on the 19th of January, 1862. Mill Springs is a small hamlet on the south side of the

Cumberland river just above which Fishing Creek, which flows from the north, empties into the Cumberland. On the 17th General Crittenden was occupying Mill Springs with the Seventeenth, Twenty-eighth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee regiments, the First battalion Tennessee cavalry, two companies of the Third battalion Tennessee cavalry and four pieces of artillery. At the same time he had at Beech Grove, directly opposite, on the north side of the river, the Fifteenth Mississippi, Sixteenth Alabama, Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-fifth and Twenty-ninth Tennessee regiments, two battalions of Tennessee cavalry, two independent cavalry companies and twelve pieces of artillery, a total of about 4,000 men. For some time the army of General Thomas had occupied Somerset, 18 miles north-easterly, with eight regiments of infantry, and Columbia, 35 miles to the northwest, with five regiments of infantry. Having learned on the 18th that the Columbia force was camped at Logan's Cross Roads, ten miles north of Beech Grove, in expectation of effecting a junction with the Somerset force, and that this would be retarded by the high stage of water in the creek, he determined to attack before the junction could be effected. He therefore united his forces on the north side, and at midnight on the 18th having previously learned that the enemy was advancing, he moved against him. His force of two brigades, commanded by Gen. F. K. Zollicoffer and Gen. W. H. Carroll, marched northward on the road leading to Logan's Cross Roads and at daylight the cavalry advance came in contact with the enemy's pickets. A line of battle being formed, the skirmishers were soon engaged. The enemy was not taken by surprise as was hoped, and besides his forces had effected the junction. Rain was falling, and the morning was so dark that General Zollicoffer, mistaking a Federal regiment for one of his own, rode into it and was killed, as General Crittenden states, "within bayonet reach," by the pistol shot of a Federal officer. This had a dispiriting effect on the

Confederate forces, and although they behaved with gallantry for several hours against a greatly superior force, they finally retreated to their camp on the Cumberland pursued by the enemy, but not attacked after reaching Beech Grove. During the night General Crittenden crossed his army to the south side, but with the loss of his artillery, wagons and animals, stores, ammunition, etc. He retreated in a demoralized condition to Gainesboro, Tenn., eighty miles lower down on the Cumberland. In his report (*Rebellion Records*, Vol. VII, page 205), he states his loss at 126 killed, 309 wounded and 95 missing, and estimates the Federal loss at 700, while General Thomas in his report estimates the Confederate force at 12,000, and states his own loss at 39 killed and 207 wounded.

Under all the circumstances the death of General Zollicoffer and the disaster of Fishing Creek came as a severe blow to the Confederates. It greatly cheered the Federalists in Kentucky and cast a gloom over the opposite side. Its strategic effect was of the most serious character, as it wholly uncovered General Johnston's right flank and rendered his advanced position at Bowling Green still more critical. General Buell's plan from the start was to menace him in front until he could dislodge him by a flank movement. He had no idea of moving on him in his intrenched position and putting Green river at his back. He had great difficulty in resisting importunities from Washington to push Thomas into East Tennessee through Cumberland Gap, and adhered to his own plan in his operations, which resulted in the defeat of Crittenden. Mr. Lincoln, barring his eagerness to please Brownlow and Andrew Johnson, in a letter to General Buell of January 13, 1862 (*Rebellion Records*, Vol. VII, page 929), expresses in his homely way a comprehension of the true strategy: "My idea is that Halleck shall menace Columbus and 'down-river' generally, while you menace Bowling Green and East Tennes-

see. If the enemy shall concentrate at Bowling Green, do not retire from his front, yet do not fight him there either, but seize Columbus and East Tennessee, one or both, left exposed by the concentration at Bowling Green. It is a matter of no small anxiety to me, and which I am sure you will not overlook, that the East Tennessee line is so long and over so bad a road." Buell was not a politician, and from a military standpoint never regarded the occupation of East Tennessee as a paramount necessity. His failure to pander to this sentiment was an important factor in his ultimate downfall, as we shall see in time.

With the success of General Thomas on the right flank of the Confederate army of occupation, evidences of a formidable movement on the left soon became apparent. On the 6th of February a heavy attack was made upon Fort Henry by a gunboat expedition, and after a bombardment in which the Confederate batteries were greatly damaged, Gen. Lloyd Tilghman was forced to surrender after a gallant defense, with eighty men, his infantry numbering nearly 3,000 men, under Colonel Heiman, falling back on Fort Donelson. To the defense of this position, the attack on which now became imminent, General Johnston sent General Pillow with his command of 4,000 on the 9th of February, and on the 12th reinforced him with the commands of Generals Floyd and Buckner, 8,000 more, making the garrison force in the aggregate nominally 15,000 men, but really several thousand less, excluding sick left behind. At the same time recognizing the danger to which he would be exposed at Bowling Green by the depletion of his force and the necessity of covering Nashville, he began the evacuation of the former place on the evening of the 11th, General Buell reaching Bowling Green on the evening of the 12th and General Johnston's army being in front of Nashville on the 15th, the withdrawal being made without loss of any material and in perfect order.

CHAPTER V.

SITUATION AT FORT DONELSON—DISPOSITION OF FORCES—ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE—ATTACK BY THE GUNBOATS—THEIR REPULSE—GENERAL GRANT INVESTS CONFEDERATE LINES—SORTIE IN FORCE BY THE CONFEDERATES—ITS SUCCESS—BLOODY REPULSE OF THE FEDERALS—ESCAPE OF CONFEDERATE ARMY INSURED WHEN THE TROOPS WERE ORDERED BACK INTO THE TRENCHES—INDEFENSIBLE POSITION—SEVERE WEATHER—EXPOSURE AND SUFFERING OF CONFEDERATE TROOPS—GALLANT FIGHTING OF COLONEL HARRISON AND SECOND KENTUCKY, AND COLONEL LYON AND EIGHTH KENTUCKY—COUNCIL OF WAR—GENERALS FLOYD AND PILLOW TURN THE COMMAND OVER TO GENERAL BUCKNER AND ESCAPE TO NASHVILLE—GENERAL BUCKNER SURRENDERS TO GENERAL GRANT.

THE fall of Fort Donelson which occurred on February 16, 1862, was a far-reaching disaster, which opened up to the occupation by the enemy not only all of Kentucky, but all of Tennessee west of the Cumberland mountains. As the details of the battle belong properly to the history of the Confederate operations in Tennessee, only such reference to them will be made as is necessary to show the part taken by the Kentucky troops. General Pillow being in command at Fort Donelson, and an attack being imminent, the commands of Generals Buckner and Floyd, which had for several days been at Clarksville, were moved by boat, and the last of them arrived with General Floyd on the night of the 12th. General Buckner, in his report (*Rebellion Records*, Vol. VII, page 329), says: "The defenses were in a very imperfect condition. The space to be defended by the army was quadrangular in shape, being limited on

the north by the Cumberland river, on the east and west by small streams now converted into deep sloughs by the high water, and on the south by our line of defense. The river line exceeded a mile in length. The line of defense was about two miles and a half long, and its distance from the river varied from one-fourth to three-fourths of a mile. The line of intrenchments consisted of a few logs rolled together and but slightly covered with earth, forming an insufficient protection even against field artillery. Not more than one-third of the line was completed on the morning of the 12th. * * * Work on my lines was prosecuted with energy and was urged forward as rapidly as the limited number of tools would permit, so that by the morning of the 13th my position was in a respectable state of defense."

General Buckner was placed in command of the right wing, and Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson of the left. The only Kentucky troops present were the Second regiment under Col. Roger W. Hanson, Graves' battery, and the Eighth Kentucky regiment, Lieut.-Col. H. B. Lyon. The first two were on the extreme right of General Buckner's line, while the last was near the left of General Johnson's line, attached to the brigade of Col. John M. Simonton, of Mississippi.

General Grant, who had with his army ascended the Tennessee river and landed at Fort Henry, ten miles westward, on the morning of the 12th, marched with 15,000 men, comprising the divisions of Generals John A. McClernand and C. F. Smith, and at noon arrived within two miles of Fort Donelson and drove in the Confederate pickets. Had he moved on the works at once with this large force, their capture would have been comparatively easy, as many of Floyd's command had not arrived, and the Confederates were ill prepared for an attack. He had, however, sent six regiments from Fort Henry around by water convoyed by a gunboat, and, awaiting their arrival, his plan was not to make a gen-

eral attack but to invest the works as closely as he could with safety. (See his report on page 159 of the volume quoted above, in which the reports of officers of both armies will be found.) "About ten o'clock on the morning of the 13th," General Buckner says, "the enemy made a vigorous attack on Hanson's position, but was repelled with heavy loss. The attack was subsequently renewed by three heavy regiments, but was again repulsed by the Second Kentucky regiment, aided by a part of the Eighteenth Tennessee, Col. J. B. Palmer." The Confederate troops remained in their trenches and their loss was small, although throughout the day the fire along the line was incessant and kept up through the night.

On the 14th, the gunboats having arrived the night before, there was no land attack; but at two o'clock a heavy bombardment was begun by six gunboats under Admiral Foote and continued two hours when, having been disabled by the Confederate water batteries, they withdrew without having inflicted any damage to the batteries or killed a man. It was then General Grant's purpose to repair the gunboats before assaulting the Confederate lines, which were now completely invested, his force having been augmented by the arrival of Gen. Lew Wallace's division, about 7,000 strong, from Fort Henry. The disposition of his army was as follows: McClelland's division on the right, Wallace's in the center and Smith's on the left. Meantime the weather had, on the 13th, turned very cold, with snow and rain which bore heavily upon the Confederate troops exposed in the trenches and already worn down by incessant duty for three days and nights.

It became evident to the Confederate commanders that to remain inactive rendered capture a question of but a short time, as retreat was cut off by the extension of both the enemy's wings to the river. A council being held on the night of the 14th, it was decided that the

only alternative was to drive back the enemy's right wing by an early attack in the morning, and having cleared the way, to retreat in the direction of Nashville by the way of Charlotte. Accordingly, on the morning of Saturday, the 15th, at five o'clock, the attack was made on General Grant's right, and the enemy being pressed back after a time in disorder, General Buckner also advanced and the movement was kept up until victory seemed complete, the Federal right having been driven several miles, while General Buckner had driven his left so far as to uncover the proposed route of retreat, and the object of the battle seemed safely accomplished. At this juncture, when General Buckner was two miles from his works and expecting the retreat to begin, he received orders from General Pillow to return to the intrenchments.

It is useless to prolong the painful narrative. The whole army returned to their cheerless trenches worn down with fatigue and depressed with the failure to be extricated from the hopeless position which their intelligence told them they now occupied. Added to this, the enemy being further reinforced, and learning of the withdrawal of the Confederates within their lines, followed them up vigorously and before dark had resumed the investment and also effected a lodgment at the extreme right of our line. The rest is known, how at a council of war, the desperate condition having been recognized, a surrender was deemed the only course left; how the senior commanders in turn declined to carry out the decision and, turning the command over to General Buckner, left him to share the fate of his men, while they effected their escape by boat with a small force, before negotiations set in; and how at daylight a bugler and a flag terminated further contest. Let us draw the curtain on the sad event, the intelligence of which carried such woe to the whole South and to their friends in Kentucky who shared all their joys and sorrows, and

who in their own good time testified their admiration of true heroism by electing as governor, with the hearty concurrence of many of the Federal soldiers, the gallant Buckner, who was the chief prisoner of this surrender. Far be it from the purpose of the writer to reflect upon the courage or patriotism of Generals Floyd and Pillow. It was a question for each to decide for himself, and if they erred in judgment, most grievous must have been their suffering.

General Buckner in his report speaks in terms of the highest praise of Colonel Hanson and his regiment, and of Graves' battery. Speaking of one point in the action of the 15th, an advance upon the right ordered by him at a critical time, he says: "In this latter movement a section of Graves' battery participated, playing with destructive effect upon the enemy's left, while about the same time the Second Kentucky, under Colonel Hanson, charged in quick time as if upon parade, through an open field and under a destructive fire, without firing a gun, upon a superior force of the enemy, who broke and fled in all directions. A large portion of the enemy's right dispersed through the woods and made their way, as was afterward learned, to Fort Henry."

Colonel Hanson, in referring to the same incident in his report, says: "In front of us was an open space which had formerly been occupied as a camp. This space was about two hundred yards in width. Beyond the space in the timber and thick undergrowth the enemy were posted. I directed the regiment, when the command was given, to march at quick time across the space and not to fire a gun until they reached the woods in which the enemy were posted. The order was admirably executed, and although we lost 50 men in killed and wounded in crossing the space, not a gun was fired until the woods were reached. The enemy stood their ground until we were within 40 yards of them, when they fled in great confusion under a most destructive fire. This was not strictly

speaking a 'charge bayonets,' but it would have been if the enemy had not fled."

The staff of General Buckner shared his fortunes. In his report he says: "Maj. Geo. B. Cosby, my chief of staff, deserves the highest commendation for the gallant and intelligent discharge of his duties, and the other members of my staff are entitled to my thanks for their gallantry and the efficient discharge of their appropriate duties. Lieutenants Charles F. Johnson, aide-de-camp, and T. J. Clay, acting aide; Majs. Alexander Casseday, acting inspector-general and S. K. Hays, quartermaster; Capt. R. C. Wintersmith, commissary of subsistence; Major Davidson, chief of artillery; Messrs. J. N. Galleher [afterward Bishop of Louisiana], acting aide; Moore, acting topographical officer; J. Walker Taylor, commanding a detachment of guides, and D. P. Buckner, volunteer aide." Major Casseday died at Camp Chase not long afterward from the effects of exposure at Fort Donelson.

The Eighth Kentucky regiment did not come under General Buckner's observation, but both General Bushrod Johnson, division commander, and Colonel Simonton, brigade commander, refer to its gallant action, while Colonel Lyon says that "no officers or men could have acted more gallantly than did those of the Eighth Kentucky at all times during the three days' fight." Out of 312 men, his loss was 17 killed and 46 wounded, while the Second Kentucky lost 80 killed and wounded out of five or six hundred.

CHAPTER VI.

SHILOH CAMPAIGN—EFFECT OF THE SURRENDER OF FORT DONELSON—EVACUATION OF BOWLING GREEN AND NASHVILLE—UNJUST OUTBURST OF INDIGNATION AGAINST GENERAL JOHNSTON—GENERAL BUELL OCCUPIES NASHVILLE—REORGANIZATION OF CONFEDERATE ARMY AT MURFREESBORO—ASSIGNMENT OF KENTUCKY TROOPS—GENERAL JOHNSTON'S SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENT TO CORINTH, MISS.—JUNCTION WITH BEAUREGARD, BRAGG AND POLK—RAPID PREPARATIONS FOR ADVANCE—GENERAL GRANT AT PITTSBURG LANDING—GENERAL BUELL MOVING TO JOIN HIM—GENERAL JOHNSTON ADVANCES TO GIVE BATTLE TO GENERAL GRANT—BATTLE OF SHILOH—PART TAKEN BY KENTUCKY CONFEDERATE TROOPS—THEIR GALLANTRY AND SEVERE LOSSES—DEATH OF GENERAL JOHNSTON—HIS LAST LETTER TO PRESIDENT DAVIS—DEATH OF GOVERNOR GEORGE W. JOHNSON—RETREAT TO CORINTH.

THE effect of the fall of Fort Donelson was stunning to the South, especially as it came close upon the heels of the report of a great victory. On the night of the battle General Johnston received dispatches announcing that the Confederates had won the battle. At daylight on the 16th came the announcement of the surrender. In Nashville the excitement and tumult were intense, and all over the South there was a mingled feeling of disappointment and indignation. The brunt of the blame fell upon General Johnston, who, knowing that time would vindicate him, bore it calmly and made the best dispositions to meet the calamity. He was calm under the animadversions cast upon him in the Confederate Congress and by the turbulent populace in Nashville. He moved his forces to the south of Nash-

ville, organized the refugees and stragglers from Fort Donelson and began the evacuation of the capital of Tennessee by removing the army supplies. The proper precautions were taken to prevent a sudden attack on the city by the gunboats, and in a few days the morale of his army, reduced fully one-half by the disaster at Donelson, was restored. He had long been aware of the danger, and before evacuating Bowling Green had foreseen the possible necessity of falling behind the Cumberland, and in extremity, the Tennessee. His plan was fully matured, and he had selected Corinth, Miss., just south of the great bend of the Tennessee, as the point at which he would rally, and from which with the concentration of all available forces he would move to give battle to the Federal forces. By the 22d the evacuation of Nashville was complete, and on the 23d the advance guard of the Federal army from Bowling Green appeared at Edgefield on the north side of the Cumberland. A deputation of the citizens, with the mayor, went out to negotiate, and on the 25th the formal surrender of the city to General Buell took place.

On the 23d of February, the organization of General Johnston's forces being completed at Murfreesboro, he issued an order announcing the reorganization of the army and assuming command. It consisted of Hardee's division, composed of Hindman's and Cleburne's brigades; Crittenden's division, of Carroll's and Statham's brigades; Pillow's division, of Wood's and Bowen's brigades; and the Reserve under Gen. John C. Breckinridge. This latter comprised the following commands: Third Kentucky, Col. A. P. Thompson; Fourth Kentucky, Col. R. P. Trabue; Fifth Kentucky (afterward called the Ninth), Col. Thomas H. Hunt; Sixth Kentucky, Col. Joseph H. Lewis; Col. Crew's regiment, Clifton's battalion, Hale's battalion, Helm's cavalry battalion, Morgan's squadron of cavalry, Nelson's cavalry, Lyon's (Cobb's) battery. Col. N. B. Forrest's cav-

alry, and Col. John A. Wharton's cavalry (Eighth Texas), were unattached. On the 28th of February, no movement from Nashville having been meanwhile made against General Johnston, he put his army in motion for Decatur, Ala., via Shelbyville, reaching the former place on the 10th of March. Here the Tennessee river, then at flood-height, was crossed, and by the 25th of March General Johnston completed the concentration of his army at Corinth. This included, in addition to the troops brought by him, the command of General Polk, which had evacuated Columbus on the 2d of March, and General Bragg's corps of 10,000 from Pensacola, which together with other smaller detachments made about 40,000 men.

A corresponding movement had meanwhile taken place on the part of the Federal forces. General Grant had on the 10th of March begun his expedition up the Tennessee river, and on the 17th the greater part of his army, now augmented to nearly 50,000 effectives, was in camp at and near Pittsburg Landing on the southwest side of the Tennessee, twenty-three miles northeast of Corinth. On the 15th of March General Buell, with his army of 37,000, marched from Nashville for the same point by way of Columbia and Waynesboro, while Gen. O. M. Mitchel with a corps of 18,000 marched south to Huntsville and Decatur to seize the Memphis & Charleston railroad. Such was the situation, with General Grant resting in fancied security and awaiting the arrival of General Buell to move southward, with no thought of danger, when General Johnston, hoping to strike him before Buell should effect a junction, moved out from Corinth on the 3rd of April. He had said in response to the clamor following the evacuation of Kentucky and Tennessee that if he could effect a concentration of his scattered forces, those who declaimed against him would be without an argument. He was now about to redeem his word. How fully at Shiloh he did it, and in an in-

stant won enduring fame, history has recorded with indelible pen.*

Owing to continued rains and difficulty of moving his army, the battle was delayed at least a day, but taking his adversary completely by surprise on the morning of Sunday, April 6th, he lived long enough to see his army in the full tide of victory. A few hours more of life would have secured the surrender of the opposing army. What would ultimately have happened had he survived is left to the judgment of those who can best comprehend the genius of a general who had so thoroughly vindicated his capacity for aggressive as well as defensive operations. How all the fruits of victory were lost by his death have, together with the details of the great battle, been faithfully told by his son in a memoir as valuable for its historical accuracy as for its faithful portraiture of a noble life and character.†

The Confederate troops which fought at Shiloh were organized as follows: First corps, General Polk; Second corps, General Bragg; Third corps, General Hardee; Reserve, General Breckinridge. The last is the only one in regard to which any detail will be given here. It was composed of the following: First brigade, Col. R. P. Trabue; Second brigade, Brig.-Gen. J. S. Bowen; Third brigade, Brig.-Gen. W. S. Statham; Morgan's squadron of cavalry. The First brigade consisted of the Fourth Alabama battalion, Thirty-first Alabama regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Crews' Tennessee battalion; Third Kentucky regiment, Lieut.-Col. Ben Anderson commanding; Fourth Kentucky regiment, Lieut.-Col. A. R. Hynes commanding; Ninth Kentucky regiment, Col. T. H. Hunt; Sixth Kentucky regiment, Col. J. H. Lewis;

*For General Johnston's last letter to President Davis, battle order, etc., see Appendix B.

†The life of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, embracing his services in the armies of the United States, the Republic of Texas and the Confederate States by William Preston Johnston. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1878.

Byrne's battery; Cobb's battery; in all about 2,400 men. The battle of Shiloh was begun at daylight by Hardee's corps, and it was not long until nearly the whole Confederate force was engaged, the general position from left to right being Hardee, Polk, Bragg and Breckinridge. As is not uncommon in military experience, the reserve was early in action. Colonel Trabue, with the Kentucky brigade, was sent as reinforcement to General Hardee's right, on the left of General Polk's corps, while the remainder of General Breckinridge's division moved to the support of the extreme right. It was thus that the Kentucky troops found themselves in one of the most stubbornly contested parts of the field, being pitted against the command of General Sherman, where was found the most stubborn resistance. In the first assault Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson and Major Johnston, of the Third Kentucky, were wounded, and Captains Stone, Pearce and Emerson, Lieutenant Bagwell, commanding company, and Acting Lieutenant White, of that regiment, were killed; while Captain Bowman, Adjutant McGoodwin and Lieutenants Ross and Ridgeway were wounded. Later the brigade had a prolonged contest with a heavy force of Ohio and Iowa troops, and drove them with a charge, the Kentucky troops singing their battle song, "Cheer, boys, cheer; we'll march away to battle," and driving everything before them. The loss was heavy, Captains Ben Desha and John W. Caldwell being severely, and Adj. Wm. Bell, of the Ninth Kentucky, mortally wounded. In the same regiment Capt. James R. Bright, Lieut. J. L. Moore and R. M. Lemmons were wounded. In the Fourth Kentucky, Capt. John A. Adair, Lieut. John Bird Rogers, commanding company, and Lieut. Robert Dunn, were severely wounded, while Capt. W. Lee Harned, of the Sixth Kentucky, was mortally wounded. This success led soon after to the capture of General Prentiss' Federal command, and by a happy conjunction, just as Colonel Trabue entered the

camp from the left, General Breckinridge came in from the right. The prisoners, numbering about 3,000, were sent to the rear in charge of Crews' battalion of Colonel Trabue's brigade. By this stroke of good fortune the Sixth and Ninth Kentucky were enabled to change their old muskets for Enfield rifles.

The foregoing has been collated from the report of Colonel Trabue, Rebellion Records, Vol. X, page 614. It is to be regretted that no extended report by General Breckinridge was ever made, or if made has never been found. The following is the only one relating to the battle:

Hdqrs. Reserve Corps, Army of the Mississippi,
April 17, 1862.

Colonel: I have the honor to make the following statement of the small-arms, cannon, etc., captured from the enemy in the battles of the 6th and 7th by the Reserve corps, exclusive of the cavalry, from whom there is no report; small-arms 1,393, swords 11, cannon 4 pieces.

The small-arms are now in the hands of my men, most of them taken from dead and wounded enemies, and substituted for rifles or guns before in our possession. The four pieces were hauled several miles off the field and within our lines by Captain Rutledge, commanding battery in Statham's brigade, and it is confidently believed form a part of the captured cannon now at Corinth.

My command did not stop in their camps, but moved on under orders, and I think did its full share upon the line of its operations in the work, of which captured cannon, flags, small-arms and prisoners were the result.

Respectfully,

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

In a sketch of the Kentucky brigade, written by Gen. Geo. B. Hodge, General Breckinridge's adjutant-general at Shiloh, occurs the following graphic description: "Two o'clock had arrived and the whole army was now or had been for hours engaged, with the exception of Bowen's and Statham's brigades of the Reserve corps. The enemy had been driven through and from half of his camps, but refused to give back further. Having given way

on his right and left wings he had massed his force heavily in the center, and poured an almost unremitting hail of fire, murderous beyond description, from his covert of trees and bushes, when General Breckinridge was ordered up to break his line. Having been most of the day in observation on the Hamburg road, marching in column of regiments, the reserve was now moved by the right flank, until opposite the point of attack, then deployed rapidly into line of battle, Statham's brigade forming the right and Bowen's the left. The long slope of the ridge was here abruptly broken by a succession of small hills or undulations of about fifty feet in height, dividing the rolling country from the river bottom; and behind the crest of these last the enemy was concealed. Opposite them, at the distance of seventy-five yards, was another long swell or hillock, the summit of which it was necessary to attain in order to open fire, and to this elevation the reserve moved in order of battle at double-quick. In an instant the opposing height was one sheet of flame. Battle's Tennessee regiment on the extreme right gallantly maintained itself, pushing forward under a withering fire and establishing itself well in advance. Little's Tennessee regiment next to it delivered its fire at random and inefficiently, became disordered and retired in confusion down the slope. Three times it was rallied by its lieutenant-colonel, assisted by Col. T. T. Hawkins, aide-de-camp to General Breckinridge, and by the adjutant-general, and carried up the slope only to be as often repulsed and driven back; the regiment of the enemy opposed to it in the intervals directing an oblique fire upon Battle's regiment, now contending against overwhelming odds. The crisis of the contest had come; there were no more reserves, and General Breckinridge determined to charge. Calling the staff around him, he communicated to them his intentions and remarked that he with them would lead it. They were all Kentuckians, and though it was not their privilege to fight that day

with the Kentucky brigade, they were yet men who knew how to die bravely among strangers, and some at least would live to do justice to the rest. The commander-in-chief, General Johnston, rode up at this juncture and learning the contemplated movement, determined to accompany it. Placing himself on the left of Little's regiment, his commanding figure in full uniform conspicuous to every eye, he awaited the signal. General Breckinridge, disposing his staff along the line, rode to the right of the same regiment. Then with a wild shout, which rose above the din of battle, on swept the line through a storm of fire, over the hill, across the intervening ravine and up the slope occupied by the enemy. Nothing could withstand it. The enemy broke and fled for a half mile, hotly pursued until he reached the shelter of his batteries. Well did the Kentuckians sustain that day their honor and their fame! Of the little band of officers who started on that forlorn hope but one was unscathed, the gallant Breckinridge himself. Colonel Hawkins was wounded in the face; Captain Allen's leg was torn to pieces by a shell; the horses of the fearless boy, J. Cabell Breckinridge, and of the adjutant-general were killed under them, and General Johnston was lifted dying from his saddle. It may be doubted whether the success, brilliant as it was, decisive as it was, compensated for the loss of the great captain."

While the dramatic effect of this description is heightened by the statement that General Johnston received his death-wound in this charge, his biographer says that he was but slightly wounded, and that the bullet which cut the thread of his life was a stray one which struck him after the charge and while he was in the rear of Breckinridge's line in a position of comparative security.

When darkness closed the battle of the first day, there was but little territory and comparatively few Federal troops between the advanced Confederate lines and the river, and it is not without reason to believe that the

remnant would have been forced to surrender but for the timely arrival of Gen. Wm. Nelson, of General Buell's army who, with characteristic vigor crossed the river and with Colonel Ammen's brigade of fresh troops, pushed to the front and checked the Confederate advance. His official report confirms the demoralized condition of General Grant's army. He says, "I found cowering under the river bank when I crossed, from 7,000 to 10,000 men frantic with fright and utterly demoralized, who received my gallant division with cries that 'we are whipped,' 'cut to pieces,' etc. They were insensible to shame and sarcasm, for I tried both on them; and indignant at such poltroonery I asked permission to fire on the knaves." All who know the demoralizing effect of defeat upon the bravest of men will condemn the severity of this language, indicating an unrestrained violence of temper, which less than six months later cost Nelson his life.

While the Confederates were elated with victory and expecting to complete it, they were ordered to halt by General Beauregard, who had succeeded to the command. Next morning the Federals, finding their front clear, advanced with the fresh troops of General Buell's army, and the operations of the day consisted chiefly in a stubborn retreat by the Confederates, who fell back slowly, fighting with persistence and vigor. Among the commands most heavily engaged was the Kentucky brigade, which for four or five hours held its position near Shiloh Church against a large force of the enemy. Its losses were heavy. Among the killed were Maj. Thomas B. Monroe, Jr., Adjutant Forman and Lieutenant Dooley of the Fourth Kentucky. Lieutenant-Colonel Hynes, Capts. Jos. P. Nuckols, Ben J. Monroe, T. W. Thompson and J. M. Fitzhenry, and Lieuts. John B. Moore, Thomas Steele, S. O. Peyton and George B. Burnley were among the wounded. Detailing these casualties the report of Colonel Trabue adds: "And here also fell that noble patriot, Gov. George W.

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Johnson, after having fought in the ranks of Capt. Ben Monroe's company (E, Fourth Kentucky) with unfaltering bravery from early Sunday morning to this unhappy moment." Governor Johnson had accompanied the army on its retreat from Bowling Green, and went to the battlefield on the staff of General Breckinridge on Sunday morning; but when the Kentucky brigade was detached, he accompanied it and served on the staff of Colonel Trabue. At half past nine o'clock his horse was killed and he then, with characteristic spirit, took a musket and served as a member of Capt. Ben J. Monroe's company. Being mortally wounded on the afternoon of Monday by a minie-ball which passed through his body just below the median line, such was his vitality that he lay on the battlefield until the following day, when General McCook, in riding over the field, found him and had him carried to a boat at the landing. They had met at the Charleston convention. He survived the night, being kindly cared for, and was able to send messages to his family, leaving in his last words a testimony that his only aim had been his country's good. He was in his fiftieth year and had filled many positions of honor, but had declined the nomination for lieutenant-governor and for Congress when it was equivalent to an election. He was a man of peace, but of the metal to follow his convictions wherever duty led. General Beauregard, in his report of the battle, thus refers to his death: "I deeply regret to record also the death of Hon. George W. Johnson, provisional governor of Kentucky, who went into action with the Kentucky troops and continually inspired them by his words and example. Having his horse shot under him on Sunday, he entered the ranks of a Kentucky regiment on Monday and fell mortally wounded toward the close of the day. Not his State alone, but the whole Confederacy, has sustained a great loss in the death of this brave, upright and able man."

"In the conflicts of this day," continues Colonel

Trabue, "Lieut.-Col. Robert A. Johnston, after exemplary conduct, was wounded, Capt. William Mitchell was killed, and Capt. George A. King and Lieutenants Gillum, Harding and Schaub were wounded; all of the Fifth Kentucky. In the Sixth Kentucky, Lieutenant-Colonel Cofer, a cool, brave and efficient officer, was wounded; Capt. W. W. Bagby and Lieut. M. E. Aull were mortally wounded; Capts. D. E. McKendree and John G. Hudson were likewise wounded, as were also Lieuts. L. M. Tucker and Charles Dawson, the last named of whom was taken prisoner. Late in the evening of this second day, General Breckinridge, with the Kentucky brigade and Statham's, and some cavalry, undertook to check the enemy and cover the retreat. This was a hard duty, exposed as the command had been and wasted as they were by the loss of more than half their numbers; but the general was equal to the great undertaking, and his officers and men shared his devotion to duty." The loss of the brigade was 844 out of a total of something less than 2,400; the Third Kentucky losing 174, Fourth 213, Fifth 134, Sixth 108, Cobb's battery 37, Byrne's 14.

Colonel Trabue notes particularly the gallant service of Cobb's and Byrne's batteries, both of which made names for themselves second to none in that arm of the service. The horses of Cobb's battery were nearly all killed on the first day, but he saved his guns, while on the second day Byrne's battery had been so depleted by the casualties of battle that at one time he was assisted in the service of his guns by volunteers from the infantry of the brigade. The Seventh Kentucky infantry, Col. Charles Wickliffe, served during the battle in Col. W. H. Stephens' brigade of Cheatham's division. Colonel Wickliffe was mortally wounded and succeeded by Lieut.-Col. W. D. Lannom. Later Col. Edward Crossland became commander of the Seventh and continued so during the war.

CHAPTER VII.

REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY AT CORINTH — KENTUCKY COMMANDS — GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE SENT TO VICKSBURG — IN THE TRENCHES THERE — BATTLE OF BATON ROUGE — LOSS OF RAM ARKANSAS — FAILURE OF EXPEDITION IN CONSEQUENCE — GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE DEFEATS FEDERAL FORCE — LOSS IN KILLED AND WOUNDED — CAMP AT COMITE RIVER — DEPLETION OF COMMAND BY SICKNESS — GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE INVITED BY GENERAL BRAGG TO COMMAND A DIVISION IN PENDING KENTUCKY CAMPAIGN — DECLINES TO LEAVE HIS TROOPS IN THEIR EXTREMITY — EFFORTS TO HAVE HIM SENT WITH THEM — ORDER FINALLY ISSUED — OBSTRUCTIONS INTERPOSED — FATAL DELAY — HE MARCHES FROM KNOXVILLE FOR KENTUCKY — BRAGG'S RETREAT FROM KENTUCKY COMPELS HIS RETURN.

THE retreat of the Confederate army in the direction of Corinth was successfully covered by General Breckinridge's command, the pursuit not having been prosecuted more than five or six miles. The falling back was leisurely, and it was not until the 11th of April that the Kentucky brigade reached Corinth. In the reorganization of the army which took place here, General Breckinridge's Reserve corps was composed of four brigades, two of which, the first and second, comprised the Kentucky troops. The First brigade, commanded by Brig.-Gen. J. M. Hawes, consisted of the Forty-first Alabama, Fourth Kentucky, Ninth Kentucky, Hale's Alabama regiment, Clifton's Alabama battalion and Byrne's battery, but the latter soon disbanding, Hudson's battery took its place. The Second brigade, commanded by Brig.-Gen. William Preston, consisted of the Third, Sixth and Seventh Kentucky regiments, and

Cobb's battery. The Third brigade, comprising two Arkansas, one Mississippi and one Missouri regiment, was given to Brig.-Gen. Ben Hardin Helm. But soon after, General Hawes being assigned to the Trans-Mississippi department, General Helm was placed in command of the First brigade. About the first of June the Confederate army fell back to Tupelo, Miss., and from there the Kentucky troops were transferred to General Van Dorn's department, and on the 30th took their place in the trenches at Vicksburg. The operations against his point at that time were by the fleet, without any land force, and were confined to the bombardment of the place by heavy guns. The most destructive enemy to the Kentucky troops was the climate, from which they suffered greatly.

On the 27th of July, General Breckinridge was sent to make an attack on Baton Rouge, where was a Federal force of three or four thousand, the purpose being to have the Confederate ram *Arkansas* co-operate in the expedition. His report, to be found in the *Rebellion Records*, Vol. XV, page 76, states that he left with less than 4,000 men, who in two days were reduced by sickness to 3,400. He went by rail to Tangipahoa, whence Baton Rouge is 55 miles west. On the 4th he arrived at the Comite river, within 10 miles of Baton Rouge, and at 11 p. m. on the same night he marched for that point, reaching its vicinity before daylight on the 5th. While waiting for daylight a serious accident occurred. A party of rangers, placed in rear of the artillery, "leaked through" and riding forward encountered the enemy's pickets, causing exchange of shots. Galloping back they produced confusion, which led to rapid firing, during which General Helm was dangerously wounded by the fall of his horse, and his aide, Lieut. A. H. Todd, was killed. Helm was a brother-in-law of Mrs. Lincoln; Lieutenant Todd was her half-brother. Captain Roberts, of the Second Kentucky, was dangerously wounded, and

two of Captain Cobb's three guns rendered for the time useless. The enemy thus aroused, awaited attack in two lines. Our troops advanced in single line with strong reserves at intervals. The Second division, General Ruggles, advanced to the attack on the left with impetuosity, cheering and driving the enemy before it. General Preston having been left sick at Vicksburg, Col. A. P. Thompson led the First brigade of the division, and was seriously wounded in the charge. The First division, General Clark, composed of one brigade under Col. Thomas H. Hunt and one under Col. T. B. Smith, Twentieth Tennessee, drove the enemy on the right until after several hours' fighting he had fallen back to a grove just back of the penitentiary. The fight was hot and stubborn, and here the division met the greatest loss. Colonel Hunt was shot down, and at the suggestion of General Clark, Capt. John A. Buckner, General Breckinridge's adjutant-general, was placed in command of the brigade. Shortly afterward General Clark received a wound thought to be mortal, when under some misapprehension the First brigade of his division began to fall back, but rallied, and in a renewed attack the enemy was driven back and disappeared in the town. Maj. J. C. Wickliffe commanded the Ninth regiment, Col. J. W. Caldwell having been injured in the accident of the early morning and obliged to retire. Here the Confederates suffered from the fire of the fleet, but in the end the enemy were completely routed and did not again appear during the day. It was now 10 o'clock, and they had listened in vain for the guns of the ram *Arkansas*, which, it proved, had disabled her machinery when four miles above Baton Rouge, and, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Federal fleet near by, had been abandoned and set on fire by her officers. General Breckinridge, in view of this failure of co-operation, suspended further attack, and being wholly unmolested, withdrew to his camp at Comite river. His total loss was 467 killed,

wounded and missing. From the heat of the weather and scarcity of drinking water the men suffered greatly. General Breckinridge said: "The enemy were well clothed and their encampments showed the presence of every comfort and even luxury. Our men had little transportation, indifferent food and no shelter. Half of them had no coats, and hundreds of them were without either shoes or socks. Yet no troops ever behaved with greater gallantry and even reckless audacity. What can make this difference, unless it be the sublime courage inspired by a just cause?"

Within a few days General Breckinridge sent a small force and occupied Port Hudson above Baton Rouge, which became afterward a fortified place second only to Vicksburg. The effect of the climate on his troops was fearful, not in the number of deaths, but in disabling them for duty. A report of Surg. J. W. Thompson, of the First brigade, in which were the Third, Sixth and Seventh Kentucky, shows that on arriving at Vicksburg, June 30th, there were 1,822 men on duty; on leaving Vicksburg July 27th, 1,252; on duty after the battle of Baton Rouge, 584.

It was just one week after the battle that the writer of this history visited the camp. He found General Breckinridge encamped on the Comite river, a small stream with low banks and flat, wooded lands adjacent, with every malarial indication. The wan, enfeebled aspect of his men was pitiable to look upon, and he was chafing under the orders which held them inactive in such a pestilential locality. The writer had come from General Bragg, then at Chattanooga preparing to move into Kentucky, and brought with him the following letter:

Chattanooga, August 8, 1862.

Maj.-Gen. J. C. Breckinridge:

My dear General: Having but time for a note for Mr. Johnston I must leave him to explain what he knows or suspects of the future. My army has promised

to make me military governor of Ohio in 90 days (Seward's time for crushing the rebellion), and as they cannot do that without passing your home, I have thought you would like to have an escort to visit your family.

Seriously, I should be much better satisfied were you with me on the impending campaign. Your influence in Kentucky would be equal to an extra division to my army; but you can readily see my embarrassment. Your division cannot be brought here now. To separate you from it might be injurious and even unpleasant to you, and not satisfactory to General Van Dorn. If you desire it, and General Van Dorn will consent, you shall come at once. A command is ready for you, and I shall hope to see your eyes beam again at the command "Forward" as they did at Shiloh, in the midst of our greatest success. General Lovell is disengaged and might replace you, or I would cheerfully give General Van Dorn any one I could spare. It would also please me to see General Preston along, but I fear to make too great a draft on your command.

If agreeable to yourself and General Van Dorn you have no time to lose. We only await our train and the capture of the forces at Cumberland Gap, both of which we hope to hear from very soon.

Our prospects were never more encouraging.

Most respectfully and truly yours,

BRAXTON BRAGG.

General Breckinridge was eager to go into Kentucky, but said that even if Van Dorn would give his consent he would not voluntarily leave his men in the condition they were, and so advised General Bragg, urging that he be permitted to take with him his Kentucky command. The writer bore his answer, urged it upon General Van Dorn in person at his headquarters at Jackson, Miss., and upon the President at Richmond by letter. A few days later the Kentucky senators and representatives in the Confederate Congress addressed President Davis as follows:

Richmond, Va., August 18, 1862.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

President of the Confederate States:

Sir: Having such information as satisfies us that the

Western army is now moving in two columns in the direction of Kentucky, one column under the command of General Bragg from Chattanooga, and the other under the immediate command of Maj.-Gen. E. Kirby Smith, and entertaining no doubt that General Smith will be able in a short time to reach the very heart of the more wealthy and populous portion of our State, and believing from information derived from sources entitled to credit that a large majority of the people of the State sympathize with the South and that a large proportion of the young men will at once join our army, we regard it as of the very highest importance that as many of the officers in the service of the government as are from the State of Kentucky and who have heretofore held position in and had the confidence of the people of the State, should be in Kentucky when the army reaches there. We do not regard this as so important looking merely to military results, but we desire to present it to your consideration in its political aspects. We have now in Kentucky a civil government opposed to us; elections have recently been held in which the voice of the people was suppressed by the order of the military governor of the State; soldiers were placed around the ballot-boxes; the people were not permitted to vote without taking odious oaths prescribed by the military authorities unknown to and in derogation of the Constitution; candidates who were the favorites of the majority of the people, who would have been elected, were peremptorily ordered to at once withdraw from the canvass under penalty of being immediately sent to a military prison, and the officers of the election were directed not to place the names of candidates on the poll-books unless they were known to be loyal to the Federal government, of which loyalty there was no standard except the caprice, the passion or the interest of the officers themselves.

You will at once perceive that should we get military possession of the State one of the first things to be done will be to overthrow this usurpation, and to give to the people of the State an opportunity of establishing such a government as they may desire and of electing such officers to execute the powers of government as they may prefer. It then becomes important that the citizens of Kentucky who have the confidence of the great body of the people, and who have been intimately associated with

them both in private life and in the conduct of public affairs, should return to the State to aid and co-operate with the people in their efforts to overthrow the despotism that now oppresses them and re-establish constitutional free government in the State. We are fully convinced that their presence among their old friends and fellow citizens at this time would be attended with the happiest results both to the people of the State and to the Confederacy; and we would therefore most respectfully suggest and recommend that as many of the officers and soldiers from Kentucky in the service as can be spared for the purpose with a due regard to other exigencies and interests, should be temporarily withdrawn from other duty and attached to the army entering that State.

We would therefore respectfully suggest that Major-General Breckinridge, with his division generals, Buckner and Marshall, be sent to Kentucky.

We have the honor to be very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,

JOHN W. CROCKETT,
GEO. W. EWING,
H. C. BURNETT,
R. J. BRECKINRIDGE,
E. M. BRUCE,

HENRY E. READ,
W. E. SIMMS,
W. B. MACHEN,
GEO. B. HODGE,
JAMES S. CHRISMAN.

President Davis, on receipt of this letter, renewed his order already given directing that General Breckinridge should accompany the movement. A few days later General Hardee sent him the following dispatch:

Chattanooga, Tenn., August 23, 1862.

Major-General Breckinridge:

Come here if possible. I have a splendid division for you to lead into Kentucky, to which will be attached all the men General Van Dorn can spare to bring with you.

W. J. HARDEE, Major-General.

To which General Breckinridge replied:

Jackson, Miss., August 25, 1862.

Major-General Hardee, Chattanooga:

Reserve the division for me. I will leave here in a few days with a small force of Kentuckians and Tennesseans.

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.

General Bragg left Chattanooga for Kentucky on the 28th of August. The day before he started, he wrote as follows:

Chattanooga, August 27, 1862.

Major-General Breckinridge:

My Dear General: We leave for your beloved home tomorrow. Would that you were with us. Your division is ready for you as soon as you join, but you must hurry up to overtake us. Buell is anxious apparently to get to Cincinnati before us, but we envy him the honor. General Jones (Samuel) had orders to organize, arm and equip all stragglers, recovered sick, and those absent from leave and have them ready to join you. The quartermaster department has orders to be ready to send you on. Move with 100 rounds of ammunition and twenty-five days' rations. We go by way of Sparta and Burkesville into the heart of Kentucky.

Yours most truly,

BRAXTON BRAGG.

The above and much more correspondence on the subject will be found in the Rebellion Records, Vol. XVI, Part II. All of it indicates Bragg's earnest desire to have General Breckinridge with him, and the equally ardent wish of the latter to respond. But it was not to be. General Van Dorn had in view a campaign against General Rosecrans which later culminated in disaster at Iuka and Corinth, and did not wish to give up General Breckinridge. He was detained in Mississippi until President Davis, being apprised of the situation, gave peremptory orders which secured his release. Even then he was hampered with the duty of collecting at Knoxville all the recently exchanged prisoners, furloughed men and convalescents, so that he did not get to Knoxville until October 3d, as shown by a dispatch of that date saying, "I have just arrived here with 2,500 men, all that General Van Dorn would let me have. About 2,000 exchanged prisoners will arrive in a day or two." Had he been permitted at the start to take with him his old skeleton regiments and push forward, effecting a junction

with Bragg in central Kentucky, he would have recruited them to a maximum, and might have given or left for us a different history of that period. As it was, vexatious delays still further detained him, and it was not until October 14th that he was able to leave Knoxville. When he had reached within twenty-eight miles of Cumberland Gap on the 17th, he received an order from General Bragg written at Barboursville, Ky., October 14th, directing him to return to Knoxville. His further operations will appear in a later chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

OPENING OF THE SUMMER CAMPAIGN IN 1862—RELATIVE STRENGTH AND POSITION OF FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE FORCES—GENERAL BUELL'S MOVEMENT FROM CORINTH FOR THE REDUCTION OF EAST TENNESSEE—GENERAL G. W. MORGAN'S ADVANCE ON CUMBERLAND GAP—ITS FINAL OCCUPATION BY HIM—GENERAL BRAGG SUCCEEDS GENERAL BEAUREGARD AT TUPELO—GENERAL E. KIRBY SMITH IN EAST TENNESSEE—HIS CRITICAL POSITION—GENERAL BUELL THREATENS CHATTANOOGA—HIS SUCCESS SEEMS ASSURED—GENERAL POPE SLURS THE CONFEDERATE ARMY AT TUPELO—GENERAL BRAGG CONTEMPLATES MOVING NORTHWARD TO STRIKE BUELL IN FLANK—PLAN ABANDONED AS IMPRACTICABLE—ANOTHER BRILLIANT STRATEGIC MOVE DECIDED ON.

THE current of the narrative has been somewhat broken and the sequence of events anticipated, in order to group the foregoing facts in what seems the best form for a good understanding of a subject which has never been made clear to Kentuckians, and in reference to which there has been no little incorrect representation. Pending the events which have been detailed as participated in by the Kentucky troops under General Breckinridge, important movements were in progress in other parts of the department of the Mississippi which were soon to change the whole aspect of affairs. The two opposing armies, which confronted each other at Corinth after Shiloh, passed through a season of inaction in which no definite policy could be discerned, and no considerable achievement was performed by either. Each seemed to wait on the other. Memphis had fallen, and the Federal forces were in undisputed possession of all Tennessee west of the Cumberland mountains.

They also occupied north Alabama and north Mississippi, Missouri, and the State of Arkansas north of the Arkansas river. The Mississippi river was open from the north to Vicksburg and from the gulf to Port Hudson.

This was the Federal situation on the 10th of June, 1862. General Halleck, in command of the department of the West, had at and near Corinth, Miss., an army of more than 100,000 men under Generals Grant, Buell and Pope. The Confederate army under General Beauregard was at Tupelo, Miss., forty-five miles south of Corinth, and numbered 45,000 men of all arms. The Confederates were content, apparently, to remain on the defensive, while the commander of the Federal forces hesitated to penetrate further south with a climate dangerous to his troops, a line of supply difficult to maintain, and with unprotected flanks inviting assaults from an enterprising cavalry. But as nothing is so demoralizing as inactivity in an army, and popular clamor at the North was loud in its demands for a more active campaign, the Federal commander suddenly roused himself from the lethargy which seemed to have been superinduced by the languor of the summer's heat. The activity of General McClellan in the east had been at this time in marked contrast, and confidence had grown sanguine that he would succeed in his operations against Richmond. But McClellan's advance had resulted in his defeat at Seven Pines on May 30th. Lee's great victories in the Seven Days' battles followed, and the Federal armies were forced to retreat. Political necessity and the popular discontent required that the army of the West should shake off its lethargy.

A campaign in the West on a large scale was soon projected. On the 9th of June General Halleck had notified the war department at Washington that he would send all forces not required to hold the Memphis & Charleston railroad to reinforce General Curtis at Helena, Ark., and to East Tennessee, to which Secretary Stanton replied on the 11th: "The President is greatly gratified

at your contemplated movements mentioned in your telegram two days ago." At last it seemed that the Utopian scheme of rescuing East Tennessee from the Confederates was to be made the chief feature of the campaign. On the 10th General Halleck revoked his previous orders which had divided the army into right, center and left wings and directed Generals Grant, Buell and Pope to resume command of their respective corps, viz. : the armies of the Tennessee, of the Ohio and of the Mississippi.

General Buell's army of the Ohio consisted at that time of the Second division, Gen. A. McD. McCook, comprising the brigades of Generals Rosecrans, Richard W. Johnson and Colonel Frederick Stambaugh, with three batteries of artillery: the Third division, Maj.-Gen. O. M. Mitchel, composed of the brigades of Generals Turchin, Sill and Lytle, the Fourth Ohio cavalry and three batteries of artillery: the Fourth division, Brig.-Gen. William Nelson, containing brigades of Generals Ammen, Grose and Manson and three batteries of artillery: the Fifth division, Brig.-Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, containing brigades of Gens. J. T. Boyle and VanCleve and two batteries of artillery: the Sixth division, Brig.-Gen. T. J. Wood, containing brigades of Generals Hascall, Garfield and Wagner and three batteries of artillery: the Seventh division, Brig.-Gen. Geo. W. Morgan, containing Carter's, Spears', De Courcy's and Baird's brigades, the Sixth cavalry and three batteries. Besides these organizations there were three independent infantry brigades commanded by General Negley, Colonel Lester and General Dumont, with four reserve batteries, a brigade of cavalry, eleven unattached regiments and three batteries of artillery. This by the tri-monthly report of June 10th showed present for duty 2,877 officers and 57,822 men.

On the 12th of June General Buell's department was announced in orders as embracing the States of Kentucky and Tennessee east of the Tennessee river, except Forts

Henry and Donelson, and such portions of north Alabama and Georgia as were or might be occupied by the Federal troops. About the same time General Buell was directed to move eastward and take possession of East Tennessee. General Halleck preferred that he should go by way of Chattanooga, but left it entirely to General Buell's judgment to select his route, and as will be seen later, he gave preference to the more northern route by way of McMinnville, about half way between Nashville and Chattanooga. As part of this plan Gen. George W. Morgan had already been sent with his division to Cumberland Gap, to co-operate by a movement upon Knoxville from that point. As the operations of the armies of Generals Grant and Pope will not come under further observation in these pages, it is not necessary to enter into details as to their organization. The former was assigned to Memphis and to the relief of General Curtis in Arkansas, and the latter to Corinth, apparently to watch, if not to move against, the Confederate army at Tupelo.

Against such an organization, with such reserves to draw upon, such resources of equipment and supply, and such facilities for transportation, the student of to-day with the full official publications before him will wonder that any further effective resistance could be opposed to the occupation of any part of the South in possession of the Confederates, upon which a movement should be made. Since the disastrous loss of Kentucky and Tennessee, and the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh, in which, apart from the territorial loss, the sacrifice of life both in number and merit had been grievous, there had been no Confederate victory to offset these multiplied disasters; and by all the rules which would seem to govern human action it would be inferred that the hopelessness of despair would have settled down upon the Southern people and rendered them incapable of further resistance. But it was not so. Instead of being overwhelmed in spirit,

their courage and fertility of resource rose, and new and more energetic means of resistance were projected which turned defeat into victory, and wrung even from their bitterest detractors reluctant applause.

The body of the Confederate strength, as has been said, was at this time at Tupelo, Miss., under malarial conditions, which gave more apprehension than the overshadowing reputation of General Pope, soon to be hailed as the "coming man" and the successor of McClellan. There were no other troops west of the Cumberland range of any consequence, except those already referred to at Vicksburg, and contiguous territory. In East Tennessee, towards which the formidable army of General Buell was about to move, there was a force not larger than that of Gen. G. W. Morgan, soon to occupy its strongest defense. Gen. E. Kirby Smith, a trained soldier, was in command of the department of East Tennessee with headquarters at Knoxville. The force under him consisted only of the two small divisions of Gen. C. L. Stevenson and Gen. D. Leadbetter, with a small but efficient body of cavalry. Gen. G. W. Morgan, of Buell's army, had already moved with his division against Cumberland Gap, and by flanking it through gaps to the south, had reached the valley on the east side, threatening to immure Stevenson in the gap as Morgan was later by the Confederates. General Smith moved from Knoxville to meet Morgan, if he should turn in that direction; but on the 18th Stevenson was compelled to evacuate the gap before Morgan's superior numbers, and the Federals occupied the Gap. General Smith, who had been apprised of the Federal movement from Corinth, now realized the full scope of Buell's plan for the occupation of East Tennessee. His situation was so critical that on the 12th of June, prior to the occupation of the Gap, he had applied to General Beauregard for aid, stating that his department was threatened from Cumberland Gap and Middle Tennessee. Beauregard replied that it would be fatal to detach any troops

from his army. The situation was indeed alarming. General Morgan had requested General Buell to make a demonstration against Chattanooga, and on the 14th of June a part of Gen. O. M. Mitchel's division had occupied Stevenson, and on the 18th had made a demonstration opposite Chattanooga as if intending to cross. At this time the only force at Chattanooga consisted of a part of Leadbetter's division with no other infantry nearer than that confronting General Morgan at Cumberland Gap. A vigorous movement on Chattanooga would have resulted in its capture, and the consequences would have been very disastrous to the Confederate cause. General Halleck seems to have contemplated that this contingency might arrive, as in a letter to Secretary Stanton of June 12th (*Rebellion Records*, Vol. XVI, part 2, page 14), he says: "General Buell's column is moving toward Chattanooga and Cumberland Gap. If the enemy should have evacuated East Tennessee and Cumberland Gap, as reported, Buell will probably move on Atlanta. It will probably take some time to clean out the guerrilla parties in West Tennessee and North Mississippi, and I shall probably be obliged to use hemp pretty freely for that purpose." This Utopian view of the expected millennium when hemp could be substituted for bayonets indicated a very optimistic but erroneous diagnosis of the situation.

On the 17th of June General Beauregard, who had long been an invalid, was given leave of absence to recuperate his health and General Bragg succeeded to the command of the Confederate army at Tupelo, Miss. Of this army the Federal commander in front of it did not seem to have any very high opinion. In fact, he scarcely thought it worth going after, although not more than a day or two's march south of him. He was yearning for bigger game and doubtless looking forward then to meeting General Lee, as he did later in the Second Manassas campaign as the successor of General McClellan, with his

headquarters in the saddle. General Pope, whose special province it was to keep his eye on Beauregard, when interrogated by General Halleck as to the truth of a rumor that reinforcements were being sent by Beauregard to Richmond, sent this answer:

Headquarters Army of the Mississippi,
Near Danville, June 12, 1862.

Major-General Halleck:

If any portion of Beauregard's army has left this country, except the numerous deserters who have returned to their homes, the testimony of agents and deserters is worthless. I myself do not doubt that of what is left of his army, two-thirds is now scattered along the road to Columbus for 60 miles in no condition for service anywhere. Beauregard may possibly have 35,000 reliable troops, though I consider that a large estimate, but they are fully occupied in securing his rear, protecting the artillery and supplies and preventing the entire dispersion of the remainder. Without abandoning everything except their arms no considerable portion of them can now be transferred elsewhere. Such at least is my opinion from all the information I can obtain.

JOHN POPE, Major-General.

It is a maxim as sound in war as in peace never to underestimate one's enemy. Yet here was a man deemed fit to command the army of the Potomac, who looked upon the army in front of him as a lot of tatterdemalions, and spoke of them as contemptuously as if they were no more to be feared than a swarm of yellow-jackets. How fatal the mistake! From that very body was soon to form the nucleus of an army which within less than 90 days would force Buell back to the Ohio and yet leave enough to hold the line of Tupelo.

General Bragg, on assuming command, after having considered the possibility of striking General Buell on his right flank as he proceeded eastward through North Alabama, and finding the movement too hazardous on account of the protection afforded by the Tennessee river, adopted the bolder design of transferring the bulk of his

army to Chattanooga, and by flanking Buell ere he got to East Tennessee, in conjunction with a similar movement by Kirby Smith, to take possession of Kentucky and force the evacuation of Tennessee, Kentucky and all the territory south of the Ohio river. Having received from Richmond full authority to make the necessary dispositions, on the 27th of June he sent Gen. John P. McCown with his division to Chattanooga via Mobile, who arrived on the 4th of July and assumed command. Then by concert of action with General Smith he began his preparation for transferring to Chattanooga the best part of his army, his scheme requiring his artillery and trains to go by country roads over the rough intervening territory four hundred miles, while his troops would in due season be moved by rail by way of Mobile and Montgomery. In the retrospect it seems impossible that such a movement could be effected without being discovered and thwarted by a vigilant enemy, especially with the means at his command, even discrediting the report of General Pope as to the effete condition in which the Confederate army was said to be. Leaving these preparations to be carried into execution, it is proper to pass in review another agency which had been overlooked by the Federal commanders, and which was to prove such an important factor in the expedition and in the future service of the Confederate army.

CHAPTER IX.

CONFEDERATE CAVALRY—THE TWO GREAT LEADERS—JOHN HUNT MORGAN, ORIGINATOR OF THE RAID—SKETCH OF HIS LIFE—HIS ENTRANCE UPON DUTY AND EARLY EXPLOITS—RAPID GROWTH OF HIS COMMAND—HIS DASHING RAIDS—NATHAN BEDFORD FORREST—HIS STRIKING CHARACTERISTICS AND VALUABLE SERVICE—GENERAL BUELL'S EMBARRASSMENTS—HOW HE WAS HARASSED BY THESE TWO COMMANDERS—MORGAN'S FIRST GREAT RAID THROUGH KENTUCKY—HIS FULL REPORTS OF SAME—EFFECT OF HIS BRILLIANT MOVEMENT—THE CONSTERNATION CREATED BY IT—CAPTURE OF MURFREESBORO BY GENERAL FORREST WITH 1,400 PRISONERS—GENERAL BUELL'S COMMENTS ON SAME—HIS MOVEMENTS PARALYZED BY THESE RAIDS—CAPTURE OF GALLATIN, TENN., WITH MANY PRISONERS, BY GENERAL MORGAN—IN BUELL'S REAR—DESTRUCTION OF HIS LINES OF COMMUNICATION—DEFEAT OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHNSON AT HARTSVILLE, AND HIS CAPTURE BY GENERAL MORGAN—MORGAN'S ADDRESS TO HIS COMMAND.

UP to this time cavalry had played an unimportant part in the operations of either army. With no reflection upon the merits of other commanders of cavalry, as Forrest and Wheeler in the West and J. E. B. Stuart and Hampton in the East, who afterwards became conspicuous for their great achievements, the man who first demonstrated in the Confederate war the value of cavalry as an adjunct to the infantry, and who above all others was the originator during the war of that system of effective warfare known as the raid, was John H. Morgan. His was not the cavalry known before his time, as the compact, slow-moving, heavily accoutered horsemen, who moved with infantry and were used upon the

flank in marches, or in battle to be brought in at the critical moment for an irresistible charge; but the mounted light infantrymen, drilled to fight on foot when necessary and inured to long marches, who did not hover near the infantry for protection, but acting as its advanced scout, could on occasions cut loose from all communications with the base and by great detours get to the rear of the enemy, destroy his lines of communication, burn his bridges and stores, and retard his operations by the diversion of large bodies of men to protect threatened points. For the service in which Morgan rose to such distinction he was fortunately well adapted by all the conditions calculated to secure success. He was an educated man with some experience in the Mexican war as lieutenant of cavalry, and afterwards, as the captain of a volunteer rifle company, was noted for the discipline and superior drill of his command. Of strikingly handsome features and physique, he had an address which inspired in those associated with him, confidence, respect and friendship. His influence over men was such that if he had selected politics for his field, he could have had advancement at his will. But he chose a more quiet pursuit, and when the war broke out, he was a successful manufacturer, with a lingering taste for tactics which found its expression in being for a number of years at the head of a military company of the young men of Lexington, which was the pride of the town. Like most Kentuckians he was fond of a horse and of outdoor sports, and sat a saddle like a centaur.

Notwithstanding the agitation and excitement which for four or five months had existed in Kentucky at the inception of hostilities and had led numbers of young men to leave their homes for service in the Confederate army, Morgan had not been allured from his customary pursuits. All of his associations, sympathies and interests were Southern, but his temperament was cool, his mind was not inflamed with politics, and like many of the

people of his State and locality, he put faith in the asseverations of his Union friends who proclaimed neutrality the panacea for all our ills and the ultimate preserver of peace. He had an abiding faith in the assurance that no one would be molested for his opinions as declared by the resolutions of the legislature, the proclamation of the governor and the general orders of General Anderson when he became the military commander of Kentucky. If he had so desired or intended, he could have taken his company fully equipped away in safety and comfort, yet he remained at home until the process of arrests and the deportation of private citizens to Northern prisons began in violation of all good faith. Suddenly by night his town was invaded by a force from Camp Dick Robinson for the purpose of arresting General Breckinridge and other prominent citizens, who, like himself, had rested secure in the pledges given. Then when it was whispered that he himself was to be a victim, on the next night, September 20th, his resolution was taken, and placing his guns in a wagon with a few of his friends hastily summoned, he eluded the pickets, and mounted made his way to Bowling Green. Reference has been made to his arrival there with 200 men who had joined him singly and in squads, and who attached themselves to various commands in process of organization. With a small body of 20 or 30 men he at once entered upon duty, scouting to the front, and from the beginning displayed the daring which afterwards characterized his operations, passing in rear of the enemy, learning their force and movements and inflicting damage upon bridges, depots and trains. His force gradually increased until it was known as a squadron, with his most trusted men as his lieutenants, and he became of the most valuable aid to the commanding general in the celerity of his movements and the accuracy of his information. When the army fell back through Nashville, he covered its rear and picketed close to the Federal lines.

His first raid was made after General Johnston had started from Murfreesboro for Corinth and Shiloh. On the 7th of March, with Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, ten Texas Rangers and fifteen of his own squadron, he proceeded through by-roads to within eight or ten miles of Nashville, and next morning, in the immediate vicinity of that place, commenced capturing Federal army wagons as they came along, and disarming the men until he had 98 prisoners, including several officers. He then divided his command into three parties and started back with his prisoners, but one detachment was pursued by the Fourth Ohio cavalry and obliged to abandon sixty of the prisoners. Notwithstanding this he brought in 38 prisoners with a large number of horses, mules, pistols, saddles, etc. A second raid was made on the 15th, when he and Colonel Wood with forty men set out from Murfreesboro secretly and in separate parties in the afternoon. They made a rapid night march after reuniting, and reached Gallatin, on the Louisville & Nashville railroad, twenty-six miles north of Nashville, at 4 o'clock p. m. the next day. Here he seized the telegraph office with several of General Buell's dispatches and burned all the rolling stock and water tanks of the railroad, returning with five prisoners and without loss, through the enemy's lines to Shelbyville, Tenn. Gallatin was several times during the war the scene of his most successful raids.

At the battle of Shiloh he rendered valuable service both in the advance and the retreat and on the flank of the army during the battle. Shortly after the battle he received permission to make a dash into Tennessee, and on the 26th of April, with a force of 350 men, composed of his own squadron and detachments from Col. Wirt Adams' regiment and McNairy's battalion, he crossed the Tennessee river on a small horse ferry and on the 30th reached Lawrenceburg, Tenn., where the troops encamped for the night. Next day he attacked and routed 400 convalescents employed in erecting a tel-

ograph line, capturing and paroling many prisoners. He then passed around Nashville and reached Lebanon, about thirty miles east, on the night of May 4th. His command was fatigued by the constant service, and he concluded to rest there until morning; but during the night, which was dark and rainy, he was overtaken by General Dumont, who had left Nashville with the First Kentucky cavalry, Colonel Wofford, and the Twenty-first Kentucky infantry. Morgan's pickets were in a house, and before the alarm could be given Wofford's cavalry charged full upon the camp and came near capturing the whole command. Morgan, with fifteen of his men, escaped, and on the 6th reached Sparta at the foot of the Cumberland mountains, east of Lebanon, where during the next three days fifty of his men joined him. One hundred and twenty-five of his men were captured and six killed. Most of the rest made their way through the Federal lines by circuitous routes and rejoined their several commands. Nothing daunted by this mishap he left Sparta on the 9th with 150 men, mostly recruits, and going in the direction of Bowling Green, entered territory familiar to him, capturing two trains of cars which he burned, and a number of prisoners whom he paroled.

About the middle of May he returned to the army at Corinth, and after a short rest began the work of organizing a larger and more effective command with a view of a more extensive raid into Kentucky. Capt. Basil W. Duke, who afterward won distinction scarcely second to that of General Morgan, had been with him from the start as his most trusted lieutenant, but had not been able to accompany him on his last raid on account of a wound received at Corinth, and having collected about 30 of Morgan's men who had been left behind, now rejoined him. Capt. Richard M. Gano, a Kentuckian from Texas, and Capt. John Hoffman from the same State, here also united their two companies of Rangers with the squadron, and its three companies being now

recruited to a maximum, General Morgan proceeded to Chattanooga as a better base for his proposed operations. On his arrival there he found three hundred men of the First Kentucky infantry, whose term of service had just expired in Virginia, who at once joined his command, and thus three more companies were organized. The command was then formed into a regiment, with John H. Morgan as colonel; Basil W. Duke, lieutenant-colonel; G. W. Morgan, a Tennessean and cousin of John H. Morgan, major; Gordon E. Niles, adjutant; David H. Llewellyn, A. Q. M.; Hiram Reese, A. C. S.; Thomas Allen, surgeon; and Dr. Edelin, assistant surgeon. The companies were commanded as follows: Capt. Jacob Cassell, Company A; Capt. John Allen, Company B; Capt. J. W. Bowles, Company C; Capt. John B. Castleman, Company D; Capt. John Hutchinson, Company E; Capt. Thomas B. Webber, Company F; and Captain McFarland, Company G. These six companies and a fragment of the seventh numbered nearly 400 men, and the regiment became known as the Second Kentucky cavalry. The Texas Rangers were made a battalion, with Maj. R. M. Gano in command. They then moved to Knoxville. Some of the regiment, as General Duke in the history* of the command says, were mounted, and the remainder "had hopes;" for it must be borne in mind that in the South cavalry horses were not furnished by the government as in the North. In the latter part of June, Colonel Hunt arrived from Georgia with a company of partisans, which became a part of General Morgan's command, and increased his force to 870, of whom fifty or sixty were unmounted and 250 unarmed at the time he started into Kentucky.

But Morgan did not monopolize the laurels in the field of his special distinction. In the long list of brave and efficient soldiers furnished to the Confederate army by Tennessee, well called the Volunteer State, the name of

*History of Morgan's Cavalry, by Basil W. Duke, Cincinnati, 1869.

N. B. Forrest will always stand in her history in the first rank. He, too, was a quiet man, older by some years than Morgan, and without the same advantages of education, but a born soldier, who, with no military knowledge derived from books, knew as much of military strategy as Jomini, could command a division as well as a company and, saber in hand, was as ready to charge a regiment as a squad. Nothing daunted him, and he inspired his men with the magnetism of his own zeal and courage. He was a soldier of conspicuous presence, tall, broad-shouldered, and of strong, handsome features—a man of few words and intense action. He was a citizen of Memphis, and in October, 1861, organized a cavalry regiment of eight companies, aggregating about 650 men. When General Johnston took command at Bowling Green, Forrest at his own request was assigned to duty with General Lloyd Tilghman, in command at Hopkinsville, and picketed and scouted to the front between there and the Ohio river, covering General Johnston's left wing. The Federals maintained a good force at Henderson, Owensboro and other points along the Ohio to Paducah, and frequent skirmishes occurred between detachments of infantry and cavalry from these points and Colonel Forrest's command. The first regular cavalry engagement in Kentucky took place at Sacramento, between a detachment of Forrest's command led by himself, and one from Col. James S. Jackson's Third Kentucky cavalry, commanded by Maj. Eli H. Murray; in which, though the latter was defeated, he showed so much gallantry that he soon became the youngest brigadier-general in the Federal service. The casualties were few, numbering among them the death of Captain Meriwether, a Confederate, and Capt. Albert S. Bacon, a Federal officer. At Donelson Colonel Forrest won distinction by his services on the left, and in the battle of the 15th he assisted materially in driving back the Federal right wing. He covered the retreat of General

Johnston from Murfreesboro and took an active part in the battle of Shiloh and in the subsequent operations about Corinth. When the preparations were set on foot for the expedition to Kentucky, he was sent in advance to Chattanooga, and on the march to Kentucky he covered the right wing of Bragg's army under General Polk. As the details of General Forrest's operations belong to the history of Tennessee, and will be doubtless thoroughly treated in that volume, it has only been deemed necessary to refer to his operations bearing on Kentucky.

General Buell, meanwhile, was encountering many obstacles in his progress eastward through Tennessee and north Alabama. He had to rebuild bridges and repair railroads for the transportation of his army and to open a line of supply with his base on the Ohio. His army was much dispersed, it being necessary to guard his right flank and at the same time to so dispose his force as not to disclose the objective point, for while he had made up his mind to reach east Tennessee via McMinnville and Altamont, he was repairing the railroad and marching a column in the direction of Chattanooga to disconcert the enemy, or to take it if left unoccupied. He was encompassed by difficulties of the extent of which his superiors were but ill acquainted. Besides, he was never a favorite at Washington, and his suggestions and requests were received with scant approval, delayed or grudgingly complied with. He had incurred enmities and awakened jealousies in his own command which afterward bore fruit in his removal from command and prolonged prosecution before a military commission. As to the danger of attack from General Bragg in flank or front, while he appears to have exercised vigilance, he well says in his statement reviewing the evidence before the commission: "I did not anticipate that the enemy was to be left so unemployed at other points that he could direct his great efforts against my enterprise."

Major-General Halleck's western department head-

quarters had been at Corinth until June 16th, when he retired to Washington to become general-in-chief of the Federal armies. General Rosecrans, who about this time succeeded Pope in command of the army of the Mississippi, became early aware of the transfer of troops eastward by Bragg, and it is unaccountable that his army remained inactive and permitted it to be done. While thus hampered, neglected, and overwhelmed with the magnitude of the work before him and the responsibility of protecting a line of 300 miles from Cumberland Gap to Corinth, Gen. John H. Morgan spread consternation throughout Kentucky and Tennessee by his great raid into the former State. Leaving Knoxville on the 4th of July by way of Kingston and Sparta, he passed rapidly through Tompkinsville, Ky., where he crossed the Cumberland to Glasgow, Lebanon, Harrodsburg, Versailles, Georgetown and Cynthiana, where he had a heavy engagement on the 17th. Thence he returned south via Paris, Winchester, Crab Orchard, Somerset and Sparta, making the great circuit in twenty-five days, capturing many prisoners and destroying much military property and securing valuable recruits. Besides this, great demoralization was caused throughout General Buell's army and department, and many times the number of troops in his command were diverted from other service to protect threatened points or attempt Morgan's capture.

Following are the reports of General Morgan, giving the details of this remarkable raid:

Brigade Headquarters,
Tompkinsville, Ky., July 9, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to report that I arrived with my command at the Cumberland river and passed the ford about 2 p. m. yesterday, 8th inst. My forces consisted of Colonel Hunt's Georgia regiment of cavalry, my own regiment and a squadron of Texas Rangers. We were joined at the river by two companies under Captains Hamilton and McMillan. I received information that the enemy had passed Cumberland river at Salina

the day of my arrival, with about 780 men, but did not deem it right to attack that force, as I was aware that a considerable body of cavalry, about 380 or 400 strong, were stationed at this town, and I thought by a rapid night march I might succeed in surprising them. I left the river at 10 p. m. on the 8th inst., and at 5 a. m. this day I surprised the enemy and having surrounded them, threw four shells into their camp and then carried it by a dashing charge. The enemy fled, leaving 22 dead and 30 or 40 wounded in our hands. We have 30 prisoners and my Texas squadron is still in pursuit of the fugitives. Among the prisoners is Major Jordan, their commander, and two lieutenants. The tents, stores and camp equipage I have destroyed, but a valuable baggage train consisting of some twenty wagons and fifty mules is in my session; also some forty cavalry horses and supplies of sugar, coffee, etc. I did not lose a single man in killed, but I have to regret that Colonel Hunt, while leading a brilliant charge, received a severe wound in the leg which prevents his going on with the command. I also had three members of the Texas squadron wounded but not seriously.

JOHN H. MORGAN, Colonel commanding.

MAJ.-GEN. E. KIRBY SMITH,

Commanding, Knoxville, Tenn.

Headquarters Morgan's Command,

Knoxville, Tenn., July 30, 1862.

General: I have the honor to report that upon the day of the engagement at Tompkinsville, a full report of which I have already sent you, I moved my command (consisting of my own regiment, the Georgia regiment of Partisan rangers, commanded by Col. A. A. Hunt, and Major Gano's squadron, to which were attached two companies of Tennessee cavalry) in the direction of Glasgow, which place I reached at 12 o'clock that night. There were but few troops in the town, who fled at our approach. The commissary stores, clothing, etc., together with a large supply of medical stores found in Glasgow, were burned, and the guns were distributed among my command, about 200 of which were unarmed when I left Knoxville. From Glasgow I proceeded along the main Lexington road to Barren [Green] river, halting for a short time near Cave City, my object being to induce the belief that I intended destroying the railroad

bridge between Bowling Green and Woodsonville. I caused wires connecting with the portable battery that I carried with me to be attached to the telegraph line near Horse Cave and intercepted a number of dispatches. At Barren [Green] river, I detached three companies under Capt. Jack Allen to move forward rapidly and destroy the Salt river bridge, that the troops along the line of the railroad might be prevented from returning to Louisville.

On the following morning I moved on toward Lebanon, distant 35 miles from Barren [Green] river. At 11 o'clock at night I reached the bridge over Rolling Fork six miles from Lebanon. The enemy had received information of my approach from their spies and my advance guard was fired upon at the bridge. After a short fight the force at the bridge was dispersed, and the planks which were torn up having been replaced, the command moved forward to Lebanon. About two miles on a skirmish commenced between two companies I caused to dismount and deploy and a force of the enemy posted upon the road, which was soon ended by its dispersion and capture. Lieut.-Col. A. Y. Johnson, commanding the troops in the town, surrendered and I entered the place. The prisoners taken, in number about sixty-five, were paroled. I took immediate possession of the telegraph and intercepted a dispatch to Colonel Johnson informing him that Colonel Owen with the Sixtieth Indiana regiment had been ordered to his assistance; so I at once dispatched a company of Texas Rangers under Major Gano to destroy the railroad bridge on the Lebanon branch, which he successfully accomplished in time to prevent the arrival of the troops. I burned two long buildings of commissary stores, consisting of upward of 500 sacks of coffee and a large amount of other supplies in bulk, marked for the army at Cumberland Gap. I also destroyed a very large amount of clothing, boots, etc. I burned the hospital buildings, which appeared to have been recently erected and fitted up, together with about 25 wagons and 53 new ambulances. I found in the place a large store of medicines, five thousand stand of arms with accouterments, about two thousand sabers and an immense quantity of ammunition, shell, etc. I distributed the best arms among my command and loaded one wagon with them to be given to recruits that I ex-

pected to join me; I also loaded a wagon with ammunition. The remainder of the arms, ammunition and the hospital and medical stores, I destroyed

While in Lebanon I ascertained from telegraph dispatches that I intercepted, that the force which had been started from Lebanon Junction to reinforce Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson had met and driven back the force under Capt. Jack Allen, killing one of the men and preventing him from accomplishing the purpose for which he had been detached. I proceeded from Lebanon on the following day through Springfield to Mackville, at which point I was attacked by Home Guards. Two of my men were taken prisoners and one severely wounded. I remained at Mackville that night to recover the prisoners, which I did the next morning. I then left for Harrodsburg, capturing a Federal captain and lieutenant on the road; reached Harrodsburg the 13th at 12:30 o'clock. Found that the Home Guards of all that portion of the country had fled to Lexington; a force was also stationed on the bridge where the Lexington road crossed the Kentucky river. My reception at this place was very encouraging. The whole population turned out and vied with each other as to who should show the most attention. I left Harrodsburg at six o'clock the same evening and moved to Lawrenceburg twenty miles distant, threatening Frankfort in order to draw off the troops from Georgetown. Remained there until the return of my courier from Frankfort, who brought the information that there was a force in Frankfort of 2,000 or 3,000 men, consisting of Home Guards collected from the adjacent counties and a few regular troops. From Lawrenceburg I proceeded to Shryock's Ferry on the Kentucky river, raised the boat which had been sunk, and crossed that evening, reaching Versailles at 7 o'clock. I found this place abandoned by its defenders, who had fled to Lexington; remained there that night and on the next morning marched toward Georgetown. While at Versailles I took about 300 government horses and mules. I passed through Midway on the way to Georgetown and was informed just before reaching the place that a train from Frankfort was due with two regiments of Federals. I tore up the track and posted the howitzers to command it and formed my command along the line of the road, but the train was warned of our presence and returned

to Frankfort. Having taken possession of the telegraph office I intercepted a dispatch asking if the road was clear and if it would be safe to start the train from Lexington. I replied to send the train and made preparations to receive it, but it was also turned back and escaped. I reached Georgetown, 12 miles from Lexington, that evening, the 15th. Just before entering the town I was informed that a small force of Home Guards had mustered to oppose us. I sent them word to surrender their arms and they should not be molested, but they fled.

The people of Georgetown also welcomed us with gladness and provided my troops with everything they needed. I remained at Georgetown two days, during which time I sent out a company under Captain McMillin to destroy the track between Midway and Lexington and Midway and Frankfort and to blow up the stone bridge on that road, which he successfully accomplished. Hearing that a company of Home Guards were encamped at Stamping Ground, 13 miles distant, I dispatched a company under Captain Hamilton to break up their encampment, burn the tents and stores, and destroy the guns. This was also accomplished, Captain Hamilton taking fifteen prisoners and all their guns and destroying a large amount of medical and commissary stores. I, also, while at Georgetown, sent Captain Castleman with his company to destroy the railroad bridges between Paris and Lexington and report to me at Winchester. This was done.

Determining to move on Paris with a view of returning and hearing that the place was being rapidly reinforced from Cincinnati, I deemed it of great importance to cut off the communication from that place, while I drew off the troops that were already there by a feint on Lexington. I therefore dispatched a force of two companies toward Lexington with instructions to drive the pickets to the very entrance of the city, while I moved [on the 17th] toward Cynthiana. When I arrived within three miles of this place, I learned that it was defended by a considerable force of infantry, cavalry and artillery. I dispatched the Texas cavalry under Major Gano to enter the town on the right, and the Georgia regiment to cross the river and get in the rear, while I moved my own regiment, with the artillery under the command of Lieut. J. E. Harris, down the Georgetown pike. A severe engagement took place, which lasted about an hour and a half

before the enemy were driven into the town and compelled to surrender. I took four hundred and twenty prisoners, including about seventy Home Guards. I regret to mention the loss of eight of my men in killed and 29 wounded. The enemy's loss was 194 in killed and wounded, according to their own account. Their excess in killed and wounded is remarkable, as they fought us from behind stone fences and fired at us from buildings as we passed through town. We captured a very fine twelve-pounder brass piece of artillery, together with a large number of small arms and about three hundred government horses. I found a very large supply of commissary and medical stores, tents, guns and ammunition at this place, which I destroyed. The paroled prisoners were sent under an escort to Falmouth, where they took the train for Cincinnati.

I proceeded the next morning toward Paris and was met on the road by the bearer of a flag of truce, offering the unconditional surrender of the place. I reached Paris at 4 o'clock [18th], remained there that night and started toward Winchester the next morning. As my command was filing out of Paris on the Winchester pike, I discovered a large force of Federals coming toward the town from the direction of Lexington. They counter-marched, supposing no doubt that my intention was to get in their rear. This enabled me to bring off my entire command without molestation with the exception of two of my pickets who probably were surprised; reached Winchester that day at 12 o'clock, remained till 4 o'clock when I proceeded toward Richmond. At Winchester I found a number of arms, which were destroyed. I arrived at Richmond at 12 o'clock that night and remained until the next afternoon, when I proceeded to Crab Orchard. I had determined to make a stand at Richmond and await reinforcements, as the whole people seemed ready to rise and join me, but I received information that large bodies of cavalry under Gen. Green Clay Smith and Colonels Wofford, Metcalfe, Munday and Wynkoop were endeavoring to surround me at this place, so I moved [21st] on to Crab Orchard. There I attached my portable battery to the telegraph leading from Stanford to Louisville and learned the exact position of the enemy's forces and directed my movements accordingly.

Leaving Crab Orchard at 11 o'clock I arrived [on 22d]

at Somerset, distant 28 miles, at sundown. I took possession of the telegraph and countermanded all previous orders that had been given by General Boyle to pursue me, and remained in perfect security all night. I found a very large supply of commissary stores, clothing, blankets, shoes, hats, etc., at this place, which were destroyed. I also found the arms that had been taken from Zollicoffer, together with large quantities of shell and ammunition, all of which were destroyed. I also burned at this place and Crab Orchard, 120 government wagons. From Somerset I proceeded to Monticello and from there to a point between Livingston and Sparta, where my command is now encamped.

I left Knoxville on the 4th day of this month with about 900 men and returned to Livingston on the 28th with nearly 1,200, having been absent just 24 days, during which time I traveled over one thousand miles, captured seventeen towns, destroyed all the government supplies and arms in them, dispersed about 1,500 Home Guards, and paroled nearly 1,200 troops. I lost in killed, wounded and missing, of the number I carried into Kentucky, about 90.

I take great pleasure in testifying to the gallant bravery and efficiency of my whole command. There were individual instances of daring so conspicuous that I must beg the privilege of referring to them. Private Moore, of Louisiana, a member of Company A, of my regiment, particularly distinguished himself by leading a charge which had an important effect in winning the battle. The reports of the regimental commanders which are inclosed, are respectfully referred to for further instances of individual bravery and efficiency. I feel indebted to all my aides for the promptness with which my orders were executed, and particularly to Col. St. Leger Grenfell for the assistance which his experience afforded me.*

*Col. St. Leger Grenfell was a distinguished British officer who had served in the Crimean war and in India, and having tendered his services to the Confederacy, accompanied General Morgan on this expedition as inspector on his staff. He continued with his command until the close of the war and was conspicuous at all times for his dashing gallantry in leading charges and promoting efficient organization. When the war closed, he was denied terms by the Federal government and imprisoned at Dry Tortugas. In attempting to escape in a boat he was driven to sea by a storm, and never heard of.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN H. MORGAN,

Acting Brigadier-General, C. S. Army.

R. A. ALSTON, Asst. Adjt.-Gen.

The effect of Morgan's raid was far reaching and involved much more than the mere physical results narrated so clearly in his report. It convulsed the whole Federal organization in General Buell's department from Louisville and Cincinnati to Huntsville, Ala., at which latter place General Buell had his headquarters. At the time Morgan was between Glasgow and Lebanon, the military commander of Kentucky, at Louisville, telegraphed General Buell that he had 1,800 men at Munfordville, and next day, July 12, "Morgan has over 1,500 men; his force is increasing. All the rebels in the State will join him if there is not a demonstration of force and power sent in cavalry. The State will be desolated unless this matter is at once attended to. This city is so endangered that I am bound to keep force here. Send me cavalry and other reinforcements. I know more of Kentucky than you can possibly know, and unless it is intended to abandon Kentucky I must have the force." General Buell had already ordered five companies sent from Nashville to Bowling Green and five to Munfordville. He communicated to General Halleck the necessity of five more regiments of cavalry, directed General Boyle to send two regiments and a squadron of cavalry to Mount Sterling and Lexington; notified Gen. Geo. W. Morgan at Cumberland Gap of the danger to his line of supplies and hoped he could send a regiment, and assured General Boyle that although he had not a man to spare from his work, he would at once send more troops to Kentucky. The mayor of Cincinnati, being notified, said he would send 500 men, and the governor of Ohio 1,000 stand of arms, while the governor of Indiana said he would send a regiment. All this telegraphing took place on the 12th.

The scare increased. On the 13th General Boyle telegraphed Capt. Oliver D. Greene, Buell's assistant adjutant-general: "Morgan's force is increasing. The rebels are rising in the counties on the Ohio. The State will be under the domination of Morgan in a few days. He will take Frankfort and Lexington if forces are not sent immediately." Then, the specter growing, he telegraphed General Halleck, "Morgan has invaded Kentucky with 3,000 men, robbed the bank, and is murdering and stealing everywhere. My force is inadequate to drive him out. Can you not send us assistance." The men in buckram had grown into a host. Then he pleads with Stanton to know if Governor Yates of Illinois cannot send a force to Paducah, complains that he has over and over again asked for reinforcements from General Buell and adds that "all the forces in Ohio and Indiana should be sent to Kentucky." President Lincoln responds calmly that General Buell's position is such that he cannot deplete his force; and then he drolly telegraphs General Halleck, then at Tuscumbia, Ala.: "They are having a stampede in Kentucky. Please look to it."

Thus it went on until General Morgan took his leave, and then on the 20th, General Boyle telegraphs Buell, "I do not believe now that he had over 1,000 or 1,200 men." They were again veritable men in buckram. When Morgan is well out of reach, he telegraphs General Buell on the 23d, "I shall issue orders that guerrillas and armed squads are to be shot and not taken prisoners. I shall seize horses of secessionists to mount my men and at proper time require them to pay for Union men's property stolen and destroyed." A few days before he had said, "I shall publish an order forbidding secessionists standing for office." The State election was to be held on the first Monday in August. General Buell responds on the 24th: "I approve of punishing the guilty, but it will not answer to announce the rule of no quarter, even to guerrillas. Neither will it be judicious to levy contri-

butions upon secessionists for opinions alone." General Buell's conservatism was fatal to him. He was pursuing the same policy first inaugurated by him, and the very men who had in the previous autumn guaranteed to Kentuckians exemption from punishment for opinions held were now clamoring for their arrest, punishment and disfranchisement. The era was fast approaching when even Federal soldiers were banished or put in irons for dissenting from the extreme policy, property of non-combatants confiscated, assessments levied, and Confederate soldiers taken from prison and shot without trial or personal charge, for the acts of alleged guerrillas.*

But even before Morgan had ceased to vex the souls of his adversaries, a new cause of consternation occurred in the capture of Murfreesboro by General Forrest, in which he displayed his forte as signally as General Morgan had shown his peculiar genius. On the 13th of July he left Chattanooga with the Texas Rangers of Col. John A. Wharton, and the Second Georgia cavalry of Col. W. J. Lawton, and made a forced march of fifty miles to Altamont, arriving at McMinnville on the night of the 11th. Here he was joined by Col. J. J. Morrison, with a

*On the 21st of July, 1862, General Boyle issued the following general order:

Headquarters U. S. Forces in Kentucky.

General Orders, No. 5.

The following general order is issued to be enforced by military commanders in the district of Kentucky. No person hostile in opinion to the government and desiring its overthrow will be allowed to stand for office in the district of Kentucky. The attempt of such a person to stand for office will be regarded as in itself sufficient evidence of his treasonable intent to warrant his arrest. He who desires the overthrow of the government can seek office under the government only to promote its overthrow. In seeking office he becomes an active traitor if he has never become one otherwise; and is liable both in reason and in law to be treated accordingly. All persons of this description who persist in offering themselves as candidates for office will be arrested and sent to these headquarters.

By command of Brigadier-General Boyle.

JOHN BOYLE, Captain and A. A. G.

On the preceding day, Sunday, General Boyle had issued an order requiring secessionists and suspected persons to give up such arms as they had in their possession.

portion of the First Georgia cavalry, two companies of Spiller's battalion under Major Smith, and two companies of Kentuckians under Capts. W. J. Taylor and Waltham, increasing his force to 1,400. Resting until 1 p. m. on the 12th he marched for Murfreesboro, fifty miles, and arrived there at 4:30 a. m. on the 13th, capturing the pickets without firing a gun. The Federal forces were under the command of Gen. T. T. Crittenden, of Indiana, and consisted of portions of the Ninth Michigan infantry, Seventh Pennsylvania cavalry, Third Minnesota infantry and Capt. J. M. Hewett's Kentucky battery. They were in three separate camps. General Forrest at once attacked the first two commands in the town with the Texas Rangers, charging their camp, and holding off the other commands a mile and a quarter distant with the rest of his command. The result, after a feeble resistance, was the capture of the entire Federal force of 1,400 men, whom he carried off to McMinnville after burning a large amount of government stores (General Forrest's report, Records, Vol. XVI, part 1, page 810). The First Minnesota did not fire a gun; the commander was dismissed the service. General Buell in general orders, July 21st, says of the affair: "Taking it in all its features, few more disgraceful examples of neglect of duty and lack of good conduct can be found in the history of wars." This was another stunning blow, and intensified the alarm. The force of the Confederates threatening further aggressions was exaggerated, and no one could tell when the next blow would be struck. On the 19th, General Boyle, not yet freed of the alarm General Morgan had inspired, telegraphed Secretary Stanton, saying that General Nelson, who had been sent to Murfreesboro after Forrest's incursion, had reported that "30,000 rebels threatened him at that place, and he expects an engagement," when the fact is that General Bragg's army was still at Tupelo and there was not a Confederate regiment within a hundred miles.

The effect of this brilliant success of General Forrest can best be judged by the following extract from General Buell's statement in review of the evidence before the military commission (Records, Vol. XVI, part 1, page 35). Referring to the campaign at this period, he says: "Morgan had not yet disappeared from Kentucky after his first inroad when Forrest suddenly appeared at Murfreesboro on the 13th of July, surprised and captured the garrison, consisting of 1,400 men, cavalry, artillery and infantry, forming part of the force which was about to march from that place and Tullahoma to occupy McMinnville, and did serious damage to the railroad. Two other regiments which had been designed for Murfreesboro had been detached and sent into Kentucky on the occasion of Morgan's incursion. The consequence of this disaster was serious. The use of the railroad from Nashville, which had been completed the very day before, and which I was depending on to throw supplies into Stevenson for a forward movement, was set back two weeks; the force of Forrest threatened Nashville itself and the whole line of railroad through Tennessee, and the occupation of McMinnville was delayed two weeks." Thus it will be seen that these two small columns of Generals Morgan and Forrest disconcerted the whole scheme of General Buell's campaign, and delayed his operations much more than two weeks, as further developments will show.

General Nelson's division arrived at McMinnville on the 3d of August, and General Buell was actively engaged in concentrating his army there preparatory to crossing the mountains at Altamont for the invasion of East Tennessee, when General Morgan again appeared on the scene as a disturbing element. On the 10th of August, having moved from Kingston, Tenn., by his favorite route via Sparta, he made his appearance at Gallatin, 26 miles north of Nashville, which had been the scene of his raid in March, and at daylight of the 12th captured

Col. W. P. Boone and five companies of the Twenty-eighth Kentucky infantry, who were paroled and sent northward at once. He then moved to the tunnel between Gallatin and Franklin, captured the stockade without a fight, and so effectually destroyed the tunnel, 800 feet long, by burning in it a long train loaded with bacon and other supplies, that it could not be repaired for several months. He then destroyed a bridge between Gallatin and Nashville, and forty cars, and withdrew to Hartsville, thirteen miles east of Gallatin, where he went into camp.

Pending this disaster, General Buell had as a precautionary measure sent Brig.-Gen. Richard W. Johnson, a West Pointer, and regarded as one of the best officers in the service, from McMinnville, August 11th, in the direction of Gallatin. His command consisted of about 700 cavalry, made up of detachments of the Second Indiana, Lieut.-Col. R. R. Stewart; Fifth Kentucky, Major Winfrey; Fourth Kentucky, Captain Chilson, and Seventh Pennsylvania, Colonel Wynkoop. He seems to have made slow progress, as he did not reach the vicinity of Hartsville until the 19th, when he first became aware of General Morgan's whereabouts. In the meantime the latter had moved to Gallatin, and on the 21st, General Johnson advanced from Hartsville to attack Morgan, but when six miles west of Hartsville, he met that officer bent on a similar errand. The result was most disastrous to General Johnson's command, as, after a sharp skirmish and a running fight, he was captured with about 200 of his officers and men and the remainder of his force dispersed in a disorderly flight. Reports of the Federal officers engaged are full of recrimination, one against the other, as to lack of courage and misbehavior on the field. General Johnson says, "I regret to report that the conduct of the officers and men as a general thing was shameful in the lowest degree, and the greater portion of those who escaped will remember that they shamefully abandoned their general on the battlefield, while if they had

remained like true and brave men the result of this conflict would have been quite different." General Morgan, in recognition of the gallantry of his command, issued the following proclamation:

Headquarters Morgan's Brigade,
Hartsville, Tenn., August 22, 1862.

Soldiers: Your gallant bearing during the last two days will be not only inscribed in the history of the country, and the annals of this war, but is engraven deeply in my heart. Your zeal and devotion at the attack of the trestle work at Saundersville and of the Edgeville Junction stockade, your heroism during the two hard fights of yesterday, have placed you high on the list of those patriots who are now in arms for our Southern rights.

All communication cut off betwixt Gallatin and Nashville, a body of 300 infantry totally cut up or taken prisoners, the liberation of those kind friends arrested by our revengeful foes for no other reason than their compassionate care of our sick and wounded, would have been laurels sufficient for your brows; but soldiers, the utter annihilation of General Johnson's brigade, composed of 24 picked companies of regulars sent on purpose to take us, raises your reputation as soldiers and strikes fear into the craven hearts of your enemies. General Johnson and his staff, with 200 men taken prisoners, 64 killed and 100 wounded, attest the resistance made and bear testimony to your valor. But our victories have not been achieved without loss. We have to mourn some brave and dear comrades. Their names will remain in our breasts and their fame outlives them. They died in defense of a good cause; they died like gallant soldiers with their front to the foe.

Officers and men, your conduct makes me proud to command you. Fight always as you fought yesterday, and you are invincible.

JOHN H. MORGAN, Colonel, Commanding Cavalry.

By this time the disasters were thickening and General Buell was thoroughly aroused to a realization of the storm which was about to burst upon him, of which these were but the preliminary admonitions. The movements of Gen. Kirby Smith in East Tennessee had caused him

on the 16th to send General Nelson to Kentucky to take command there, and to make other important dispositions. General Forrest had meantime been active at and about Lebanon, Tenn., and was in touch with Morgan; but while the latter rested a few days to recuperate for the Kentucky campaign about to open, the former remained in Tennessee to await the advance of the infantry from Chattanooga.

Having endeavored to give a succinct narrative of the general condition of affairs in Kentucky and Tennessee and of the cavalry operations which preceded and in a sense prepared the way for the drama of which it may be said in stage parlance to have been the curtain raiser, attention will now be given to Bragg's campaign in Kentucky.

CHAPTER X.

BRAGG'S KENTUCKY CAMPAIGN—ITS CONCEPTION DUE TO GENERAL E. KIRBY SMITH—HIS LETTER TO BRAGG SUGGESTING IT—BRAGG'S PREVIOUS PLAN—HIS CONFERENCE WITH SMITH—TRANSFER OF HIS ARMY FROM TUPELO TO CHATTANOOGA—PLAN OF OPERATIONS—ORGANIZATION OF THE FORCES—BRAGG'S COLUMN—SMITH'S COLUMN—GENERAL SMITH'S BOLD PLAN—ITS SUCCESSFUL EXECUTION—CUMBERLAND GAP TURNED, AND EASTERN KENTUCKY OCCUPIED—SCOTT'S CAVALRY—BATTLE OF RICHMOND—GREAT CONFEDERATE VICTORY—OCCUPATION OF LEXINGTON AND FRANKFORT AND THE COUNTRY EAST OF LOUISVILLE TO THE OHIO RIVER—ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION BY THE PEOPLE—AMPLE SUPPLIES—CONFEDERATE RECRUITS.

THE publication by the Federal government of the official records of both armies throws much new light upon the military operations of the war. Even the best informed during the progress of a campaign were limited in their knowledge of movements to the immediate horizon of their observation and experience, while to but few were known sufficient facts to enable them to understand and to give an accurate account of a great battle or campaign. But with the volumes of the official records before him, in which have been reproduced with remarkable accuracy and completeness almost every order or report, the impartial searcher after truth is able to comprehend every movement from its inception to its close and to rectify many errors which have crystallized into history. An instance in point is to be found in the matter of the Kentucky campaign. A close study of the record clearly shows that while the execution of it was in the

hands of General Bragg, the conception and original plan should be credited to Gen. Edmund Kirby Smith. Long deferred justice to the latter distinguished soldier requires, therefore, a brief statement of the facts upon which this conclusion is based, wholly in the cause of historic truth, and with the most impartial fairness to both officers. As has been already stated, General Bragg had succeeded General Beauregard in command of the Western department on the 17th of June, 1862, while Gen. Kirby Smith was in command of the department of East Tennessee with headquarters at Knoxville. With the occupation of Cumberland Gap by Gen. Geo. W. Morgan a few days after this, and the demonstration made by General Buell on Chattanooga in his behalf, General Smith, becoming convinced of the peril which threatened his department, applied to General Bragg for reinforcements. But General Bragg, having conceived the idea of attacking General Buell in flank in Middle Tennessee, as he was slowly making his way eastward, replied that in view of this proposed movement he needed every man. (See Rebellion Records, part 2, Vol. XVI, page 701.) General Smith on the 24th urged upon the authorities at Richmond the necessity of aid, without which they must elect either to give up Chattanooga or East Tennessee, and General Bragg sent Gen. John P. McCown with a small division to Chattanooga, where he arrived on July 4th. For nearly a month, during which occurred the cavalry operations detailed in the preceding chapter, General Bragg adhered to his purpose of moving northward against General Buell and reaching Nashville by that route.*

Meantime Gen. Kirby Smith organized the cavalry commands of General Morgan and Forrest, and sent them on their raids of his own motion, as well as to retard the progress of Buell until Bragg could so strike him, as to relieve his own department.

*See letter of Gov. Isham G. Harris, Vol. XVI-I, page 710, dated July 28th, in which he says General Bragg expected to go direct from Tupelo to Nashville.

On the 17th of July General Bragg ordered Gen. Frank C. Armstrong, his commander of cavalry, to move at once northward toward the Tennessee line, as near as practicable to Decatur, preliminary to his advance against General Buell. On the 19th, General Smith, being again threatened, urged General Bragg to send more reinforcements, to which reply was made that it was impossible as he was confronted by a superior force. Richmond being again appealed to on the 21st, General Bragg issued orders directing General Hardee to proceed with Cheatham's, Withers' and Jones' divisions to Chattanooga by rail via Mobile, the artillery, engineer, pioneer and wagon trains to move thence via Aberdeen and Columbus, Tuscaloosa, Gadsden and Rome, 400 miles. There is no intimation that he intended to send additional troops or to go himself until after the following letter from General Smith:*

Headquarters Department of East Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tenn., July 24, 1862.

Gen. Braxton Bragg,

Commanding Army of the Mississippi:

General: Buell's movements and preparations indicate a speedy attack on this department. The completion of his arrangements was delayed by the expedition under Colonel Forrest. The expedition was sent with the expectation that it would retard the enemy and give time for your advance. Your telegrams of the 20th and 21st inform me that reinforcements have been sent to this department and of the impossibility of entering Middle Tennessee from your present position. The enemy will, I think, attempt no invasion of Mississippi or Alabama this summer. The character of the country, the climate, and the necessity for concentration East, are insurmountable obstacles; he will confine his efforts to securing his present conquests and to obtaining possession of East Tennessee, making it a base for fall and winter operations. Can you not leave a portion of your forces in observation in Mississippi and shifting the main body to this department, take command in person?

*Idem, p. 734. See also letter from General Beauregard to General Bragg, July 22, 1862, Vol. XVI, II, p. 711.

There is yet time for a brilliant summer campaign; you will have a good and secure base, abundant supplies; the Tennessee can be crossed at any point by the aid of steam and ferry boats, and the campaign opened with every prospect of regaining possession of Middle Tennessee and possibly Kentucky.

I will not only co-operate with you, but will cheerfully place my command under you subject to your orders. The force now under my command in this department consists of three divisions. General Stevenson commands the first division composed of one cavalry and four infantry brigades. His command, 9,000 effectives, is well organized, mobilized and in good condition for active service. He is opposed by General Morgan, occupying a strong position near Cumberland Gap, with four brigades estimated at 10,000 effectives. General Heth commands the second division, comprising a legion, one brigade of cavalry and three of infantry, about 6,000 effectives. General McCown reports 3,000 effective men in his division. I have placed him in command of the district of Chattanooga. With General Heth, his command numbers 8,000 or 9,000 effective. This department was organized independent of the army of the West and by orders reports directly to the war department. It was, I presume, a mistake of your adjutant-general, calling upon me for weekly reports. I have directed my adjutant-general, however, to make out and send you a copy of the consolidated return. You will find a great disproportion of artillery and cavalry and the regiments very generally new levies, lately ordered to the department.

I am, General, your obedient servant,

E. KIRBY SMITH, Major-General Commanding.

On the 30th of July General Bragg arrived at Chattanooga and was met by General Smith, with whom he had a full conference. Next day he wrote as follows (*idem*, p. 741):

Headquarters Department No. 2.

Chattanooga, Tenn., August 1, 1862.

S. Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector-General,

General: In pursuance of my purpose and plan of operations reported from Tupelo, I reached here on the morning of the 30th ult. The troops are coming on as

rapidly as the railways can carry them. Maj.-Gen. E. Kirby Smith met me here yesterday by appointment, and we have arranged measures for mutual support and effective co-operation. As some ten days or two weeks must elapse before my means of transportation will reach here, to such extent as to enable me to take the field with my main force, it has been determined that General Smith shall move at once against General Morgan, in front of Cumberland Gap. Should he be successful and our well-grounded hopes be fulfilled, our entire force will then be thrown into Middle Tennessee, with the finest prospect of cutting off General Buell, should that commander remain in his present position. Should he be reinforced meantime from west of the Tennessee river, so as to cope with us, then Van Dorn and Price can strike and clear West Tennessee of any force that can be left to hold it.

Our cavalry forces thrown out from Tupelo are harassing the enemy in that region, and I trust will hold him in check until we can drive his forces from Middle Tennessee. The feeling in Middle Tennessee and Kentucky is represented by Forrest and Morgan to have become intensely hostile to the enemy, and nothing is wanting but arms and support to bring the people into our ranks, for they have found that neutrality has offered them no protection. Both Buell at Bridgeport and Morgan at Cumberland Gap are now and have been for some days on short rations, owing to the exhaustion of the country and our interruption of the railroads in their rear, which leaves them without adequate means of transportation.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

BRAXTON BRAGG, General Commanding.

At the time this letter was written, while General Buell was really intending to enter East Tennessee by way of McMinnville and Altamont, he was masking his purpose by throwing a force toward Chattanooga, as if intending to go there. Upon this hypothesis Bragg proposed to march north from Chattanooga and move into Middle Tennessee in the direction of Nashville, via Altamont and McMinnville, and to get into what would be Buell's rear if he was in fact concentrating for a move on Chattanooga. General Buell adopted this theory as to Bragg's intentions, and when he moved, made his dispositions to

oppose his passage through the mountains by the proposed route. But as will be seen later, Bragg's plan was altered so as not to take the Altamont route, but to keep on to Sparta.

The mountainous condition of the country through which General Bragg's trains had to come from Tupelo delayed their arrival and the advance of his army full a fortnight longer than he had expected and consumed invaluable time. Meantime he was perfecting his organization. His own force consisted of the following commands:

RIGHT WING, ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Maj.-Gen. Leonidas Polk, Commanding.

CHEATHAM'S DIVISION.

First brigade, Brig.-Gen. D. S. Donelson: Eighth Tennessee, Col. W. L. Moore; Fifteenth Tennessee, Col. R. C. Tyler; Sixteenth Tennessee, Col. John H. Savage; Thirty-eighth Tennessee, Col. John C. Carter; Fifty-first Tennessee, Col. John Chester; Carnes' battery, Capt. W. W. Carnes.

Second brigade, Brig.-Gen. A. P. Stewart: Fourth Tennessee, Col. O. F. Strahl; Fifth Tennessee, Col. D. C. Venable; Twenty-fourth Tennessee, Lieut.-Col. H. L. Bratton; Thirty-first Tennessee, Col. E. E. Tansill; Thirty-third Tennessee, Col. W. P. Jones; Stanford's battery, Capt. T. J. Stanford.

Third brigade, Brig.-Gen. George Maney: Forty-first Georgia, Col. C. A. McDaniel; First Tennessee, Col. H. R. Feild; Sixth Tennessee, Col. Geo. C. Porter; Ninth Tennessee, Col. C. S. Hurt; Twenty-seventh Tennessee, Col. A. W. Caldwell; M Smith's battery, Lieut. W. B. Turner.

Fourth brigade, Brig.-Gen. Preston Smith: Twelfth Tennessee, Col. T. H. Bell; Thirteenth Tennessee, Col. A. J. Vaughan, Jr.; Forty-seventh Tennessee, Col. M. R. Hill; One Hundred and Fifty-fourth Tennessee, Col. E. Fitzgerald; Ninth Texas, Col. W. H. Young;

Sharpshooters, Col. P. T. Allin; S. P. Bankhead's battery, Lieut. W. L. Scott.

WITHERS' DIVISION.

First brigade, Brig.-Gen. Frank Gardner: Nineteenth Alabama, Col. Jos. Wheeler; Twenty-second Alabama, Col. Z. C. Deas; Twenty-fifth, Col. J. Q. Loomis; Twenty-sixth, Col. J. G. Coltart; Thirty-ninth, Col. H. D. Clayton; Sharpshooters, Capt. B. C. Yancey; Robertson's battery, Capt. F. H. Robertson.

Second brigade, Brig.-Gen. J. R. Chalmers: Fifth Mississippi, Lieut.-Col. W. L. Sykes; Seventh Mississippi, Col. W. H. Bishop; Ninth Mississippi, Capt. T. H. Lynam; Tenth Mississippi, Lieut.-Col. J. G. Bullard; Twenty-ninth Mississippi, Col. E. C. Walthall; Blythe's Mississippi regiment, Lieut.-Col. Jas. Moore; Ketchum's battery, Capt. W. H. Ketchum.

Third brigade, Brig.-Gen. J. K. Jackson: Twenty-fourth Alabama, Col. W. A. Buck; Thirty-second Alabama, Col. Alexander McKinstry; Fifth Georgia, Col. W. T. Black; Eighth Mississippi, Lieut.-Col. A. McNeill; Twenty-seventh Mississippi, Col. T. M. Jones; Burtwell's battery, Capt. J. R. B. Burtwell.

Fourth brigade, Col. A. M. Manigault, Tenth South Carolina infantry: Twenty-eighth Alabama, Lieut.-Col. John C. Reid; Thirty-fourth Alabama, Col. J. C. B. Mitchell; First Louisiana, Lieut.-Col. F. H. Farrar, Jr.; Tenth South Carolina, Lieut.-Col. Jas. F. Pressley; Nineteenth South Carolina, Col. A. J. Lythgoe; Waters' battery, Capt. David D. Waters.

Abstract of field return of the army of Mississippi, commanded by Gen. Braxton Bragg, August 27, 1862:

RIGHT WING.

	Officers.	Enlistments.	Effective Total.	Aggregate Present.
Infantry,	1,103	12,142		
Cavalry,	2	46		
Artillery,	28	597	13,557	15,647

COMMAND.	PRESENT FOR DUTY.						Effective Total.	Aggregate Present.
	Infantry.		Cavalry.		Artillery.			
	Officers.	Enlisted Men.	Officers.	Enlisted Men.	Officers.	Enlisted Men.		
Right Wing.....	1,103	12,142	2	46	28	597	13,557	15,647
Left Wing.....	1,025	11,796	30	353	26	668	13,763	16,237
Grand Total...	2,128	23,938	32	399	54	1,265	27,320	31,884

The Left wing, army of the Mississippi, commanded by Maj.-Gen. W. J. Hardee, consisted of the divisions of Gens. S. B. Buckner and Patton Anderson. The first comprised the brigades of Gens. Bushrod R. Johnson, St. John R. Liddell, and S. A. M. Wood. General Anderson's division consisted of the brigades of Gens. D. W. Adams, Thomas M. Jones and J. C. Brown, and Col. Sam Powell.

Maj.-Gen. Kirby Smith's army was organized as follows:

ARMY OF KENTUCKY.

FIRST DIVISION, BRIG.-GEN. C. L. STEVENSON.

Second brigade, Col. James E. Rains:—Fourth Tennessee, Col. J. A. McMurry; Eleventh Tennessee, Col. J. E. Rains; Forty-second Georgia, Col. R. J. Henderson; Third Georgia battalion, Lieut.-Col. M. A. Stovall; Twenty-ninth North Carolina, Col. R. B. Vance; Yeiser's battery, Capt. J. G. Yeiser.

Third brigade, Brig.-Gen. S. M. Barton:—Thirtieth Alabama, Col. C. M. Shelley; Thirty-first Alabama, Col. D. R. Hundley; Fortieth Georgia, Col. A. Johnson; Fifty-second Georgia, Col. W. Boyd; Ninth Georgia battalion, Maj. T. J. Smith; Anderson's battery, Capt. J. W. Anderson.

Fourth brigade, Col. A. W. Reynolds:—Twentieth Alabama, Col. I. W. Garrott; Thirty-sixth Georgia, Col. J. A. Glenn; Thirty-ninth Georgia, Col. J. T. McConnell; Forty-third Georgia, Col. S. Harris; Thirty-ninth North

Carolina, Col. D. Coleman; Third Maryland battery, Capt. H. B. Latrobe.

Fifth brigade, Col. Thos. H. Taylor:—Twenty-third Alabama, Col. F. K. Beck; Forty-sixth Alabama, Col. M. L. Woods; Third Tennessee, Col. J. C. Vaughn; Thirty-first Tennessee, Col. W. M. Bradford; Fifty-ninth Tennessee, Col. J. B. Cooke; Rhett artillery, Capt. W. H. Burroughs.

SECOND DIVISION, BRIGADIER-GENERAL HENRY HETH.

First brigade, Brig.-Gen. D. Leadbetter —Forty-third Tennessee, Col. J. W. Gillespie, Thirty-fourth Georgia, Col. J. A. W. Johnson; Fifty-sixth Georgia, Col. E. P. Watkins; Forty-third Alabama, Col. A. Gracie, Jr., Jackson's artillery, Capt. G. A. Dure.

Second brigade, Col. W. G. M. Davis:—Sixth Florida, Col. J. J. Finley; Seventh Florida, Col. M. S. Perry; First Florida cavalry, Col. W. G. M. Davis; Marion artillery, Capt. J. M. Martin.

First cavalry brigade, Col. Benj. Allston:—First Tennessee cavalry, Col. H. M. Ashby; Second Tennessee cavalry, Col. J. B. McLinn; Third Tennessee cavalry, Col. J. W. Starnes; First Georgia cavalry, Col. J. J. Morrison; Howitzer battery, First-Lieut. G. A. Huwald.

Second cavalry brigade, Col. N. B. Forrest:—First Kentucky cavalry, Lieut.-Col. T. G. Woodward; First Louisiana cavalry, Col. Jno. S. Scott; Eighth Texas cavalry, Col. J. A. Wharton.

On the 9th of August General Bragg added to General Smith's command from his own, the brigades of Generals Cleburne and Preston Smith, forming temporarily a fourth division under Cleburne, and also Gen. T. J. Churchill's division, including the brigades of McCray and McNair, constituting the third division of General Smith's army.

On the 9th, General Smith, in a letter to General Bragg, says that from Buell's present position Sparta would seem to be one of his natural lines into middle

Tennessee. He also says that he learns that Gen. Geo. W. Morgan has "nearly a month's supply of provisions. If this be true, the reduction of the place would be a matter of more time than I presume you are willing I should take. As my move to Lexington would effectually invest Morgan and would be attended with other most brilliant results, in my judgment, I suggest my being allowed to take that course, if I find the speedy reduction of the Gap an impracticable thing" (*idem*, p. 748). General Bragg in his reply next day doubts the advisability of General Smith's moving far into Kentucky while leaving Morgan in his rear until he could engage Buell fully, and says he does not credit the amount of Morgan's supplies and has confidence in his timidity. He adds that it will be a week before he can commence crossing the river, and information he hopes to receive would determine which route he would take, to Nashville or Lexington. Van Dorn and Price, he says, will advance simultaneously with him from Mississippi on West Tennessee, and he hopes they will all meet in Ohio. The feeling of hope and confidence in the success of the expedition was at high water mark with every one.

On the 11th General Smith wrote to President Davis outlining his plan for entering Kentucky, which was substantially that executed by him—that he, with Cleburne's division, would cross the mountains by two routes, moving by Rogers' Gap, while Heth would push on through Big Creek Gap to Barboursville, getting in General Morgan's rear, while Stevenson would threaten him in front. Col. John S. Scott, with nine hundred cavalry, would push on to London, Ky., via Kingston. He says his advance is made in the hope of permanently occupying Kentucky. "It is a bold move, offering brilliant results, but will be accomplished only with hard fighting and must be sustained by constant reinforcements." He trusts that Gen. S. B. Buckner will be sent with his column, as there is not a single Kentuckian of influence or a

single Kentucky regiment with the command. On the 13th he addressed his last communication to General Bragg before leaving for the front, saying, "I leave here to-night and will be at Big Creek Gap Friday (16th). On Saturday night I will cross the mountains by Rogers' Gap with four brigades of infantry, 6,000 strong and march directly upon Cumberland Ford. At the same time Heth, with the artillery and subsistence trains and two brigades, moves by Big Creek Gap upon Barboursville and Stevenson moves up and takes position close to the Gap in front. Scott, with 900 cavalry and a battery of mountain howitzers, left Kingston yesterday and should reach London, Ky., Sunday.

It was the most brilliant conception of the war, as bold as Lee's move to Gettysburg, and requiring the dash and nerve of Stonewall Jackson. Besides, it was not a single column; it was four, the failure of either one involving disaster and possible destruction to all. His route was through a mountainous country depleted of supplies by both armies, and covering the territory in which Zollicoffer had lost his life and Crittenden's army had been annihilated; through which also Thomas and Schoepf and Morgan had for a year tried to cover the ground, which he, against a greater force than they had ever encountered, proposed to occupy in a few days. His programme, as sketched above, was carried out with the precision of a chess problem. Col. John S. Scott, with a force of 869 men, styled the Kirby Smith brigade, composed of the First Louisiana cavalry, Lieut.-Col. Jas. O. Nixon; the First Georgia cavalry, Col. J. J. Morrison, and the Buckner Guards, Captain Garnett, left Kingston on the 13th, moved via Jamestown, Tenn., Monticello and Somerset, Ky., and at 7 o'clock a. m. on the 17th captured London, Ky., taking 111 prisoners and a large number of wagons loaded with quartermaster and commissary stores destined for Cumberland Gap. On the 23d he attacked Col. Leonidas Metcalfe, of the Seventh Ken-

tucky cavalry, at Big Hill, seventeen miles from Richmond, and routed him with heavy loss, then pursuing the enemy in disorderly flight nearly to Richmond. Meantime General Smith, following the line of operations indicated in his letter to President Davis of the 11th, crossed the Cumberland mountains through Rogers' Gap, with the divisions of Cleburne and Churchill 6,000 strong, and on the 18th reached Barboursville, Ky., while General Heth, conveying the artillery and trains through Big Creek Gap, joined him on the 22d.

Being reinforced by a brigade from Stevenson's division, General Smith advanced from Barboursville towards Richmond on the 27th with 12,000 men, and on the 30th attacked the Federal forces near Richmond,* under Gen. M. D. Manson, of General Nelson's division, estimated by General Smith at 10,000. The principal fighting was done by the Confederates under Cleburne and Churchill, Scott's cavalry having been sent to the rear of Richmond. Upon the final rout of the Federals two miles west of that place, the day closed with the capture of over 4,000 prisoners, including General Manson. General Nelson, who came upon the field about 2 o'clock, after witnessing a panic of his own troops as great as that he saw at Shiloh, escaped capture by taking a by-road. The Confederate loss was about 450 killed and wounded, while that of the Federals was reported at 1,050 killed and wounded, and 4,828 captured, besides the loss of nine field pieces of artillery, 8,000 or 10,000 stand of arms and large quantities of supplies. Colonel Scott pursued the retreating forces, reaching Lexington on September 2d, Frankfort on the 3d and Shelbyville on the 4th. It was one of the most decisive victories of the war, and at one stroke practically caused the evacuation of all Kentucky east of Louisville and south of Cincin-

*See Scott's reports, *Rebellion Records*, part 2, Vol. XVI, pp. 931-32-33. Also reports of General Nelson, p. 908, Manson and others, pp. 910 et seq.

nati. On the 2d, General Smith occupied Lexington with a portion of his infantry, sending a small force to Frankfort and General Heth with his division toward Covington. Vast quantities of stores of all kinds, arms, ammunition, wagons, horses and mules came into his possession, and he was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the people, the leading Union men having fled with the legislature to Louisville. The Confederate flag was everywhere displayed, and recruiting camps were at once established in the vicinity of Lexington for the formation of cavalry regiments, by Abraham Buford, D. Howard Smith, R. S. Cluke, D. W. Chenault, J. Russell Butler and others.

CHAPTER XI.

BRAGG'S CAMPAIGN IN KENTUCKY—FROM CHATTANOOGA TO MUNFORDVILLE—HIS ADVANCE FROM CHATTANOOGA — BUELL FLANKED—BRAGG AT SPARTA, TENN.—NEWS FROM GENERAL SMITH—ALTERNATIVE ROUTES—ARRIVAL AT GLASGOW—BUELL MOVES TO BOWLING GREEN—CHALMERS' DEFEAT AT MUNFORDVILLE—BRAGG'S ADVANCE TO THAT POINT—ITS SURRENDER WITH 4,000 MEN—INTERESTING CEREMONY—PRISONERS PAROLED—PROCLAMATION OF THANKSGIVING.

GENERAL BRAGG was unfortunately detained a week or ten days longer than he had expected when General Smith made his advance, by the non-arrival of his trains and the difficulty of crossing to the north side of the Tennessee. On the 28th his line of march northward was, however, taken up. The Cumberland mountains, after traversing the State of Tennessee in a southwest direction as an elevated plateau twenty miles or more in breadth, is bifurcated at Pikeville, about fifty miles north of Chattanooga, by the Sequatchie river, a small stream with a narrow but fertile valley walled in by the two ranges thus formed, the eastern one known as Walden's ridge, although its proper name is Wallen's ridge. The passage over the latter into the Sequatchie valley was tedious and difficult, but was safely effected, and on the 1st of September General Bragg was with his advance at Pikeville, the head of the valley.

General Buell having been contemplating his invasion of East Tennessee across this valley by way of McMinnville, General Bragg had considered as one of the alternatives of his campaign the feasibility of advancing by the same route directly upon Nashville, or the necessity

of engaging Buell in the event he should threaten him on his left flank. But finding that he was not in force nearer than McMinnville, he covered his flank well by cavalry under Wheeler and Forrest, and making strong demonstrations with it toward McMinnville, threw his army forward rapidly to Sparta, at the western base of the Cumberland, about thirty miles northwest of Pikeville. Effecting this movement before his purpose was discovered, he thus flanked McMinnville and was in position to threaten Buell's flank at Nashville or his communication northward. At one time he contemplated the feasibility of marching directly northward for Lexington and Cincinnati to effect a junction with Gen. E. Kirby Smith, of whose victory at Richmond he had received intelligence on the 5th day of September. Various reasons, however, decided him against this route. Much of the way was rugged, the country poor and scant of supplies, and owing to a severe drouth ill supplied with water. To these objections was added the urgent desire of the Tennesseans, whose governor and leading men accompanied him, that he would secure possession of Nashville by a direct advance upon that place or by maneuvering Buell out of it. Adopting the latter plan he moved from Sparta on the 7th, by the very route indicated in his letter to General Breckinridge August 27th, in the direction of Glasgow, Ky., his right wing crossing the Tennessee at Gainesboro and the left wing at Carthage; and marching upon converging lines, arrived at Glasgow with the former on the 12th and the latter on the 13th.

General Bragg remained at Glasgow until the afternoon of the 15th to rest his troops and replenish subsistence and forage supply, as he had started from Chattanooga with but ten days' rations, which had been depleted before leaving Sparta. He had on his arrival at Glasgow occupied Cave City with the brigades of Generals J. R. Chalmers and J. K. Duncan, thus cutting the railroad between Bowling Green and Louisville. General Buell

had in the meantime advanced to Bowling Green, 30 miles nearly due west from Glasgow, with six divisions. It was at no time the intention of General Bragg to attack Buell at Bowling Green, as he well knew the strength of that position, and the questions of supply and a base would not have admitted of a siege. His purpose was to move to a junction with Kirby Smith in the direction of Lexington via Lebanon, when he was diverted by an unforeseen occurrence.

General Chalmers, but eleven miles from Munfordville, of his own motion conceived the idea of capturing that position, which was reported to have only a small garrison. But upon attacking it with his own and Duncan's brigades, he found it had been strongly reinforced, and the works being fully manned and served with eight or ten pieces of artillery, he was repulsed with heavy loss on the 14th. Thereupon General Bragg, in order to retrieve the prestige lost by this untoward event, as well as to deprive the enemy of this formidable stronghold, moved out from Glasgow on the afternoon of the 15th, General Hardee's corps to Cave City, and General Polk's upon the Bear Wallow road, which crosses the Green river some distance above Munfordville and is the most direct road toward Lexington. On the morning of the 16th he advanced Hardee's corps to the vicinity of Munfordville and made demonstrations for attack. In the afternoon General Polk's corps appeared on the north side of the river and took such position with his artillery as gave him command of the enemy's works from the rear. General Bragg having been apprised at nightfall of Polk's being in position, summoned the fort by flag to surrender, and after some parley Col. J. T. Wilder came under flag to his headquarters and being satisfied that resistance was useless, articles of capitulation were signed. Under the terms his command was marched out from the works at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 17th, and with due form Colonel Wilder

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delivered his sword to Gen. S. B. Buckner, who had been delegated to receive it, as this was his native county; and the troops grounded arms near Rowlett's Station, in presence of the Confederate army drawn up in line along the road for the ceremony. They were then marched to the rear, escorted in the direction of Cave City, and paroled. The captured garrison numbered about four thousand, with ten pieces of artillery and a proportionate quantity of ammunition, horses, mules and military stores.*

After an inspection of the captured works, which were on the south side of Green river, General Bragg established his headquarters in Munfordville, on the north side, and issued the following proclamation (copied from the original in possession of the writer):

Headquarters Army of the Mississippi,
Munfordville, Ky., September 17, 1862.

General Orders No. 6.

I. The general commanding congratulates his army on the crowning success of their extraordinary campaign which this day has witnessed.

He is most happy and proud to acknowledge his indebtedness to his gallant troops for their patient submission under the privations of an arduous march, and the fortitude with which they have endured its hardships. They have overcome all obstacles without a murmur, even when in the prosecution of seemingly unnecessary labor, and have well sustained by their conduct the unsullied reputation of the army of the Mississippi. With such confidence and support as have been so far exhibited, nearly all things become possible.

The capture of this position with its garrison of 4,000 men, with all their artillery, arms, munitions and stores, without the loss of a man, crowns and completes the separate campaign of this army. We have in conjunction with the army of Kentucky redeemed Tennessee and Kentucky,

* For an account of this episode and the battle which preceded it, see *Rebellion Records*, Vol. XVI, part 1, page 1081; Bragg's report, pp. 971, 973; Chalmers' report; and from 961 to 971 inclusive for reports of Colonels Wilder and Dunham and correspondence pending the surrender.

but our labors are not over. A powerful foe is assembling in our front and we must prepare to strike him a sudden and decisive blow. A short time only can therefore be given for repose when we must resume our march to still more brilliant victories.

II. To-morrow, the 18th of September, having been specially set aside by our President as a day of thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God for the manifold blessings recently vouchsafed to us and to our cause, the general commanding earnestly recommends to this army to devote the day of rest allotted to them to the observance of this sacred duty. Acknowledging our dependence at all times upon a Merciful Providence, it is meet that we should not only render thanks for the general success of our cause and of this campaign, but should particularly manifest our gratitude for a bloodless victory instead of a success purchased with the destruction of life and property.

BRAXTON BRAGG, General Commanding.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM MUNFORDVILLE TO PERRYVILLE — BRAGG'S SITUATION AT MUNFORDVILLE — EMBARRASSING CIRCUMSTANCES CONFRONTING HIM—CRITICISMS ON HIS STRATEGY—A REVIEW OF THE FACTS—DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE ARMY IN THE CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY AND STATE OF FEELING—ABSENCE OF SUPPLIES—NECESSITY OF PROCURING THEM—HIS MOVEMENT TO BARDSTOWN FOR THIS PURPOSE AND FOR CO-OPERATION WITH GENERAL SMITH—THEIR WIDE SEPARATION—MESSAGES TO SMITH—VISIT TO DANVILLE, LEXINGTON AND FRANKFORT—INAUGURATION OF GOVERNOR HAWES—BUELL'S ARRIVAL IN LOUISVILLE AND UNEXPECTED MOVEMENT—SILL'S FEINT ON FRANKFORT—BRAGG'S SUDDEN EVACUATION OF FRANKFORT—HIS FATAL MISINTERPRETATION OF BUELL'S MOVEMENT—CONCENTRATION OF ARMY DEFECTIVE—MOVEMENTS PRECEDING BATTLE OF PERRYVILLE.

THUS far General Bragg's expedition had been a success. He had overcome obstacles of which few unacquainted with the character of the country and the inadequacy of his equipment in transportation and subsistence can form an accurate conception. Without a base, and chiefly dependent upon the country through which he had passed for his supplies, he had marched 200 miles upon the flank of a superbly equipped and veteran army of nearly double his strength and had thrown himself across General Buell's path, with Louisville less than seventy-five miles distant and Buell moving on him from Bowling Green.

The situation and General Bragg's strategy have been the subject of much commentary by military critics as

well as by those not expert in the art of war; and their criticism has been unfavorable to him. But how far this is due to his failure to secure success afterward, or to the merits of the argument, cannot be decided. Some argue that he should have turned on General Buell and fought a decisive battle for the State. A knowledge of the topography of the country and of other conditions would not sustain this suggestion. Had he gone out to meet General Buell he would have had a river at his back with banks like a cañon and only one ford. It would have been the battle of Fishing Creek reproduced. To fight in front of a defile, or with such a river in the rear, is condemned by the first principles of military strategy and by the common sense of good soldiers, whom it demoralizes. Then again if Buell had declined battle, and retired toward Bowling Green, Bragg could not have followed for the want of subsistence. The region about Munfordville is rough and only moderately productive. For a year previous it had been foraged and exhausted of its surplus, first by the Confederates on the south side and then by the Federals on both sides. On the other hand it would not have been wise to march to Louisville without a junction with Kirby Smith, whose force was scattered watching Gen. Geo. W. Morgan and threatening Cincinnati. He could not communicate in time to effect this speedily. The distance to Lexington was about one hundred and twenty-five miles, with neither telegraphic nor railroad communication. Even courier service was doubtful on account of bushwhacking home guards. He was confronted with a problem requiring prompt solution.

A study of the map will show to the military student, judging by abstract rules, and not by the light of after occurrences, that his movement to Bardstown, where he could obtain immediate supplies, be in position to effect early junction with Kirby Smith for advance upon Louisville, and to connect himself with his new line of communication south, via Cumberland Gap, was the best alterna-

tive. He had been delayed by the Munfordville affair nearly a week in his direct movement toward Lexington, and had to make his plans conform to his necessities. That the morale of the army was, notwithstanding the capture of Munfordville, affected by this movement, which had some of the features of retreat, cannot be doubted; for there were, besides, other reasons of disappointment.

The reports which had reached the South represented that the people of Kentucky were eager to welcome an army of deliverance, and would flock with arms to join it. There was a belief that it was a land flowing with milk and honey. While both of these expectations had been fully realized by the army of General Smith, and the intelligence of it received by Bragg's army just before crossing the Tennessee line, their own experience had chilled them. Unfortunately they had traversed half the breadth of the State from north to south and encountered none of the typical rich and abounding soil or sympathetic co-operation pictured in their imagination, and experienced little of the enthusiasm which they had expected. Individual welcome was expressed, but cautiously and free from demonstration, for the Southern element, even in the localities where found in the majority, well knew that upon the coming of the Federal troops they would be persecuted and punished. The sympathy was divided, but in Hart and several contiguous counties the Union sentiment predominated and there had been many Federal troops raised there. There was no unfurling of the Confederate flag and cheering as in the Blue Grass region. Even the ladies, usually fearless of consequences, had learned caution, and if they waved their handkerchiefs, it was generally in a hall shut out from the view of their neighbors and visible only to the troops passing in front. At Bardstown it was somewhat better, but the division of sentiment was sufficient to put a restraint upon the Southern element, while those of Union

sympathies did not disguise their sentiments nor fail to express their confidence in speedy aid from the Federal army.

To the reasons already given for the absence of popular enthusiasm along the line of Bragg's march may be added the fact that there were no Kentucky troops with him, nor any of the political leaders whose presence might have inspired a different feeling. In fact, in summing up the situation, it might as well be stated that it was almost impossible to convince the most ardent Southern sympathizers anywhere in Kentucky that the presence of the army meant permanent occupation instead of merely a raid on a large scale. The writer is aware that in writing so frankly upon a phase which none could understand who did not witness it, and then only one sufficiently well acquainted with the people to comprehend it, he will excite surprise in some and dissent in others; but in undertaking to treat of an historic event of the magnitude of this campaign, it is necessary to its philosophic comprehension that such important factors should not be disregarded even at the expense of a suspension of the narrative.

General Bragg on the 18th of September sent the writer, one of his staff officers, to General Smith at Lexington, informing him of his purpose to move to Bardstown and directing him to send there a train of supplies, and while keeping an eye on Gen. Geo. W. Morgan, to dispose his forces with a view to early concentration at Bardstown for a movement on Louisville. The messages were delivered within forty-eight hours and immediate steps were taken accordingly. General Bragg, having attempted but failed to draw General Buell to an attack, and knowing that he could reach the Ohio river by a practical route further west, began his movement to Bardstown on the 20th and reached there on the 23rd. After a few days spent there, leaving General Polk in command of the army, he made a tour of inspection through Danville via Springfield and Perryville to Lex-

ington, and thence to Frankfort, where, on October 4th, Hon. Richard Hawes, who had been chosen by the council provisional governor to succeed Gov. George W. Johnson, killed at Shiloh, was inaugurated in form. The greater part of General Smith's army was then in the vicinity of the capital.

In the meantime General Buell, whose army had all arrived at Louisville on the 29th of September, being fully equipped and reinforced by a large body of troops there, moved on the 1st of October in the direction of Bardstown on five roads, the Shelbyville, Taylorsville, Bardstown, Shepherdsville, and Lebanon turnpikes; McCook's corps on the left, Gilbert's in the center and Crittenden's on the right. General Sill's division of McCook's corps marched on the Shelbyville pike, advancing on the 3rd as far as Clay Village, 16 miles from Frankfort, as a feint on the latter place.

General Polk—who had been directed in case of an advance in force to fall back in the direction of Danville, with a view of covering Camp Dick Robinson (renamed by the Confederates Camp Breckinridge), where had been gathered a large quantity of stores—upon being satisfied that General Buell's army was approaching, fell back to Perryville, ten miles equidistant from Harrodsburg and Danville. General Bragg mistook the movement of Sill's division to mean that Frankfort was the objective point of Buell's army, and this was the fatal error of the campaign. Several circumstances tended to mislead him. In the first place it was the direct route to the capital and to Lexington, and the most central point in that division of Kentucky against which a Federal force from Cincinnati also could operate. In the next place, while he could readily get information of Sill's movements, the nature of the other routes taken by General Buell's army forbade the prompt receipt of intelligence as to their line of march. There was no telegraphic communication by which he could be advised, and the movement of each

corps was covered by that upon the left, veiling their advance from the ordinary means of observation or communication. General Buell's movement had in fact been made with a promptitude which took Bragg by surprise, and with a judgment which could not have been excelled, for neither of which he received proper credit at the hands of his government. Acting under this misconception of the true situation, General Bragg instructed General Polk to move all his available force via Bloomfield to Frankfort, to strike the enemy, which would have been but one division, in the flank. It was an order from the nature of the roads impractical to execute and, considering the actual situation, altogether unwise. General Polk received the order at Bardstown on the 3rd, but consulting his corps and division commanders, in view of his better information as to Buell's real movements, fell back upon Perryville.

Had General Bragg then, treating Sill's movement as secondary, concentrated his army at Perryville, the history of this campaign thence forward might have been different. He had, however, countermanded his order before he heard from General Polk, and on the 4th, upon the approach of Sill's cavalry, retreated from Frankfort to Versailles. The effect of the sound of the Federal artillery was similar to that of the artillery of Waterloo upon the gay throng at Brussels. The capital was full, not only of soldiers, but of civilians who had come to witness the gubernatorial inauguration and to attend a grand ball that night, the beauty of the Blue Grass having come to grace the occasion. The movement to Versailles began at 4 o'clock p. m. without preliminary warning.

“ And there were sudden partings, such as press
The life from out young hearts, and choking sighs
Which ne'er might be repeated; who could guess
If ever more should meet those mutual eyes.

And there was mounting in hot haste; the steed,
The mustering squadron and the clattering car
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war."

General Bragg on the 5th crossed the Kentucky river in the direction of Harrodsburg, where he made his headquarters on the 6th, and disposed his forces with a view to concentration at the point against which should be directed the enemy's greatest force. Unfortunately he did not discern this in time. The presence of Sill's division, which had turned in the direction of Lawrenceburg and Salvisa, led him and some others to believe that one of those points, probably the latter, was aimed at. Another circumstance added to this belief. General Buell, who did not think Bragg would make a stand at Perryville, and was moving toward Danville with a view to flank Bragg and get in his rear, as had been done with him by Bragg, had directed General McCook to move from Bloomfield by way of Mackville and Harrodsburg to Danville, expecting Sill's division to rejoin the corps at Harrodsburg. The appearance of Sill near Lawrenceburg and of McCook at Mackville, where he camped on the night of the 7th, seemed to confirm Bragg in his belief that Buell's objective point was Lexington and induced him to select Salvisa as the point upon which to concentrate his troops, with a view of crossing the Kentucky river near that point and giving Buell battle near Versailles.

Accordingly on the 7th of October Bragg directed General Smith to move his command next day to Versailles, and Cheatham's and Withers' divisions of Polk's corps to follow. Later, however, he suspended these orders, in consequence of notification from Hardee at Perryville that the enemy was in force in his front, and sent General Polk from Harrodsburg to Perryville with Cheatham's division to the support of General Hardee, instructing him

to "give the enemy battle immediately, rout him and then move to our support at Versailles." As the order was not issued until 5:40 p. m., it was understood that the attack would be made at daylight, October 8th, and that Bragg would start to Versailles early, and have Polk follow after defeating the Federal force at Perryville. His idea evidently was that neither Crittenden's nor McCook's corps was in supporting distance of Gilbert's corps, and that he could crush that fraction of Buell's army by a sudden attack and then concentrate for a general engagement. But in this he was mistaken, as the official publications show that on the night of the 7th McCook's corps was ordered by General Buell to march from Mackville at 3 a. m. on the 8th for Perryville and form on the left of Gilbert, who was in position facing east about three and a half miles west of Perryville. Had the attack on Gilbert been made as contemplated, it is not improbable that it would have been successful; but even then Bragg would have been beyond the support of Smith, and the force under General Polk would have been little better off than it afterwards proved to be.

CHAPTER XIII.

BATTLE OF PERRYVILLE—DELAY IN THE ATTACK—BRAGG HASTENS THERE—STATUS AS HE FOUND IT—TOPOGRAPHY OF THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY—ARRANGEMENT OF LINE OF BATTLE—RELATIVE POSITION OF OPPOSING FORCES—CONFEDERATES ATTACK AND SURPRISE McCOOK'S CORPS—CHEATHAM'S ASSAULT ON RIGHT—McCOOK DRIVEN BACK WITH HEAVY LOSS—SEVERE ENGAGEMENT ON CENTER AND LEFT—CONFEDERATE VICTORY BUT VIRTUAL DEFEAT—GENERAL BUELL UNAWARE OF THE BATTLE UNTIL IN PROGRESS TWO HOURS—BRAGG FALLS BACK TO HARRODSBURG—ARMY CONCENTRATED BUT FAILS TO ATTACK—BEGINNING OF RETREAT FROM KENTUCKY—BRYANTSVILLE—GENERAL HUMPHREY MARSHALL.

FOR reasons unnecessary to consider here, but which caused a long and embittered controversy, the attack was not made as expected, and General Bragg, hearing no cannon, went himself to Perryville, where he arrived about 10 o'clock, finding General Polk in line of battle with General Hardee's corps on the right of Perryville, left resting near the academy, and General Cheatham on the left of the town; Chaplin's fork of Salt river which runs through the village from the south, being substantially the line. There had been some skirmishing on the right but no engagement, as it was Buell's policy not to give battle until concentrated.

General Bragg assumed command, and after a brief reconnoissance rearranged the line by transferring General Cheatham's division to the extreme right, and advancing Hardee's corps to the west side of Chaplin's fork. About two and a half miles north of Perryville, Doctor's creek, a small stream from the southwest,

MAP OF THE BATTLE-FIELD OF PERRYVILLE, KY.

Maj. Gen^l L. POLK
Comd'g Confederate Forces

Prepared by
WALTER J. MORRIS.



empties into Chaplin's fork, and near this junction was Cheatham's right. Upon his right was Wharton's cavalry, while Wheeler's cavalry covered the left wing of the army. In the meantime General McCook, who did not march from Mackville until 5 a. m., had arrived with Rousseau's and Jackson's divisions and made his dispositions as directed, on the west side of Doctor's creek, but with no expectation of an engagement.

Bragg's order of battle was that Cheatham should advance by brigades in echelon across the creek and moving under cover of a wood and natural swells, attack the enemy upon his left flank. General Polk was charged with this movement, which as soon as fairly under way was to be followed by General Hardee with an advance of his line, to take advantage of the confusion which it was supposed General Polk's unexpected attack would cause. Before Cheatham's preparations were completed the enemy opened a very lively cannonade in his direction, but with little effect, owing to the favorable topography of the ground, affording immunity from the fire.

It had been expected that the movement would begin at one o'clock, but it was not until 2 o'clock when General Cheatham's division, moving as on dress parade, moved forward. Sweeping around to the right by somewhat of an oblique movement it dashed across the creek, and it was not long before the roar of musketry told that the work was begun and progressing. Soon the music was taken up by General Hardee's command; the air was filled with the sound of battle, and shot and shell were screaming and exploding all along the line. The west bank of Chaplin's fork is a high bluff, with cedars, and commanded a perfect view of the battlefield. The ground rising by a gentle ascent and consisting of cultivated farms with little timber, a panorama was presented such as is rarely witnessed except on canvas. Cheatham's movement, supplemented by a charge of Wharton's cavalry, had proved a perfect success, taking the

enemy by surprise, capturing one or more batteries and doubling up his line in confusion.

In the first onset, Gen. J. S. Jackson, a Kentuckian commanding a division; General Terrill, a cousin of Gen. J. E. B. Stuart; and Col. George Webster, commanding brigades, were killed. General Jackson fell among the guns of a battery which he was apparently directing to check the onslaught. It, however, proved irresistible, and the Federal left was forced back a full mile, with the loss of 400 prisoners, including the staff officers and General McCook's servants, carriage and baggage. By this move our alignment was somewhat broken, there being quite an interval between Cheatham's left and the right of Buckner's division. But advantage was not taken of it, as the contest upon the left and center was severe enough to engage the full attention of the enemy. It was a square stand-up, hand-to-hand fight. The batteries and lines of both sides could be seen distinctly except when occasionally obscured by the dense smoke which alternately hung over the scene or was blown off by the western breeze.

The point of most stubborn resistance was in the center, where Rousseau's division was assailed by Buckner's division. There was here a large barn which afforded a vantage ground to the enemy. In the midst of the fiercest contest it was fired by a Confederate shell and soon the flames shot high into the air. The effect seemed favorable for dislodging the opposing force, and a charge with a shout carried the Confederate line several hundred yards farther. In this severe struggle the loss on both sides was heavy, but particularly so on that of the Federals in the Fifteenth Kentucky regiment, Col. Curran Pope being wounded, and Lieut.-Col. Geo. P. Jouett and Maj. W. P. Campbell, killed. The enemy had, pending this engagement in the center, reformed in a strong position in Cheatham's front, and the battle raged along the whole line, which if not continuous, faced in the same

direction. But when the center gave way, the whole line recoiled and the Confederates held the entire battlefield.

Yet, while the enemy had retired and no longer replied with his musketry, his artillery, actively plied, indicated that he had not retreated far. On the contrary there were ominous reports of danger on the Lebanon road, and apprehensions arose of being taken in left and rear by a reinforcement from Crittenden's delayed corps, as reports of their approach came in by cavalry. Our advance having placed Perryville in our rear with comparatively no protection, the appearance of an infantry force there would have had a disastrous effect; but fortunately it did not occur. The sun went down in a cloudless sky as red in the autumnal haze and smoke of battle as the blood upon which it had looked, while almost simultaneously the full moon, its counterpart in bloody mien, rose opposite. Still the artillery on both sides kept up their fire. Upon an elevation on our left, which had been won with hard fighting, were placed two of our batteries, which sent forth continuous flames, deepening in their lurid glare as it became darker, until only the sheet of flame without the smoke could be seen, while the air was filled with bursting bombs, and the scream of the shell with lighted fuse, or its unpleasant thud as it struck near, was constantly heard. Gradually the fire slackened; the moon rose higher and lit up the ghastly faces of the dead; and by half past eight, over all was the stillness of death.

The battle was over and both armies were lying on their arms. Tactically it was a Confederate victory, strategically it was a defeat. The loss on both sides was heavy, and it proved not only the largest battle fought during the war on Kentucky soil, but one of the bloodiest of the war. Out of 15,000 of all arms, the Confederate loss was 3,396—510 killed, 2,635 wounded and 251 missing. The total Federal casualties were 4,241—845 killed, 2,851 wounded and 515 missing. General Halleck states

that General Buell had at Louisville 100,000 men; but the latter in his report gives his whole force which left Louisville as 58,000, including cavalry and artillery, his three corps being about equal in number, say 18,000 each. The Confederates lost no general officers, but Generals P. R. Cleburne, S. A. M. Wood and John C. Brown, commanding brigades, were wounded. One of the most remarkable features of the battle is that General Buell in his report says he did not know that a battle was being fought until 4:30 o'clock, over two hours after it began.*

About midnight the Confederate army was withdrawn quietly to Perryville, leaving a thin skirmish line which retired later. Early in the morning the trains were put in motion for Harrodsburg, and by noon the whole force had arrived at that place. No demonstration was made by the enemy except some artillery firing at 7:30 a. m., of the 9th, indicating that he was on the alert.

On the same day General Smith's force arrived in Harrodsburg and the army was for the first time concentrated. Every indication pointed to a decisive battle. It was expected that General Buell would advance to the attack, and on the 10th an eligible line of battle was formed awaiting his advance. Bragg then had of all arms an army of 40,000 men, and should have fought. At a distance of two or three miles the Federal army was also in line, to the south of Harrodsburg, both armies facing each other as if ready for the conflict; but neither advanced, a heavy rain supervening. General Buell had swung around and occupied Danville, and Bragg, fearing that he would seize upon his depot of supplies at Bryantsville, twelve or fourteen miles east of Harrodsburg, or cut off his communications with Cumberland Gap, instead of following him marched for Bryantsville on the morning of the 11th, and by the time he reached that point the enemy occupied Harrodsburg.

*General Buell's statement in review of the evidence before the Military Commission. *Rebellion Records*, Vol. XVI, Part 1, page 51. General McCook's testimony, *Ib.*, page 90.

The retreat from Kentucky had virtually begun. A council of war was held at Bryantsville. Added to his own condition as the result of Perryville, came news of the defeat of Price and Van Dorn by Rosecrans at Corinth on the 3rd, which shattered the only army in the lower South and left a victorious enemy free to move at will in any direction. In view of this situation, the council with one exception, concurred in the propriety of a retreat through Cumberland Gap while the route was open and the roads were yet good. Gen. Humphrey Marshall, who simultaneously with General Bragg's advance into Kentucky had come through Pound Gap from southwestern Virginia, with several thousand cavalry, favored crossing to the north side of the Kentucky river, sustaining the army in the Blue Grass region as long as possible and then retreating into Virginia by way of Pound Gap. General Bragg so far acceded to his proposition as to permit his return the same way.

And so it was resolved to evacuate Kentucky. Cumberland Gap had been abandoned on September 17th by Gen. Geo. W. Morgan, who had made his way through the mountains by way of Manchester, Beattyville and West Liberty to Greenup on the Ohio, where he had arrived on the 3rd of October. His progress was impeded somewhat by the cavalry of General Marshall and Col. John H. Morgan, but the nature of the country not being favorable for cavalry operations, their resistance availed but little beyond preventing his movement westward, had he so designed. On September 27th a portion of Morgan's cavalry under Col. Basil W. Duke, aiming to cross the Ohio at Augusta for a demonstration against Cincinnati, had a severe engagement in the streets of that town with the home guards, who fired from the houses, causing a loss of twenty per cent of his force, with a much heavier loss to the enemy. Among his killed were Capts. Samuel D. Morgan (a cousin of Col. John H.

Morgan), Allen and Kennett, and Lieuts. Greenbury Roberts, George White, Rogers, King and William Courtland Prentice, son of George D. Prentice, editor of the Louisville Journal. This was the only engagement which occurred on the Ohio during the campaign, although previously Col. R. M. Gano, of Morgan's cavalry, had captured Maysville without a fight.

CHAPTER XIV.

MOVEMENT IN RETREAT BY TWO LINES—SUCCESSFUL EVASION OF BUELL'S PURSUING ARMY—CRITICAL SITUATION OF GENERAL SMITH'S COLUMN AT BIG HILL—BUELL DRAWS OFF FROM PURSUIT AND PREPARES TO RETURN TO NASHVILLE—CONFEDERATE FORCES REUNITE AT LONDON AND PASS SAFELY THROUGH CUMBERLAND GAP—BRECKINRIDGE WITH HIS KENTUCKIANS TURNED BACK AND SENT TO MURFREESBORO—GENERAL BUELL CONGRATULATED BY GENERAL HALLECK, AND DIRECTED TO TAKE EAST TENNESSEE—IS SUPERSEDED BY GENERAL ROSECRANS—DEATH OF GENERAL WILLIAM NELSON—CONDITION OF KENTUCKY AFTER EVACUATION OF THE STATE—INCREASED PERSECUTION OF SOUTHERN PEOPLE.

THE dispositions for the retreat were soon made, and on the morning of October 13th the movement began, General Polk's and General Hardee's corps moving by way of Lancaster, Crab Orchard and Mount Vernon, and General Smith's column by way of Lancaster and Big Hill to London, where he reunited with General Bragg. The pursuit of General Bragg's column was pressed with vigor by General Buell as far as Mount Vernon; but the retreat was so well covered by Wheeler's cavalry that it was without results. Fortunately General Smith was not vigorously pressed, or he could scarcely have saved his artillery and trains, which were carried over Big Hill only with the greatest difficulty, requiring the assistance of the infantry for several days. Col. John H. Morgan lingered in the vicinity of Lexington, covering approaches from that direction, and finally retired with a large increase of his force from recruits, in the direction of Lebanon and Nashville.

The retreat of General Bragg was conducted without further incident, the roads and weather fortunately being favorable, and on the 20th the advance of the army passed through Cumberland Gap. Yet it was an arduous retreat. The change from a country of plenty, with high hopes of wintering in Kentucky, to hard marches with scant food and disappointed expectations, had a telling effect upon the troops, who left the State footsore and poorly clad and shod to encounter a severe snow storm upon entering East Tennessee. Gen. John C. Breckinridge, having been turned back on the 17th when nearing Cumberland Gap, as already related, had moved into Middle Tennessee, and on the 28th of October arrived at Murfreesboro with 2,000 men as the advance guard of the army of occupation, soon to be reinforced by the greater part of General Bragg's army.

General Buell, unable to cut off Bragg's retreat, issued orders looking to the return of his army to Nashville. General Halleck, upon receipt of the announcement of the battle of Perryville and Bragg's retreat, on the 18th of October replied: "The rapid march of your army from Louisville and your victory at Perryville have given great satisfaction to the government," these being the first words of commendation Buell had received since he left Corinth. A number of official communications had been addressed to him in this interval, warning him that he would be removed if he did not show better results, and on his arrival at Louisville he had been met with orders to turn over his command to General Thomas, but the latter protested that this was unjust and the order was rescinded, Thomas accompanying Buell on the Perryville campaign as second in command.

In the same dispatch of congratulation quoted above, Halleck informed General Buell that he was expected to drive the enemy from East Tennessee as well as Kentucky. To this Buell replied that it was impossible to invade East Tennessee at that time on account of the

barren country, the approach of winter and bad roads; besides that, a prompt return to Nashville was necessary in order to hold any part of Tennessee. On the 19th Halleck telegraphed: "I am directed by the President to say that your army must enter East Tennessee this fall and that it ought to move there while the roads are passable." Buell, however, continued the movement of his army toward Nashville, and on the 23d General Rosecrans, at Corinth, Miss., was directed to repair to Cincinnati to receive orders. Upon his arrival there on the 28th, he received notification of his appointment to the department of the Cumberland, being the State of Tennessee east of the Tennessee river and the parts of north Alabama and Georgia in possession of the United States troops. He was directed to exhibit this instruction to General Buell and assume command of his forces. On the 30th General Rosecrans presented his credentials to General Buell at Louisville, together with instructions to the latter from General Halleck to repair to Indianapolis and await further orders. These further orders when received notified General Buell that a commission would sit on the 27th of November to investigate the operations of his command. And thus upon the pretext of his not having moved to carry out an order which was not repeated to his successor, General Buell was retired as the culmination of a long antagonism on political grounds, or jealousy on the part of his subordinates and disfavor of his superiors. Among other Federal losses in this campaign was the death of General Nelson, who was killed in a personal encounter in the Galt House, Louisville, September 29th, by Gen. Jeff. C. Davis, of the Federal army.

Kentucky, again secure in the occupation of the Federal troops, passed into a new and more complete state of subjugation. Not only were those who had shown their sympathy for the Confederates during their occupation made to feel the hand of power, but soon Union men who ventured to dissent from the extreme policy of the

administration were treated as rebels and subjected to equal indignity. The most radical and revolutionary element obtained control, and a reign of terror was soon inaugurated which, subsequently continued through the war under Burnside, Burbidge, Payne and Palmer, not only intensified the Southern sympathy, but finally alienated a large majority of those who had originally been the most pronounced Unionists. But it was too late to be of practical benefit to the cause of the South, and save with an occasional cavalry raid, the soil of Kentucky did not again feel the tread of the contending armies.

CHAPTER XV.

RAPID RECUPERATION OF THE ARMY AFTER ITS RETURN FROM KENTUCKY—OCCUPATION OF MIDDLE TENNESSEE — REORGANIZATION OF KENTUCKY TROOPS—THE KENTUCKY BRIGADE AGAIN REUNITED—GENERAL HANSON IN COMMAND—CAVALRY ORGANIZATIONS—BRILLIANT MOVEMENT OF GENERAL MORGAN — CAPTURE OF HARTSVILLE WITH 2,000 PRISONERS—BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO—BRAGG'S ORDER OF BATTLE—SOME DETAILS OF THE BLOODY ENGAGEMENT—SECOND BATTLE—HEAVY LOSS IN BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION—DEATH OF GENERAL HANSON—BRECKINRIDGE'S REPORT—RETREAT FROM MURFREESBORO.

NOTWITHSTANDING the disappointment which the Kentucky infantry had experienced in not being permitted to take part in the campaign, and the cavalry had suffered in seeing the State abandoned to the enemy, there was no useless repining, but in common with the great body of the Confederate army, cheerfulness was soon restored; and with that remarkable spirit of recuperation which so often manifested itself in the Confederacy after disaster, it was not long before the army had resumed a hopeful and aggressive tone. Although the result of the summer campaign had not brought the fruition expected, the present condition, when contrasted with that which had existed during the spring and summer, was so much better, that there was prevalent more feeling of congratulation at the vantage gained than of repining over that which had not been secured.

The Kentucky cavalry had been increased, and on the

first of November, 1862, Morgan's cavalry brigade, then in east Tennessee, showed the following organization: Second Kentucky, Col. B. W. Duke; Seventh Kentucky, Col. R. M. Gano; Eighth Kentucky, Col. R. S. Cluke; Eleventh Kentucky, Col. D. W. Chenault; Ninth Kentucky battalion, Maj. W. C. P. Breckinridge; Howitzer battery, Captain Arnett. The Ninth battalion, united with Stoner's battalion, was later raised to a regiment, and its commander became a colonel.

The Seventh, Eighth and Ninth regiments had been recruited during the late campaign in Kentucky, and another, the First Kentucky regiment, recruited and reorganized by Col. J. Russell Butler, was temporarily assigned to Colonel Scott's brigade. A number of other inchoate regiments came out, which, if the occupation of Kentucky had lasted awhile longer, would have all been filled; but as it was, those under Col. D. Howard Smith, the Fifth; Col. J. Warren Grigsby, Sixth, and Col. Adam R. Johnson, Tenth, were soon available and made valuable accessions to the command a little later in middle Tennessee. With General Marshall also went out of Kentucky into Virginia a number of organizations, some of them regiments and others battalions, which did valuable service during the remainder of the war. Among these were the Fifth infantry, Gen. John S. Williams' original regiment, whose time had expired, but which was recruited and reorganized by Col. Hiram Hawkins; the Fourth Kentucky cavalry, Col. Henry L. Giltner; Eleventh Kentucky mounted infantry, known also as the Thirteenth regiment Kentucky cavalry, Col. Benjamin E. Caudill; Second battalion Kentucky cavalry, Maj. Clarence J. Prentice; Second Kentucky mounted rifles, Lieut.-Col. Thomas Johnson; and the Third battalion Kentucky mounted rifles, Lieut.-Col. Ezekiel F. Clay; together with several independent companies of scouts and partisan rangers.

While there was recruited no infantry, the various old

organizations received accessions from among the many who came out of Kentucky with the army in its retreat, or from proposed cavalry organizations which were disbanded. The Fort Donelson prisoners of the Second and Eighth regiments had been exchanged during the summer, the sick and absentees had rejoined their commands, and the regiments showed well-filled ranks, with a clean bill of health and fine morale. The Seventh, Col. Edward Crossland; the Third, Col. A. P. Thompson; and the Eighth, Col. H. B. Lyon, were in General Van Dorn's army, and had received special mention for gallantry in the late campaign in Mississippi. The Second, Fourth, Sixth and Ninth, constituting the Orphan brigade, were now with General Breckinridge at Murfreesboro.

General Bragg, after a brief visit to Richmond, proceeded to Tullahoma, Tenn., and pushed forward the reconstruction of railroad bridges and the transfer of his army to Middle Tennessee, and by the middle of November it was organized as follows: First corps, commanded by Lieutenant-General Polk, consisting of Cheatham's, Withers' and Breckinridge's divisions; Second corps, commanded by Lieut.-Gen. W. J. Hardee, consisting of Buckner's and Patton Anderson's divisions.

General Breckinridge's division was composed of five brigades: Hanson's, Preston's, Adams', Palmer's and Jackson's, the first three commanders being natives of Kentucky. Hanson's brigade was as follows: First brigade, Col. Roger W. Hanson:—Forty-first Alabama, Col. M. L. Stansil; Second Kentucky, Maj. J. W. Hewitt; Fourth Kentucky, Col. R. P. Trabue; Sixth Kentucky, Col. J. H. Lewis; Ninth Kentucky, Col. T. H. Hunt; Cobb's Kentucky battery, Capt. Robert Cobb, Graves' Kentucky battery, Capt. J. J. Ingram; Kentucky cavalry company, Capt. R. E. Roberts.

General Buckner's division consisted of four brigades, commanded by Generals Liddell, Cleburne, Bushrod R. Johnson and Wood. Of the cavalry is given as among

independent organizations, "One brigade of 2,500 men, Col. John H. Morgan commanding, to act as partisans." One of General Bragg's first acts after reaching Tennessee was to recommend the promotion of Colonels Hanson, Hunt and Morgan to the rank of brigadier. In his letter of November 22d to Adjutant-General Cooper, he says: "Col. John H. Morgan is peculiarly suited for the special service in which I propose to employ him—partisan war on the enemy's lines in Kentucky. He has raised his command, and nearly armed and equipped it from the enemy's stores." Later a brigade of cavalry was organized under Gen. Abram Buford, of Kentucky, which operated about Murfreesboro until after the battle, when General Buford was transferred to the Mississippi department. General Buckner did not continue long in Tennessee, but was assigned to the command of Mobile, where he remained until the following spring, when he relieved Gen. Kirby Smith as commander of the department of East Tennessee, the latter being transferred to the Trans-Mississippi.

The army spent the month of December, 1862, before Murfreesboro, drilling and perfecting itself in organization in contemplation of an early attack by Rosecrans, who was collecting a formidable army at Nashville. General Wheeler's cavalry was in front, while Forrest covered the left flank in front of Columbia, where Van Dorn was in command of a force chiefly of cavalry.

In the early part of the month one of the most brilliant events of the year took place in the capture of Hartsville, Tenn. The expedition was planned and led by General Morgan and was composed entirely of Kentucky troops: 1,400 cavalry under Col. Basil W. Duke; the Second and Ninth Kentucky infantry, commanded by Col. Thomas H. Hunt; Captain Cobb's battery, and two howitzers and two Ellsworth guns of the cavalry. General Morgan had learned that Federal detachments were stationed at Gallatin, Castalian Springs and Hartsville,

his old stamping-ground, and he proposed to repeat some of his exploits of the past summer. Leaving Murfreesboro on the 5th, the command moved to Baird's Mills, half way to Hartsville, which was fifty miles distant from Murfreesboro. It was bitter cold and the ground covered with snow. Here they remained until 6 p. m. on the 6th, when, by a night march, they crossed the Cumberland river five miles below Hartsville by daylight, and shortly after sunrise were in position before that place. It had been expected to surprise the garrison, but this was frustrated by the difficulty of crossing the river, and General Morgan found the enemy fully prepared to meet him. A brisk fight ensued, in which the infantry and cavalry took part chiefly dismounted, while a part of the cavalry mounted was employed in guarding against surprise, as there was another Federal force of eight thousand within five miles. After a sharp engagement of an hour or more, in which the Federal troops behaved much better than in their previous affairs, and in which the Second Kentucky suffered a loss of sixty-two in killed and wounded, the Federal force, numbering about 2,000, surrendered at discretion. There were three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, all of which, with their arms, wagons and stores, and two pieces of artillery, were carried off to Murfreesboro in safety. The total infantry loss was eighteen killed and seventy-one wounded. The casualties in the cavalry were limited to a few wounded. The event added to the prestige of the Kentucky troops, which was already high in discipline, drill and soldierly bearing.

The battle of Murfreesboro occurred on Wednesday, December 31, 1862. The army, cheered by the Hartsville victory, the good rations afforded by the rich country around Murfreesboro and the enthusiastic devotion of the citizens, was in fine spirits. President Davis had paid them a visit but a short time before, and in a review their splendid appearance had excited his admiration and

elicited his warmest praise. Rosecrans gave evidence of his purpose to move nearly a week before the battle, full reports of his force and the location of his several corps being received daily. On the 27th, General Bragg, having selected his line of defense and plan of battle, issued a private circular for general and staff officers, an original copy of which is in possession of the writer, and which is here given, as it has not been found among the published records:

MEMORANDA FOR GENERAL AND STAFF OFFICERS:

1. The line of battle will be in front of Murfreesboro, half the army—left wing in front of Stone's river, right wing in rear of river.
2. Polk's corps will form left wing—Hardee's corps, right wing.
3. Withers' division will form first line in Polk's corps; Cheatham's the second line; Breckinridge's division will form first line Hardee's corps, Cleburne's division second line Hardee's corps.
4. McCown's division to form reserve opposite center on high ground in rear of Cheatham's present quarters.
5. Jackson's brigade, reserve to the right flank, to report to Lieutenant-General Hardee.
6. The two lines to be from 800 to 1,000 yards apart, according to the ground.
7. Chiefs of artillery to pay special attention to posting of batteries and to supervise their work, and see that they do not causelessly waste their ammunition.
8. Cavalry to fall back gradually before enemy, reporting by couriers every hour. When near our line, Wheeler will move to right and Wharton to the left to cover and protect our flanks and report movements of the enemy. Pegram to fall to the rear and report to the general commanding as reserve.
9. To-night if the enemy has gained his position in our front ready for action, Wheeler and Wharton with their whole commands will make a night march to the right and left, turn the enemy's flanks, gain his rear and vigorously assail his trains and rear guards, blocking the roads and impeding his movements in every way, holding themselves ready to assail his retreating forces.

10. All quartermasters, commissaries and ordnance officers will remain at their proper posts discharging their appropriate duties. Supplies and baggage should be ready packed for a move forward or backward as the result of the day may require, and the trains should be in position out of danger, teamsters all present and quartermasters in charge.

11. Should we be compelled to retire, Polk's corps will move on the Shelbyville, and Hardee's on Manchester pike, trains in front, cavalry in rear.

(Signed) BRAXTON BRAGG, General Commanding.
Sunday morning, Official,

GEO. G. GARNER, A. A. G.

General Rosecrans had moved out from Nashville on the 26th, but it was not until the afternoon of the 29th that Wheeler withdrew from his front and he arrived opposite our left wing. It was hoped and expected that he would attack, but he merely showed a disposition to extend his right beyond our left, causing McCown's division to be moved to Polk's left. The 30th was a cloudy, forbidding day, with rain at intervals, and a general engagement was expected, but the enemy refrained from attack and continued to extend his right, threatening to cut us off from the Shelbyville pike. As the troops had been in line three days and nights, General Bragg determined to attack on the morning of the 31st. With that view Cleburne's (late Buckner's) division was moved on the night of the 30th to the extreme left, General Hardee accompanying with instructions to open the fight at daylight, the action to be taken up by the troops on the right.

It was a clear, frosty morning, the last day of the year. Hardee moved into action as directed, and with the first light of the sun the heavy fire of musketry told that he was at work, while its decreasing sound indicated that he was driving the enemy. The movement was a counter-part of Cheatham's attack at Perryville, on the left instead of the right. Polk's corps had its right resting on Stone's

river* with its left swung out in alternate fields and cedar brakes upon ground nearly level. Cleburne had struck Gen. A. D. McCook's corps, the same which suffered so from Cheatham's assault at Perryville, while the men were at breakfast, and driven them in confusion, capturing a number of prisoners, including Brigadier-General Willich, killing General Sill, and again capturing General McCook's headquarters with his official and private effects. The battle, taken up by the commands on the right, moved on a right wheel as the enemy fell back, with Polk's right as a pivot, until the line, like the minute hand of a clock, had described a fourth of a circle, halting when it was at somewhat more than right angles to its first position. This halt was caused by Rosecrans' routed line making a stand in a railroad cut, which happened conveniently in their line of retreat, sustained by reserves and heavy batteries in their rear. By noon the battlefield was comparatively silent. Jackson's and Adams', and later Gen. William Preston's and Palmer's brigades were brought over from Breckinridge's line and an attempt made to carry the cut, but the position was too strong, and they were compelled to desist after serious loss, Gen. D. W. Adams being severely wounded. General Breckinridge was in command of this attack, the losses in which were heavier than at Perryville. This in brief was the battle of Murfreesboro.

General Rosecrans' alignment was now somewhat the two sides of an isosceles triangle, with the railroad cut for one side, and Stone's river, with its rocky banks unfordable except at good intervals, for the other, and with its acute angle pointing to our center. He was thus unassailable on either flank, and the two armies lay in this

*This river, which is erroneously called by the Federals Stone river, was named from Uriah Stone, who, in company with James Smith, Joshua Horton and William Baker, explored that region in 1766. "An account of the remarkable occurrences in the life and travels of Col. James Smith, etc., written by himself, Lexington, Ky., printed by John Bradford, Main street, 1799."

position the remainder of the day. At night Wheeler made a circuit to the rear of Rosecrans' army, destroying many wagons and harassing him in every possible manner. He was known to have been crippled, and on the morning of the 1st of January was reported to be retreating. A reconnoissance in force with infantry and artillery proved to the contrary, however, and the day wore away without other movement.

On Friday, the 2d, it was evident that Rosecrans was holding on with dogged persistence, and the tension upon the Confederate troops, who had to keep constant vigil in advanced lines where they could have little if any fire, and remote from their supplies, was telling visibly. Up to this time the enemy had made but little demonstration upon our right held by Breckinridge, where the ground was more undulatory than on the left, but the morning developed the fact that they had crossed some troops to the east bank, with evidence of an effort to extend their line beyond our right as had been tried on the left. This brought on the disastrous battle so fatal to the Kentuckians and the right wing. At two o'clock, after a conference of corps and some division commanders at the ford which marked our center, General Bragg directed General Breckinridge in person to dislodge the enemy from the position he had taken on an eminence in his front. Much controversy and feeling ensued over this order afterwards, General Bragg contending that his directions were to dislodge the enemy but not to pursue him, or bring on an engagement. It was a fair, mild afternoon, about 4 o'clock, when the movement was made. As this was the first great battle in which the Kentucky brigade had been engaged since Shiloh, it is deemed best to give General Breckinridge's report of it, being part of his general report of the operations of his command covering the several preceding days:

"On Friday, the 2nd of January, being desirous to ascertain if the enemy was establishing himself on the east

bank of the river, Lieut.-Col. John A. Buckner and Maj. Rice E. Graves, with Captain Byrne's battery and a portion of the Washington artillery, under Lieutenant Vaught, went forward to our line of skirmishers, to the right, and engaged those of the enemy, who had advanced perhaps a thousand yards from the east bank of the river. They soon revealed a strong line of skirmishers, which was driven back a considerable distance by our sharpshooters and artillery, the latter firing several houses in the fields in which the enemy had taken shelter. At the same time, accompanied by Maj. Wm. D. Pickett of Lieutenant-General Hardee's staff and by Maj. James Wilson, Col. Theodore O'Hara and Lieut. J. Cabell Breckinridge, of my own, I proceeded toward the left of our line of skirmishers, which passed through a thick wood about five hundred yards in front of Hanson's position and extended to the river. Directing Captain Bosche of the Ninth and Captain Steele of the Fourth Kentucky to drive back the enemy's skirmishers, we were enabled to see that he was occupying with infantry and artillery the crest of a gentle slope on the east bank of the river. The course of the crest formed a little less than a right angle with Hanson's line, from which the center of the position I was afterward ordered to attack was distant about sixteen hundred yards. It extended along ground part open and part woodlands.

"While we were endeavoring to ascertain the force of the enemy and the relation of ground on the east bank to that on the west of the river, I received an order from the commanding general to report to him in person. I found him on the west bank near the ford below the bridge, and received from him an order to form my division in two lines and take the crest I have just described with the infantry. After doing this I was to bring up the artillery and establish it on the crest, so as to at once hold it and enfilade the enemy's lines on the other side of the river. Pegram and Wharton, who, with some cavalry and a bat-

tery were beyond the point where my right would rest, when the new line of battle should be formed, were directed, as the general informed me, to protect my right and co-operate in the attack. Capt. Felix H. Robertson was ordered to report to me with his own and Capt. H. C. Semple's batteries of Napoleon guns. Captain Wright, who with his battery had been detached some days before, was ordered to join his brigade (Preston's). The brigades of Adams and Preston, which were left on the west side of the river Wednesday night, had been ordered to rejoin me. At the moment of my advance our artillery in the center and on the left was to open on the enemy. One gun from our center was the signal for the attack. The commanding general desired that the attack should be made with the least possible delay.

"It was now 2:30 p. m. Two of the brigades had to march two miles and the other one mile. Brigadier-General Pillow, having reported for duty, was assigned by the commanding general to Col. Joseph B. Palmer's brigade, and that fine officer resumed command of his regiment and was three times wounded during the ensuing engagement. The Ninth Kentucky and Cobb's battery, under the command of Colonel Hunt, were left to hold the hill so often referred to.

"The division, after deducting the losses of Wednesday, the troops left on the hill and companies in special service, consisted of some 4,500 men. It was drawn up in two lines, the first in a narrow skirt of woods, the second two hundred yards in rear. Pillow and Hanson formed the first line, Pillow on the right. Preston supported Pillow, and Adams' brigade (commanded by Col. R. L. Gibson) supported Hanson. The artillery was placed in rear of the second line, under orders to move with it and occupy the summit of the slope as soon as the infantry should rout the enemy. Feeling anxious about my right, I sent two staff officers in succession to communicate with Pegram and Wharton, but received no in-

telligence up to the moment of assault. The interval between my left and the troops on the hill was already too great, but I had a battery to watch it and a small infantry support. There was nothing to prevent the enemy from observing nearly all our movements and preparations. To reach him it was necessary to cross an open space 600 or 700 yards in width, with a gentle ascent.

"I had informed the commanding general that we would be ready to advance at 4 o'clock, and precisely at that hour the signal gun was heard from our center. Instantly the troops moved forward at a quickstep and in admirable order. The front line had bayonets fixed, with orders to deliver one volley and then use the bayonet.

"The fire of the enemy's artillery on both sides the river commenced as soon as the troops entered the open ground. When less than half the distance across the field, the quick eye of O'Hara discovered a force extending considerably beyond our right. I immediately directed Major Graves to move a battery to our right and open on them. He at once advanced Wright's battery and effectually checked their movements. Before our line reached the enemy's position, his artillery fire became heavy, accurate and destructive. Many officers and men fell before we closed with their infantry, yet our brave fellows pushed forward with the utmost determination and after a brief but bloody conflict routed both opposing lines, took four hundred prisoners and several flags, and drove their artillery and the great body of their infantry across the river. Many were killed at the water's edge. Their artillery took time by the forelock in crossing the stream. A few of our men in their ardor actually crossed over before they could be prevented, most of whom subsequently moving up the west bank recrossed at a ford three-quarters of a mile above. The second line had halted when the first engaged the enemy's infantry, and laid down under orders; but very soon the casualties in the first line, the fact that the artillery on the opposite line was

more fatal to the second line than the first, and the eagerness of the troops, impelled them forward, and at the decisive moment when the opposing infantry was routed, the two lines had mingled into one, the only practical inconvenience of which was that at several points the ranks were deeper than is allowed by proper military formation.

"A strong force of the enemy beyond our extreme right yet remained on the east side of the river. Presently a new line of battle appeared on the west bank, directly opposite our troops, and opened fire, while at the same time large masses crossed in front of our right and advanced to the attack. We were compelled to fall back. As soon as our infantry had won the ridge, Major Graves advanced the artillery of the division and opened fire. At the same time Captain Robertson threw forward Semple's battery toward our right, which did excellent service. He did not advance his own battery (which was to have taken position on the left), supposing that that part of the field had not been cleared of the enemy's infantry. Although mistaken in this, since the enemy had been driven across the river, yet I regard it as fortunate that the battery was not brought forward. It would have been a vain contest.

"It now appeared that the ground we had won was commanded by the enemy's batteries within easy range on better ground on the other side of the river. I know not how many guns he had.* He had enough to sweep the whole position from the front, the left and the right, and to render it wholly untenable by our force present of artillery and infantry. The infantry, after passing the crest and descending the slope toward the river, were in some measure protected, and suffered less at this period of the action than the artillery.

"We lost three guns, nearly all the horses being killed, and not having the time or men to draw them off by hand.

*It is said there were fifty-five guns.

One was lost because there was but one boy left (Private Wright, of Wright's battery) to limber the piece, and his strength was unequal to it.

"The command fell back in some disorder, but without the slightest appearance of panic, and reformed behind Robertson's battery in the narrow skirt of timber from which we emerged to the assault. The enemy did not advance beyond the position in which he received our attack. My skirmishers continued to occupy a part of the field over which we had advanced until the army retired from Murfreesboro. The action lasted about one hour and twenty minutes. As our lines advanced to the attack several rounds of artillery were heard from our center, apparently directed against the enemy on the west bank of the river.

"At twilight Brig.-Gen. Patton Anderson reported to me with his brigade, and remained in position with me until the army retired. I took up line of battle for the night a little in rear of the field over which we advanced to the assault, and Captain Robertson at my request disposed the artillery in the positions indicated for it. Many of the reports do not discriminate between the losses of Wednesday and Friday. The total loss of my division, exclusive of Jackson's command, is 2,140, of which I think 1,700 occurred on Friday. The loss of the enemy on this day was, I think, greater than our own, since he suffered immense slaughter between the ridge and the river.

"I cannot forbear to express my admiration for the courage and constancy of the troops, exhibited even after it became apparent that the main object could not be accomplished. Beyond the general good conduct, a number of enlisted men displayed at different times of the action the most heroic bravery. I respectfully suggest that authority be given to select a certain number of the most distinguished in each brigade to be recommended to the President for promotion.

"I cannot enumerate all the brave officers who fell, nor the living who did their duty; yet I may be permitted to lament, in common with the army, the premature death of Brigadier-General Hanson, who received a mortal wound at the moment the enemy began to give way. Endeared to his friends by his private virtues, and to his command by the vigilance with which he guarded its interest and honor, he was by the universal testimony of his military associates one of the finest officers that adorned the service of the Confederate States. Upon his fall the command devolved upon Colonel Trabue, who in another organization had long and ably commanded most of the regiments composing the brigade.

"I cannot close without expressing my obligations to the gentlemen of my staff. This is no formal acknowledgment. I can never forget that during all the operations they were ever prompt and cheerful, by night and day, in conveying orders, conducting to their positions regiments and brigades, rallying troops in the field, and, indeed, in the discharge of every duty. It gives me pleasure to name Lieutenant-Colonel Buckner, assistant adjutant-general, who was absent on leave, but returned upon the first rumor of battle; Colonel O'Hara, acting adjutant-general, Lieutenant Breckinridge, aide-de-camp; Major Graves, chief of artillery (twice wounded and his horse shot under him); Maj. James Wilson, assistant inspector-general (horse shot); Capt. Charles Semple, ordnance officer; Lieutenant Darragh, severely wounded. Captains Martin and Coleman, of my volunteer staff, were active and efficient. The former had his horse killed under him.

"Drs. J. F. Heustis and J. E. Pendleton, chief surgeon and medical inspector, were unremitting in their attention to the wounded. Dr. Stanhope Breckinridge, assistant surgeon, accompanied my headquarters and pursued his duties through the fire of Wednesday. Mr. Buckner, and Mr. Zantzinger, of Kentucky, attached themselves to

me for the occasion and were active. Capt. E. M. Blackburn, commanding my escort, ever cool and vigilant, rendered essential service and made several bold reconnoissances. Charles Chotard, of the escort, acting as my orderly on Wednesday, displayed much gallantry and intelligence.

"The army retired before daybreak on the morning of the 4th. My division, moving on the Manchester road, was the rear of Hardee's corps. The Ninth Kentucky, Forty-first Alabama, and Cobb's battery, all under the command of Colonel Hunt, formed a special rear guard. The enemy did not follow us.

"My acknowledgments are due to Col. J. Stoddard Johnston, Lieutenant-Colonel Brent, and Lieutenant-Colonel Garner, of General Bragg's staff, and to Major Pickett of Lieutenant-General Hardee's staff, for services on Friday, January 2nd."

Many a home in Kentucky was filled with mourning by this battle, and the Orphan brigade long lamented the death of its beloved commander. Gen. Roger Weightman Hanson had served as lieutenant in the Mexican war, and to great gallantry as a soldier and the accomplishments of an able lawyer united the rare qualities which made him respected as a commander and endeared to all as a comrade. As colonel of the Second Kentucky, whose fate he shared at Donelson, he had brought it up to the highest standard of discipline, and had already, in the brief interval since his promotion, given to his brigade a reputation of the first prominence. He was struck in the left thigh with the leaden strap of a rifle shell, causing a wound, which, though serious, was not regarded as mortal. As he was being borne in an ambulance to Murfreesboro, he passed near the center where were General Polk and other officers who expressed their sympathy. He was cheerful and to the hope expressed by the bishop-general that he would soon recover, replied that it was a serious wound, but added that it was glorious to die for

one's country. His devoted wife received his shattered form, but the shock to his system was too great for the skill of the surgeon, and he died on the morning of the 4th. Another wife, Mrs. Breckinridge, had shared the anxiety of this Spartan woman, and with heroic fortitude cheered her with her sympathy. She had for two days listened to the thunder of artillery, while her husband and two sons were exposed to its fire, and was not only sustained through this ordeal and in her ministrations to her less fortunate friend, but, when the army retreated, she left at midnight in an ambulance, having in charge Maj. Rice E. Graves, chief of artillery on General Breckinridge's staff, who had been severely wounded, bore him safely to Chattanooga, a distance of nearly a hundred miles over the mountains, and then nursed him until he was able to return to duty. Such were the trials which the women of the South had to meet, and they did it with the same heroism shown by their husbands, sons and brothers in the field.

Saturday which followed the battle was a cold, drizzly day, marked by no military operations on either side. The Confederate troops, having been for a week in the front line of battle, crippled by its casualties and outnumbered by the enemy, were evidently unfit for further aggression or resistance. It was accordingly decided by a council of war to fall back, and at nightfall the retreat began in the order named in General Bragg's memoranda before the battle of the first day, General Polk's corps moving to Shelbyville and General Hardee's to Manchester. The movement was in perfect order and apparently without the knowledge of the enemy, from whom there was no molestation. General Bragg established his headquarters at Tullahoma, and the army remained in that vicinity, not more than forty miles from Murfreesboro, and in possession of the country to within ten or twelve miles of it, for more than five months.

About ten days before the battle of Murfreesboro Gen. John H. Morgan started on one of his celebrated raids

against Rosecrans' communications in Kentucky, which, had General Bragg won a decisive battle, would have been very disastrous in its results. He moved by his well-beaten path to Glasgow, Ky., encountering opposition there and at Cave City, but crossing Green river did great damage along the railroad from Bacon Creek bridge to Elizabethtown, where he captured six hundred prisoners, and made a circuit by way of Springfield and Columbia to Burkesville, where he crossed the Cumberland on the 2nd. Notwithstanding the severe weather, hard marching and fighting, his loss was but two killed, twenty-four wounded and sixty-four missing, while he captured 1,877 prisoners, with a large amount of stores and arms, and diverted the attention of a large force of the enemy, whose cavalry showed great improvement in efficiency. His absence was keenly felt by General Bragg, who during the critical week at Murfreesboro sought to bring him to his aid, but he was too remote for communication in time. The Confederate Congress, in recognition of the service, tendered thanks to "Gen. John H. Morgan and his men for their varied, heroic and invaluable services in Tennessee and Kentucky on this expedition—services which have conferred upon them fame as enduring as the records of the struggle which they have so brilliantly illustrated." Shortly after his return General Bragg recommended his promotion to a major-general.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL BRAGG'S ARMY IN WINTER QUARTERS—
DEATH OF COLONEL TRABUE—VISIT OF GENERAL
JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON—DRILLS AND REVIEWS—
THEODORE O'HARA—CONFEDERATE REVERSES—
GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION SENT TO MIS-
SISSIPPI—GENERAL BUCKNER ASSIGNED TO THE
COMMAND OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EAST TENNES-
SEE, AND GENERAL PRESTON TO THAT OF SOUTH-
WEST VIRGINIA—FALL OF VICKSBURG—OPERA-
TIONS IN MISSISSIPPI—CAPTURE OF COLONEL
STREIGHT'S COMMAND BY GENERAL FORREST—
FEDERAL ADVANCE IN TENNESSEE—MORGAN'S
GREAT RAID THROUGH OHIO.

GENERAL BRAGG'S army was in comfortable condi-
tion during the winter, the main work being done
by the cavalry, which was kept well to the front
to give as extensive foraging ground as possible, General
Morgan's command being about McMinnville and having
occasional skirmishes and small battles with detachments
of the enemy. Col. R. P. Trabue succeeded General Han-
son in command of the Orphan brigade until the arrival
of Brig.-Gen. Ben Hardin Helm, who had recovered
from the injury to his leg, broken by the fall of his horse
at Baton Rouge. Colonel Trabue, to the sorrow of his
regiment and the brigade, died in Richmond, Va., Feb-
ruary 12, 1863. The army was kept in a good state of
discipline by frequent reviews and drilling, in which the
Kentucky brigade, by general consent, bore off the palm.

On the 19th of March Gen. J. E. Johnston came to
Tullahoma and being the senior officer, it was expected
that he would as such supersede General Bragg; but al-

though he remained nearly two months, he declined to take active command, but co-operated with Bragg in all matters concerning the army, at the same time retaining command of department No. 2, which also included Mississippi. In honor of his arrival there was a grand review in which General Hardee introduced the charge of a brigade in line of battle, by regiments, with a shout, at double-quick time. It was then that General Johnston paid the Orphan brigade the compliment of saying that they were the equal of any regular troops he had ever seen. It was a gala day for the Kentuckians. A flag which had been made by Mrs. Breckinridge was presented to the 20th Tennessee, of General Preston's brigade, in her behalf, by Col. Theodore O'Hara, of General Breckinridge's staff, author of the "Bivouac of the Dead," who proved himself an orator as well as a poet.

As spring advanced, Hardee's corps was moved up nearer to the front, Breckinridge being placed at Beech Grove, 12 miles from Murfreesboro, and in special charge of Hoover's Gap, an important point in General Bragg's line through which Rosecrans, during the summer, advanced. The month of May was marked by great activity in the armies, both of the East and West. The victories of Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg, marred by the death of Stonewall Jackson, occurred on the 2nd and 4th. On the 14th the Federal army, having got into the rear of Vicksburg, captured Jackson, Miss. On the 10th Gen. Joseph E. Johnston had left Tullahoma with two brigades to reinforce the Confederate army at Jackson and to take command, but was too late to save the position, and applied for reinforcements. On the 24th, General Breckinridge with his division was ordered to that point. Colonel Hunt of the Fifth, whose family had been sent through the lines from Kentucky, was compelled to resign, and was succeeded by Lieut.-Col. J. W. Caldwell. General Preston was in May ordered to the command of the department of Southwestern Virginia, to succeed Gen. Hum-

phrey Marshall, and about the same time General Buckner was transferred from Mobile to command the department of East Tennessee. With the departure of General Breckinridge on the 25th there were no Kentucky troops left in Tennessee except the cavalry.

Upon the arrival of his division in Mississippi, June 1st, the enemy had evacuated Jackson, and General Breckinridge was placed in command at that place. His division was now composed of Adams', Evans', Stovall's and Helm's brigades, the Forty-seventh Georgia, and Waters' South Carolina battery, reporting 8,194 for duty. There were also in Johnston's army the majority of the Kentucky troops, the Third, Seventh and Eighth regiments, with many Kentucky officers assigned to important duties. Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, a most gallant officer, had been killed in the Baker's Creek battle, near Edwards' Depot, a short time before; Gen. Abram Buford and Gen. Geo. B. Cosby were in command of cavalry brigades, and Dr. D. W. Yandell had become medical director on General Johnston's staff.

The campaign which followed was one of great hardship and of small results; the weary marches, the unhealthy climate and bad drinking water being especially severe on the Kentuckians. Vicksburg fell on the 4th of July, and with the battle of Gettysburg just preceding, marked a fatal turning point in the fortunes of the Confederacy. The only engagement of any note in which General Breckinridge's command participated was on the 12th of July, near Jackson, in which he repulsed the enemy. But General Grant's army being free to move from Vicksburg, General Johnston retired from Jackson and took a position fifty miles eastward where he was free from further molestation. Here General Breckinridge's division remained until August 26th, when it was ordered to Chattanooga, which had now become the storm center in the West.

General Rosecrans, pending the military operations in

the southwest, and his own preparations for a general advance, had long remained quiescent. About the 20th of June he gave evidence of a positive advance, both with his own army and one commanded by General Burnside, into East Tennessee. An extensive cavalry raid was made here by Colonel Carter, who approached the vicinity of Knoxville, and burned several bridges on the East Tennessee & Virginia railroad. On the 23rd of June General Rosecrans captured Hoover's Gap and General Bragg fell back gradually to Chattanooga, when the situation became very similar to that of a year previous, when General Buell on the right and Gen. Geo. W. Morgan on the left seemed on the point of success. But the waste of a year upon the vital force of the South from losses in battle, and the exhaustion of her resources from the blockading of her ports, together with the vast army of the North, recruited from every nation, and with unlimited supplies, domestic and imported, were telling severely upon the Southern cause. In the retrospect it is not strange that defeat ensued, but that it was postponed nearly two years.

The only success scored by General Bragg's forces since the battle of Murfreesboro had been the brilliant capture during the winter of Streight's brigade of cavalry by General Forrest. The Federal raid had been made through the mountains of North Alabama with a view of the capture of Rome, Ga., and the destruction of the Confederate arsenal there. Forrest pursued and after an extraordinary and prolonged march on the trail of his adversary, captured the entire command, when within fifteen or twenty miles of their destination. The boldness of the Federal enterprise was only excelled by the brilliancy of the Confederate success.

But now, when the Federal infantry was advancing, General Morgan executed a movement for the diversion of the enemy, which in its conception and details constituted the most remarkable cavalry exploit of the war. Moving to the rear of Rosecrans with his cavalry division

of 2,500 men, he crossed the Cumberland river at Burkesville on the 2d of July, passed through Columbia, Lebanon and Bardstown to Brandenburg, forty miles below Louisville, and there on the 8th crossed the Ohio into Indiana, drawing after him large bodies of Federal cavalry and infantry and having a number of heavy engagements. Thence he swept through Corydon, Salem and other towns, until on the 13th he was in the vicinity of Cincinnati, having captured many troops, and with the hue and cry of two States raised against him. He was pursued and sought to be headed by large bodies of the enemy's cavalry and infantry, drawn from all quarters. With little time for rest he directed his course northeastward through Ohio until, worn down by fatigue and encompassed by overwhelming odds in his rear, on his flank, and in front, including troops in steamers moving by the Ohio, a large part of his force while attempting to cross into West Virginia at Buffington's Island was captured on the 21st of July, and on the 26th General Morgan was forced to surrender with as many more, bringing the aggregate of his loss to more than half of his original command. The remainder made their way to the South in small detachments and were organized at Abingdon, Va. Of the imprisonment of General Morgan and his principal officers in the penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio, his romantic escape from therewith six of his faithful comrades, Hines, Hochersmith, Sheldon, Bennett, McGee and Taylor, and of his subsequent movements and tragic death, September 4, 1864, at Greeneville, Tenn., reference must be made to the full and able history of Morgan's cavalry by his distinguished second in command, Gen. Basil W. Duke. The proper record of the bold enterprises and dashing exploits of this great cavalry leader would of themselves alone require more space than is accorded to this general narrative of the part taken in the war by all the Kentuckians who followed the Confederate banner.

CHAPTER XVII.

ROSECRANS FLANKS CHATTANOOGA AND BRAGG
EVACUATES—BURNSIDE ENTERS EAST TENNESSEE
AND BUCKNER JOINS BRAGG—MOVEMENTS OF OP-
POSING ARMIES PRECEDING BATTLE—LONGSTREET
JOINS BRAGG WITH HIS CORPS—BATTLE OF CHICK-
AMAUGA—ARRANGEMENT OF LINES OF BATTLE—
IMPORTANT PART PLAYED BY KENTUCKY OFFI-
CERS AND SOLDIERS—SEVERE LOSSES—DEATH
OF GENERAL BEN HARDIN HELM AND COLONEL
JAMES HEWITT—GREAT CONFEDERATE VICTORY—
CHARLES A. DANA'S OPINION—BRECKINRIDGE,
BUCKNER AND PRESTON.

THE danger threatening Chattanooga and east Tennessee now called for the concentration of all the troops which could be made available for its defenses. Rosecrans advanced slowly and cautiously, while Bragg was busily engaged in fortifying at Chattanooga, through the months of July and August. Rosecrans, declining a direct attack, projected a heavy movement up Will's valley on the western side of Look-out mountain, threatening Rome and Bragg's communications, thus forcing the evacuation of Chattanooga on the 9th day of September, Bragg's object being by a coup to crush the right wing of Rosecrans' army, which was moving into Georgia through the gaps south of Chattanooga, and then to turn suddenly upon its left, which occupied the city.

Meanwhile, General Burnside having advanced into east Tennessee from Kentucky, General Buckner had evacuated Knoxville on the 25th of August, and joined Bragg with his division, commanded by General Preston,

who with the Fifth Kentucky and some other troops came from southwest Virginia to reinforce General Bragg. Buckner was then placed in command of a corps consisting of the divisions of Gen. A. P. Stewart and General Preston, the latter embracing the troops of General Buckner's department, composed of Gracie's, Trigg's and Kelly's brigades. General Breckinridge's division, which had previously arrived from Mississippi, was placed in the corps of Gen. D. H. Hill.

When General Bragg moved out of Chattanooga to attack Rosecrans' flanking corps, his Federal opponent thought he was in full retreat toward Rome. Crittenden's corps was therefore started after him and proceeded as far as Ringgold, when it was discovered that the report was false. Bragg's whole army was between the wings of Rosecrans', which were almost fifty miles apart. He tried to crush the right wing under Thomas at McLemore's Cove, but it evaded battle and with McCook's and Crittenden's corps turned toward Chattanooga for better security. Bragg then also moved towards Chattanooga, aiming to intercept Rosecrans and cut him off from his stronghold. On the afternoon of the 18th of September he crossed Chickamauga creek at Lee & Gordon's mill, with the view of throwing himself across the main road leading from Crawfish Springs to Chattanooga. Thomas, divining his purpose, crossed the creek at Crawfish Springs and by a night march parallel to Bragg, secured the position he occupied in the subsequent battle.

The morning of the 19th found Bragg in the act of forming his line in a direction generally parallel with the road to Chattanooga, with his left wing resting on the Chickamauga at Lee & Gordon's mill. General Buckner's corps was placed on the left, with Preston's division at Lee & Gordon's mill, and Stewart's on his right. General Longstreet, whose corps had arrived from Virginia the day before, was on Buckner's right. Hill's

corps and Polk's corps were still on the east side of the Chickamauga. While General Bragg was making his alignment on the morning of the 19th his right came in contact with part of the Federal forces under General Thomas, and a heavy engagement ensued in the thick woods, which prevented either side from determining well what was in its front. In the afternoon, General Preston's division was for a time hotly engaged, but repulsed the attack and held its position with the loss of 150 men killed and wounded. The enemy had also suffered on our right, but the army not being united, further advance was not made.

At night both armies prepared for the great battle of the next day. General Breckinridge crossed the river and at daylight was placed on the extreme right, his left resting on the right of Cleburne's division. General Polk was in command of the right wing, consisting of his own and Hill's corps; and General Longstreet of the left, composed of his own and Buckner's corps. During the night, General Thomas, who had been severely pressed the day before, had felled timber and made a breastwork in the thick forest of small trees parallel to our line, so located as not to be discernible until closely approached. These works covered Breckinridge's left and Cleburne's right. The break of day found the two armies in lines of nearly equal length, the Federals near and a little in front of the main Chattanooga road, McCook's corps on the right, his right resting on Crawfish Springs, Crittenden's in center, and Thomas' on the left, and the Confederates a few hundred yards east of them.

It had been Bragg's intention to attack early in the morning, but there was delay in perfecting his dispositions on the right in support of Cleburne, and to his left, and it was not until half-past nine that the advance was made. The thick woods and generally level nature of the ground prevented the use of much artillery, and until positions were changed later in the day, but little was used.

Bragg's plan of battle was that which characterized his other fights, to open on the right and swing on his left as a pivot. Rosecrans' policy was, as at Murfreesboro, waiting and defensive. Breckinridge's division was posted as follows: Helm's Kentucky brigade on the left, Stovall's in the center, and Adams' on the right. At the hour named the advance was made and in a few minutes the battle opened with great fury, extending to the right of Longstreet's line; but that part of the line which came upon the breastworks of Thomas met with heavy loss and was forced to fall back after having advanced within pistol shot of it.

General Breckinridge in his report says: "The battle was opened by Helm with great fury. The Second and Ninth Kentucky, with three companies of the Forty-first Alabama regiment, encountered the left of a line of breastworks before reaching the Chattanooga road, and though assailing them with great courage, were compelled to pause. From some cause the line on my left had not advanced simultaneously with my division, and in consequence these brave troops were at first, in addition to the fire in front, subjected to a severe enfilading fire from the left. The rest of Helm's brigade, in whose front there were no works, after a short but sharp engagement, routed a line of the enemy, pursued it across the Chattanooga road, and captured a section of artillery in the center of the road. This portion of the brigade was now brought under a heavy and enfilading fire, and being separated from its left, I ordered Col. Jos. H. Lewis of the Sixth Kentucky, who succeeded to the command upon the fall of General Helm, to withdraw the troops some two hundred yards to the rear, reunite the brigade and change his front slightly to meet the new order of things by throwing forward his right and retiring his left. The movement was made without panic or confusion.

"This was one of the bloodiest encounters of the day. Here General Helm, ever ready for action, and endeared

to his command by his many virtues, received a mortal wound, while in the heroic discharge of duty. Col. J. W. Hewitt of the Second Kentucky was killed, acting gallantly at the head of his regiment. Captains Madeira, Rogers, and Dedman, of the Second, Captain Daniel of the Ninth Kentucky, and many officers and men met their deaths before the enemy's works; while Colonel Nuckols of the Fourth Kentucky, Colonel Caldwell of the Ninth, and many more officers and men, were wounded.

"In the meantime Adams and Stovall advanced steadily, driving two lines of skirmishers. Stovall halted at the Chattanooga road. Adams, after dispersing a regiment and capturing a battery, crossed at Glenn's farm and halted a short distance beyond in an open field. When Helm's brigade was checked, and I had given Colonel Lewis orders in reference to his new position, I rode to the commands of Adams and Stovall on the right. It was now evident from the comparatively slight resistance they had encountered and the fact they were not threatened in front, that our line extended beyond the enemy's left. I at once ordered these brigades to change front perpendicularly to the original line of battle, and with the left of Adams and the right of Stovall resting on the Chattanooga road, to advance upon the flank of the enemy. Slocumb's battery, which had previously done good service, was posted on favorable ground on the west of the road to support the movement. The brigades moved in fine order over a field and entered the woods beyond. Stovall soon encountered the extreme left of the enemy's works, which retiring from the general north and south direction of his intrenchments, extended westward to the Chattanooga road. After a severe and well-contested conflict, he was checked and forced to retire. Adams on the west side of the road met two lines of the enemy, who had improved the short time to bring up reinforcements and reform nearly at right angles to the troops in his main line of works." General Breckinridge compli-

ments Cobb's battery for its action in the fight.

Some further fighting occurred here, but General Breckinridge, finding himself confronted by a largely superior force and having no support, after getting actually in rear of Thomas' main line, reformed his command east of the Chattanooga road, about six hundred yards in front of his first line of the morning. His account of this movement, in advancing independently, and upon his own responsibility changing front, and moving upon the enemy's flank and rear, has been presented here for the purpose of giving him the credit which his modesty prevented him from claiming and his superiors failed to recognize as it deserved. Its bearing upon the result of the battle and its immediate effect upon the enemy were such that it led directly to the disaster which soon befell the Federal army. When the Confederate line had recoiled from Thomas' breastworks, the assault was renewed by fresh lines, and this, together with the threatened danger to Thomas' rear by Breckinridge's movement, led to the transfer of heavy reinforcements from the Federal right and center, leaving a gap in front of General Hood, who threw his division forward promptly and broke their line, inflicting heavy loss upon the enemy and being himself desperately wounded. The movement was taken up in line by Stewart's division of Buckner's corps and later by Preston's division, which drove all before them with great slaughter, until it became in the nature of a right wheel on the left center; and the greater part of the left wing advanced across the Chattanooga road, assuming a line almost at right angles to its former position.

Thus with his right broken up and bent back, and with renewed charges upon Thomas' breastworks and a fresh advance of Breckinridge, the entire Federal right was beaten back toward the foothills of Missionary Ridge in the rear. Lately published reminiscences of Charles A. Dana, assistant secretary of war, who was on the field, fully confirm this view. He says Rosecrans' defeat was

a veritable Bull Run. There remained but one point of Federal resistance besides that of Thomas, and this was the wooded hills near McFarland's Gap and the key to the Federal position.

General Preston, who had as a guide Dyer, whose house stood on the battlefield near by, and from whom he learned the nature of the topography in the front, followed after Hindman's and McLaws' divisions, which had met a heavy repulse, and moving up a ravine beyond Snodgrass' house, charged the flank of Granger and Steedman, posted with artillery on commanding ridges. It was bloody but effective work, resulting in the complete rout of the enemy and the capture of the Eighty-ninth Ohio, the Twenty-second Michigan, and part of the Twenty-first Ohio regiments. This bold and decisive stroke, which closed the battle as the sun set, was one of the most gallant affairs of the war, and like that of Breckinridge on the right was made upon General Preston's own judgment, as he was ordered originally merely to support Hindman. A British officer present compared Preston to Dessaix and said his charge was one of the greatest in history. The Fifth Kentucky, Colonel Hawkins, was conspicuous for gallantry in this fight.

In the confusion resulting from the change of lines, the smoke of battle, and approach of night, it was difficult to comprehend the full extent of this Confederate victory. The enemy, beaten at every point, availing himself of the favorable conditions, retreated in the direction of Chattanooga, and the Confederate army, worn down by long and arduous labors, with all commands mingled in promiscuous confusion, went to sleep on the battlefield, each where he found himself. The further details of what followed, the fatality which, arising partly from the want of sufficient force, but chiefly from the lack of Stonewall Jackson persistence, lost the full fruits of victory, belong to general history. It has been the aim in this narrative to sketch briefly only so much of the battle as will show

to their countrymen the part performed by the Confederate soldiers from Kentucky and their gallant officers. For small, yet effective, as were the number of muskets, no troops fought more bravely, and no State was more ably represented than Kentucky in her trio of generals, —noble men all, who were never separated in friendship by faction or jealousy, and who illustrated in their character and deeds the elements which make men great and have made their State famous. Each, by the unanimous verdict of the army, earned an advancement in grade; but Kentucky was already top-heavy in rank proportionate to her troops in the service, and other States clamored for recognition of their sons. Later in the war General Buckner was made a lieutenant-general, and just before its close General Preston a major-general.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INVESTMENT OF CHATTANOOGA BY BRAGG—GENERAL ROSECRANS DISPLACED BY GENERAL GRANT—BATTLE OF MISSIONARY RIDGE—GENERAL BUCKNER ASSIGNED TO THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT—GENERAL PRESTON APPOINTED MINISTER TO MEXICO AND GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE ASSIGNED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA—SAD PARTING OF THE LATTER WITH THE KENTUCKY BRIGADE—GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON SUCCEEDS BRAGG—HIS COMPLIMENT TO THE BRIGADE—BRECKINRIDGE'S SERVICE IN VIRGINIA—HIS VICTORY OVER SIGEL AT NEW MARKET—HIS OVATION FROM GENERAL LEE'S ARMY—BATTLE OF SECOND COLD HARBOR—MONOCACY—IN SIGHT OF WASHINGTON CITY—SHENANDOAH VALLEY CAMPAIGN—RETURN TO HIS DEPARTMENT—KENTUCKY TROOPS THERE AND OPERATIONS—MADE SECRETARY OF WAR—SUCCEEDING EVENTS.

THE second day after the battle, General Bragg moved up to within cannon-shot of Chattanooga, where Rosecrans, reassured by the failure of pursuit and the strength of the defenses which Bragg had constructed, suspended his movements for retreat inaugurated in the Federal panic, and settled down to stand a siege. Bragg disposed his army in the valley between Missionary Ridge and Point Lookout, from which latter elevation every movement in the beleaguered town was distinctly visible. He remained there until November 25th. Meanwhile Burnside had captured Knoxville, and

Longstreet was sent to dislodge him, but was foiled, after a desperate assault on the strong fortifications, and the greater part of East Tennessee was permanently lost to the Confederacy. At the same time Federal reinforcements poured into Chattanooga, and General Grant, full of the prestige of Vicksburg and looming up into the prominence which soon placed him at the head of the Federal armies, was sent to restore the shattered confidence of Rosecrans' army. The result is told in few words.

The "Battle of the Clouds" on Lookout Mountain is a myth. The battle of Missionary Ridge was little short of a disgrace. The resistance was as feeble as that of many of the detachments which Morgan captured in his raids, and with the loss of a few hundred the Confederate army fell back beyond the Chickamauga and went into winter quarters at Dalton, Ga. With it went the Kentucky brigade, farther and farther from home, yet with the same brave and loyal spirit which ever characterized it.

General Preston had, before the battle of Missionary Ridge, been restored to his department in southwestern Virginia, but had left the Fifth Kentucky, which became permanently a part of the Orphan brigade. In a short time he was sent as minister to Mexico, and his military career ceased. In his place General Buckner was ordered to Virginia, and after a brief service was, at his own request, assigned to the Trans-Mississippi, and was thenceforward separated from the Kentucky troops with whom he had so long been associated. In common with many other officers from Kentucky and elsewhere, he had been involved in unpleasant controversy with General Bragg, and longer service in his department became distasteful. Thus almost simultaneously the army of Tennessee, as it was still called, lost two of its most conspicuous officers. But it was soon to lose a third. President Davis, recognizing the capacity and influence of General Breckinridge, and the demand for an officer of his merit in that field,

in the early part of February tendered him the command of the department of Southwestern Virginia, and he accepted it. The announcement of the fact brought gloom to the Kentucky brigade, and the parting was touching. The night before he left they called in a body to take leave of him, and besought him to secure their transfer to his department. When he went to Richmond on his way to take command, he made the application, and afterward repeated it urgently; but when the matter was referred to Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, who had succeeded General Bragg in the command, that officer disapproved the transfer, saying in compliment to the brigade, which ever endeared him to it, that its place could not be supplied. Thus the year 1864 started off with a general shake-up in the army at Dalton, and the several officers went to their new fields of service, not again to be united.

Leaving the Kentucky brigade in quarters at Dalton for a season of rest and recreation, a brief record will be made of General Breckinridge's after service and that of the Kentuckians who came under his command, as little account has ever been made of it within the reach of his admiring countrymen.

The department to which he had been assigned was one of great territorial dimensions, and of an altogether inadequate force. It extended from the Alleghany mountains as far west in East Tennessee as was held by the Confederate arms, and northward the same. It had been the graveyard of Confederate generals as far as their reputations were concerned, owing to the fact that, with a front of nearly three hundred miles open to invasions of the enemy by routes impossible to guard, whenever it was invaded blame fell upon the commanding general and his prestige was destroyed. It came near being the ruin of General Lee, while Floyd, Loring and a number of others were in turn retired and their future usefulness destroyed.

In the latter part of February General Breckinridge assumed command of the department with head-

quarters at Dublin Depot, Pulaski county, on the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad, a few miles west of New River. One of his first acts was to make a horseback tour along his front, extending from Warm Springs on the northeast to Abingdon, involving a ride of three hundred miles in wintry weather. His infantry consisted of two brigades, that of Gen. John Echols, at Monroe Draught, near the Greenbrier White Sulphur Springs, and that of Gen. G. C. Wharton, at the Narrows of New River. At Warm Springs was a cavalry brigade under Gen. W. L. Jackson, and other detachments of cavalry were at other widely separate stations, of which there were sixteen and with which communication was chiefly by courier. Gen. John H. Morgan, who had reorganized the remnant of his command, was in the vicinity of Abingdon, and there also were the brigades of Gen. H. L. Giltner and Geo. B. Cosby, chiefly composed of Kentuckians, while other bodies of cavalry not necessary to enumerate, detached and of smaller numbers, were disposed with reference to scouting, forage and subsistence. Within his department were the Wythe county lead mines, from which came the principal supply for the armies of the Confederacy, and the salt works at Saltville, from which was derived in great part the salt necessary for the whole South, east of the Mississippi. Added to these features was the fact that soon after he took command General Longstreet, who had occupied that part of East Tennessee not held by the Federal forces, was called to Northern Virginia, increasing largely the responsibility of his charge. His coming was greeted warmly by the people of that part of Virginia, and by the troops to whom his high reputation was an assurance of an improved service.

He had, however, not long been in command when the campaign in Eastern Virginia began, and on the 5th day of May, when he was preparing to resist an invasion from the Kanawha valley, he received a dispatch from General Lee, who was engaged in the battles of the Wilderness,

to move at once with all his available force to Staunton for the defense of that point, and defend it against Sigel, who was moving up the Shenandoah valley. Breckinridge started immediately with his two infantry brigades for a long march over the mountains, and arrived at Staunton on the 11th, calling out the militia of Augusta county and the cadets of the Virginia military institute at Lexington. It was generally supposed that he would fortify and await Sigel's advance, but on the 13th he put his forces, numbering about 3,500, including a small cavalry force under General Imboden, in motion to meet Sigel, who was reported about fifty miles northward.

On the evening of the 14th he had reached a point within nine miles of New Market, near which and to the north he learned that Sigel was camped. At one o'clock that night, the weather being rainy, he marched north, and at daylight on the morning of Sunday, May 15th, his infantry was in line of battle just south of New Market, almost within cannon shot of Sigel before that officer knew there was any infantry force between him and Staunton. There was little delay for preliminaries, and by noon Sigel, who had about twice the number of troops led by Breckinridge, had been forced to fall back beyond New Market, where he took a strong position on the crest of a hill from which there was a gentle slope of nearly a mile through wheat-fields and blue-grass pastures. General Breckinridge was reluctant to put the cadets, of whom there were 225, into the battle and at first proposed to detach them as rear guard to the trains, but they pleaded so earnestly that he finally yielded and gave them the post of honor in the center, between the two brigades, as a color line for them to dress by. He had but one line, but his flanks were protected by a bluff bank of the Shenandoah on the left, and swampy ground at the right. From the nature of the topography, he could not use artillery directly, but ascertaining by reconnoitering that he could move it to an eligible position on the right and

advance even with, or a little in front of his line, he moved his command up, while with the artillery, whose fire he directed, he selected for his own post the right, where he kept himself in view of his troops and inspired them by his presence. The line moved in spirited order in the face of a galling fire; while advancing his artillery, consisting of ten pieces, he secured somewhat of an enfilading or quartering fire upon the enemy and diverted their attention in the interest of the infantry. Its effect was felt first by Sigel's reserve line, among which arose confusion, which Sigel sought to counteract by a cavalry charge from the left of his line; but canister soon repulsed that, and in a short time, the Confederate infantry having approached to within a few hundred yards of the enemy without a break in their line, the enemy gave way and fled in disorder.

Several hundred prisoners were captured, and Sigel, crossing a bridge a few miles in his rear, burned it and made good his retreat nearly to the Potomac. The casualties to the Confederates were not as heavy as would be inferred from their exposed position, but among the cadets the loss was in proportion to their number the greatest, there having been seven killed and fifty-four wounded. It was a glory dearly bought, but gave to the corps a prestige which will endure for all time. No troops of veteran service ever bore themselves with more steadiness or valor or wore their honors with more becoming grace. General Breckinridge issued a special order commending them for their good behavior, and next day General Lee, relieved of the danger thus averted from his flank, sent to General Breckinridge his hearty congratulations.

On the same night, the rear of Lee's lines being threatened by a formidable raid of Sheridan, who had approached near Richmond, and at the Yellow Tavern had numbered among the dead the valiant and chivalrous J. E. B. Stuart, General Lee directed General Breckin-

ridge to move as rapidly as possible to Hanover Junction and protect the bridges over the North Anna river. Accordingly, relieving the cadets, he started immediately for Staunton, and on the morning of May 20th arrived at Hanover Junction in time to save the bridges and protect the railroad. The celerity with which he had moved, and the thoroughness with which he had accomplished the purpose to which he was assigned, evoked the greatest applause throughout all Virginia. When, a few days later, the army of General Lee, falling back from Spottsylvania Court House, reached Hanover Junction, Breckinridge not only received in person the hearty thanks of that great commander, but whenever he came within the presence of the veterans of that grand army of Virginia, he was received with the most enthusiastic cheers, which rang down the lines until the sound faded out of hearing. They all knew what it meant and never tired in the ovation. And surely nature has rarely fashioned a man more calculated to inspire enthusiasm or evoke applause from his fellow men. Of a presence and manly bearing which even in the sober garb of a civilian would excite the admiration and attract the attention of the veriest stranger, in the uniform of an officer and superbly mounted as he always was, he was the very embodiment of manly grace coupled with intellectual force. Besides, his name was familiar as a household word to every man and woman of the South. After brilliant service in Congress from the home of Clay, whose mantle had descended with a blessing upon his shoulders, and whose eulogium he had fittingly pronounced in Congress, he had been chosen Vice-President at an age when he was barely eligible. Serving his term he had gone from the chair of the presiding officer to a seat for a full term in the Senate, after leading the forlorn hope as the choice of the Southern people for President. To these civic honors had succeeded a brilliant service in the army, where he proved his merit at Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, and

other lesser battlefields. To few men has it been given to show such a record at the age of forty-three years—a period in life at only the threshold of mature and vigorous manhood. Nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since he passed away, and yet there is no name in his native State which inspires more of genuine admiration for his superb manhood, or whose memory is more secure among her people, than that of John C. Breckinridge.

General Lee, by his masterly strategy, foiled General Grant, who, with his overwhelming numbers and great abilities as a general, was unable to get nearer to Richmond than Cold Harbor; where on the 3d of June he was repulsed with a slaughter rarely equaled during the war, while the loss of the Confederates reached but a few hundred. General Breckinridge occupied an important position on the line of defense, and acquitted himself with his usual merit. He narrowly escaped death when his horse was killed under him by a solid cannon shot, and he was injured in the fall. In a few days after the battle he was again ordered with his division to the valley, to defend it against the advance of Gen. David Hunter. Of these operations it remains for other pens to write. Suffice it to say that for four months, in command of a corps under General Early, he fully sustained his reputation as an able officer. He was conspicuous at the battle of Monocacy in Maryland, July 9th, and a few days later saw the Capitol at Washington from the homestead of his relative, Francis P. Blair. At the battle of second Kernstown, July 26th, he executed a movement suggested by himself as the result of his habit of bold and thorough reconnoitering, which resulted in a decisive victory over a superior force, and which alone would have placed him in the front rank of military commanders. Not bred to the profession of arms, at a period when an education at West Point was regarded as a prerequisite for military success, he was undoubtedly the ablest general from the volunteer service, excelled by few who had the trade-

mark of the profession, and superior to scores who claimed distinction by virtue of their diplomas rather than their merit or success in the field. After the battle of Winchester, Va., September, 1864, in which he rendered his usual service, he was ordered back to the command of his department, reaching there just in time to repel an attack upon the salt works, Gen. John S. Williams having opportunely arrived with a body of cavalry from Gen. J. E. Johnston's army and defeated Burbridge, who commanded the Federal force.

During the absence of General Breckinridge in the Shenandoah valley, General Morgan had made an extensive raid in Kentucky in June, doing much damage, but suffering severely at Mt. Sterling and Cynthiana. His command was much demoralized as the result of this expedition, and by the subsequent death of its distinguished chief.

In December, General Breckinridge successfully resisted a formidable raid against Saltville, led by General Gillem, who captured Wytheville, but was foiled in his further designs by the skill and energy of General Duke, under the personal direction of General Breckinridge. The cold weather was intense, and the men suffered much from exposure, but compelled the retreat of the enemy without any material results from the raid. General Breckinridge gave thorough satisfaction to the government as well as the people in the administration of his department. The citizens of Southwest Virginia found in him a commander who respected all their rights, and with the forces at his command, being chiefly Kentucky cavalry, protected them from the depredations of the enemy.

In the latter part of February, 1865, General Breckinridge was appointed secretary of war, and upon his acceptance his military career ended. He was succeeded by Gen. John Echols, a veteran officer of Stonewall Jackson's original brigade, afterward long identified with Kentucky in the development of her railroad system.

Upon the evacuation of Richmond by General Lee, General Echols marched with all his force eastward to join him. When near Christiansburg, he learned of the surrender at Appomattox. He called a council of war, and it was determined to furlough the infantry, indefinitely abandon the wagons and artillery, and march immediately with such cavalry as would go to General Johnston's army in North Carolina. General Duke and Gen. J. C. Vaughn elected to make the march, while General Giltner and General Cosby, regarding the war as practically over, concluded to march toward Kentucky and receive their paroles there if their conclusion was correct. Accordingly on the 12th of April, immediately after the council closed, the movement began. General Duke had about three hundred men, but they were not mounted, their horses being near Lincolnton, N. C., where forage could be obtained. His men were furnished with horses and mules from the abandoned wagons and artillery, and thus mounted, without saddles and with blind bridles, these men, together with Vaughn's brigade, accompanied General Echols two hundred miles to Salisbury. Here they met President Davis, who was much touched at the action of these Kentuckians, who had thus elected to share his fate.

General Echols in his report made to General Lee, after the surrender, says: "The bearing of General Duke's command, which with unbroken ranks faced the hardships of a march which was leading them at every step farther from home and to a destination full of danger and uncertainty was beyond praise. Even had they been fully equipped their bearing would have been worthy of praise, but when it is remembered that they were mounted on bare-backed horses and mules with blind bridles, and nevertheless preserved the same discipline and order as upon a regular march, their conduct reflects great honor upon them." After a few more days they terminated their military service in the general surrender.

CHAPTER XIX.

GENERAL JOHNSTON'S ARMY IN WINTER QUARTERS—GENERAL W. B. BATE SUCCEEDS GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE IN COMMAND OF DIVISION—OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN—ROCKY FACE CAP—BATTLE OF RESACA—NEW HOPE CHURCH—ARDUOUS SERVICE OF THE KENTUCKY BRIGADE—CROSSING OF THE CHATTAHOOCHEE—GENERAL HOOD SUCCEEDS JOHNSTON—BATTLES AROUND ATLANTA—BATTLE OF JONESBORO—FALL OF ATLANTA—SEVERE LOSSES OF THE KENTUCKY BRIGADE—IT IS MOUNTED—ITS SERVICES IN THE SHERMAN CAMPAIGN AND FINAL SURRENDER AT WASHINGTON, GA.—OTHER KENTUCKY COMMANDS—DUKE'S AND BRECKINRIDGE'S BRIGADES—THE RETURN OF THE KENTUCKIANS TO THEIR HOMES—THEIR HOSPITABLE WELCOME—RESTORATION TO CITIZENSHIP—SPEEDY HEALING OF BREACHES.

WHEN General Breckinridge was transferred from Dalton to Southwestern Virginia, he was succeeded in the command of his division by Gen. William B. Bate, of Tennessee, a gallant officer under whom the Kentucky brigade served during the campaign of 1864 with mutual satisfaction. Besides the Kentucky brigade the division comprised Tyler's Tennessee brigade and Finley's Florida brigade. The winter at Dalton passed quietly, the mountainous nature of the country between that place and Chattanooga rendering military movements impracticable. The winter quarters of the troops were comfortable, tents and rude huts built of small logs by the soldiers. The rations, however, were not always good or abundant, and contrasted unfavorably with those of the previous winter in Tennessee. The South was feeling the exhaustion caused by the war. The

beef, chiefly from Florida, was of the leanest kind. Forage for the artillery and transportation stock was also difficult to procure. The health of the army, however, was good, its discipline well preserved, and the soldiers enjoyed many amusements in camp life, which experience had suggested.

General Sherman had succeeded Rosecrans in the command of the Federal army. The Confederate advance outpost was Ringgold, and in the latter part of February a demonstration was made against it, and the Kentucky brigade was moved to Rocky Face Gap, but their stay was of short duration, as the Federal forces soon retired. No further demonstrations were made of serious character until the first week in May, when the brigade was again sent to Rocky Face Gap and the long campaign of the ensuing summer may be said to have begun. On the 12th it fell back to Resaca, where on the 14th occurred the severest engagement which had to that time taken place. A large Federal force attacked the division in position, and the brunt of the fight fell upon the Kentucky brigade. After being twice heavily repulsed the attacking force withdrew, but shelled the slight defenses of the brigade with such effect that forty or more of the brigade were killed or wounded. By successive retreats and maneuvers for position, General Johnston fell back beyond Dallas, where, on the 25th, at New Hope Church, another stand was made, and an attack upon Hardee's corps by Hooker's corps was repulsed. On the 27th a part of the brigade was again engaged, and successfully charged the enemy's lines. But the heaviest engagement took place on the 28th, when the brigade made a notable charge, driving the enemy to his second line, in which the loss of both officers and men was heavy.

By continued flanking the enemy compelled General Johnston to continue his retrograde movement until, at Kenesaw Mountain, on the 27th day of June, another severe fight occurred in which the brigade sustained itself

with its usual gallantry and with its usual losses.

On the 9th of July General Johnston crossed the Chattahoochee river for the defense of Atlanta, but before there was another engagement he was superseded on the 19th by General Hood, a native of Kentucky, who at once assumed an aggressive policy. On the 22d the enemy was attacked near Decatur, when the Kentucky brigade, under a terrific fire, lost in a few moments nearly one hundred and fifty men, the Federals being driven from their works and nearly one thousand prisoners and several pieces of artillery being captured. On the 5th of August a portion of the brigade was again engaged, and on the next day Gen. S. D. Lee, at this time commanding Hood's corps, to which the brigade temporarily was attached, issued a congratulatory order in which he said: "The lieutenant-general commanding takes pleasure in announcing to the officers and men of this corps, the splendid conduct of a portion of Bate's division, particularly Tyler's brigade [the Second and Fourth Kentucky regiments also participated], in sustaining and repulsing on yesterday three assaults of the enemy, in which his loss in killed, wounded and prisoners was from eight hundred to one thousand men, two colors, and three or four hundred small arms, and all of his entrenching tools. Our loss was from fifteen to twenty killed and wounded. Soldiers who fight with the coolness and determination that these men did will always be victorious over any reasonable number." Thus the command continued fighting from day to day in the entrenchments around Atlanta, and occasionally making sorties, until on the 29th of August they were sent to Jonesboro, to repel the advance of a heavy cavalry force, and there on the 1st of September, in addition to a number of killed and wounded, sustained the loss of about two hundred captured. Thus closed the long and arduous campaign of nearly four months, during which there had been no rest, since when not marching or fighting, these gallant sol-

diers had been exposed to the fire of artillery and musketry. The Atlanta campaign was at an end. The city was evacuated, and General Sherman's victorious army added to the destructive forces of the engines of war those of fire, until Atlanta was made the picture of desolation.

The brigade, what was left of it, was sent to Griffin, Ga., to be mounted in accordance with a long cherished wish. It was, however, but the skeleton of that robust body, small indeed, compared to its original roll before the ravages of Murfreesboro, Jackson and Chickamauga had depleted it, which had left its winter-quarters at Dalton in May. The history of the war shows no such record as that which attests the devotion of the Kentucky brigade. When the Georgia campaign began, it numbered eleven hundred men for duty, the remnant of that force which at Murfreesboro with its full complement of officers and artillery numbered five thousand. Now it mustered less than three hundred, the actual number of guns being two hundred and seventy-eight. Capt. Ed. Porter Thompson, in his history of the Kentucky brigade, page 262, says: "The loss during the campaign from Dalton to Jonesboro, it will be observed, had been eight hundred and forty-two non-commissioned officers and privates killed, wounded and prisoners, while the loss of officers was proportionately great. Only two hundred had been captured. One hundred and eighty rank and file had been killed, and at various times five hundred and thirty wounded, some of whom, however, had recovered and were now present. General Hardee reported the loss of the brigade to be greater than that of any other in the corps. For months there had scarcely been a day in which some were not killed or wounded, sometimes from forty to one hundred and fifty in a single day."

With the fall of Atlanta, besides the change in the service of the Kentucky brigade from infantry to cavalry, came also a new assignment in the line of service. It had

up to this time always been attached to the army of the West, known first as the army of the Mississippi and then as the army of Tennessee. But now when General Hood with his army advanced north to attempt the capture of Nashville and to meet his Waterloo at Franklin, leaving Sherman to prosecute his "march to the sea," the brigade was detached from the army with which it had so long served, and left as part of the forlorn hope to impede Sherman's progress. The effect of the new order mounting the brigade was inspiriting to the men, as they had long desired the change, and it meant to them a relief from the drudgery of marching and the gratification of an in-born partiality of the Kentuckian for the horse. To the absentees of the brigade, the sick and wounded, and the men on detailed service, it acted as a healing balm for the first two, and brought applications from the last for return to active duty. So that when the brigade was mounted in October, with recruits from this source, and exchanged prisoners, it numbered about nine hundred men. They were mounted on such horses as could be procured, generally too poor for dashing cavalry, but available for transferring their riders from point to point and enabling them to do efficient duty as mounted infantry. There was practically no army with which to oppose the march of General Sherman except a weak corps of cavalry commanded by Gen. Joseph Wheeler, which served chiefly to hold in check the cavalry of the enemy and to protect the country from marauding expeditions.

The brigade was placed in the division of Gen. Alfred Iverson, of Georgia, and served there to the close of the war, the division a part of the time being commanded by Gen. Pierce M. B. Young. The details of its operations were not of sufficient moment to follow minutely. It began its service on the picket line near Atlanta, and from the middle of November, when Sherman took up his march, its movements were retrograde for a month until Sherman captured Savannah. Then, when he turned

northward, they followed over the ground made famous in the revolution by the cavalry of Sumter and Marion, but the conditions were not favorable for brilliant operations. In addition to the Kentucky brigade under General Lewis, Williams' brigade of cavalry, commanded by Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge, served as part of General Wheeler's corps, being attached to the division of Gen. G. G. Dibrell. It comprised the First (Third) Kentucky cavalry, Lieut.-Col. Jacob W. Griffith; Second Kentucky (Woodward's), Maj. Thomas W. Lewis; and Ninth Kentucky cavalry, Colonel Breckinridge. In the Rebellion Records, Vol. XLVII, page 860, appears an order from General Hardee's headquarters, January 1, 1865, consolidating this brigade with General Lewis', but it was never carried into effect.

An inspection report of Maj. J. G. Devereux to Gen. Samuel Cooper, Richmond, dated February 10, 1865, gives the following account of the brigade: "The brigade commanded by Brig.-Gen. Joseph H. Lewis is composed of the Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Ninth Kentucky regiments of infantry, which were mounted both men and officers by command of General Hood, on public animals, mostly horses, but many of them mules, which have been receipted for by the acting quartermaster. The brigade lacks about 200 horses to complete its mounting. The men who need these horses are acting as infantry. The horse equipments are generally in good order and were mostly issued from government workshops. A detail of the men is making up the deficiency by constructing excellent saddles. It is gratifying to report that there are but few absentees without leave from this brigade."

Such was the condition of the brigade in the closing scenes of the war, and the picture applies as well to that of the other Kentucky troops. The end was near, and came at Washington, Ga., where, on the 6th of May, General Johnston having surrendered on the 26th of April, they received their paroles together with Breckinridge's

brigade, and the remnant of General Morgan's command brought from Southwestern Virginia by General Duke, as heretofore detailed.

The Third, Seventh and Eighth Kentucky regiments, which at one time or another were associated with those of Lewis' brigade, received their paroles in the West. As has been stated, they were mounted quite a year before the Orphan brigade, and served with Forrest. One of their most notable fights was that at Paducah, March 25th, 1864, in which after a severe conflict, General Forrest was compelled to retire with serious loss. Here in sight of his home the gallant Col. A. P. Thompson, of the Third Kentucky, met his death, in the full tide of battle.

And thus the curtain fell upon the great drama which for four years held the eyes of the world, filled the soil of the South with the graves of her sons and of their opponents, and wrapped the whole country in woe and the South in desolation. To the Kentucky soldier the end brought sorrow equal to that of the more Southern States, since their hopes and affections had been as warmly enlisted in the cause for which they fought as those of any other State. At first it seemed that they would be denied even the privilege of returning home, as, although the right was granted in their paroles, the attorney-general at Washington, who was a Kentuckian, rendered an opinion that Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri not being within the Southern Confederacy, soldiers from those States had forfeited their homes and would not be permitted to return. After several weeks, however, this decision was rescinded, and gradually the weary and footsore found their way back to the paternal roof. The welcome which there awaited them went far to repay them for all the trials through which they had gone and to encourage them to gird their loins for a new struggle in the more peaceful pursuit of a livelihood.

The condition was changed from that which prevailed at the time of the Federal occupation, and during the war

its scourge and the oppression of the satraps who had successfully exercised a despotic sway, had changed the whole current of political feeling. Men who had been prominent in handing over the State to Federal domination and had favored the hanging of so-called secessionists, had been sent to Northern prisons for protesting against the oppression of Burnside, Burbridge and Palmer, while Garrett Davis, who had succeeded Breckinridge in the Senate as a reward for his services in shackling the State, was as severe against the administration at Washington as his predecessor had been four years before, and was as roundly denounced as an arch-rebel. In fact the State was as ready for revolt under the leadership of those once most loyal as it had ever been under the State rights domination.

So that instead of coming home to be disciplined the Southern soldier was received with open arms as a hero by those from whom he least expected such welcome, and the parable of the prodigal son was exemplified. The fatted calf was killed and the veal was made his portion.

At the first election which followed in August, 1865, with soldiers at the polls and the returned Confederates disfranchised, the radical party was defeated, and two years later, upon a platform reaffirming the Kentucky resolutions, John L. Helm, an old-time whig, the nominee of the Democratic party, defeated his radical opponent for governor by a majority of over fifty-six thousand votes. Among the foremost to give welcome was the Federal soldier, who, having discharged his duty on the field of battle, was as generous to his late foe but now friend, as he had been brave. The next legislature repealed all disfranchising laws, and in time the ex-Confederates were rehabilitated and formed the conservative element in the anti-radical party. These facts in history must not be lost sight of, and should stand to the glory of Kentucky as much as the record of the military valor of her sons. Divided on the issues of the war, and with her sons con-

fronting each other in the two armies, it is a matter of lasting congratulation that her internal wounds healed by the first intention and left no scars. There having been in the constitution of the State a clause which prohibited the giving or loaning its credit to any corporation or individual, no bonds could be issued as was done in many of the Southern States in the period of reconstruction, and hence there was nothing to attract the hordes of carpet-baggers and vultures who fattened on the plunder of less fortunate States, and Kentucky was left to adjust her own internal affairs without outside interference. In this way she escaped the terrors of reconstruction which befell the States farther South, and preserved her autonomy undisturbed, having peace within her borders, and enjoying a measure of prosperity in pleasant contrast with the misfortunes and hardships which befell the victims of the greed and vengeance of their oppressors.

CHAPTER XX.

DIFFICULTY OF COMPILING MILITARY HISTORY OF KENTUCKY—MEAGER OFFICIAL STATISTICS—ORGANIZED COMMANDS IN CONFEDERATE SERVICE—APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF KENTUCKIANS IN FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE SERVICE—LIST OF CONFEDERATE GENERALS FROM KENTUCKY—KENTUCKIANS AS SOLDIERS—THEIR PHYSIQUE AND RECORD FOR GALLANTRY—PROFESSOR SHALER'S ESTIMATE—THE KENTUCKY CONFEDERATES—THEIR HEAVY LOSSES—NUMBER OF BATTLES FOUGHT ON KENTUCKY SOIL—WORDS OF WISDOM FROM THE LEADER WHOSE DESTINIES WE FOLLOWED.

IT has been a difficult task to write the military history of Kentucky from a Confederate standpoint. The facts that the enlistment and organization of the troops which served in the Confederate army were effected without State action, and that the muster-rolls have never been published, has made it impossible to write with that exactness attainable as to the organization and services of the various commands of other States, the history of which is preserved in the State archives. For much that has been written recourse has been had to the official correspondence and reports scattered through many volumes of the Rebellion Records, supplemented by the personal information of the writer acquired during the war.

In Washington are filed in confused mass the muster-rolls, captured among the Confederate archives, of the Kentucky troops which served in the Confederate army, but these are in no condition to furnish a complete or accurate history of the various commands, being full of palpable errors, both of commission and omission. Ken-

tucky, of whose history their service is as much a part as that of the troops who served in the Federal army, should long since have had these records properly collated, edited and published, as she did with promptness in the case of the Federal commands. Sufficient time has elapsed to eliminate all partisan feeling, and the matter should not be deferred until those competent from possession of the necessary information for a correct execution of the work shall have passed away.

From these imperfect papers have been taken the following extracts, showing approximately the organizations, with the names of their commanders and the dates of commissions, now for the first time published:

First Regiment Kentucky infantry: Thomas H. Taylor, Colonel, October 14, 1861—Blanton Duncan, Lieutenant-Colonel, October 14, 1861—Thomas H. Taylor, Lieutenant-Colonel, July 3, 1861—Wm. Preston Johnston, Lieutenant-Colonel, October 14, 1861—Edward Crossland, Lieutenant-Colonel, April 19, 1861—Benjamin Anderson, Major.

Second Regiment Kentucky infantry: James M. Hawes, Colonel, July 17, 1861—Roger W. Hanson, Colonel, 1861—Robert A. Johnson, Lieutenant-Colonel, July 17, 1861—James W. Hewitt, Major, July 17, 1861—James W. Moss, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel—Philip Lee, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel—Hervey McDowell, Major—Joel Higgins, Major.

Third Regiment Kentucky infantry: Lloyd Tilghman, Colonel, July 5, 1861—Albert P. Thompson, Colonel, October 25, 1861—G. A. C. Holt, Colonel, March 25, 1864—Alfred Johnston, Major and Lieutenant-Colonel—James H. Bowman, Major—Al. McGoodwin, Major.

Fourth Regiment Kentucky infantry: Robert P. Trabue, Colonel, September 23, 1861—Andrew R. Hynes, Lieutenant-Colonel, September 23, 1861—Thomas B. Monroe, Major, September 23, 1861—Joseph P. Nuckols, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel—Thomas

W. Thompson, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel—John A. Adair, Lieutenant-Colonel—John B. Rogers, Major—Joseph H. Millett, Major.

Fifth Kentucky infantry: John S. Williams, Colonel, November 16, 1861—Andrew J. May, Colonel, May 21, 1861—Hiram Hawkins, Colonel, November 14, 1862—William Mynhier, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel—George W. Connor, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel—Richard Hawes, Major.

Sixth Regiment Kentucky infantry: Joseph H. Lewis, Colonel, November 1, 1861—Martin H. Cofer, Lieutenant-Colonel, November 1, 1861—William L. Clarke, Major and Lieutenant-Colonel—Thomas H. Hays, Major, October 8, 1861—George W. Maxon, Major.

Seventh Regiment Kentucky infantry: Charles Wickliffe, Colonel, November 1, 1861—Edward Crossland, Colonel, May 25, 1862—William D. Lannom, Lieutenant-Colonel—L. J. Sherrill, Lieutenant-Colonel—H. S. Hale, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel—W. J. N. Welborn, Major.

Eighth Regiment Kentucky infantry: Henry C. Burnett, Colonel, November 11, 1861—H. B. Lyon, Colonel, February 13, 1862—A. R. Shacklett, Lieutenant-Colonel—Jabez Bingham, Major—R. W. Henry, Major.

Ninth Regiment Kentucky infantry: Thomas H. Hunt, Colonel, October 3, 1861—J. W. Caldwell, Lieutenant-Colonel, May 15, 1862, Colonel—J. C. Wickliffe, Major, May 15, 1862, Lieutenant-Colonel—Alexander Caseday, Lieutenant-Colonel—Ben Desha, Major.

Graves' Battery Kentucky artillery: Rice E. Graves, Captain, November 8, 1861; Major.

Lyon's and Cobb's Battery Kentucky artillery: H. B. Lyon, Captain, September 30, 1861—Robert L. Cobb, Captain, December 15, 1861; Major—Frank P. Gracey, Captain.

Corbett's Battery Kentucky artillery: C. C. Corbett.

Cumberland artillery, Kentucky: Henry D. Green, Captain—W. H. Hedden, Captain.

First Regiment Kentucky cavalry: Ben Hardin Helm, Colonel, October, 1861, first organization—J. Russell Butler, Colonel, September 2, 1862, second organization—J. W. Griffith, Lieutenant-Colonel—H. C. Leavill, Lieutenant-Colonel—Thomas G. Woodward, Lieutenant-Colonel—J. W. Caldwell, Major—N. R. Chambliss, Major.

Second Regiment Kentucky cavalry: John H. Morgan, Colonel—Basil W. Duke, Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel—James W. Bowles, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel—John B. Hutcheson, Lieutenant-Colonel—G. W. Morgan, Major—T. B. Webber, Major.

Third Regiment Kentucky cavalry (consolidated with First cavalry): J. Russell Butler, Colonel—Jack Allen, Lieutenant-Colonel—J. W. Griffith, Lieutenant-Colonel—J. Q. Chenoweth, Major.

Fourth Regiment Kentucky cavalry: Henry L. Giltner, Colonel, October 6, 1861—Moses T. Pryor, Lieutenant-Colonel—Nathan Parker, Major.

Fifth Regiment Kentucky cavalry: D. Howard Smith, Colonel, September 2, 1861—Preston Thompson, Lieutenant-Colonel, September 2, 1861—Churchill G. Campbell, Major—Thomas Y. Brent, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel.

Sixth Regiment Kentucky Cavalry: J. Warren Grigsby, Colonel, Sept. 2, 1862—Thomas W. Napier, Lieutenant-Colonel—William G. Bullitt, Major.

Seventh Regiment Kentucky cavalry: R. M. Gano, Colonel, September 2, 1862—J. M. Huffman, Lieutenant-Colonel—M. D. Logan, Major and Lieutenant-Colonel—Theophilus Steele, Major.

Eighth Regiment Kentucky cavalry: Roy S. Cluke, Colonel, September 10, 1862—Cicero Coleman, Lieutenant-Colonel—Robert S. Bullock, Major.

Ninth Regiment Kentucky cavalry: W. C. P. Breckinridge, Colonel, December 17, 1862—Robert G. Stoner, Lieutenant-Colonel—John P. Austin, Major.

Tenth Regiment Kentucky cavalry: Adam R. John-

son, Colonel, August 13, 1862—R. M. Martin, Colonel, June 1, 1863—G. Washington Owen, Major.

May's Battalion Kentucky and Virginia Mounted rifles (called also Tenth Kentucky cavalry): A. J. May, Colonel—George R. Diamond, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel—Edwin Trimble, Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel—Cox, Major.

Eleventh Regiment Kentucky cavalry: D. W. Chenaault, Colonel, September 10, 1862—Jos. T. Tucker, Colonel, July 4, 1863—James B. McCreary, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel.

Twelfth Regiment Kentucky cavalry: W. W. Faulkner, Colonel, September 15, 1863—W. D. Lannom, Lieutenant-Colonel—John M. Malone, Major—Thomas S. Tate, Major.

Eleventh Regiment Kentucky infantry (known also as Thirteenth regiment): Benjamin E. Caudill, Colonel, November 2, 1862—David J. Caudill, Lieutenant-Colonel—Thomas J. Chenoweth, Major.

First Battalion Kentucky cavalry: Wm. E. Simms, Lieutenant-Colonel, 1861—John Shawhan, Major and Lieutenant-Colonel.

Second Battalion Kentucky cavalry: Clar. J. Prentice.

First Battalion Kentucky mounted rifles: Benjamin F. Bradley, Major, 1861—Orville G. Cameron, Major, September 10, 1862, Lieutenant-Colonel.

First Special Battalion cavalry (Duke's Brigade, November 10, 1864): Wm. W. Ward, Colonel—R. A. Alston, Lieutenant-Colonel—J. G. Lowe, Major.

Second Battalion Kentucky mounted rifles: Thomas Johnson, Lieutenant-Colonel, March 12, 1862—Otis T. Tenny, Major.

Second Special Battalion cavalry (Duke's Brigade, 1864): Richard C. Morgan, Colonel—O. P. Hamilton, Lieutenant-Colonel—J. T. Cassell, Major.

Third Battalion Kentucky Mounted rifles: Ezekiel F. Clay, Lieutenant-Colonel, November 7, 1862—Peter M. Everett, Major—John B. Holloway, Major.

Third Special Battalion cavalry (Duke's Brigade, November 10, 1864): Joseph T. Tucker, Colonel—T. W. Napier, Lieutenant-Colonel.

Company of Kentucky Scouts: Thomas Quirk, Captain, 1862.

Independent Company Kentucky cavalry: Bart W. Jenkins, Captain.

Jessee's Battalion cavalry (afterwards Sixth Battalion): George M. Jessee, Major.

Independent Company Kentucky cavalry: Thomas G. Woodward, Captain, August 25, 1862. (Afterwards known as Woodward's regiment: Woodward, Colonel — T. W. Lewis, Major.)

Independent Company Kentucky cavalry: James M. Bolin, Captain, November 21, 1861.

King's Cavalry Battalion: H. Clay King, Major.

Independent Company Kentucky cavalry: J. J. Murphy, Captain.

Morehead's Partisan Rangers: J. C. Morehead, Colonel.

Patton's Partisan Rangers: Oliver A. Patton, Lieutenant-Colonel.

Buckner Guards (assigned to Gen. P. R. Cleburne's Division): Culvin F. Sanders, Captain.

Company of Kentucky Partisan Rangers: William J. Fields, Captain, August 1, 1862.

Company of Kentucky Partisan Rangers: Phil M. Victor, Captain.

There were other organizations composed in whole or in part of Kentuckians of which there is no official record; as Byrne's battery of artillery, which though first organized in Mississippi, was composed of and officered by Kentuckians almost exclusively, and won distinction in the service; besides many others less known. Kentucky contributed to the Confederate army a large number of able and distinguished officers, some of whom from their residence are credited to other States, but most of whom went directly from Kentucky. The following is the list with their rank:

General Albert Sidney Johnston (Texas.)

Lieutenant-General Simon Bolivar Buckner.

Lieutenant-General John B. Hood (Texas).

Lieutenant-General Richard Taylor (Louisiana).

Major-Generals John C. Breckinridge, George B. Crittenden, William Preston, Gustavus W. Smith.

Brigadier-Generals John. H. Morgan, Daniel W. Adams (Louisiana), Roger W. Hanson, Basil W. Duke, Abram Buford, Geo. B. Cosby, John S. Williams, James M. Hawes, Ben Hardin Helm, George B. Hodge, Claiborne F. Jackson (Missouri), Joseph H. Lewis, Samuel B. Maxey (Texas), H. B. Lyon, Randall L. Gibson (Louisiana), Thomas H. Taylor.

The number of the rank and file in the Confederate army can only be estimated, but the total number of officers and men of all arms is computed by those most competent to judge at 25,000, and represents strictly a volunteer force free from the call of any State or national authority or the offer of any bounty or contingent pension. Instead of such inducement the most of them went in the face of laws of expatriation, the virtual confiscation of their property, indefinite separation from their families, and with the fulmination of State and national wrath of the penalties of treason reserved for them. Rarely has such a spectacle been presented of men making such sacrifice for their convictions.

That there was similar heroism among those who espoused the Federal cause is readily admitted, but in their case there were many inducements besides those of mere principle, and this together with the protection afforded for enlistment, the influence of the presence of a friendly army, and the greater relative strength of the opposing governments, well accounts for the greater number who were enrolled in the Federal army. This has been estimated at 75,000 and includes not only those who threw themselves into the breach from principle, but also negroes, substitutes, drafted men, those secured by means

of liberal bounties, and recruits drawn from the States immediately north, as in the First and Second infantry and the Third infantry, recruited largely in Ohio and Indiana and credited to Kentucky.

Whatever may be said of the character of the men whom Kentucky furnished to the Confederate army, the Federal statistics of the war show that judged by all the known physical tests, the Federal troops from Kentucky excelled those of all other States. In the history of Kentucky by Prof. N. S. Shaler, published in the Commonwealth series, is exhibited, page 372, a table of measurements of American white men compiled from the report of the Sanitary Commission, made from measurements of the United States volunteers during the civil war, by B. A. Gould. In it is given the nativity of nearly one million men who served in the Federal armies, their height, weight, circumference of chest and head, and the proportion of tall men in each one thousand. An analysis of the table shows that Kentucky and Tennessee, which are grouped together, exceed in each particular those of every other State and foreign country, except that Scandinavia shows an excess of .05 of an inch in the circumference of the head. There was no such test made as to the physical properties of the Kentuckians in the Confederate service, but the testimony of Professor Shaler, a native Kentuckian, who was a gallant Federal soldier and who for more than a quarter of a century has filled the chair of Agassiz at Harvard university, as to the other merits of the Confederates from Kentucky, is well worth noting in this connection. Professor Shaler had noted the fact that Kentucky was peopled more directly by persons of pure English blood and had less proportion of foreign born population than any other State in the Union, the statistics of the eleventh census showing less than sixty thousand out of a total of nearly two millions. He then says on the subject under consideration:

“The rebel exiles who braved all consequences and

forced their way through the lines to form Morgan's cavalry, the First brigade of infantry, the commands of Marshall and others, and the earliest volunteer Federal regiments, were probably the superior element of these Kentucky contributions to the war. They were the first runnings of the press, and naturally had the peculiar quality of their vintage more clearly marked than the later product, when the mass became more turgid with conscripts, substitutes and bounty volunteers. Had the measurements and classified results applied only to the representative native element, the standard of average of manhood would have been shown to be perceptibly higher. Though the ancestors of these soldiers had been fighting people, yet for forty years their children had known and followed only the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and the industries of trade peculiar to the commonwealth, with the limited exception of the Mexican war interlude, which made an inconsiderable draft of a few thousand volunteers during its brief existence. They may be said to have been wholly unused to the spirit and untutored in the arts of war. Yet their record of bold and daring skill, of heroic courage, and of indomitable endurance, was equal to that of the best troops on either side of the combatants in this great civil war, and certainly unsurpassed by the soldiers of Europe of the present or any past age. Take for illustration on the one side the force of Morgan, and we find in this remarkable body of men great capacity at once for dash and endurance. Its leader, suddenly improvised from the ranks of citizenship, not only organized, aligned and led this splendid squadron, but possessed the intuitive genius to develop a new feature in the art of war, in which was a rare combination of vigilance, daring fertility of resource, and an impetuous power of hurling all the husbanded force of body and mind into a period of ceaseless activity. Theirs was the capacity to break through the lines of the enemy, to live for weeks in an atmosphere of battle, fighting and destroying by day, and

marching by night, deploying in front of the enemy or attacking his lines and posts far in the rear, a life that only men of the toughest and finest fiber can endure; yet this force owed its peculiar excellence as much to the qualities of the men and the subordinate officers as to the distinguished leader.

“Such a list of superior subordinate commanders as Basil Duke, Hynes, D. Howard Smith, Grigsby, Cluke, Alston, Steele, Gano, Castleman, Chenault, Brent, and others, was perhaps found in no other brigade of Kentucky cavalry. Yet at the head of their regiments and brigades such leaders as Woodford, Green Clay Smith, Hobson and others, showed qualities of a high order, and their commands proved to be the most effective cavalry of the war. The fighting of the Federal regiments of Kentucky infantry and cavalry throughout the great campaigns and battles of the war showed the men to be possessed of the highest soldierly qualities; but so merged were they in the great Union armies, and so little of distinctive Kentucky history has been collated or published of these, that we find it difficult to illustrate with the recount of their exceptional services.”

Again at page 476, he says: “The most marked example of the character and success of the Kentucky troops in the Confederate infantry service has been given us in the well preserved history and statistics of the First Kentucky Confederate brigade. We have already noted the daring and gallantry of these troops in the battles of Donelson, of Shiloh, of Baton Rouge, of Chickamauga, and other conflicts, to Dalton, Ga., in May, 1864. On the authority of Gen. Fayette Hewitt, this brigade marched out of Dalton eleven hundred and forty strong on the 7th of May. The hospital reports show that up to September 1st, not quite four months, eighteen hundred and sixty wounds were taken by this command. This includes the killed, but many were struck several times in one engagement, in which case the wounds were counted as one. In

two battles over 51 per cent of all were killed or wounded. During the time of this campaign there were no more than ten desertions. The campaign ended with two hundred and forty men able to do duty; less than fifty were without wounds. It will be remembered that this campaign was at a time when the hopes of the Confederate armies were well nigh gone, and they were fighting amid the darkness of despair."

Prof. Shaler adds that excluding the loss in the many smaller fights, between the home guards and other irregular troops and the raiding parties of the Confederates, "It is estimated that in the two regular armies the State lost approximately thirty-five thousand men by wounds in battle, and by disease in hospitals and elsewhere, contracted in battle. To these may be added several thousand whose lives were sacrificed in the State from irregular causes. There must be added to this sad reckoning of consequences the vast number of men who were shorn of their limbs, afflicted with internal disease bred by camp and march, or aged by swift expenditure of force that such war demands. Omitting many small encounters and irregular engagements in which there was much loss of life, but which have no place in our histories, Capt. L. R. Hawthorne in a manuscript summary of the history of the war enumerates one hundred and thirty-eight combats within the borders of Kentucky."

In conclusion, the writer, cherishing in vivid memory the deeds of the South in its struggle against great odds, yet with a feeling void of all bitterness toward those to whom it had to yield, and looking forward only to the future glory of a united republic, knows not how he can more fittingly close his work than in quoting the words of one whose pure life was sanctified by the sufferings he endured for his people, and who by fortitude under affliction wrung even from his enemies a tardy recognition of his exalted virtues. They are the closing lines of "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate States," by Jefferson Davis.

“The want of space has compelled me to omit a notice of many noble deeds both of heroic men and women. The roll of honor merely would fill more than the pages allotted to this work. To others who can say *cuncta quorum vidi*, I must leave the pleasant task of paying the tribute due to their associate patriots. In asserting the right of secession, it has not been my wish to incite to its exercise. I recognize the fact that the war showed it to be impracticable, but this did not prove it to be wrong; and now, that it may not be again tempted and that the Union may promote the general welfare, it is needful that the truth should be known, so that crimination and recrimination may forever cease, and then, as the basis of fraternity and faithful regard for the rights of the States, there may be written on the arch of the Union, ‘Esto perpetua.’ ”

APPENDIX A.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF KENTUCKY.

On the 18th of November, 1861, a sovereignty convention was held in Russellville, Kentucky, at which two hundred members were present, for the purpose of forming a State government favorable to a union with the Southern Confederacy. It remained in session three days and adopted a constitution which provided for a provisional government, vesting all executive and legislative powers in a council of ten, the council to fill vacancies. The existing constitution and laws were declared to be in force except where inconsistent with the acts of that convention and of the legislative council. George W. Johnson, of Scott county, was elected governor; Robert McKee, of Louisville, secretary of state, and Orlando F. Payne, assistant secretary of state; Theodore L. Burnett, of Spencer county, treasurer, who resigned December 17th, and J. B. Burnham, of Warren county, was appointed in his place; Richard Hawes, of Bourbon county, auditor, who resigned, and Joshua Pillsbury was appointed in his place. A. Frank Brown, of Bourbon county, was chosen clerk of the council; John B. Thompson, Jr., of Mercer county, sergeant-at-arms, and Walter N. Halde- man, of Louisville, State printer. An ordinance of seces- sion was adopted, and Henry C. Burnett, William E. Simms and William Preston were sent as commissioners to Richmond, and on the 10th day of December, 1862, the Confederate Congress admitted Kentucky as a mem- ber of the Confederate States. Bowling Green was made the new seat of government. The following executive council was chosen: Willis B. Machen, president; John W. Crockett, Philip B. Thompson, James P. Bates, James

S. Chrisman, Elijah Burnside, H. W. Bruce, E. M. Bruce, James M. Thorn, and Geo. B. Hodge, who resigned and was succeeded by Samuel S. Scott.

The following were elected representatives in the Provisional Congress from the several districts: First, Henry C. Burnett; Second, John Thomas; Third, Theodore L. Burnett; Fourth, Geo. W. Ewing; Fifth, Daniel P. White; Sixth, Thomas Johnson; Seventh, Samuel H. Ford; Eighth, Thomas B. Monroe, Sr; Ninth, John M. Elliott; Tenth, Geo. B. Hodge.

The council divided the State into twelve districts and provided for an election by the State at large of persons to represent these districts in the first permanent Congress of the Confederate States. On the designated day voting places were fixed and the election was held in all the counties within the lines of the Confederate army, resulting in the choice of the following: First district, Willis B. Machen; Second district, John W. Crockett; Third district, Henry E. Read; Fourth district, Geo. W. Ewing; Fifth district, James S. Chrisman; Sixth district, Theodore L. Burnett; Seventh district, H. W. Bruce; Eighth district, George B. Hodge; Ninth district, E. M. Bruce; Tenth district, James W. Moore; Eleventh district, Robert J. Breckinridge, Jr.; Twelfth district, John M. Elliott. These gentlemen served in the first regular Confederate Congress. Of the number, Messrs. Burnett, H. W. Bruce and Breckinridge survive, 1898. Mr. Machen was afterwards United States senator, 1873; John M. Elliott, judge of the court of appeals, 1878, and H. W. Bruce, circuit judge of the Louisville circuit court, 1868-73, and chancellor of the Louisville chancery court, 1874-80, while Geo. B. Hodge and Robert J. Breckinridge served as State senators, and James S. Chrisman as representative.

In 1863 the following were elected and sent as members of the second permanent Congress: First district, Willis B. Machen; Second district, Geo. W. Triplett; Third

district, Henry E. Read; Fourth district, Geo. W. Ewing; Fifth district, Jas. S. Chrisman; Sixth district, Theodore L. Burnett; Seventh district, H. W. Bruce; Eighth district, Humphrey Marshall; Ninth district, E. M. Bruce; Tenth district, James W. Moore; Eleventh district, Ben. F. Bradley; Twelfth district, John M. Elliott. Mr. Bradley afterwards served as State senator.

The legislative council, upon the admission of the State, elected Henry C. Burnett and William E. Simms senators to the Confederate Congress, and they served through the war. Upon the death of Gov. George W. Johnson, who fell on the second day at Shiloh, while fighting in the ranks, the legislative council elected Hon. Richard Hawes his successor. While the State was occupied by the Confederate army under General Bragg, Governor Hawes was inaugurated with due formality, and he delivered an inaugural address in the capitol at Frankfort, October 4, 1862, but the evacuation of the place the same afternoon prevented his performance of any of the functions of governor except the occupation of the executive mansion for a few hours. After the war he was county judge of Bourbon county for many years.

APPENDIX B.

Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston's correspondence with President Davis in regard to his operations in Kentucky, his retreat from Bowling Green, the capture of Donelson, and the evacuation of Nashville, also as to his future purposes, is given here.

TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT DAVIS.

Huntsville, March 7, 11 a.m.

Your dispatch is just received. I sent Colonel Liddell to Richmond on the 28th ult. with the official reports of Generals Floyd and Pillow of the events at Donelson, and suppose he must have arrived by this time. I also sent by him a dispatch containing my purposes for the defense of the valley of the Mississippi and for co-operating or uniting with General Beauregard, who has been urging me to come on.

The stores accumulated at Murfreesboro, the pork and provisions at Shelbyville and other points, and their necessary protection and removal, with the bad roads and inclement weather, have made the march slow and laborious and delayed my movements. The general condition of the troops is good and effective, though their health is impaired by the usual camp disorders and a winter campaign. The fall of Donelson disheartened some of the Tennessee troops and caused many deserters from some of the regiments, so that great care was required to inspire confidence. I now consider the tone of the troops restored, and that they are in good order. The enemy are about 25,000 strong at Nashville, with reinforcements arriving. My rear guard under General Hardee is protecting the removal of supplies from Shelbyville. Last evening his pickets were near Murfreesboro, but gave no information of an advance by the enemy. There are no indications of an immediate movement by the enemy from Nashville. I have no fears of a movement through Tennessee on Chattanooga. West Tennessee is menaced by

heavy forces. My advance will be opposite Decatur on Sunday.

A. S. JOHNSTON.

To President Davis, Richmond.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT DAVIS TO GENERAL JOHNSTON.

Richmond, Va., March 12, 1862.

My Dear General: The departure of Captain Wickliffe offers an opportunity, of which I avail myself, to write you an unofficial letter. We have suffered great anxiety because of recent events in Kentucky and Tennessee, and I have been not a little disturbed by the repetition of reflections upon yourself. I expected you to have made a full report of the events precedent and consequent to the fall of Fort Donelson. In the meantime I made for you such defense as friendship prompted and many years of acquaintance justified; but I needed facts to rebut the wholesale assertions made against you to cover others and to condemn my administration. The public, as you are aware, have no correct measure for military operations, and journals are very reckless in their statements.

Your force has been magnified and the movements of an army have been measured by the capacity for locomotion of an individual. The readiness of the people among whom you are operating to aid you in every method has been constantly asserted, the purpose of your army at Bowling Green wholly misunderstood, and the absence of an effective force at Nashville ignored. You have been held responsible for the fall of Donelson and the capture of Nashville. It is charged that no effort was made to save the stores at Nashville, and that the panic of the people was caused by the army. Such representations, with the sad forebodings naturally belonging to them, have been painful to me and injurious to us both; but, worse than this, they have undermined public confidence and damaged our cause. A full development of the truth is necessary for future success.

I respect the generosity which has kept you silent, but would impress upon you that the question is not personal but public in its nature; that you and I might be content to suffer, but neither of us can willingly permit detriment to the country. As soon as circumstances will permit, it is my purpose to visit the field of your present operations;

not that I should expect to give you any aid in the discharge of your duties as commander, but with the hope that my position would enable me to effect something in bringing men to your standard. With a sufficient force, the audacity which the enemy exhibits would no doubt give you the opportunity to cut some of his lines of communication, to break up his plan of campaign, and, defeating some of his columns, to drive him from the soil as well of Tennessee as of Kentucky.

We are deficient in arms, wanting in discipline and inferior in numbers. Private arms must supply the first want; time and the presence of an enemy, with diligence on the part of the commanders, will remove the second, and public confidence will overcome the third. General Bragg brings you disciplined troops, and you will find in him the highest administrative capacity. Gen. E. K. Smith will soon have in East Tennessee a sufficient force to create a strong diversion in your favor; or, if his strength cannot be made available in that way, you will best know how to employ it otherwise. I suppose the Tennessee or Mississippi river will be the object of the enemy's next campaign, and I trust you will be able to concentrate a force which will defeat either attempt. The fleet which you will soon have on the Mississippi river, if the enemy's gunboats ascend the Tennessee, may enable you to strike an effective blow at Cairo; but to one so well informed and vigilant I will not assume to offer suggestions as to when and how the ends you seek may be attained. With confidence and regard of many years, I am

Very truly your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

GENERAL JOHNSTON'S REPLY.

Decatur, Alabama, March 18, 1862.

My Dear General: I received the dispatches from Richmond, with your private letter by Captain Wickliffe, three days since, but the pressure of affairs and the necessity of getting my command across the Tennessee prevented me from sending an earlier reply.

I anticipated all you tell as to the censures which the fall of Fort Donelson drew upon me, and the attacks to which you might be subjected; but it was impossible for me to gather the facts for a detailed report or spare the time which was required to extricate the remainder of

my troops and save the large accumulations of stores and provisions after that disheartening disaster.

I transmitted the reports of Generals Floyd and Pillow without examining or analyzing the facts, and scarcely with time to read them. When about to assume command of this department, the government charged me with the question of occupying Bowling Green, which involved not only military but political considerations. At the time of my arrival at Nashville, the action of the legislature of Kentucky had put an end to the latter by sanctioning the formation of camps menacing Tennessee, by assuming the cause of the government at Washington, and by abandoning the neutrality it professed; and in consequence of their action the occupation of Bowling Green became necessary as an act of self-defense, at least in the first step.

About the middle of September General Buckner advanced with a small force of 4,000 men, which was increased by the 15th of October to 12,000, and though accessions of force were received, continued at about the same strength until the end of November, measles, etc., keeping down the effective force. The enemy's force then was, as reported to the war department, 50,000, and an advance impossible. No enthusiasm as we imagined and hoped, but hostility, was manifested in Kentucky. Believing it to be of the greatest moment to protract the campaign, as the dearth of cotton might bring strength from abroad and discourage the North, and to gain time to strengthen myself by new troops from Tennessee and other States, I magnified my forces to the enemy, but made known my true strength to the department and the governors of States. The aid given was small. At length, when General Beauregard came out, in February, he expressed his surprise at the smallness of my force, and was impressed with the danger of my position. I admitted what was so manifest and laid before him my views for the future, in which he entirely concurred, and sent me a memorandum of our conference, a copy of which I send you. I determined to fight for Nashville at Donelson, and gave the best part of my army to do it, retaining only 14,000 men to cover my front, and giving 16,000 to defend Donelson. The force at Donelson is stated by General Pillow's report at much less, and I do not doubt the correct-

ness of his statement; for the force at Bowling Green, which I supposed 14,000 effective men (the medical report showing a little over 500 sick in hospital), was diminished more than 5,000 by those unable to stand the fatigue of a march, and made my effective force on reaching Nashville less than 10,000 men. I inclose medical director's report. Had I wholly uncovered my front to defend Donelson, Buell would have known it and marched directly on Nashville. There were only ten small steamers on the Cumberland, in imperfect condition, only three of which were available at Nashville, while the transportation of the enemy was great. The evacuation of Bowling Green was imperatively necessary and was ordered before and executed while the battle was being fought at Donelson. I had made every disposition for the defense of the fort my means allowed; and the troops were among the best of my forces, and the generals, Floyd, Pillow and Buckner, were high in the opinion of officers and men for skill and courage, and among the best officers of my command. They were popular with the volunteers and all had seen much service. No reinforcements were asked.

I waited the event opposite Nashville. The result of the conflict each day was favorable. At midnight on the 15th I received the news of a glorious victory; at dawn of a defeat. My column was during the day and night of the 16th thrown over the river. A battery had been established below the city to secure the passage. Nashville was incapable of defense from its position and from the forces advancing from Bowling Green and up the Cumberland. A rear guard was left under Floyd to secure the stores and provisions, but did not completely effect the object. The people were terrified and some of the troops were discouraged. The discouragement was spreading, and I ordered the command to Murfreesboro, where I managed, by assembling Crittenden's division and the fugitives from Donelson, to collect an army able to offer battle. The weather was inclement, the floods excessive, and the bridges were washed away; but most of the stores and provisions were saved, and conveyed to new depots. This having been accomplished without serious loss, in conformity with my original design I marched southward and crossed the Tennessee at this point, so as to co-operate with Beauregard for

the defense of the valley of Mississippi. The passage is almost completed, and the head of my column is already with General Bragg at Corinth. The movement was deemed too hazardous by the most experienced members of my staff, but the object warranted the risk. The difficulty of effecting a junction is not wholly overcome, but it approaches completion. Day after to-morrow, unless the enemy intercepts me, my force will be with Bragg and my army nearly 50,000 strong. This must be destroyed before the enemy can attain his object.

I have given you this sketch so that you may appreciate the embarrassments which surrounded me in my attempts to avert or remedy the disaster of Donelson before alluding to the conduct of the generals.

When the force was detached I was in hopes that such dispositions would be made as to enable the forces to defend the fort or withdraw without sacrificing the army. On the 14th I ordered General Floyd by telegram, "if he lost the fort, to get his troops back to Nashville." It is possible that this might have been done; but justice requires to look at events as they appeared at the time, and not alone by the light of subsequent information. All the facts in relation to the surrender will be transmitted to the secretary of war as soon as they can be collected in obedience to his order. It appears from the information received that General Buckner, being the junior officer, took the lead in advising the surrender and General Floyd acquiesced, and they all concurred in the belief that their force could not maintain the position. Subsequent events show that the investment was not so complete as the information from their scouts had led them to believe. The council resulted in the surrender. The command was irregularly transferred and devolved on the junior general; but not apparently to avoid any just responsibility, or from any want of personal or moral intrepidity.

The blow was most disastrous and almost without remedy. I thereupon in my first report remained silent. This silence you were kind enough to attribute to my generosity. I will not lay claim to the motive to excuse my course. I observed silence, as it seemed to me the best way to serve the cause and the country. The facts were not fully known, discontent prevailed, and criticism or condemnation was more likely to augment than cure the evil. I refrained, knowing that heavy censures

would fall upon me, but convinced that it was better to endure them for the present, and defer to a more propitious time an investigation of the conduct of the generals; for in the meantime their service was required and their influence was useful. For these reasons Generals Floyd and Pillow were assigned to duty, for I felt confidence in their gallantry, their energy, and their devotion to the Confederacy.

I have thus recurred to the motives by which I have been governed, from a deep personal sense of the friendship and confidence you have always shown me, and from the conviction that they have not been withdrawn from me in adversity. All the reports requisite for a full official investigation have been ordered.

You mention that you intend to visit the field of operations here. I hope soon to see you, for your presence would encourage my troops, inspire the people, and augment the army. To me personally it would give the greatest gratification. Merely a soldier myself, and having no acquaintance with the statesmen or leaders of the South, I cannot touch springs familiar to you. Were you to assume command it would afford me the most unfeigned pleasure, and every energy would be exerted to help you to victory and the country to independence. Were you to decline, still your presence alone would be of inestimable advantage.

The enemy are now at Nashville, about 50,000 strong, advancing in this direction by Columbia. He has also forces, according to the report of General Bragg, landing at Pittsburg, from 25,000 to 50,000, and moving in the direction of Purdy.

This army corps moving to join Bragg is about 20,000 strong. Two brigades, Hindman's and Wood's, are, I suppose, at Corinth. One regiment of Hardee's division, Lieutenant-Colonel Patton commanding, is moving by cars today (20th March), and Statham's brigade, Crittenden's division. The brigade will halt at Iuka, the regiment at Burnsville. Cleburne's brigade, Hardee's division, except regiment at Burnsville, and Carroll's brigade, Crittenden's division, and Helm's cavalry at Tusculum; Bowen's brigade at Courtland; Breckinridge's brigade here; the regiments of cavalry of Adams and Wharton on the opposite bank of the river; Scott's Louisiana cavalry at Pulaski, sending forward supplies;

Morgan's cavalry at Shelbyville, ordered on. Tomorrow Breckinridge's brigade will go to Corinth; then Bowen's. When these pass Tuscumbia and Iuka, transportation will be ready there to further other troops to follow immediately from these points, and if necessary from Burnsville. The cavalry will cross and move forward as soon as their trains can be passed over the railroad bridge. I have troubled you with these details, as I cannot possibly communicate them by telegram. The test of merit in my profession with the people is success. It is a hard rule, but I think it right. If I join this corps to the forces of Beauregard—I confess a hazardous experiment—those who are now declaiming against me will be without argument.

Your friend,

A. S. JOHNSTON.

P. S.—I will prepare answers to the questions propounded by General Foote, chairman of the committee to investigate the causes of the loss of the forts, as soon as practicable; but engaged as I am in a most hazardous movement of a large force, even the most minute detail requiring my attention for its accomplishment, I cannot say when it will be forwarded to the secretary of war to be handed to him, if he thinks proper to do so.*

GENERAL JOHNSTON'S ADDRESS TO THE ARMY
JUST BEFORE SHILOH.

Headquarters Army of the Mississippi,
Corinth, Miss., April 3, 1862.

Soldiers of the Army of the Mississippi:

I have put you in motion to offer battle to the invaders of your country. With the resolution and discipline and valor becoming men fighting, as you are, for all worth living or dying for, you can but march to a decisive victory over the agrarian mercenaries sent to subjugate you and to despoil you of your liberties, your property and your honor. Remember the precious stake involved; remember the dependence of your mothers, your wives, your sisters and your children, on the result; remember the fair, broad, abounding land, and the happy homes that would be desolated by your defeat. The eyes and the hopes of eight millions of people rest upon you. You are expected to show yourselves worthy of your lineage; wor-

*This letter was begun on March 17th and finished March 20th.

thy of the women of the South whose noble devotion in this war has never been exceeded in any time. With such incentives to brave deeds and with the trust that God is with us, your generals will lead you confidently to the combat, assured of success.

A. S. JOHNSTON, General Commanding.

The following epitaph was found shortly after the interment of General Johnston in St. Louis cemetery, New Orleans, pasted upon a rough board attached to his tomb:

IN MEMORIAM.

Behind this stone is laid, for a season,
 Albert Sidney Johnston,
 A General in the Army of the Confederate States,
 Who fell at Shiloh, Tennessee,
 On the Sixth of April,
 Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-two.
 A man tried in many high offices
 And critical Enterprises
 And found faithful in all;
 His life was one long Sacrifice of interest to Conscience;
 And even that life, on a woeful Sabbath,
 Did he yield as a Holocaust at his Country's need.
 Not wholly understood was he while he lived;
 But in his death his Greatness stands confessed
 In a People's tears.
 Resolute, moderate, clear of Envy, yet not wanting
 In that finer Ambition which makes men great and pure;
 In his Honor, impregnable;
 In his Simplicity, sublime;
 No country e'er had a truer Son—no cause a nobler Champion;
 No People a bolder Defender—no Principle a purer Victim
 Than the dead Soldier
 Who sleeps here!
 The Cause for which he perished is lost—
 The People for whom he fought are crushed—
 The Hopes in which he trusted are shattered—
 The Flag he loved guides no more the charging lines;
 But his Fame consigned to the keeping of that Time which
 Happily, is not so much the Tomb of Virtue as its Shrine,
 Shall, in the years to come, join modest Worth to Noble Ends.
 In honor, now, our great Captain rests;
 A bereaved People mourn him;
 Three Commonwealths proudly claim him;
 And History shall cherish him
 Among those choice Spirits who, holding their Consciences unmixed
 with blame,
 Have been, in all conjunctures, true to themselves, their People and
 their God.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

MAJOR-GENERALS AND BRIGADIER-GENERALS, PRO-
VISIONAL ARMY OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES,
ACCREDITED TO KENTUCKY.

Major-General John Cabell Breckinridge was born near Lexington, Ky., in January, 1821, and was educated for the profession of law, which he practiced at Lexington. He was major of the Third regiment Kentucky volunteers in the Mexican war, and then began in the legislature of 1849 an illustrious political career. In 1851 he was elected to Congress from the Ashland district, and re-elected in 1853. He declined the mission to Spain offered by President Pierce and retired from public life; but in 1856 he was chosen Vice-President of the United States, and before the expiration of his term the Kentucky legislature elected him to the Senate for six years from March 4, 1861. He was the choice of the Southern States for President in 1860, and received the main part of the electoral vote of his party in the United States. On October 8, 1861, he issued an address from Bowling Green resigning his senatorship and proclaiming his devotion to the Southern cause. He was commissioned brigadier-general November 2, 1861, and given a brigade at Bowling Green. At Shiloh he distinguished himself in command of the Reserve corps, taking an active part in the battle and covering the subsequent retreat. Having been promoted major-general April 14, 1862, he was ordered with his division to Vicksburg in June. He defeated the enemy at Baton Rouge, took possession of Port Hudson, marched to the relief of Bragg, and took a conspicuous part in the battle of Mur-

freesboro. In 1863 he joined Gen. Joseph E. Johnston in Mississippi, and repelled the enemy at Jackson. Returning to Bragg he participated in the battle of Chickamauga and succeeded D. H. Hill in command of an army corps, in this capacity serving at Missionary Ridge. Then going into Virginia, he defeated Sigel at New Market May 15, 1864, joined General Lee in the campaign of that summer, protected the communications during Sheridan's raid, and did good service at Cold Harbor. In conjunction with General Early he discomfited the Federals under Hunter in the Shenandoah valley and made the campaign in Maryland, defeating Wallace at Monocacy. Subsequently he fought in the valley until given command in southwest Virginia, whence he was called to the cabinet as secretary of war. After Appomattox he escaped to Cuba and visited Canada and Europe before returning home. His death occurred May 17, 1875, at Lexington.

Brigadier-General Abram Buford was born in Kentucky in 1820. He entered the United States military academy in 1837, and at graduation in 1841 was promoted in the army to brevet second-lieutenant of the First dragoons. He served on the frontier and in the Mexican war, having reached by that time the grade of first-lieutenant. He was brevetted at Buena Vista for gallant and meritorious conduct, was ordered again on frontier duty and was in the Santa Fé expedition of 1848. On October 22, 1854, he resigned, having then the rank of captain in the First dragoons. He became a farmer near Versailles, Woodford county, Ky., being also at one time president of the Richmond & Danville railroad. When it became evident that war between the North and South could not be averted, Captain Buford without hesitation cast his lot with the South. During the occupation of Kentucky by Bragg and Kirby Smith in 1862, a cavalry brigade was organized in the State, of which

Buford was put in command with a commission as brigadier-general, dated 3d of September, 1862. He retired from Kentucky with the cavalry command of General Wheeler and formed part of the latter's force at Murfreesboro. In the latter campaign Buford's brigade was composed of the regiments of Colonels Smith, Grigsby and Butler, in all about 650 men, and was actively engaged in the cavalry fighting, including the La Vergne raid. Soon afterward he was ordered to report to General Pemberton at Jackson, Miss., and by the latter was assigned to Port Hudson, La. In April he was ordered to Jackson with two regiments, and this was the nucleus of the brigade under his command, Loring's division, which took part in the battle of Baker's Creek, Johnston's operations against Grant, and the defense of Jackson. Included in this brigade were the Seventh Kentucky, Colonel Crossland, and part of the Third, Maj. J. H. Bowman. The Eighth Kentucky, mounted, was detached. Buford's command took a prominent part at Baker's Creek, and he was commended for his leadership. Remaining with the army under Johnston and later Polk, his brigade in the early part of 1864 included five Alabama regiments, the Third, Seventh and Eighth Kentucky, and Twelfth Louisiana. But he soon returned to the cavalry service with his three Kentucky infantry regiments, mounted, and was given command of a division of Forrest's command, including the three Kentucky regiments already named, Colonel Faulkner's Twelfth and Forrest's Alabama regiment, forming one brigade under Col. A. P. Thompson, and the Tennessee brigade of Col. T. H. Bell. With this command Buford took part in Forrest's spring campaign in West Tennessee, including the capture of Fort Pillow, and was so prominent in the famous victory of Tishomingo Creek that Forrest declared his obligations principally due to Buford. During the Atlanta campaign he took part in the operations in northern Alabama and Tennessee in a

number of engagements, among which Johnsonville is the most famous; and later he was with Forrest in the operations about Franklin and Murfreesboro, and the rear-guard fighting of Hood's retreat, until he was severely wounded at Richland creek, December 24th. In February, 1865, he was assigned to command of all Alabama cavalry within the limits of General Taylor's department. He was in the last fight at Selma, April 2d. After the close of the war he resumed the occupation of farming in Kentucky, and served again in the legislature of 1879. His death occurred June 9, 1884, at Danville, Illinois.

Brigadier-General George B. Cosby was born in Kentucky, and from that State was appointed to the United States military academy on September 1, 1848. On July 1, 1852, he graduated and entered the army as brevet second-lieutenant of mounted riflemen. For one year thereafter he served at the Carlisle, Pa., cavalry school for practice, and the next year was on frontier duty at Fort Ewell, Fort Merritt and Edinburg, Tex., having become full second-lieutenant September 16, 1853. During 1854 he was a great deal of the time on scouting duty, and on the 9th of May of that year was severely wounded in a skirmish with the Comanche Indians near Lake Trinidad. Subsequently he was on garrison duty at Fort Clark, Tex., and at Jefferson Barracks, Mo. He was assistant instructor of cavalry at the military academy 1855-57, next was on duty in Texas, and May 13, 1859, was again engaged against the Comanche Indians in the combat of Nescutunga valley. He was on leave of absence when the long-standing sectional quarrel developed into open hostility. Believing in the doctrine of State sovereignty and in the justice of the Southern cause, he resigned his commission on May 10, 1861, and offered his services to the Confederate States. His offer was accepted and he was immediately appointed

captain of cavalry and assigned to duty in Kentucky. By September he had been appointed major and was under orders of General Buckner in central and southern Kentucky. At the battle of Fort Donelson he was acting as chief-of-staff to General Buckner, and was the bearer of the note from Buckner to Grant regarding the surrender of the fort and garrison. General Buckner in his official report says: "Maj. George B. Cosby, my chief-of-staff, deserves the highest commendation for the gallant and intelligent discharge of his duties." As soon as the garrison of Fort Donelson had been exchanged Major Cosby reported for duty and was soon serving his country again as colonel of cavalry. On the 17th of January, 1863, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, then at Jackson, Miss., in a letter to President Davis said: "Do give me by telegraph Armstrong, Cosby and R. A. Howard for brigadier-generals. They are strongly recommended by Major-Generals Van Dorn and Buckner and are, I am confident, fully competent." Three days later Colonel Cosby was notified of his appointment as brigadier-general. In the engagement at Thompson's Station, Tenn., March 5, 1863, where Colonel Coburn with more than 1,200 Federal officers and soldiers surrendered to General Van Dorn, Cosby's brigade bore a prominent part. Gen. Wm. T. Martin, commanding the First cavalry division on that occasion called attention in his report to "the activity and gallantry of General Cosby during the engagement, as well as the general good conduct of the officers and men of the brigade." During the Vicksburg and Jackson campaigns in Mississippi, Cosby and his brigade of cavalry did good service for Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, and he continued from this time to the close of the war to serve with great ability in the department of Alabama, Mississippi and East Louisiana. After peace had been restored he moved to Butte county, Cal., and began farming. He was not permitted to remain in retirement. From 1878 to 1883 he

was secretary of the board of State engineers of California; in 1886 was member of the board of visitors to the United States military academy; during 1888 was superintendent of construction of the United States building at Sacramento, Cal.; and subsequently recording clerk in the office of the secretary of state of California.

Major-General George Bibb Crittenden was born in Russellville, Logan county, Ky., March 20, 1812, and was the oldest son of J. J. Crittenden. He was graduated at West Point in 1832, but resigned from the army the next year. In 1835 he went to Texas and volunteered in the struggle for independence; was taken prisoner, and held by the Mexicans for nearly a year. At one time he generously took the place of a comrade who had drawn the fatal black bean when their captors had for some reason determined to adopt summary measures. After his release he returned to his native State and devoted himself for ten years to the practice of law. At the beginning of the Mexican war in 1846 he entered the army as captain of mounted rifles, was brevetted major for gallantry at Contreras and Churubusco, and on September 14, 1847, was among the first to enter the city of Mexico, where he had once suffered such disagreeable captivity. Continuing in the service, most of his time was spent upon the frontier. In 1848 he was commissioned major and in 1856 lieutenant-colonel. In the great sectional quarrel his sympathies were with the South. Accordingly he resigned his commission in the United States army and was appointed colonel of infantry in that of the Confederate States, to date March 16, 1861. On August 15th he was promoted to brigadier-general, and on November 9th to major-general in the provisional army. During the greater part of June, 1861, he had command of the Trans-Alleghany department. When commissioned major-general he was assigned to command of the district of East Tennessee and also placed in charge of mil-

itary operations in Kentucky. Gen. Geo. H. Thomas early in January began an advance toward East Tennessee, and on the 17th reached Logan's Cross-roads, ten miles north of the intrenched camp of Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer. A few days before this General Crittenden had arrived at Zollicoffer's camp and assumed command. Hearing of the arrival of Thomas, Crittenden determined to attack that general before all his forces should come up. With this purpose in view he advanced, and on January 19th made the attack. But Thomas was ready with more men than Crittenden had. The result was the disastrous defeat at Mill Springs, or Logan's Cross-roads, in which General Zollicoffer was killed. For the management of this affair General Crittenden was censured and kept under arrest for several months. If General Crittenden really deserved censure it was for relying too much upon the reports brought to him as to the actual strength of the enemy and condition of Fishing creek which, it was said, was so swollen as to delay the reinforcement of the enemy. At a council of war held the evening before the battle, it was unanimously decided that an attack ought to be made. Brig.-Gen. Wm. H. Carroll, whose brigade did some of the best fighting of the day, in his report of the battle made to General Crittenden says: "I cannot close my report without expressing the high appreciation both by myself and my officers for the personal courage and skill evinced both by yourself and staff during the entire engagement; and however much I may regret the unfortunate disaster which befell us, I feel conscious that it resulted from no want of gallantry and military tact on the part of the commanding general." General Crittenden resigned after this affair, but showed his patriotic devotion to the South by serving without rank on the staff of Gen. J. S. Williams. Gen. Basil Duke, in an article on John Morgan in 1864, makes mention of Crittenden as in southwest Virginia assisting Morgan in defeating a raiding force led

by General Averell. In his rank as colonel, C. S. A., he was put in temporary command of the department of Western Virginia and East Tennessee, May 31, 1864. After the war he returned to Kentucky and lived mostly at Frankfort. He was State librarian from 1867 to 1871. He died at Danville, Ky., November 27, 1880. General Crittenden had a brother, Thomas L., who sided with the Union, and rose to distinction as a major-general.

Brigadier-General Basil Duke, colonel of the Second Kentucky cavalry in John H. Morgan's lifetime, and successor to that officer upon his death, appears first upon the scene of action in the great civil war as a captain in Missouri and commissioned by the governor of that State to go to Montgomery, Ala., and obtain arms from the Confederate government for the Missouri militia. In July, 1861, Duke became lieutenant-colonel of the Second Kentucky cavalry, and in December of the same year was commissioned colonel of that regiment. His military movements were intimately connected with those of John H. Morgan, the senior colonel and afterward brigadier-general of the famous body of cavalry whose daring and marvelously successful exploits attracted to its ranks many adventurous youths of the best families among the Kentuckians who sympathized with the Southern cause. During 1862, when Bragg was getting ready for his march into Kentucky, the cavalry of Morgan was busy in Tennessee dispersing and capturing detached Federal garrisons. On the 28th of August, when Bragg crossed the Tennessee at Chattanooga and pushed northward, Kirby Smith, who was already in Kentucky, ordered Morgan to join him at Lexington in the blue grass region. Morgan entered that State, and with part of his command marched to the assistance of Marshall in the mountains of eastern Kentucky, while Duke with the balance of the command was to march toward the Ohio river. In obeying these

orders, Colonel Duke defeated two small steamers and captured the town of Augusta, taking between 300 and 400 prisoners. On the retreat from Kentucky, Morgan's command again moved into the rear of Buell, capturing hundreds of prisoners and some richly-laden wagon trains. Morgan's loss during the whole campaign in killed and wounded was not more than one hundred. He had entered Kentucky 900 strong. His command when he returned to Tennessee numbered nearly 2,000. Over 1,200 prisoners had been taken by the cavalry. Just before the battle of Murfreesboro Duke assisted in the defeat of a Federal brigade at Hartsville, Tenn., in which the Union loss was 2,096 and the Confederate 139 in all. The Union commander, Colonel Moore, was one of the 1,834 prisoners taken on this occasion. When Bragg was preparing to fall back from Tullahoma in the summer of 1863, Morgan made his celebrated raid into Ohio. In this expedition Colonel Duke was his right-hand man. But Morgan and Duke with sixty-eight other officers were captured. Morgan made his escape from the Ohio penitentiary where they were confined, and Duke was afterward exchanged. In southwest Virginia these officers assisted in defeating Averell's attempt upon the salt works, and then by a raid into Kentucky delayed for several months another intended Federal attack. This compensated in some measure the disastrous losses of this last raid into Kentucky. When Morgan was killed on the 4th of September, 1864, Colonel Duke succeeded to the command of the brigade, being commissioned brigadier-general on the 15th of September. In April, 1865, after hearing of the surrender of Lee, General Duke hastened with his command to join Gen. Joe Johnston in North Carolina. These soldiers formed, after the capitulation of Johnston's army, Mr. Davis' escort to Georgia. After the cessation of hostilities General Duke went back to Kentucky and made his home in Louisville, where he still resides (1898), enjoy-

ing the esteem of his neighbors, who with the true Kentucky spirit admire a brave man, whether they were with him or on the other side in the four years' war.

Major-General Charles W. Field was born in Woodford county, Ky., in 1818. Upon his graduation at West Point in 1849 he was commissioned as brevet second-lieutenant in the Second dragoons, Colonel Harney commanding. For five succeeding years he served against the Indians on the frontiers of New Mexico and Texas and on the plains. June 30, 1851, he was promoted to second-lieutenant, and March 3, 1855, to first-lieutenant and transferred to the Second cavalry, of which A. S. Johnston was colonel and R. E. Lee lieutenant-colonel. From 1856 to 1861 he served at West Point as chief of cavalry, being assistant instructor of cavalry tactics. On January 31, 1861, he was promoted to captain in the Second cavalry. On May 30th he resigned this position, and going to Richmond offered his services to the Confederate government. He was at once appointed captain of cavalry, and rapid promotion followed to major of the Sixth Virginia cavalry in July, then lieutenant-colonel, and, in August, colonel. It was not, however, until 1862 that he appeared conspicuously in the field. On March 9th of that year he was commissioned brigadier-general, and assigned to an infantry brigade (all Virginians) in the division of A. P. Hill, under whose command he fought in the Seven Days' battles, Cedar Run and Second Manassas. In the last-named battle he was severely wounded, the injury confining him to his bed for nearly a year. He was still on crutches when he reported for duty, and on the 12th of February, 1864, he was commissioned major-general. Field's division consisted of some of the best troops in the army. In the battle of the Wilderness (March 6th) this division and Kershaw's restored the fortunes of the day, when it looked as though Lee's right wing was about to be swept



Maj.-Gen. CHAS. W. FIELD.

Maj.-Gen. WM. PRESTON.

Brig.-Gen. JOSEPH H. LEWIS.

Maj.-Gen. GEO. B. CRITTENDEN.

Brig.-Gen. JOHN H. MORGAN.

Brig.-Gen. A. BUFORD.

Brig.-Gen. J. M. HAWES.

Brig.-Gen. H. B. LYON.

from the field. During Grant's attempt to take Petersburg in June, while Field and Pickett were approaching that city, General Lee superintended in person the recapture of the Bermuda Hundred line, which had been seized by Butler when Bushrod Johnson left it to reinforce Beauregard. Pickett's and Field's divisions had been ordered to retake the line; but finding that a new line could be occupied without loss of life, the order was revoked. Field's division had been notified of the change, but Pickett's men, who had not received such notification, began the assault under the first order, whereupon Field's men without waiting for orders rushed forward and were soon in the formidable trenches. On the 14th of August, 1864, General Field had a fierce fight against heavy odds on his line extending from Chapin's Bluff to New Market heights. At one time the enemy broke through a gap of two brigades in the center, but Field, heading his old division, charged upon the advancing foe and snatched victory from defeat. On the day of the surrender at Appomattox Field's division was still in prime fighting condition, compact and firm and ready at the word of command to do or die. After the war General Field went abroad, and from July 17, 1875, to March 31, 1877, served as colonel of engineers in the Egyptian army, being inspector-general in the Abyssinian campaign, 1875-76. He was doorkeeper of the House of Representatives in Washington from April 18, 1878, to March 4, 1881. From 1881 to 1885 he was civil engineer in the service of the United States, and from 1885 to 1889 superintendent of the Hot Springs reservation in Arkansas. He died at Washington, D. C., in April, 1892.

Brigadier-General John Breckinridge Grayson was born in Kentucky in 1807; was educated at West Point, and after graduating in 1826 became second lieutenant of the Second artillery; served in garrison at Fort Monroe, Virginia, 1826-28; on topographical duty from 1828 to

1832; in garrison at the arsenal in Augusta, Ga., in 1833; in various Southern forts in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana; then in 1835-36 in the Seminole war in Florida, being engaged in the skirmishes at Camp Izard and the combat at Oloklikaha; then on commissary duty at New Orleans from 1836 to 1847, and finally in the war with Mexico 1847-48. During this time he had gone through the different grades up to captain, Second artillery. He was chief of commissariat of the army under Maj.-Gen. Winfield Scott and was present at the siege of Vera Cruz, battles of Cerro Gordo, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, and at the assault and capture of the city of Mexico. He was brevetted major, August 20, 1847, for "gallant and meritorious conduct" at the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, and lieutenant-colonel for the same reason at the storming of Chapultepec. From 1848 to 1855 he was chief of commissariat at Detroit, Mich., and until July 1, 1861, in the same position in New Mexico. Having such a long and honorable record in the old army, it is easy to understand how attached he must have been to the service, and with what strong ties he was bound to his companions in arms and to the flag which he had upheld with such conspicuous gallantry on so many bloody fields. There was a great principle back of the retirement of so many gallant officers, young and old, from a service which they really loved and which it cost them a bitter pang to leave. State sovereignty was just as truly an American idea as was National union, and those who held that their allegiance was due first of all to their States, and who believed that to lay violent hands on the sovereignty of the States was the rankest treason, were just as sincere and patriotic as those who placed the Union above all other things and regarded as treason the least resistance to its authority. Each side was perfectly loyal to its idea of what the American constitution was, and on many a bloody field they proved the sincerity of the mo-

tives that prompted them to espouse the cause for which they were even willing to die. Colonel Grayson was no impetuous youth led astray by a sudden impulse, but like Robert Lee, he followed that which seemed to him the path of duty. Though with regret he left the old army, he entered that of the Confederacy from the purest of motives and with a sincere heart. On account of his experience as a soldier he was appointed a brigadier-general in the provisional army of the Confederate States, his commission bearing date August 15, 1861. He was at once placed in command of the department of Middle and Eastern Florida. But he never had an opportunity to strike a blow for the South; for on October 21, 1861, he died at Tallahassee, Fla., sincerely regretted by those with whom he had cast his lot.

Brigadier-General Roger W. Hanson was one of those gallant Kentuckians who, believing that the cause of the South was the cause of constitutional liberty, and fearing that the centralizing tendencies of the republican party would lead to the complete overthrow of the sovereignty of the States, left home and friends and, becoming an exile from his native State, threw his whole heart and soul into the struggle of the South for separate independence. His natural ability as a leader of men brought him to the front and he became colonel of the Second Kentucky infantry, commissioned September 3, 1861. His regiment was assigned to the Confederate army in central Kentucky, first under command of General Buckner. In the battle of Fort Donelson, amid a pitiless tempest of rain, snow and sleet and the more dreadful storm of shot and shell, Hanson and his men were distinguished for bravery and steady fighting, and are frequently mentioned in the official reports. It was late in the year when Colonel Hanson was exchanged. On the 13th of December, 1862, he was commissioned brigadier-general in the provisional army of the

Confederate States. On the 31st of the same month came the tremendous battle of Murfreesboro, in which Hanson commanded the Kentucky brigade of Breckinridge's division. On the 2d of January Bragg noticed that Beatty's Federal brigade east of Stone's river enfiladed Polk's line in its new position. Bragg ordered Breckinridge to take his division and dislodge these troops. Lieut.-Col. S. C. Kniffin, of the staff of the Union General Crittenden, says: "In the assault that followed a brief cannonade, Hanson's left was thrown forward close to the river bank, with orders to fire once, then charge with the bayonet. On the right of Beatty was Col. S. W. Price's brigade, and the charge made by Hanson's Sixth Kentucky was met by Price's Eighth Kentucky regiment, followed by Hanson and Pillow in successive strokes from right to left of Beatty's lines. * * * Beatty ordered retreat, and assailants and assailed moved in a mass toward the river. * * * Crittenden, turning to his chief of artillery, said, 'Mendenhall, you must cover my men with your guns.' Never was there a more effective response to such a request. * * * In all, 58 pieces of artillery played upon the enemy. Not less than 100 shots per minute were fired. As the men swarmed down the slope they were mowed down by the score. Confederates were pinioned to the earth by falling branches. For a few minutes the brave fellows held their ground, hoping to advance, but the bank bristled with bayonets. Hanson was mortally wounded and his brigade lost 400 men." General Breckinridge in his official report says: "I cannot enumerate all the brave officers who fell, nor the living who nobly did their duty; yet I may be permitted to lament, in common with the army, the premature death of General Hanson, who received a mortal wound at the moment the enemy began to give way. Endeared to his friends by his private virtues and to his command by the vigilance with which he guarded its interest and honor, he was, by the univer-

sal testimony of his military associates, one of the finest officers that adorned the service of the Confederate States."

Brigadier-General James M. Hawes was born and reared in Kentucky. On July 1, 1841, he entered the United States military academy at West Point as a cadet, and four years later graduated as brevet second lieutenant of dragoons. His first service was in the military occupation of Texas, 1845-46, and he was soon called upon to meet the enemies of his country in the war with Mexico. He was engaged in the siege of Vera Cruz and in a skirmish at San Juan de los Llanos, at the battles of Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey and other operations before the city of Mexico which led to its capture and occupation by the American forces. He was brevetted first lieutenant for gallant and meritorious conduct in these battles. From 1848 to 1850 he was assistant instructor of infantry tactics at West Point, then assistant professor of mathematics, next assistant instructor of cavalry tactics. From 1850 to 1852 he was on professional duty at the cavalry school of Saumur, France. Afterward he was assigned to the Texas frontier, then detached at Washington, D. C., later served on the Utah expedition, and finally in quelling Kansas disturbances. During this time he had reached the rank of captain of the Second dragoons. Believing in the justice of the Southern cause, when it became evident that war was about to begin, he resigned his commission in the United States army and tendered his services to the Confederate States. He was immediately appointed a captain in the Confederate army. On June 16, 1861, he was made major and ten days later was appointed colonel of the Second Kentucky cavalry. But preferring the rank of major in the regular army of the Confederacy, he resigned his position as colonel of the Second Kentucky. In October, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston wrote to Mr.

Davis, asking for the appointment of Major Hawes as a brigadier-general. This was done on March 5, 1862. From the time that General Johnston took command of the Western department until April 7, 1862, Hawes commanded the cavalry and had the advance of the army at Green river, Ky., 1861-62. After Shiloh he asked to be relieved of command of the cavalry of the Western army, and was assigned to the command of a brigade in Breckinridge's division, composed of one Kentucky, one Mississippi and one Confederate regiment. In October he was sent to the Trans-Mississippi, where he commanded a Texas cavalry brigade near Little Rock, Ark., under Gen. T. H. Holmes. In 1863 he commanded an infantry brigade in the division of Gen. J. G. Walker, and was engaged in a fierce fight at Milliken's Bend while the siege of Vicksburg was in progress. During 1864 he commanded the troops and fortifications at Galveston Island. After the return of peace General Hawes entered into the business of a hardware merchant in Covington, Ky., and continued to be thus occupied until his death on the 22d of November, 1889. He was 66 years old at the time of his death.

Brigadier-General Ben Hardin Helm, another gallant son of Kentucky, was born in Elizabethtown in 1830. He was graduated at West Point in 1851 as brevet second lieutenant and was assigned to the Second dragoons. After a little more than a year's service, during which time he was promoted to second lieutenant, he resigned his position in the army and took up the study and practice of law. He was a member of the State legislature 1855-56, and state's attorney 1856-58. In 1856 he married Miss Todd, the half-sister of Abraham Lincoln. Notwithstanding their very great divergence of political sentiment, Lincoln and Helm were much attached to each other. In April, 1861, although Mr. Lincoln knew his brother-in-law to be a Southern Rights Democrat, he

invited him to Washington. On the 27th of April he handed Helm a sealed envelope, saying, "Ben, here is something for you. Think it over by yourself and let me know what you will do." The envelope contained Helm's nomination as paymaster in the United States army. Helm said: "I will try to do what is right. You shall have my answer in a few days." Returning to Kentucky he found his State much divided, and each side full of patriotic fervor for what it deemed the right. According to his convictions of duty he made his decision, and that was for the South. He wrote to Mr. Lincoln declining the position of paymaster. He organized the First Kentucky cavalry for the Confederate army, reporting for duty to Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston October 19, 1861, and received his commission as colonel and in March, 1862, he was commissioned brigadier-general. In June, 1862, when Breckinridge's division was sent to Vicksburg, Helm was in command of the Second brigade, which included the Fourth and Fifth Kentucky, one Mississippi and two Alabama regiments. He was on duty about Vicksburg during the naval operations in the summer of 1862, and in the latter part of July marched to Louisiana with the division. Just before the opening of the battle of Baton Rouge, during a stampede by some partisan rangers, General Helm was dangerously injured by the fall of his horse. He remained on duty in the district of the Gulf until the latter part of January, 1863, when he was ordered to take command of the brigade of the late General Hanson, in Breckinridge's division. He commanded this brigade, which included the Kentucky regiments of Breckinridge's division, during the Tullahoma campaign, and part of the time was in command of the division. On the morning of September 20, 1863, in the first assault upon the Federal breastworks, battle of Chickamauga, "the battle was opened by Helm's brigade with great fury." "This was one of the bloodiest encounters of the day,"

says General Breckinridge. "Here General Helm, ever ready for action, and endeared to his command by many virtues, received a mortal wound while in the heroic discharge of his duties." A writer in the New Orleans States says: "How brave a soldier the Confederacy lost that day history records. Ben Hardin Helm was, in the highest sense of the word, one of nature's noblemen. He was a patriotic Southern gentleman. As he understood it, his line of conduct was clear and he unhesitatingly trod the path of duty." It is said that when Lincoln heard of the death of General Helm, his grief was uncontrollable. Four who commanded brigades on each side at Chickamauga were either killed or mortally wounded. Helm of Kentucky was one of the four on the Southern side. The government has erected monuments to these officers on the spots where each one fell, without making any distinction between those who fell on the Northern or on the Southern side. May this be a token of the brotherly love that shall henceforth prevail between the once severed sections of our now united country.

Brigadier-General George B. Hodge was born in Fleming county, Ky., in April, 1828. When quite young he entered the naval academy at Annapolis, Md.; became midshipman in December, 1845, and was acting lieutenant in the navy when he resigned in 1851. Then entering upon the study of law, he was admitted to the bar at Newport, Ky., and became prominent as a lawyer and political leader. In 1859 he was elected to the legislature of Kentucky and in 1860 was an elector on the Breckinridge ticket. He was an earnest Democrat and an ardent supporter of the State rights doctrine. Though regretting secession he stood ready to defend the sovereignty of the States which he thought endangered. His zeal for the Southern cause is shown by the fact that, though a man of civil prominence, he entered the Con-

federate army as a private. He was soon after this elected to represent Kentucky in the Confederate Congress. When not serving in that body he was in the field. It was a common thing during the war between the States for men of the highest social standing to enter the army as privates, and some from the very best families served throughout the war in the ranks. That accounts in a great measure for the splendid fighting qualities of the Confederate soldier; for the heart of the private soldier throbbed with the same pride of birth and name as that of the commanding general. Private Hodge, the Confederate congressman, was soon made a captain and acting adjutant-general of Breckinridge's division. For gallantry at the battle of Shiloh he was promoted to major, with commission bearing date of May 6, 1862. Continuing to act as adjutant-general he was promoted to colonel, May 6, 1863. He was for a while inspector-general at Cumberland Gap, and commanded Preston's cavalry in various operations in east Tennessee. Coming to north Georgia with the forces under Buckner, he participated in Wheeler's raid in middle Tennessee, after Chickamauga, and was commended by Wheeler for his good conduct in command of a cavalry brigade. On August 2, 1864, he was commissioned brigadier-general and put in command of the district of Southwest Mississippi and East Louisiana, remaining in that position until the end of the war. He then returned to his home in Newport, Ky., where he resumed his law practice. He was an elector on the Greeley ticket in 1872, was elected State senator in 1873, and served until 1877. His death occurred shortly after the expiration of his term of office.

Brigadier-General Joseph H. Lewis was born in Glasgow, Barren county, Ky. Before the war he was a lawyer of note. He entered the army of the Confederate States as colonel of the Sixth Kentucky infantry, com-

missioned November 1, 1861. During the first year of the war his command had plenty of arduous military labor to perform, but no opportunity to display the splendid soldierly qualities of both the leader and the men until the battle of Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862. Here they were engaged in the fierce fighting which resulted in the capture of Prentiss and his entire command. Col. R. P. Trabue, who commanded the brigade to which the Sixth Kentucky was attached, says in his report, "I had occasion often to admire the courage and ability of Cols. Joseph H. Lewis and Thomas H. Hunt, as well as the steadiness of their men." At Murfreesboro Lewis and his gallant regiment sustained their former reputation, showing the spirit of true Kentuckians, especially in Breckinridge's famous charge of January 2d. At the battle of Chickamauga Colonel Lewis was in the brigade of Gen. B. H. Helm, and upon the death of that noble soldier and patriot succeeded to his command. Again was Colonel Lewis mentioned in the most flattering terms by Breckinridge, commander of the division, and D. H. Hill, corps commander. On the 30th of September, 1863, he was promoted to brigadier-general and continued in command of the Kentucky brigade, then including the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Ninth regiments and the Forty-first Alabama. He led the brigade in the unfortunate battle of Missionary Ridge and on the retreat to Dalton. His command formed a reserve to support Cleburne at the battle of Ringgold Gap. On the Dalton-Atlanta campaign Lewis' brigade was actively engaged at Mill Creek Gap, Resaca, New Hope Church, Dallas, Pine Mountain and Kenesaw Mountain. It participated also in the battle of Peachtree Creek July 20th, and in that of Atlanta, July 22d. On the 6th of August at Utoy creek, Lewis' brigade participated in the fight of Bate's division against Schofield. This affair resulted in the great discomfiture of the enemy, the capture of several stand of colors and many prisoners and arms.

After the fall of Atlanta this famous Kentucky brigade was mounted and placed in Wheeler's cavalry corps. Lewis was with Wheeler in the campaign in Georgia, impeding Sherman's march through that State, and again in North Carolina he was engaged in the final marches and battles that ended at Bentonville. He formed a part of President Davis' escort, and was surrendered near Washington, Ga. Returning to his home, General Lewis at once became one of the most prominent men of Kentucky. For twelve years he represented the Third district in the Congress of the United States. After retiring from Congress he was made one of the associate judges of the court of appeals, and at the present time (1898) is chief justice of the State of Kentucky.

Brigadier-General Hylan B. Lyon was born in the State of Kentucky about the year 1836. He was appointed to the West Point military academy in 1852, and on graduation in 1856 was promoted in the army to second-lieutenant of artillery. His first service was against the Seminole Indians in Florida, 1856-57. Then he was on frontier duty at various posts in California; in 1858 was engaged in the Spokane expedition, and in battle September 5-7, 1858. He served later in Washington and Montana with promotion to first-lieutenant, Third artillery. There were very few officers of the United States army who did not regret the great sectional quarrel and the war that resulted therefrom, and yet there were few from the seceding States that did not obey the voice of their States and range themselves under the banner of the South. Where there was great division of sentiment, as in Kentucky, Missouri, etc., some remained in the army and did splendid service for the Union, while others were unsurpassed in their zeal and fidelity to the South. Hylan B. Lyon was one of this latter class; on April 30, 1861, resigning his commission in the United States army. He entered the service of

the Confederate States, and was commissioned first-lieutenant of artillery. He was the first captain of Cobb's battery. By the 3d of February, 1862, he had been promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Kentucky regiment. He led his regiment at the battle of Fort Donelson and was mentioned for gallantry by his brigade commander, Col. John M. Simonton. After the Donelson prisoners had been exchanged, Colonel Lyon and the Eighth Kentucky were placed in the army of West Tennessee, in the first division of the first corps. On the 5th of December, 1862, this division, commanded by Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, had an encounter with the Federals at Coffeeville, which was a complete success for the Confederates. General Tilghman reported that the Eighth Kentucky, under Col. H. B. Lyon, was conspicuous in the fight, where he had "seldom seen greater good judgment, and impetuous gallantry shown by any officers or men." In June, 1864, Colonel Lyon was commissioned brigadier-general, and in August he was assigned to the corps of General Forrest. His brigade consisted of the Third, Seventh, Eighth and Twelfth Kentucky regiments. These troops, with their commanders, shared the glories and hardships of Forrest's campaigns in north Mississippi, Alabama and Tennessee. During the march of Hood into Tennessee Lyon was very active, penetrating even into Kentucky. After the war he returned to his native State, where he has been honored with several important trusts, among them the position of warden of the penitentiary.

Brigadier-General Humphrey Marshall came of one of the most distinguished families of Kentucky. His father was an eminent lawyer and jurist, and his grandfather was Humphrey Marshall, the statesman. He was born in Frankfort, Ky., January 13, 1812, and was graduated at West Point in 1832 with promotion to brevet third-lieutenant in the mounted rangers. He served in the Black



Brig.-Gen. B. H. HELM.

Brig.-Gen. BASIL W. DUKE.

Brig.-Gen. R. W. HANSON.

Brig.-Gen. JOHN S. WILLIAMS

Brig.-Gen. G. B. HODGE.

Brig.-Gen. GEO. B. COSBY.

Brig.-Gen. HUMPHREY MARSHALL.

Maj.-Gen. GUSTAVUS W. SMITH.

Hawk expedition, and was made brevet second-lieutenant of the First dragoons March 4, 1833, but resigned in April. He then practiced law at Frankfort and at Louisville and was successively captain, major and lieutenant-colonel of Kentucky militia. In the Mexican war he served as colonel of the First Kentucky cavalry volunteers, and under General Taylor won distinction at the battle of Buena Vista, where he led the cavalry charge. The term of service of the regiment expired July 7, 1847. Colonel Marshall then returned to his farm in Kentucky. He declined several nominations, both State and National, but at last consented to run for Congress, was elected as representative of the Louisville district in 1849, and at the expiration of his term was re-elected. President Fillmore nominated him in 1852 as commissioner to China, which position was raised to a first-class mission, and his nomination was at once confirmed by the senate. After his return he was elected on the American ticket to the Thirty-fourth Congress and then to the Thirty-fifth, in which he served on the committee on military affairs. In 1856, as a member of the council of the National American party, he succeeded in having the pledge of secrecy stricken from the rules of the society. In the presidential campaign of 1860 he canvassed his State for the ticket headed by John C. Breckinridge. Upon the secession of the Southern States he raised a large number of volunteers for the Confederate army and was commissioned brigadier-general October 30, 1861. The district of Eastern Kentucky was assigned to him with instructions to operate in the mountain passes on the Virginia border. On January 10, 1862, he met Federal forces under General Garfield at Middle creek in Floyd county. A severe combat ensued in which Marshall repulsed every attack, but many of his men having been without food for several hours and no provisions being near at hand, on the next day he began to retire toward Martin's Mill. In May he defeated the Federals under J. D. Cox

at Princeton, Va., and saved to Confederate use the Lynchburg & Knoxville railroad, for which service he received the thanks of General Lee. On the 16th of June he resigned his commission, but was reappointed June 20th, to date from his first commission. He was subsequently elected to the Confederate Congress as a representative from Kentucky, and served on the military committee. His final resignation from the army was sent in on June 7, 1863, and from this time he served the Confederate government in a civil capacity. After the war he returned to Louisville, Ky., and devoted himself to law, soon acquiring a large practice. He died at Louisville, Ky., March 28, 1872.

Brigadier-General John Hunt Morgan made one of the most unique records of the war between the North and South. He was born in Huntsville, Ala., June 1, 1826. When but four years of age, he was carried by his father to the vicinity of Lexington, Ky., where he was brought up on a farm and received a common school education. He was the oldest of six brothers, all of whom, except one, who was too young to bear arms, did military service for the Confederate States. It is said he was a lineal descendant of the celebrated Daniel Morgan of revolutionary fame. In the war with Mexico, young Morgan raised a company of which he was made captain. But peace was made before he had entered upon active service. It is stated that upon the disbanding of this company, Morgan indemnified out of his own means every man for the time that he had lost. Soon after the Mexican war he engaged in the manufacture of bagging and jeans for the Southern market. At the commencement of the war he was detained at home by the illness and death of his wife. As soon as he could do so, he secretly collected a band of twenty-five men, and leaving his home made his way to Green river and reported to the Confederate officer in command there as

ready for duty. He was soon commissioned as captain of Kentucky volunteers and placed under the command of Gen. Simon B. Buckner. He was stationed with some other cavalry upon duty on Green river. He immediately began his wonderful career, keeping the enemy between Green river and Bacon creek in a constant state of alarm. After the fall of Fort Donelson he was attached to Hardee's command and told to watch the movements of the enemy. This he did, and in a series of daring adventures alarmed the enemy even in the vicinity of Nashville. On the earnest recommendation of General Beauregard, Morgan was appointed colonel of the Second Kentucky cavalry April 4, 1862. A short time before Bragg's Kentucky campaign Morgan, leaving Tennessee with less than 1,000 men, penetrated a country in the hands of the Federals, captured seventeen towns, destroying all government supplies and arms in them, dispersed 1,500 home guards and paroled nearly 1,200 regular troops. In his official report of these operations made to Gen. E. Kirby Smith, Morgan says that he left Knoxville with 900 men and returned with 1,200, having lost of the number that he carried into Kentucky in killed, wounded and missing about 90. During this raid he had destroyed military stores, railroad bridges and other property to the value of eight or ten million dollars. In this expedition he had greatly mystified the enemy by an instrument hitherto unused in offensive warfare. This was a portable electric battery. It was only necessary to take down the telegraph wire, connect it with his portable battery and head off and answer all messages passing between Louisville and Nashville. On his retreat Morgan took possession of the wires on his route and countermanded all the orders that had been sent to intercept him. In recognition of his great services he was, on the suggestion of General Bragg, commissioned brigadier-general December 11, 1862. His exploits made it necessary to garrison every important town in Kentucky and Southern Ohio and

Indiana. His most wonderful exploit was the great raid through those States from the 2d to the 20th of July, 1863. With about 2,000 horsemen and four cannon he crossed the Cumberland river near Burkesville. Moving rapidly forward he met and defeated Wofford's Kentucky Union command. At Brandenburg on the Ohio his bold raiders captured two steamboats. Then, while one half of the command crossed the Ohio and attacked about 1,000 men on the Indiana side, Morgan with the other half turned his artillery on two gunboats that had come down the river to prevent the crossing, and drove them off. Then crossing the river Morgan dispersed or captured the whole Federal force. Next he captured Corydon and about 1,200 citizens and soldiers who tried to defend it. No pillaging was allowed. Only provisions for men and provender for stock were taken. At last, after passing through fifty-two towns, nine in Kentucky, fourteen in Indiana and twenty-nine in Ohio, and having captured nearly 6,000 prisoners and damaged public property to the amount of ten million dollars, Morgan and his men were captured. Some were sent to Camp Morton, Indiana. Morgan and his chief officers were taken to Columbus, Ohio, where they were treated like common felons. But Morgan and six of his officers, with no tools but case knives, cut their way through the solid stone, tunneled underground and made their escape. In 1864 Morgan was again in the field giving his enemies any amount of trouble. On the 4th of September, 1864, at Greeneville, Tenn., he was surrounded by the enemy, and in attempting to escape was shot and instantly killed. Such was the sad fate of this illustrious cavalry leader.

Major-General William Preston was a member of the Preston family especially celebrated in the annals of three States, Virginia, South Carolina and Kentucky. He was born near Louisville, Ky., October 16, 1806, and was educated at a Jesuit school at Bardstown, Ky. After-

ward he studied at York, and attended the law school at Harvard, where he was graduated in 1838. He then began the practice of law and entered actively into politics. In the Mexican war he was lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Kentucky volunteers. Returning home after the war, he again entered the political field, and in 1851 was elected to the Kentucky house of representatives as a Whig. In the following year he was sent to Congress to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Humphrey Marshall, and continued to represent his State until March 3, 1855, when he surrendered his seat to Marshall, elected the previous autumn as candidate of the Know-nothing party. On the splitting up of the old Whig party he allied himself with the Democrats and became a delegate to the convention that nominated James Buchanan to the presidency. Under that administration he was sent as minister to Spain. He returned home in time to take part in the great civil war, earnestly espousing the cause of the South. He joined Buckner at Bowling Green and was soon appointed on the staff of his brother-in-law, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, with the rank of colonel. He was acting in this capacity at Shiloh when the great Confederate chieftain received his mortal wound and died in Preston's arms. On April 14, 1862, he was commissioned brigadier-general, and he then took command of a brigade of Breckinridge's corps and served at Vicksburg, Baton Rouge and in middle Tennessee. He led his brigade in the battle of Murfreesboro, taking part in the great charge of Breckinridge's division. On April 28, 1863, he was ordered to relieve General Humphrey Marshall in southwest Virginia and east Tennessee, and later with headquarters at Abingdon, Va., he commanded the first brigade of General Buckner's army of east Tennessee. At the battle of Chickamauga he commanded the division brought from his mountain district to the reinforcement of Bragg. This division included the brigades of Gracie, Kelly and

Trigg. Commander and men alike made a glorious record at Chickamauga. In January, 1864, General Preston was assigned to the Trans-Mississippi department, under Gen. Kirby Smith, and on January 1, 1865, he was promoted to major-general. Throughout the war General Preston always performed his part with the chivalrous courage for which the men of Kentucky were noted, on whichever side they fought. After the close of the long and sanguinary struggle he returned to his home in Lexington, Ky., resuming his law practice and again taking an active part in the political affairs of his native State. In 1867 he served in the legislature of Kentucky, and in 1880 he was a delegate to the Democratic convention that nominated General Hancock for the presidency. Most of his time was occupied, however, with his lucrative law practice and in the pleasant retirement of his elegant home. Here he died on September 21, 1887, sincerely mourned, not only by his family and large circle of friends, but throughout the bounds of his native State.

Major-General Gustavus W. Smith was born at Georgetown, Ky., January 1, 1822. At the age of sixteen years he entered West Point military academy, and in 1842 he was graduated with a lieutenancy of engineers. Joining the army in Mexico in 1846, by the death of his captain he was thrown into command of the only company of engineers in the army, and in that capacity served in the siege of Vera Cruz, and the battles of the following campaign. He was commended by General Scott and brevetted captain for gallantry at Cerro Gordo. In 1849 he became principal assistant professor of engineering at West Point, a position he resigned December 18, 1854, to make his home at New Orleans. In 1856 he removed to New York City, and two years later was appointed street commissioner, but resigned in 1861 to join the Confederate movement. He was com-

missioned as major-general and put in command of the Second corps of the army in Virginia, on the transfer of General Beauregard, and was at this time second in rank to General Johnston. He commanded the reserve at Yorktown and the rear guard in the retreat to Richmond. When General Johnston was wounded at Seven Pines May 31, 1861, the command of the army devolved upon General Smith, who was at the time sick, though on the field. On the day following the battle he was relieved by the assignment of Gen. Robert E. Lee to the command of the army afterward known as the army of Northern Virginia. This assignment was agreeable to and expected by General Smith, who was physically in an unfit condition to take command of the army. Later in 1862 he was acting secretary of war for a few days in the interregnum between Randolph and Seddon. He had done valuable service around Richmond, and presently continued these services under General Beauregard at Charleston, after which he engaged in superintending the Etowah iron works for the armies until they were destroyed on Sherman's advance. Governor Brown, of Georgia, having called out a militia force of about 10,000 men exempt from conscription, the command was given to General Smith, with General Toombs as adjutant-general, both of these officers having resigned their commissions in the Confederate army. In this service under General Johnston he organized the State forces, and fought them with very marked efficiency until the surrender, notably on the Chattahoochee river before Atlanta, and on the fortified line before Savannah. He surrendered at Macon, Ga., April 20, 1865. Subsequently he was superintendent of the Southwestern iron works at Chattanooga, 1866-70, insurance commissioner of Kentucky, 1870-76, and in business at New York City after 1876 until his death, June 23, 1896. He published "Notes on Life Insurance," and "Confederate War Papers."

Brigadier-General John Stuart Williams was born in Montgomery county, Ky., in 1820. Getting his preparatory education in the schools of his native county he entered the Miami university at Oxford, Ohio, where he was graduated in 1838. He then studied law, was admitted to the bar, and at Paris, Ky., began the practice. His prosperous business was laid aside when President Polk issued a call for volunteers for the Mexican war. He entered the Fourth Kentucky infantry as captain and became colonel; served through the war and entered in triumph the city of Mexico. After the proclamation of peace he resumed his law practice in Kentucky. Being possessed of lands in a fertile portion of Kentucky he also paid considerable attention to stock raising. He was a Whig in politics, and as such was delegate to several conventions of that party. He was not an ultra State rights man, was a lover of the Union and earnestly opposed secession. Like many in the border Southern States he hoped for some sort of compromise that would preserve the Union and avert the horrors of civil war. Yet, when Kentucky was called upon for her quota of troops to help suppress the so-called rebellion, his whole nature shrank from the idea of coercion and an enforced Union. If he must fight, he chose to fight for those who were waging what he considered a just war in defense of their rights. Therefore, at the first opportunity, he entered the Confederate service as colonel of the Fifth Kentucky infantry, his commission dating from November 16, 1861. This regiment was made up of hardy mountaineers from eastern Kentucky, as splendid material for soldiers as could be found in any country. From the blue grass region of Kentucky he also enrolled a body of mounted riflemen, consisting of young men of fortune and education, the very class that helped to make the fame of John H. Morgan. To this force were added the Twenty-second, Thirty-sixth and Forty-fifth Virginia infantry, the Eighth Virginia cavalry, Bailey's and Edgar's battalions

and the light batteries of artillery of Captains Otey and Lowry. On April 16, 1862, he was commissioned as brigadier-general. He served under Humphrey Marshall in eastern Kentucky and southwest Virginia. After the removal of General Marshall to another field of operations General Williams remained in east Tennessee, and in September, 1863, took command of the department, opposing the advance of Burnside to the best of his ability. In November, at his own request, General Williams was relieved of his command and Col. Henry L. Giltner took charge of the brigade. General Williams continued, however, to operate in this region, and in September of 1864 helped to defeat the attack of General Burbridge upon the salt works near Abingdon, Va. He was serving under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston when the surrender took place. Going back to his home after the return of peace, he used all his influence toward the restoration of good-will between the re-united sections. In 1873 and 1874 he served in the Kentucky legislature. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1879, serving until 1885. Subsequently he devoted himself to farming, improving lands in Florida and promoting the building of railroads in the mineral region of Kentucky.



JOHN C. MOORE

MISSOURI

BY

COL. JOHN C. MOORE.

CHAPTER I.

MISSOURI IN THE WAR.

INTRODUCTORY—THE ADMISSION OF MISSOURI TO THE UNION—THE BEGINNING OF THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH—THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE—THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL—NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID SOCIETIES—THE NATIONAL ELECTION IN 1860—THE SOUTHERN ELEMENT DIVIDED—DANGEROUS POSITION OF THE STATE—NEW PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND LEADERS—THE SOUTHWEST EXPEDITION.

TO understand correctly the popular feeling in Missouri at the beginning of the War between the States, it is necessary to look back more than a generation prior to that time. It may be said that the political contest between the North and the South began, or at least assumed definite form, with the application of Missouri for admission into the Union, and that the feeling of hostility in the North engendered by that contest, toward the State, has grown with the lapse of time to the present day. During the seventy odd years which have passed, the habit of misrepresenting the State and its people has become fixed and ineradicable.

In 1819 Missouri sought admission into the Union on terms entirely in accordance with the requirements of the Federal Constitution and the precedents established in the admission of other States—Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana and Mississippi in the South, and Vermont, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois in the North—with the difference that the former recognized the institution of domestic slavery, and the latter did not. But in each instance the people of the State seeking admission had decided the

question for themselves. The territorial laws of Missouri recognized slavery. On that account the Northern members of Congress refused to admit it. The Southern members favored its admission, holding that the people of Missouri had a right to determine the question as they pleased when they came to frame their State constitution.

In this the North was manifestly the aggressor. Its position had no warrant in the Constitution, in the laws or in the precedents bearing on the subject. The contest that followed was prolonged and violent, but finally the State was admitted in 1821, as the result of the adoption of a compromise—known as the Missouri Compromise, the principal provisions of which were that Missouri should be admitted as a slaveholding State, but after that time there should be no slavery north of the line of 36 degrees and 30 minutes, while in States south of that line, formed out of territory embraced in the Louisiana purchase, slavery might or might not exist as the people determined in organizing State governments. In this way the immediate question at issue was settled, not in accordance with the law, or the constitutional right of the people organizing new States to make their own laws, but by drawing an arbitrary line across the country from east to west, and giving those on one side the right of self-government, and denying it to those on the other side.

This arrangement was not satisfactory to the people of Missouri, because it imposed upon them conditions on entering the Union which had not been imposed on the people of other States. But it put a stop to the agitation of the slavery question for a generation, as far as the admission of new States was concerned. In the meantime, however, it became more and more a political issue, attended with a growing feeling of bitterness on both sides. But it did not assume practical form again until California, organized out of a part of the territory

acquired from Mexico chiefly by the blood and courage of Southern soldiers, asked admission into the Union, when it was revived in more than its original spirit of sectional violence.

As a result of this agitation the Missouri legislature adopted resolutions affirming the rights of the States as interpreted by Southern statesmen, and instructing its senators in Congress to co-operate with the senators of the other Southern States in any measures they might adopt as a defense against the encroachments and aggressions of the North. Senator Thomas H. Benton refused to obey these instructions and appealed to the people of the State in vindication of his course. He was serving his fifth term in the Senate, and his hold on the people of the State was very strong. But notwithstanding his great ability and popularity, he was beaten for re-election to the Senate and was afterward successively defeated for governor and for representative in Congress. The resolutions of instructions remained unrepealed on the statute-book until after the war. They were a protest against the indignity put upon the State in the terms imposed upon it in its admission to the Union.

The events that followed the passage by Congress of the Kansas-Nebraska bill still further aggravated public sentiment. A struggle began in Kansas between the partisans of the North and the South for the political control of the Territory, which was carried on with great and constantly increasing bitterness on both sides. At first it was a legitimate contest between actual settlers, but it soon became one of fraud and violence. Emigrant aid societies were formed in the North, which sent men by the hundreds and thousands into the Territory, with the Bible in one hand and a Sharpe's rifle in the other, who manifested their fanaticism and lawlessness by denouncing the Union as "a league with hell," the Constitution as "a covenant with death," and the national flag as "a flaunting lie." They were organized to plunder

and kill. Missourians, as well as settlers from other Southern States, went into the Territory in large numbers to maintain their own rights as defined in the Constitution and the laws, and the rights of the South as a joint owner in the common territory of the country. To some extent the national authorities attempted to preserve the peace, and kept the combatants apart, but the struggle was really the beginning of the war that followed with all its attendant train of evils. Missouri suffered more from the pilfering propensities of these armed bands of Northern emigrants than from their fighting capacity. Their efforts were directed chiefly to abducting slaves from their Missouri owners, but they did not disdain other crimes and other species of property when opportunity offered.

Thus Missouri, from the time it became a State—indeed, from before that time—was deeply involved in the struggle between the North and the South, and was frequently the scene of the most heated part of the struggle.

The experiences of its people in the settlement of Kansas had forced upon them a knowledge of what Northern supremacy meant, as far as they and the people of the South were concerned. These things ought to have solidified public sentiment and made the State practically a unit when the time for action came. To some extent they did, or rather would have done so, if the Southern leaders in the State had had a conception of the nature of the crisis that confronted them. But they were politicians, men shrewd enough in their way, who knew the written and unwritten laws of party management thoroughly, while war and revolution were entirely beyond their mental range, and consequently they delayed, hesitated and frittered away their strength, laboriously doing nothing, until the storm burst upon them and found them totally unprepared.

At the presidential election in 1860, Missouri cast its electoral vote for Stephen A. Douglas. It was the only

State that did so. The total vote was 165,000. Of these, 58,801 were given to the Douglas electors; 58,373 to the Bell electors; 31,317 to the Breckinridge electors; and 17,165 to the Lincoln electors. The vote, however, did not correctly represent the sentiment of the people of the State. Claiborne F. Jackson was the regular Democratic nominee for governor. He was a good man, in a personal sense, and thoroughly loyal to the institutions of the State and the South. But as a matter of policy he declared his intention early in the campaign to support Douglas for President, thereby giving him the appearance of being the nominee and representative of the party. The more pronounced Southern men, the Breckinridge Democrats, refused to follow his lead, and nominated Hancock Jackson for governor, with a full electoral ticket. No doubt Claiborne F. Jackson thought he was acting for the best interests of the State and the cause to which he was strongly attached. But he was not. His precipitate movement in favor of Douglas divided Southern men and produced discord among them, when it was desirable above all things that they should be united and should act together in harmony. This was the first great mistake made by the Southern leaders in Missouri, and it was followed with fatal consistency by others that brought many disasters on the people of the State, and possibly changed the whole current of American history.

The supporters of Breckinridge, of Douglas and of Bell were in the main opposed to the sectional purposes of the Republican party, to the election of Lincoln, to the policy of the coercion of the Southern States, and when the test came would have been united in regard to the position Missouri should take. But dissensions and antagonisms were created among them by bad management. The vote showed the Republicans were outnumbered nine to one. Their strength was mainly in St. Louis and the counties along the south side of the Mis-

souri river between St. Louis and Jefferson City, in which, as well as in St. Louis, there was a large element of Germans. The seeds of Republicanism had been sown in the State by Thomas H. Benton, when he appealed to the people against the instructions of the legislature twelve years before. In the contest which ensued his friends had established an organ in St. Louis to advocate his cause, and his supporters, under the leadership of Francis P. Blair, Jr., had been organized into a party and were a compact and fanatical force in the body-politic. Blair was a man of great strength of character, and a fearless and sagacious party leader. In the politics of the State he was an outlaw, and in the stormy period preceding the war he was more or less a revolutionist. He had nothing to lose and everything to gain by a bold course. Besides this, circumstances favored him. When Mr. Lincoln made up his cabinet, his brother, Judge Montgomery Blair, was appointed postmaster-general. Thus Frank Blair was the unquestioned leader of a considerable and well-organized party in the State, with the resources of the Federal government practically at his disposal as far as Missouri was concerned, and was well fitted by nature and experience to play a bold part in the terrible drama of war and revolution which was impending.

Notwithstanding the comparative insignificance of the Republican vote in the State, the contest was not as unequal as it appeared. Blair knew the elements with which he had to deal as well as his opponents. He knew, besides, what the policy of the Federal government would be, and what support he could depend on. Both sides were getting ready to strike a decisive blow. But the Southern leaders were playing an open hand, while he was playing a secret one. The State occupied a precarious position. It was surrounded on three sides by Northern States, which were organizing and arming their citizens to invade it. The troops of Illinois, Iowa

and Kansas were almost as much at Blair's disposal as those he was actively but secretly organizing in Missouri.

Both sides were waiting. The Southern leaders did not know what they wanted to do, and consequently were not doing anything. As politicians they were shirking the responsibility of action, and waiting for some overt act on the part of the Federal authorities. Their attitude and policy suited Blair exactly. He was waiting, too, but at the same time he was working with a definite idea and aim. He was exerting to the utmost his great powers as a political intriguer to cause misunderstandings and dissensions among his opponents throughout the State, and organizing, arming and drilling his forces in St. Louis. In fact, he was getting them ready to commit the overt act for which his opponents were waiting. All he wanted was time, and they were giving him time.

At that period St. Louis was not only the commercial but the financial and political center of the State. The banks, the great commercial houses and the manufacturing establishments were located there. The railroads centered there. The newspapers that most strongly influenced the thought of the people and most nearly controlled their action were published there. All of these agencies were combined and were used openly or covertly against the integrity of the State and the Southern cause. The Democrat, the old Benton organ, which was established in the first place through the influence of Blair, and was still controlled by him, was unreservedly for the Republican party and the Union. The Bulletin was ultra-Southern, but it was newly established, of limited circulation and influence, and was short-lived. The Republican, the oldest paper in the State and probably the leading paper of the Mississippi valley, was the organ of the bankers, the merchants, the manufacturers, the property owners and business men of the city, and, to a great extent, of the State. The position of the Dem-

ocrat and the Bulletin was defined. That of the Republican was not. Nominally it was Southern in feeling and policy, but really it changed its course with every change in the situation, and while talking of the rights of the people and the honor of the State, was playing into the hands of the enemies of both. It was an enemy in the camp of the Southern Rights men, and did their cause all the harm it could.

During this period of doubt and delay, Missourians had an object lesson at home that might have taught them a world of wisdom, if they had chosen to learn the lesson. The State had found it necessary during the preceding fall to keep a considerable military force on its southwestern frontier to protect the lives and property of the people of the border counties from the predatory and murderous incursions of armed bands of Kansans. So bitter was the feeling of the Free State men of Kansas that they never allowed an opportunity to harass, plunder and murder the people of Missouri to pass unimproved. A certain Captain Montgomery, with an indefinite force under him, was particularly active in this congenial work. The only organized and armed force which the State had was Gen. D. M. Frost's skeleton brigade, of St. Louis. It was a fine body of men—a little army in itself, composed of infantry, artillery and cavalry—and General Frost, who was a native of New York, was a graduate of West Point. Though the brigade did not fight any battles, Frost was an intelligent officer and a strict disciplinarian, and his campaign served a good purpose in instructing in the rudiments of soldiership a number of young men who afterward made brilliant reputations in the Confederate army. In point of fact, General Harney of the regular army was eventually sent to the scene of disturbance to hold the lawless Kansans in check. The incident did not amount to much, but it showed the feeling by which the Northern people were animated, and their hostility to Missouri and Missourians.

CHAPTER II.

THE LEGISLATURE MEETS — GOVERNOR STEWART'S
FAREWELL MESSAGE — GOVERNOR JACKSON'S IN-
AUGURAL — BILLS TO CALL A STATE CONVENTION
AND TO ORGANIZE THE STATE MILITIA — THE
CONVENTION BILL PASSED — VEST'S RESOLUTION —
ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE STATE CON-
VENTION — FATE OF THE BILL TO ARM THE
STATE.

THE general assembly of Missouri met at Jefferson City on the 2d of January, 1861, and the Southern element organized both houses with scarcely a show of opposition. There was but one Republican in the senate, and in the house there were 83 Democrats, 37 Bell men and 12 Republicans. It was conceded that the Secessionists controlled the legislative branch of the government. All that was required to put the State in line with the other Southern States was prompt and decisive action. The people of the State expected such action would be taken and were prepared to uphold the legislature in taking it.

The message of the retiring governor, Robert M. Stewart, was sent to the two houses on January 3d. Governor Stewart was a Northern man—a native of New York—and a fair type of a Northern Democrat. He sympathized with the South but held to the Union. No one, therefore, was surprised that, while he admitted the wrongs the South had suffered at the hands of the North, and the dangers that threatened the country from the intolerant and aggressive spirit of the party about to come into power, he opposed secession on the ground that it was without warrant of law, and the secession of Missouri in particular on the special ground that it had no power to

withdraw from the Union, because it belonged to the United States by the right of purchase, having been formed from a part of the territory bought from France by the Federal government. In addition to denying generally and specially the right of the State to secede, he dwelt with emphasis on the division and conflict of sentiment among the people of the State and its exposed situation, surrounded as it was on three sides by States loyal to the Union, the citizens of which were already organizing and arming, and the great danger it would incur if it attempted to secede. "Regarding as I do the American Confederacy," he said, in closing, "as the source of a thousand blessings, pecuniary, social and moral, and its destruction as fraught with incalculable loss, suffering and crime, I would here, in my last official act as governor of Missouri, record my solemn protest against such unwise and hasty action, and my unalterable devotion to the Union so long as it can be made the protector of equal rights."

The same day the newly elected State officers took the oath of office, and Gov. Claiborne F. Jackson sent his inaugural address to the two houses. Governor Jackson was a Kentuckian of Virginian descent. He was a middle-aged man of dignified and impressive bearing, a farmer of independent fortune, and had been a citizen of the State for forty years. He was a forcible speaker, a debater rather than an orator, a politician of experience, and a man of positive opinions on public questions, upon which he generally had the courage to act. He had been connected with the politics of the State, off and on, for twenty-five years in a legislative capacity, and was chairman of the senate committee on Federal relations in 1848-49, and as such reported the resolutions instructing Senator Benton and his colleague to co-operate with the representatives of the Southern States in any policy of protection they might adopt. In the contest which ensued, when Benton refused to obey the instructions and ap-

pealed from the legislature to the people, he had taken a prominent part and became recognized as one of the most positive and active of Southern leaders.

In his address Governor Jackson traced the origin and growth of the anti-slavery party, and showed that it was in violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution, sectional, inimical to the rights and interests of the State, and a menace to the perpetuity of the Union. He reviewed in detail the situation, as far as Missouri was concerned, and declared that safety and honor alike demanded that the State should make common cause with the other Southern States. "The destiny of the slaveholding States of the Union is one and the same," he said. "The identity rather than the similarity of their domestic institutions; their political principles and party usages; their common origin, pursuits, tastes, manners, and customs; their territorial contiguity and commercial relations—all contribute to combine them together in one sisterhood. And Missouri will, in my opinion, best consult her own interests and the interests of the whole country by a timely declaration of her determination to stand by her sister slaveholding States, in whose wrongs she participates and with whose institution and people she sympathizes." He objected to a congressional compromise of existing difficulties as temporary and ineffective, as had been demonstrated by experience, and advocated additional constitutional guarantees. In conclusion he recommended the calling of a State convention and a thorough re-organization of the State militia.

In popular estimation the governor's address was not a strong document. It lacked in nerve and decision. It did not meet the requirements of the times. The people were intensely excited, and knew intuitively that the impending danger was great and the time for preparation to meet it short. The address went too far for a peace document, and not far enough for a call on the part of the

chief executive of the State for the people to prepare for war, or even to put the State in a position to defend itself, if necessary, from encroachment and invasion. It had too much politics and not enough war in it to suit the secession element, and too much war and not enough politics to suit the Union element. Under other conditions it might have been considered an evidence of political shrewdness on the part of the governor, but, as it was, it was a damper on the enthusiasm of his partisans. The fact is, the Crittenden compromise measures and other propositions looking to a restoration of tranquillity were pending, and the governor, true to his political training, did not think it judicious to commit himself too far either way. Nobody doubted the integrity of his motives or his loyalty to the State and its institutions, but a great many, and those mostly his own partisans, doubted whether he was the man for the crisis.

The most accomplished, the clearest-headed and the strongest man connected with the State government undoubtedly was Lieut.-Gov. Thomas C. Reynolds. He was a South Carolinian by birth, but his family was Virginian. He was at once a student, a cavalier and a man of the world. He was a classical, as well as a modern, scholar, and, as the result of considerable experience as secretary of legation in Spain, was an adept in the mysteries of diplomacy and the courtesy of courts. At the same time he was learned in the law, a good speaker, and had acquitted himself well in several affairs of honor, in one of which he had wounded B. Gratz Brown, a violent leader on the Union side.

In the organization of the senate, the lieutenant-governor, who was ex-officio president of that body, so arranged the committees that they could be depended on, under all circumstances, to act when action was required. But before the meeting of the legislature, or rather before his induction into office, he prepared and published a letter in which he expressed his views in regard to the

course Missouri should pursue in the crisis which was at hand. The substance of it was that the State should adopt decisive measures at once. As a consequence, bills were immediately introduced to call a State convention, to organize, arm and equip the militia, and to take from the Republican mayor of St. Louis the power to call out the Wide-awakes—a Republican semi-military organization—in case of political disturbances in the city. In the state of feeling that existed, all of these bills could have been passed at once if they had been pushed with vigor and determination. The senate acted promptly, but the house, which was larger and more unwieldy, was disposed to discuss at length everything that came before it, thus causing delay in the first place, and producing division and antagonism among those who should have acted together, in the next place. The bill to provide for calling a State convention was passed, and also the bill for curtailing the power of the Republican mayor of St. Louis, but the bill for organizing, arming and equipping the militia—which was by far the most important of the three—met with opposition and was not passed until the State was plunged into war.

In the meantime, the Southern and least exposed States were going out of the Union and taking possession of the forts and arsenals within their limits as they went—some of them, indeed, before they had formally withdrawn from the Union. Governor Brown, of Georgia, set the example in prompt action by seizing Fort Pulaski and garrisoning it with State troops before his State had adopted an ordinance of secession. Governor Moore, of Alabama, seized the arsenal at Mount Vernon, and Forts Morgan and Gaines, which commanded the approach to Mobile. The governor of Florida seized the arsenal at Apalachicola, and Fort Marion at St. Augustine. The governor of Louisiana took possession of Fort St. Philip and Fort Jackson, which commanded the entrance to the Mississippi river, and seized the arsenal at Baton Rouge.

President Buchanan officially informed Congress of these things, and declared that the country was in the midst of a great revolution.

In Missouri there were two arsenals—one at Liberty, in Clay county, on the western border of the State, and the other in the southern suburb of St. Louis. The first was a small affair, of no great importance under any circumstances. The second contained about 60,000 stand of arms, cannon of every size, and a large supply of the munitions of war. It could have been taken at any time for months, with the tacit consent of its commandant, if the State authorities had possessed the courage to take it. But they not only would not authorize its seizure, but would not consent that unauthorized parties—volunteers who were ready to act on an hour's notice—should take possession of it. In fact, the State authorities practically stood guard over it and protected it for the benefit of the Federal authorities until they were ready to guard it themselves and use the material it contained for the overthrow of the State government and the subjugation of the people of the State.

But interest centered on the general assembly rather than the arsenal. When it met it was strongly Southern in its sentiment, as has been said, if it were not in favor of the immediate secession of the State. But it was slow in getting to work, and in a short time there were signs of disaffection in the house. It was composed of Douglas Democrats, Breckinridge Democrats, Bell men and Republicans. The Republicans, an insignificant minority, stood alone and were content to pursue an aggravating policy of obstruction. The other elements did not work together in harmony. Out of the exigencies of the times new party alignments arose. They took the form of Secessionists, Conditional Union men, and Unconditional Union men. The positions and purposes of the Secessionists and Unconditional Union men were clear and distinct. All men knew what they meant and what

their leaders were determined to accomplish at the risk of their lives. The Conditional Union men were an unknown quantity. They sometimes acted with the Secessionists and sometimes with the Unconditional Union men, but were not true to either for any considerable length of time. They represented the wealth and the commercial and manufacturing interests of St. Louis and the larger towns of the State, and changed their tactics constantly to suit their interests. On account of the wealth and high character of their leaders, their Southern birth and associations, and the weak and hesitating policy of the Southern leaders, they had great influence, which a majority of them used to do the Southern cause all the harm they could. In no quarter were they more active and successful than in the demoralizing influence they brought to bear on the legislature.

A week after the legislature met it passed the bill to call a convention to consider the question of secession and the adoption of measures to vindicate the sovereignty of the State. The bill passed both houses by a large majority. In the senate there were only two votes against it. In the house 105 members voted for it and 18 against it. It was considered that the vote against it represented the full strength of the Unconditional Union men, and its passage by such a large majority was regarded as a triumph for the Southern Rights men. After this the legislature did not do anything of importance for nearly three weeks, when George G. Vest introduced a resolution in the house in the nature of a reply to resolutions adopted by the legislatures of New York and other Northern States tendering men and money to the President for the purpose of coercing the seceding States. Vest's resolution said: "We regard with the utmost abhorrence the doctrine of coercion as indicated by the action of the States aforesaid, believing that the same would end in civil war and forever destroy the hope of reconstructing the Federal Union. So believing, we deem it our duty

to declare that if there is any invasion of the slaveholding States for the purpose of carrying such doctrine into effect, it is the opinion of this general assembly that the people of Missouri will constantly rally on the side of their Southern brethren to resist the invader at all hazards and to the last extremity." The resolution was supported by Geo. G. Vest, Thomas A. Harris and J. F. Cunningham in impassioned speeches, and opposed by Geo. Partridge and James Peckham, Unconditional Union men, with equal fervor. It was adopted in the house by a vote of 89 to 14, and in the senate with only one dissenting vote. The Secessionists were jubilant, for they considered that the State was solemnly pledged, as far as the legislature could pledge it, to resist coercion and stand with the South to the last extremity.

The act calling a State convention provided that the delegates should be elected on the 18th of February, and that the convention should meet and organize at Jefferson City on the last day of February. Men and parties at once addressed themselves to the work of electing delegates. An alliance, the terms which no body but the leaders of the respective parties knew, was formed between the Conditional and Unconditional Union men. It was the work of Frank Blair. The more radical, or rather the more blatant of the Unconditional Union men opposed it. But they were speedily suppressed by Blair and made to understand that their duty was to follow, without question, wherever he chose to lead. The Unconditional Union leaders did most of the talking, and appeared most prominently before the public. They were strong in wealth, in social position, and in reputation as conservative citizens. Almost to a man they had been in times past representatives of Southern sentiment. They now brought all the power of their wealth, respectability and social position to bear to control the election and determine the complexion of the convention. They were good Union men in St. Louis and the larger towns

of the State, and good Southern men in the country districts. They dwelt upon the danger that would result from secession and pleaded for delay, conciliation and compromise.

They were successful. When the convention met the most remarkable thing about it was that there was not an avowed Secessionist among its members. When the campaign opened Frank Blair's Wide-awakes in St. Louis were rapidly augmented in numbers—Eastern men supplying Blair with money to organize and arm them—and assumed such an arrogant and threatening demeanor that Governor Jackson was appealed to by quiet citizens for protection. He had no authority to call out the militia when the legislature was in session, and referred the matter to that body. The senate promptly, by a vote of 18 to 4, authorized him to call out the militia, but the house, notwithstanding the appeals of Vest, Claiborne and Freeman, refused to concur, and St. Louis was terrorized into giving the combined Unconditional and Constitutional Union ticket a majority of 5,000. Through the policy of violence and fraud in the larger towns, and of promises and false pretenses in the country districts, the State declared against secession by a majority of 80,000.

Nor was this all. The showing made by the unholy combination overthrew the secession majority in the lower house of the legislature, and blocked all legislation for putting the State in a condition to protect herself. The bill for organizing, arming and equipping the militia was under discussion in the house on the day of the election, and its advocates were confident of securing its passage, but the next day a number of members who had been clamorous for arming the State refused to support the bill, claiming that the people had declared they did not want it to pass, and that in obedience to the wishes of their constituents they were constrained to oppose it.

CHAPTER III.

THE STATE CONVENTION—STERLING PRICE ELECTED PRESIDENT—COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL RELATIONS REPORTS AGAINST SECESSION—THE CONVENTION ADOPTS THE REPORT AND ADJOURNS—THE HOUSE AGAIN REFUSES TO ARM THE STATE—ST. LOUIS POLICE BILL—HOME GUARDS AND MINUTE MEN—GENERAL FROST AUTHORIZED TO TAKE THE ARSENAL—BLAIR APPEALS TO THE PRESIDENT—CAPTAIN NATHANIEL LYON AT ST. LOUIS—THE LIBERTY ARSENAL SEIZED—MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS UNDER FROST AND LYON.

THE State convention met at Jefferson City on the last day of February. Ex-Gov. Sterling Price, a Conditional Union man, was elected president. He received 75 votes, and Nathaniel Watkins, a half-brother of Henry Clay, received 15. As soon as the convention was organized it adjourned to St. Louis, the stronghold of Unionism in the State, and put itself under the protection of Blair's Wide-awakes. In some respects the convention looked fair enough for the Southern Rights cause. If the people had not elected Secessionists they had elected Southern men to represent them, and men whom they thought they could trust. It consisted of 99 members. Of these 53 were natives of either Virginia or Kentucky, and all but 17 of the whole number were Southern born. Of the remainder, 13 were natives of Northern States, three were Germans, and one was an Irishman.

On re-assembling in St. Louis on the 4th of March, the convention went to work in earnest. On the 9th the committee on Federal relations made a long report

through its chairman, Judge Hamilton R. Gamble. "The position of Missouri," it said, "in relation to the adjacent States which would continue in the Union, would necessarily expose her, if she became a member of a new confederacy, to utter destruction whenever any rupture might take place between the different republics. In a military aspect, secession and connection with a Southern confederacy is annihilation for Missouri. The true position for her to assume is that of a State whose interests are bound up in the maintenance of the Union, and whose kind feelings and strong sympathies are with the people of the Southern States with whom they are connected by ties of friendship and blood."

At the same time the committee submitted a series of resolutions in conformity with the report. George Y. Bast moved to add to the resolutions a declaration that if the Northern States refused to accept the Crittenden compromise, and the other border slaveholding States should thereupon secede, Missouri would not hesitate to go with them. For this motion only 23 members of the convention voted. One after another the convention voted down all amendments or modifications of the report of the committee, and, after a short discussion, adopted it as a whole. It then adjourned subject to the call of a committee which was appointed for that purpose. The real sentiment of the convention was expressed by William A. Hall when he said: "Our feelings and sympathies may incline us to go with the South, in the event of a separation. But feeling is temporary—interest is permanent." In the proceedings of the convention the ordinary courtesies of life were observed, but the intent of what it did was radically anti-Southern. The leaders talked very much as they talked in the campaign that preceded their election as delegates, but what they did was what Frank Blair wanted them to do. Their action marked the absorption, in great part, of the Conditional Union party, which had gained control of the convention

by fraud and false pretenses, by the Unconditional Union party.

While the convention was in session at St. Louis the Southern members of the legislature, spurred to action by the imminence of the crisis, and the more timid among them encouraged by the resolute attitude of the governor and the appeals of their leaders, made another effort to pass a bill to arm the State. The debate was prolonged and bitter. Some Conditional Union men came to the assistance of the more pronounced Southern men and urged its passage as a matter of duty and necessity—not to aid the South, but to protect the State—but their appeals were in vain. The bill was voted down. But in another matter the submissionists overreached themselves. The term of James S. Green as United States senator expired on the 4th of March. An attempt had been made before the expiration of his term to elect his successor. Mr. Green was nominated for re-election by the Southern Rights men, but the submissionists refused to vote for him on the ground that he was a pronounced Secessionist. Finally, on the 12th of March, Judge Waldo P. Johnson was elected, in part by the votes of the submissionists. But when war became inevitable Judge Johnson resigned his seat in the Senate, entered the Southern army and fought for the Confederacy until the close of the war, while Mr. Green retired to private life and never spoke a word or struck a blow in behalf of Missouri or the South.

But if the submissionists in the legislature could not be brought to antagonize the Federal government they had no hesitation in opposing the Republican party, particularly when it was constituted, as it was in St. Louis, mostly of Germans. Consequently the bill to create a board of police commissioners in St. Louis, thereby taking the control of the police force of that city out of the hands of a Republican mayor, which the senate had passed on the 2d of March, was taken up and passed by

the house on the 23d. It authorized the governor, with the consent of the senate, to appoint four commissioners who, with the mayor, should have absolute control of the police force of the city, the sheriff's officers in the county, and of all other conservators of the peace in the city and county. It was aimed at Blair's Wide-awakes, who had become, since the refusal of the legislature to authorize the governor to call out the militia to hold them in check, more arrogant and overbearing than ever, and were a constant menace to the peace, property and lives of the citizens. Under the law the governor appointed Basil W. Duke, James H. Carlyle, Charles McLaren and John A. Brownlee commissioners. The first three were Southern men, and the last, though a Northern man, was opposed to the coercion of the Southern States. But before the commissioners entered upon the performance of their duties, the election for municipal officers was held in the city, and to the surprise of everybody Daniel G. Taylor, a Democrat, was elected mayor by 2,500 majority.

Blair foresaw the passage of the St. Louis police bill some time before it passed the house, and adopted measures to counteract its effect. He began re-organizing his Wide-awakes, nominally a political formation, into Home Guards, openly a military organization, and arming and equipping them for active service. In doing this he was plainly violating and defying the laws of the State. He was organizing a military force within the limits of the State, over which the State authorities had no control, and which was intended to be used to overthrow the government of the State and make war on its people. The State had not seceded, and there was no evidence it would secede. The evidence, in fact, was strongly the other way. Blair deliberately put himself in the position of a revolutionist. He was backed by a self-constituted committee of safety, of which Oliver D. Filley, mayor of the city, was chairman. The first

Home Guard company organized was composed mostly of Germans, but had a few Americans in it. Blair never shrank from responsibility, and he became captain of the company. In a short time eleven companies, composed almost entirely of Germans, aggregating about 750 officers and men, were organized. This was before the inauguration of Lincoln, and they were armed in part by the governor of Illinois and equipped by private contributions.

Governor Jackson was powerless to do anything to offset these preparations on the part of Blair and the Union men, owing to the refusal of the legislature to pass the military bill. The State government was effectually blocked by the inaction of the lower house. But in the Southern element in St. Louis were a number of young men, active and enthusiastic in the cause of the South, who had previously been held in check by their elders, but now determined to act on their own account. Chief among them was Basil W. Duke, a young lawyer from Kentucky and a born soldier, who understood the situation intuitively and chafed at the delay and lack of preparation of the authorities. Besides Duke there were Colton Greene, Overton W. Barrett, James R. Shaler and Rock Champion, all as brave and eager as he was.

These young men organized themselves, strictly in accordance with law, as Minute Men. They did it openly, beginning their organization the day Blair began to organize his Home Guards. They formed five companies which, commanded respectively by Duke, Greene, Barrett, Shaler and Hubbard, were formed into a battalion, of which Shaler was elected major, and it was assigned to Frost's brigade, which had seen some service on the southwestern border. The brigade aggregated 580 officers and men.

The Minute Men established their headquarters in the heart of the city, but formed and drilled companies in other parts. They were not more than 300 strong, but

were so active and enthusiastic, and apparently ubiquitous, that there were supposed to be ten times that many of them. In their zeal to do something—to force a fight—they hoisted the Confederate flag over their headquarters and defied the Home Guards to take it down. But the Home Guards, or rather the Union leaders, did not accept the challenge. They were not ready, nor for that matter were the Minute Men, for they were unarmed, and there were no arms in sight except those in the arsenal.

In the arsenal, as has been stated, there were 60,000 stand of good arms, with an abundance of the munitions of war. The Minute Men would have seized it or died in the attempt if they had not been restrained by their commanding officer. His policy was delay. He and those in authority at Jefferson City were waiting for the legislature to act and the people to rise en masse, when they proposed to demand the surrender of the arsenal, and, if the demand were not complied with, to take it by force. But the governor, busy trying to control the legislature, some time before had turned the matter over to General Frost, and authorized him to take it whenever in his judgment it was expedient to do so. Frost accepted the trust and had an interview with Maj. Wm. H. Bell, the commandant of the arsenal, and on the 24th of January reported the result to the governor.

“I have just returned from the arsenal,” he said. “I found the Major everything you or I could desire. He assured me that he considered Missouri had, whenever the time came, a right to claim it as being on her soil. He asserted his determination to defend it against any and all irresponsible mobs, come from whence they might, but at the same time gave me to understand that he would not attempt any defense against the proper State authorities. He promised me, upon the honor of an officer and a gentleman, that he would not suffer any arms to be removed from the place without first giv-

ing me timely information; and I promised him, in return, that I would use all the force at my command to prevent him being annoyed by irresponsible persons. I, at the same time, gave him notice that if affairs assumed so threatening a character as to render it unsafe to leave the place in its comparatively unprotected condition, I might come down and quarter a proper force there to protect it from the assaults of any persons whatsoever, to which he assented."

It is not to be supposed that as sagacious a man as Frank Blair did not understand the importance of the arsenal, and that as bold a man intended to allow the enemies of the Federal government to get possession of it without a desperate struggle. But Mr. Buchanan was President, and was not readily influenced by a man of Blair's revolutionary temper and methods. Nevertheless Blair worked might and main, determined if he could not get control of the arsenal and arm his Home Guards from its abundant material, to have Major Bell removed and some one appointed in his place with whom he would have more influence. He, therefore, prevailed on Isaac H. Sturgeon, assistant treasurer at St. Louis, an appointee of the President, to write to him, assuring him of the danger of the capture of the arsenal and urging that a force sufficient for its defense be quartered in it at once. Sturgeon was a Southern born man who was playing a double game. He was in the confidence of the Southern Rights men and was regarded by them as one of their number. At the same time he was working secretly under instructions of Blair. He wrote to General Scott to the same effect. The result was that a short time afterward Major Bell was relieved of the command at the arsenal by Maj. Peter V. Hagner, and a detachment of forty soldiers was ordered there to guard it. Major Bell was a North Carolinian and Southern man in his principles and associations. Major Hagner was born in Washington and his associations were generally with

Southern people. Though he was not as compliant as his predecessor had been, he was not disposed to be controlled by Blair.

In this crisis fortune favored Blair. Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, of the regular army, was ordered to St. Louis with his company. Lyon was a coarse man, without even the external polish that usually characterized old army officers. He was a bitter fanatic, and longed, as he said, to get at the throats of the Southern traitors. He was contentious, aggressive and dictatorial—greedy of power and reckless in the use of it—but withal a trained soldier and a man of great energy of character. His arbitrary temper, his sectional fanaticism and his disregard of the forms of law when they stood in his way, made him just the man Blair needed in carrying out his plans for subverting the government of the State and making Missouri a Federal province, while Lyon needed the finesse and political influence of Blair to put him in a position to execute his ruthless purposes. The two men seemed to have instinctively recognized their affinity and to have formed an alliance offensive and defensive. Blair did the fine work—the planning and political management, while Lyon undertook the work of completing what Blair had begun in organizing, drilling and arming troops in violation of the laws of the State. A short time before Lyon reached St. Louis, he wrote a letter to a friend in that city full of wrath and radical sentiments. It is probable Blair saw the letter and knew in advance the kind of man he had to deal with. Lyon could have had no better introduction to him.

But the removal of Major Bell and the appointment of Major Hagner to the command of the arsenal did not enable Blair and Lyon to accomplish what they wanted, which was to get the arms in it to outfit the regiments they were raising, and to garrison it with a force that would end the question of its possession. Major Hagner was a conservative man, and refused to permit them to

have anything to do with the arsenal or the arms in it. Lyon made a bold claim to the command as Hagner's ranking officer. But first General Harney, commander of the district, and later the President, decided against him, and Hagner became more fixed than ever in his determination not to distribute arms to the Home Guards. Blair and Lyon appealed again to the President but could not move him. Then Blair got Sturgeon to write General Scott, begging him to reinforce the garrison with the troops at Jefferson Barracks, in all 203 officers and men. This Scott did, and a few days later further increased the force, making it about 500 strong. Still Blair and Lyon were not satisfied, and Blair went to Washington and besought the President to assign Lyon to the command of the arsenal. But the President refused to make a change, as he had only a few days to serve. Lyon lost all patience, and said in a letter to Blair that Hagner's course was the result "either of imbecility or damned villainy," and declared if it became necessary he would "pitch him into the river." But directly after Lincoln's inauguration and the appointment of Montgomery Blair a member of his cabinet, Lyon was assigned to the coveted command. He at once began to put the arsenal in a state of defense by occupying, without warrant of law, the surrounding heights, and planting artillery upon them to command the city and the approaches to it.

During these events, General Frost was getting ready to take the arsenal, but never quite succeeded in completing his preparations. He did not think it expedient to accept Major Bell's offer to permit him to quarter troops in it to protect it from the assaults of irresponsible parties, nor did he think it prudent to act while the contest was going on between Major Hagner and Captain Lyon in regard to their respective rights to the command. But after Lyon had obtained the command, and had occupied the surrounding heights and fortified them, he

began to think it might be well to do something, particularly as the authorities of the Confederate government had urged upon the authorities of Missouri the importance of getting possession of the arsenal and the arms in it. He, therefore, prepared a memorial to the governor to the effect that he should send an agent to the South to procure mortars and siege guns; that he should prevent the garrisoning of the little arsenal at Liberty; that he should order him to form a military camp of instruction at or near St. Louis, with authority to muster military companies into the service of the State, erect batteries and do other warlike things for the protection of the State; that he should issue a proclamation informing the people of Missouri that President Lincoln had acted illegally in calling out troops, and that he should convene the general assembly in extra session at once.

These things the governor did. To Mr. Lincoln's call for troops he replied that "not a man would the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade." He sent Captains Duke and Greene to Montgomery with a letter to the President of the Confederacy, requesting him to furnish the siege guns and mortars required to reduce the arsenal. He called the legislature together in extra session, and he ordered the commanding officers of the several military districts of the State to assemble their commands on the 3d of May and go with them into encampment for six days. The arsenal at Liberty had already been taken by the Southern men in the western part of the State, who had got tired of waiting for orders or permission to take it, and had acted on their own responsibility. They got with it about a thousand muskets, four brass field-pieces and a small amount of ammunition. General Frost went into encampment on the western outskirts of St. Louis, and his command was strengthened by Lieut.-Col. John S. Bowen's battalion, which had been on duty in the southwest. Besides, a good many young men from different parts of the State

joined different commands temporarily to get an idea of the duties of a soldier. Blair and Lyon knew what the Southern men were doing about as well as they knew themselves, and at once made preparations to anticipate them at all points. Lyon got authority from the war department to take 5,000 stand of arms from the arsenal to arm loyal citizens—that is to say, the Home Guards—and he pushed with great vigor the recruiting of new regiments.

Gen. William S. Harney, who was in command of the district, was Southern born and Southern in all his associations, and entirely too conservative to suit Blair and Lyon, and they had been unceasing in their efforts to get him removed. They had not succeeded, but Lyon got his authority to act directly from the war department. He had now five regiments. Blair was colonel of the first regiment, and John M. Schofield was major. Lyon was given command of the brigade and made brigadier-general. He had under his command more than 7,000 men, while near him lay encamped the only organized military force of the State—less than 700 men. He and Blair were now ready to strike—to commit the overt act for which the Southern leaders had been so long waiting.

CHAPTER IV.

PRESIDENT DAVIS SENDS SIEGE GUNS—BLAIR AND LYON PREPARE TO TAKE THE CAMP AND THE GUNS—FROST SURRENDERS—HOME GUARDS FIRE ON THE CROWD—THE LEGISLATURE ACTS PROMPTLY—REIGN OF TERROR IN ST. LOUIS—THE LEGISLATURE PROVIDES A MILITARY FUND—STERLING PRICE COMMANDER OF THE STATE GUARD—THE PRICE-HARNEY AGREEMENT—HARNEY SUPPLANTED BY LYON—THE PLANTER'S HOUSE CONFERENCE.

THE mission upon which Capt. Basil W. Duke and Capt. Colton Greene had been sent to Montgomery was successful, and in due time two 12-pound howitzers and two 32-pound siege guns, with a supply of ammunition, reached St. Louis and were turned over to Major Shaler, of Frost's brigade, and taken to Camp Jackson. Though an effort was made to keep the arrival of the guns secret, Blair and Lyon knew all about it. In fact, the day after their arrival Lyon visited the camp in disguise, and professed to recognize the guns as United States property taken from the arsenal at Baton Rouge. This was as good a pretext for beginning hostilities as he and Blair wanted. They, therefore, proceed at once to make preparations for the capture of the camp. Some of the members of the committee of safety objected to such warlike proceeding in violation of the laws of the State, and insisted that the property should be recovered by legal process, but they finally yielded, with the understanding that the United States marshal should head the column that was to march against the camp, and demand the surrender of the property, while the military should be held in reserve to aid him in an emergency. Lyon

and in less than half an hour the bill was passed by both houses and signed by the governor. During the night the church bells rang out and the legislature met again, and was informed by the governor that it was believed the enemy was advancing on the capital from St. Louis. In the midst of great excitement a bill was passed authorizing the governor "to take such measures as he might deem necessary to repel invasion or put down rebellion," and \$30,000 was appropriated to enable him to execute the powers conferred upon him.

When the governor learned that the arsenal had passed beyond his reach, he requested Quartermaster-General James Harding to go to St. Louis and buy all the arms and ammunition he could find there. That officer had before reported to the governor that the only arms the State owned, except a few muskets in the hands of the militia, were two 6-pounder guns, without limbers or caissons, about one thousand muskets, forty sabers and forty light swords of an antique Roman pattern, which were neither useful nor ornamental. In St. Louis he purchased several hundred hunting rifles, some camp and garrison equipage and about seventy tons of powder—all of which was shipped to Jefferson City, guarded by Capt. Jo Kelly's company. Now that Blair and Lyon were levying war on the State in the most unmistakable manner, this was the condition the people were in for defense.

After the capture of Camp Jackson, the excitement was more intense in St. Louis than in Jefferson City. In the afternoon of that day a regiment of Home Guards, returning from the arsenal to its barracks in the northern part of the city, halted for a few moments at the corner of Sixth and Walnut streets, and in reply to a pistol shot fired on Fifth street, again fired into a crowd of citizens who had stopped to see it pass. Eight men were killed and many wounded. The next day another Home Guard regiment fired into a crowd on Sixth street between Pine and Olive streets, and again several citi-

zens were killed and wounded. The Home Guards were supreme, and emphasized their supremacy by threatening to kill all the Secessionists in the city. The city authorities and the police were powerless. There was a rush of people, mostly women and children, to get out of town. General Harney was appealed to and promised to send the Home Guards out of the city, but Blair and Lyon decided that they should stay, and they stayed. Harney, however, brought two companies of artillery and two companies of regular infantry from Jefferson barracks into the city, and pledged his faith as a soldier to preserve the peace and protect the property and lives of the people, and this to some extent reassured them. He also refused to allow Blair and Lyon to follow up the capture of Camp Jackson by advancing on Jefferson City and into the interior of the State.

The legislature adjourned on the 15th of May. But before adjourning it passed resolutions, unanimously, denouncing Blair and Lyon, the capture of Camp Jackson and the wanton killing of peaceable citizens, and requesting the governor instantly to call out the militia. At the same time it created a military fund, into which the school fund and all other moneys belonging to the State were ordered to be paid, together with a loan of \$1,000,000 from the banks, which was authorized; also the proceeds of \$1,000,000 of State bonds which the governor was given authority to sell. The unanimity with which these bills were passed was evidence of the revulsion of feeling which had taken place throughout the State. Many Conditional Union men promptly declared against the Union. Ex-Gov. Sterling Price, president of the State convention, and other prominent men, hastened to Jefferson City and offered their services to the governor. The military bill provided for the enlistment of the Missouri State Guard, and authorized the governor to appoint eight brigadier-generals to command the troops from the eight military districts into

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which the State was divided. It also authorized him to appoint a major-general, who should have command of all the troops of the State. This position was offered to General Price and accepted by him.

Sterling Price was of an old Virginian family, was educated at Hampden-Sidney college, then studied law, and in 1831 moved with his father's family to Missouri and settled on a farm in Chariton county, which was ever after his home. In 1840 he was elected to the legislature, and was chosen speaker of the house. He owed this distinction, of course, rather to his general character and personal accomplishments than to his knowledge of parliamentary law and the business of legislation. But he filled the position acceptably. Four years afterward he was elected to Congress. But shortly after taking his seat war was declared against Mexico, and he resigned, returned to Missouri and raised a mounted regiment, which was accepted by the government, and he was assigned to the command of it. With a similar regiment, raised and commanded by Col. A. W. Doniphan, he crossed the plains and took possession of New Mexico and Chihuahua. Several battles were fought and won by the combined force, chief among them the battle of Sacramento. The victory gained in this battle was instrumental in giving the Americans possession of the territory out of which, after the close of the war, the States of California, Colorado, Utah and Nevada, and the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico were formed. At the close of the war with Mexico he returned to Missouri, was elected governor of the State, and served in that capacity four years. In 1860 he supported Douglas for President, and in the election of delegates to the State convention, he opposed secession and was elected by a large majority. He was chosen president of the convention when it met, and was the recognized leader of the Conditional Union party outside of St. Louis. But the capture of Camp Jackson and the ruthless killing of

men, women and children by the German Home Guards forced him to change his position and offer his services to Governor Jackson for the defense of the State and the protection of its people.

A few days later the governor announced the appointment of the following brigadier-generals: Alexander W. Doniphan, Monroe M. Parsons, James S. Rains, John B. Clark, Merriwether L. Clark, Nathaniel W. Watkins, Beverly Randolph, William Y. Slack and James H. McBride. All of them were men of note in the State and devoted to its interests. Four of them—Doniphan, Parsons, M. L. Clark and Slack—had seen service and distinguished themselves in the Mexican war. All of them received orders to enlist men in their respective districts and get them ready for service in the field. Recruiting went on rapidly in the populous counties bordering on the Missouri river, and volunteers, organized and unorganized, poured into the capital in a steady stream. On the day General Price was appointed commander more than a thousand were gathered at Jefferson City, waiting to be mustered into the State Guard and take the field against the enemy. Capt. Robert McCulloch brought several companies from Cooper county, and Capt. D. H. McIntire several from Callaway county.

The Independence Grays came from Jackson county, and brought with them the four brass 6-pounders taken from the arsenal at Liberty. Capt. Jo Kelly's company of Irishmen, sent up from St. Louis in charge of the arms bought by Quartermaster-General James Harding, was still there. The first regiment organized was composed of eight companies from the counties close around Jefferson City. It was designated the First regiment of Rifles, and John S. Marmaduke was chosen to command it. Marmaduke was born in Missouri, and was a son of a former governor of the State. A West Pointer, and a lieutenant in the regular army when President Lincoln called for 75,000 troops, he at once resigned and offered his services to the State.

Both sides saw that war was inevitable and were making active preparations for it. But a considerable number of conservative citizens, who deprecated war and its attendant ravages, made an effort to avert it by trying to bring about an agreement between General Harney and General Price. They were both citizens of the State and conservative in their feelings. At last they succeeded in inducing General Harney to invite General Price to hold a conference with him in St. Louis. Accordingly terms were arranged, and on the 21st of May they met and made what was known as the Price-Harney agreement. After stating that the object of each was "to restore peace and good order to the people of the State in subordination to the laws of the general and State governments," General Price undertook, with the sanction of the governor, to maintain order in the State; and General Harney agreed, if this were done, he would make no military movements within the State. General Harney also intimated to General Price, unofficially, that, as the State Guard might come within the meaning of the President's proclamation requiring officers of the United States army to disperse all armed bodies hostile to the laws of the land, he hoped he would find some way to suspend the organization of the State Guard. General Price said that was beyond his power—that he had no right to disobey or nullify a law of the State. But when he returned to Jefferson City, he ordered all troops, which had come there from other military districts, to return to their homes, and there be organized into companies and regiments as provided by law.

This agreement gave great offense to Blair and Lyon. They had objected vehemently to Harney's action forbidding them to advance into the interior of the State, and had begun to work for his removal. They now redoubled their efforts and sent special representatives, well provided with letters and testimonials from influential Union men, to Washington, to persuade the Presi-

dent to remove Harney and appoint Lyon to the command. They were successful. An order was made appointing Lyon brigadier-general of volunteers, and another relieving Harney of the command of the department of the West. The last order was sent to Blair with instructions to use it with discretion, which he did by stirring up the committee of safety to demand that Harney be removed at once. Harney relinquished command of the department on the 30th of May, and Brigadier-General Lyon assumed command the next day.

Blair and Lyon now had everything in their own hands. There was nothing to prevent them making war upon whom they pleased. They had agreed upon a plan of campaign before the capture of Camp Jackson, but Harney had blocked them temporarily. The plan was, as stated by Blair in a letter to the President, to advance into the State and take and hold Jefferson City, Lexington, St. Joseph, Hannibal, Macon, Springfield, and other points if found advisable. Blair thought the troops raised in the State, reinforced by the regular troops at Fort Leavenworth and the volunteer troops in Kansas, would be sufficient to enable Lyon to carry out this plan. But Lyon was less confident and more grasping. He wanted the governors of Illinois and Iowa ordered to send him the troops they had been ordered to send Harney. The authorities at Washington did as Lyon desired. At St. Louis, besides about 500 regulars, he had ten regiments of infantry, a battalion of artillery, a company of sappers and miners, and a company of riflemen, aggregating, officers and men, about 10,000. He had several thousand Home Guards in parts of the State where the Germans were numerous, who were well armed and equipped. At Fort Leavenworth there were 1,000 regulars. In Kansas there were two regiments, nearly 2,000 strong. Five Iowa regiments were on the northern border of the State, anxious to invade it, and Illinois was concentrating troops at Cairo, Alton and

Quincy, which were as available as if they were in the State. This was a formidable force, and to oppose it the State had less than a thousand organized troops, most of them armed with shotguns and hunting rifles. Except a few hundred muskets and half a dozen field-pieces and some powder, it had no munitions of war, no commissary or quartermaster supplies, and no money with which to buy any.

But the prospect did not dismay the Southern Rights men. They had been outwitted and beaten at politics and were determined to try the issue, sooner or later, with arms. General Price issued orders to the district commanders to hurry the organization of the troops in their districts, and to get them ready as quickly as possible for active service. They were instructed that each regiment should carry the State flag, which was to be made of blue merino, with the arms of the State emblazoned in gold on each side. But conservative citizens again came to the front and demanded a parley between leaders of the opposing forces. At their intercession Governor Jackson and General Price asked for a conference with General Lyon and Colonel Blair; and again at their intercession the latter agreed to grant it, on the condition that it should be held in St. Louis. A safe-conduct was sent them to and from that city. The State was represented by Governor Jackson, General Price, and Col. Thomas L. Snead of the governor's staff; the Federal government, by General Lyon, Colonel Blair, and Maj. H. L. Conant of Lyon's staff. The conference was held at the Planter's House, and Lyon stated that Blair would be the spokesman for the Federal side. But Lyon soon thrust Blair aside, and took the lead in the discussion. No understanding was reached, as it was evident from the beginning none would be. "Finally," says Colonel Snead, "when the conference had lasted four or five hours, Lyon closed it as he had opened it. 'Rather,' said he, and he spoke deliberately, slowly and

with a peculiar emphasis—‘Rather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to demand that my government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the State whenever it pleases, or move troops at its own will into, out of, or through the State; rather than concede to the State of Missouri for one single instant the right to dictate to my government in any matter, however unimportant, I would’—rising as he said this, and pointing in turn to every one in the room—‘see you, and you, and you, and you and every man, woman and child in the State, dead and buried.’ Then turning to the governor, he said: ‘This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines.’ And then, without another word, without an inclination of the head, without even a look, he turned upon his heel and strode out of the room, rattling his spurs and clanking his saber, while we, whom he had left, and who had known each other for years, bade farewell to each other courteously and kindly, and separated—Blair and Conant to fight for the Union and we for the land of our birth.”

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNOR JACKSON CALLS OUT THE MILITIA—JEFFERSON CITY ABANDONED—CONCENTRATION AT BOONEVILLE—RAILROAD BRIDGES DESTROYED—COLONEL HOLLOWAY'S DEATH—PRICE GOES TO LEXINGTON—LYON OCCUPIES THE CAPITAL—SKIRMISH AT BOONEVILLE—THE GOVERNOR STARTS SOUTHWEST—A FEDERAL REGIMENT ROUTED AT COLD CAMP—JUNCTION OF JACKSON AND RAINS—VICTORY AT CARTHAGE.

ON the return of Governor Jackson and General Price to Jefferson City, the governor issued a proclamation in which he stated the situation succinctly, and called the militia to the number of 50,000 into active service, for the purpose of repelling invasion and protecting the property, liberty and lives of the citizens of the State. He and General Price knew Blair and Lyon well enough to know that, now they were invested with full power, they would act at once. It was, therefore, decided to move the armory and workshop, which had been established at Jefferson City, as well as the public records and official papers of the State to Booneville. The population of Jefferson City was composed largely of Germans, who were unfriendly, if not positively hostile, to the State government, while the people of Booneville were in sympathy with it; and, besides Booneville was contiguous to the counties from which the promptest response to the call for troops was expected. General Price thought he could hold it until the people of North Missouri could rally to his support. The Missouri river is a rugged, turbid stream, and usually, in the spring and early summer, is from a half to three-quarters of a mile in width. It divides the State north and south almost evenly.

It was important to hold it in order to keep lines of communication between the northern and southern portions open. It was not doubted that when the Confederate authorities learned there was an army friendly to their cause struggling to hold Missouri, the Confederate forces along the southern border of the State would be massed and sent to their relief. The plan was to check the advance of the enemy at Booneville, and make a determined stand at Lexington. Gen. John B. Clark was ordered to rendezvous his men at Booneville, the other district commanders at some convenient point in their respective districts, and hold them ready for immediate service.

General Price caused the bridges over the Osage and Gasconade rivers, between St. Louis and Jefferson City, to be destroyed, and ordered General Parsons, who had a small force under his command, to retire along the Pacific railroad, west of Jefferson City, and delay the enemy if they attempted to advance on that line. General Price and the governor, with their staff officers, together with Captain Kelly's command, went to Booneville on a steamer. There General Clark had collected several hundred men, and others came in during the next two days, most of whom belonged to Marmaduke's regiment, which had been organized at Jefferson City, and had been sent to their homes when the Price-Harney agreement was made. Just at this time information of the death of Col. Edmunds B. Holloway, who had collected a considerable body of men in Jackson county, was received. A company of dragoons from Fort Leavenworth approached his camp at the crossing of the Little Blue, and a skirmish took place, in which Colonel Holloway and one of his men were killed and several others wounded. Colonel Holloway was an accomplished soldier, a graduate of West Point, and not long before had resigned his commission in the army. He was universally popular, and the State had great expectations of him and felt his loss deeply. The affair in which

he was killed was exaggerated, and led General Price to believe the Federals were moving on him from the West, and he determined to go to Lexington and take command of the troops ordered to rendezvous there, leaving General Clark in command at Booneville.

Lyon's plan of campaign was to send four regiments and two four-gun batteries, under the command of Brigadier-General Sweeny, to the southwest, Springfield being the objective point, in order to hold that part of the State in subjection, and to intercept the retreat of Governor Jackson and General Price and the troops with them, whom he proposed to drive from the Missouri river counties. His own force consisted of Blair's and Boernstein's regiments, Totten's light battery, Company F Second artillery, and Company B Second regular infantry—aggregating about 2,000 men. The southwest expedition left St. Louis, going to Rollo by railroad, at the same time Lyon left, going up the Missouri river by steamboat. Lyon reached Jefferson City two days after the State officers had left it, and took quiet possession of the town and of the government buildings. The next day he left three companies of Boernstein's regiment to hold the city, and proceeded with the remainder of his command—about 1,700 men, to Booneville. Eight miles below the town he disembarked his command, except one company of Blair's regiment and a detachment of artillery with a howitzer, which he ordered to continue up the river to deceive the enemy, while he moved on them by land.

Governor Jackson was promptly informed of Lyon's departure from Jefferson City, and ordered General Parsons, who was at Tipton, twenty miles south, to bring his command as rapidly as possible to Booneville. For some reason Parsons did not obey the order, though he had a day and a half in which to reach the designated point.

As Lyon approached the town the governor ordered Colonel Marmaduke, with his regiment and some independent companies, to check him, in order to give Parsons

time to come up and citizens an opportunity to leave with their families if they chose. Marmaduke, satisfied of his inability with the force at his disposal to seriously impede Lyon's advance, and appreciating the fact that his failure to do so would be magnified into a defeat of the State troops and have a discouraging effect on their friends throughout the State, had already protested against making a stand at Booneville. He thought the troops at Lexington and those at Booneville, with such reinforcements as might join them, should retire behind the Osage river in the vicinity of Warsaw, where they could offer Lyon battle on more equal terms. But the governor insisted on fighting at Booneville, and Marmaduke obeyed.

The opposing forces met a few miles below the town. Marmaduke checked Lyon's advance at first, and compelled him to deploy his infantry and bring up his artillery. Marmaduke had no artillery, and Lyon, soon discovering that, shelled him at long range at his leisure. Marmaduke then withdrew to a stronger position nearer the town, where he made another stand and again compelled Lyon to form in line of battle. The infantry firing here was sharp, and, after a brisk engagement, the governor ordered Marmaduke to fall back to the city, which he did in good order, considering this was the first time his men had been under fire. The loss was about twenty-five killed and wounded on each side. The engagement, altogether, lasted about two hours. The Federal force outnumbered the State troops four to one. They were thoroughly armed and equipped, and had two batteries, while the State troops were half organized, half-armed and without artillery. The affair was nothing more than a skirmish, and under the circumstances the advantage was with the State troops. But Lyon, and all the influences favorable to him, represented it as a great victory for the Federal arms, and it had a most depressing effect on the Southern Rights element. It compelled, too, the State forces to abandon the Missouri river, giving the

Federals control of it from Kansas City to its mouth, and placed a formidable barrier in the way of recruits from the north side of it reaching Price.

It was now a race for the southwestern part of the State—the rugged hills of the Ozark mountain country—between the unorganized and unarmed Southern men, and Lyon and his thoroughly equipped forces, with the knowledge on the part of the Southern men that there was a considerable army under Sweeny there, the object of which was to capture or kill them. The governor, with Generals Parsons and Clark, started to Warsaw. General Price at Lexington was threatened by Lyon from Booneville, and 3,000 troops, regulars and Kansas volunteers, from Fort Leavenworth. At this time General Price was seriously sick, which added to the complexities and dangers of the situation. But, with his staff and a small escort, he set out for Arkansas to see Gen. Ben McCulloch, who commanded Confederate troops in that section, and if possible induce him to come to the assistance of the broken and scattered Missourians. He left General Rains in command of the State troops at Lexington, with orders to move them as rapidly as possible to Lamar, in Barton county. Rains had need to move quickly and rapidly, because Lyon was threatening him from the east and Major Sturgis, with 900 Federal dragoons and two regiments of Kansas volunteers, from the west. When Governor Jackson and his party, 250 or 300 in number, got to Warsaw, they halted to ascertain what had become of General Price and the main body of the army.

Good news—the first gleam of sunlight that had fallen upon the adherents of the Southern cause in the State—reached him. At Cold Camp, some 20 miles from Warsaw, was encamped a regiment of German Home Guards, commanded by Colonel Cook, a brother of the Cook who was executed in Virginia with John Brown. The object of Cook was to intercept Governor Jackson's party or any other body of Southern men making their way south-

ward through the State. But Lieut.-Col. Walter S. O'Kane, assisted by Maj. Thomas M. Murray, raised about 350 State Guard troops in the neighborhood, made a forced march at night, struck the Home Guards, who had no pickets out except in the direction of Governor Jackson's party, just at daylight, and utterly routed them, killing 206, wounding a still larger number, and taking over 100 prisoners. Colonel Cook and a part of the command escaped. The next day the victors reported to Governor Jackson, bringing with them their prisoners, over 400 new muskets and a good supply of ammunition. The Missourians lost about 30 killed and wounded. As a result of this brilliant dash, the force from Lyon's command pursuing the governor gave up the pursuit, and returned to Booneville. It had, too, the effect of alarming the Federals in the Southwest and making them more cautious in their movements. It was a blow from an unexpected source, which indicated danger to their long lines of pursuit. It showed that the people of the State were not as thoroughly subjugated as they had supposed.

The governor remained in Warsaw two days, and then resumed in a more leisurely manner his march toward Montevallo, in Vernon county, to form a junction with the column under Rains and Slack. The progress of this column had been slow, because the streams it had to cross were high, and the useless and cumbrous baggage train, as well as the men, had to be ferried over them. Rains' effective strength was less than 1,200 infantry under Col. Richard H. Weightman, about 600 mounted men under Colonel Cawthorn, and Capt. Hiram Bledsoe's three gun battery. One of Bledsoe's guns was captured by the Missourians in the Mexican war at the battle of Sacramento. It was presented by the general government to the State of Missouri and for years stood on the bluff overlooking the Missouri river at Lexington. Bledsoe brought it out with a yoke of oxen. There was a considerable percentage of silver in its composition, which gave it a ring

when fired that could be distinguished on the field amidst the firing of a hundred ordinary guns. Bledsoe's battery was always in the thickest of the fight, and the soldiers of the State Guard, as well as the Federals, soon came to know "Old Sacramento's" voice. It became so badly grooved from use that it was finally condemned, sent to Memphis to be recast with other guns, and its identity lost. Parsons had about 650 armed men. His infantry was commanded by Col. Joseph M. Kelly, his mounted men by Col. Ben Brown, and his four-gun battery by Capt. Henry Guibor. Clark had Col. John Q. Burbidge's regiment of infantry, the effective strength of which was 365 officers and men. Slack had about 700 infantry under Col. John T. Hughes and Maj. J. C. Thornton, and 500 mounted men under Col. B. A. Rives. More than a thousand of these were unarmed, and a large number were armed with shotguns and rifles. Altogether the effective force of Price's army was not more than 3,000 men.

At this time the Federal and State forces were a good deal mixed. Neither knew with any certainty where the other was. The column which Lyon had sent from St. Louis to the southwest to capture Jackson and Price had reached Springfield about 4,000 strong. Sigel had gone westward from there with his regiment and Salomon's, a battery and some cavalry, hoping to intercept General Price, but finding that Price had already gone on to General McCulloch's camp he turned and attempted to intercept Governor Jackson. With this view he moved toward Carthage in the line of Jackson's retreat. There he ran across Parsons' quartermaster, who precipitately retired and informed Parsons of the proximity of the Federals. This was the first intimation the governor had that the enemy was in his front. Soon other couriers arrived, saying the Federals were advancing in force. Governor Jackson thereupon assumed command of all the troops in person, and determined to fight the enemy.

At daybreak next morning, July 5th, the army moved, with Rains in front and Capt. J. O. Shelby's company in

advance. The governor with his staff and Gen. David R. Atchison rode at the head of the column with General Rains. About five miles from Lamar they learned that Sigel had left Carthage and was on his way to give them battle. Hardly had they halted when the glint of the Federal bayonets showed them the enemy on the other side of a creek. The governor formed his men in line of battle with Weightman's brigade on the right, then Bledsoe's battery, and then Slack's infantry. Guibor's battery was on the left of Slack, and next to him was Kelly's regiment and then Burbridge's regiment. The right flank was covered by Rains' mounted men under Brown and Rives. The Federals, about 2,000 strong, with seven pieces of artillery, advanced with the steadiness and precision of veterans. Sigel opened the fight with his artillery, firing across the creek. Bledsoe's three guns replied, and almost at the same time Guibor's battery opened. The artillery fight lasted for half an hour or more, when the mounted men on both flanks of the governor's army maneuvered as if to surround Sigel, and at the same time Weightman's and Slack's infantry advanced rapidly. The engagement was sharp and decisive. Sigel fell back in good order and took a new position well defended by his artillery. Then Weightman reformed his line, opened fire with Bledsoe's battery, and with his own brigade and Slack's infantry pressed Sigel's line hard. The fighting at this point was stubborn for a while, but Clark and Parsons bringing their forces to bear, Sigel gave way and was soon in full retreat. Nor did he stop, except temporarily at Carthage to get his wagon train out of the way, until he had put forty miles between him and the enemies whom he expected to capture without a fight. The honors of the battle belonged to Weightman's brigade, Slack's command, Shelby's mounted company and Bledsoe's battery. The Missourians lost 40 or 50 killed and about 120 wounded. The loss of the enemy was estimated as twice as large. The fight was known as the battle of Carthage

CHAPTER VI.

LYON LEAVES BOONEVILLE FOR THE SOUTHWEST—
PRICE REINFORCED BY McCULLOCH AND PEARCE—
THEY START TO THE GOVERNOR'S RESCUE—THE
RENDEZVOUS AT COWSKIN PRAIRIE—THE COM-
BINED FORCE MOVES TOWARD SPRINGFIELD—
LYON ADVANCES TO MEET THEM—THE BATTLE
OF WILSON'S CREEK—DEATH OF LYON—A FRUIT-
LESS VICTORY.

GENERAL LYON delayed at Booneville two weeks after the capture of that place, taking every precaution to cut off communication between the Southern men on the north and south sides of the river and prevent them co-operating. Finally, having arranged things to his satisfaction, he left Col. John D. Stevenson in command of the river from St. Louis to Kansas City with orders to hold the principal towns and prevent recruits from Price's army crossing, and began his march to the southwest. He did not doubt that Sweeny had been able to crush all opposition in that section, and he went now to unite his forces and offer McCulloch and his Confederates battle. At the crossing of Grand river, south of Clinton, he formed a junction with Sturgis and his United States dragoons, and pushed forward with his united force for Springfield, not knowing that Sigel had been routed at Carthage and that the State troops were in practical possession of the country. But at the crossing of the Osage, a few miles above Osceola, he learned of Sigel's defeat. He ferried his men and trains across the river hurriedly, working day and night, and without rest marched his men twenty-seven miles without stopping. In the afternoon he halted for a few hours to feed and rest his men and horses, and then re-

sumed his march and did not halt again until he was within thirty miles of Springfield and fifty miles from the crossing of the Osage. He marched fifty miles in hot July weather, in twenty-four hours. He then learned that Sigel was in no immediate danger, and marched to Springfield, thirty miles, in a more leisurely manner. He entered Springfield with a good deal of mediæval display. His escort, which was composed of St. Louis German butchers, remarkable for their size and ferocious aspect, was mounted on powerful iron-gray horses and armed with big revolvers and massive swords, and thus accoutered dashed through the streets of the little town, which was held by Sweeny, with the view of overpowering the simple country people with the fierceness of their appearance.

When General Price left Lexington he made his way direct to General McCulloch's headquarters. En route he was joined by men in squads and companies, so that when he reached Cowskin prairie, in the extreme southwestern corner of the State, he had about 1,200 men with him, though most of them were unarmed. He there learned that Gen. N. B. Pearce, a West Point graduate and an accomplished soldier, commander of the military forces of Arkansas, was near Maysville in that State with an Arkansas brigade, and leaving his men in camp on Cowskin prairie he went there with a small escort. General Pearce received him cordially and informed him that General McCulloch had left Fort Smith, where his headquarters had been, and would reach Maysville the next day. General Pearce loaned General Price 650 muskets with which to help arm his men.

General Price returned to Cowskin prairie, organized his men as well as he could, and placed those whom he could arm under command of Col. Alexander E. Steen, a young Missourian and West Pointer, who had a short time before resigned from the regular army. The next day General McCulloch, in advance of his troops, reached

General Price's headquarters, and at once agreed to aid the Missourians. General Pearce also agreed to aid them with his Arkansas force. The next day, the 4th of July, McCulloch and Pearce entered Missouri with Churchill's mounted Confederate regiment, Gratiot's Arkansas infantry, Carroll's mounted regiment and Woodruff's battery; reached Price's camp the same day, were joined by him, and continued their march northward to rescue Governor Jackson and his party. Under the impression that the governor was pressed by Lyon on one side and Sigel on the other, McCulloch left his infantry behind, and he and Price pressed forward to his relief. On approaching Neosho, McCulloch sent Churchill with two companies to capture a company Sigel had left there. This Churchill did without firing a gun. He not only took 137 prisoners, but what was of more importance, captured 150 stand of arms and seven wagons loaded with army supplies. At the break of day on the 6th, the whole force was on the march again to Carthage, but during the day learned that the governor and his command had defeated Sigel and were en route to join them. McCulloch and Pearce with their troops then returned to Maysville, and Price, taking command of the Missourians, returned to Cowskin prairie and went to work organizing them into companies and regiments.

Under the circumstances, this was hard work. He had no arms, no military supplies, and no money to buy any. The men never expected to be and never were paid. But men and horses had to be fed, and on Cowskin prairie there was little but green corn and poor beef upon which to feed them. Quartermaster-Gen. James Harding and Chief Commissary John Reid went to Fort Smith, and then to Little Rock and Memphis, in search of supplies, but that was a slow process. The men and horses managed to live on what the country afforded, and while General Harding was absent, Col. Edward Haren acted as quartermaster-general, and by his activity, in-

dustry and unfailing courtesy did wonders in providing the absolutely necessary supplies, and making the men contented. All of General Price's staff, except his adjutant-general, Colonel Henry Little, were civilians, and knew nothing of the military duties their position imposed upon them. But they were willing and learned rapidly. The Granby mines furnished lead, and Governor Jackson's forethought had provided a supply of powder. Some artillery ammunition captured served as a pattern, and the cannoneers were soon able to make the necessary ammunition for their guns. Notwithstanding the embarrassments and drawbacks, the work of organization went steadily on, and by the last of the month the State Guards assumed form and substance and became an army of 4,500 armed and 2,000 unarmed men, every one of whom was anxious to meet the enemy and retrieve the honor of the State. Still, they were a motley crowd. There was hardly a uniform among them—the insignia of even a general officer's rank usually being a stripe of some kind of colored cloth pinned to the shoulder.

General Price left Cowskin prairie on the 25th of July, and three days later reached Cassville. There he was joined by Brigadier-General McBride with 650 armed men, which made his effective force over 5,000. General McCulloch reached Cassville the next day with his brigade, amounting to 3,200 men, nearly all armed. General Pearce was within ten miles of Cassville with his brigade of 2,500 Arkansas troops, together with two batteries, Woodruff's and Reid's. The entire force amounted to nearly 11,000 men, beside the 2,000 unarmed Missourians, who went with the army with the expectation of getting arms after a while. Price, McCulloch and Pearce each had an independent command, but they agreed upon an order of march, in conformity with which the combined forces began their advance on Springfield, fifty-two miles distant, on the last day of July. The first division, consisting of infantry under command of McCulloch, left

Cassville that day. The other divisions, commanded respectively by Pearce and Steen, left the following day, and Price, without taking any command, accompanied Steen's division.

As soon as Lyon reached Springfield he began writing and sending representatives to St. Louis and Washington demanding reinforcements. But his demands received little if any attention. General Fremont was in command of the Western department, and did not seem disposed to help him. When assured that Lyon must and would fight at Springfield, he simply replied: "If he does he will do it on his own responsibility." Lyon chafed, and abused everybody. "If it is the intention," he said, "to give up the West, let it be so; Scott will cripple us if he can." At last two regiments—Stevenson's at Booneville, and Montgomery's at Leavenworth—were ordered to report to him at Springfield. But they never reached there. It was a question with Lyon whether to fight or retreat, and the first alternative seemed to be safer than the last. His only line of retreat was to Rolla, 125 miles distant, through a broken, rugged country, with the probability that Price's and McCulloch's mounted men would be thrown in his front, while their infantry pressed him desperately in rear. Besides, to retreat was to give up all he had gained, to allow Price to return to the Missouri river with an army and to begin anew a fight for the possession of the State. He had 7,000 or 8,000 men, thoroughly armed and equipped, and he determined to risk defeat rather than turn back.

On August 1st he learned that McCulloch, Price and Pearce were advancing on Springfield. He was deceived as to their line of march, supposing they were advancing by different routes, and determined to attack them in detail. With this view he moved out, his force consisting of nearly 6,000 men, infantry, cavalry and artillery. When he got within four or five miles of them and learned he was mistaken, he stopped and waited for them.

But he was deceived again. It was the advance guard under Rains which was in front of him. The main body was in camp twelve miles back. The next day he moved to within six miles of the Southern force, but not being able to learn anything about its strength, and fearing he might be flanked, he determined to return to Springfield, which he did, reaching there the next evening.

The united Southern forces had remained in their position during this time, and had been reinforced by Greer's Texas regiment. While the two armies were thus maneuvering and watching each other, General Price was anxious to attack, but General McCulloch declined unless Price would consent to give him the command of the combined army. At last, after a good deal of wrangling, General Price yielded, reserving to himself, however, the right to resume command of the Missourians whenever he chose. Believing that Lyon was still in front of him, McCulloch marched at midnight of August 5th, expecting to surprise and attack him at daybreak. But he soon learned that Lyon had left the day before for Springfield. He followed him until he came to Wilson's creek, where he encamped. There the army remained three days, the dispute all the time going on between Price and McCulloch, the former insisting on attacking, and the latter declining to do so. At last McCulloch yielded and ordered the army to be ready to move that night, August 9th, at 9 o'clock. But before that time it began to rain and the order was countermanded, chiefly because the Missourians had no cartridge boxes, but carried their ammunition in their pockets, and it was liable to be ruined if it rained hard. The troops, therefore, lay on their arms during the night, awaiting the development of events.

Late in the afternoon of the same day, Lyon moved out of Springfield, marched about five miles west, then turned southward across the prairie, and about midnight came in sight of Rains' camp fires. He had turned McCulloch's

left and was in his rear. Sigel, with two regiments of infantry, six pieces of artillery and two companies of cavalry, aggregating about 1,500 men, had made a similar movement and turned the right flank of the Confederates. He planted a battery on a small hill within 500 yards of Churchill's camp, disposed his men so as to capture every one coming or going, and waited for Lyon to begin the fight. Lyon halted in sight of Rains' camp fires until dawn and then resumed his march, with Plummer's regulars in advance. The Confederates had withdrawn their pickets in anticipation of moving themselves, and when the movement was abandoned had not sent them out again. Just at daylight Rains for some reason became suspicious, and sent a staff officer with a small detachment to reconnoiter. The officer soon came back in haste and informed him that the enemy were advancing in force with cavalry, artillery, and infantry, from the southwest. Rains instantly informed General Price, and formed his own command. McCulloch was at Price's quarters, and this was the first intimation either of them had that Lyon and his army were upon them. McCulloch discredited the information, and said he would go himself and see about it, but before he could mount his horse another messenger came with the information that Rains was falling back before overwhelming numbers, and at the same time came the report of Lyon's artillery, which was followed in a moment by the guns of Sigel, who had opened fire on Churchill and Greer and Brown, and was driving them in confusion out of the little valley in which they were encamped, as Lyon was driving Rains.

Instantly McCulloch and McIntosh mounted and galloped to take command of the Confederates on the east side of the creek, and Price, ordering his infantry and artillery to follow, rushed up Bloody Hill—a considerable eminence in the midst of the field and so named because the battle that ensued roared and broke in bloody waves around it—and took command of Cawthorn's brigade,

which was falling back fighting, in the hope of holding the enemy in check until his infantry and artillery could come up. These were forming, and they came up the hill with a rush. First came Slack, with Hughes' regiment and Thornton's battalion, and formed on the left of Cawthorn; then Clark, with Burbridge's regiment, and formed on the left of Slack; then Parsons, with Kelly's regiment and Guibor's battery, and formed on the left of Clark, and on the extreme left of the line McBride took position with his two regiments. Shortly after Rives, with some dismounted men, reinforced Slack; and Weightman, with Clarkson's and Hurst's regiments which had been encamped a mile or more away, came up at a double-quick and formed between Slack and Cawthorn. In the meantime Woodruff had taken position with his Arkansas battery on an elevated point of land overlooking the field from the east, and at the first sound of Totten's guns had opened a fire on Lyon which retarded his advance and greatly aided the Missourians in getting into position.

The battle was now fairly set. The opposing forces were nearly equal. Price had about 3,500 men, and Lyon, deducting the 1,500 under Sigel, had about 3,500. The lines were not more than three hundred yards apart, but a heavy undergrowth of timber separated and concealed them from each other. Price's men were armed mostly with hunting rifles and shotguns, and to make them effective it was necessary that the lines should be close together. Instead of advancing, Price waited for Lyon to attack. He did not have to wait long. In a little while the order to move forward was heard, and through the brush the enemy came. When they were within close range there rang out the sharp report of a thousand rifles, the heavier report of a thousand shotguns, and crack of innumerable pistols, the roar of Guibor's guns—and the day in the field Missourians had looked forward to longingly amid the disappointments and delays of months was before them, and they resolved to die or con-

quer where they stood. Rough and ragged and worn, the best blood of Missouri faced the enemy in that battle line. The hand that held the musket might be awkward, but it was steady. The men might not be able to maneuver, but they could fight. When one of them fell an unarmed man stepped promptly forward to take his place and his gun. For hours the fight went on. The lines would approach to within fifty yards of each other, deliver their fire and fall back a few yards to reform and reload. It was a succession of charges followed by a succession of repulses, with solemn intervals of silence between, as each side braced itself again for the desperate struggle. It was man to man and to the death. Price would not have retreated if he could, and Lyon could not if he would. He had risked everything on the desperate chance of battle, and had to fight it out to the bitter end.

McCulloch's and Pearce's infantry were on the east side of the creek, where McCulloch had formed the men so as to meet Sigel's attack and to protect Price's rear, posting the Third Louisiana, McIntosh's regiment and McRae's battalion within protecting distance of Woodruff's battery, which was firing across the creek. He had not more than made these dispositions when a force of the enemy appeared, moving down the creek on the eastern side with the evident intention of charging Woodruff's battery. Leaving Gratiot to support Woodruff, he ordered McIntosh, with his regiment dismounted, the Third Louisiana and McRae's battalion to meet the advancing Federals. They charged and drove back Plummer's battalion of regular infantry and a regiment of Home Guards, with a loss of about 100 on each side. Plummer was severely wounded.

Sigel had not been heard from since the first dash early in the morning. He had, in fact, taken position on the Fayetteville road to intercept and capture the Confederates after Lyon had routed them. His dispositions to that end were made with military precision. His battery oc-

cupied a commanding position, his infantry extended on both sides of the road, and a company of regular cavalry was on each flank. He was quietly awaiting results. After the affair with Plummer, McCulloch went in search of him. He took his own infantry, with Rosser's and O'Kane's Missouri battalions and Bledsoe's battery. Bledsoe placed his battery so as to command the enemy's position. Reid's battery was somewhat east of Bledsoe's. The infantry advanced to the attack and Bledsoe and Reid opened at point-blank range. Sigel was taken by surprise and his men thrown into confusion, and when McCulloch and McIntosh, with 400 of the Third Louisiana and Rosser's and O'Kane's battalions, broke through the brush and charged his battery his whole force fled, abandoning the guns, some going one way and some another. Sigel and Salomon, with about 200 of the German Home Guards and Carr's company of regular cavalry, tried to get back to Springfield by the route they came, but were attacked by Lieutenant-Colonel Major, with some mounted Missourians and Texans, and again routed. Carr and his cavalry fled precipitately. Sigel with one man reached Springfield in safety. Nearly all the rest were killed, wounded or captured. In the meantime, the main fight on Bloody Hill raged fiercely. Though hard pressed, Price had not yielded a foot of ground. Churchill, who held a position on the left of the line, dismounted his men and moved them to the center, where the need was greatest. Price then advanced Guibor's battery in line with the infantry, while Woodruff continued throwing his shells over his line into the ranks of the enemy. Still the battle was not won. Lyon was bringing up every available man for a last desperate effort. Price asked for aid, and General Pearce, with Gratiot and his Arkansas infantry, came to his assistance. In getting into position Gratiot suffered severely. His horse and his orderly's were killed, his lieutenant-colonel was dismounted, his major's arm was broken, his quartermaster

was killed and his commissary badly wounded. But the regiment took the position it was ordered to take and held it, though in half an hour it lost 100 out of 500 men.

The fighting was now furious. In the words of Schofield and Sturgis, "The engagement had become inconceivably fierce all along the entire line, the enemy appearing in front, often in three or four ranks, lying down, kneeling and standing, and the line often approaching to within thirty or forty yards, as the enemy would charge upon Totten's battery and would be driven back." General Price was painfully wounded in the side, but did not leave the field. He only said to those who were near him that if he were as slim as Lyon the bullet would not have hit him. Weightman was borne to the rear dying; Cawthorn and his adjutant were mortally wounded; Slack was desperately wounded; Clark was shot in the leg; Col. Ben Brown was killed; Colonel Allen, of General Price's staff, was killed by the side of his chief; Colonels Burbridge, Kelly, Foster and numerous field officers were disabled. But Lyon was worse hurt than Price. He had, however, risked everything on the chance, and in the shadow of impending defeat was determined to make a supreme effort to reverse the tide that was setting strongly against him. Dismounted, he was leading his horse along his battle line, speaking words of encouragement to his men, when his horse was killed and he was wounded. He was dazed by the shock, but quickly recovered, mounted another horse, and, drawing his sword, called upon his men to follow him. A moment after a ball struck him in the breast and he fell from his horse, and in another moment was dead.

In the pause that occurred following Lyon's death, Price was reinforced by Dockery's Arkansas regiment, a section of Reid's battery and the Third Louisiana regiment. Thus strengthened, he was better prepared to hold his ground than he had been at any time during the day. The command of the Federal army devolved on Major

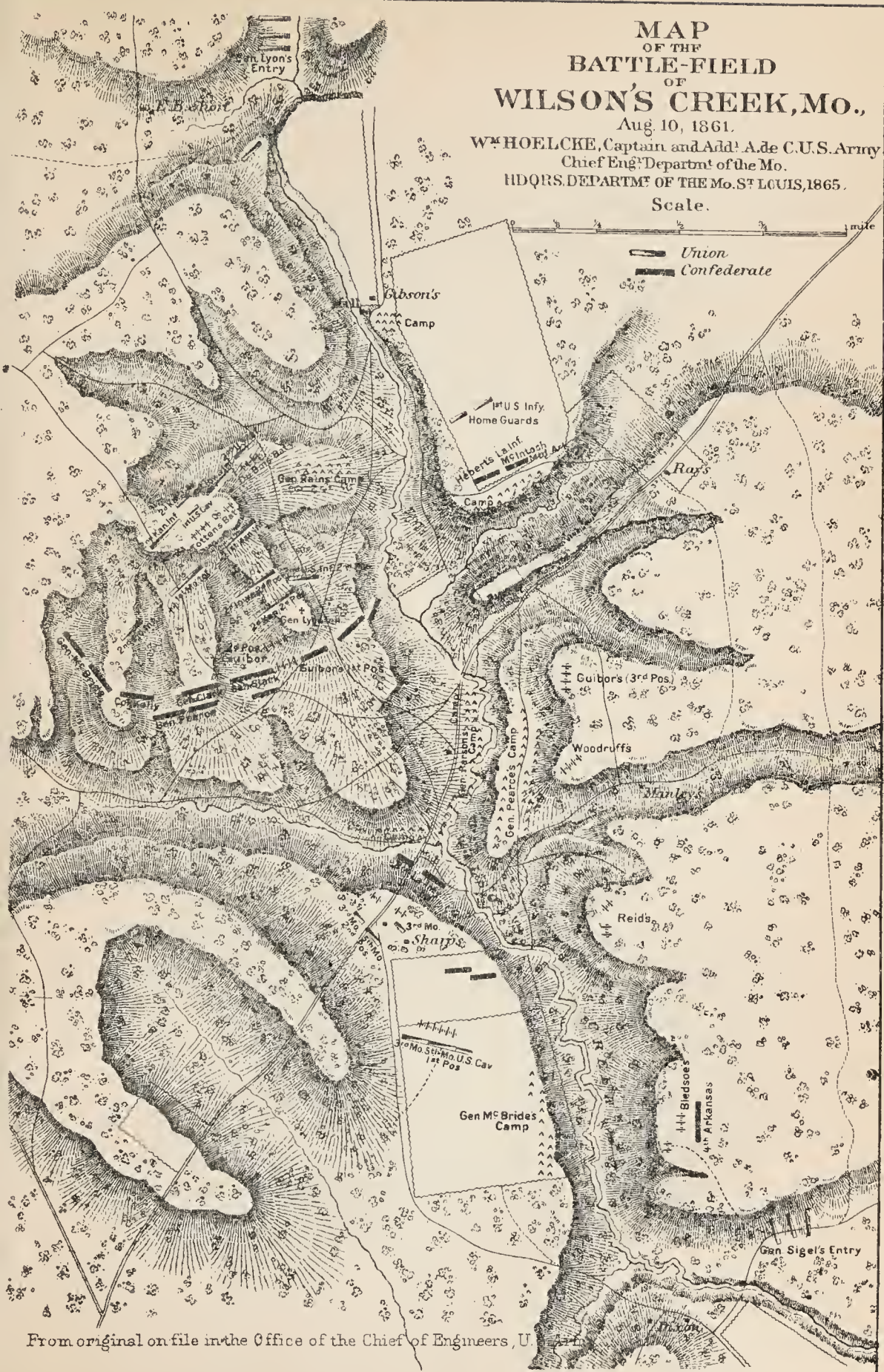
MAP
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BATTLE-FIELD
OF

Aug. 10, 1861.

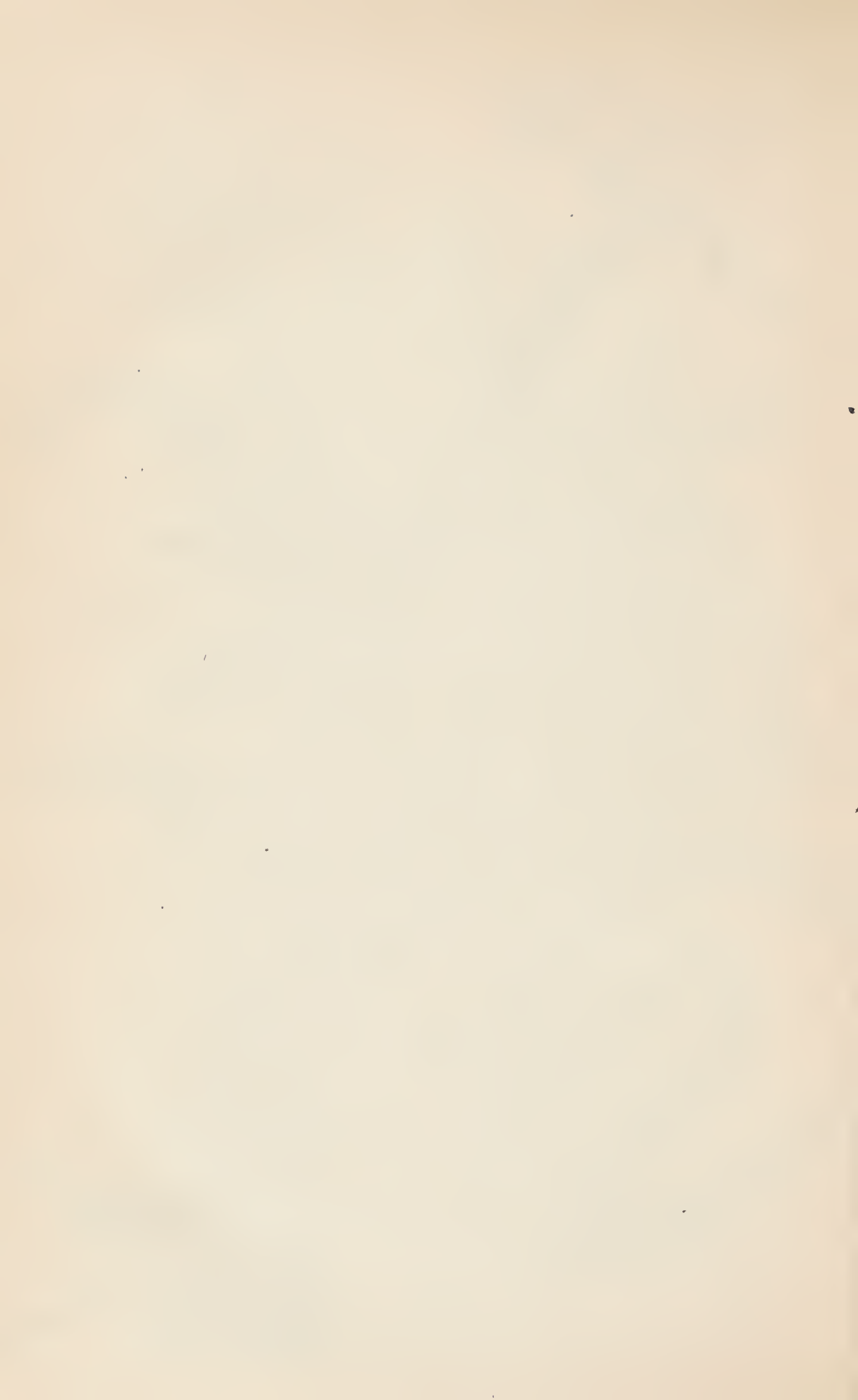
W^m HOELCKE, Captain and Add^l A.de C.U.S.Army
Chief Eng^r Departmt of the Mo.

HDQRS. DEPT. OF THE MO. ST. LOUIS, 1865.

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From original on file in the Office of the Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army



Sturgis. He counseled with his principal officers and they decided to retreat. The order to withdraw was given at once and promptly obeyed, Steele's battalion of regulars bringing up the rear. For five hours the fight on Bloody Hill had lasted, and the dead of both armies lay upon it in piles. When it became known that the Federals were retreating and that the day was won, a great shout of exultation and relief went up from the men who had fought there, which reached the ears of Weightman where he lay dying, and he asked those around him what it meant. "We have whipped them—they have gone," he was told. "Thank God," he said. In another moment he was dead. Of him in his report, General Price said: "Among those who fell mortally wounded on the battlefield, none deserve a dearer place in the memory of Missourians than Richard Hanson Weightman, colonel commanding the First brigade of the Second division of this army. Taking up arms at the very beginning of this unhappy contest, he had already done distinguished service at the battle of Rock Creek, where he commanded the State forces after the death of the lamented Holloway, and at Carthage, where he won unfading laurels by the display of extraordinary coolness, courage and skill. He fell at the head of his brigade, wounded in three places, and died just as the victorious shouts of our men began to rise upon the air."

The losses of the armies, killed, wounded and missing, were about equal. The total Federal loss was 1,317; the total Confederate loss, 1,218. In the engagement between McIntosh and Plummer, the Federals lost 80 and the Confederates 101. In the attack on Sigel, the Confederate loss was small, but Sigel's loss was heavy—not less than 300. The loss of the Missourians on Bloody Hill was 680; the loss of the Arkansans there—Churchill's and Gratiot's regiments and Woodruff's battery—was 308. The loss of both sides on Bloody Hill was, Missourians and Arkansans, 988; Federals, 892. Well may the historian

say: "Never before—considering the number engaged—had so bloody a battle been fought on American soil; seldom has a bloodier one been fought on any modern field."

The Federals retreated to Springfield leaving the body of their dead general on the field. By order of General Price the body was identified and delivered to his friends, who came to ask for it under a flag of truce. But it was again left behind, when they abandoned Springfield, and was taken in charge of and given decent burial by Mrs. John S. Phelps, the wife of a former representative in congress from that district, then an officer in the Federal army.

The fruits of this splendid victory were lost. As soon as it was known that the Federals were retreating, General Price urged General McCulloch to make pursuit, but McCulloch declined. The Federals had not only lost heavily in the battle, but were badly demoralized, and had a long and difficult road to travel before they could reach a point where they could hope for assistance. That point was Rolla, and the road ran through a rugged, broken country, with many streams to ford or ferry, and was already crowded with hundreds of Union refugees, with their teams and families, who were fleeing in mortal terror from Ben McCulloch and his Texans. But McCulloch refused then and afterward to make even a pretense of pursuit. So the dead were buried where they fell, and that for which they fought and died, and dying, thought they had attained, was left in the possession of the enemy. Though General Price insisted on pursuit, and had the right to resume the command of the Missourians whenever he pleased, he did not feel strong enough, and lacked the necessary ammunition to make the pursuit alone.

CHAPTER VII.

SIGEL RETREATS TO ROLLA—McCULLOCH AND PEARCE RETURN TO ARKANSAS—FEDERAL DEFEAT AT DRYWOOD—PRICE INVESTS THE FEDERAL WORKS AT LEXINGTON—THE MOVING BREASTWORKS—MULLIGAN SURRENDERS—AN AFFAIR AT BLUE MILLS—GENERAL THOMPSON AND HIS OPERATIONS—PRICE COMPELLED TO RETREAT—THE LEGISLATURE AT NEOSHO PASSES AN ACT OF SECESSION—MEMBERS OF THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS CHOSEN—FREMONT'S BODYGUARD DEFEATED AT SPRINGFIELD—HUNTER SUCCEEDS FREMONT AND RETREATS—REORGANIZATION OF THE STATE TROOPS—FIRST AND SECOND CONFEDERATE BRIGADES.

ON reaching Springfield, Maj. S. D. Sturgis, who had taken command of the Federals on the death of Lyon, turned the command over to Sigel, who was supposed to be the ranking officer. Sigel, after consultation with the other officers, determined to retreat to Rolla, and at once moved out with a strong escort and the army train, consisting of 400 heavily laden wagons, a part of their load being \$250,000 in gold taken from the branch State bank at Springfield. The remainder of the army moved the same night. The day after the battle General McCulloch withdrew his troops to Arkansas, the Arkansans returned to their own State and General Price, with the State Guard, took possession of Springfield and went to work recruiting, organizing and drilling his army. Some of the men with him had not enlisted. They were organized after a manner of their own into squads and companies. Many of them did not belong to any regiment. None of them were uniformed, and a large number had not been drilled. They had no tents, no equipments of

any kind, and there were no depots of subsistence or clothing or ammunition. There were no muster rolls and no reports. The Federals held the Missouri river and it was a block to recruiting in the northern part of the State. Home Guards, armed from the arsenal at St. Louis, swarmed in nearly every county in the southern part. But Price and his officers persevered, and at length the unwieldy mass assumed coherence and form.

In less than a month Price was able to move in the direction of the Missouri river with a force of about 4,500 armed men and seven pieces of artillery. At Drywood, about fifteen miles east of Fort Scott in Kansas, he encountered several thousand Kansas jayhawkers, under Gen. James H. Lane, and routed them. From there he marched in the direction of Lexington, which was held by a brigade of Irishmen, a regiment of Illinois cavalry, several regiments of Home Guards and seven pieces of artillery, under the command of Col. James A. Mulligan. He reached Lexington on the morning of September 12th and drove the Federals into their defenses, which were arranged around the Masonic college building as a center. The position was a strong one and was strongly fortified. Price's men were exhausted by five days' hard marching, with only such provisions as they could pick up on the roadside as they moved along. Having driven the enemy to cover, Price took possession of the town and camped his troops at the fair grounds. After waiting several days for his ammunition train to come up, he closely invested the stronghold of the enemy. Rains' division occupied an advantageous position to the east and northeast of the works, from which an effective artillery fire was kept up by Bledsoe's and Churchill Clark's batteries. Parsons took position with his division and Guibor's battery southwest of the works. A part of General Steen's and Col. Congreve Jackson's commands was held in reserve. Skirmishers and sharpshooters from the commands first named did effective service harassing

the enemy and cutting off their supply of water. Without water it was impossible for Mulligan to hold his position. He lost a number of men going to and returning from the spring upon which he depended. At last a woman was sent or volunteered to go. This was a silent appeal to the chivalry of the Missourians, and it was effective. Not a shot was fired at her, but she was cheered as she filled her canteens and returned with them in safety to her friends. During the day Colonel Rives, with his and Colonel Hughes' regiments, captured the Anderson residence, which was used by Mulligan both as a hospital and a fortification. This brought them within effective rifle range of the enemy. The divisions of McBride and Harris stormed and occupied the bluffs immediately north of the Anderson house. But Mulligan watched his opportunity and by a sudden dash retook the house and heights, but they were directly afterward again taken, and held to the last.

It happened that there was a large number of bales of hemp lying on the wharf, and on the morning of the 20th, General Price, at the suggestion, it is said, of Gen. Thomas A. Harris, determined to try the experiment of using them as movable breastworks. He first had them thoroughly soaked in the river to prevent them taking fire, and then rolled up the steep bank to the plain surrounding Mulligan's position. Men rolled them forward with hooks, while from the cover they afforded riflemen kept up a steady fire which was constantly advancing. The enemy had not reckoned on any such mode of attack, and at two o'clock in the afternoon a white flag was displayed in token of surrender, and the Federal forces laid down their arms and gave themselves up as prisoners of war.

The results of this victory to the Missourians were 3,500 prisoners—among them were Colonels Mulligan, Marshall, Peabody, White, Grover, Major Van Horn and 118 other commissioned officers—five field-pieces, two mortars, more than 3,000 stand of arms, a large number of

sabers, pistols, cavalry horses, equipments, wagons, teams, ammunition, commissary and quartermaster stores and other property. In addition to these things, General Price came into possession of the great seal of the State, of public records and nearly a million dollars which had been taken from the bank at Lexington by General Fremont's order. The money was returned to the bank and the State's property well cared for. The loss of the Missourians was about 150 killed and wounded, and that of the Federals about the same. Both sides fought mostly under cover, and the casualties consequently were not great. The officers and men were paroled, except Colonel Mulligan. He refused to accept a parole on the ground that his government did not recognize the Missourians as belligerents, and he and his wife became the guests of General Price and were treated with the greatest courtesy by him and his officers.

After the first day's fight at Lexington, while General Price was camped at the fair grounds awaiting the arrival of his camp and ammunition trains, a spirited affair occurred at Blue Mills, about thirty miles above Lexington. General Price learned that about 2,000 Kansas jayhawkers, under Lane and Montgomery, and a considerable force of regular cavalry were advancing to relieve Mulligan. At the same time a body of some 2,500 Missourians, under command of Colonel Saunders, was advancing to the assistance of Price. Price sent Gen. David R. Atchison, at one time president of the United States Senate, to meet the Missourians and hurry them forward. They reached the river at Blue Mills first, and all but 500 had crossed on the ferryboat. While these 500 were waiting for an opportunity to cross, the enemy came upon them, and there was nothing for them to do but surrender or fight it out where they stood. They chose to fight. The river bottom was heavily timbered, which gave them cover and a chance to use their shot-guns and hunting rifles to advantage. For an hour they

held the jayhawkers in check, and then, at the command of General Atchison, they charged and drove them until they broke into parties and dispersed. Before the surrender Sturgis and his cavalry appeared on the north side of the river, expecting to find boats to cross and reinforce Mulligan. But all the boats had been captured by Price's men, and Sturgis was chased by General Parsons—whom General Price had sent to operate on the north side of the river and prevent reinforcements reaching Mulligan—and escaped with the loss of his tents and camp equipage.

After the surrender of Mulligan, General Price found his position at Lexington untenable. He was the commander of a victorious army, but a large number of his men—the recruits who had come to him—were unarmed, and his ammunition was nearly exhausted. A supply he had expected from the south did not reach him, because General McCulloch stopped the train en route on the ground that if it attempted to proceed it would almost certainly be captured by the enemy. All the Confederate forces had been withdrawn from the State—those under General McCulloch from the southwest and those under Generals Hardee and Pillow from the southeast. The withdrawal of the latter compelled General Thompson, who had been operating with a considerable force of State Guards in the southeast, to also withdraw. He had annoyed the Federals and kept them in a continual state of alarm, if he had not inflicted much damage on them. His withdrawal left General Price with the only organized Southern force in the State.

Gen. M. Jeff Thompson was a man of ability, but it was not strictly of a military order. He excelled in issuing proclamations and manifestoes. Every document of that sort issued by a Federal officer, from the President of the United States to the colonel of a Home Guard regiment, was sure to bring an answer in kind from him. When he could find no pretext for employ-

ment in that way, he reviewed his troops and harangued them. His efforts, whether written or spoken, were characteristic of him—a combination of sense and bombast, of military shrewdness and personal buffoonery. They attracted attention and sometimes accomplished a practical purpose, but gave his campaigns a decided opera bouffé aspect. Later in the war, he was operating with less than 200 men around New Orleans, while General Butler was in command there, and beat that redoubtable manufacturer of manifestoes and bulletins at his own game—and not only that, but made him believe he was threatened by a force of at least 10,000 men. General Thompson was of material assistance to General Price by keeping a considerable Federal force engaged in watching him. A good many times the Federals thought they had him surrounded, but he always outwitted them or broke through their lines, and a few days afterward saluted them with a characteristic proclamation. At Grand River and near Fredericktown he maneuvered a small body of men in the face of a force of the enemy ten times as large as his own so skillfully as to accomplish his purpose and get away scot-free. His shiftiness and success in getting out of tight places gave him the appropriate name of the “Swamp Fox.”

General Price found it not only impossible to remain in Lexington, or elsewhere on the Missouri river, but difficult to retreat. General Fremont, who was in command of the department of the West, was moving with a large and thoroughly equipped force, estimated at 40,000 men, to cut off his line of retreat to the south, while he was threatened by a force equal to his own from the west, consisting of regular troops from Fort Leavenworth and Kansas volunteers, and troops were crossing the Missouri river at every available point to assist in the effort to crush him.

Under these circumstances it was necessary for him to move speedily and rapidly. He dismissed the greater

part of his unarmed men, as he had no immediate means of arming them, bidding them not to give up the struggle, but to wait at their homes for a more auspicious time. He began his retreat on the 27th of September. He sent a considerable force of mounted men to make Fremont and Sturgis and Lane believe he was about to attack each of them. The ruse succeeded. Each stopped, and Fremont commenced fortifying in the neighborhood of Georgetown, where he was concentrating his forces. This gave Price time to move his infantry and artillery, aggregating about 8,000 men, unmolested, until he got south of his pursuers. He crossed his command over the Osage river in flat boats, built by his men for the purpose, in one-fourth the time it afterward took Fremont to cross at the same place on his pontoon bridges. He then continued his retreat leisurely to Neosho, where the legislature was assembled.

The legislature passed an act of secession. In every particular it complied with the forms of law. It was called together in extraordinary session by the proclamation of the governor. There was a quorum of each house present. The governor sent to the two houses his message recommending, among other things, the passage of an act "dissolving all political connection between the State of Missouri and the United States of America." The ordinance was passed strictly in accordance with law and parliamentary usage, was signed by the presiding officers of the two houses, attested by John T. Crisp, secretary of the senate, and Thomas M. Murray, clerk of the house, and approved by Claiborne F. Jackson, governor of the State. The legislature also elected members of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate government, among whom were Gen. John B. Clark, who was succeeded in his military command by Col. Edwin W. Price, a son of Gen. Sterling Price, and Gen. Thomas A. Harris, who was succeeded in his military command by Col. Martin E. Green.

From the time of the battle of Wilson's Creek, General Fremont had been collecting an army at St. Louis for the purpose of retrieving that disaster to the Federal arms, and capturing Price or forcing him and his army to leave the State. The force with which he was now advancing on Springfield was variously estimated at from 40,000 to 50,000 men, splendidly armed and equipped, and supplied with every appliance conducive to their comfort. When Fremont approached Springfield, Price retreated to Cassville and then to Pineville, in the southwestern corner of the State. He was determined to offer Fremont battle with his State Guard forces, notwithstanding the great disparity in the strength of the two armies, but he wanted to draw him as far into the Ozark mountains as possible. Fremont occupied Springfield as soon as Price evacuated it, but his entrance into it was not unaccompanied by disaster. He had two bodyguards. One, his own, was composed of Indians; the other, known as the Jesse Fremont guards, was a picked corps commanded by Major Zagonyi, a Hungarian officer, and was as magnificently armed and equipped as the bodyguard of an empress. The advance in entering Springfield was given to this crack company of the corps d'élite. The last of the State Guard to withdraw was a small infantry battalion of McBride's division, under command of Col. T. T. Taylor, a staff officer. Taylor posted his men in a cornfield just in the edge of town, and as Zagonyi and his resplendent command came dashing in, they fired a volley which emptied a third of the saddles and sent the remainder of the command back pell-mell to the main body. There was much spoil for the ragged Missourians in the way of fine arms and black silk velvet uniforms, slashed with gold embroidery, and much disgust in the Fremont household over such barbarous warfare, in which the fierce Hungarian commander of the advance must have participated, for he was never heard of again during the war—at least not in Missouri.

But Price was doomed to disappointment. Fremont, no doubt, would have followed him if the authorities at Washington had not intervened by relieving him of his command. He did not take his removal at all kindly. He knew the order was on the way from Washington, and he surrounded himself with guards instructed to admit no one to his presence without first informing him and getting his consent. This was to prevent the order reaching him in an official form. But by stratagem a messenger finally reached him and delivered the order which terminated his military career in Missouri. It was understood at the time that he contemplated disregarding it, and was only prevented by the refusal of his subordinates, particularly Sigel and Asboth, to uphold him. It is probable, bitterly as Fremont was disappointed, Price's disappointment was more bitter. He had taken Fremont's measure, and if he could have drawn him deep enough into the mountains, would have captured or annihilated him and his army. It is certain that General Hunter, who succeeded him in the command, found the army so demoralized and so unfit for active service, that, with no force threatening him, he retreated precipitately to Rolla. As soon as Hunter left, Price occupied Springfield again, and a little later moved northward to Osceola. The battle of Belmont, which was fought in the extreme southeastern corner of the State, had very little significance of any kind, but closed the military record in Missouri for the year 1861. The Confederates, under General Polk, had occupied Columbus, Ky., and with their batteries controlled the navigation of the Mississippi river. To strengthen their position a Confederate force, under General Pillow, occupied the opposite bank of the river in Missouri. Col. U. S. Grant was sent with a brigade of Illinois troops to dislodge them. At first the Federals gained some advantages, but the Confederates being reinforced Grant was compelled to seek the protection of the guns of his boats, and under their cover re-embarked his men and returned to Cairo.

At Osceola the reorganization of the State Guard into the Confederate service was begun. The men, as a general thing, were loth to make the change. They had become attached to the State organization. They went into it a mob and had been transformed through it into an army of veterans. Without arms, or uniforms, or tents, or transportation, or equipage of any kind, they had made campaigns, fought battles and won victories. They had never been defeated. They had supplied themselves with what they required as soldiers from the abundant resources of the enemy. Commencing with nothing, they were now an army with muskets and bayonets and cartridge boxes, with fifty pieces of artillery and artillery horses and ammunition, with tents and transportation, and they had won them all themselves on the field of battle, fighting always against odds. They had ennobled the name of the organization and made it synonymous with victory. They felt they had been misjudged and treated coldly by the Confederate commanders west of the Mississippi who, though encamped in the State with plenty of men under their command, had seen them lose the fruits of two campaigns—that of Wilson's Creek and that of Lexington—without marching a step or firing a gun to assist them. They had gone in rags, marched barefooted, fed themselves from the cornfields by the wayside, and conquered—thanks to neither McCulloch, Hardee nor Pillow. But they were true to the Southern cause, and when General Price advised them to enlist in the Confederate army they responded favorably, but without much enthusiasm.

On the 2d of December, 1861, General Price issued an order establishing a separate camp for volunteers in the Confederate service, and appointing officers to muster them in. On the 28th of December the First battery of artillery was organized, with William Wade, captain; Samuel Farrington, first lieutenant; Richard Walsh, second lieutenant; Lucien McDowell, surgeon; and

John O'Bannon, chaplain. On the 30th of December the First Missouri cavalry was organized, and elected Elijah Gates, colonel; R. Chiles, lieutenant-colonel; R. W. Lawther, major; C. W. Pullins, adjutant; J. Dear, quartermaster and commissary; W. F. Stark, surgeon; D. Kavanaugh, chaplain. January 16th the First infantry was organized, with John Q. Burbridge, colonel; E. B. Hull, lieutenant-colonel; R. D. Dwyer, major; H. McCune, quartermaster; William M. Priest, commissary; J. M. Flanigan, adjutant; E. H. C. Bailey, surgeon; J. W. Vaughn, assistant surgeon; J. S. Howard, chaplain. It was afterward learned that Col. John S. Bowen had organized a regiment at Memphis, which by seniority was entitled to rank as the First Missouri infantry, and Colonel Burbridge's regiment was changed to the Second. Later, on the same day, the Third Missouri infantry was organized, with B. A. Rives, colonel; J. A. Pritchard, lieutenant-colonel; F. L. Hubbell, major; M. Ray, quartermaster and commissary. The same day the Second battery of artillery, with Churchill Clark, captain, was organized. These forces formed the First Missouri brigade, which was placed under the command of Brig.-Gen. Henry Little, up to that time General Price's assistant adjutant-general, who was appointed brigadier-general by the Richmond authorities to command the brigade. General Little's staff was: Wright Schaumborg, assistant adjutant-general; Frank Von Phul, aide-de-camp; W. C. Kennerly, ordnance officer; John S. Mellon, commissary; John Brinker, quartermaster; E. H. C. Bailey, surgeon; E. B. Hull, inspector. In the Pea Ridge campaign the unorganized Confederate battalions under the command respectively of Colonels T. H. Rosser, John T. Hughes, Eugene Erwin, James McCown and R. S. Bevier, with Landis' battery and some other forces, constituted the Second Missouri brigade, under command of Brig.-Gen. William Y. Slack, but after the death of General Slack it was merged into the

First brigade. The Second Missouri cavalry was organized with Robert McCulloch, Jr., lieutenant-colonel; Cozens, major; Charles Quarles, adjutant; James Chandler, sergeant-major. The Third Missouri cavalry was organized with D. Todd Samuels, lieutenant-colonel; T. J. McQuilley, major; W. J. Van Kirk, quartermaster; J. Waite, surgeon. Guibor's battery was organized with Henry Guibor, captain; M. Brown, first lieutenant; W. Corkney, second lieutenant; J. McBride, third lieutenant; C. Hefferman, fourth lieutenant. Landis' battery was organized with J. C. Landis, captain; J. M. Langan, first lieutenant; W. W. Weller, second lieutenant; A. Harris, third lieutenant.

Prior to the battle of Pea Ridge the staff officers of Maj.-Gen. Sterling Price were: Thomas L. Snead, assistant adjutant-general; John Reid, commissary; James Harding, quartermaster; Robert C. Wood, aide-de-camp; R. M. Morrison, aide-de-camp; Clay Taylor, aide-de-camp; T. D. Wooten, medical director; M. M. Pallen, surgeon. Subsequently, and east of the Mississippi river, they were: L. A. Maclean, assistant adjutant-general; J. M. Loughborough, assistant adjutant-general; A. M. Clark, inspector; Thomas H. Price, ordnance officer; Clay Taylor, chief of artillery; J. M. Brinker, quartermaster; E. C. Cabell, paymaster; T. D. Wooten, surgeon; William M. McPheeters, inspector; John Reid, commissary; R. C. Wood, aide-de-camp; R. M. Morrison, aide-de-camp.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRICE FALLS BACK TO ARKANSAS—AFFAIR AT SUGAR CAMP — PRICE AND McCULLOCH DISAGREE — VAN DORN TAKES PERSONAL COMMAND—THE BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE—McCULLOCH AND McINTOSH KILLED—VAN DORN RETREATS—VAN DORN'S OPINION OF THE MISSOURIANS—THE ARMY OF THE WEST ORDERED EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI — GENERAL PRICE'S ADDRESS TO HIS TROOPS.

GENERAL PRICE remained in camp on the Osage river near Osceola something more than a month. During this time the term for which many of the men had enlisted expired, and some returned to their homes, while others re-enlisted. Camp life was wearisome, and there was no immediate prospect, as far as the men could see, of a resumption of hostilities. Price was too weak to take the offensive with any hope of success, and the Confederate commanders in Arkansas showed no disposition to help him. General McCulloch, at his comfortable winter quarters near Fayetteville, turned a deaf ear to his appeals. Since the battle of Wilson's Creek, nearly six months before, not a Confederate soldier had raised a hand or fired a gun in aid of the Missourians, who at this time were leaving their State organization, of which they were justly proud, and enlisting in the Confederate service. McCulloch alone had men enough—well armed, well drilled, well disciplined and eager for active service—to have beaten back, in conjunction with Price, any force that could have been brought against them. McCulloch was immovable. A retrograde movement on Price's part became imperative. He therefore fell back to Springfield and occupied his old camp there. But his stay was short.

About the 1st of February, 1862, he received information that the enemy were preparing to advance upon him from Sedalia, Rolla and Fort Scott. Ten days later the column from Kansas, under Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, made its appearance on the Bolivar road, and, though checked for a time by outposts, steadily forced its way. The next day the army, 8,000 men and 51 pieces of artillery, with a wagon train big enough for an army four times as large, was on the road to Cassville. Colonel Gates with his regiment kept the enemy in check while Springfield was being evacuated. The three columns of the enemy were now united, and Price commenced his retreat to Arkansas in earnest. The First brigade of Missouri Confederates was given the rear, and performed its duty of alternately halting and forming in line to check the enemy's advance, and then closing up on the main body, in a soldierly manner. The weather, which had been pleasant, turned suddenly cold, with a biting wind and the air full of icy sleet, and the men, who were kept on the alert day and night, suffered severely. At Dug Springs the cavalry of the enemy became obtrusive, and were sent reeling back to the rear in short order. At Crane Creek, just at night, a general engagement seemed imminent, and every man and battery was placed in position; but after some heavy skirmishing the enemy withdrew and waited for morning. The rear guard remained in position until midnight, the main column having pushed on to anticipate a heavy force of Kansans under General Lane, who were forced-marching to reach Cassville before Price did. But at 9 o'clock at night of the 15th, Price's column reached there, weary, cold, hungry and wet, having crossed Flat Creek seventeen times during the day. Price now had everything behind him, with his front and flanks clear. At Sugar Creek there was heavy skirmishing for several hours, in which the First brigade and Clark's and Macdonald's batteries made it so uncomfortable for the

enemy that they withdrew with considerable loss and in some confusion.

On the 17th, about 10 o'clock at night, the command reached Cross Hollows, Ark., a strong defensive position, where it camped in line of battle, cold and without provisions. At this point Generals Price and McCulloch met and had a conference, the result of which was that after remaining there one day the command moved to Cove Creek, in the depths of the Boston mountains, where it awaited the developments of the future. At Cove Creek several Arkansas regiments joined the Missourians and they fraternized, for there was always the best of feeling between the troops of the two States. Gen. Albert Pike also came with a body of Indians, who possessed the vices of their civilized conquerors and their uncivilized ancestors and the virtues of neither. As soldiers they were worthless, but it may not have been entirely their fault. General Pike was not the kind of commander to develop a very high order of soldiership in any body of recruits, and least of all in a body of half-civilized Indians.

When Price and McCulloch met, their old differences were revived, and prevented any cordial co-operation between them. The main causes of difference were those of rank and precedence. Price was a major-general in the Missouri State Guard, and McCulloch was a brigadier-general in the provisional army of the Confederate States. At Wilson's Creek, Price and Pearce waived their rank and gave McCulloch command of the united army—the Arkansas and Missouri State troops as well as the Confederate troops. But this concession did not seem to satisfy him, for when the Federals were defeated he refused to make pursuit or in any way assist Price in the perilous position he occupied. Events since the battle of Wilson's Creek had not tended to give either of them a better opinion of the other. In the shifting scenes of war they were again thrown together, under

conditions that required agreement and concert of action, and they could not agree nor act together.

Price, therefore, wrote to Gen. Earl Van Dorn, commander of the Trans-Mississippi department, whose headquarters were at Pocahontas, in the northeastern part of Arkansas, laid the matter before him in full, and suggested that he settle all differences by taking personal command of his and McCulloch's forces, and attacking the enemy. Price's views impressed Van Dorn favorably, and he started at once for the scene of action, and made the ride across the State in five days. He spent a day with Price and another with McCulloch, with the result that he determined to move early on the morning of the fourth day, March 4th, find the enemy and give him battle. His army was divided into two corps, commanded respectively by McCulloch and Price, aggregating about 17,000 men. The combined force of Curtis and Sigel comprised about 18,000.

Price's corps was composed of the First Missouri Confederate brigade, under General Little, consisting of three regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and two batteries, in all about 2,000 men; the Second Missouri Confederate brigade, under General Slack, consisting of about 700 Confederates and 350 State Guard men; General Rains' division of the State Guard, numbering 1,200, General Steen's 600, Gen. E. W. Price's 500, General McBride's 300—making the Missouri force about 5,700 rank and file. General Green's division, nearly 2,000 strong, was left to guard the train and stock. McCulloch's corps was composed of eleven Confederate regiments, one of which was unarmed, and Pike's Indians, whom no one probably ever undertook to count. The men had been ordered to prepare five-day rations, and were in buoyant spirits. They marched with their guns loaded, not knowing at what moment they might meet the enemy.

The enemy occupied three separate camps, the main

body under Curtis being at Elkhorn Tavern. Van Dorn's design was to throw his force, by a rapid movement, between Sigel, who was at Fayetteville, and Curtis. To do this he had to reach Bentonville before Sigel did. But Sigel was too fast for him. When Van Dorn's column debouched from the mountains, three miles from Bentonville, Sigel's column could be seen entering the town. McIntosh and his mounted men were ordered to get in Sigel's front and delay him, but McIntosh, instead of attempting to check him, attacked, and he and his men—wild men on wilder horses—were speedily dispersed by Sigel's infantry and artillery. The Missourians tried the same experiment and also failed, but inflicted considerable damage and captured a number of prisoners. Van Dorn pushed on in pursuit, but before night Sigel had formed a junction with Curtis, and the Federals were concentrated at Elkhorn Tavern.

Van Dorn moved up to within almost cannon range of the enemy and camped for the night. But during the night he learned of an old road, by following which and making a detour of eight miles he could get in Curtis' rear, and he determined to make the movement with Price's corps. The road was rough and had been obstructed by the enemy, but by eight o'clock the next morning he reached the main road—the only one by which Curtis could retire northward. By ten o'clock Price had driven in all the outlying forces of the enemy, and was prepared to open the battle. The enemy was surrounded—the larger force by the smaller. Price's order of battle was: Slack's brigade, with 350 of the State Guard and a battery, was posted on a ridge on the right; Little's brigade with a battery was in reserve, while the left was held by the troops of the Second, Fifth, Seventh and Eighth divisions of the State Guard and a number of unattached batteries. Gen. D. M. Frost was assigned to the command of General McBride's division, but he declined so small a command, and

watched the battle from a convenient height. Col. Colton Greene and Maj. James R. Shaler commanded the troops of the division in the battle.

Price was strong in artillery, and the battle opened with the fire of forty odd pieces in position along his left. The guns of the enemy promptly replied, and there was a continuous fire between them for three hours or more. At the same time, the State Guard forces were frequently engaged in detached attacks, their artillery firing over them, and were steadily pressing the enemy back. On the right Rosser met a cavalry charge and repulsed it, capturing one piece of a battery which had been pushed forward to support the charge. Burbridge's regiment charged a battery and found it strongly supported by three regiments. Though unable to capture it, Burbridge held his ground until Rives' regiment came to his assistance, when both the battery and its support retired precipitately. About three o'clock General Price changed his tactics and ordered an advance. The First brigade was brought to the front and the whole line closed up for a united charge on the enemy's center. Before this Curtis, finding it impossible to drive the Confederates, had begun to maneuver with his greater force to turn their flanks. The flanking movements were checked, and the enemy driven back by the First and Second brigades, the one on the left and the other on the right, and the charge of the whole line which followed drove the enemy's line back a mile beyond Elkhorn Tavern, making the ground lost by them since the beginning of the fight nearly two miles. In the charge the troops of the State Guard did the hardest fighting. They had to cross a large corn field, swept by the artillery of the enemy, while the Federal infantry had a great advantage from their position in the edge of the timber. The Guard never faltered, but crossed the field with a rush and swept the Federals, infantry and artillery, backward before them. In this engagement the batteries

did effective service, particularly those commanded by Bledsoe, Guibor, Wade, MacDonald and Clark. General Van Dorn made his headquarters on the night of the first day's fight at Elkhorn Tavern, where Curtis had made his headquarters the night before. Price had been entirely successful in the attack he had made from the north; had driven the enemy at every point, and advanced his own lines a mile and a half or two miles.

But in the attack from the south, where McCulloch commanded, one disaster followed another in rapid succession. McCulloch, who was confronted by Sigel, attacked as soon as he heard the report of Price's guns and drove Sigel from his first position. His second attack was also successful, as was a cavalry charge by McIntosh, who captured three pieces of artillery. But in reconnoitering the enemy's position, McCulloch advanced too far and was shot and instantly killed. McIntosh, in charging with an Arkansas regiment to bring off his body, was also shot and instantly killed. This left Colonel Hébert in command, and he was reported killed, but was a prisoner and afterward made his escape. General Pike, upon whom the command properly devolved after McIntosh's death, did not make an effort at that time or any other to rally the men, restore confidence and continue the fight. There was a strong force in reserve, but there was no one to give an order to bring it to the front, and it remained inactive. Besides this bad condition of things, the ammunition train had been ordered to Bentonville, fifteen miles distant, and the enemy were between it and the command.

In view of this condition of affairs, General Van Dorn determined to withdraw. General Price was in favor of fighting it out, but was overruled. The next morning Price's combined artillery, supported by the First and Second Missouri Confederate brigades, opened on the enemy a furious fire, and under cover of this, the other troops were withdrawn. But when Curtis found the

attack on him from the south had failed, he massed his whole force to crush Price. The attack was furious, but the artillery and the two supporting brigades held their own with unflinching resolution. The engagement lasted two hours. The artillery was gradually withdrawn, and in firing his last shot young Churchill Clark was killed. The enemy did not attempt to make pursuit. Indeed, the Confederates and the Missouri State troops did not know they were retreating. They thought they were making a movement to help McCulloch's wing, and fully expected to be engaged again in a few hours. When they found the battle was ended and lost, they were in the savagest of moods and almost mutinous in their criticisms of their commanders. The Confederate loss was about 200 killed and 500 wounded and missing. Among the killed were General McCulloch and General McIntosh, both of whom were gallant soldiers, and their death sincerely mourned by the soldiers of both corps, and young Capt. Churchill Clark, hardly more than a boy in years, but who had fought in a dozen battles and always with great dash and courage. Among the mortally wounded were Gen. William Y. Slack, commander of the Second Missouri Confederate brigade, and Col. B. A. Rives, commander of the Third Missouri Confederate infantry. General Slack was desperately wounded at Wilson's Creek, and was just recovered from the wound when he was struck by a ball in almost exactly the same place, and died a few days afterward. He was of a singularly pure and ardent nature. He left and sacrificed a competence and a fine professional practice in his devotion to the cause of Southern rights. He served in the Mexican war under General Price, and when Missouri called for soldiers he left his home and family and all he had, without a day's delay, in response to the call. Simple and unostentatious in his life and manners, he was the soldier's friend, and the soldiers to a man were his friends. Colonel Rives was an accomplished gentleman

and a born soldier. He knew nothing of arms at the beginning of the war, but in much less than a year's time had fought his way to the command of as good a regiment as there was in the service. His untimely death cut short a brilliant career. He was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Col. James A. Pritchard.

The Federal loss was 300 killed, 600 wounded and 300 prisoners. The trophies of the battle were with the Confederates. They brought off four pieces of artillery, several battleflags, four loaded baggage wagons and 300 prisoners. They did not lose a gun or a wagon. In fact, the Federal commander found himself so badly crippled that he abandoned the plan of making a campaign into Arkansas and occupying the portion of the State north of the Arkansas river, and fell back into Missouri more like a beaten than a victorious general. Of the part taken by the Missourians in the battle, General Van Dorn said, in a communication to the government at Richmond: "During the whole of this engagement, I was with the Missourians under Price, and I have never seen better fighters than these Missouri troops, or more gallant leaders than General Price and his officers. From the first to the last shot, they continually rushed on and never yielded an inch they had won; and when at last they received orders to fall back, they retired steadily and with cheers. General Price received a severe wound in the action, but would neither retire from the field nor cease to expose his life to danger."

General Van Dorn retreated across the Boston mountains and went into camp near Van Buren, Ark., preparatory to moving his command across the Mississippi to the support of General Beauregard, at Corinth. General Martin E. Green, who had received his commission as a general officer from Richmond, was assigned to the command of the Second Missouri Confederate brigade. The detached Confederate organizations were consolidated into battalions commanded respectively by Lieutenant-

Colonels Irwin, Rosser and Hughes. The State Guard organizations that were willing to follow General Price were formed into a brigade, commanded by General Parsons. Those who remained west of the river were assigned to the command of General Rains. The army remained in camp near Van Buren for about ten days, and then marched across the State to Des Arc. At this point General Price issued a stirring address to the soldiers of the State Guard, in which he informed them that he was no longer their commander but had resigned his commission in the service of the State to enter the Confederate army, and called upon them to follow him in the service of the Confederacy, as they had in upholding the same cause followed him in the service of the State, and in conclusion said: "Let not history record that the men who bore with patience the privations of Cowskin prairie, who endured uncomplainingly the burning heats of a Missouri summer and the frosts and snows of a Missouri winter; that the men who met the enemy at Carthage, at Wilson's Creek, at Fort Scott, at Lexington, and on numberless battlefields in Missouri, and met them but to conquer them; that the men who fought so bravely and so well at Elkhorn; that the unpaid soldiers of Missouri were, after so many victories, and after so much suffering, unequal to the great task of achieving the independence of their magnificent State. Soldiers, I go but to make a pathway to our homes! Follow me!"

CHAPTER IX.

THE MISSOURI TROOPS AT CORINTH—REORGANIZATION CONTINUED—THE FIRST MISSOURI INFANTRY—AFFAIR AT FARMINGTON—BEAUREGARD EVACUATES CORINTH—PRICE IN COMMAND IN NORTHERN MISSISSIPPI—FIGHTING AT IUKA—VAN DORN AND PRICE ATTACK CORINTH—PRICE SUCCESSFUL—VAN DORN FAILS—THE MISSOURIANS COMPLIMENTED—THE RETREAT—BOWEN'S STUBBORN FIGHTING—PRICE FINDS A WAY OUT.

THE Missouri troops reached Corinth, Miss., the 11th of April, 1862, and a few days after were placed in camp at Rienzi, twelve miles south of Corinth. Here the work of reorganization from the State into the Confederate service proceeded. Price's command was the Second division of the Second corps of the army of the West. General Little received his commission as brigadier-general, and the organization of his brigade was complete. General Green's brigade, the Second, was in process of completion. Burbridge's regiment was the Second infantry, Pritchard's the Third, McFarland's the Fourth, McCown's the Fifth, and Irwin's the Sixth. Col. John S. Bowen's regiment, which was organized at Memphis some time before and was composed largely of men surrendered at Camp Jackson by Frost, was the First, as it was organized before any of the regiments from Price's command, and by virtue of its seniority was entitled to the first place as a Missouri Confederate organization.

The regiment had already made a reputation. It was organized originally with John S. Bowen, colonel; L. L. Rich, lieutenant-colonel; C. C. Campbell, major; Louis H. Kennerly, adjutant; Carey N. Hawes, surgeon; Wil-

liam F. Howells, quartermaster, and James Quinlan, commissary. But on the 25th of December, Colonel Bowen was appointed brigadier-general, and the regiment was reorganized with Lieutenant-Colonel Rich, colonel; A. C. Riley, lieutenant-colonel; W. C. P. Carrington, adjutant; William McArthur, quartermaster; Joseph Pritchard, commissary, and was placed in General Bowen's brigade of Gen. John C. Breckinridge's division. It fought under Breckinridge at Shiloh, and was in the hottest of the fight from early in the morning until after night. The second day of the battle a company of the Washington artillery was charged and lost its guns; but only temporarily—the Missourians made a countercharge and retook them. The regiment went into the fight 1,000 strong, and lost 233 killed and wounded. Among the killed were Colonel Rich and Captain Sprague, and among the wounded, Lieutenants Kennerly, Boyce and Carrington. Again it was reorganized with Riley, colonel; Hugh A. Garland, lieutenant-colonel, and Robert J. Duffey, major. It was with Breckinridge at Baton Rouge, and added to the reputation it had before achieved. Among the changes made in the organization of the regiments already organized, Frank M. Cockrell was made lieutenant-colonel of the Second infantry, and W. R. Gause, lieutenant-colonel of the Third. Before leaving Des Arc the cavalry regiments were dismounted and their horses sent to Texas to graze. The horses belonged to the men, who as a general thing never heard of them afterward.

On the 6th of May the command took its place in the line of defenses around Corinth. General Halleck, who had succeeded to the command of the Federal army after the battle of Shiloh, was moving on the place by a slow system of parallel approaches. His effective force was estimated at 90,000, and that of General Beauregard, who commanded the Confederates, as slightly more than half that number. Two days after Price's command took po-

sition, two divisions of Federals under Gen. John Pope occupied Farmington, and General Beauregard made an attempt to capture them. General Hardee was to attack their center and General Bragg their left wing, and hold them until Generals Van Dorn and Price could move around their left and get in their rear. General Hardee was too eager or the Federal commander too timid, for before Van Dorn and Price, who had to cross a heavy swamp, got in position, Pope became alarmed and retreated, leaving behind him his tent and some of his military accouterments. Price's soldiers only got a flying shot at the enemy as they escaped. The affair was described by General Pope in one of his dispatches, as a hard fight and a great victory, and has been the principal stock in trade of Gen. John M. Palmer, who was present as a subordinate officer, ever since.

Corinth is situated in a low, flat, marshy country, and General Beauregard's command suffered severely from sickness. The bad drinking-water and the constant exposure to which the men were subjected, were more deadly than the guns of the enemy. General Beauregard, having held the place as long as was necessary for military purposes, determined late in May to evacuate it, which he did so successfully that he did not leave a gun nor a wagon behind, and so quietly that the enemy did not know of his departure until he was entirely beyond their reach. In point of fact the enemy opened a heavy fire on the works the day after he left, supposing he was still there. The Missouri troops held the rear of the retreating army, but were not disturbed, because there was no pursuit.

Price's command went into camp at Baldwin, June 1st, remained there a week and then moved to Priceville, where they stayed a month, and then moved to Tupelo and finally, on the 29th of July, to Saltillo. From Tupelo what remained of the State Guard left for the Trans-Mississippi department, under command of General Parsons.

About the same time Col. John T. Hughes, appointed brigadier-general, left for Missouri on recruiting service. At Priceville Colonel Burbridge resigned the command of the Second infantry, and F. M. Cockrell became colonel of the regiment, with R. D. Dwyer lieutenant-colonel and P. S. Senteney major. At Tupelo General Price's division was reviewed by Generals Hardee and Bragg, and the men complimented on their soldierly bearing and the record they had made on the field.

When General Beauregard evacuated Corinth General Halleck did not follow him, and gradually the different commands that had constituted his army were sent to other fields of operation. In August General Beauregard was sick at Bladen Springs, Generals Polk and Hardee were operating under General Bragg from Chattanooga as a center, General Van Dorn had been given a department embracing Vicksburg and Baton Rouge, General Breckinridge had been sent to reinforce him, and General Price was left in command in northern Mississippi. His orders were to watch the Federal army at Corinth under Grant, to oppose him in any movement he might make down the Mississippi, and if he attempted to join Buell in Tennessee to hinder him and move his own force up and join Bragg. Price and Van Dorn each commanded a corps of two divisions. They were both in the State of Mississippi, and were independent of each other, though Van Dorn was the ranking officer. Their combined force amounted to about 25,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. Van Dorn proposed that they combine their forces and drive the Federals out of Mississippi and West Tennessee. Price replied that he could not do so under his orders. But shortly afterward Price received information which led him to believe Grant was moving to the support of Buell, and he marched his force, nearly 16,000 strong, from Tupelo to Iuka, driving a small Federal force out of the place and capturing a considerable quantity of stores. But his information was misleading, and

he soon became satisfied that Grant had not moved, but was in a position on his left to cut him off from his base of supplies.

At this time Price received another proposition from Van Dorn, to join their forces and move against Grant at Corinth. A council of war was called, the proposition considered and it was determined to comply with it. The movement to join Van Dorn at Ripley was to have begun at daylight next morning. But the enemy were on the alert, and about four o'clock that evening Rosecrans with a heavy force appeared on Price's front and forced back a considerable body of new troops, but was checked in turn and driven back, with a loss of nine pieces of artillery, by the First Missouri brigade, the Third Louisiana regiment and Whitfield's Texas legion. "But one reflection saddened every heart," says Gen. Dabney H. Maury, in an account of the battle. "Gen. Henry Little had fallen dead in the very execution of the advance which had won the bloody field. He was conversing with General Price when he was shot through the head, and fell from his horse without a word. He was buried that night by torchlight in Iuka. No more efficient soldier than Henry Little ever fought for a good cause. The magnificent Missouri brigade, the finest body of men I had then ever seen, or have ever since seen, was the creation of his untiring devotion to duty and his remarkable qualities as a commander. In camp he was diligent in instructing his officers in their duty and providing for the comfort and efficiency of his men, and on the battlefield he was as steady, cool and able a commander as I have ever seen. His eyes closed forever on the happiest spectacle he could behold, and the last throbs of his heart were amidst the victorious shouts of his charging brigade." "The battle," adds General Maury, "had been brief, but was one of the fiercest and bloodiest of the war." The Third Louisiana lost nearly half its men killed and wounded, and Whitfield's legion suffered al-

most as severely. It was these two commands and a little Arkansas battalion that charged and captured the nine cannon. General Price was elated at the victory he had gained, and was at first disposed to remain in Iuka and fight Grant's whole force, but on reflection he yielded to the representations of his officers, and during the night commenced to withdraw. The enemy made a feeble pursuit until they were checked by Bledsoe's battery and the Second Texas rifles, and charged by McCulloch's cavalry, which cooled their ardor to such an extent that they did not again fire a gun. The Confederate loss in these engagements was about 600 and that of the enemy was estimated at about 1,000. The retreating army reached Baldwin on the 22nd of September, and remained there four days, when it moved to Ripley to form a junction with Van Dorn's forces. General Price was now at liberty to co-operate with Van Dorn in an attack on Corinth. But his force, since the proposition was originally made, had been somewhat depleted, and Van Dorn's had been reduced nearly one-half. Then they could have taken the field with 25,000 or 30,000 men; now they could not muster more than 19,000. Breckinridge's division had been taken from Van Dorn's command, and 5,000 exchanged prisoners who had been promised had not yet been sent him. Price's force numbered about 12,000—nearly 10,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 42 guns. Van Dorn's strength was about 6,800—6,000 infantry and 800 cavalry. The two commands moved from Ripley on the 1st of October. On the 2nd they bivouacked at Chewalla, eight miles from Corinth, and at dawn on the 3rd they attacked the town, Price's command holding the left and Van Dorn's the right. The line of battle when formed on the north side of the railroad was three miles from Corinth. The enemy occupied the defenses constructed by Beauregard the previous spring. At ten o'clock the line moved forward and confronted the line of the enemy. The timber covering the slopes had been felled and

formed a serious obstruction. But the men forced their way through it, under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, and drove the enemy from every position held, capturing five pieces of artillery. The divisions of Maury and Hébert, composing Price's corps, continued to press on, fighting all the way, sometimes checked temporarily, but never yielding a foot of ground they had won. At sunset the enemy in front of Price's corps had been driven into the town, and the men, weary and exhausted and nearly famished, rested for the night.

During the night the Federals were heavily reinforced, and strengthened their position in every way possible. Two hours before daylight Price's artillery opened at short range with good effect. At daylight the guns were withdrawn, and the signal for attack impatiently awaited. The wait was a long one. Not until half-past ten o'clock was the signal given. Then Price's line advanced, sweeping everything before it, the enemy being driven from their guns and their guns captured. Within twenty minutes from the time the movement began the Confederate flag was planted on the ramparts of Corinth. But that was all. The attack on the right had failed, or rather had not been made at all. "Since ten o'clock of the previous morning," says General Maury, "our right wing had made no decided advance or attack upon the enemy in its front."

The result was that Rosecrans withdrew his force from in front of the right wing and concentrated it against the left wing. Price had penetrated to the center of the town, and was in a position to strike the enemy in flank and rear if he had been supported, but being unsupported he was overpowered and forced to retreat as best he could, after tremendous losses and prodigies of valor on the part of his men. Again, General Maury says of the Missouri troops: "Old General Price looked on the disorder of his darling troops with unmitigated anguish. The big tears coursed down the old man's bronzed face, and I

have never witnessed such a picture of mute despair and grief as his countenance wore when he looked upon the defeat of those magnificent troops. He had never before known them to fail, and they had never failed, to carry the lines of any enemy in their front; nor did they ever to the close of their noble career at Blakely on the 9th of April, 1865, fail to defeat the troops before them. I mean no disparagement to any troops of the Southern Confederacy when I say the Missouri troops of the army of the West were not surpassed by any troops in the world." Gen. Martin Green commanded the Missouri division, and Colonel Gates one brigade and Colonel Cockrell the other.

Late in the evening the army bivouacked at Chewalla, but the best and bravest of its officers and men lay dead within the lines of the enemy. Every effort was made to bring some sort of order out of the chaos. Price had lost half his force. The other half were sullen and savage. They slept on their arms, and all through the night could hear the whistle of locomotives, indicating the arrival of reinforcements for the enemy. The loss on both sides was heavy. The Confederates fought in the open and their loss was consequently the heaviest. Their loss was 4,858 killed, wounded and captured. Of these 2,000 were prisoners. The Federals lost in killed and wounded 2,100 and in prisoners 300.

The enemy pressed the retreating army vigorously. Rosecrans' victorious forces were behind it, and three divisions of infantry and several thousand cavalry had been sent by forced marches from Jackson, Tennessee, to get in its front. It was necessary for it to cross the Tombigbee river and then the Hatchie. The first was crossed without opposition, but when the second was reached it was found to be held by the enemy. Thus the army was hemmed in between two rivers and two armies—a river and an army before, and a river and an army behind it—and there was no other known avenue of escape. When

the crossing of the Hatchie at Davis' bridge was reached, Phifer's and Martin's brigades, of Van Dorn's corps, charged and forced a passage, but before they could form on the other side were charged by the Federals and driven back upon the river, where some were shot, some drowned and others escaped by swimming. The Federals immediately crossed, formed and continued the charge. Colonel Cockrell's brigade met and checked them. General Price ordered a retreat of 400 yards at a time, each time a new line of battle being formed. General Bowen held the rear, and he was as hard pressed as General Price was in front. He took advantage of every hill, tree and fence to protect his men, and contested every foot of ground over which he passed. Just before night he formed a line with a masked section of artillery supported by three regiments, and when the enemy got within close range the artillery opened on them and the infantry charged them, and they were hurled backward in confusion. This stopped the pursuit for the day.

During the night General Price learned of an obscure and unused road which led to a mill on the river about five miles below. There was neither bridge nor ford, but there was a dam, and Price concluded he could construct some sort of temporary bridge. He therefore marched the army there, and with the dam as a basis made a bridge of the logs and puncheons and other timber lying about, and shortly after midnight had the artillery, the train and the men safely across and on the march around the flank of the obstructing force. The march was continued until near Holly Springs, where the weary soldiers pitched their tents and rested. There the Missouri commands were reorganized, Col. F. M. Cockrell taking command of the First brigade, Col. Martin E. Green of the Second, and Gen. John S. Bowen of the division. The First and the Fourth Missouri infantry were consolidated, Col. Archibald McFarlane of the Fourth becoming colonel, and Col. A. C. Riley of the First, lieu-

tenant-colonel. Lieut.-Col. W. R. Gause succeeded Col. J. A. Pritchard, who had been mortally wounded at Corinth, as colonel of the Third, and Lieut.-Col. Pembroke Senteney was given charge of the Second, in place of Colonel Cockrell, commanding brigade.

The battle of Corinth ended the fighting, as far as the Mississippi troops were concerned, for the year 1862. The day before Christmas they, with other troops, were reviewed at Grenada by President Davis, Generals Johnston, Price, Pemberton and Loring, and the Missourians were highly complimented by the President on their soldierly qualities. Early in the new year General Price announced to his troops that he had solicited and obtained orders to report to the Trans-Mississippi department, and that he had the promise of the secretary of war that they should follow him in a short time.

CHAPTER X.

THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OPEN TO FEDERAL OCCUPATION—HINDMAN TAKES COMMAND—SHELBY GOES INTO MISSOURI TO RAISE A REGIMENT—BATTLE OF LONE JACK—THREE REGIMENTS ORGANIZED AT NEWTONIA—A BRIGADE FORMED WITH SHELBY COMMANDING—THE FIGHT AT NEWTONIA—HINDMAN SUPERSEDED—HOLMES ORDERS TROOPS OUT OF MISSOURI—THE DESPERATE FIGHT AT CANE HILL.

WHEN Generals Van Dorn and Price, under orders from Richmond, moved their troops east of the river to reinforce General Beauregard at Corinth, they left the Trans-Mississippi department stripped of soldiers and at the mercy of the Federals. Not only were the organized Confederate troops taken, but most of the State troops. West of the river there was but little of the feeling that existed east of it in regard to State troops serving only in the States to which they belonged. The States, as well as the troops, took a broader view of the situation. The men were willing to serve where their services were most needed, and the State authorities and the people endorsed them in so doing. Consequently, after Van Dorn and Price left with their commands, there was for some months a steady stream of organized and unorganized regiments and companies moving across the river and falling into line wherever ordered.

Nothing but imbecility prevented the Federals, after the battle of Pea Ridge, from moving southward and taking possession of the country to the Arkansas river or to the Red river, or, for that matter, to the Gulf of Mexico. But Curtis was in command, and he was an exceedingly conservative soldier. After Pea Ridge he acted

more like a commander of a beaten army, anxious to avoid the enemy, than a commander who had fought and won a great battle and was eager to secure the fruits of his victory. He clamored incessantly for reinforcements when there was no enemy to oppose him, and not until the first of June did he get things to warrant him, in his own mind, in taking the offensive. Then he was supported by an ironclad fleet on White river, and a co-operating force, 7,000 or 8,000 strong, was moving down from Fort Scott, in Kansas, prepared to invade Arkansas from the northwest. But Curtis had waited too long. His eminent conservatism had caused him to lose the golden opportunity.

Before that time Gen. Thomas C. Hindman had been assigned to the command of the Trans-Mississippi department. He was wounded at Shiloh, but as soon as he recovered sufficiently to be able to travel he came West, accompanied only by his staff. He was admirably fitted for the peculiar duties that devolved upon him—which were to defend an unarmed country and make an army out of nothing. He was fertile in resource; prompt, aggressive, and regardless of the forms of law when they conflicted with the accomplishment of the purpose he had in view. He began the work of making an army by stopping, en route for Corinth, a force of more than a thousand Texas cavalry, and using them to deceive and frighten Curtis, as well as making them the nucleus of the army he was about to organize. He created the belief that he was receiving heavy reinforcements from southern Arkansas and Louisiana and Texas, and an abundant supply of arms and munitions of war from east of the Mississippi, and caused information to that effect to reach Curtis. With his cavalry he hovered around him, drove in his pickets, and at every favorable opportunity attacked him in flank and rear. These maneuvers and deceptions had their effect, for in a short time Curtis became alarmed and retired with his army of 15,000 men

from Bayou Des Arc to the cover of his ironclads on White river, and then to Helena.

In the meantime officers and soldiers of the Missouri State Guard who had crossed the river with General Price were returning, individually and by companies, to renew the fight for the protection of Arkansas and the States further south, and to recover possession of their own State. All of them were actively engaged recruiting or preparing to recruit in Missouri. General Parsons, as has been said, returned from Tupelo with the remnants of the State Guard. Col. John T. Hughes returned from the same place with a brigadier-general's commission. Col. John Q. Burbridge resigned the command of the Second infantry and returned to raise a new regiment. Capt. Jo O. Shelby brought back his company with him and authority from the war department to raise a regiment. Others came with like authority for the same purpose.

Shelby's men marched across the State on foot and went into camp near Van Buren, preparatory to going into Missouri, where there was a garrison in nearly every town, and the roads were patrolled daily and sometimes nightly. Anything in the shape of a horse that could travel was in demand. The trappings made less difference. If a saddle could not be had a blanket would do. If a bridle were lacking one could be made of rope and rawhide. Every man had a good Mississippi rifle and 140 rounds of ammunition. When the time came for starting, those who did not have a horse or a mule joined the column on foot. Not until the command got into Newton county was it really in the country of the enemy. By that time the dismounted men had got horses. Shelby's plan was to attack the enemy's troops wherever he met them. If he could not whip them, the pause that followed the attack gave him time to get away. Thus marching and fighting he made his way to Lafayette county—his home county—and there commenced the active work of raising a regiment.

Accompanying him was Col. Vard Cockrell, who turned aside when near the Missouri river and went into Jackson county. Shortly before, Gen. John T. Hughes and Col. Gideon W. Thompson had raised a considerable body of men and defeated a Federal force at Independence, in Jackson county, but General Hughes was killed just as the enemy gave way. He was a brave and intelligent officer, full of zeal and enthusiasm, and his death was a great loss to the cause. Col. John T. Coffee and Col. Upton Hays were also recruiting in the same section of country. At the small town of Lone Jack, in the southeastern part of Jackson county, there was a considerable Federal force, estimated at 1,000 men with two pieces of artillery, under the command of Maj. Emery Foster, and Colonels Cockrell, Hays and Coffee determined to attack it with their combined force and that of Colonel Thompson, who had been wounded at Independence, amounting to about 800 men. The attack was made just at daylight on the morning of August 16, 1862. It was intended to be a surprise, but the premature discharge of a gun alarmed the Federals before the Confederates got in line. The advantages of arms, position and ammunition were with the Federals. For six hours the fight raged. First one side and then the other was forced back. The section of artillery was taken and retaken twice. In fact, the main fight was around and over the guns. The Federals believed themselves attacked by Quantrell and his men, and fought with desperation. The Confederates were in sight of their ruined homes and considered that the hour of vengeance had come. At last the Federals retreated, leaving half their number killed and wounded, with their artillery and their commander, supposed to be mortally wounded, though he afterwards recovered.

This fight at Lone Jack was of no great importance as far as the general result of the war was concerned, but it was as fiercely contested and bloody a fight for the num-

ber of men engaged in it as occurred anywhere, and shows the conditions under which recruiting was carried on in Missouri. Its immediate effect was to arouse the Federal authorities in the State to greater activity, and cause thousands of troops to be sent to that immediate district to run the recruiting officers out. Hays and Thompson and Coffee and Cockrell and Shelby hastily gathered their men together and started southward. They had neither the organization nor the ammunition to make a stand where they were. It was a race—a contest of physical endurance and pluck—to reach the Ozark mountain country. The Confederates won, as they had to win. Those who gave out and fell behind, died as surely as they were captured. Near Newtonia the different commands encamped and set about the work of organization in earnest. There were enough recruits to make three regiments, composed of as good soldierly material as could be found anywhere. Jo O. Shelby was chosen colonel of the Lafayette county regiment; B. F. Gordon, lieutenant-colonel; and George Kirtley, major. The Jackson county regiment elected Upton Hays, colonel; Beal G. Jeans, lieutenant-colonel; and Charles Gilkey, major. The southwest regiment elected John T. Coffee, colonel; John C. Hooper, lieutenant-colonel; and George W. Nichols, major. General Hindman sent a staff officer to organize the three regiments into a Missouri cavalry brigade, of which Col. Jo O. Shelby was given the command.

Other regiments were also raised in other parts of the State for both the infantry and cavalry service. Col. John Q. Burbridge raised a fine cavalry regiment, composed mostly of recruits from north of the Missouri river. Wm. L. Jeffers raised another cavalry regiment in southeastern Missouri, composed of the best material. Col. Colton Greene raised another, just as good in every respect. Lieut.-Col. Merritt Young raised a battalion, composed largely of men from northwest Missouri.

These commands were afterward formed into a brigade of which Gen. John S. Marmaduke was given the command. After the affair at Booneville, Marmaduke had joined Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston in Kentucky, commanded a brigade and highly distinguished himself at the battle of Shiloh. At Hindman's request he was sent west of the river and given command of a cavalry division, composed of his own and Shelby's brigades. Marmaduke's brigade was commanded by its senior colonel, sometimes Colonel Burbridge and sometimes Colonel Greene being in command of it. Shelby's was the first cavalry brigade organized, however. The Missouri infantry regiments were made up largely of companies and squads recruited in Missouri which made their way inside the Confederate lines.

Not long after the formation of Shelby's brigade, and while it was still encamped near Newtonia, Col. Upton Hays was killed in a skirmish with the outpost of a large body of Federals. He was a gallant soldier and one of the most promising officers in the service. He had already made a fine reputation, and had he lived would have made a brilliant one. The death of Colonel Hays made Lieut.-Col. Beal G. Jeans, colonel; Maj. Charles Gilkey, lieutenant-colonel; and Capt. David Shanks, major of the regiment.

Shelby's restless energy and ambition, and the circumstances by which he was surrounded, did not admit of long dallying in camp. A considerable body of Pin Indians—the name given to those Indians who affiliated with the Federals—and vagabond negroes were pillaging and levying blackmail on the farmers in the vicinity of Carthage. Capt. Ben Elliott, of Gordon's regiment, was sent with his own company and detachments from several other companies, aggregating nearly 200 men, to kill, capture or disperse them. Captain Elliott was a skillful as well as a dashing officer. He surrounded the camp of renegades and surprised them at daylight

on the morning of the 14th of September, by charging them from all sides at once. The rout was instantaneous and complete. Of the 250 a few escaped to the brush and the rest were killed. The spoils of the expedition were 200 new minie rifles, lately issued to them at Fort Scott.

Gen. James S. Rains was in command of the unorganized infantry, and with about 2,500 of them was encamped on the Pea Ridge battlefield, protecting the transportation of lead from the Granby mines to Little Rock. To stop this supply of a prime necessity of war to the Confederates, the Federals occupied Granby with a force 500 strong. Maj. David Shanks was sent by Shelby with five companies of his regiment to drive them out, which he did on the morning of the 23d by charging their pickets with his whole force and going into the town with them. The Federals were surprised and fled, losing 27 killed and wounded and 43 prisoners. All the lead that had been accumulated under the supervision of the Federals was loaded in wagons and sent to Rains' camp.

But these were mostly forays, and served no purpose but to attract attention to the brigade. General Schofield had quietly collected an army 20,000 strong at St. Louis, and observing the trouble in the southwest and that Shelby persistently remained in the State, moved his whole force down to the scene of disturbance. On the other hand, Col. Douglas H. Cooper came from the Cherokee Nation with a mixed force of Texans, Indians and half-breeds, about 4,000 strong, to Shelby's assistance. Cooper was the ranking officer, and on the junction of the forces, took command, and threw Colonel Hawpe, with a battalion of Texas cavalry, forward to Newtonia. Shelby had a considerable force there, supported by two pieces of artillery from Capt. Joe Bledsoe's battery. Colonel Salomon, who had served under Sigel in the Wilson's Creek campaign, was sent by Schofield,

with a strong brigade of Germans, to attack the town. Salomon advanced slowly and cautiously, driving the pickets in before him. On the morning of September 30th, having got within easy artillery range, his two six-gun batteries opened fire. Bledsoe's two guns replied, and the Federal fire was at once concentrated on him. For an hour the unequal artillery fire continued. Then Bledsoe's guns ceased firing from lack of ammunition. Salomon then deployed his infantry and advanced, and the Confederates were forced back to the outskirts of the town.

Colonel Cooper had taken command on the field at the beginning of the action, leaving Shelby in command of the two camps. He now sent to Shelby for a regiment, and Shelby sent him Gordon's. Gordon came at a gallop, and struck the enemy in flank, and drove the flank in on the center. Gordon was forced back and into the town, but the Confederates regained what they had lost. Cooper's whole command was then ordered up, with his battery and another regiment of Shelby's. Thus strengthened, the fight was renewed and in a short time the Federal line gave way and was driven twelve miles, the fleeing soldiers abandoning their guns, wagons, blankets and provisions. The Confederate loss was considerable, but not nearly as large as that of the Federals, which was estimated at 1,000 in killed, wounded, captured and missing. To avenge this defeat Schofield advanced the next day with his whole force, but Colonel Cooper declined to accept the proffer of battle and retired from the town, fighting as he went.

The result of these operations was that every organized Confederate force was driven out of Missouri. Gen. T. H. Holmes had relieved General Hindman in command of the department, and one of his first acts was to order Hindman to fall back into Arkansas and assume the defensive. Hindman protested against the order, and it was repeated in a more peremptory form. He

had no alternative but to obey, though to do so cost him the result of his labors while in command of the department. His design was to mass from 25,000 to 30,000 infantry in northwest Arkansas and southwest Missouri behind 5,000 or 10,000 cavalry, which were to drive the Federals back as far at least as Springfield; then, by a rapid movement of cavalry and infantry—the first north and the last south of Springfield—to force the enemy to fight at a disadvantage or surrender, the only practical line of retreat being held by his cavalry. In other words, he intended to do what McCulloch might have done, but did not do, after the battle of Wilson's Creek. Most of the infantry required for the expedition were in camp at Little Rock and on White and Black rivers, and reinforcements were constantly arriving from southern Arkansas and Texas; and besides these, General Rains had 3,000 or 4,000 men of the old Missouri State Guard in his command, which hovered about the southern border of Missouri. Shelby's cavalry brigade had already been organized, and another was in process of formation. In any event, Hindman's purpose was to pass the winter in the Missouri river country and raise an army in Missouri capable of making a strong fight for the possession of the State. But in an order ten lines long General Holmes shattered the campaign, and did not then, nor at any time afterward, propose another.

Shelby's brigade took position at Cross Hollows in Arkansas, and came as near not doing anything as at any time during its existence. There was nothing for it to do except to scout well to the front and keep informed of the enemy's movements. About this time General Hindman issued an order directing Brig.-Gen. John S. Marmaduke to take command of all the cavalry in the district of northern Arkansas, and to go at once to the front. By another order from General Hindman, Col. John T. Coffee was relieved of the command of his regiment and Col. Gideon W. Thompson ordered to take

command of it. Shelby was ordered by Marmaduke to report to him near Van Buren. But if the Confederates, acting in accordance with the letter and spirit of General Holmes' orders, were inclined to stay on the south side of the State line and keep the peace, the Federals on the north side of the line were not so kindly disposed.

General Schofield had withdrawn his army to Springfield and gone into winter quarters. But General Blunt, of Kansas, a rugged soldier and fighter, had concentrated a heavy force at Fayetteville with the view of crossing the Boston mountains and disturbing the repose of the Confederates in the Arkansas valley. Marmaduke was ordered to oppose him, and on the 17th of November moved out from his camp near Van Buren, with Shelby's brigade, reinforced with Arthur Carroll's brigade of Arkansas cavalry. Cane Hill was his objective point. Lieut. Arthur McCoy, with a force of fifty picked men, surprised and routed a body of Pin Indians the day Cane Hill was reached. The next day Shelby received information that the enemy was advancing to attack him, and made preparations accordingly. The Federals avoided his pickets and attempted to surprise him by making their way, dismounted, through a large cornfield. When within point-blank range, they were received with a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, and fled. Carroll was ordered to make pursuit, but did it so hesitatingly and feebly that the enemy escaped.

But these were merely preliminary skirmishes. Blunt's command as a whole had not been engaged. He had been reinforced until he had probably 7,000 men. On the 3d of December he advanced on Cane Hill slowly and cautiously. Marmaduke had sent everything likely to impede his movements across the Boston mountains, and was ready and waiting for the attack. All the day of the 4th the men were in line of battle, but the enemy did not appear. The next morning, however, at sunrise, he came in force. Shelby's battery, advantageously posted,

opened fire. Blunt rapidly brought his artillery into action, and his guns were served with admirable coolness and precision. Under cover of the artillery fire Blunt's infantry advanced to the attack, but were repulsed and three times renewed the assault. Shelby's brigade had done the fighting, Carroll's being held in reserve. After the failure of their third assault on Shelby's lines, Blunt threw out a column to the right and left, determined to flank the position he could not take by direct assault. Marmaduke fell back in good order before this new movement, Shelby carrying off with him his dead and wounded. Then Blunt massed his cavalry in solid column, determined by main force to crush everything in front of him. He led his artillery column in person.

But Marmaduke was wary and fell back by successive formations on alternate sides of the road, always presenting an armed front to his adversary. At the same time every hill and rocky eminence was made a rallying-point and a point of defense. But Blunt was determined and led his cavalry on, wave after wave, to the assault. At length, just as night fell, Marmaduke made a stand on a rugged hill a hundred feet or more in height, brought his artillery again into action and baffled every attempt of Blunt to dislodge him. In the last charge Blunt made, Lieutenant-Colonel Jewell, of the Sixth Kansas cavalry, was killed at the head of his regiment. He was a gallant soldier and a favorite officer with Blunt, and a flag of truce was sent in asking for his body and permission to bury the Federal dead and remove the wounded. Permission was granted and General Blunt and General Marmaduke and Colonel Shelby met and had a talk on neutral ground.

Carroll's brigade was not in the fight. It fled at the first fire, or rather followed its commander in his flight. It not only left the field, but continued its flight after it was far beyond the point of danger, telling of defeat and disaster as it went. The brigade afterward became

a fine body of fighting men under General Cabell, and Carroll disappeared from sight as a military figure. Two officers, Lieutenants Huey and Sharp, of a small battery attached to the brigade, remained, however, and after Carroll fled reported to Marmaduke for duty. The day after the battle Marmaduke withdrew without molestation to Dripping Springs, to rest and await orders from General Hindman.

CHAPTER XI.

HINDMAN PREPARES FOR A CAMPAIGN—THE BATTLE OF PRAIRIE GROVE—BOTH ARMIES RETREAT—HOLMES ABANDONS THE UPPER ARKANSAS VALLEY—HINDMAN RELIEVED OF COMMAND IN THE WEST—MARMADUKE MOVES INTO MISSOURI—REPULSE AT SPRINGFIELD—A HARD FIGHT AT HARTVILLE.

PREVIOUS to the fight at Cane Hill, Hindman had been quietly concentrating an infantry force in the vicinity of Van Buren. They came from Little Rock and from White and Black rivers. After his check by Marmaduke in the Boston mountains, Blunt returned to Cane Hill with about 7,000 men. General Herron was to the east of him, in the vicinity of Yellville and Huntsville, with 6,000 men. Hindman, by dint of much persuasion, obtained permission of General Holmes to cross the mountains and fight Herron, or Herron and Blunt if they succeeded in uniting their forces; but with the condition that win or lose, he should immediately recross the mountains and march to the succor of Little Rock, which was not threatened from any direction. Marmaduke's cavalry was at Dripping Springs, in a position to take part in any movement Hindman might make. Hindman had 9,500 men of all arms. He moved from Ozark on the 3d of December, 1862, with Marmaduke in advance. The weather was stormy and cold, and as the army moved without wagons or tents, the suffering of the men, particularly at night, was severe. Up to a certain point it was impossible for the enemy to tell which road Hindman intended to take—the Cove Creek road which would take him in front of Herron, or the Cane Hill road

which would put him in front of Blunt. When this point was reached and it was decided to march against Herron, Monroe's brigade of Arkansas cavalry was sent down the Cane Hill road, ordered to make Blunt believe it was the advance guard of the main force. Monroe performed his work so well that he entirely deceived Blunt. At the same time Hindman, with Shelby's brigade in advance, moved out on the Cove Creek road. Between daylight and sunrise Marmaduke struck Herron's cavalry, routed it, took nearly a hundred prisoners and drove it back on the main body. The infantry were coming out of the mountains just at the time the cavalry fight occurred, and hearing the firing and seeing the prisoners moving to the rear, they were so inspired and so eager to get into the fight that with a shout they struck a double-quick of their own accord.

When he came to the direct road connecting Blunt and Herron, Marmaduke sent Gordon's regiment down it, with orders to hold Blunt in check at every cost. Gordon chose a strong position and drove back every detachment sent out on that road, which induced Blunt to make a march north of eight miles, and then east four miles to form a junction with Herron. Hindman's force consisted of Marmaduke's cavalry division, Parsons' and Frost's Missouri infantry divisions, and Shoup's and Fagan's Arkansas divisions. When Hindman arrived on the field (December 7th) Marmaduke told him where Herron was and advised an immediate attack. Hindman ordered Shoup to take position on the center, and to attack Herron at once and vigorously. Shoup left, but returned in about twenty minutes and informed Hindman that he had formed his division en echelon—so that he could front to meet an attack from either Herron or Blunt—and he thought that the best disposition to make. Frost endorsed what Shoup had done, and both of them being West Pointers and plausible talkers, Hindman permitted himself to be persuaded to accept their view, and told

Shoup to retain the position he had taken for the time being. Hindman's formation was, Marmaduke on the right, Fagan and Shoup in the center, and Parsons and Frost on the left.

For three or four hours the army remained in position without firing a gun. Off to the southwest the glint of the sunlight on the bayonets and musket barrels of Blunt's soldiers could occasionally be seen, as they wound their way over hill and vale in their line of march of twelve miles around Hindman's left to form a junction with Herron. Then the attack came from the combined Federal forces. Herron was much stronger in artillery than Hindman, and shelled his lines furiously before assaulting them with his infantry. Marmaduke's battery, under Lieutenant Collins, was forced to change its position repeatedly. The infantry attack was directed chiefly against the center and right wing, and was gallantly met and successfully repulsed by Fagan and Marmaduke. The battle was stubbornly contested by both sides, but the Confederates steadily gained ground, and never yielded a foot they had gained. On the left Blunt was fiercely assaulting Parsons, who was barely able to hold his own, but after an hour or more of fighting, gathered all his strength and forced Blunt back to a line of timber, when he in turn was checked by a fire of thirty pieces of artillery massed in the edge of the woods. Herron reformed his broken ranks and charged the center and right again, but with less vigor and determination than the first time, and was driven back in greater confusion. A little open field of not more than fifteen or twenty acres, near the right center of the line, was fought over several times, and a Federal battery was taken, retaken and taken again, the last time by a regiment of Shelby's cavalry, dismounted, remaining in the hands of the Confederates. After the battle one might have walked over this field and never stepped on the ground, the dead and the wounded covered it so thickly. Night closed the fight with the Con-

federates in possession of the field. They had advanced their lines nearly a mile. But neither Herron nor Blunt was whipped or hopelessly disabled. The rank and file of the Confederates confidently expected a renewal of the battle next morning.

But as soon as Hindman had heard from his division commanders and counted his losses he determined to retreat. Having once reached this conclusion he lost no time in carrying it into effect. The men were stripped of their blankets to muffle the wheels of the artillery and ammunition wagons, and by midnight his army was on the road to Van Buren, moving as silently in the cold moonlight as a column of spectres. Marmaduke, with Shelby's brigade, remained behind to care for the wounded and bury the dead. The field being in the possession of the Confederates, a flag of truce was sent in by the commander of Herron's cavalry, asking permission to care for the Federal wounded and bury their dead. Then it appeared that Herron had retreated with the same promptness that Hindman had. Marmaduke camped on the field that night, and in the morning the Federal cavalry was gone.

Hindman never recovered from the mistake he made in following Shoup's and Frost's advice. He said to Marmaduke almost pathetically, when he determined to give the order for retreat, that he had trusted Shoup and Frost and they had ruined him. It was not only the loss of a battle he should have won, it was the irrevocable end of a career of an ambitious man, conscious of his own capacity for command; and therein was the bitterness of the sting. The loss of each army in the battle was severe. The Confederate loss in killed, wounded and missing was fully 1,800. The Federal loss was estimated to be greater. Among the Confederate officers killed were Gen. Early Steen, commanding a Missouri brigade; Colonel Grinstead, commanding a Missouri regiment; and Colonel Young, commanding an Arkansas regiment.

Hindman withdrew his troops to the Arkansas river and put them in camp opposite Van Buren, leaving a Texas cavalry regiment, under Colonel Crump, on the north side of the river to hold the enemy in check. But a few days afterward the Federals drove Crump's outposts in and came in with them, and shelled Hindman's camp across the river. He then marched his army through rain and storm, over muddy roads and across swollen streams, to Little Rock. Shortly after he was relieved of command in the West and ordered to report east of the Mississippi, where he did the Confederacy good service; but his dream of power and command was gone never to return.

Marmaduke remained with his division—Shelby's brigade and a new brigade commanded by Colonel Porter—for some time at Dripping Springs and in the vicinity of Lewisburg, when he was ordered to strike the Federal line of communication and supply between Springfield and Rolla, in Missouri, and force Blunt to let go his hold on the Arkansas river, where he was a menace to Little Rock. Porter moved far to the right with instructions to swing around on Springfield. Shelby, accompanied by Marmaduke, took the more direct route, picking up here and there a Federal garrison in some out-of-the-way town as he went. Capt. Ben Elliott, of Gordon's regiment, had recruited a battalion of picked men, men known for their steadiness, courage and powers of endurance, and the duty of capturing these outlying posts devolved by right of superior capacity on his command.

Marmaduke reached Springfield early on the morning of January 8, 1863. Two miles from the town he dismounted his command and moved up to the attack, driving the Federal outpost before him. Thompson's regiment held the right and Gordon's the left, with Collin's battery and Jeans' regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Gilkey, in the center, while Major Elliott's battalion remained mounted and held the extreme right, and Colonel

MacDonald's unattached mounted regiment held the extreme left. The line advanced over the open prairie under a heavy artillery fire. Springfield was strongly fortified. Inside the town were heavy earthworks, flanked by rifle-pits and deep ditches, and on the outskirts was a strong stockade protected by the guns of the earthworks.

The garrison was commanded by General Brown, and neither he nor his men appeared at all disturbed by the demonstrations being made against them. His soldiers marched to their places with perfect calmness, and he, with his staff and a strong escort, rode out and took a critical view of the number and disposition of his assailants. But for all that, his escort was charged and scattered and he was severely wounded before he reached the protection of his fortifications again. The whole Confederate line charged and one piece of artillery was captured, but that was all. The Federals fired the buildings outside of their line of fortifications, and the Confederates fought with the smoke and the flame in their faces. The men were falling fast and gaining no permanent advantage. Shelby led the charge into the town and beat back everything that opposed him in the streets, but was unequal to the effort when it came to assaulting the heavy earthworks and stockade.

The place was stronger in men and defenses than Marmaduke had been led to believe. There was nothing for it but to protect his troops as well as he could, and wait for night to enable him to withdraw successfully. Porter's brigade had not come up, and he was compelled to make the attack with hardly more than half his force. Had Porter's brigade been present, the result might have been different. The capture of Springfield, however, was not the primary object of the expedition. It was to cut Blunt's line of communication and supplies, and to compel him to abandon the upper Arkansas river. To accomplish this, Marmaduke turned his attention to the road between Springfield and Rolla, and destroyed every-

thing on it likely to be of use to Blunt or the Federal commanders south of Rolla. This was easily done, for the Federal force at Springfield remained there behind their fortifications, and made no effort to interfere with him. There were numerous depots of supply along the road, and these were destroyed, together with telegraph lines and stockades, and the militia garrisoning the latter were captured or dispersed. He remained on this line for a week and completely destroyed all communication between Rolla and points further south.

At Sand Spring Porter joined him, and he left the Rolla road and moved in the direction of Marshfield, in Webster county. On the second day's march from Marshfield, Porter in advance met a heavy force of Federal cavalry on the main road between Marshfield and Hartville, and promptly attacked it. The Federals gave way and it was a race between the two columns on different roads for Hartville. Just before reaching that point there was a considerable stream to be crossed, and the crossing was disputed by a strong body of Federals, but Porter drove them back and crossed. Marmaduke was informed by his scouts that the Federals were retreating from the town, and, without waiting for Shelby to come up, ordered Porter forward, who obeyed the order, moving in column, without advance guard or flankers. The Federal wagons were leaving the town, but the Federal soldiers were ambushed in a heavy black-jack thicket bordering the road, with a strong rail fence on the other side. When Porter got well in the trap, the concealed line rose and poured into his extended flank a terrific fire. In an instant his command was a struggling mass of men and horses. They could not charge into the scrub-oak thicket, and the fence held them firmly on the other side. As speedily as they could Porter and his officers got the men on more open ground, but the Federals followed them closely, firing volley after volley into them and preventing them rallying and reforming.

Shelby in the rear heard the uproar, and with intuitive knowledge divined the cause. Without waiting for orders he rushed his command forward, crossed the stream at the nearest point and, dismounting his men, charged through an open field to gain possession of the fence and strike the enemy in flank. But the Federals held the fence with terrible tenacity, and twice his brigade was beaten back. The third time he accomplished his purpose, drove the enemy before him and saved Porter's brigade and the day. But the loss was fearful. Col. John M. Wimer and Col. Emmet MacDonald were killed, and many other field and company officers. Col. John C. Porter was shot from his horse and seriously wounded, at the head of his troops. Shelby mentioned of his command, Maj. G. R. Kirtley and Capt. C. M. Turpin, of the First, killed; Captain Dupuy, of the Second, lost a leg; and Capt. Washington McDaniel, of Elliott's scouts, fell with a bullet through his breast just as the enemy retreated. Lieutenant Royster was left on the field badly wounded; Captains Crocker, Burkholder, Jarrett and Webb, of the Second, were also severely wounded; Capt. James M. Garrett fell in the front of the fight. Captains Thompson and Langhorne, and Lieutenants Elliott, Haney, Graves, Huff, Williams, Bullard and Bulkley were also severely wounded. Shelby was hard hit on the head, and his life was saved by the bullet glancing on a gold badge he wore on his hat.

That night, January 11th, the dead were buried by starlight, and the next morning the command moved slowly and sorrowfully southward. Col. John M. Wimer and Col. Emmet MacDonald were citizens of St. Louis. Colonel Wimer had been mayor of the city and was universally respected. Colonel MacDonald was born and reared there, and, though a much younger man than Colonel Wimer, was almost as well known and as highly respected. The bodies of both were taken to the city by their friends for burial. But the provost marshal there,

Franklin A. Dick, refused to allow them decent and Christian burial, and had their bodies taken from the houses of their friends at night and buried in unknown and unmarked graves in the common potters' field.

The retreat to Arkansas was a severe one. It was now the middle of January, and the weather suddenly became very cold. The change was ushered in by a snow, which lasted ten hours. The snow covered the earth to the depth of nearly two feet, and, freezing on top, made marching difficult and dangerous to man and horse. Many of the men were poorly clad and suffered greatly, some of them having their hands and feet frozen. Davidson's command of Federal cavalry followed hard after, forcing the men to keep with the column and preventing them stopping at farmhouses for any length of time. At last Batesville was reached, and the warmth of the hospitality with which the command was received by the generous people there made amends for all the hardships of the campaign.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MISSOURI BRIGADES OPPOSE GRANT BELOW
VICKSBURG—DEATH OF COLONEL WILLIAM WADE
—BATTLE OF PORT GIBSON—BATTLE OF BAKER'S
CREEK—THE MISSOURIANS SAVE THE ARMY—
AFFAIR AT BIG BLACK RIVER—SIEGE OF VICKS-
BURG—PROVISIONS FAIL—GENERAL GREEN AND
COLONEL IRWIN KILLED—SURRENDER OF THE
CITY AND THE ARMY—DEATH OF GENERAL BOWEN
—THE MISSOURI BRIGADE.

AFTER the battle of Corinth and the extrication of the army from the cul-de-sac between two rivers and two opposing armies, in which it had been caught, by the coolness and practical military sense of General Price, the First and Second Missouri brigades encamped on the 12th of February, 1863, near what had once been the pleasant little city of Grand Gulf, to rest, reorganize and recuperate. General Bowen assumed command of the First brigade, with the First and the Third Missouri cavalry still in the Second brigade, under General Green. But General Bowen, being the ranking officer, was shortly after assigned to the command of the division, and Colonel Cockrell was again in charge of the First brigade. Here they remained during the rest of the winter and well into the spring, varying the monotony of camp life by occasional incursions into the country on the west side of the Mississippi, and, fortifications having been constructed on the river side of the camp and armed with heavy guns, in fighting Federal ironclad gunboats.

In one of these fights Col. William Wade was instantly killed. His battery, which had served in the Missouri State Guard, was the first organization to go into the

Confederate service—in December, 1861. During the two years and more that had elapsed he had been on constant duty, and on account of his soldierly qualities and his distinguished services, he had been promoted from captain of a battery to colonel of artillery. There was not a more popular or a more deserving officer in the Missouri command, and every soldier felt his death as a personal loss.

The gunboat fight in which Colonel Wade had been killed was designed on the part of the Federals to clear the way for crossing General Grant's army from the west to the east side of the river, thus enabling him to attack Vicksburg from the south and east. The crossing was effected just below the mouth of Bayou Pierre. General Pemberton, who was in command at Vicksburg, sent two small brigades, Tracy's and Baldwin's, composed mostly of new recruits, to reinforce the Missourians. Gen. Martin Green, with 1,500 men, met Grant's army on the south bank of Bayou Pierre and resisted its advance all night. In the morning, after he was reinforced by Tracy's and Baldwin's brigades, and after a two hours' fight in which General Tracy was killed, he retired slowly and in good order to a range of hills southwest of Port Gibson, where General Bowen met him and took command.

Early on the morning of the 1st of May the Third, Fifth and Sixth Missouri infantry were marched to within striking distance of the field of battle and held in reserve. The Second infantry was left to defend the trenches at Grand Gulf, and the First was posted on the north bank of Bayou Pierre near its mouth to prevent the enemy crossing and getting in rear of the little army. The Sixth was detached and sent to report to General Green, who had become engaged on the new line. Green's command constituted the right wing and Cockrell's the left wing. There was no center. In a short time the right wing was forced back, and it became apparent that the enemy

were about to secure possession of the bridge across the bayou and block the only line of retreat of the army. Generals Bowen and Cockrell in person led a charge of the Third and Fifth on the right to relieve the pressure on the left. The men crossed one ravine twenty feet in width and twelve feet in depth successfully, and soon came to another, equally as wide and deep, which was swept by the artillery and musketry fire of the enemy. This they could not cross, but fell back in good order to the first ravine and held the further side of that. In an hour's fight they lost in killed and wounded twenty per cent of their number. But the charge accomplished its purpose, because it relieved the pressure on Green's wing and left the way open for retreat. In its nature the charge was a forlorn hope. It was a desperate move of one part of the command to save the remainder. In the final charge by Green on the left, the enemy was checked and Bowen given time to withdraw the right wing, which was followed by the left, the Sixth being the last to retire.

As soon as the bridge was crossed, the command halted and threw up earthworks to hold it against the enemy. But on the night of the next day the position was abandoned, and on the 4th Bowen effected a junction with Pemberton on the Big Black, and immediately proceeded to construct fortifications to protect the railroad bridge across that river. The fortifications being completed, the army moved eastward and on the 15th of May bivouacked on Baker's Creek. The Federal and the Confederate armies were camped within a mile of each other, and their camp fires at night showed the location and gave an approximate idea of the strength of each. Pemberton's force consisted of the divisions of Loring, Bowen and Stevenson. Loring's division was about 6,000 strong and Bowen's less than 5,000. Stevenson's division was larger, consisting of three brigades, and was about 7,000 strong. The battle line was formed across the road, with

Loring on the right, Stevenson on the left and Bowen in the center. The Missourians, however, were moved about from point to point during the morning, and at noon were formed on a ridge in a cornfield, about a mile from their original position. After an artillery duel of half an hour between the batteries of Walsh and Landis and a section of Guibor's and a greater number of Federal guns, in which the enemy were worsted and finally compelled to withdraw, Grant hurled a heavy infantry force against Stevenson on the left, and after an hour's fighting drove him back in confusion. Bowen's division was ordered to support Stevenson and restore the broken line. As the Missourians passed General Pemberton they cheered him bravely and plunged into the fight, Cockrell leading the First brigade in front, with Green at the head of the Second brigade close behind him. From the firing of the first gun the fighting was desperate. The ground in dispute was a section of high hills and deep hollows. The line forced its way, though stubbornly opposed, and in a short time recaptured the artillery lost by Stevenson's division and captured one of the enemy's batteries. The lines were so close and the fighting was so furious that there was no place for artillery. It was man to man and musket to musket. The ground was fought over three times. As the enemy was borne back the Missourians were confronted with new lines, and recoiling temporarily before these, they renewed the assault, and at one time fought their way to within sight of the enemy's ordnance train, the wagons of which were being turned and driven to the rear.

In this extremity Grant began to mass troops on both flanks of the division and Bowen found himself confronted by an enemy greatly stronger than his command, consisting of the two Missouri brigades and the Twelfth Louisiana regiment, not exceeding 5,000 men. The enemy was on three sides, leaving only his rear open. Under these circumstances it was necessary for Bowen to

fall back. As it was, one Federal regiment got in his rear, but coming in range of Landis' battery it was driven back the way it came by his fire. The loss of the division was terrible. The dead and wounded of both armies lay in piles on the hillsides and in the hollows. The division, at the most critical point, had been hurled into the struggle where it was hottest, and left to fight it out unaided. Loring's division was not engaged, but he and Stevenson lost all their artillery, while Bowen did not lose a gun. In the retreat Loring made his way to General Johnston's command. Among the killed of Bowen's command was Colonel McKinney, who was an exchanged prisoner, captured in north Missouri while recruiting, and was making his way to the Trans-Mississippi department. He had about 100 men with him, and had attached himself temporarily to the Fifth Missouri infantry. Among the mortally wounded was Lieutenant-Colonel Hubbard of the Third infantry. The Confederate loss in the battle is given at 1,250 killed and wounded, and 2,000 prisoners, and the Federal loss as 1,580 killed and wounded.

From this stricken field Pemberton fell back to the railroad bridge across the Big Black river, and his men occupied the fortifications they had constructed there a few days before. The First Missouri brigade was on the right of the railroad, the Second Missouri brigade on the left, and Vaughn's brigade in the center. Stevenson's division was held in reserve on the opposite side of the river. Landis' battery was placed on the bluffs overlooking the fortifications, and the other eighteen guns of Bowen's artillery were planted in the redans and on the parapets of the fortifications. Stevenson's guns, although recaptured by the Missourians at Baker's Creek after they had been lost, had been left on the field, because there were no horses to haul them away.

At daylight on the morning of the 17th the enemy opened fire with some heavy guns, which were answered

by Bowen's lighter artillery. Then an assault was made on the First Missouri brigade, and repulsed. Then Sherman's corps in solid columns, six lines deep, assaulted Green's brigade on the left, and was received with a withering fire. But at this critical moment the center broke and fled to the rear, leaving a wide gap between Bowen's right and left wings. At once the Federals dashed past Green's brigade and filled the opening left by Vaughn's brigade. Green's brigade was surrounded and more than half of it captured. Among the prisoners were Colonel Gates and most of the men of his tried and veteran regiment. Those of the brigade who escaped did so by swimming the river. The men of the First brigade remained in the rifle-pits until ordered out by Colonel Cockrell, and then it was a foot race between them and the Federals for the bridge. The Missourians won it, though some of them were overtaken and had to surrender. Some of the artillerists refused to leave their guns, and were captured in the act of loading and firing them. All the artillery was captured, because, by an order of General Pemberton, the horses had been taken to the other side of the river and the guns could not be moved. The loss of the Confederates in this affair was estimated at 260 killed and wounded and 3,000 prisoners, and that of the Federals at 300 killed and wounded. The prisoners were afterward exchanged and returned to their commands at Demopolis after the fall of Vicksburg. Col. Elijah Gates escaped two days after his capture, but could not reach his command at that time. The advance of the Federals was stopped by the arrival of Gen. M. L. Smith's division from Vicksburg, which formed on the brow of the hill and allowed the remnant of the beaten army to pass through it. By night the troops reached Vicksburg, worn, broken and their ranks decimated, after having fought as valiantly as soldiers ever did. The First Missouri brigade was reduced to 1,600—more than one-half—and the Second Missouri brigade to 1,200.

Vicksburg was the focal point of the war in the west. It commanded the navigation and commerce of the Mississippi river, and as long as it was held by the Confederates kept a practical line of communication open between the Trans-Mississippi department and the government at Richmond, and the armies in Virginia and the West. The prolonged and desperate fighting that had taken place around it, in the effort of the Federals to reduce it, had made it an object of interest to both sections and to the civilized world. The town extends along the eastern bank of the river about a mile and a half, and back from the river about a mile. It stands on an elevated plateau between the mouth of the Yazoo on the north and of the Black on the south. Immediately on the river is a bluff. On the lower side of the town a creek, which winds its way through swamps and bottoms, empties into the river, and makes approach from that direction difficult. High hills extend along the river for a mile above. The river at this point makes a bend and a peninsula opposite the town. It was through the isthmus which connects the peninsula with the main land that the Federals attempted to cut a canal and turn the current of the river.

The intrenchments around the city were about six miles in length and two and a half in width at the widest part, and were semi-circular in form. Extending along the river front were thirty-one heavy guns, and on the hills in its rear, and north and south of it, were a multitude of forts and redans, and a labyrinth of intrenchments and rifle-pits. In the defense of the town Stevenson's division was posted on the right, Smith's on the left, Forney's in the center, and Bowen's was held in reserve, its duty being to succor those that needed help the most and strengthen the line where it was weakest. On the evening of the 18th the enemy appeared in force and drove in the outlying pickets. They soon found the weakest point in the line and opened a heavy fire on it,

and the First Missouri brigade was ordered to the threatened point. It had six men killed or wounded—Colonel Cockrell being among the wounded—which was the first blood of the siege. The next morning the batteries of the enemy opened, but the guns of the besieged did not reply. These guns were manned principally by the Missourians from the batteries of Walsh, Landis and Lowe, whose guns had been lost at Black river, and it has been remarked as singular that they had orders not to fire except when charged by the enemy's infantry, though there was no lack of ammunition, immense quantities of it being surrendered with the town. On the 19th the Missouri brigades were armed with Enfield rifles, very much to their satisfaction, and the First Missouri Confederate infantry, in a fight on the left, captured the battleflag of the Eighth Missouri Federal infantry. The cannonading from the gunboats and the land batteries, as well as the musketry firing, was incessant, but the besieged took no active part in the uproar, except when their works were charged. On the 22d the Federals of Gen. Frank Blair's division made three fierce assaults on the stockade on the left of the line, but were repulsed each time with great loss by the First Missouri brigade. The Third Missouri infantry, though protected by breastworks, lost fifty-six killed and wounded, and the other regiments of the brigade lost in proportion. This experiment was so disastrous to the Federals that they did not make another attempt to storm the works during the siege. But they were at work with their picks and spades, under cover of constant fire from their gunboats and sharpshooters. On the 27th five ironclads steamed down the river, headed by Commodore Porter's flagship, the *Cincinnati*, and at the same time four other ironclads appeared from below and opened a vigorous fire on the upper and lower batteries. The largest of the Confederate guns were trained on the *Cincinnati*, and with such effect that it was disabled and sunk before it could get

out of range. A few days after the enemy made some demonstration of removing its armament, but a volunteer expedition from the First Missouri cavalry, led by Captain Barkley, reached it in yawls, under cover of night, and burned it to the water's edge, the enemy all the time cannonading them from the peninsula. General Pemberton complimented them for their daring act in general orders.

About the middle of June it became known that the supply of food was failing. When the siege commenced it had been announced that there were provisions enough in store to last six months, and in less than a month the assistant quartermaster wrote: "The last of our beef has been issued, the bread is made of corn, rice and beans ground and mixed into a meal; we cannot possibly hold out over twenty days on half rations." Even the sick had nothing better than soup made of lean mule meat stewed. A barrel of flour sold for \$400. The only means of communication of the besieged with the outer world was by means of couriers who floated down the river past the gunboats, covered with driftwood, or picked their way through interminable and miasmatic swamps, with the likelihood of being shot at any moment. But General Bowen received his commission as major-general by these means, and General Pemberton got dispatches from General Johnston. In the meantime the siege was pressed desperately, the parallels approaching in some places so closely that the men could talk with each other, and frequently gave each other warning when to look out for danger. Hand-grenades were used instead of bombshells, and everything betokened the coming of the end. The fort on the Jackson road was blown up by the explosion of a mine by the enemy, and the Federals attempted to charge through the opening, but were repulsed by the Sixth Missouri and the Third Louisiana. Col. Eugene Irwin, commanding the Missourians, was killed at the head of his regiment. He was a brave soldier and an

accomplished gentleman, and was beloved and honored by all who knew him. About the same time Gen. Martin E. Green was killed in the trenches while reconnoitering one of the enemy's batteries. Since the beginning of the siege he had lived in the trenches with the men, always ready to perform any duty that devolved upon him. He was a great soldier of the sturdy, simple type, and the Confederacy could have better afforded to lose a more pretentious officer.

On the 1st of July another mine was exploded under the fort on the Jackson road, with terrible results to the Missouri troops. The Sixth Missouri was on duty there. The Second had just been relieved, and the men were in camp in a hollow a hundred yards to the rear. The men of the Sixth, Colonel Cockrell among them, were blown bodily into the air. The Second formed just behind the ruins and stood prepared to meet a charge for more than an hour, with fifty pieces of artillery playing on them and not a Confederate gun firing in reply. The Second lost forty men killed and wounded, most of them killed, and never moved from their place or fired a shot. The enemy, taught by former experience, did not attempt a charge. Among the killed of the Second regiment was Lieutenant-Colonel Senteney, a brave and popular officer.

On the 2d of July the last rations were issued. They were mule meat. All hope of outside aid was abandoned. The first note looking to a surrender was sent on the 3d of July. The correspondence continued until nine o'clock on the 4th, when General Pemberton went out and had a personal interview with General Grant, in front of the Federal line, which lasted for an hour and a half. Both commanders are reported to have been very much at their ease. Grant might well have been. The result was the unconditional surrender of the town and the army. The army comprised 23,000 men, three major-generals, nine brigadier-generals, more than 90 pieces of artillery and about 40,000 small arms. Of the men 6,000

were in the hospitals, and nearly as many more were crawling around in what were called convalescent camps. The fall of Port Hudson followed closely after that of Vicksburg, and the Trans-Mississippi department was isolated and the Confederacy split in twain.

When Vicksburg was first invested General Pemberton had requested the non-combatants, especially the women and children, to leave the city, and informed them that he would request General Grant to pass them through his lines, which he had no doubt he would do. But the request was generally, if not entirely, unheeded. The inhabitants preferred to remain and share the fate of their city and their friends. They had become accustomed to the turmoil and danger of the bombardment—for Porter's fleet had kept up an intermittent fire on them for months, and they had learned by experience how to protect themselves. They excavated holes in the hills—underground habitations, in fact, which frequently consisted of several rooms, comfortably furnished—into which they could retire when the danger was great. Nor were they actuated by any morbid sense of curiosity in remaining. The women felt they had a duty to perform and they performed it. The defenders of the town were falling daily and hourly. The hospitals were crowded with the sick and wounded. The accommodations for their comfort were of the rudest description. There was a dearth of nurses and of medicines. Then, like gleams of light and sunshine, the women came to their relief, without noise or ostentation or display. Simply dressed, patient, tireless and sympathetic, they hovered around the beds of the sick and wounded, not only during the day but through the long watches of the night, and nursed back to life and health and strength many a stricken hero. The noble devotion of the women of the South to the cause of suffering humanity makes the brightest page of the history of the war.

After the surrender President Davis telegraphed to

General Pemberton his thanks to the soldiers of the Missouri division for their gallantry during the siege, their prompt obedience to orders at all times, and especially for their service as reserves in strengthening every weak point and position. But the gallant commander of that division, who had made it the thunderbolt in war it was, was dead or dying. General Bowen was taken sick at Vicksburg shortly after the surrender, but was conveyed with the army as far as Raymond, when his sickness assumed such an aggravated form that he was compelled to stop. He grew worse, and died at that place on the 13th of July. He had attained the rank of major-general, and his reputation in the army, not only as a scientific soldier but as a hard fighter, was very high. Of the younger general officers he was among the most prominent. He was complimented by Beauregard for the part he took at Shiloh, and by Breckinridge for his service at Baton Rouge, and he saved the army by the stubbornness with which he held the rear after the battle of Corinth. His high reputation was increased by the determined fight he made at Port Gibson with a small force, and at Baker's Creek and on the retreat to Black river. He was a strict disciplinarian, but he had the affection as well as the esteem of his men. He ranks among the first and best of Missouri's hard-fighting, self-sacrificing soldiers.

On the 13th of September, 1863, notice of the exchange of the prisoners surrendered at Vicksburg was received at Demopolis, where they were quartered. Col. F. M. Cockrell had in the meantime been promoted to brigadier-general. The regiments of the First and Second brigades were consolidated into one brigade, which was afterward known as the Missouri brigade, and was put under his command. The First and Third cavalry made a regiment, with Gates, colonel; Samuels, lieutenant-colonel; Parker, major. The First and Fourth infantry had, before that time, been consolidated. The Second and Sixth infantry were consolidated, with

Flournoy, colonel; Carter, lieutenant-colonel; Duncan, major. Colonel Hudspeth of the Sixth was retired because of wounds. Maj. T. M. Carter, by right of seniority, was entitled to the command, but waived his claim, as did other officers, in favor of Captain Flournoy. The First and Third infantry were consolidated, with McCown, colonel; McDowell, lieutenant-colonel; Williams, major. Colonel Gause was sent west of the Mississippi on recruiting service, and Lieutenant-Colonels Bevier and Garland were ordered to Richmond to take charge of exchanged Missouri prisoners of war. Thus six regiments of infantry and one of dismounted cavalry were consolidated into four regiments, which constituted what was known distinctively as the Missouri brigade.

At the same time the batteries of Wade, Guibor and Landis were consolidated into one four-gun battery, with Guibor, captain, and Walsh, McBride and Harris, lieutenants. The three batteries which were consolidated contained originally 375 men. At the end only 60 were left. The officers at the close of the war were A. W. Harris, captain, and J. Murphy, S. M. Kennard and J. Dickenson, lieutenants. These batteries were not alone nor singular in the number of men lost. The new consolidated brigade under Cockrell was but little more than 2,000 strong, but in it were all the Missourians left of the 8,000 who crossed the river with General Price, except a few who got permission to return to the west side. This remnant General Cockrell as diligently drilled and disciplined and perfected in the duties of the soldier, in the camp at Demopolis, as if they had been that many recruits. On the 16th of October the brigade won a premium for the greatest proficiency in tactics in a grand division drill held by General Johnston, and not long afterward it was reviewed by President Davis, who complimented it highly on its soldierly appearance, the machine-like perfection of its movements and the splendid record it had made.

About the first of the new year, 1864, the brigade was ordered to Mobile, because of a supposed mutiny among the troops there, which proved to have been more imaginary than real. While there some of the regiments took part in a competitive drill of regiments from the States of Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Texas and Missouri, with Generals Hardee and Maury as judges, in which the First and Fifth Missouri won the prize, which was a silk flag presented by the ladies of Mobile. After this the brigade returned to its old camp at Demopolis, was re-armed with the finest guns and the best equipments the Confederacy could afford, re-enlisted for the war, and was ready to do its duty with a heart for any fate.

CHAPTER XIII.

OPERATIONS IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT
—GENERAL KIRBY SMITH ASSUMES COMMAND—MARMADUKE MAKES AN EXPEDITION INTO MISSOURI—
THE AFFAIR AT BLOOMFIELD—BATTLE OF HELENA
—STEELE MOVES ON LITTLE ROCK—BATTLE OF
BAYOU METO—EVACUATION OF LITTLE ROCK—
SHELBY PREPARES FOR AN EXPEDITION INTO MISSOURI.

ON the 18th of March, 1863, General Holmes was relieved of the command of the Trans-Mississippi department, and Lieut.-Gen. E. Kirby Smith assumed control. At the same time General Holmes was assigned to the district of Arkansas, including Indian Territory and the State of Missouri. General Smith's headquarters were at Shreveport and General Holmes' at Little Rock. On the 1st of April General Price, having reached the Trans-Mississippi department, was assigned to the command of the infantry division commanded by General Frost, and Frost was given a brigade. The only force in north Arkansas at that time, except some unattached companies in the northwest, was Marmaduke's division of cavalry, which was camped in and around Batesville. All the infantry had been withdrawn to Little Rock and other points of the Arkansas river. Marmaduke's division consisted of Shelby's brigade and Porter's brigade. The latter had been reorganized and was known as Greene's brigade.

Early in the spring Marmaduke went to Little Rock and got permission of General Holmes to make an expedition in southeast Missouri, for the purpose of recruiting and interfering with any preparations the Federals might be making to invade Arkansas and disturb the repose of the

commander of the district at Little Rock. General Holmes further showed his approval of the movement by temporarily assigning to General Marmaduke, Col. George W. Carter's brigade of Texas cavalry, which, with a four-gun battery, aggregated about 1,500 men. This gave Marmaduke a force of about 5,000 men and two 4-gun batteries.* He moved April 20th. The first garrisoned town after crossing the Missouri line was Patterson, where Colonel Smart, a notorious marauder, was stationed with an equally notorious militia regiment. Marmaduke particularly desired to capture the regiment and its commander, and Colonel Giddings, of Carter's brigade, was given the honor of taking in the pickets and surprising the town, while Shelby made a detour with the view of capturing those who escaped. But Giddings, instead of capturing the pickets or charging them and entering the town with them, opened on them two miles from town with a section of artillery, and Smart and his regiment took to instant flight, not taking time in their haste to destroy some valuable commissary and quartermaster stores.

Marmaduke learned that Gen. John McNeil, of infamous memory, was at Bloomfield with about 2,000 men, and under orders to move to Pilot Knob. Of all men in the State the Missouri troops would rather have captured McNeil. Marmaduke sent a strong force to drive him toward Pilot Knob, intending to intercept him at Fred-

* The organization of Marmaduke's command, May 20, 1863, is given as follows: Carter's brigade, Col. George W. Carter—Col. N. M. Burford's regiment, Lieut.-Col. D. C. Giddings' regiment, Maj. C. L. Morgan's squadron, Reves' partisan company, Capt. J. H. Pratt's battery; Burbridge's brigade, Col. John Q. Burbridge—Burbridge's regiment (Lieut.-Col. W. J. Preston), Col. R. C. Newton's regiment; Shelby's brigade, Col. Joseph O. Shelby—Col. Beal G. Jeans' regiment; Shelby's regiment (Lieut.-Col. B. F. Gordon), Col. G. W. Thompson's regiment, Maj. Benjamin Elliott's battalion, Maj. David Shanks' battalion, Capt. Richard A. Collins' battery; Greene's brigade, Col. Colton Greene—Greene's regiment (Lieut.-Col. Leonidas C. Campbell), Col. W. L. Jeffers' regiment, Col. M. L. Young's battalion, Capt. L. T. Brown's battery, Lieut. James L. Hamilton's battery.

ericktown, but with instruction to the commander of the force, if he retreated toward Cape Girardeau, a strongly fortified post on the Mississippi river, not to follow him, but to rejoin the main body at Fredericktown. Colonel Carter solicited and obtained command of the force. He had his own brigade, and was given about half of Greene's brigade. Marmaduke, with Shelby's brigade and the other half of Greene's, reached Fredericktown on time, but there was no sign nor sound of McNeil or Carter. He waited a day, and then moved his command to Jackson, about half way to Cape Girardeau. Then he waited again, in the meantime sending scouting parties in every direction in search of Carter. At the end of two days he learned that McNeil had gone to Cape Girardeau and that Carter, becoming excited in the chase, had followed him, and that McNeil was inside the fortifications with a largely increased force, and Carter outside and unable to get away.

It took another day to march to Cape Girardeau and extricate Carter from his dangerous position. This was accomplished by Shelby attacking the fortifications and giving McNeil all he could do to defend himself. In the attack Shelby lost forty-five men killed and wounded, and was compelled to leave under the care of a surgeon a number of officers and men who were too badly hurt to be removed. Marmaduke got back to Jackson on the night of the next day, having lost four days by Carter's escapade—Shelby reached Fredericktown on the morning of the 22d and Marmaduke returned to Jackson on the evening, 26th—and given the enemy time to mass a heavy force in his front. Before daylight, on the morning of the 27th, he commenced his retreat, with General Vandiver and a larger force than his own close on his rear. McNeil was ordered, as soon as Carter was rescued, to throw his command south of Marmaduke and block his way, while Vandiver closed on him from the north. It would not have been difficult for McNeil to do this. He

would have had the shorter road and a day the start. But he was wary, and had no idea of putting himself in a position where a Confederate force could get at him. He purposely took another road, and allowed Marmaduke to pass the critical point unopposed, and get the whole pursuing force behind him. McNeil's conduct gave rise to a newspaper controversy shortly afterward, in which the facts came to light.

At the crossing of Whitewater Vandiver undertook to force things, but was hurled back so suddenly and effectually by Shelby that he kept at a respectful distance until Bloomfield was reached. There Marmaduke halted and remained in line of battle all day. At Chalk Bluffs he had to cross the St. Francis river, and there was no bridge. He, therefore, sent Maj. Robert Smith of his staff, Maj. Robert Lawrence of Shelby's staff, and Gen. Jeff Thompson who volunteered for the occasion, in advance with a hundred men to build a bridge, and halted at Bloomfield to fight the enemy and give the bridge-builders time. But Vandiver was cautious, and though skirmishing continued all day and the fighting sometimes became sharp, he did not make a general attack. Again Marmaduke halted, early in the afternoon, when he reached the hills that border the St. Francis at Chalk Bluffs, and again Vandiver skirmished with him, but did not attempt to force his position.

The bridge was a rough affair, but it answered the purpose for which it was built. It was a raft rather than a bridge. During the night the artillery and wagons, with the water up to the axles, were pulled across by the men, the horses were driven into the river and swam across, and the men crossed in single file, and just as the sun rose the next morning the raft was cut loose from its moorings and sent floating down the turbid stream, leaving not a trace of evidence of how the command had crossed. An hour afterward the Federals reached the river, but there was not a wagon, a gun, a horse or a

man on their side, and in pure bravado they planted a battery and began to shell the woods on the other side. But this was a losing game, for Collins' battery had been masked on the farther side, and opened suddenly on the Federal battery and the crowd of soldiers about it, and sent them scurrying to the rear. Though Marmaduke had not been outgeneraled nor his command at any time worsted in a fight—in fact, the enemy declined every offer of battle he made—the expedition for all practical results was a failure. Colonel Carter was a new man—an accomplished gentleman, but an untrained soldier—and was anxious for an opportunity to distinguish himself, and Marmaduke was disposed to oblige him. Carter blundered and the expedition miscarried.

Shelby's brigade went into camp near Augusta, and Greene's and Carter's on Crowley's Ridge. It was not long before there was talk of a movement on Helena by the combined infantry and cavalry force of the district, with the hope of relieving the pressure on Vicksburg by stopping the navigation of the Mississippi river by all boats except heavy ironclads, and preparations began to be quietly made to that end. About the 1st of June General Price moved his command and headquarters to Jacksonport, and issued orders which clearly indicated the reason for his change of base. But days and weeks passed and nothing positive was done. At last orders looking to a movement of the troops were issued. On the 18th General Price ordered Marmaduke and his division to join him at Cottonplant, and on the 23d General Holmes issued an address to the army. The order of battle was issued on the 3d of July, the troops then being concentrated around Helena, with the full knowledge of the enemy. General Price, with Parsons' and McRae's brigades, was to assault the fort on Graveyard hill, Fagan the fort on Hindman hill, Marmaduke the fort on Reiter hill, and Walker was to hold himself in position to resist any troops that might approach Reiter hill and

when that hill was captured enter the town and act against the enemy as circumstances might indicate. The attack was to be made at daylight on the following morning. All the preceding day steamboats had been arriving at Helena with reinforcements for the Federals, a large part of which did not leave the boats.

The different columns promptly advanced, at the time designated, to the attack. General Price assaulted the fort on Graveyard hill, and after a stubborn fight captured it and turned its guns on the main fort in the center of the town. He led Parsons' brigade in person, but not being supported by the other columns failed to take it and was eventually forced to retire. Fagan assaulted the fort on Hindman hill, but after a hard fight was driven back. Marmaduke's route led along the crest of a ridge, exposed to the enemy's artillery and musketry fire, on the side toward the river. Walker's orders were to keep this flank clear, but he did not advance until nine o'clock, and then, after firing two volleys at the enemy at long range, retired and did not make his appearance again during the fight. Marmaduke's left and rear were thus exposed, and he had to hold half his troops back to prevent being isolated and cut off. Shelby's brigade in front, however, assaulted the fort on Reiter hill, but was not strong enough to take it. At eleven o'clock General Holmes ordered the troops to withdraw, which they did in good order, and were not pressed by the enemy. The attack was a foredoomed failure. The enemy knew it would be made a month in advance, and had twice as large a force there as was necessary to repel it. In withdrawing from the town General Price's division suffered severely, particularly Colonel Lewis' regiment. Colonel Shelby's wrist was shattered by a rifle ball, making a painful and dangerous wound, and Maj. Robert Smith of Marmaduke's staff was killed, as was also Capt. John Clark of his escort company.

Price's and Fagan's divisions returned to Little Rock, and Marmaduke's division, and Walker's brigade, consisting of two regiments, remained north of the Arkansas river. Marmaduke returned to White river and camped in the vicinity of Jacksonport. Shelby was disabled, and Col. G. W. Thompson commanded his brigade. The expedition to Helena over muddy roads and across swollen streams, without tents and frequently without rations, had been a hard one, but there was not much rest for the cavalry. Shortly General Davidson, with about 6,000 Federal cavalry, came down Crowley's ridge from Missouri, and Marmaduke prepared to meet him, but Davidson turned aside, without hazarding a fight, and went to Helena. As soon as Davidson had disappeared a light ironclad boat came up White river to very nearly where Shelby's brigade was camped, and Colonel Thompson undertook to capture it. But the boat was bullet-proof, and in the fight Lieut.-Col. Charles Gilkey, commanding Jeans' regiment, was killed, and Maj. David Shanks of the same regiment was severely wounded.

Davidson's cavalry column was only part of a force General Frederick Steele was concentrating at Devall's Bluff on the lower White river for the purpose of taking Little Rock. On the 24th of July General Price was assigned to the command of the district of Arkansas on account of the sickness of General Holmes, and General Fagan was assigned to the command of General Price's division. About the middle of August Marmaduke moved with his division from Jacksonport to form a junction with General Walker at Brownsville. When they met, Walker, as the ranking officer, took command. A few hours after Marmaduke reached Brownsville, the head of Steele's column, Davidson's cavalry in advance, appeared on the prairie. General Walker decided to retreat, and Marmaduke at his own request was given the rear, with Elliott's battalion and Pratt's battery. The

line of retreat lay across the prairie, but about twelve miles from Brownsville the road passed through a neck of timber, and it was arranged that the main body should be concealed in this timber, and that Marmaduke should draw the enemy's advance into an engagement, induce it to charge into the timber and give the main body an opportunity either to capture or disperse it. Marmaduke performed his part, but General Walker did not stop nor leave a man in the timber, and Marmaduke came near being captured instead of capturing the Federal advance.

At Bayou Two Prairie the enemy gave over the pursuit and went into camp, while Marmaduke continued his march and joined the main body in camp at Reid's bridge on Bayou Meto late at night. Bayou Meto and Bayou Prairie are about twelve miles apart, with no water for a cavalry command between them. Bayou Meto is a low, sluggish stream, with a miry bed and abrupt banks, and the sides are fringed with a heavy growth of timber. For several days Davidson's and Marmaduke's commands skirmished with each other. General Walker was in command, but never appeared at the front. His headquarters were some two miles back from Bayou Meto, in a brick church and school-house. On the fifth day, however, the Federals advanced in earnest, determined to secure ground for a camp on Bayou Meto. A substantial bridge spanned the bayou, which had been prepared for destruction by Marmaduke. After a considerable show of fight on the north side of the bayou, Marmaduke retired his force across the stream and fired the bridge. Three times the enemy advanced and tried to force him to let go his hold on the stream, and three times they were beaten back, bleeding and torn. In the interval between the first and second assaults, General Walker came on the field, but did not remain to exceed fifteen minutes. After the third assault, it became evident the enemy were weakening, and General Marmaduke sent a staff officer to request General Walker's presence, as he

could not himself well leave the field, and wished to consult him in regard to taking the offensive. General Walker refused to receive a verbal message. Then Marmaduke wrote him a note, and he refused to answer that. As a consequence the enemy were allowed to retire unmolested and undisturbed.

The relations between General Marmaduke and General Walker after the battle of Helena were strained; after the retreat from Brownsville they became more strained; and after the fight at Bayou Meto they were so intense that General Marmaduke informed Col. Thomas L. Snead, General Price's chief of staff, that his division must be removed from Walker's command or his resignation be accepted. This led to a correspondence between Walker and Marmaduke, which resulted in a duel and the death of Walker. Marmaduke and his seconds were put in arrest after the duel, but were released, on a petition from the officers of his division, when it became evident that General Steele intended to assault and take Little Rock, or be beaten in the effort. The release from arrest was temporary, but the affair was afterward quietly allowed to drop.

On the north side of the river, opposite Little Rock, heavy earthworks had been constructed by General Holmes for the protection of the town. The works were formidable, and there were fully as many men behind them as Steele had in his army. In this extremity Steele decided upon the hazardous plan of dividing his army, throwing his cavalry across the river below the town, and threatening it from the east and the south. Walker's brigade, commanded by Colonel Dobbins, was stationed at the ford where the cavalry had to cross, but Dobbins, after a feeble resistance, fell back and the enemy gained the point of getting a foothold on the south side of the river. Marmaduke was ordered to move his division from the front of the works on the north side and recover the lost ground. He crossed at the lower pontoon with his own

brigade, and sent in haste for Shelby's brigade, which was stationed at the extreme left of the line on the north side, to cross at the upper pontoon and join him. As the brigade passed through the city, Shelby, who had risen from his sick bed and mounted his horse, notwithstanding the protests of his surgeons, put himself at its head, amid the shouts of welcome of his soldiers, and went at a gallop to the assistance of Marmaduke. In the meantime Marmaduke, as soon as he arrived on the field with his brigade, formed it and Dobbins' brigade for a charge. But when ordered to charge Dobbins refused to do so, on the ground that the men would not serve under Marmaduke. Marmaduke promptly put Dobbins in arrest, and taking the battleflag of the brigade in his hand called on the men to follow. They answered with a cheer, and both brigades swept forward and drove the enemy back, capturing a section of artillery and several standards.

At this juncture Shelby's brigade arrived, and the division was never in better condition for a fight. Marmaduke had just made the boast that the Federals would not sleep in Little Rock that night, when an order reached him from General Price not to engage the enemy below the town, nor in the town, but to check them after they had passed through the town. During this time the earthworks on the north side had been abandoned, and the infantry marched across the river on pontoons and started southward in retreat, thus giving up the capital of the State, the pleasant city of Little Rock, and the productive valley of the Arkansas, without striking a blow in their defense. As General Price was doing exactly what General Steele wanted him to do, the latter did not interfere with him, but allowed him full time to abandon the works and evacuate the city. Marmaduke had no alternative but to obey the order he received. He fell back by successive regimental formations, retiring slowly and checking the enemy whenever they attempted to crowd him.

After the evacuation of Little Rock the infantry were concentrated at Camp Bragg, near Red river, and the cavalry watched the movements of the enemy at Little Rock and Pine Bluff. The troops were dissatisfied. They confidently expected to fight the Federals at Little Rock and to whip them, and they could not understand why, when General Steele divided his force and took the chance of being beaten in detail, a retreat had been ordered, instead of advantage taken of his hazardous experiment. It has been stated that Colonel Shelby left his sick bed and took command of his brigade as it passed through Little Rock to join Marmaduke in checking the advance of the enemy below the town. Having escaped the bondage Shelby had no intention of returning to it, but, reduced almost to a skeleton and his shattered arm in a sling, he set to work to get permission to make an expedition into Missouri. This was not easily done, but he was persistent.

Some time before Governor Claiborne F. Jackson had died, and Lieut.-Gov. Thomas C. Reynolds had become governor of Missouri, and was recognized as such by the Confederate military authorities as well as the Missourians in the army. Governor Reynolds was a man of bold temper, and an expedition such as Shelby proposed appealed strongly to the chivalry of his nature. Backed by the governor, Shelby finally got the consent of Generals Marmaduke, Price, Holmes and Kirby Smith. On the 21st of September—eleven days after the evacuation of Little Rock—an order was made giving him 600 men and two pieces of artillery for the purpose of proceeding to north Arkansas and south Missouri, and all Confederate commanders and recruiting officers in those sections were ordered to report to him. The next day with a picked band from his brigade he rode away to what officers above him believed to be almost certain capture or death.

CHAPTER XIV.

SHELBY'S RAID THROUGH MISSOURI—THE FIGHT NEAR MARSHALL—BRILLIANT EXPLOITS OF SHELBY'S COMMAND—MARMADUKE ATTACKS PINE BLUFF.

THE Arkansas river from the Indian country to its mouth was in possession of the Federals, and Shelby decided to go well up toward Van Buren before attempting to cross it. In the Caddo mountains he met Col. David Hunter with 150 recruits from Missouri. Hunter had resigned the command of an infantry regiment to enter the cavalry service; was an experienced scout and fighter, familiar with the country in which Shelby proposed to operate, and promptly accepted the proposal to return with the latter to Missouri. The Caddo mountains south of the Arkansas river, like the Boston mountains north of it, were infested with numerous bands of marauders, made up of robbers and deserters from both armies, who tortured and plundered the people indiscriminately. These bands received scant mercy at Shelby's hands. One beyond Caddo Gap, which was the terror of the country, was surprised by Major Elliott and annihilated. Before he reached the Arkansas river Shelby met, unexpectedly to each, an Arkansas cavalry regiment, composed principally of Confederate conscript deserters, charged it on sight and killed, captured or scattered it. Near Ozark he forded the river and took the town, Major Shanks killing and dispersing a band of plunderers who had possession of it. The command was halted and rested one day near Huntsville. At Bentonville, the wreck of a town, having been burned by Sigel's men, Colonel Coffee and a hundred men recruited by him joined the column. Here Shelby threw forward beyond Springfield

three bodies of scouts under trusty and experienced officers, with instructions to cut telegraph wires and in every way interrupt communication with St. Louis. They were to move in advance of him toward the Missouri river at Booneville, and communicate with him from time to time. For the rest, to mystify and mislead the enemy, he depended upon his own strategy and rapidity of movement.

At Neosho, Mo., twenty-five miles from Bentonville was a Federal garrison about 400 strong, quartered in the brick court house in the center of the town. They were well armed, well mounted and well clothed, and their equipments were more attractive than they were themselves. Maj. George Gordon approached the town from the east, Coffee from the north and Hooper from the west, while Shelby advanced on it from the south, with Shanks and the artillery. The Federals, in their strong position, were confident until the artillery opened on them, and then very promptly the white flag went up and they surrendered unconditionally. The guns and horses here obtained armed and mounted the unarmed and dismounted men, and put the column in good condition for traveling. While the prisoners were paroled and the spoils secured, a large scouting party came down from Newtonia, and those who composed it, except a few who escaped, shared the fate of the captured garrison.

Bowers' Mill, a militia rendezvous and headquarters, was taken and purified by fire of its filth and immoral surroundings. After a night march Greenfield and its garrison of 50 militia were captured and the court house burned, because it was used by the Federals as a fort. Then the 25 militia who held Stockton were captured and their fort, the court house burned; and then Humansville, which was held by a force of 150 cavalry, was captured after the garrison had lost seventeen men killed and wounded. Warsaw showed fight, but Gordon flanked it on the right and Elliott on the left,

while Hooper attacked it by wading the river in its front, and its garrison succumbed, surrendering a large quantity of stores of every kind. Cold Camp was a German settlement and a militia headquarters, on a productive and highly cultivated plain. The people had good houses, fruitful orchards, prolific fields of grain and abundant supplies of cattle. They expected to be despoiled of their property and have their houses burned. But Shelby did not make war on non-combatants, nor take private property without paying for it. Court houses and buildings used as forts by the enemy were different. Those he destroyed as a matter of course. Florence was an abandoned town. Its inhabitants—men, women and children—had fled, leaving all their household property behind. The soldiers did nothing worse than take what they wanted to eat.

Tipton was an important point on the Pacific railroad, and its garrison made a pretense of defending it, but only a pretense. The exchange of a couple of volleys and an attack in flank by Gordon did the business, and the Federals fled for their lives. The railroad was hardly torn up and what supplies the men needed taken from the military stores left behind, when Col. Thomas T. Crittenden appeared on the prairie, with about a thousand men—the number Shelby had—and both commands were formed for battle. It would have been a great thing for Crittenden to have captured or defeated Shelby, and fate had been kind in giving him as good an opportunity as a brave man would ask. But when Shelby's command, with Shelby at its head, moved forward to the attack, Crittenden's heart failed him, and before a shot had been fired his command turned and fled, he leading the advance in its flight.

The march of two days to Booneville was continued without interruption, as far as the enemy were concerned. Shelby's objective point in starting had been Jefferson City or Booneville. But at Tipton he learned that a heavy force of Federals had been massed at Jeffer-

son City—much too heavy for him to meet in the field, to say nothing of attacking in the strongly fortified position they occupied. At Booneville he was received most hospitably by the people, particularly the women, who were nearly all Southern in their sympathies and made no effort to conceal their feelings. As soon as it became apparent that he was going to Booneville, the greater part of the force at Jefferson City under General Brown, the dashing officer whom Marmaduke and Shelby had fought unsuccessfully at Springfield, moved out in pursuit of him. Brown had 4,000 men under his command; Shelby had 1,000. He knew, too, that an equally heavy force under Gen. Thomas Ewing was bearing down upon him from the west, and that troops were being concentrated south of him to intercept his retreat. He had reached the turning point in his expedition, and had now to fight the enemy massed in solid columns instead of dispersed at detached garrison towns. But he went into camp at Booneville and remained there thirty-six hours, determined to rest his men and horses for the terrible struggle before them.

When he left the town Brown was close upon him, and the rear of one force and the advance of the other skirmished hotly. But Shelby was in no hurry. As long as his enemy was behind him he was not apprehensive. The skirmishing continued until the LaMine river was reached. The banks of the river were steep on either side and slippery from the crossing of Shelby's command. Here he ambushed 250 men under Hunter, and waited for the enemy to attempt to cross. Brown was pushing things and his advance cavalry regiment rode boldly into the stream. Then Hunter's men opened upon them a deadly fire, and in a few minutes the stream was full of floundering men and horses who could neither advance nor retreat, and a steady and effective fire was kept up upon them. How many were killed and wounded or drowned was never known, but the impetuosity of

Brown's pursuit was suddenly checked, for at the crossing of Blackwater, the same day, his attack was confined to the use of artillery at long range. Before he reached Marshall the next day, Shelby learned that General Ewing was in his front with at least 4,000 men. The supreme struggle was at hand. Brown's force was thundering on his rear, and Ewing's force was not two miles away, ready to block his path or close on him if he stopped an hour to fight Brown. He destroyed the bridge across Salt Fork, and left Shanks with 300 men to dispute the passage and hold Brown, while he, with the remainder of the command, made a desperate effort to break through Ewing's lines. He dismounted his men and for an hour the fighting was furious. Ewing's lines extended beyond his and almost inclosed them. But he pressed the fighting and continually advanced, though portions of his line at times were checked and temporarily forced to give ground.

In the meantime Shanks was holding Brown at bay at the crossing of Salt Fork, but at a great sacrifice of his men. Once he sent to Shelby for a piece of artillery, but Shelby was so nearly surrounded and was fighting against such odds that he could not spare a man or a gun. At last Shelby saw an outlet—a weak point in Ewing's lines—and under cover of his artillery mounted his men, sent to Shanks to join him, charged with all his force on the weak point and with terrible loss cut his way through, bringing off one of his cannon and leaving the other dismounted behind him. Shanks in attempting to join Shelby was so hard pressed that he had to stop every few hundred yards to repel a charge. But Shelby's charge had broken Ewing's left wing, and Shanks having lost sight of Shelby, rode down everything in front of him and forced his way through the broken line. Shelby and Shanks were thus separated and neither knew what had become of the other, but each supposed the other lost.

As soon as Shelby got clear of the Federal lines, he

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halted and waited for Shanks. Shanks did not come, but Ewing's cavalry did. They were beaten back, and Shelby moved up the river in the direction of Waverly, in Lafayette county, and when night came halted and went into camp to feed and rest his men and horses, issue his remaining ammunition to the men, and free himself from the incumbrance of a train by throwing his wagons in the river. The command passed through Waverly just at daylight and turned directly southward. The retreat that Shelby was about to make meant taxing the power of endurance and strength of his men and horses to the utmost, with every now and then a more or less serious engagement with the enemy. It was the farthest possible remove from a precipitate and headlong flight. He had foreseen and prepared for retreat when he halted and rested thirty-six hours at Booneville, while the enemy were concentrating around him in overwhelming numbers, and again when he halted and rested during the night near Waverly after the desperate fight near Marshall. Notwithstanding the hard service they had seen, his men and horses were in fairly good condition for the long and exhausting march before them.

His line of march was east of Warrensburg and west of Clinton, and he stopped a few hours between them to feed his horses and wait for a body of men under Capt. James Wood that had been detached to burn a bridge over the LaMine river, which they did after capturing the troops guarding it. Below Clinton a force of Kansas cavalry struck his rear, but were so roughly handled that they retired and abandoned the pursuit as far as they were concerned. In thirty-six hours he was in the vicinity of Carthage, having marched in that time fully a hundred miles, halted five times to feed his horses, and repulsed two attacks upon his rear. He was now on comparatively safe ground, and camped near Carthage for a good night's rest. He allowed Major Pickler and a force of Coffee's command to camp in Carthage, and Pickler

permitted himself to be surprised just before day by Ewing's advance guard, and driven in confusion out of the town. But the Federal victory was short-lived, for Shelby heard the uproar and, understanding what it meant, ambushed the enemy and cut them up so badly that the pursuit was abandoned then and there. From the vicinity of Carthage Shelby moved leisurely to White river and camped near Berryville to rest his command and wait for information in regard to Shanks and his detachment.

Shanks had a rough time after he left the field at Marshall, but fortunately he liked a rough time. He was as sturdy a soldier as ever rode in front of an advancing column or held the rear of a retreating one. When the *mêlée* and confusion resulting from Shelby's charge at Marshall were the greatest, and he swung off to the left, Brown followed him so closely and held to him so tenaciously that he could make but slow progress, and when night came he had got but three miles from the battlefield. But when the enemy drew off at night he halted, fed his horses, distributed his ammunition and formed his plans. He followed very nearly the line in retreat that Shelby had followed in his advance. All night and a part of the next day he moved swiftly on, and luckily, just after he crossed the Pacific railroad, near Sedalia, he encountered a Federal forage train, dispersed the escort and captured the wagons. This furnished abundant supplies for his men and horses and enabled him to continue his march without much loss of time. At Florence, which he entered at night, he encountered a Federal force as strong as his own, but charged it out of hand and made short work of it. McNeil was in command of the Federal forces at Springfield, and it was perhaps fortunate for Shelby and Shanks that he was. McNeil was not a fighter. As far as he ever went in that way was to make a demonstration—a show of fight—to save his reputation and his commission. As a general thing his soldiers got

out of Shelby's and Shanks' way. They did this on Shanks' line of retreat at Warsaw, at Cold Camp and at the crossing of most of the streams. A command having information of his approach attempted to ambush him in a rocky gorge. But Shanks charged it without halting, and one volley was all the Federals fired. After passing through Humansville he became involved among a network of detached bodies of the enemy, and one of his lieutenants and a number of his men were captured. He soon cut his way out, and these were the only prisoners he lost. But constant marching and fighting, loss of sleep and lack of food, were telling on his men, and it became evident to the sturdy soldier that he must reach a place of safety soon or succumb. He made a detour around Springfield, passed between Mount Vernon and Greenfield, both heavily garrisoned by the Federals, and was approaching White river when his way was barred by 200 Federal cavalry. The cavalry were quickly dispersed and thirty horses fell into the hands of the victors, which served to mount the men whose horses had given out or been killed.

That night Shelby's scouts and Shanks' scouts met. The two commands were camped not five miles apart. About as quickly as a tired horse could travel five miles, Shelby was informed of Shanks' safety, and he at once aroused his camp and a shout went up that could have been heard for miles around. And then, at midnight, he marched with all his command to Shanks' camp and, tired as they all were, a night of jollity and rejoicing followed. The next day the re-united command moved slowly southward, and encamped in the vicinity of Huntsville, Arkansas. Colonel Hunter with a small detachment was sent to occupy the town and bring in some companies of recruits that were near there. Early next morning he returned and reported that he had been driven out of the town, and that McNeil with a large force was in possession of it. Shelby was not anxious to meet McNeil, be-

cause his ammunition was reduced to ten rounds to the man, and he might have to fight to get across the Arkansas. He knew McNeil well enough to be satisfied that he had nothing to fear from him. So he continued to retire and McNeil continued to follow him, but keeping at least a mile in rear. Once he made a mistake and got too close, when Gordon drove him back with his single regiment. Nor did he attempt to interfere when Shelby crossed the Arkansas river and continued his march leisurely southward.

In this expedition Shelby marched more than a thousand miles through a country held by the enemy; fought forty-seven battles and skirmishes; took twenty garrisoned towns; destroyed eleven forts and blockhouses; killed, wounded and captured 3,500 of the enemy; re-mounted, re-armed and re-clothed his command; and returned with twice as large a force as he started with. He did more. He infused a new spirit of confidence and courage in the army of the Trans-Mississippi department by showing it what a bold leader with a few hardy and determined men could accomplish. The people of the beautiful and cultivated town of Washington, Arkansas, around which the cavalry were encamped, appreciated the arduous services he had performed and the wonderful successes he had achieved, and on his return received him as a conquering hero.

Late in October General Marmaduke got permission from General Holmes to attack and take Pine Bluff. The place was held by Col. Powell Clayton, a bold and enterprising Federal officer, with probably 1,500 men. Clayton was in the habit of making periodical forays in the direction of Ouachita river, and General Holmes thought it would be well to teach him a lesson. Marmaduke's command for the expedition consisted of his own brigade under Col. Colton Greene; Cabell's brigade under Col. J. C. Monroe; Dobbins' brigade under Col. R. C. Newton; the portion of Shelby's brigade that did not accompany him

into Missouri, under Col. G. W. Thompson; and three batteries—aggregating 2,300 men. This force was gradually concentrated at Princeton, nearly midway between Camden and Pine Bluff. By a night march Marmaduke reached Pine Bluff the next morning before seven o'clock.

Clayton was taken completely by surprise, but it was Sunday morning and his troops were in line for inspection. Marmaduke, supposing he would be overawed by superior force, sent in a flag of truce by a staff officer demanding his surrender. Clayton refused to surrender, but the sending of the flag of truce caused a delay of a half hour or more, and Clayton improved the time by constructing fortifications of cotton bales on all the streets leading to the court house in the public square, in which the greater part of his force was concentrated. Monroe was to attack on the left and Newton on the right, while Greene and Thompson held the center. Newton was slow in getting into position, which caused a further delay. Monroe attacked promptly and drove the Federals in his front into the fortifications, and Newton did the same in his front directly afterward. Clayton, however, behind his cotton bales and in a strong brick building which was practically protected by the surrounding buildings from the fire of the artillery, occupied a position from which it was difficult to dislodge him. Marmaduke got possession of the buildings fronting on the square, and a hot fire was kept up for several hours between his men in them and the Federals in the court house, without any particular result. Fire was tried, but the court house being a hundred yards from the burning buildings, the Federals were not seriously affected. At last the situation resolved itself into a charge on the fortifications and court house, with the certain loss of several hundred men, or an abandonment of the attack. After serious consideration Marmaduke decided to withdraw. The Fifth Kansas, Clayton's regiment, followed him, and in an open field about a mile from town Greene's regiment turned upon

it. Each regiment standing in open ground, not more than seventy yards apart, fired three volleys, and the Fifth Kansas fell back and gave up the pursuit. Greene's regiment lost heavily, and Marmaduke's horse was killed under him. Marmaduke's loss was 94 killed and wounded, and the enemy's probably not as large, as they fought mostly under cover.

During the winter of 1863-64 the Missouri troops in the Trans-Mississippi department remained generally inactive. The infantry were, and had been since shortly after the evacuation of Little Rock, in quarters at Camp Bragg. The cavalry were encamped in and around Camden, and except an occasional foraging expedition or a hurried march to check some imaginary movement of the enemy, remained quietly in camp.

CHAPTER XV.

THE MISSOURI BRIGADE IN THE GEORGIA AND TENNESSEE CAMPAIGNS—SERVICE AT NEW HOPE CHURCH—AT KENESAW MOUNTAIN—IT CAPTURES ONE OF THE FORTS AT ALLATOONA—DISASTER AT FRANKLIN—REAR GUARD IN THE RETREAT FROM NASHVILLE—BLED SOE'S BATTERY—GENERAL MAURY'S OPINION OF THE BRIGADE.

EARLY in April, 1864, the Missouri brigade, which had been in camp at Demopolis, and during the time had re-enlisted for the war, marched to Lauderdale Springs and then to Tuscaloosa, and, on the 18th of May, took its place in the army of Tennessee, under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, in French's division of Polk's corps. It first became engaged on the 25th, when the army was posted on the line of New Hope church. It was ordered to the support of Stewart's division, and held the line while he removed his dead and wounded. During the time the army occupied the New Hope church line, Col. A. C. Riley, of the First Missouri infantry, was killed while asleep in the rear of the line. He was an accomplished officer, and possessed in a high degree the confidence and affection of his men. He was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, who was on duty at Richmond at the time, but immediately returned to the regiment and assumed command.

On the 19th of June the brigade was placed on the top of Little Kenesaw mountain, with orders to hold the works there. The works were strongly built and easily defended, and from them all the movements of the enemy on the plain below could be plainly seen. On the 27th the enemy, after a furious cannonade, advanced

in strong force to assault the works. His first line, not a hundred yards distant when it emerged from the woods, was checked and went down before the steady and withering fire of the Missourians. It was succeeded by another line which got a little closer, when it too was driven back. Then came a third and new line, heavier than either of the others that had preceded it, which made a more determined assault, advanced farther and stood its ground longer than they had, but in the end shared the same fate—was driven back and hurled in confusion down the side of the mountain. In three-quarters of an hour the attack was ended and the enemy gone, leaving his dead in piles on the side and at the bottom of the hill. Bledsoe's and Guibor's batteries rendered efficient services in repelling these assaults.

On the 3d of July General Johnston withdrew from Kenesaw and established a new line on Peach Tree creek and the river below its mouth. He had been successful in all the battles he had fought during the campaign. In addition, General Forrest had achieved a brilliant victory over General Sturgis in northern Mississippi. At this juncture General Johnston was relieved of the command by order of the President, and Gen. John B. Hood assigned to it. Subsequently, the first engagement in which the brigade took part was an attack by a portion of Hardee's corps on Thomas' column. The Missourians did not fire a shot, but were kept under fire and lost 61 killed and wounded, among the killed being Lieutenant-Colonel Samuels of Gates' regiment. The next day they were spectators of the same kind of fighting, but did not suffer as they did before. In the fighting in the trenches around Atlanta, Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell, of the Third infantry, and Captain Kennerly, of the First infantry, were killed. On the 7th of September the brigade drove several Federal regiments two and a half miles, recaptured Jonesboro, on Sherman's flank, held it until night and then returned to the main command. In

the latter part of September Hood concentrated his forces and moved northward. But there was no fighting until he reached the Allatoona mountain, when French's division was detached and ordered to take the post of Allatoona, which was strongly fortified and held by the enemy. On the summit were three forts protected by formidable lines of intrenchments, while on the exposed sides an abatis had been made of felled timber. These forts guarded the Allatoona pass. The Missourians made a dash for the fort they were ordered to assault, and, after a stubborn fight, notwithstanding the impediments in their way, reached and took it, capturing part of the garrison, the other part escaping to the next fort. Sears' brigade failed to take the adjoining fort, and a general assault was made upon it. But that, too, failed, and as Federal reinforcements were rapidly approaching General French ordered the troops to withdraw, though the Missourians were eager to charge again. In the charge on the first fort Major Waddell, commanding the Third infantry, was killed on the summit of the inner parapet. He was a fine officer and greatly beloved by his command.

Shortly after the fight at Allatoona, Hood and Sherman parted company, the one to make his campaign into Tennessee and the other to pursue his march to the sea. From Allatoona to Franklin was a march of fifty-six days, through the rains of fall and winter, over muddy roads, on short rations, with wornout shoes and blistered feet, and the relaxation of digging trenches, building pontoon bridges and occasionally skirmishing with the enemy. On the 30th of November the army reached Franklin. In the attack Stewart's corps was on the right, Cheatham's on the left, and the cavalry on either flank. The attack was made at four o'clock in the evening, and the Missouri brigade went forward with its band playing Dixie. The troops carried the outer line of the enemy's intrenchments, and advanced against their interior line.

A heavy battery kept up an incessant fire on the Missourians, but the infantry did not open upon them until they were within thirty steps of the works. Then they were met by a terrific fire from the troops armed with seven-shooting Spencer rifles, and in five minutes the brigade was nearly annihilated. General Cockrell came out wounded in both arms and a leg; unable to dismount from his horse without assistance. Colonel Gates' horse followed General Cockrell's, both arms of its rider hanging limp and useless by his side. Colonel Garland and Major Parker, of the First, and Major Caniff, of the Third regiment, and nineteen other commissioned officers, were killed in the front of the battle, beside a large number wounded and missing. The brigade lost 457 out of 687 men. When it joined General Johnston it was 1,630 strong. After the charge at Franklin its whole strength was 240. Before the battle the First regiment was commanded by Colonel Gates, the Second by Colonel Flournoy, the Third by Major Caniff and the Fourth by Colonel Garland. After the battle the First was commanded by Lieutenant Guthrie; the Second by Lieutenant-Colonel Cooper; the Third by Capt. Ben Guthrie, and the Fourth by Captain Wickersham. Many of the men were killed inside the inner works, having fought their way, in spite of all opposition, over the intrenchments and into the enemy's stronghold. It was strictly an infantry fight, the artillery, except Bledsoe's battery, taking no part in it. The enemy kept up a steady fire until midnight, when they retreated to Nashville.

Notwithstanding his heavy losses Hood advanced the next evening on Nashville, which Thomas held with the main army reinforced by Schofield's victorious forces, and proceeded to invest the place. On the 3d of December the Missouri brigade drove in the enemy's outlying forces in its front and fortified itself at the Montgomery house. On the 5th it was moved to the extreme left to guard the flank, and on the 10th, with a four-gun battery

and a squadron of cavalry, moved to the mouth of Duck river to build a fort to obstruct the passage of gunboats to Nashville. But before it had accomplished this, Hood was defeated in front of Nashville, on the 14th day of December, and orders were received to join the retreating army at Bainbridge. In the retreat the Missouri brigade was one of the seven brigades selected to bring up the rear, and was the last to cross the pontoon bridge over the Tennessee river—the rear of the rear guard.

Bledsoe's battery marched in rear with the brigade, and was fought by its intrepid commander as cavalry, infantry or artillery as circumstances required. One morning, just before daylight, the battery had taken a position on the turnpike over the brow of a hill, with a deep cut in front. A heavy fog concealed everything at the distance of a few rods. Immediately after day-break a regiment of the enemy's cavalry appeared, and came within twenty yards of the battery before discovering it. Bledsoe was waiting and prepared. His guns were in position, double-shotted, and trained on the road. In a loud voice he called on the Federal commander to surrender, and he, taken by surprise, surrendered at once, and with his command was safely disposed of before any additional force came up. On another occasion the battery remained in rear until the enemy charged and tried to capture it. But the guns went off at full speed down the road, mixed with the charging cavalry, who could only use their sabers, and loudly called upon the drivers to stop; but the drivers yelled back that they could not hold their horses, and thus mingled together, pursuers and pursued rushed upon the infantry of the rear guard and the battery was safe, while its pursuers found it necessary to retire in a hurry.

The army passed through Eastport, Iuka and Jacinto to Verona. At this time Gen. Dabney H. Maury, who had frequently commanded the brigade and knew it intimately, wrote it a letter in which he said: "As for you,

you have deserved well of your country. You have been such soldiers as the world has never seen. Three years have passed since first we met in the Boston mountains and marched through the driving snow to attack the enemy's army. From that time to this you have been voluntary exiles from the land of your birth and the homes of all you love. You were a mighty host then—you are now a remnant of battle-scarred, toil-worn veterans. But your hearts are brave and true, your eyes are bright and your noble purposes are unshaken."

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL PRICE COMMANDS THE DISTRICT OF ARKANSAS—PARSONS' DIVISION SENT TO GENERAL TAYLOR IN LOUISIANA—THE BATTLE OF PLEASANT HILL—MARMADUKE OPPOSES STEELE'S ADVANCE—STEELE GOES TO CAMDEN—POISON SPRING—MARKS' MILL—STEELE EVACUATES CAMDEN—BATTLE OF JENKINS' FERRY—STEELE RETURNS TO LITTLE ROCK.

IN March, 1864, Lieut.-Gen. T. H. Holmes was relieved of command of the district of Arkansas and ordered to report to Richmond. Maj.-Gen. Sterling Price succeeded him in command of the district. Late in March Shelby's brigade was sent north of the Ouachita river to watch the movements of the enemy, for it began to be suspected that two expeditions were being organized with Shreveport as their objective point, one from the south moving along the line of Red river, and the other from the north starting from Little Rock and passing through the southern part of the State. Shelby made his headquarters at Princeton, and it was not long before he had the enemy confined closely to Little Rock and Pine Bluff. The belief of a Federal advance soon became a certainty, and there was the excitement of preparation in every command in the district.

The infantry were ordered from Camp Bragg to Shreveport to reinforce Gen. Dick Taylor, who was preparing to oppose General Banks' advance from the south, while General Price remained in Arkansas to oppose with the cavalry the advance of General Steele from the north. The infantry, under the command of General Parsons, constituted a division of two brigades, the First composed of the Eighth Missouri infantry, Col. C. S. Mitchell; the

Ninth Missouri infantry, Col. John B. Clark; and Ruffner's four-gun battery. Colonel Clark, being the ranking officer, commanded the brigade. The Second brigade was composed of the Tenth Missouri infantry, Col. William M. Moore; the Eleventh Missouri infantry, Col. S. P. Burns; the Sixteenth Missouri infantry, Lieut.-Col. P. W. Cumming; Pindall's battalion of sharpshooters, Maj. L. A. Pindall; and Lesueur's Missouri four-gun battery, Capt. A. A. Lesueur. Colonel Burns commanded the brigade.

General Churchill's Arkansas division was at the same time sent to Shreveport. The two divisions aggregated about 4,500 men, and made General Taylor's force about 13,000. He had fought the battle of Mansfield before the arrival of the reinforcements and driven one corps of Banks' army back upon the other, and at the time of their arrival was preparing to attack his army concentrated at Pleasant Hill, aggregating about 18,000 men. About four o'clock on the evening of the 9th of April he attacked Banks in a strong position. Parsons' division was on the extreme right of Taylor's line, while next to it on the left was Churchill's Arkansas division, the two divisions forming Churchill's corps. The battle opened with a heavy artillery fire, and a charge of a regiment of Texas cavalry on the enemy's center. The charge was repulsed, but the regiment formed again behind rising ground and charged gallantly, with the same result. Churchill then ordered Parsons to charge with his division, which he did, driving the enemy before him, capturing 300 prisoners and taking a battery, but found his command subjected to a heavy cross fire and ordered it to retire, losing in doing so two of the guns he had captured and 150 of the prisoners he had taken. On the center and left the Confederates were more successful. There Polignac, Walker, Green, Bee and Major drove the enemy steadily before them until night closed the conflict, leaving the Confederates in possession of the

field. After the battle the Missouri and Arkansas commands moved back to within four miles of Mansfield and went into camp to rest preparatory to their return to Arkansas.

About this time the district commander received official information of the promotion of Colonel Shelby to brigadier-general, which was only a proper recognition on the part of the Confederate government of the services of a brave, intelligent and successful officer. Some changes had taken place in Shelby's brigade, too, during the winter. Shanks had become colonel of Jeans' regiment, and Shelby's promotion made Gordon colonel of his regiment. Smith had succeeded Thompson in command of Coffee's old regiment. Blackwell was lieutenant-colonel of Gordon's regiment, and George Gordon, major, while Irwin became lieutenant-colonel of Shanks' regiment, and McDaniel became lieutenant-colonel under Elliott, and Walton, major.

Early in April General Steele moved out of Little Rock and began his march southward to co-operate with Banks in the capture of Shreveport. Steele took particular precautions to keep his strength, the composition of his force and the object and direction of his movement secret. Marmaduke was ordered to delay Steele as much as possible. He ordered Shelby to fall in his rear and annoy and retard him, by striking and getting away, wherever opportunity offered. Shelby carried out his instructions to the letter. Captain Wilkinson brought in 18 prisoners. Lieutenant Wolfenberger brought in 20 more, together with the contents of several commissary wagons. Altogether ten or fifteen of these detached parties returned with supplies, prisoners and horses. Davidson's cavalry was demoralized and rarely ventured beyond the protection of the infantry. In the meantime Marmaduke, with his own brigade, had thrown himself in Steele's front and compelled him to halt and deploy his infantry so frequently that he made but slow progress

in his forward movement. When Steele crossed the Ouachita at Arkadelphia, Shelby crossed it eight miles below, keeping pace with him and looking for a weak place in his column in order to strike him a sudden blow in force. Beyond the river lay the broad road from Arkadelphia to Washington. Steele had just passed over it. Shelby took it and was soon close upon his rear. His order to the commander of his advance was to charge everything in sight. The first thing in sight was Steele's rear guard cavalry, halted temporarily at a spring. Captain Thorp charged it with Shelby close behind him. The rear guard, taken unawares, was broken and driven pell-mell on a supporting brigade of infantry, which in turn was thrown into disorder, and, Shelby charging it, the disorder became confusion and the confusion ended in a precipitate retreat. But before retreating they delivered a volley which sent Captain Thorp down badly wounded with his horse across him, and a dozen others, among them Lieut. Dan Trigg of Marmaduke's escort company, who had been sent the day before with five men to find Shelby and deliver some orders to him. Trigg with his small detachment joined the advance, and at the first fire, he and two of his men went down in death. A brigade of infantry and a battery were sent by Steele to the relief of the first brigade, and Shelby, encouraged by his first success, charged full upon both. The fight was short and desperate. After a stubborn resistance the two brigades retired on the main body, and night coming on Shelby took a by-road, passed around Steele's flank, and the next day reported to Marmaduke with several hundred prisoners and full information in regard to Steele's strength and the morale of his troops.

The audacity and vigor of Shelby's attacks had the effect on Steele of making him much more cautious in his advance than he had been. He kept his command well closed up and did not march more than eight or ten

miles a day. When he reached the Little Missouri he did not attempt to cross it until he had been reinforced by 2,500 or 3,000 men under General Thayer, which made his whole force probably 12,000 men of all arms. Then he threw a brigade across the river, which was promptly driven back under cover of his artillery by Marmaduke. The second day afterward, however, he crossed his whole force, and moving out of the bottom encamped in the timber bordering on Prairie d'Ane. General Price with Fagan's Arkansas division and General Gano in command of several regiments of Texans and Indians, were camped about five miles away on the other side of the river, and Marmaduke a little to the north and nearer Steele. Every day the two forces skirmished on the prairie, and sometimes the fighting became lively. The third day, in the evening, Steele advanced in force, but Marmaduke resisted him so stubbornly that just after dark he drew back to the camp he had left and remained for the night. The next morning at sunrise both forces were in line of battle and confronting each other on the open level prairie. The sun shone brightly and Steele's army was an inspiring sight. His line extended for more than a mile, with the infantry in the center, the artillery between the brigades and the cavalry deployed on the flanks, every flag displayed and the arms of the men flashing brightly in the sunlight.

General Price decided not to accept the challenge to battle. Two roads were open to Steele—one to Washington, the other to Camden. If he took the first it became evident that he had not abandoned his intention of going to Shreveport. If he took the last he had surely abandoned that intention and proposed to return to Little Rock, or perhaps attempt to hold Camden and southern Arkansas. Price divided his force, he with Fagan's division and Gano's troops falling back on the Washington road, and Marmaduke's division retiring on the Camden road. Steele went toward Camden, which had been fortified the

year before by Holmes. Marmaduke retired before him, skirmishing lightly, until he reached a point known as Poison Spring, about five miles from Camden, where he made a determined stand for an hour or more—compelling Steele to deploy his infantry and bring his artillery into action—to gain time to have the military stores and other government property in Camden destroyed. His orders were not to occupy Camden, but to leave it to the left and hold a road running southeast from the town. These orders he executed to the letter.

Steele waited in Camden to learn the result of Banks' Shreveport expedition. Price waited outside Camden for reinforcements and for Steele to make a movement. Price's headquarters were at Munn's Mill, probably ten miles from Camden. Marmaduke was encamped within two miles of the town. Steele was short of provisions, and a few days after he occupied the town he sent out a foraging train on the Washington road of two hundred wagons, guarded by a regiment of cavalry, a regiment of white and two regiments of negro infantry and a battery, to replenish his commissariat. Marmaduke asked for Cabell's brigade and for permission to intercept and capture the train and its escort. The brigade was sent him and the permission given. Shelby's brigade was absent on detached service. Marmaduke's force consisted of his own and Cabell's brigade, aggregating about 2,000 men and Harris' and Hughes' four-gun batteries. When he reached the Washington road he learned the Federal column had been reinforced by a regiment of cavalry and a battalion of white infantry. But he pushed on and met the foraging party returning at Poison Spring.

Just as he reached there Genera Maxey with two small brigades—one of Texans and the other of Indians—joined him. Maxey was ranking officer, but declined to take the command. His force was at some little distance on a road coming in from the southeast. Marmaduke ordered the Texans and Indians to advance through the

woods from where they were, and make a noisy demonstration of attack on the Federal right, the whole Federal force being in line of battle fronting his and Cabell's brigades. The demonstrations on their flank deceived the Federals, and just as they were changing front to meet it Cabell's and Marmaduke's brigades charged them under cover of a heavy artillery fire and in less than fifteen minutes they went all to pieces. Marmaduke had kept Wood's battalion mounted, but when he ordered him to make pursuit of the fleeing enemy, Maxey countermanded the order, and directed him to put his men to gathering the spoils of the field. The spoils amounted to four pieces of artillery, with caissons, about 1,000 muskets, 200 six-mule wagons loaded with every species of plunder, and several ambulances. The enemy lost 60 white and 400 negro soldiers killed and wounded and 250 prisoners. All of them might have been captured if the pursuit had been made, but being unpursued the greater part worked their way around to a road going into Camden from the west and rejoined their army.

Steele was still sorely pressed for provisions, and in his extremity started out another foraging train, about as large as the first and about as strongly guarded, to Pine Bluff for supplies. After the affair at Poison Spring General Smith—who had come up from Shreveport, bringing Parsons' and Churchill's divisions with him—conceived the idea of sending three brigades of cavalry to threaten Little Rock. Fagan's division, consisting of Cabell's and Dockery's brigades, reinforced by Shelby's brigade, was selected. Shelby was at Miller's Bluff, and Fagan joined him there and crossed the river. He knew at that time nothing of Steele's foraging train, but when he reached Marks' Mill he learned of it, and that the next day it would cross the Saline river and probably be beyond his reach. It was, therefore, decided that Cabell and Dockery should attack in rear the next

morning and hold it, while Shelby, with Crawford's regiment of Arkansas cavalry, made a detour of ten miles to attack it in front. Dockery stopped to feed his horses four or five miles from the battlefield, and the burden of the fight fell upon Cabell. He was over-matched, but he held on with terrible tenacity, depending on Shelby's known rapidity of movement and impetuosity of attack for succor in the end. Shelby made the ten-mile ride in an hour by the watch. He never broke the gallop upon which he started, and when he made the last turn which placed him in the enemy's front—now his rear—one of his cannon stopped and fired two shots, to let Cabell know he was coming. The men of neither Shelby's brigade nor Crawford's regiment drew rein when they struck the enemy. This charge, without halting, relieved the pressure on Cabell and gave Shelby time to form his men and take the battery—the battery that had fought him under Blunt at Cane Hill and at Prairie Grove—and when the battery stopped firing the battle was won and Shelby and Cabell were undisputed masters of the field. Cabell's loss was heavy, because it had borne the brunt of the fight for an hour; and Shelby's was light, because of the suddenness and impetuosity of his attack.

The loss of these two trains left Steele in a desperate position. It was evident that he must evacuate Camden and force his way to Little Rock or Pine Bluff, or surrender. He was not disposed to surrender without first making an effort to escape. Shelby wanted Fagan to move his command down opposite Camden on the Ouachita river and keep him penned up where he was, or fight him every step he took along the corduroy road, which would be his only passageway through the swampy bottom after he crossed the river. Fagan said there was no forage there for the horses nor supplies for the men, and Shelby replied that the horses were already fat enough for the men to eat. But Fagan marched his

command to the vicinity of Arkadelphia, thirty-five miles away, to get forage for the horses, and left the way open for Steele to throw his pontoons across the river and get at least a day's start in the race for Little Rock or Pine Bluff. On the 25th—the day after the capture of his train at Marks' Mill—Steele evacuated Camden. When it was known that he had left, the infantry, which was camped eleven miles back, was hurried to the front and occupied the town, but it was found that the pontoons were a day's march in the rear, and the river could not be crossed without them.

In the meantime Marmaduke was ordered to cross the river with his brigade and get in Steele's front at Princeton. To cross the river he had to go down it to Whitehall, fifteen miles, and ferry his men and swim his horses over, and he reached Princeton just as Steele was leaving on the road to Little Rock. He took up the pursuit at once, and there was sharp fighting at times between his advance and Steele's rear guard. About noon it began to rain heavily, and in a little while the arms, accouterments and clothing of the men were drenched, and the roads became almost impassable. Just before night Saline river was reached and the enemy disappeared in the gloom of its heavily wooded bottom. The cavalry felt of their lines and finding that they were too strong and firm to be successfully attacked, withdrew to the bluff, a mile and a half in the rear, and bivouacked under the trees for the night, without food or covering. The rain fell all night without ceasing, and through it all the infantry toiled onward to reach the front. Before daylight the head of the column appeared; the men wet, bedraggled, hungry and tired. General Smith ordered Marmaduke to locate the enemy, which he did, finding them in force in the positions they occupied the evening before. Two regiments of his brigade, dismounted, were deployed as skirmishers, and held their ground and

kept up a steady fire on the enemy until they finally crossed the river and escaped.

Along one side of the road leading down to the river was a creek, sometimes without water, but now bank full. This creek protected the Federals' right flank. In their front was a large open field. On their left was a heavy wood. Through this open field, with the enemy protected by the timber on the other side, Churchill's division was ordered to charge. They went in with a rush, but the mud was deep, and as soon as they got in the field the enemy opened a terrific fire of musketry from the timber line on their front and right flank. After a short and desperate struggle they were driven back. Then Parsons' division was sent in, and it too, after a bloody struggle, was repulsed. After a pause Walker's strong Texas division was ordered in, and after a tremendous struggle was beaten back. The fight was made by the divisions separately. They were not at any time within supporting distance of each other, and did not support each other. By deflecting a little to the right the woods could have been cleared of the enemy and a charging line have had only the enemy in front to contend with. A section of Ruffner's battery was ordered to take position in this field, but before it had fired two rounds the men and horses were shot down and the guns captured. It was a useless sacrifice. When the Missouri division made its charge and was shaken by the terrible cross-fire of the enemy, General Marmaduke and his aide-de-camp, Capt. William M. Price, rode among the men, and, each taking a battleflag in his hand, led them forward, but only eventually to be forced to retire.

General Price was in command on the field, General Smith being a mile and a half back on the bluff. When the infantry had been beaten in detail, and the fighting had ceased, with the exception of the firing of the skirmishers, General Marmaduke galloped back and explained

the situation to General Smith. General Smith did not think it necessary to come on the field in person, but made Marmaduke his chief-of-staff and told him to make what disposition of the troops he pleased. But it was too late. General Steele took advantage of the prolonged pause to withdraw his troops, and, having got them safely across the river, to destroy his pontoons and continue his march to Little Rock.

CHAPTER XVII.

MARMADUKE AND GREENE'S BRIGADE ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER—THE BATTLE OF DITCH BAYOU—SHELBY GOES TO NORTH ARKANSAS—RIDS THE COUNTRY OF THE ROBBER BANDS—CAPTURES A GUNBOAT—AN ENGAGEMENT WITH CARR—CAPTURE OF AN ILLINOIS REGIMENT—FIGHTS AT BIG CYPRESS—PRICE CROSSES THE ARKANSAS AT DARDANELLE.

AFTER the battle of Jenkins' Ferry on Saline river, General Price encamped the infantry of his district around Camden; detached Shelby's brigade from Marmaduke's division and ordered it to operate around Arkadelphia and watch Steele at Little Rock, and sent Marmaduke with Greene's brigade to Chicot county—the extreme southeastern county of the State—to interfere with the navigation of the Mississippi river and prevent the transportation of men and supplies over it. At Saline river Marmaduke received the order of General Smith announcing his promotion to the rank of major-general, which entitled him of right to the command of a division; but, strangely enough, one of his brigades was taken from him and he was left with a single brigade.

The service in Chicot county was the lightest and most agreeable the Missouri cavalry had ever been ordered to perform. It was a rich county, and its inhabitants were wealthy, intelligent and hospitable. They were somewhat given to trading with the Federals, but their houses were always open to the Confederates, and they showed their kindly feeling toward them in numberless social ways. Marmaduke established his headquarters at Lake Village, a pleasant little town, and from there directed

operations against boats navigating the river. Lake Village nestles cosily on the outer edge of Lake Chicot. The lake was no doubt at one time the bed of the river, and is crescentic in form. It is probably fifteen miles in length, and on an average half a mile in width. Its two ends approach nearly to the river. But Lake Village is situated on its outer edge and is seven or eight miles from the river. From this point of vantage the batteries—Harris' and Hynson's—were sent with a regiment every day to fire on boats passing up and down, with the remainder of the brigade in easy supporting distance if they were threatened by a land force. It was splendid practice for the artillerymen and they liked it. They could see the effect of nearly every shot they fired, and they soon became so expert that they could riddle a transport in short order, and were more than a match for the light-armored, and lightly armed gunboats that patrolled the river. The command became, in fact, a great nuisance to the Federals, but it was hard to get at and dislodge.

At last the Federal authorities at Vicksburg decided to drive it away at all hazards, and began organizing a force for that purpose. Marmaduke learned of it, and asked for Cabell's brigade, which was sent to him, but the Federals delayed their movements and the brigade was ordered back to Fagan, leaving Marmaduke with only his old brigade under command of Col. Colton Greene. At length the Federals came, about 5,000 strong, under Gen. A. J. Smith. They landed at the lower point of the lake and were met by Burbridge and his regiment, who stubbornly contested their advance around the lake and gave Marmaduke time to get ready to receive them. The brigade moved down and met them about half way at Ditch Bayou—a low, sluggish stream, with steep banks and a miry bottom, that entered the lake at a right angle. Here Marmaduke formed his command with the advantage of position in his favor. He was in heavy

timber which afforded protection to his sharpshooters, while the enemy had to approach for a quarter of a mile over open ground. He had the bayou in his front while the foe had to cross it, and besides he had two batteries in perfect condition and training. His artillery was posted in sections along his line.

Burbridge crossed the bridge over the bayou and destroyed it. General Smith deployed two regiments when he came to the open ground, but did not even succeed in driving the skirmishers in. Then he brought his artillery and most of his infantry force into action and attempted to cross it again. Marmaduke's artillerymen showed the good effect of their practice on the river, and made one battery after another withdraw from the field in a damaged condition. The infantry did not get half way across the open space. Again Smith reformed his line and made a desperate attempt to force his way, but with no better success than before. Then he massed his artillery and threw out a heavy line of skirmishers and, under cover of the fire of these, sent a brigade to cross the bayou a mile above Marmaduke's position. As Marmaduke's line was not much more than a heavy skirmish line at best, he could not meet this flank movement, and withdrew. Passing up the lake to Lake Village, and there leaving it and making a detour, he crossed Ditch Bayou a mile above where Smith had crossed it, and next morning recrossed it and appeared on his rear instead of in front of him. He followed close upon him to his boats at the upper end of the lake, and fired on him as he embarked his men and returned to Vicksburg to claim a great victory. This was June 6, 1864.

That evening Marmaduke reoccupied his old camp at Lake Village. Marmaduke's loss in killed and wounded was 44. Maj. C. C. Rainwater, of his staff, was so severely wounded as to be disabled during the rest of the war. The enemy's loss, according to the statements of prisoners, was about 250 killed and wounded. Shortly

after this Marmaduke obtained an extended leave of absence to visit headquarters at Shreveport, and Col. Colton Greene, in command of the brigade, continued operations in Chicot county until he was ordered to obstruct the navigation of the Arkansas, which he effectually did.

Watching Steele from the vicinity of Arkadelphia was wearisome work for Shelby, and he soon applied for permission to cross the Arkansas river and keep Steele employed defending his line of communication with Devall's Bluff, to prevent his army being isolated at Little Rock. After some delay and difficulty he got permission to go with almost unlimited liberty to act after he arrived there. All the outfit he needed was twenty-five wagon loads of ammunition. He passed through Caddo mountains and took Dardanelle at a dash, capturing the garrison and a large amount of army stores. In the neighborhood of Dardanelle he met Colonel Jackman, who had authority from Gen. Kirby Smith to recruit a brigade, and at once invited his co-operation. Jackman was a splendid soldier, and just the man Shelby wanted to put in command of the troops he intended to organize.

North Arkansas at this time was filled with deserters, murderers and marauders from both armies, who had organized themselves into bands and tortured and plundered the people indiscriminately. One of Shelby's duties was to break up these bands, and kill or drive into the service the men who composed them. He issued a proclamation ordering them to join one army or the other, and warning them of the wrath if they did not. They had been threatened in that way before and paid no attention to his proclamation. Then his best scouts were called into requisition, and the outlaws were hunted down and shot like wild animals. They soon learned that the proclamation meant what it said, and that there was a man behind it who would enforce it to the letter. That was enough. The robber bands ceased to exist and those who had belonged to them fled the

country—went to the Federals or joined some Confederate command being organized.

Having pacified the country in a rough but effective way, and got the business of recruiting fairly started, Shelby looked around for something to do—some enemy to fight—some daring exploit to accomplish—that would attract Steele's attention to the north side of the river and induce him to let the south side alone. White river was the base of Federal operations in North Arkansas. It was alive with gunboats, and a railroad, which supplied Steele's army, connected Little Rock with Devall's Bluff. Without disturbing the recruiting officers in their work or taking a recruit with him, Shelby moved the brigade quietly but swiftly down to Clarendon, on White river, fourteen miles below Devall's Bluff. At Clarendon, his scouts informed him, was an ironclad gunboat, anchored in midstream—the *Queen City*. After night he approached the town, surrounded it with his scouts, with orders to arrest every person coming and going; and at midnight, with artillery muffled, crept stealthily into the town, masked his battery where he could sweep the deck of the boat, deployed the brigade as skirmishers all around it, and waited for morning. Just at daylight the order to fire was given, and four Parrott guns and a thousand rifles opened fire simultaneously on the boat, and shot down every man who appeared on deck or tried to fire a cannon. The boat was hard hit, the crew panic stricken, officers demoralized, and as volley after volley was poured into her, she struck her flag. The boat was armed with thirteen 32-pound guns, and had as good a crew as any Federal boat. Shelby paroled the officers and crew and burned the boat, taking two of her guns with which he extemporized a battery on shore, and waited to see what the other gunboats would do about it.

He did not have long to wait, for in an hour three gunboats appeared, and as soon as they discovered the com-

mand opened fire on it. Collins' battery and the guns of the improvised battery replied, and for more than an hour it was an even fight between the six guns of these batteries and the thirty-odd guns of the ironclads. In the end it was a drawn fight. The guns of the improvised battery were dismounted by a chance shot, and a leading gunboat, the Tyler, was so roughly handled that it had to be towed out of range by the other boats. But Shelby remained in possession of the field and was entitled to claim the victory. This fighting at Clarendon could not fail to attract the attention of the troops at Devall's Bluff, fourteen miles distant, and Gen. Eugene Carr was sent out with 4,000 men of all arms to capture Shelby and his command or drive them out of the district. Shelby knew Carr, and it no doubt amused him when he learned who was to be pitted against him. He drew back out of range of the gunboats, which were a part of Carr's command, and waited. It took Carr some time to drive Shelby's skirmishers back on the main line, but having done it his infantry charged and were driven back by Gordon's regiment. After that Carr contented himself with skirmishing and long-range artillery firing, until Shelby, learning that a strong force was moving from St. Charles to get in his rear, made a rush at Carr and drove him back nearly to the river, and then withdrew to avoid being hemmed in by two superior forces. Carr followed at a respectful distance, never coming to close quarters, until the critical point for Shelby had been passed, when he precipitately withdrew and sought the protection of his gunboats. Shelby crossed Bayou de View and went into camp at Jacksonport, where he had constructed a sort of pontoon bridge across White river.

While Shelby had been engaged on his Clarendon expedition he had not been unmindful of the condition of things farther west in the district. He had sent Capt. Maurice Langhorne and his company on a scouting foray in the direction of Searcy to learn the situation

there and along the line of the railroad between Devall's Bluff and Little Rock. Langhorne was an experienced soldier and scout, and took nothing for granted, but went inside the enemy's lines to see for himself, confident of his ability to fight his way out in an emergency. He did some fighting and returned with full information of the strength and dispositions of the enemy. A few days at Jacksonport sufficed to give the men and horses all the rest they needed, and Shelby moved on Searcy. The first force he struck was the Tenth Illinois cavalry, which had given notice, in the form of a challenge a short time before, of its readiness to meet the best regiment Shelby had. Shelby assigned to Gordon's regiment the order of maintaining the reputation of the brigade. The Tenth Illinois was at Searcy. Gordon made a night march and fell upon it unawares. The Illinoisians were willing enough to fight, but did not know how. They were comparatively new to the business. Taken by surprise they made but little resistance, and were captured almost to a man.

While Shelby was in the vicinity of Searcy the Federals at Des Arc organized an expedition to pass up the east side of White river, cross the river at Jacksonport, scatter his recruits, break up his recruiting stations and destroy his reserve supply of ammunition, thus at one stroke undoing all he had done and crippling him as far as future operations were concerned. Shelby learned of the movement, however, in time, turned back on his track, met the enemy at Augusta, repulsed them and drove them back empty handed. But he took care to put his ammunition out of reach of any sudden movement of the enemy.

His next foray was in the vicinity of Helena, where the plantations of Southern men had been seized by the Federal government, the owners dispossessed, their families driven away, and their property held and operated as government plantations. The houses were filled with

all sorts of stolen property, and had become plague spots of immorality. They were nominally the property of the government, but were used for the personal benefit of individuals; and being beyond the reach of law or any kind of moral influence, were the rendezvous of abandoned men and women of all conditions and colors, and the scene of almost perpetual orgies of licentiousness. Gordon's regiment was sent to abate the nuisance, which its commander did by holding some of the revelers as prisoners, banishing others under pain of death, burning the stolen property where there were no owners to claim it, and destroying the settlement root and branch.

In the meantime General Shelby had received information from General Price that he was organizing an expedition into Missouri; that he would cross the Little Rock & Devall's railroad some time in the latter part of July, and that he must destroy as much of the road as possible and keep the enemy as busy as possible in order that the ammunition train might cross the road in safety. Shelby entered eagerly on the work assigned him. With his own and Jackman's, McRae's and Dobbins' brigades—the second and third of which he had organized since he went to North Arkansas—he moved down and captured, after a hard fight, the forts at the crossing of Big Cypress, a treacherous, miry stream. There were four forts so arranged as to protect each other, and they were defended by an Illinois and a Nebraska regiment, and every one of them was in Shelby's possession within half an hour.

He then began destroying the railroad, having first sent a scouting party southward to ascertain whether General Price had crossed the Arkansas river as agreed. The scouting party heard nothing of Price, and Shelby concluded he had changed his plan and would cross the river above instead of below Little Rock. But he tore up the railroad track for twenty miles, in constant expectation of an attack from Little Rock or Devall's Bluff, or

possibly from both. It came from both and simultaneously. Shelby gathered his scattered command together and stood his ground. He intended to retreat, but not until he had struck the enemy a blow. Hunter and McRae formed on the left and Jackman and some detached regiments on the right of the old brigade. Twice he received the attack of the Federals and drove them back, and twice they reformed and renewed the attack. He was fighting to get McRae's undisciplined brigade and the wagons and artillery out of his way. As soon as these disappeared in the timber that skirted the prairie, he charged with his and Jackman's brigades, and before the enemy had recovered from the shock, turned and galloped off.

But the Federals were not disposed to permit him to escape so easily. They followed hard after him, and whenever opportunity offered attempted to crush his rear. Colonel Dobbins had been left to guard the bridge across the Big Cypress, and if he had been captured or driven away the command would be in a close place, for there was not another bridge across the stream within thirty miles. Shelby, with some doubt in his mind, reached it at eleven o'clock at night, and was rejoiced to find the bridge and its defenders all right. Before daylight the officer on outpost sent in word that the enemy were approaching in force. Gordon was ordered to hold the bridge; made his dispositions for that purpose and waited. Shortly there were shots in front, and then the sound of the rush of charging horsemen. Gordon told his men to let the men of the outpost cross the bridge, but stand prepared to receive the enemy. Not a gun was fired until the head of the charging column reached the center of the bridge. Then 500 riflemen simultaneously poured their fire into the mass of men and horses. The charge failed disastrously, and in a spirit of bravado the enemy drew off and shelled the position for half an hour, but did not again attempt to charge it. In this

expedition General Shelby's loss was 211 killed and wounded.

The command returned to its old camp, at Jacksonport and waited for further information from General Price. At length intelligence was received that he had crossed the Arkansas at Dardanelle, with Fagan's division and Clark's brigade of Marmaduke's division, and that he would pass through Batesville, and Shelby was ordered to join him at Pocahontas.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GENERAL PRICE'S EXPEDITION IN MISSOURI—THE SOUTHERN WOMEN OF MISSOURI—CLARK AND JACKMAN TAKE GLASGOW—FIGHT AT LITTLE BLUE—GUERRILLA WARFARE IN MISSOURI—A RETALIATION OF FEDERAL OUTRAGES—GENERAL HALLECK'S ORDER—LAWRENCE BURNED IN THE RETALIATION FOR THE BURNING OF OSCEOLA.

GENERAL PRICE did not reach Batesville until the 12th of September, 1864. He remained there one day and reached Pocahontas on the 16th. His command for the expedition into Missouri consisted of three divisions, led respectively by Fagan, Marmaduke and Shelby. General Fagan's division was composed entirely of Arkansas troops—the brigades of Gen. W. L. Cabell, Col. W. F. Slemons, Col. A. S. Dobbin, Col. T. H. McCray, and four pieces of artillery—aggregating about 4,000 men. General Marmaduke's division was composed of his old brigade, commanded by Brig.-Gen. John B. Clark, Jr., Freeman's brigade, and a four-gun battery—in all about 3,000 men. General Clark was an infantry officer and unaccustomed to handling cavalry. Some time before, Gen. D. M. Frost's wife had passed through the lines with the consent of the Federals to visit her husband. She determined to return to her home by the way of Matamoras and Havana. General Frost got leave of absence to accompany her to Matamoras and place her on shipboard. But when she embarked he went along, and the Confederate army knew him no more. Colonel Clark was appointed brigadier-general in his place.

Clark's brigade included the Third Missouri cavalry, Col. Colton Greene; Fourth cavalry, Col. John Q. Bur-

bridge; Seventh cavalry and Davies' battalion, Col. Solomon G. Kitchen, Lieut.-Col. J. F. Davies; Eighth cavalry, Col. William L. Jeffers; Tenth cavalry, Col. Robert R. Lawther; Fourteenth battalion, Lieut.-Col. Robert C. Wood; Hynson's Texas battery, Capt. S. S. Harris' Missouri battery, Capt. J. T. Hogane's engineer company. Col. Thomas R. Freeman's brigade was composed of his regiment, that of Col. Edward T. Fristoe and the battalion of Lieut.-Col. Barney Ford.

General Shelby's division included his old brigade, under Col. David Shanks; the Fifth Missouri cavalry, Col. B. Frank Gordon; Eleventh cavalry, Col. Moses W. Smith; Twelfth cavalry, Col. David Shanks; Col. Benj. Elliott's cavalry command; Lieut.-Col. Alonzo W. Slayback's battalion; Capt. Richard A. Collins' battery; Col. Sidney D. Jackman's brigade, including Jackman's cavalry under Lieut.-Col. C. H. Nichols; Col. DeWitt C. Hunter's cavalry; Lieut.-Col. D. A. Williams' battalion; Lieut.-Col. John A. Schnable's battalion, section of Collins' battery, Lieut. Jacob D. Connor; and Col. Charles H. Tyler's brigade, including the cavalry commands of Cols. Caleb Perkins, John T. Coffee and James J. Searcy. The aggregate of Shelby's division was about 3,000 men. Altogether the army under command of General Price aggregated about 10,000 mounted men and twelve pieces of artillery.

General Price crossed the Missouri line on the 5th of October, moving in three columns, with Shelby on the left, Marmaduke on the right, and Fagan in the center. Price marched with the center column. Governor Reynolds marched with Shelby, and did service on his staff as volunteer aide-de-camp. Shelby struck the enemy first. A body of Federals leaving the little town of Doniphan, burned it. A detachment, sent in pursuit by Shelby, came up with them, and they never burned another. General Price's orders were that the army should march on an average fifteen miles a day, and the

different columns should form a junction at Fredericktown at a given time. Shelby had the exposed side—that toward the interior of the State—and took the liberty of going as he pleased. He captured Patterson and forty of Leper's band of marauders without firing a gun. He also reached Fredericktown two days ahead of time, and, finding neither of the other columns there, took Mineral Point and tore up miles of railroad track between Potosi and Iron Mountain. When Fagan and Marmaduke reached Fredericktown Shelby was there, loaded with supplies, which he shared with the other less fortunate commands.

General Price took Ironton, that is to say, the Federals evacuated the town and Fort Curtis, September 27th, and retired to Fort Davidson at Pilot Knob. This was a strong, irregular fortification, surrounded by a deep and wide ditch, partially filled with water, and difficult under any circumstances to cross. Price determined to assault the fort, though the opinions of his division commanders were opposed to it. Marmaduke's division was ordered up from the east of Fredericktown and he was ordered to attack the fort from Shepherd mountain, while Cabell attacked from the plain. Marmaduke was assured there was no ditch around the fort. Cabell made an attack upon the plain and was repulsed, because there was no way of getting into the fort after he reached it. Clark's brigade dismounted, advanced down the side of Shepherd mountain through a heavy growth of scrub-oak, and attacked, just after Cabell had failed, and failed as he had because the men could not cross the ditch. Some of them got so close to the fort as to be under the enemy's guns, and remained there till night.

That night General Ewing, who was in command of the garrison, blew up his magazines, left his dead and wounded behind, evacuated the fort and retreated in the direction of the southwest branch of the Pacific railroad. No pursuit was attempted until nearly noon the next day,

and then with the start Ewing had it was futile. In the attack on the fort Maj. G. W. Bennett of Clark's brigade, a splendid officer and man, was killed; Col. J. C. Monroe of Cabell's brigade was wounded, as also were Lieut.-Col. John C. Bull and Major Thomas of Fagan's staff. The loss of Cabell's brigade was particularly heavy, he himself having his horse killed under him.

At Pilot Knob it became evident that General Price did not intend to try to take St. Louis—though he might have done so by a rapid march and a bold dash—for he moved northwestward in the direction of Jefferson City. In other words, it became evident that the expedition was a raid, and had no other object than to go to the Missouri river, scatter the Federal garrisons in the towns of the river counties and in those of the southwest, and return to southern Arkansas. He took such towns as Franklin, Herman, Union and Washington and their garrisons, if they had any, as he moved slowly up the Missouri river. Jefferson City he found so strongly fortified and garrisoned that he was content to drive in the outposts and pass around it. In forcing the passage of the Osage, October 6th, Col. David Shanks, commanding Shelby's old brigade, was so severely wounded that he had to be left behind, and Gen. M. Jeff Thompson was assigned to the command of the brigade.

Shelby was ordered to take the direct road from Jefferson City to Booneville, and by a forced march surprise and capture the town and its garrison. This he did, except that part of the garrison which escaped across the river on the steam ferryboat. General Price, with Fagan's and Marmaduke's divisions, marched southwest to Versailles, and then turned and marched northwest to Booneville. At California the road General Price was moving on joined the road Shelby had taken. Fagan's division with General Price was in front, Marmaduke's in rear. The ammunition train was between the two divisions. When Fagan passed through California,

no force was thrown out to hold the road by which Shelby had come from Jefferson City. The Federals in Jefferson City, finding the army withdrawn, concluded to follow Shelby, and, just as the ammunition train reached California, drove in the stragglers on the unguarded road. Marmaduke was riding at the head of his division with his escort company, and just behind him was his battery. He had barely time to unlimber his artillery before the Federals appeared. When the artillery opened upon them they naturally supposed it was supported and drew back to form a line of battle. The delay was fatal to them. By the time they were ready to charge, Clark's brigade was in line, and though the fight was hot for an hour, the ammunition train was saved and eventually the enemy repulsed.

In the towns and counties above Jefferson City the sentiments of the people were strongly Southern, and General Price's army was received with enthusiasm, especially by the women, who were not restrained in their words and acts by any suggestions of policy or expediency. Indeed, the Southern women of Missouri were as loyal and true to the cause and as brave and heroic in the support they gave it and its defenders, as the women of any part of the South. At the hazard of their lives they made their homes hospitals to care for the sick and the wounded, and when they were not safe in their houses hid and fed them in the woods and in caves, until they recovered or died; in the one case starting them to the army again and in the other giving them decent burial. This spirit of heroism and disregard of consequences was not confined to the country. They were as true in the towns as in the country. Nowhere were they more active and zealous and self-sacrificing than in St. Louis. No Southern soldier lacked for friends among the Southern women to feed him, to secrete him, to supply him with arms and money and whatever else he needed, to give him a horse and a guide.

and start him to the army—in that city crowded with Federal soldiers and alive with detectives and spies. Half the time Confederate commands in the West drew their medicines and lighter forms of ammunition from St. Louis through the aid of the Southern women there. As General Price's army passed through these western counties his soldiers were everywhere treated, not only hospitably, but royally by the women. Old and young they gathered on the roadside to see them pass and to speak kind words to them, and in their houses they were received and treated as honored guests.

General Price remained at Booneville three days, and then left to avoid being hemmed in between the LaMine and the Missouri rivers. The immediate cause of his leaving appeared to be that a heavy body of Federal cavalry got possession of the Tipton road, and were with difficulty dislodged for the passage of the troops. At Salt Fork, in Saline county, General Clark and his brigade of Marmaduke's division, reinforced by Colonel Jackman's brigade of Shelby's division, were detached in order to cross the river at Arrow Rock and capture the garrison at Glasgow, six or seven hundred strong, under command of Col. Chester Harding. The troops crossed on a steam ferryboat, and the boat was then run up to near Glasgow to be ready to recross them at that point after they had taken the town and captured the garrison. The Federals occupied a heavy earthwork and were in a position to have made a strong fight if they had been properly commanded. But Colonel Harding did not seem anxious to do more than make a show of resistance. That done, surrender followed as a matter of course. Jackman's brigade, which got in position before Clark's did, drove the enemy into their works without difficulty; and then, through the agency of the principal citizens of the town, came negotiations for surrender, which were soon consummated, apparently to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned. Shelby moved up on the opposite

side of the river, just before daylight, with a section of artillery, and before Clark had opened the fight disabled a steamboat loaded with clothing and army stores, and kept her under his guns until Harding surrendered.

As soon as Clark's detachment joined the main body, General Price moved into Lafayette county, Lexington being his objective point. En route, on the Salt Fork road, Shelby's command met Gen. Jim Lane of Kansas, who had come down from Leavenworth in force to annihilate Price's army. There was no commander in the Federal army whom Shelby was more anxious to meet than Lane, and his officers and men were as anxious as he was. Gordon's, Hooper's, Crisp's and Elliott's regiments of the old brigade, and Jackman's brigade, joined in the charge and vied with each other in the fierceness of their assaults. Shelby led the charge in person, and it was a running fight almost from the first. Lane was driven through Lafayette county and Lexington, and did not consider himself safe until he reached Independence, in Jackson county. On the advance from Salt Fork, Gen. Jeff Thompson, with Shelby's brigade, made a detour to Sedalia to take in Col. John F. Philips and his command, who held the town. Thompson took the town, and Philips was so closely pressed that he left his pistols behind, which Thompson captured.

All this time danger was gathering fast around the army. General Rosecrans had come on the railroad to Sedalia with a strong force, and was advancing on Price from the east. Another heavy force had been concentrated at Leavenworth under command of General Curtis, and was advancing to meet him from the west. These two forces were rapidly approaching, with Price between them. Price, however, did not quicken his leisurely gait or appear in the least disturbed. At the crossing of the Little Blue, a few miles below Independence, October 21st, Marmaduke had a stubborn fight with a brigade of Colorado troops under command of General

Ford. The enemy attacked his advance just after it had crossed the stream, drove it back on the main body and charged and nearly captured his battery, which he had hastily got in position. Though beaten back the enemy formed and charged again, but Marmaduke had got another regiment over and repulsed them. Again they formed and for the third time charged the battery, but by that time Marmaduke had got all Clark's brigade over and repulsed them decisively. Shelby, who was behind Marmaduke, crossed the stream higher up and attempted to cut the enemy off, but failed on account of their rapid withdrawal. He fell in their rear and took up the pursuit, carrying on a rapid, running fight with them. In one of the sharp brushes, Capt. George Todd, one of Quantrell's captains, and a noted guerrilla fighter, who was up with the advance guard, was shot through the neck and died in a few minutes.

The guerrilla warfare in Missouri was more bitter and merciless than in any other State; but as far as Southern men who took part in it were concerned it was strictly a war of retaliation. In September, 1861, Jim Lane with a body of Kansas jayhawkers took and wantonly burned the town of Osceola in St. Clair county. Later in the fall of that year the butcher, McNeil, had ten prisoners, many of them non-combatants, shot because one Andrew Allsman, of whom they knew nothing, had disappeared from his home and could not be found. In November, 1861, Col. C. B. Jennison, of the First Kansas cavalry, issued a proclamation to the people of the border counties of Missouri, in which he said: "All who shall disregard these propositions (to surrender their arms and sign deeds of forfeiture of their property) shall be treated as traitors and slain wherever found. Their property shall be confiscated and their houses burned; and in no case will any one be spared, either in person or property, who refuses to accept these propositions." Indeed, the Federals boasted of their barbarity. On December 27th,

1861, the St. Louis Democrat stated that "Lieutenant Mack, sent out to Vienna with twenty Kansas ranges, returned yesterday. He brought no prisoners, that being a useless operation about played out." The Rolla Express of the same date said: "A scouting party of rangers, which left this place last week for Maries county, has returned. The boys bring no prisoners—it isn't their style."

At that time there was not an organized Southern guerilla band in the State. The first organization of that kind was effected in Quantrell. In January, 1862, he had seven men with him and operated in Jackson county. During that month Capt. William Gregg joined with thirteen men, making his force twenty. After that his command increased rapidly. They had many fights and took many prisoners, but always paroled them. In a fight at Little Santa Fé Quantrell and his band were surrounded in a house, the house was set on fire, and they fought their way out, one man being wounded, captured and taken to Fort Leavenworth. Shortly afterward Quantrell captured a Federal lieutenant. He proposed to the Federal commander to exchange the lieutenant for his man. The commander refused. He then paroled the lieutenant and sent him to ask the commander to make the exchange. The commander still refused. The lieutenant reported back, and Quantrell released him unconditionally, but his man was shot.

On the night of the 20th of March, 1862, Quantrell with sixty men camped on Blackwater, four miles from California. Early on the morning of the 21st he got a copy of the St. Louis Republican, which contained General Halleck's proclamation outlawing his band and all other bands of partisan rangers, and ordering Federal officers not to take them prisoners, but to kill them wherever and under whatever circumstances found. Quantrell said nothing of the proclamation until he had formed his men next morning. Then he read it to them,

told them it meant the black flag, and gave every man who could not stand that kind of warfare permission to retire and return to his home. After a short consultation twenty of the men turned and rode away. Never until then had Quantrell or his men shot a prisoner or a Federal soldier who offered to surrender. They accepted the black flag when it was forced on them and fought under it, but it was not of their seeking nor did they inaugurate that kind of warfare. The capture, sacking and burning of Lawrence, Kan., was in retaliation of the sacking and burning of Osceola by Jim Lane and his men more than a year before. The fight, and massacre as it has been called, at Centralia, was in retaliation of the killing of one of Anderson's sisters and the crippling for life of another by undermining and throwing down a house in Kansas City in which they with other Southern women were confined.

Missouri was isolated and cut off from the rest of the Confederacy. It was far removed and practically beyond the range of vision of the civilized world. There was a Federal garrison in nearly every town and at nearly every crossroads. Any manifestation of freedom on the part of the people was repressed by banishment, the destruction of property or death. There was no law. The courts were terrorized, and the nominal officers of the law were puppets of the military power. Fire and sword, rapine and murder, reigned supreme, and the guerrillas simply paid back the insults and wrongs to which they and their families and their friends were subjected. They fought in the only way in which they could fight, and they fought to kill.

CHAPTER XIX.

PRICE'S ARMY ENCOUNTERS SEVERE FIGHTING—
SHELBY COMES TO THE RESCUE—THE BATTLE OF
NEWTONIA—HARDSHIPS OF THE RETREAT—THE
COURT OF INQUIRY.

THE army camped in and around Independence on the night of October 21, 1864, the day of the fight at the crossing of the Little Blue. It was confronting an army in its front under Curtis and Blunt, and another equally as large, under Rosecrans and Pleasanton, was forced-marching to strike it in rear. When General Price reached Lexington he had accomplished all he could hope to accomplish. He might have turned southward from there and had an unobstructed line of retreat. He might turn southward from Independence and have all the forces opposed to him in his rear. But if he crossed the Big Blue, just in his front, he would be hemmed in between three rivers—the Missouri, the Kansas and the Big Blue—and have to fight two armies to recross the last named river.

The next morning Shelby took the advance and crossed the Big Blue. All day his guns could be heard thundering in front, indicating that he was forcing his way with difficulty. Early in the morning Rosecrans' army came up and attacked Independence before it was clear of the horde of unorganized men and stragglers who were a perpetual nuisance and hindrance to the organized troops. In getting out of the town Cabell lost his battery. It was run down by a great body of stragglers, with the enemy close behind them, and before the artillerymen could recover themselves they were charged by a regiment of cavalry and sabered in the act of firing their

guns. Marmaduke, after getting out of Independence, took the rear and skirmished all day with Pleasanton, not yielding two miles of ground during the day. But just at night the enemy advanced in force and the fight was kept until after midnight, when Marmaduke crossed the Big Blue and his command bivouacked by the roadside and on the banks of the stream, without food or covering.

General Price was now well in the trap. The Missouri river was on the north, the Kansas on the west, the Big Blue on the east, and it wound around so that he would have to recross it to get an outlet to the south. Besides, his movements were incumbered by an army of unorganized and worse than useless men, and an enormous wagon train which was always in the way. At daylight both Rosecrans and Curtis advanced, one from the east and the other from the west. Marmaduke was opposing Rosecrans and Shelby was opposing Curtis, while Fagan's division was between the two, guarding the train and preparing to help either Shelby or Marmaduke. The object was to get the train out. The bottom of the Big Blue was low on the north side and hilly on the south side. Gen. John McNeil was sent with a heavy force to take possession of the hills and prevent the crossing of the stream. McNeil was in no hurry to obey his orders. When his column made its appearance on the prairie, a couple of miles to the south and east of the crossing, Marmaduke was hotly engaged with Rosecrans, but he was ordered to send Clark's brigade at speed to anticipate McNeil and hold the heights. When Clark got there McNeil, instead of taking possession of the heights, had opened upon them with his artillery, half a mile away, and was shelling the woods in a lively manner. Cabell's brigade soon joined Clark's and an avenue for the train and the army was secured. McNeil did not attempt to interfere with the train as the wagons ascended the hill from the bottom and appeared on the open prairie.

In the meantime Rosecrans was pushing Marmaduke's depleted command before him, and Shelby was overmatched in his fight with Curtis and Blunt. They were both in an eminently dangerous position, as long as the train was in their way. But as soon as it cleared the stream and the road was open, they could see daylight ahead. As it was, Shelby's command was worse cut up than it had ever been before, and a part of the time Marmaduke was opposing Rosecrans' advance with only some members of his staff—Major Ewing, Major Newton and Captain Price—and his escort company. With the disappearance of the train Fagan's division was relieved, in large part, of the duty of guarding it, and was free to help Marmaduke and Shelby in their extremity, which it did in a soldierly and chivalrous manner. Dobbins' brigade and McGhee's battalion charged the enemy in the outskirts of Westport and broke the force of their assaults on Shelby when he was driven almost to the wall; and Cabell, though hotly engaged himself, sent Marmaduke two regiments when his need was the greatest.

Battered and bruised, and with its ranks decimated, the army emerged from the trap in which it had been caught with a feeling of personal hostility on the part of the men to the enormous and useless wagon train which had been the principal cause of their discomfiture and losses, but with the idea that now they had started southward in retreat and had the enemy behind them, the column would be stripped of all superfluities and incumbrances and would move forty or fifty miles a day. With them retreat meant hard, rapid marching, at least until they got rid of the heavy masses of the enemy. Their horses were in better condition than those of the enemy, and they knew that in two days' time they could leave any pursuing force capable of seriously interfering with them far behind.

They were, therefore, surprised and disgusted when it became evident there was to be no decrease in the num-

ber of wagons that incumbered the march and which they had to guard at the hazard of their lives, and that the column was moving leisurely and at a speed that would not have been rapid for infantry. The army camped on the second night after the battle on the Marais des Cygnes, about half way between Westport and Fort Scott, on the Kansas side of the line. Cabell was in rear, and reported frequently during the night that the Federals were massing on his front and threatening trouble next day if they waited that long to begin operations. But no notice was taken of his warnings. It was broad daylight, October 25th, before General Price began to move, and the train did not get straightened out and in motion until after sunrise. Shelby had been sent in advance to take Fort Scott. Marmaduke was in rear, and Fagan had the train in charge.

As soon as the column was clear of the timber, Marmaduke formed Clark's brigade in line of battle, and moved across the prairie prepared to fight at any moment. Wherever the ground was favorable he stopped, about-faced and checked the enemy in order to give the train time to get ahead and out of the way. Just before reaching Mine creek he congratulated himself that his front was clear, and said, when he came in sight of the timber in the creek bottom, that after crossing the creek he would form and check the pursuit for all day. The Federals were marching with probably two regiments in line of battle, one on either flank, and another in column of companies in the center, prepared evidently for prompt and decided action. When Marmaduke reached the rise in the prairie that overlooked the creek bottom, he was surprised to find the wagon train on his side of the creek, the teamsters dismounted and lying on the grass or talking with each other, and about one wagon crossing the creek every five minutes.

Clark's brigade was at once about-faced and Freeman's formed on Clark's right, with the battery between them.

Fagan formed his division as rapidly as possible, but only Cabell's brigade and some regiments got in line. General Pleasanton, the Federal commander, seemed to divine from these movements that there was something wrong in Marmaduke's rear and ordered a charge. The two regiments in line moved obliquely against each of Marmaduke's flanks, and the one in column of companies spread out and struck straight at his center. Freeman's brigade on the right gave way without waiting to receive the enemy's charge, and Marmaduke ordered a countercharge by Clark's brigade, and led it himself. He met the enemy's charge half way. The charging lines passed through each other, turned and passed through each other again, returning to something like their original positions. During this time the enemy had passed around the right flank where Freeman had been and charged the battery from the rear, captured it and turned its guns upon the Confederates. The Confederates, as well as the Federals, were dressed in blue, and Marmaduke returning from the charge and seeing his battery firing on his command rode down on it, ordered the men to cease firing, and was taken prisoner. The creek was jammed with wagons, and the rout being complete and everything in confusion, the soldiers got across it wherever they could. Cabell's and Slemons' Arkansas brigades on the left charged at the same time Clark's did, and fared very much as it did. Cabell and Slemons were both taken prisoners. So was Colonel Jeffers, of Clark's brigade, while Lieutenant-Colonel Ward and Major Parrott and Adjutant Coleman of his regiment were severely wounded, Major Parrott fatally. Colonel McGhee, of an Arkansas regiment, was also severely wounded.

Shelby was far in advance, marching rapidly on Fort Scott, and Price was several miles from the scene of the fight. When the news of the rout reached Price and he saw the remnants of the army rushing like a herd of stampeded cattle across the prairie, he sent in hot haste

for Shelby. As fast as their horses could bring them, Shelby and his division returned, passed through the mob of panic-stricken men, and almost before the Federals knew it presented a firm front to them. During the day Shelby rode down horse after horse, trying to bring some sort of order out of the chaos, all the time keeping his eye on the movements of the enemy, fighting and checking them whenever he could, without hazarding a general engagement. Just before sundown he got all the men possible in line, opened with his artillery and offered the enemy battle. In one sense it was a bluff, but Shelby had a habit of making his bluffs good. The enemy brought their artillery into action and seemed inclined to accept the challenge, but Shelby had sent John T. Crisp, with a crowd of men whom he had succeeded in getting together, around an extensive elevation in the prairie, and these appearing in a position to threaten the enemy's flank, he halted, hesitated, and then slowly and sullenly retired.

Except for an hour that night, when many wagons were burned and great quantities of ammunition were destroyed, the army did not halt until it had marched 65 miles and reached the vicinity of Newtonia. All this time Shelby was in rear covering its retreat. When he reached Newtonia he informed General Price that a column of the enemy, probably 5,000 strong, was not far behind him. General Price discredited the information. But Shelby held his division in readiness to meet the enemy. He was determined to fight and end the question of the pursuit then and there. He chose his position judiciously and waited. There was no useless delay on the enemy's part nor on Shelby's. As soon as Blunt came up he attacked (October 28th). Shelby repelled his attack and charged him. For a half or three-quarters of an hour the fighting was terrific, then the Federals began to give way, and in an hour from the time the first gun was fired Blunt was in full and rapid retreat. Shelby made the fight alone

and unaided. He did not ask for assistance and did not receive any, except that of some individual officers and some fragments of commands that went to him on the field of their own accord when the firing commenced and did what they could to aid him. The defeat of Blunt ended the pursuit, and was the last battle fought in the Trans-Mississippi department.

But the hardships and sufferings of the soldiers were not ended. It was the last of October, and the weather was getting cold and stormy. Before reaching the northern border of Arkansas there was protracted rain ending with snow. Provisions for the men were scarce and forage for the horses was scarcer. The army moved in a southwestern direction and crossed the Arkansas river in the Indian country on the 7th of November. The enemy it had to encounter after that was starvation. The Indian country was nearly depopulated and thoroughly desolated. Straggling parties set the dry prairie grass on fire, and horses died by thousands. The horses were led because they were too weak to be ridden. The men suffered too. First there was no bread and then no meat. Mules and horses were killed and eaten, generally without salt. Again Shelby came to the relief of the army. He took the advance to fight starvation, as he had taken the rear to fight the Federals. Far down the Canadian river he found thousands of fat cattle, as wild almost as deer. His men killed hundreds of them and made corrals and secured thousands, which were held under guard until the army came up. After that there was meat in abundance, but without bread or salt. Not until Boggy Depot was reached, two weeks later, did the worn, dispirited and starving soldiers have a meal of even scant army rations. As it was, hundreds of them fell behind from starvation and the weaknesses caused by starvation, and died before relief came. On crossing Red river the Missouri commands were camped in and around Clarksville, Tex.

Not long after the return of the expedition, Governor Reynolds published in a Marshall (Texas) paper a long communication, reviewing the generalship of the commander of the expedition and criticising him in scathing terms. General Price took no notice of it at the time, but his friends replied to it; and at last it created so much feeling, one way and the other, that General Price was compelled to ask for a court of inquiry. His request was complied with, and the court consisted of Brigadier-Generals Drayton and McNair and Colonel Luckett, Maj. Oscar Watkins being judge advocate. Col. R. H. Musser, of the Ninth Missouri infantry, was General Price's military friend. The court delayed action from time to time, until finally the crash came, and it disappeared in the general wreck.

CHAPTER XX.

THE MISSOURI BRIGADE SENT TO THE DEFENSE OF MOBILE—GENERAL CANBY DECLINES AN OPEN FIELD FIGHT—THE TROOPS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI DESPONDENT—MAGRUDER AND SHELBY—GENERAL LEE'S SURRENDER—SHELBY ISSUES AN ADDRESS TO HIS TROOPS—GOES TO SHREVEPORT AND PROPOSES A PLAN OF ACTION—IT IS ADOPTED, BUT MISCARRIES—THE MISSOURI TROOPS STAND FIRM—SHELBY GOES TO MEXICO—THE END.

ON the 1st of February, 1865, the Missouri brigade, under command of Colonel McCown, was ordered to Mobile. Before it reached there it was joined by General Cockrell, still suffering from his wounds, and General Gates, who had lost an arm. General Cockrell was assigned to the command of the division lately commanded by General French, and Colonel Gates to the command of the brigade. Additions of exchanged prisoners were made to the brigade until it numbered about 400 men. It camped five miles from Mobile until February 24th, when it was ordered to cross the bay at Fort Blakely, where it was put on picket duty on the Pensacola road, upon which General Steele was advancing with an army corps. On this service a detachment of less than a hundred men met and routed a cavalry regiment, which charged and attempted to ride over it.

Gen. D. H. Maury was in command of the Confederate forces at Mobile, and his orders were to defend his position as long as he could, and then burn all the cotton in the city and retire. The city and its defenses were threatened by three army corps—two under General Canby and one under General Steele. General Maury with 4,500 infantry, among them the Missouri brigade,

and ten pieces of artillery, marched out and offered General Canby battle; but with 40,000 men he declined the offer unless he were attacked. General Maury then occupied Spanish Fort and Fort Blakely and waited to be attacked in them. The Missouri brigade was stationed at Fort Blakely, General Cockrell being second in command, and General Maury said that among the garrison "was the noble brigade of Missourians, Elijah Gates commanding, the survivors of more than twenty battles, and the finest troops I have ever seen."

Spanish Fort fell first, and then the efforts of the combined Federal forces were directed against Fort Blakely. The Missourians were so weak in numbers, and the line they had to defend was so long, that it was necessary to deploy the men ten yards apart. The Federals advanced against this thin line in three lines of battle 22,000 strong. Twice the Missourians were moved from their position in the line to repulse assaults of negro troops, which they did; but as they were returning from the last engagement the Federals had forced their way into the intrenchments, and finding themselves cut off the Missourians took to the water, and by wading and swimming a considerable part of them reached Mobile. This remnant of 150 of as brave a force as ever fought were surrendered on the 4th of May, 1865, at Meridian, and were then paroled and returned to their homes.

The winter of 1864 and 1865 dragged slowly in the Trans-Mississippi department. It was full of uncertainty, gloom and darkness. The shadow of impending disaster rested heavily on the spirits of the men in the army, and they longed for spring to come that they might be able at least to face the storm, if they could not do anything to avert it. There were 60,000 good soldiers in the department, but the authorities at Shreveport seemed to be utterly incapable of utilizing them. During the expedition to Missouri, Maj.-Gen. J. B. Magruder had been assigned to the command of the district of Ar-

kansas, and had made his headquarters at Washington. Between him and Shelby there was from the first a strong affinity, which in the course of the winter resulted in an understanding that as soon as it was possible to move the troops in the spring—as soon as there was enough grass to support the horses—a cavalry expedition, in the nature of a forlorn hope, would be sent into Missouri under Shelby, to be followed as closely as practicable by the infantry, with St. Louis its objective point. Gen. Kirby Smith practically endorsed the enterprise, and during the winter and early spring Shelby sent officers upon whom he could rely to North Arkansas and Missouri to have things in readiness by the time he came.

During the winter there were reports without number of movements on the part of the enemy; and the cavalry which was camped near Fulton, and sometimes the infantry which was camped near Camden, were sent from place to place to check them, but the reports always proved to be false or at least exaggerated, and there was no fighting. It was not the policy of the Federals in the condition things were to take any chances. They were content to wait.

General Lee's surrender at Appomattox was an earthquake shock to the Trans-Mississippi department. If the management of the department had been irresolute before, it became paralyzed in view of that great and unexpected disaster. Shelby, however, issued a stirring address to the soldiers of his division, in which he reminded them of the hardships they had undergone, the dangers they had faced, the battles they had fought, the victories they had won; and besought them, in memory of the unsullied battle-record of the division and of the comrades who had died on the field of battle, to stand firm and not entertain even the thought of surrender. His men stood by him, as they always had done and as they did to the last. There were meetings of the governors of the states—Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas and Missouri—but the

agreements they made and the resolutions they adopted were without practical effect. There were meetings of the high military officers who ought to have understood the situation—which was fight or surrender—and they were more undecided and divided in opinion than those of the civil officers.

Shelby at last left his division at Marshall and went to Shreveport. There he got a meeting of the military men—Churchill, Hawthorn, Preston, Flournoy and others—at which it was agreed and counselled that the army should be concentrated on the Brazos and should fight step by step to the Rio Grande, thereby giving the States east of the Mississippi opportunity to act, and if the worse came to the worst the army could make terms with one government or the other in Mexico. This was Shelby's proposition.

But before this time General Smith had been engaged in a correspondence with Gen. John Pope of the Federal army on the subject of a surrender. General Pope wrote from St. Louis on the 19th of April to General Smith, informing him of the surrender of General Lee and the probable surrender of General Johnston, and offering him the same terms that had been granted General Lee if he and his army chose to lay down their arms. This summons he sent through his chief-of-staff, Col. John J. Sprague. General Smith replied, May 9th, declining to surrender, and stating that he had 50,000 effective soldiers under his command. Ten days later he informed Colonel Sprague that his army had disbanded itself. "From one extremity of the department to the other," he said, "the troops, except Shelby's heroic division of Missouri cavalry, have dissolved all military organization and returned to their homes." And in a postscript he said, referring to the infantry: "Since writing the above I have information that the Missouri and a portion of the Arkansas troops still retain their organization." In fact,

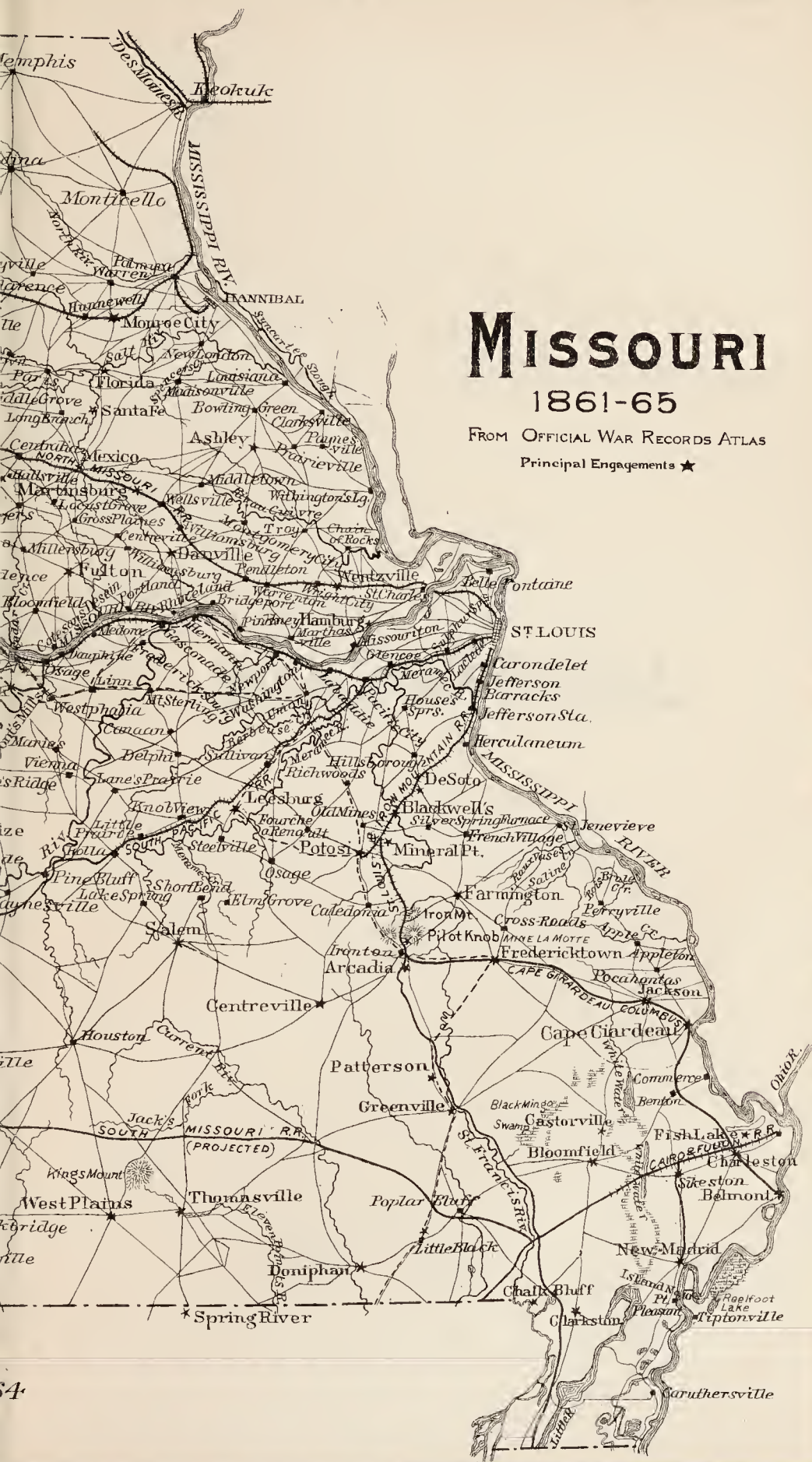
the Missouri and Arkansas infantry refused to cross the river at Shreveport lest they should be surrendered.

After it had been agreed by Shelby and his supporters that the Confederates would not surrender but should concentrate on the Brazos and continue the war, Shelby went back to Marshall and put himself at the head of his division to return to Shreveport. But before he got there, the army was formally surrendered.

Shelby then determined to go to Mexico. Confusion reigned supreme. The army had been surrendered. There was neither civil nor military authority to hold the lawless elements in check. His men had the choice to go with him or return to their homes. About 500 went with him. But there was no relaxation of discipline. As he passed through the State he protected the people in all their rights—protected them from the lawlessness of their own disbanded soldiers. At San Antonio he took under his protection Gen. Kirby Smith, General Magruder, General Price, General Hindman, Governor Reynolds of Missouri, Governor Allen of Louisiana and Governor Murrah of Texas, beside a number of other civil and military officers, gave them a guard of honor and escorted them out of the country; and when he and his command crossed the Rio Grande at Eagle Pass, the rear guard—the last vestige—of the Confederate army disappeared.



----- Prices Raid, Sept 1- Nov.



BIOGRAPHICAL

MAJOR-GENERALS AND BRIGADIER-GENERALS, PRO-
VISIONAL ARMY OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES,
ACCREDITED TO MISSOURI.

Major-General John S. Bowen was born in Georgia in 1829. He was appointed to the United States military academy in 1848 and on graduation was promoted to brevet second-lieutenant, July 1, 1853. Being assigned to the Mounted Rifles, he served at the Carlisle cavalry school, and on the frontier, with promotion to second-lieutenant on July 20, 1854. He resigned his commission on the 1st of May, 1856, and became an architect in Savannah, Ga., continuing to gratify his military tastes as lieutenant-colonel of Georgia militia. He removed to St. Louis, Mo., in 1857, where he also followed the business of an architect. From 1859 to 1861 he was captain in the Missouri militia. He was adjutant to General Frost during his expedition to the Kansas border in search of Montgomery, a prominent character in the Kansas troubles. When the civil war began he commanded the Second regiment of Frost's brigade. He was acting chief-of-staff to Frost when Camp Jackson was captured by General Lyon. Going to Memphis, Tenn., and into the southeastern part of Missouri, he raised the First Missouri regiment of infantry, of which he was commissioned colonel on June 11, 1861. He was assigned to the army of General Polk at Columbus, Ky., and acted as brigade commander under that officer's command. When in the spring of 1862 Albert Sidney Johnston and Beauregard were concentrating their armies for an attack upon Grant, Bowen, who on March 14th had received

his commission as brigadier-general, was assigned to the division of John C. Breckinridge. In the first day's battle at Shiloh he was wounded. General Beauregard, in his official report of the battle thus speaks: "Brig.-Gens. B. R. Johnson and Bowen, most meritorious officers, were also severely wounded in the first combat, but it is hoped will soon be able to return to duty with their brigades." When in 1863 Grant crossed the Mississippi and landed at Bruinsburg, General Bowen, though fearfully outnumbered, threw himself in his path and with the utmost courage and determination, resisted his advance. After a patriotic sacrifice he was forced back upon the main army under Pemberton. On the 25th of May he was rewarded for his brave work at Port Gibson by the commission of major-general in the army of the Confederate States. He fought with distinction in the other battles outside of Vicksburg, and in all the fighting and suffering of the long siege he and his men had their full share. At the fall of the city he was paroled, and went to Raymond, Miss., where he died from sickness contracted during the siege, July 16, 1863.

Brigadier-General John B. Clark, Jr.—There were two John B. Clarks; the father, brigadier-general of the Missouri State Guard; the son, a brigadier-general of the Confederate States army. The elder Clark was born in Madison county, Ky., April 17, 1812. He removed to Missouri with his father in 1818, and was admitted to the bar in 1824. He began the practice of law at Fayette, Mo., and was clerk of Howard county courts from 1824 to 1834. In the Black Hawk war of 1832 he commanded a body of Missouri volunteer cavalry, and during the war was twice wounded. In 1848 he was made major-general of the Missouri militia. From 1850 to 1851 he was a member of the legislature; also headed a force to drive the Mormons out of Missouri. In 1857 he was elected to Congress as a Democrat to fill a vacancy and served until

1861. At the beginning of the war he was appointed brigadier-general by Governor Jackson, and commanded a force of the Missouri State Guard until he was disabled at Springfield. After his recovery he was elected to the first Confederate Congress. He afterwards served as Confederate senator from Missouri until the end of the war, when he resumed his law practice at Fayette, where he resided at the time of his death, October 29, 1895. His son John Bulloch Clark, Jr., was born at Fayette, January 14, 1831. After attending the preparatory schools he entered the Missouri university where he spent two years, then studying at the Harvard law school, where he graduated in 1854. Seven years later the great event which broke into the peaceful pursuits of so many men aroused young Clark to a new and stirring life. Being the son of such a father, he could but be profoundly moved by the sentiment which so quickly made of the whole South a great military camp. A resistless desire to serve their country in the tented field seized upon almost the entire body of the high spirited young men of the South. They felt that the rights and liberties of their States and the property of the citizens were imperilled, and they were not only ready but eager to buckle on their armor for the defense of home and native land. So the younger Clark gave up his law practice and entered the Missouri infantry as a lieutenant. He was soon made captain of one of the companies of the Sixth Missouri regiment. On the 5th of July, at the battle of Carthage, he was ranking as major and acted a gallant part. His regiment was also conspicuous at Springfield. In 1862 he had risen to the position of colonel, and as such commanded a brigade at Pea Ridge. In this battle both he and his men won a reputation for gallantry which they maintained throughout the war. General Hindman, in his report of operations in Missouri and Arkansas, mentioned in terms of highest commendation Col. John B. Clark, Jr. After he had long been acting with ability

in command of a brigade, on March 8, 1864, he was commissioned by the Confederate government as brigadier-general. He served with honor in company with such dashing leaders as Marmaduke and Shelby. After the war he returned to his home and resumed the practice of law. He served his State in Congress from 1873 to 1883 and on December 4, 1883, was chosen clerk of the House of Representatives.

Brigadier-General Francis Marion Cockrell, who during an important era of the war had the distinction of commanding the Missouri brigade of the army of Mississippi, and since then has for nearly a quarter-century represented Missouri in the United States Senate, was born in Johnson county, October 1, 1834. He was graduated at Chapel Hill college in 1853, and subsequently entered upon the practice of law, in which he has continued for many years with distinguished success. He entered the service of the Missouri State Guard, for the support of the Confederacy, in May, 1861, as a private in Company G of Colonel Hurst's regiment. He was at once made captain of his company, and served in that rank six months, the period of enlistment. He then organized a company for the Second Missouri infantry, mustered in as Company H. At the reorganization of this command in May, 1862, the regimental vote was a tie between him and Colonel Burbridge for the chief command, and Burbridge was continued as colonel, and Cockrell promoted to lieutenant-colonel. Six weeks later the latter was promoted colonel, the rank he held until after the siege of Vicksburg. In command of his company of Missouri militia he and they fought like veterans under the command of General Price at the important battles of Carthage, Wilson's Creek and the siege of Lexington, in 1861, and at Elkhorn Tavern in March, 1862. With Price's army he crossed the Mississippi about the time of the battle of Shiloh, and after

that date his military services were mainly rendered east of that river, fighting for the Confederacy, though his own State had fallen into the hands of the enemy. He was with the army at Corinth, and on the retreat to Tupelo, and in the subsequent aggressive movements fought with Hébert's division in command of his regiment. At the October battle of Corinth, he was painfully wounded by a fragment of shell, but remained in the field and at Hatchie Bridge was distinguished for cool conduct in defending the rear-guard. In the spring of 1863 he was with his regiment, in Bowen's brigade, defending the Grand Gulf region below Vicksburg, and on the Louisiana shore, below New Carthage, was in frequent skirmish with Grant's advance. April 17th he crossed to the east side, and soon afterward was put in command of the Missouri brigade, consisting of the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth regiments of infantry, and several Missouri batteries. During the latter days of April and the first of May at Grand Gulf and Port Gibson the gallant Missourians were under fire of the enemy's ironclads at close range, engaged fearful odds, and held at bay the Federal advance until almost surrounded, then safely withdrawing. From Big Black bridge they retired into the Vicksburg lines, where during a large part of the six weeks' siege Colonel Cockrell and his brigade fought in the trenches, making a stubborn defense against the persistent attacks of the enemy. In the explosion of one of the mines, he was blown into the air and severely injured. After the close of this historic siege, made memorable by the heroic endurance of the garrison, he was upon parole until September 13, 1863, when notice of his exchange found him at Demopolis, Miss., still holding with him his faithful Missourians. In the meantime he had been promoted to brigadier-general, and in this rank he entered the army of Mississippi, then under the command of Johnston and later of Polk, his brigade forming a part of French's

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division. In March, 1864, all Missourians east of the Mississippi, not in actual service, were ordered to report to him for assignment to duty. At this critical juncture, when all the resources of the Confederacy in the department of the West were being drawn upon to exhaustion to fill up the armies of Polk and Johnston, General Cockrell displayed such staunch allegiance to the cause as to merit the extraordinary honor of the thanks of Congress. By a joint resolution, approved May 23, 1864, it was resolved, "That the thanks of Congress are eminently due, and are hereby tendered, to Brig.-Gen. F. M. Cockrell, and the officers and soldiers composing the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth regiments of Missouri infantry, First, Second and Third regiments of Missouri cavalry, the batteries of Bledsoe, Landis, Guibor, Walsh, Dawson and Barret, and Woodson's detached company, all in the service of the Confederacy, east of the Mississippi river, for the prompt renewal of their pledges of fidelity to the cause of Southern independence for forty years, unless independence and peace, without curtailment of boundaries, shall be sooner secured." With these Missouri troops he moved with Polk's army to the support of Johnson against Sherman, reaching Kingston, Ga., May 17th, after which French's division was under fire every day with one exception, until the fall of Atlanta. At Lost Mountain, General French reported his thanks to General Cockrell, his officers and men, for their gallant conduct in repulsing the enemy, adding that whatever credit was due for the complete repulse of the Federal assault in this fierce engagement belonged exclusively to Cockrell's brigade and part of Barry's. Soon afterward General Cockrell was again wounded, but he resumed command August 8th, and was in constant skirmishing on the Atlanta lines until the evacuation. After marching, as rear guard of his corps, to the vicinity of Jonesboro, he was with his brigade under a destructive fire at Lovejoy's Station, and

made a spirited and successful attack upon the Federal works south of Jonesboro, on September 6th, driving three times their own number from strong skirmish works. In the following winter he participated in the Tennessee campaign under General Hood, until the fatal field of Franklin, when he was one of the twelve Confederate generals killed, wounded or captured. While gallantly leading his men in the face of a terrific fire, he received three wounds, in one arm and both legs, the bone of one leg being broken. These injuries prevented his further duty upon the field until the spring of 1865, when in command of a division and the left wing of the Confederate army at Blakely, before Mobile, he was captured in the general assault by overwhelming Federal forces, April 9, 1865. He was sent as a prisoner of war to Fort Gaines, and paroled six weeks later. Returning to his home General Cockrell resumed his life as a lawyer, and took a prominent part in public affairs, though never accepting office until in 1875, when he was elected to the United States Senate as a Democrat to succeed Carl Schurz. Since then he has been re-elected continuously, enjoying the unabated love of his people, who are proud both of his military and civil record. In the Senate he has rendered notable service upon the appropriation and military affairs committees, and has been conspicuous in the debates upon the tariff and monetary questions. His residence since the war has been at Warrensburg, Mo.

Brigadier-General Daniel M. Frost was born in New York, and from that State entered the military academy at West Point. He was graduated July 1, 1844, as brevet second-lieutenant. He served in garrison until the Mexican war, during which he participated in the siege of Vera Cruz, the battles of Cerro Gordo and Churubusco, and was brevetted first-lieutenant for gallant and meritorious conduct at Cerro Gordo. In 1853 he resigned

his commission in the regular army and became the proprietor of a planing mill at St. Louis. In 1854-58 he was a member of the Missouri senate, and in 1860 was one of the board of visitors to the United States military academy. At the time that Mr. Lincoln issued his call for troops and received such flat refusals from the governors of the border slave States, Governor Jackson of Missouri planned with Gen. Daniel M. Frost, commanding a small brigade of volunteer militia, to seize the arsenal at St. Louis and arm the State troops. This plan was defeated by General Lyon, who with 700 men surrounded Frost's brigade of only 635, and forced their surrender. While the surrender was taking place, a great crowd of people gathered and some of them expressed sympathy for the prisoners. One of Lyon's German regiments then opened fire upon them and 28 men, women and children were killed. A similar scene occurred next day. It was the capture of this camp and the scenes that accompanied it that drove General Price and many others, who up to that time had been staunch Union men, into the ranks of the secessionists, thus inaugurating civil war in Missouri. Frost was at this time paroled. He was afterwards exchanged, and at the battle of Pea Ridge led a brigade of Missouri State troops, which did worthy service. Just before this battle (March 3, 1862), Frost was commissioned brigadier-general. When the army of the West under Van Dorn and Price crossed the Mississippi in April, 1862, General Frost went with them. On May 8th General Bragg appointed him inspector-general, but on May 26th General Frost at his own request was relieved from this position. Concerning this General Bragg says: "The general commanding could not well sustain a greater loss at this particular juncture, and deeply regrets the cause which takes from us an officer so accomplished, zealous and efficient." General Frost served under Hindman in Arkansas in 1862, and at the battle of Prairie Grove in De-

cember his commanding general complimented him by saying that "he did his duty nobly." On March 2, 1863, when General Hindman was relieved from duty in the Trans-Mississippi, General Frost was assigned to the command of his division. On the 30th of the same month he returned to the command of his own brigade. In command of this brigade he participated in the Helena and Little Rock campaign. During 1864 he was on detached duty, and saw no more active service. After the war he resided at St. Louis, and engaged in agricultural pursuits near that city.

Brigadier-General Martin E. Green.—Among the patriots who sealed their devotion to the Southern cause by a soldier's death none acted a more heroic part than the son of Missouri whose name heads this sketch. He was born in Lewis county, Mo., about 1825. At the beginning of the war he zealously went to work to organize a regiment for the Southern cause, near Paris, Mo., and joined Gen. Sterling Price. He was one of that general's most trusted and efficient officers. In the capture of Lexington, Mo., he contributed largely to the success of the Confederates. When Price was getting ready to storm the fort, Green, at that time general of the Missouri State Guard, suggested that hemp bales, of which there were a great many on the edge of the town, should be taken by the soldiers and rolled in front of the advancing lines as a movable breastwork. Thus the assailants would be as well protected as the men in the fort. Price agreed to the plan. The fort was successfully stormed and Lexington was captured with its garrison of about 3,000 men. At the battle of Pea Ridge, Green and his Missourians acted, as on all other occasions, a gallant part. When Van Dorn and Price were ordered across the Mississippi in the spring of 1862, Green's brigade followed the fortunes of Price. They did not get across

in time to participate in the battle of Shiloh, but they did bear their share of all the operations of the army in Mississippi. Green, promoted to brigadier-general in the Confederate service, July 21, 1862, took command of the Third brigade of Price's army. He came upon the battlefield of Iuka at the close of the fight, and then marched to the junction with Van Dorn, after which was fought the bloody battle of Corinth, in which the three Missouri regiments of his brigade, the Fourth and Sixth infantry and Third cavalry, lost 443 killed, wounded and missing. On the second day, and at Hatchie bridge, he commanded Hébert's division, took an important part in the fight and the protection of the retreat and was commended by General Price. When Grant crossed the Mississippi below Vicksburg, Green, commanding a brigade of Bowen's division, marched with part of his men to Port Gibson, took command of the forces already there, also of Tracy's brigade after it came up, selected the position occupied by the Confederate forces, and fought a gallant battle until overwhelmed by superior numbers. With his own proper command of about 800 men he withstood the attacks of several thousand Federals from a little after midnight until 10:30 a. m. During the siege of Vicksburg, which began on the 18th of May, he was indefatigable in the performance of duty. On June 25th he was wounded, and on the morning of the 27th when he was in the ditches as was his wont, reconnoitering the positions of the enemy along his front, and while looking over the parapet in front of the sap of the enemy, which was only about 60 yards distant, he was shot through the head by a sharpshooter and almost instantly killed. Gen. Tom P. Dockery, who succeeded him in command, said: "He joined the army as a private soldier when the tocsin of war first sent its notes throughout the West. He served his country long and faithfully. His soldiers regarded him with that reverence due a father, and many a tear was shed at his fall. He was a pure

patriot and a gallant officer, and a true Christian, divested of everything like a thirst for military fame. He acted solely from a sense of duty and right and a pure love of country, and thus inseparably entwined himself not only around the hearts of his troops, but of all who knew him."

Major-General John Sappington Marmaduke was born near Arrow Rock, Mo., on March 14, 1833. Brought up on his father's farm, with such preparation as he could get in country schools, he entered Yale college at the age of seventeen, and after spending two years there and one at Harvard he was appointed to the United States military academy, where he was graduated in 1857. He served on frontier duty, was in the Utah expedition under Albert Sidney Johnston, and held the rank of second-lieutenant of the Seventh infantry when he resigned his commission to enter the service of the Confederate States, April 17, 1861. With the commission of first-lieutenant of cavalry he was assigned to service with General Hardee, and soon after he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel, and on January 1, 1862, to colonel of the Third Confederate infantry, an Arkansas regiment. At the battle of Shiloh his regiment bore the guiding colors of the brigade and captured the first prisoners of the day, and he was mentioned with praise in the official reports. In the second day's battle he was wounded and disabled, and while in hospital was recommended for promotion to the rank of brigadier-general. He commanded his brigade of Arkansans during the siege of Corinth, and later was ordered to the Trans-Mississippi, and assigned to duty as a brigadier-general September 28th, under General Hindman. In command of Hindman's cavalry division, brigades of Shelby and Bradfute, he rendered valuable services. Taking a conspicuous part as a division commander in the battle of Prairie Grove he was warmly commended by General Hindman, who noted in his report

that Marmaduke had apparently not been confirmed as brigadier, and declared that if the higher authorities had witnessed his valor at Shiloh and Prairie Grove, the honor would not be delayed. In January, 1863, he led an expedition in Missouri and attacked Springfield, and defeated a considerable body of the enemy at Hartville, compelling by his maneuvers the withdrawal of General Blunt's army to Springfield and the destruction of a long chain of forts. In April he made a more formidable expedition, leading the cavalrymen of Shelby, Greene, Carter and Burbridge to Cape Girardeau. He defeated the Federals at Taylor's Creek May 11th, and commanded the heroic brigades of Shelby and Greene in the attack on Helena, July 4, 1863, his part of the action failing for want of support. During Price's defense of Little Rock he commanded the cavalry of the army, which, fighting as the rear guard, was reported as "skillfully handled and behaved admirably." At this time occurred his duel with Brig.-Gen. L. M. Walker, which resulted in the death of the latter. Marmaduke was put in arrest, but was ordered to resume command during pending operations, and subsequently was formally released by General Holmes. On October 25, 1863, he attacked Pine Bluff with his division, but without success. At the opening of the Red river campaign, 1864, he held the line of the Ouachita, scouring the country in front to within 25 miles of Little Rock, and when Steele advanced to co-operate with Banks he harassed and delayed the Federal movement from the north to Camden to such an extent as to make it ineffectual, fighting gallantly at Elkin's ferry, April 2d, 3d and 4th, and at Prairie d'Ane, April 9th. On the 18th he won the brilliant action at Poison Spring, and at Jenkins' ferry he rendered important services. In recognition of his valuable services Marmaduke was made a major-general, though his commission was not received until March 17, 1865. In May and June, 1864, he was stationed on the Mississippi, and had a creditable en-



Brig.-Gen. J. B. CLARK, JR.
 Maj.-Gen. STERLING PRICE.
 Brig.-Gen. D. M. FROST.
 Brig.-Gen. M. E. GREEN.

Brig.-Gen. W. Y. SLACK.
 Maj.-Gen. J. S. MARMADUKE.
 Brig.-Gen. J. O. SHELBY.
 Brig.-Gen. M. M. PARSONS.

Brig.-Gen. F. M. COCKERELL.
 Maj.-Gen. J. S. BOWEN.
 Maj.-Gen. J. G. WALKER.
 Brig.-Gen. M. J. THOMPSON.

counter with A. J. Smith at Lake Village. With Sterling Price on the great Missouri raid of 1864, he commanded one of the three columns of division and was greatly distinguished. At the battle of Little Blue, October 21st, two horses were killed under him while he was endeavoring to stem the onset of the enemy's forces which from this point forced Price to make a retreat. He was in fierce battle on the 22d, 23d and on the 25th, at Marais des Cygnes, was overwhelmed while guarding the rear, and made prisoner. He was carried to Fort Warren, and there held until August, 1865. After his release he took a journey to Europe for his health. In May, 1866, he returned to Missouri and engaged in the commission business until 1869, when he became superintendent of Southern agencies for an insurance company. He was editor of various Missouri papers, 1871-74; in 1874 secretary of the State board of agriculture, and from 1875 to 1880 a member of the railroad commission of Missouri. From 1885 to 1887 he held the honored position of governor of the State. He died at Jefferson City, December 28, 1887.

Brigadier-General Mosby Monroe Parsons was born in Virginia in 1819. Early in life he removed to Cole county, Mo., where he studied law and began its practice. From 1853 to 1857 he was attorney-general of Missouri and subsequently was honored by his constituents with a seat in the State senate. When war was declared against Mexico, he became a captain in the army of the United States and served with considerable reputation. He was in the invading force that entered California, and received honorable mention for services at Sacramento. After the close of the war he returned to his home and resumed his practice. When the war between the Northern and Southern States of the great Republic commenced, his whole sympathy was with the South. In company with Gov. Claiborne F. Jackson he tried to ally Missouri with the Confederate States. He was exceedingly

active in organizing the State militia and succeeded in raising a mounted brigade, which he commanded with signal ability at Carthage and at Springfield. He continued to serve in Missouri during 1861, some of the time having a separate command, but generally serving under Price. He rendered important service at the battle of Pea Ridge (Elkhorn), his brigade doing some of the hardest fighting of that well-fought field. He served all through 1862 and 1863 in the Arkansas campaigns, being commissioned a brigadier-general in the Confederate service on the 5th of November, 1862. When Banks began his Red river campaign in 1864, Parsons was sent to reinforce the army under Dick Taylor. He reached Mansfield just at the close of that brilliant victory and on the next day commanded the division of Missouri infantry at the battle of Pleasant Hill, April 9th, losing 33 killed and 288 wounded. Upon the retreat of Banks, Gen. Kirby Smith detached Parson's command with other troops and marched against Steele in Arkansas. He encountered that general at Marks' Mill and again at Jenkins' Ferry, forcing him to beat a retreat back to Little Rock. In this double campaign, in which the Confederates recovered large parts of Louisiana and Arkansas, Parsons' command added new fame to that already acquired. Parsons was with General Price in his last great march through Arkansas and Missouri and shared in all the marches, hardships and battles of that trying campaign. At the close of the war General Parsons went to Mexico and joined the republican forces in their war against Maximilian. He was killed in an engagement with the imperial forces at Camargo, Mexico, on the 17th of August, 1865.

Major-General Sterling Price, called lovingly by his soldiers "Old Pap," was born in Prince Edward county, Va., on the 14th of September, 1809. His early education was acquired in the schools of his native county,

where he was prepared for Hampden-Sidney college. After completing the usual course in that institution he returned to his home and became a deputy in the clerk's office. At the age of 21 he emigrated to Missouri, when the city of St. Louis was little more than a depot for the Indian trade, and when the population of the State was very scattering. He made his home in Chariton county and soon after received an appointment as brigadier-general in the State militia. From his earliest manhood, General Price was a Democrat and in 1836 was elected as such to the general assembly of Missouri. He was again elected a representative in 1840 and 1842 and at each session was chosen speaker of the house. In 1844 he was elected to Congress and served until the opening of the war with Mexico, when he raised a regiment and had an independent command in New Mexico and Chihuahua. He gained victories over greatly superior forces at Cancada, Lambonda and Taos. In this latter battle with 300 men he captured 1,500 prisoners. For these services President Polk appointed him a brigadier-general. Moving next against Chihuahua, at Santa Cruz de Rosales, he captured the army of General Trias, double his own. This was really the last battle of the war; for a treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico had been signed a short time before. At the next State election General Price was elected governor of Missouri by a majority of 15,000 votes. Upon the election of Abraham Lincoln as president, Missouri called a convention of which Price was elected president. He was at the time an ardent Union man, and at the first there was not a secessionist in that body. But when it was evident that President Lincoln intended to pursue a coercive policy, the Missouri State Guard was formed, with Sterling Price as major-general. General Price still attempted to preserve the peace of Missouri, but when General Lyon captured Camp Jackson and shed the blood of the Missourians unnecessarily, as Price and

many other of the best people of the State thought, the Missouri State Guard and their leader prepared for resistance. The military events which followed have been narrated, and the part of General Price fully told. Could Price have secured the support and co-operation that he desired, he would probably have saved Missouri to the Confederacy, notwithstanding the strong Union sentiment that prevailed throughout the northern and eastern sections of the State. The battle of Elkhorn Tavern or Pea Ridge, in North Arkansas, was really won by Price and his Missourians, but Van Dorn, discouraged by the death of McCulloch and McIntosh and the consequent confusion in the wing commanded by them, and mistakenly thinking the enemy's force greatly superior to his own, gave up the victory in his grasp and retreated. General Van Dorn in his report says: "During the whole of this engagement I was with the Missourians under Price, and I have never seen better fighters than these Missouri troops, or more gallant leaders than Price and his officers. From the first to the last shot they continually rushed on, and never yielded an inch they had won; and when at last they received orders to fall back, they retired steadily and with cheers. General Price received a severe wound in the action, but would neither retire from the field nor cease to expose his life to danger." After the battle of Elkhorn, Price received his commission as major-general in the Confederate army, dated the day before that battle. Shortly after the battle of Shiloh, General Price with his Missourians accompanied Van Dorn to the east of the Mississippi, and after Bragg had departed for Kentucky they were left to face greatly superior numbers under Grant and Rosecrans. At Iuka and Corinth he and his men fought with great valor. The year 1863 found Price again in the Trans-Mississippi. But he was always under the orders of others, some of whom were inferior to himself in ability. At Helena, on July 4, 1863, Price's men were the only

part of the army that carried the enemy's works. He co-operated with Kirby Smith in the campaign against Banks and Steele in 1864. General Price made his last desperate effort to recover Missouri in the latter part of 1864. His campaign was marked by brilliant achievements, but at last, when within a short distance of Kansas City, he was confronted by overwhelming numbers of the enemy and forced to retreat. At the close of the war he was included in Kirby Smith's surrender, but preferring exile to submission he left the country and found refuge in Mexico. There he engaged in a scheme of colonization under the imperial government, but it proved a very unsatisfactory enterprise. He returned to the United States and died at St. Louis, Mo., on the 29th of September, 1867.

Brigadier-General Joseph O. Shelby was born at Lexington, Ky., in 1831, of a family prominent in the early history of Kentucky and Tennessee, and with a military record extending back to King's Mountain. His education was received in the schools of his native State. At the age of 19 he removed to Lafayette county, Mo., where by industry and thrift he became the owner of a rope factory, and a planter. He was rapidly accumulating a fortune when he was led to take an active part in the Kansas border troubles, siding with the Southern party. When the civil war commenced he left everything to organize a company of cavalry which marched at once to Independence, Mo. With them he fought at Booneville and captured the steamer *Sunshine*. Soon after this he joined General Price's army in the western part of the State. From this time forward General Shelby was actively engaged in every campaign of the war, west of the Mississippi. He was one of the most daring of all the leaders in that part of the general field of conflict and was ever ready for the most hazardous enterprise. He commanded his company dismounted in

the defense of Corinth, and in June, 1862, was commissioned colonel with instructions to find his regiment in Missouri. Going with his company to Devall's Bluff he soon led the advance in a raid into Missouri and recruited his regiment in Lafayette county. In January, 1863, he was commanding a brigade including his own and three other Missouri regiments, and on the 13th of the following December he received the commission of brigadier-general. At the battle of Pea Ridge he especially distinguished himself, as also at Newtonia, Cane Hill and Prairie Grove. He commanded a division in the Cape Girardeau expedition, and in the attack on Helena was severely wounded. He was especially famous as raider, some of the most important expeditions being intrusted to him by General Price. On September 16, 1864, General Magruder, commanding the district of Arkansas, issued a congratulatory order in which he said: "The major-general commanding this district announces with pride to the troops one of the most gallant exploits and successful expeditions of the war: the capture of five forts by the heroic Shelby and his brave officers and men in the face of superior numbers and the destruction of a large portion of the railroad between Little Rock and Devall's Bluff." He then gives Shelby's report in full. We quote a part of it: "The immediate and tangible fruits of my expedition are 577 prisoners including one field officer and eleven line officers; over 250 Federals killed and wounded, ten miles of railroad track completely destroyed * * * 3,000 bales of hay consumed by fire; 20 hay machines chopped to pieces; five forts razed to the ground; 500 stand of small arms distributed to my unarmed men; many fine horses captured; twelve barrels of salt brought off and given to a command suffering for it, besides supplying needy soldiers with blankets, shoes, boots, hats and clothing. * * * My details were tearing up the track while the enemy's bullets fired at the covering regiments were throwing splinters from the

ties in their faces." All this was accomplished in the proximity of a much larger Federal force, which did not attack him, because Shelby's skillful movements had caused them to greatly exaggerate his strength. This was but one of his many daring and successful affairs with the enemy in the campaigns in Arkansas and Missouri. General Shelby's generous disposition, careful regard for his followers, and dauntless courage, made him the idol of his men. When the surrender had been made and the army disbanded, Shelby gathered about him 600 men, for the most part Missourians ready to follow him anywhere, whom he led to Mexico to take part in the war between the imperialists under Maximilian and the republicans under Juarez. He had expected to aid Maximilian, but the emperor's propositions did not please him and hence he changed his military scheme into a colonization enterprise. Among those in the colony with him were Gen. Sterling Price, General McCausland of Virginia and General Lyon of Kentucky. In 1867 General Shelby returned to the United States and to his farm in Missouri. He was to the last thoroughly Southern in sentiment, and remained in retirement most of the time after the war. In 1893 he was appointed by President Cleveland marshal for the western district of Missouri, an office he held until his death. During the great railroad strike of that year he performed his duties with the same fearlessness that he had shown during his military career. General Shelby in private life commanded the love and esteem of his neighbors. His presence at the annual Confederate reunions always aroused the greatest enthusiasm of the old veterans, and none will be more sadly missed at these yearly gatherings than Joseph O. Shelby, the gallant western military leader. His death occurred at his country home near Adrian, Mo., February 13, 1897.

Major-General John G. Walker was born in Cole

county, Mo., July 22, 1822. He was educated at the Jesuit college, St. Louis, and in 1843 was commissioned as a lieutenant in the First mounted rifles, United States army. He served in the Mexican war as captain, and after the close of that struggle was retained as an officer in the regular army. He resigned his commission in 1861 to take part with the people of the South in their struggle for separate independence. He was at once made major of cavalry in the regular army of the Confederate States, his commission being dated from March 16, 1861. He soon became lieutenant-colonel, then colonel and in September, 1861, was assigned to command of a brigade in Virginia, comprising the First Arkansas, Second Tennessee, and Twelfth North Carolina infantry. Not long afterward he was promoted to brigadier-general. He served under General Holmes in the Aquia district and the department of North Carolina. When Lee marched against Pope, he was placed in charge of a division and left with three other division commanders, R. H. Anderson, Lafayette McLaws and D. H. Hill, to watch McClellan's movements in the neighborhood of Westover. As soon as it was certain that the whole Federal army had been withdrawn to the defense of Washington City, these three divisions rejoined the army of Northern Virginia for the invasion of Maryland. Walker led his division to the support of Jackson at Harper's Ferry, and was directed to seize Loudoun Heights. This he did, and after the surrender of Harper's Ferry marched with the other divisions of Jackson's command to Sharpsburg. In the opening of the great battle of September 17, 1862, his division was first on the right, but was soon sent to the support of Jackson. On the way being asked for help by Gen. D. H. Hill, Walker sent him the Twenty-seventh North Carolina and the Third Arkansas, and hurried on with the rest of his force and, quickly forming on Hood's left, made sure Confederate victory in that part of the field. He was promoted to

major-general November 8, 1862, and was now called upon to bid farewell to the army of Northern Virginia, and go to a new field in the Trans-Mississippi, where he took command of the Texas division of infantry. Walker had not been long with his new troops before he brought them to a high state of efficiency. Gen. Richard Taylor, in his account of military operations in Louisiana, thus speaks of General Walker: "He had thoroughly disciplined his men, and made them in every sense soldiers, and their efficiency in action was soon established." Speaking of a successful battle fought on the 3d of November at Bourbeau, La., in which three regiments from Walker's division were engaged, Taylor again comments upon "the admirable conduct of Walker's men in action." His division in the Red river campaign maintained its splendid record in the battles against Banks and Steele. In June, 1864, he was assigned to command the district of West Louisiana, succeeding Gen. Richard Taylor, and subsequently he was until March 31, 1865, in command of the district of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, and at Houston on the 27th indignantly refused the terms of surrender offered by Gen. Lew Wallace at Point Isabel, declaring that he would not "basely yield all that we have been fighting for during the last four years, namely, nationality and the rights of self government." His command at this time included Steele's Texas division of cavalry, Bee's Texas division of cavalry, Cooper's division of Indians, Bagby's division of Texas and Louisiana cavalry, and Slaughter's brigade. After the war General Walker served as consul-general at Bogota, and as special commissioner to invite the South American republics to the Pan-American convention won the complimentary mention of Secretary Blaine. He died at Washington, July 20, 1893.

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