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POLITICAL CORRUPTION.

BY W. GORDON M'CABE.

"They that stand high, have many blasts to shake them."

RICHARD III, ACT 1, SCENE III.

Few great philosophic statesmen have ever quitted public life without a feeling of discouragement, profound and lasting. We cannot wonder at this, when we reflect on the greatness of the labour to be performed, and the weakness of man. Necessarily, few of their grand and cherished schemes are realized during their lifetime. Who has ever had such a noble and splendid success as George Washington? Yet, M. Guizot tells us that "towards the close of his life in the sweet and dignified repose of Mt. Vernon, something of lassitude and sadness hung about the mind of a man so serenely great:—a feeling indeed most natural at the termination of a long life spent in men's concerns. Power is a heavy burden and mankind a hard task-master to him who struggles virtuously against their passions and errors. Success itself cannot wipe out the sorrowful impressions which originate in the conflict, and the weariness contracted in the scene of action is prolonged even in the bosom of repose."

Few Englishmen governed as long and well as Sir Robert Peel, yet, just before he died, he confessed that all he had seen of public affairs during his whole political life had left upon his mind a prevalent impression of gloom and grief. Speaking of this same subject, a celebrated

Frenchman has remarked: "Mirabeau, Barnave, Napoleon, La Fayette, morts dans leur lit ou sur l'échafaud, dans la patrie ou dans l'exil, à des jours très éloignés et très divers, sont tous morts avec un même sentiment, un sentiment profondément triste."

Does not the close of the lives of the great "American Trio," bear, each, a striking analogy to this? They all seem weary of the strife: all, like the great Florentine at the gate of the old Santa Croce del Corvo, cry, "Pacem." We cannot but believe that there is still another reason for this disgust and weariness, and in our opinion it is this: the foul spectacle of political corruption which they see in the inner chambers of public life, and which haunts them forever after. Political immorality forms a dark chapter in the history of every nation, relieved but occasionally by an illumined letter of incorruptibility.

We have only to read the wonderful history of Mr. Grote to be told that "in all periods of their history the Greeks seldom had sufficient principle to resist a bribe." In Rome, corruption stalked forth boldly into the Forum, and Brutus did not restore her health by the deep probings of the Senate chamber."

Among modern nations political immorality has been regarded as an altogether

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.¹*Author of a History of Virginia.*

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PREFACE.

Soon after the opening of the war I formed a purpose of writing its history, and commenced collecting the necessary materials. I have been aided by various gentlemen, who have entrusted to me files of newspapers and other printed matter, and also by officers and privates in the army, who have furnished me with written memoranda of events that have passed under their observation. Convinced that the real value of any history must depend on its *truth*, I have spared no labor in comparing, sifting and reconciling the often discordant and conflicting elements from which the facts of this war are to be obtained.

Yet, after using every effort in my power, I cannot hope to have avoided error,^a and shall be grateful to any reader who may be able to furnish the means of correction.

Considerable progress had been made in composing the work before I learned that others were engaged in similar researches. I do not expect or desire to discourage their labours. The mine is wide and rich enough to repay all who will diligently work it.

CHAPTER FIRST.

In November, 1860, when Abraham Lincoln was elected President, the United States of America, with their Territories, embraced an area of three millions, six hundred thousand square miles, a domain as large as Europe, including the great Empire of Russia, and excluding the British Isles. The States were then thirty-three in number, covering an area

of one million, seven hundred and fifty thousand square miles, which exceeded in extent twenty of the most important Kingdoms and Empires of Europe, exclusive of Russia. Of these States eighteen were non-slaveholding, or *free*, and fifteen were slave States. The free States contained an area of eight hundred and ninety thousand, and the slave States of eight hundred and sixty thousand square miles. The fifteen slave States were Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, covering a soil larger in extent than that of France, Great Britain and Ireland, Spain, Austria and Prussia united. The free States held a population of eighteen millions, eight hundred and thirty thousand, the slave States of twelve millions, four hundred and fifty thousand, of whom four millions were slaves. ^a

The Federal Union, formed originally by thirteen States, had existed seventy years, during which time the thirteen had become thirty-three, the population had swollen from four to thirty millions, and the increase in material wealth in all the States had been so enormous as to excite the astonishment of the world. The people of the several States were apparently united in the closest bonds. They spoke the same language—were governed in substance by the same system of laws—read the same literature—frequented the same places of recreation—travelled incessantly to and from each other's homes. They literally enjoyed "free trade" with each other, and pushed it to the extreme. They formed family

^a Eighth Census United States in American Almanac, 1861, 243. Mitchell's Universal Atlas.

connections from State to State, and business partnerships from city to city. Iron bands of rail road linked them together; rivers united rather than separated them; even mountain ranges formed great lines of union rather than walls of division. To a distant observer—too distant to note the working of internal elements—it would have seemed that no union could have been more enduring, none more blessed and harmonious.

But in the midst of this seeming unity and peace, rupture and war have arisen; the Union has been dissolved; State after State has withdrawn, and assuming independence, their people have armed themselves against coercion. The remaining States have refused to permit a peaceful settlement, and called to arms—family ties have been sundered—friendships long cemented have turned to enmity—eight hundred thousand men have left their homes and gone to the camp—battles have been fought—blood has flowed in torrents—fields have been devastated—villages burned—quiet homes invaded and violated—property has been destroyed—trade and commerce have been ruined by blockades and embargoes, and all the evils and horrors of war have come heavily upon the people of the contending sections.

To suppose that these terrible calamities have been encountered by the belligerents without cause, would be absurd. Causes fully adequate to produce the rupture and the war have certainly existed. But *how* these causes originated—who are responsible for them—upon whom the grave censure must rest for severing a league once regarded as sacred, and arming millions of people against each other—these are questions as to which wide differences in opinion exist. It has been often asserted, both in America and abroad, that the Southern States had no sufficient reasons, and no right, to secede from the Union; that their movement was instigated by the disappointed ambition of a few unprincipled leaders; that a wicked selfishness urged it on; that the masses of their people were deluded, and never really desired a dissolution; that the South commenced the war, and that

she must bear the blame for all its horrors.

It becomes our duty to investigate these questions, and we believe it will appear, by the clearest lights of history, that the South was *right* in this controversy; that the world has never seen a revolution founded on higher principles or a broader basis of reason than she may claim herein; that she had borne injustice, unequal taxation, immense disparity in the appropriation of the public moneys against her, assaults upon her social system, and open attempts by the North to arm her slaves for murder and rapine, until forbearance ceased to be a virtue; that not only her internal peace, the safety and purity of her homes and fire-sides were threatened by the encroachments of the North, but her very existence as a free and equal people would have been hazarded by longer continuance in the Union; that when she withdrew, so far from desiring war, she sought earnestly to avoid it, and used every means which a brave and honourable people could resort to for that purpose; that she made the fairest propositions for equitable settlement, but in vain; that her honest overtures for peace were met by deception and foul dealing; that she struck no blow until a powerful fleet and army from the North were actually on her coasts for the purpose of bloody invasion, and then the blow she struck was purely in self defence, and that in the war which followed her conduct has been that of a heroic and enlightened people, defending their rights and conforming to all the humane usages of the highest civilization, while the conduct and spirit of the North have been so brutal and atrocious as to excite the horror of the world.

In entering upon this investigation, it is necessary that we shall have a clear view of the reciprocal rights and duties of the States in the Federal Union. The Southern States have *seceded*—have left the Union, and declared their independence. Whether the right of "Secession" which they have thus exercised, be a *revolutionary* right like that possessed by every people to throw off a tyrannical

government, or a reserved right possessed by the States as Sovereigns, and as the final judges of the infractions of the compact justifying their withdrawal, is a question upon which many fair and acute minds have differed. Happily for the South, the wrongs she had endured had been so gross and so long continued, that revolution, in its broadest meaning, was fully justified, and those of her own faithful sons, who doubted as to the reserved right of a State to secede, never doubted that their revolutionary war against the North was righteous and approved of God. But though not needed to vindicate her claim to independence, yet the distinction between revolutionary and reserved right becomes highly important in defending the South and her people against the charge of *rebellion against constituted authority*, so pertinaciously urged by the North. It is our duty therefore to investigate and decide it.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary war, thirteen Colonies in North America existed, subject to the dominion of Great Britain. Each Colony was distinct, and had its own Colonial government and officers, managed its own affairs, and made its own laws, subordinate however to the restraining power of the English crown, and the general control of the English parliament. When the oppression of the mother country drove them to resistance, it was natural that the thought of union should enter the minds of their people, because only by united effort could they hope for success against the great outward power arrayed against them. But their union was never fusion or consolidation. It was never even confederation until after each Colony had become a *Sovereign State*—had, by her own act arrested every power formerly exercised over her by Great Britain, and put in motion within her bounds a complete

State government. Before the war commenced, committees of correspondence had been established in each Colony, and in May, 1774, after Lord Dunmore dissolved a patriotic Virginia House of Burgesses, eighty-nine of its members met at the Raleigh Tavern, in Williamsburg, and, among other acts, recommended that all the Colonies should send deputies to a General Congress, to watch over the united interests of all, and deliberate upon and ascertain the measures best adapted to promote them. *a* Massachusetts had originated this plan, and it was approved and acted upon in every Colony except Georgia, who was yet too young to act with her elder sisters. The deputies were chosen, but *no legislative powers* whatever were conferred upon them. They were, in fact, selected in a very irregular mode in several Colonies, by reason of the interference of royal governors or British soldiers, with the provincial assemblies. In New York, the deputies for the whole Colony were chosen by the vote of the tax-payers of a single city, under the superintendence of the mayor and aldermen. *b* On the 4th of September, 1774, the first Congress met at Carpenter's Hall, in Philadelphia. It was a body distinguished in learning and talent, and ever to be revered for its services to America. And in nothing are these great men more to be admired than in their caution not to exceed the powers entrusted to them. They had no law-making power, and claimed none; no authority to bind the Colonies or their people. Their functions were well expressed by the venerable Rutledge, of South Carolina, a member of the body, who said: "we have no legal authority, and obedience to the measures we advise will only follow their reasonableness, apparent utility and necessity. We have no coercive authority." *c* So far from

a Burk's History of Virginia, III., 378. Tucker's Jefferson, I., 56, 57. Wirt's Patrick Henry, 75. Grahame's Colon. History U. S., IV., 366.

b Hildreth's Hist. U. S., first part volume III., 39. Grahame's Colon. Hist. U. S., IV., 369.

c Bancroft's Hist. U. S., VII., 129.

claiming legislative powers, they declared that all such powers were vested in the *Colonies respectively*, with limited power of control in the English crown. *a* They confined their action to addresses to the English government and to the people, and the formation of a voluntary scheme of union called the "American Association," the object of which was to resist the oppressive measures of the mother country by non-consumption of tea, non-importation and non-intercourse, by encouraging the raising of sheep, and discouraging the use of mourning garments. *b* After completing their deliberations for the general good, they recommended that a similar Congress should be held in May in the next year, and then adjourned.

Such was the modest germ from which afterwards sprang the American Union. *c* It was not in any sense a legal or constitutional Union; its agent, the Congress, had no power either to make laws or to enforce its own recommendations. It was purely voluntary; the creature of the outward pressure then bearing upon all the Colonies. Any Colony might at any moment have withdrawn her deputies, and declined further to unite in the action of the Congress. It is indeed an important truth that one Colony expressly refused to approve the recommendations of the Congress, and declined to appoint deputies to the next Congress proposed to be held. *d* Certainly from such a union the right and power to withdraw could not be denied.

When the next Congress assembled, its

powers were not changed. It was still wholly without legal authority or coercive force. It was assembled to deliberate, to recommend and to advise, and in the face of the common enemy and the danger threatening all, its action was highly important and gave intensity to the united efforts of the colonies, but not one of its resolutions for recruiting armies, encamping troops, raising money or providing warlike munitions, would have availed unless adopted by the several colonies. As the war went on, the idea of *independence*, at first entertained by very few, rapidly diffused itself among the many. In some provinces and even in detached counties, declarations of independence were adopted long before the Congress acted on the subject. *e* Petitions from many parts of the country were sent to Congress, urging action, and finally that body believing that the several colonies were ripe for development on the subject, *recommended* that each colonial convention, or representative body, should throw off every remaining vestige of kingly or parliamentary authority, and adopt a separate constitution. *f* This advice was promptly acted upon. *Every Colony became a State*. Each adopted an independent constitution, differing materially from that of the others in many particulars arising out of the origin and history of each, but all alike in this, that "in each commonwealth the will of the citizens was the supreme and independent source of power, and that the majesty of the crown was superseded by the majesty of the people." *g* A single example will

a Hildreth, III., 43.

b All these statements are fully sustained by British and New England authorities. See Grahame's Colon. Hist., IV, 373-378. Hildreth's Hist. U. S., III., 44. Bancroft, VII., 127-134.

c Mr. Hildreth, who is, I believe, a citizen of Boston, declares that "the signature of the 'Association' by the members of the first Congress may be considered as the commencement of the American Union." Hist. U. S., III., 44.

d This was New York. Grahame IV., 379. Hildreth III., 56.

e Jefferson's Notes, 125. Girardin's History of Virginia, 134. Southern Literary Messenger, IV. 209-210, 481-486.

f Grahame IV. 461.

g Such is the declaration of Mr. Grahame, a British historian, who cannot be suspected of any bias for or against the doctrine of State Sovereignty—IV. 461.

show the position of one State, and suffice for all. On the 29th day of June, 1776, Virginia adopted her *first State Constitution*. By this, she assumed for her people every function of sovereignty, established the three great powers of Government, legislative, executive and judicial, and declared herself to be no longer a colony, but a COMMONWEALTH, a name which from the days of England, under Oliver Cromwell, has conveyed the full idea of a sovereign people. *a* Four days after Virginia thus became a State, the declaration of independence was adopted by the Congress, but it was only the formal announcement to the world of what had already taken place. It declared that the Colonies were "free and independent States," thus asserting their separate State sovereignty, and expressly negating the idea of consolidation, held by New Hampshire, who on the 15th of June, 1776, voted that the Thirteen United Colonies ought to be declared "a free and independent State." *b* The Congress continued to act as the common agent of the States, in carrying out their united will and providing for the common defence, but its resolutions still needed the approval, express or implied, of the States, and were devoid of legal power until the "Articles of Confederation" formed a league and established a compact between them.

In view of these plain historical facts, it is amazing that one filling the highest official position in the North, in a message of the gravest importance, should assert that "The Union is older than any of the States and in fact it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and in turn the Union threw off their old dependence for them and made them States such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State constitution independent of the Union." *c* The weak sophism involved in this statement exposes itself. The Union "older than the States," was not a legal or con-

stitutional union, and was utterly without power to bind the colonies or their people, and therefore for any purpose of coercion, was no union at all. So far from having the grand power to "create them as States," it had not the power to demand from the colonies one cent of money or one recruit for the war. To "create" is the highest exercise of power and it would seem a task overtaxing the genius even of the sapient statesman, who put forth this message, to explain how that which had not the *smallest* power over the subject, could yet exercise the *greatest*, how the less could include the greater, or rather how no power could exercise the highest power. We have seen that Virginia adopted her State constitution, before the Congress declared the States independent. Her act made her a sovereign State, independent of the Union, for she expressly declared that she acted upon her own mature consideration of the causes dissolving the government, formerly exercised over her by Great Britain, as well as "in compliance with a recommendation of the General Congress," *d* and no argument is needed to prove that she was *not dependent* on that which could do nothing but recommend or advise her action.

Thus the States were separate sovereignties, united for defence and having a common agent, called the Congress, whose action was generally wise, and therefore cheerfully acquiesced in and made efficient by the principals. But as the war continued, its pressure became heavier, men, money and supplies were needed, and often the resolutions of Congress were either wholly neglected or positively repudiated by the States. It became apparent that the common agent must be clothed with actual power, and this could only be done by an express agreement between the States, whereby each should bind herself to observe certain rules and obey certain regulations adapted to secure the common safety.

a Read this Constitution in the Revised Code of Virginia, 1. 33-38.

b Grabance, IV. 469 in note.

c Abraham Lincoln's message to the Northern Congress, July 4th, 1861.

d.1 Revised Code of Virginia, 34.

Hence the "Articles of Confederation" were adopted by the several States in 1777, by which they agreed to and with each other, that certain powers should not be exercised by any State separately, and that certain powers necessary to the common defence and general welfare, should be exercised by the Congress. But these articles cautiously declared, that "each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."^a Under this compact the Union existed until it was found necessary again to change its terms, and in 1788, the present constitution of the late United States was ratified by the votes of eleven separate States, and thereby became binding on those so ratifying it. Each State agreed to its terms by her own vote as a State, and it is a fact, demonstrative of State sovereignty, that after eleven States had ratified it, and thereby the new compact took effect, two States, North Carolina and Rhode Island still declined to become parties, and nearly two years passed before the latter of them signified her assent. What was their status in the meantime? They were not in the Union, for the Articles of Confederation had been abrogated, and they had not adopted the constitution. To the statesman of the Northern school of politics this question is highly embarrassing, but to the advocate of State rights, the answer is easy. North Carolina and Rhode Island were sovereign States, and had they never become parties to the compact, they would have continued sovereign. The other States had no right to compel them to accede, and would have been bound to recognize their sovereignty and to deal with them as Foreign nations, with whom they were at peace.

Having thus shown that before the con-

federation and its substitute the constitution, the States were several and independent sovereignties, we are next to consider how far their sovereignty was affected by becoming parties to this league. Let it be remembered that in America, sovereignty never belongs to the government. It belongs to the people who merely delegate to the government certain powers, retaining others themselves. ^b Each State was an organized power, whose people had constituted a State government. When these distinct sovereignties met and adopted the constitution, they merely formed a compact or agreement binding between them. ^c To this great constitutional compact, the States were parties. It was purely a Federal and not a National Union. It was Federal because it was made by the action of the States, and not by the action of the people of America, consolidated and fused into one nation. The States originated it, by severally sending deputies to the convention which framed the constitution; each State then separately adopted it; the votes of eleven States made it binding between them, and two States delayed their assent, and yet remained sovereign and independent. And the constitution, as adopted, contains plain internal evidence, that it is Federal and not National. The Senate is so composed, that each State, however large or small, has equal power—the house of representatives is elected from districts determined by the bounds of the separate States, and not from districts laid off over the whole country, running over and disregarding the dividing lines between the States, which would be the case, if the government were national instead of being federal—the judiciary are appointed with the consent of the Senate, in which the States are equal: the radical power of amendment is performed, not by a vote of a majority, or of any proportion of the

^a Article 2nd Articles of Confederation.

^b There is no difference of opinion North or South on this point. See Calhoun's Works, I. 190, 191, 302.

^c Daniel Webster, the great exponent of the Northern view of the constitution, expressly admitted that it was "a constitutional compact." Speech in U. S. Senate, January 26, 1830. See Calhoun's Works, II. 267, 268.

people of the whole country, but by the vote of three-fourths of the States, so that twenty-five of the smallest States, in the former Union, containing very little more than one-third of the whole population, had the power and right to abrogate every article of the constitution and substitute others.^a Even the opening words, "We, the people of the United States," which have been thought to show that the constitution is national, show the reverse when historically investigated. The original draft of the constitution, adopted the form used in the articles of confederation, and ran thus, "We, the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts," &c., enumerating each of the thirteen States. But when it was determined that the assent of eleven States should suffice to put the new government in motion, it became, of course, necessary to change the heading, because it was uncertain which of the enumerated States would assent.^b Hence the form, "We, the people of the United States" is equivalent to "We, the people of the *States United*," or of the several States composing the Union.

The constitution, therefore was a compact *between* the States. This is proved by its own words: "The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution *between the States* so ratifying the same."^c Being *between* them, it

could not be *above* them or *over* them, for the word, "between," never conveys the meaning of "above" or "over." As to the States, therefore, the constitution was binding as a contract, and not otherwise. The high contracting parties were sovereign States. For purposes of common defence and general welfare, they consented to delegate certain powers of government to a common agent, known as the Federal Government, but, with a caution worthy of sovereigns, they declared in an amendment having all the authority of the instrument itself, that "the powers not delegated to the United States, by the constitution, *nor prohibited by it to the States*, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."^d As if in anticipation of possible events which might render dissolution inevitable, they refused to adopt the expressions of the articles of confederation, declaring the Union "perpetual." They did what human wisdom could do, to provide a stable union, but were not guilty of the folly of supposing that they had discovered an eternal antidote to the effects of selfishness, bad faith and fanaticism; and in the very act of assenting to the constitution, one State cautiously declared that the power to withdraw or secede from the Union, was reserved by the people of the States, in case the powers delegated were perverted to their injury.^e This was the express condition on which

^a Mr. Calhoun's argument to prove the Federal character of the constitution is unanswerable. Works I. 112-126.

^b Calhoun's Works, I. 132.

^c Constitution of the United States, Art. VII.

^d Constitution—amendment added, or Art. X.

^e Virginia; her ratification was accompanied by the following memorable words, "We, the delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected in pursuance of a recommendation from the General Assembly, and now met in Convention, having fully and freely investigated and discussed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared as well as the most mature deliberation hath enabled us to decide thereon, do in the name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known that the powers granted under the constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby, remains with them and at their will; that therefore no right of any denomination can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by the Congress, by the Senate or House of Representatives, acting in any capacity, by

she entered the great co-partnership of States, and as she was admitted as an equal partner, without objection to this condition expressed by any at the time, and as she declared that the condition applied to all, it ensured to the benefit not only of herself, but of the other parties; according to established rules of equity.

We have now reached the point at which we may decide what were the rights of each State, and what remedies each State might properly adopt in case of violations of the Constitution. We have seen that pure sovereignty existed only in the people, and as each State was sovereign, it existed in the people of each. The people delegated to the State Government certain powers, and the people of each State delegated to a common agent of all, known as the Federal Government, certain other powers. Some powers, which had been conferred on the State Governments, were *not* conferred on the Federal Government—these were *reserved* to the States respectively. Again, some powers were conferred neither on the State nor the Federal Government—these were *reserved* to the people. As to the Federal Government, therefore, all powers arranged themselves into two classes—*delegated* powers and *reserved* powers. That Government possessed *all the delegated* powers, and *none of the reserved* powers. As to the *delegated* powers, the Federal Government was supreme—as to the *reserved* powers, the States were supreme. As to the *delegated* powers, the Federal Government was sovereign—as to the *reserved* powers, the States continued sovereign; and as sovereign power is the highest known on earth, it follows, necessarily, that as to the *reserved* powers, the States were equal and coordinate with the Federal Government as to the *delegated* powers. For if the States, in exercising their reserved powers, were inferior, or subject to the Federal Government, then they had parted absolutely with their sovereignty, and vested it wholly in their common agent; a conclu-

sion too absurd to be seriously held by any intelligent American.

The States, therefore, being sovereign as to their reserved powers, could exercise every function of sovereignty in reference to them. Now, one of the most essential functions of the sovereign, is the right to *judge of, and determine* the extent of his own rightful powers as to other Sovereigns, and of the mode and measure of redress in case his rights be violated. This right is constantly exercised by the sovereigns of the world in their dealings with each other. It being, therefore, the right of each State of the former Federal Union to judge of the extent of her reserved rights, it follows, that if those be violated by the Federal Government, the State may also determine the mode and measure of her redress, for this is one of the functions of sovereignty. Hence, if the Constitution be violated—if the solemn compact be broken—the State injured may declare it no longer binding on her, and may withdraw or *secede* from the Union, re-assuming all the powers she once delegated on condition of the faithful observance of the contract.

This conclusion is logically inevitable, if it be admitted that the States are sovereign as to the reserved powers. And as we have historically demonstrated that they are thus sovereign, we might here rest the argument. But those who deny the right of Secession, do so on certain grounds, which must be examined. First, it is urged that the Constitution has provided for a judge, or umpire, in the Supreme Court of the United States, with authority to decide the great questions of State rights and wrongs which might otherwise lead to dissolution, and that the States are bound to submit to the decisions of this supreme tribunal. To this, we answer, that the Supreme Court is but a part of the Federal Judiciary, and that Judiciary is but a branch of the Federal Government; and as the *whole* Federal Government exer-

the President or any department, or officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the constitution for those purposes." Va Debates, 469-479. Calhoun's Works, II. 296.

cises sovereignty only as to its *delegated* powers, and is *not sovereign* as to the *reserved* powers, it follows, that a *branch only* of the Federal Government cannot exercise powers which the *whole* cannot claim. . . . To urge that the Supreme Court is made the judge of the constitutionality of laws, adds no weight to the argument of the opposers of State rights. For, every court in the land, both Federal and State, is made a judge of the constitutionality of laws. The Federal courts have no power except to decide causes or suits brought before them; and as a State cannot be sued, or made a party to a suit, except with her own consent, *a* it follows, that the Supreme Court cannot be a competent tribunal to decide questions between a State and the Federal Government. *b* Furthermore, it is a truth, that in the Convention which framed the Constitution, it was once proposed to confer expressly on the Supreme Court power to have the States and the United States parties before it, and decide questions between them; but this proposal was not adopted. *c* It is, in truth, absurd to contend that the Supreme Court is the final judge of State rights, for the most dangerous and oppressive violations of State rights would be such as would not be the subject of a suit, action, or proceeding in court, and therefore, could never reach the Supreme Court for decision. If the Northern Senators, having the majority, thought proper to expel a large number of Southern Senators for no cause except their advocacy of Southern rights; and if, after such expulsion, laws were passed not conflicting with the Constitution, it is plain that the Federal judiciary would sustain these laws; and yet the violation of State rights would be deliberate and palpable, and no

remedy would exist save in the sovereign power of the injured States. *d*

Next, it is urged, that the Constitution declares, that "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land: and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution, or laws of any State, to the contrary notwithstanding." *e* To this, the answer is, we fully admit that the Constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof, are binding and supreme; but suppose laws are made *not* in pursuance thereof, are they binding? Suppose the Federal Government acts *not* according to the Constitution, is it supreme? Assuredly not, for we have shewn that when it thus violates the Constitution, it is a usurper of the *reserved* powers, as to which the States are supreme and sovereign. Therefore, the compact being broken, the States may exercise their sovereignty and secede.

Again, it is urged that the Constitution authorizes the Federal Government to enforce its laws, and *its own interpretation thereof*, directly upon and against the *individuals* composing the population of each State, and as this power extends to each and every individual resident in the State, it must extend to the State itself. *f* To this, we reply, it is true that the Government has power to enforce its laws against individuals, and so long as resistance to its authority is made only by individuals, *acting as individuals*, their action must be regarded as either rebellion or revolution; but the moment the State acts in her organized capacity, and as a sovereign, declares that her reserved powers have been usurped by the Federal

a Amendments to Constitution, Art. XI.

b Calhoun's Works, I. 330, 346; II. 200, 203, 299.

c Tract on State Sovereignty, by Hon. Wm. D. Porter, 9, 10. Calhoun's Works, II., 203.

d See the very able Speech of Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, in the U. S. Senate, Sess. 1860-'61.

e Constitution U. S., Art. VI.

f Mr. Webster relied much on this argument in his Debate with Mr. Hayne of South Carolina, in the U. S. Senate.

Government, that the compact has been broken, and that her people are no longer bound by it, in the same moment the power of the Federal Government is at an end within her borders. Any attempt by that Government farther to enforce its laws on her people, would be an attempt to force a State, a power not only not given in the Constitution, but expressly and repeatedly disapproved and repudiated by the Convention which framed the Constitution. *a*

Furthermore, it has been urged that if Secession be allowed as a right, the most absurd, or the most ruinous consequences would follow. This is the attempt to overthrow the hypothesis of the right of Secession, by showing that it results in the "reductio ad absurdum;" and the attempt has been made by the same erudite statesman, who discovered that the Union created the States. In his message to the Northern Congress, he urges that the nation bought with money the countries out of which several of the States were formed, and asks, is it just that they shall go off without leave and without refunding? He says, the nation paid large sums, in the aggregate nearly one hundred millions, to relieve Florida of the aboriginal tribes; and asks, is it just that she shall now be off without consent or without making any return? He says, the nation has contracted debts for the benefit of the seceding States in common with the rest—that a part of the national debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas; and asks, is it just that she shall leave and pay no part of this herself? He says, if one State may secede, so may another, and when all shall have seceded, none will be left to pay the debts; and asks, is this quite just to creditors? Did we notify them of this when we borrowed their money? *b*

To all of which we answer, that no advocate of the right of Secession has ever contended, that by seceding, any State could be released from the claims

of justice and equity. The only effect of Secession is to withdraw the State from the Union—to resume the powers once delegated by her to the Federal Government—to make her a foreign nation to the States remaining in the Union. As a foreign nation, it would be her duty to refund her due proportion of any sums expended by all for her exclusive benefit, and if she refused, it would be a just cause of war upon her. Neither would she be released by Secession, from the payment of the just debts of the Union contracted while she was a member. What proportion she ought to pay would be a matter of equitable inquiry, dependent on the object for which the debt was contracted and the appropriation of the money borrowed. Seceded States would still be members of the great family of nations, bound by international law, and subject to the compulsive power of war in case they refused to meet their obligations. And we shall see, as a fact of history, that the Southern States, in withdrawing from the Union, offered the fairest terms of settlement of all money questions involving them with the North.

Having thus shown by argument, founded on historical premises, that the States had the reserved right of Secession in case the constitutional compact between them was violated, and that the objections to this claim of right are invalid, we are now prepared to inquire whether that compact was violated to the prejudice of the Southern States, and whether the wrongs thus inflicted on them were such as to justify them in using this great reserved remedy. . . . An impartial review of facts will compel an affirmative answer to each of these inquiries.

The violations of the Constitution practised against the South by the Federal Government and the Northern States may be embraced under two heads: *First*, wrongs injurious to her commercial and pecuniary interests. *Second*,

a Madison Papers, I., 761, 822, 881, 914, 916. See, also, Porter's Tract on State Sovereignty, 15, 16.

b See Mr. Lincoln's Message to the Federal Congress, July 4, 1861.

wrongs injurious to her social system and affecting the happiness and lives of her people. Under the first head will be found all those accumulated outrages in the form of protective tariffs, bounties on fisheries, bounties to ship builders, immense appropriations of money to Northern public works and interests, and exclusive employment of Northern labor on public undertakings which have gradually and in a subtle and insidious manner drained the wealth of the South to build up that of the North, and by a process as certain as the laws of Nature, have tended to make the South commercially dependent on the Northern States. So enormous have been the amounts thus unjustly abstracted from the South, that nothing but her wonderful productive powers have enabled her to endure their drain and to grow richer notwithstanding it. We need not now repeat the arguments by which the system of protective tariffs has been demonstrated to be in violation of the Constitution. The power to lay duties on imports was given to the Federal Congress for the good of all, and assuredly it is a gross perversion of this power to lay duties on manufactures *not* for the purpose of raising revenue, but for the purpose of building up and making wealthy the manufacturing States at the expense of the agricultural States. Yet this great wrong to the South has been long and systematically practised by the Federal Congress, and was in fact, not abandoned until its unjust object was to a great extent accomplished. Huge sums were extracted from the industry of the South and directed to the establishment and strengthening of Northern factories, whose owners grew rich upon the spoils gotten by this Federal iniquity. The operation of a protective tariff may be simply explained. If a planter in South Carolina needed a thousand yards of cotton fabrics for clothing his family and laborers, he bought it from manufacturers either abroad or in America. So long as a tariff for revenue only was im-

posed, he could not complain, because this added to the cost only the *necessary* increase for the public good. But when the tariff for *protection* was added to the tariff for revenue, it added largely to the cost to the planter and not for the good of the whole. It injured him to the extent of hundreds of dollars and to the same extent benefitted the Northern manufacturer, who, by the burthens pressing out the foreign fabrics, were enabled to bring their own into market.

It cannot be said that the North have had no notice of the danger to the Union threatened by their persistence in thus wronging the South. Thirty years ago several of the Southern States solemnly protested against a protective tariff, and warned the North that it was a violation of the national compact which they would not tolerate. In 1828 a tariff bill was passed by the Federal Congress so highly protective and so evidently the result of avarice and political intrigue, that it was justly characterized as "the bill of abominations."^a South Carolina resolved to act, and her people met in primary assemblies, and had discussed before them the nature of the Federal compact, and the rights of the States, until her whole white population became thoroughly instructed, and a Convention was called which declared this unconstitutional law null and void within her borders. Happily at that time a compromise was effected; the storm was dissipated. The South had not yet suffered enough to unite them in their move for independence, but an impression was then produced which has been felt to the present day.

In like manner the "fishing bounties" and Congressional acts to encourage ship building, and the production of seamen at the North, have been unjust and oppressive to the South in the exact proportion that they have added to the wealth of the North. The interests of the South are agricultural. She raises wheat, maize, rice, sugar, tobacco, and cotton, besides

^a Calhoun's Works, II., 213, 214.

every other article of product of the soil or the forest, essential to the welfare of a nation. She has never asked the Federal Government to protect or encourage her peculiar interests, never expected or desired it. She has only asked that her *rights* may be protected; commercial and pecuniary *interests*, she has insisted, are not legitimate objects of Government action, and ought to be left to individual skill and energy. But the very reverse has been the course of the North. She was exceedingly poor previous to her union with the Southern States; her people were supported, in great measure, by sending small vessels to the West India Islands, laden with fish, beef, butter, onions, poultry, apples and cider, which they sold for money—thence sailing to England, where they bought goods suitable for the African or the home market, and in most cases they returned by way of the African coast, bringing to America cargoes of negroes for sale to the Southern Colonies. *a*

Hardly had the Congress obtained any legal power before the North procured the passage of laws granting bounties to vessels engaged in the fisheries, and notwithstanding repeated remonstrances from Southern statesmen, they have been continued to the present day, and under them millions of dollars have been paid to Northern people, nearly all of which have been taken from the pockets of the agriculturists of the South.

This insidious system once inaugurated has been continued quietly and effectively until its results have gone far beyond the direct action of the Federal Government. The North has grown rapidly rich in money, factories, machinery, ships, cities, stocks and movable wealth

of every kind; and it is demonstrable that a large part of this wealth has been drawn directly from the products of the South. The effect of the unjust legislation in favour of the North has been to stimulate her shipping, manufacturing and mercantile enterprises to intense activity, and as the South has insensibly yielded to the temptations thus presented to her to have the freighting of her products, their transport to market, the collection of the proceeds, the return of goods needed from foreign countries, and their sale at advanced prices, all done *for* her instead of *by* her; the amount she has thus annually lost in consequence of her union with the Northern States has been enormous. It is not easy to estimate this loss accurately in figures, yet facts established beyond doubt will prove that it amounts to millions. It has been calculated that the tariff of 1842, although not so highly protective as others, caused the South to lose thirty millions of dollars a year. *b* But this is a small item in the account. Let it be remembered that the South has furnished about three fourths of the total exports of the country. In 1764 the exports of the North American Colonies were about eleven millions of dollars in value; in 1790 the exports of the States had reached about thirty-nine millions; in 1820 they were seventy millions, and in 1860 they were three hundred and seventy-three millions. *c* It has been shown by careful statistics that in the thirty-five years extending from 1821 to 1855, the exports of rice, tobacco and cotton alone, amounted to two thousand millions of dollars, and that even upon the basis that all other exports were products of the North, they amounted to less than one half that sum. *d* In 1860 the ex-

a See the very able Letter of Hon. A. O. P. Nicholson, late U. S. Senator from Tennessee. Raleigh Register, copied in Richmond Whig, Oct. 28, 1861.

b Speech of Senator Clingman of North Carolina. See De Bow's Review, N. S., vol. VI., 447, 449.

c American Almanac, 1861, page 179. Nicholson's Letter.

d De Bow's Review, 1859—576, 577.

ports of Southern products were in value two hundred and nineteen millions—those of the North were ninety-seven millions. In the same year the total imports of the country amounted to three hundred and sixty-two millions. *a* Now, as the exports paid for the imports, and as the imports paid in duties the expenses and appropriations of the Government, it is obvious that the South, by her products, paid more than two thirds of those expenses and appropriations. This, however, is a small part of the tribute she has paid to the Union. By reason of the overgrown shipping interests of the North, *six sevenths* of all Southern products have gone abroad in Northern vessels, thus costing the South twenty millions of dollars annually, and enriching Northern ship owners to that extent. Furthermore, the *imports* needed by the South have come back in like manner, in Northern bottoms, and as the freight has necessarily increased the cost to its full amount, another sum of twenty millions a year has been paid by the South to Northerners. Yet farther, the goods imported have not been brought directly to Southern ports. Northern importers have received them and sold them to jobbers, who have sold them to the South, thus adding the per centage of *two profits* to the cost finally accumulated on the head of the much enduring Southerner. *One* profit, that of the importers alone, has been estimated to yield thirty millions of dollars per annum. Another item of loss to the South arises from the fact that she sends annually to the North about two hundred millions of her products, *b* and receives back the same amount of Northern manufactures, the cost of which to the South is increased by the operation of tariff laws to an amount estimated at sixty millions of dollars. We must yet farther add to the loss of the South the cost of brokerage and commissions paid to Northern men

for receiving and shipping her products, and transacting business for her which, but for the Union, she would have done for herself, and the immense sums paid in exchange by Southern planters and merchants, by reason of, the overwhelming money power accumulated under the influence of unjust legislation in the large Northern cities, which has caused all money payments to flow to them as to great engulfing centres, and enabled them to exact any terms they asked from those who, although possessed of abundance of wealth in produce, had very little money. In brokerage, commissions, and exchange, the South paid the North annually not less than fifty millions of dollars. When all these losses, with others not enumerated, but arising from the same causes, are added up, they will amount to a total of not less than two hundred millions of dollars a year, a sum, which if retained by the South, would have made her people the richest in the world, in proportion to their numbers, and which having been received by the North, has made her what she is, a nation of speculators and mechanics, making their fortunes out of the productive industry of others. It is not wonderful that the South should have sought to dissolve a Union which drained her wealth into Northern coffers, neither is it wonderful that the avarice of the North should have roused her to frenzy at the bare thought that the South, patient and long suffering, though she has been, has at length thrown off the shackles of the foul usurer, who had bound her, and will never again submit to his dominion.

But the pecuniary losses of the South, caused by the systematic and subtle wrongs we have detailed, would not alone have been sufficient to drive her to a dissolution of the Union. Her wonderful productive powers enabled her to bear these losses, and yet to grow richer and stronger each year, and the very habit of

a Nicholson's Letter. See also Am. Almanac, 1861—179—189.

b This is the estimate of a Northern writer, T. P. Kettell, Esq., in his book on "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits." See statistics in Richmond Whig, May 19, 1860.

profiting by them on the one side, and enduring them on the other, developed a difference in the character of the people of the two sections, which tended rather to cohesion than to rupture. This was on the principle often operating in nature, that substances not only different, but opposite in their qualities, frequently unite by powerful chemical affinity. The Northern people, always sufficiently avaricious and selfish, had been stimulated by their excessive profits from Southern products, until money became the God of their most devout worship. All their ideas ran in channels rendered corrupt by contact with love of money. Their very generosity assumed forms of ostentation; their charities showed themselves only in customs courting the praise of the world; their religion was a faith in costly pews and congregations, clothed in expensive garments. Their abundant fanaticisms flowed from the same polluted source. Their "Spiritualism" was so far from being really spiritual, that it assumed the most degrading material theories, teaching that bodily contact was the proper mode of summoning spirits, and that spirits when present took special delight in rappings and table turnings! The most sacred relation of life—the marriage tie—soon felt the influence of this earth-born devotion. Marriage came to be considered a mere contract of convenience for the material well-being of the parties, to be laid aside almost at pleasure, and as the laws of the people reflected their will on this subject, *divorce* was readily granted for the most trivial causes.

Under the influence of such materialism, even woman lost her spirituality and assumed to govern by force. The North is entitled, "par excellence," to the credit of producing a race of creatures calling themselves "strong-minded women," whose claim is that woman's rights entitle her to vote, to debate, to canvass, to appear on the public platform and in the pulpit, to sit in the halls of legislation, to plead at the bar, to judge on the bench, yea, even to wear the General's uniform and seek the tented

field. The culminating point of this materialistic tendency has been reached in the doctrine of "free love," which, within four years past, has been distinctly held and practiced by many at the North. To such ends will the worship of money bring a people who shall yield up soul and body to its power.

At the South a very different character has developed itself—a character having grave faults, certainly; but free from the degradation of money worship. The Southern planter, with his family living on his fertile land, surrounded by his slaves, supplied with abundant and healthful food, and wanting nothing essential to his comfort, has easily fallen into habits of indolence and luxury. The Southerners who have migrated from the seaboard States to quell and cultivate the rich wilderness of the Southwest, have indeed formed a hardier character; but in their very success they have become a fiery, fierce, and impatient race, needing prudence to restrain, and skill to guide them. A more wasteful, improvident, careless people, probably nowhere has existed on the earth than in the Southern States of America. They have been content to live well, to enjoy their genial climate, and to draw from their teeming soil the productions which have supplied a world's industry, and although they have for many years known that they were giving away millions each year to the North, yet so far from regretting it, they have often made it a subject of self-gratulation, as the rich man pleases himself by thinking of his bounties to his poor neighbors. They have, naturally enough, looked on the Northern people as laborers, working like their slaves to supply comforts and elegancies for their homes. And as the true Southerner feels it to be his duty and happiness to provide all needed supplies for his slaves, in like manner he has felt towards the Northern people. Their shoemakers have supplied his boots and shoes; their tailors his ready-made clothing; their weavers his cloths and muslins; their shipbuilders his vessels for transport of his products; their sailors his freightage to Northern

or foreign ports; their brokers and factors have taken the labour of selling his property out of his hands; their merchants have imported his goods for him; even their banks have manufactured his money. All this has saved him much trouble and ministered to his love of luxury and ease. It is true, his servants at the North have been charging him enormous prices, and by a system of unjust and dishonest legislation, have been preventing him from obtaining the same supplies and services *much cheaper* from abroad. It is true, his servants have been growing rich and insolent at his expense. It is true, that a few wise and faithful monitors among his own people have warned him that he was losing millions every year, and was becoming dependent upon an avaricious and ungrateful people. To all this he has listened good humbly, and has gone on as before. Pecuniary losses and unjust money laws alone would probably never have driven the South from the Union. It required another cause to rouse her to resistance, and to call up among her people that tremendous tide of indignation and enthusiasm which has not ceased to flow until her political union with the North has been sundered forever. This cause was the persistent assault of the North upon her social system.

Slavery is now an institution of the South not merely maintained as lawful, but cherished as a benign system of labour, favourable alike to the happiness of master and slave. If there was guilt in its origin in North America, the Southern States are not responsible for it. England encouraged it and carried it forward in her colonies with all the vigor that private enterprise and public legislation could impart. When some of the Southern colonies desired to stop the importation, the mother country refused to gratify them, and continued a trade which she found profitable.^a The Northern colonies also embarked largely in the good work of slave catching and import-

ing, and so attractive were the profits which Northern merchants and shipowners thus realized, that when the Federal Constitution was formed, the influence of the Northern delegates to the Convention was chiefly instrumental in obtaining the insertion of the clause declaring that the African slave trade should not be forbidden prior to the year 1808.^b Not one of the Northern States ceased to be slaveholding until their *pecuniary interests* taught them that their soil and climate were not adapted to slave labour, and that manufactures and commerce suited them better than agriculture.

In the South slavery flourished; the sunny clime and genial soil suited the African race, and having the good fortune to have masters who stimulated their native indolence into exertion, and compelled them to wholesome work, they increased rapidly in numbers and formed a happy laboring class, whose interests were inseparably interwoven with those of their owners. It is not to be denied that a strong prejudice against slavery exists in most civilized nations who have the misfortune to be without it. So prevailing was this prejudice, that it insensibly affected Southern men, and twenty years ago a large number of the educated men of the Southern States regarded slavery as a necessary but very great evil, from which it would be desirable that the border slave States, at least, should be relieved. But within the past twenty years a radical change of opinion on this subject has taken place. The incessant attacks of English and Northern abolitionists have induced Southern men deliberately to review and discuss slavery in all its aspects, and the result has been to establish, on solid ground, the following conclusions, viz: that slavery was an institution known from the earliest period of man's history; that God has fully sanctioned it, and not only permitted it to his people, but encouraged it by enacting laws for its regulation and perpetuation;

^a *Dred Scott vs. Sandford*. Opinion of Mr. Justice Campbell. Howard's Rep., 498.

^b *Madison Papers*.

that the slavery authorized by the Old and New Testaments was, in substance, the same that now prevails in the Southern States, slaves being bought and sold *as property*, and descending to heirs or distributees according to law; that the African race are adapted to slavery and not to freedom, being, in truth, slaves in their native land, under a system of brutality from which their transfer to Southern plantations has been a happy change; that the slaves of the South are the most prosperous laboring class in the world—the best clothed, best fed, best cared for in sickness and old age, best taught in the simple doctrines of Christianity, least addicted to destructive vice, and most entirely free from torturing cares—in fact, that in Southern slavery the terrible conflict between capital and labour has been reconciled, and the interests of the capitalist and laborer are united; *a* and in answer to the oft-repeated sneers at the supposed poverty, languor, declining fortunes, and abounding wickedness of the Southern States, it has been demonstrated upon a basis of undoubted facts that those States have more property and comfort for their people than any of the Northern States; that Virginia, for example, is probably the richest community in the world; that the average amount of property held by each free person in Virginia is \$758, while in New York it is only \$260, not much more than one-third; that this disproportion is increasing rather than diminishing; that in Kentucky each free person holds an average of \$456 of property, while in Ohio, who boasts of her wondrous prosperity, the average is only \$276; that the same disparity, favorable to the slave States, is found in all of them when compared with the North; that in Virginia, in one year, 402 brick houses and 2,904 wooden houses were built, while in Massachusetts, with a white population nearly equal, in the

same year only 324 brick houses and 1,249 wooden houses were built; that in South Carolina and North Carolina in 1850, 100 houses averaged but 100 families to occupy them, while in Massachusetts 100 houses were compelled to hold 126 families! that the whole population of Virginia, white and black, lived abundantly upon beef, pork, wheat, and corn, while Ohio and New York, each with a population twice as great, consumed much less of these nutritious and expensive articles, and made up the deficiency *with potatoes*, the cheapest of all vegetable food; that in Massachusetts agriculture is rapidly declining, her annual yield having fallen, between 1840 and 1845, in wheat, from 210,000 to 48,000 bushels; in Indian corn, from 2,203,000 to 1,985,000; in barley, from 156,000 to 122,000; and in buckwheat, from 102,000 to 32,000 bushels. *b* In like manner it has shewn that the proportionate excess of males over females in population is much greater in the South than in the North; that Massachusetts has at least thirty thousand females more than her due proportion; that not less than fifty thousand women work in her factories, each confined to a space five feet square, in an over-heated room, for thirteen hours a day, under an overseer; that slavery shews no such exhausting and painful labour as this; that in 1844 the State of New York had 72,000 permanent, and about the same number of occasional paupers; that in the city of New York one person in every five is dependent on public charity; that in Massachusetts one person in every twenty is a pauper; that in both these States pauperism is advancing ten-fold more rapidly than either their wealth or their population; while in the Southern States pauperism is almost unknown, there being many counties even in the border States of Kentucky and Virginia where the poor-houses

^a See George Fitzhugh's "Sociology for the South," and "Cannibals All." *Passim*.

^b Elwood Fisher's Lecture on "The North and the South," delivered in 1848, before the Mercantile Society of Cincinnati, republished in *De Bow's Review*; see vol. XXII, 1857, pages 623, 627, 628; vol. XXIII, 1857, pages 197, 200

have not a single inmate!^a And finally, it has been shewn that crime in New York, as compared with Virginia, is as four to one, and that in all the Northern

States, as compared with all the Southern, crime is at least in proportion as two to one.^b

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

DAY DREAMING.

In my chamber, ever dreaming, dreaming,
Here I sit and sigh the hours away;
Through my window comes the sunlight
streaming:
All the world, beside myself, is gay.

Musing, dreaming: rather faintly smiling—
So I sit and live in other years:
Memory comes to woo me—sweet, beguiling;
Dear dead faces glimmer through fond
tears.

O the happy, happy scenes of childhood!
How they pass again before my eyes!
Once again I ramble through the wildwood,
Under brighter suns and bluer skies.

And I see my home beyond the mountains,
By the streamlet, fringed with grass and
trees,
Hear the tinkling splash of greenwood foun-
tains,
And the merry laughter of the breeze.

Once again I hear my mother's greeting
In the dear old hall beside the stream:
Then the pulse of youth was wildly beat-
ing;
Now it throbs so slowly, while I dream.

And again I hear my brother's laughter,
Hear my sister sing through the hours,
See the mighty shadows trailing after
Snowy clouds, across the May day flow-
ers.

Thus come back in idle, dreamy vision,
All the scenes and faces of old years—
All the memories of days Elysian—
All the foolish childish hopes and fears!

Yonder is my noble father smiling,
From the canvass on my chamber wall—
He has passed away from all his toiling,
Nevermore will answer to my call.

He will never look again with royal,
Grand, chivalric eyes upon his son—
Never speak in accents sweet and loyal:
All his faithful work on earth is done—

But the great frank look still shines upon
me:
Still the golden smile is on the lips,
Telling me to keep the name he won me
Free from stain, undarkened by eclipse.

And another portrait hangs beside me—
Dear, fond lips—blue eyes so deep and
mild—
She has left me, nevermore shall guide me,
Nevermore shall bless her lonely child!

Very lonely, as of one forsaken!
Last of many brothers leal and dear;
Fair, and gay and proud, they all were taken,
I alone am left to linger here!

Left to live my life—to idly ponder—
But the dear ones still are by my side;
See the faces, framed in oval, yonder!
Noble, tender, full of laughing pride.

Thus surrounded by those souls departed,
I can bear the heavy weary load—
Still can onward march, serene, stout-
hearted—
Never pausing on the rugged road.

For I see beyond the purple even,
In the sunshine of the cloudless land,
From the shining battlements of heaven,
Some one beckon with a loving hand!

^a The North and the South. De Bow, vol. 23, 280, 281.

^b Idem, in De Bow, vol. XXIII., 281, 282. American Almanac, 1849 and 1861, compare the Statistics of Crime and Misdemeanor for each State,

SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART.

RICHMOND, APRIL, 1862.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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Such are the results to which the South may appeal as flowing from her social system. To such wealth, comfort, and virtue has she attained by following the pure habits of agricultural life. The world has never seen such results, and it may well be asked if the institution of slavery can thus be blessed of God, and can be shewn to co-exist with the real welfare and happiness of the highest, the middle, and the lowest classes, who shall gainsay it? Convinced that slavery is lawful, and that its continuance secures the best interests of her whole population, the South had a right to demand full recognition and protection for it. The Constitution of the United States distinctly acknowledges slaves to be property by declaring that the African slave trade (conducted by buying and selling slaves,) should not be prohibited for twenty years, ^a thus allowing the character of property not only to adhere to those already imported, but to impress itself upon the many thousands to be

brought in during those twenty years. And although after 1808 the African slave trade might be prohibited, yet the Constitution nowhere authorized the prohibition of the domestic traffic in slaves, and thus the rights of owners were forever secured against any legislation by the Federal Government prejudicial to them. The Constitution went further, and provided that slaves escaping from their owners and flying to a free State should be returned, ^b thus showing that by the solemn compact made by the Constitution, the rights of the South as to slavery were intended to be fully secured. And certainly never was there a league in which one party could more justly claim respect for its rights on the ground of generosity and magnanimity to the other, than could the South from the North in reference to this question of slavery; for, when the war of the Revolution was ended by a treaty of peace with Great Britain, the South owned nearly all the territory not covered by

^a Constitution, Art. I, sec. 9. See also opinion of Supreme Court, by Ch. J. Taney. *Dred Scott v. Sandford.* Howard's Rep., 411.

^b Constitution, Art. IV., sec. 2.

the actual settlements in the States. Virginia alone held within her chartered limits, and by right of conquest, the whole of the magnificent region north-west of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, embracing an area of two hundred and forty thousand square miles. Within this territory Virginia had the right to expand her institution of slavery as her people might deem proper, for it was subject to her own local laws, which recognized and encouraged slavery. Yet she voluntarily, and in a spirit of high patriotism, ceded this vast territory to the General Government, to be converted into sovereign States as fast as their population would permit. And on the 13th of July 1787, just two months before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the Congress, with the assent of Virginia, passed the well known ordinance for the government of this territory, one article of which provided that *slavery should not exist therein* except for crime; but that fugitive slaves escaping thereto should be returned to their owners.^a Thus, at one stroke, the door of this great region was forever shut against the slaveholder with his property, and *five free States*—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, have since been formed within its bounds.

Surely the North might have been satisfied with this voluntary relinquishment—this gift from the South, and might have abstained from grasping at more! But it has not been so. Urged on by avarice and fanaticism, the North has made war upon slavery in every form in which war can be waged—not excepting the effort to excite servile insurrections for butchering the whites of the South. We shall narrate the wrongs suffered by the South on this subject, under three heads: *First*, the wrongs done by the Federal Government. *Secondly*, the wrongs

done by the separate Northern States. *Thirdly*, the wrongs done by Northern people.

First, the Federal Congress has, in several instances grossly violated the spirit and meaning of the Constitution, by enactments striking at Southern slavery. The territories belonging to the United States, having been acquired by the joint treasure and blood of all the States, were a sacred trust to the enjoyment of which all had equal right. The Southern man had the same right to carry his most valuable property—his slaves—into the territories and there claim the protection of law—that the Northern man had to carry thither his cattle or his farming implements and there claim the same protection. This is not only the just and obvious meaning of a Constitution, which recognizes property in slaves, and declares that no man shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, but has been authoritatively decided to be its meaning by the Supreme Court of the United States, a tribunal which Northern politicians have claimed to be the final arbiter between the States and the Federal Government. Yet the North, by its influence, has induced the Congress to violate the rights of the South in this respect, and thus to open a way to the dissolution of the Union.

On the 29th of December, 1819, Missouri applied to Congress for admission to the Union as a State. She had all the requisites for a state—a sufficient population and a Constitution establishing a Republican form of government. She had a right to immediate admission, and her sister slave States had a right to expect it. But her Constitution *authorized slavery!* and hence the North opposed her admission. A howl of resistance was heard from the free states—strong influ-

^a Dred Scott v. Sandford. Howard's Rep. 435. Speech of Hon. C. G. Memminger, of S. C., before Va. Legislature, 19th Jan 1860, in Va. Register 111. Hist. of Va., by the author. I, 282–291.

^b Constitutional amendment, Article V.

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ences were brought to bear on Northern representatives and a tempest of dangerous excitement swept over the country. This was "the beginning of the end," and so portentous were the signs of the times, that Mr. Jefferson declared that this Missouri question, like a fire-bell in the night, awaked and filled him with terror, and that he considered it as the knell of the Union.^a The Federal Congress were wholly without excuse for their opposition to admitting Missouri. Maine applied for admission as a State only twenty-one days before Missouri, and was admitted on the 25th of March, 1820, without opposition from Southern representatives.^b This gave the free States a preponderance of one, and fairness, Constitution and law united in requiring the admission of Missouri. But the North warred furiously against it, and having already the majority in the House of Representatives, they succeeded in defeating her just claim in the session of 1820. The question threatened to rend the Union asunder, and perhaps it would have been best that dissolution should then have taken place. The North would have been wholly responsible for the result. But certain misguided patriots from the border slave States, anxious to preserve the union, brought forward a scheme of *compromise* as they were pleased to call it, and with the aid of Northern votes, it was adopted. On the 6th of March, 1820, an act was passed *prohibiting slavery* in all that part of the Louisiana purchase of territory lying North of thirty-six and a half degrees of latitude, and not included within the bounds of Missouri, and on the 2nd of March, 1821, Missouri, with her slave Constitution, was admitted. These measures together, constitute what is usually termed "The Mis-

souri *Compromise*, but it is a glaring misnomer. A compromise always implies a mutual yielding and receiving of rights and benefits, but in this arrangement the South yielded *all* and received *none*. She had a right to the admission of Missouri and a right to settle in all the territories with her people and slaves, yet by this unjust legislation, she was absolutely excluded from a million of square miles of territory, *c* and received nothing in return.

It is not wonderful that this iniquitous law should have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. It was not only an outrage on the original compact, but a breach of the treaty with France, by which the Louisiana territory was acquired, for that treaty declared that the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States, and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, *property* and the religion which they profess."^d

Thus the Federal Congress violated the great Constitutional compact, and struck a direct blow at the rights of the South. The usurpation was so gross and far reaching in its character, that the slave States would have been fully justified in withdrawing at once. But their love of the Union induced them to remain, perhaps with the fallacious hope that the North would now be content and would not attempt to snatch more of the common possessions for her exclusive enjoyment. How false has been this hope, let the sequel show!

^a Letter to John Holmes, April 22, 1820.

^b Python, Relative Territorial Status of the North and the South. De Bow's Review, N. S. VII, 14.

^c Mr. Justice Cation's opinion in the Dred Scott case, 525.

^d Dred Scott v. Sandford, Mr. Justice Cation's opinion, 524. Mr. Justice Curtis in delivering his dissenting opinion, is driven to insist that Congress has the right and power to legislate in violation of a treaty, 629-630.

the actual settlements in the States. Virginia alone held within her chartered limits, and by right of conquest, the whole of the magnificent region north-west of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, embracing an area of two hundred and forty thousand square miles. Within this territory Virginia had the right to expand her institution of slavery as her people might deem proper, for it was subject to her own local laws, which recognized and encouraged slavery. Yet she voluntarily, and in a spirit of high patriotism, ceded this vast territory to the General Government, to be converted into sovereign States as fast as their population would permit. And on the 13th of July 1787, just two months before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the Congress, with the assent of Virginia, passed the well known ordinance for the government of this territory, one article of which provided that *slavery should not exist therein* except for crime; but that fugitive slaves escaping thereto should be returned to their owners.^a Thus, at one stroke, the door of this great region was forever shut against the slaveholder with his property, and *five free States*—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, have since been formed within its bounds.

Surely the North might have been satisfied with this voluntary relinquishment—this gift from the South, and might have abstained from grasping at more! But it has not been so. Urged on by avarice and fanaticism, the North has made war upon slavery in every form in which war can be waged—not excepting the effort to excite servile insurrections for butchering the whites of the South. We shall narrate the wrongs suffered by the South on this subject, under three heads: *First*, the wrongs done by the Federal Government. *Secondly*, the wrongs

done by the separate Northern States. *Thirdly*, the wrongs done by Northern people.

First, the Federal Congress has, in several instances grossly violated the spirit and meaning of the Constitution, by enactments striking at Southern slavery. The territories belonging to the United States, having been acquired by the joint treasure and blood of all the States, were a sacred trust to the enjoyment of which all had equal right. The Southern man had the same right to carry his most valuable property—his slaves—into the territories and there claim the protection of law—that the Northern man had to carry thither his cattle or his farming implements and there claim the same protection. This is not only the just and obvious meaning of a Constitution, which recognizes property in slaves, and declares that no man shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,^b but has been authoritatively decided to be its meaning by the Supreme Court of the United States,^c a tribunal which Northern politicians have claimed to be the final arbiter between the States and the Federal Government. Yet the North, by its influence, has induced the Congress to violate the rights of the South in this respect, and thus to open a way to the dissolution of the Union.

On the 29th of December, 1819, Missouri applied to Congress for admission to the Union as a State. She had all the requisites for a state—a sufficient population and a Constitution establishing a Republican form of government. She had a right to immediate admission, and her sister slave States had a right to expect it. But her Constitution *authorized slavery!* and hence the North opposed her admission. A howl of resistance was heard from the free states—strong influ-

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When the United States were at war with Mexico, the slave States embarked in the contest with an ardor to which the North was a stranger. It is a matter of history, that in proportion to population, the South furnished four volunteers, for this war, where the North furnished one.^a Southern valor won many a bloody field. Southern soldiers poured out their lives in many a fierce encounter, and the treasure furnished by Southern industry, bore the heavy expenses of the fleets and armies by which Mexico was overcome. Certainly the South ought to have been allowed her full share of the fruits of such a contest. It would have seemed almost an insult to the North, to say that she would ignore the claims of justice and magnanimity, and seek to appropriate those fruits to her exclusive benefit. But let the facts witness against her. Before the war was ended, in August, 1846, one David Wilmot, a representative from Pennsylvania, introduced into Congress a proposition, since known as the "Wilmot proviso," which declared that slavery should be excluded from all the territory that might be acquired from Mexico. In the words of one who has spoken on this subject, "the Southern States were informed that although their blood and treasure had contributed to the result—although the bones of their slain lay entombed before the fortresses and among the mountains of Mexico. * * yet no Southern man should stand upon the conquered territory upon the same footing with the Northern. The institutions of the North whether Mormon or Infidel, might attend them—the Chinaman, or Lascar, or the Sandwich Islander, or the Zambo—all might have equal protection and right, but the most valuable property of the Southern man, must be left behind." ^b

This disgraceful proposition was adop-

ted by the House of Representatives, by a vote of 115 yeas, to 106 nays, only 17 Northern representatives voting with the Southern minority. The Senate not yet being overcome by the polluted breath of Northern sectionalism, did not then adopt it, but evaded a vote, by adjournment.^c In 1847, the proposition was again made, even with expanded effect, and again the House of Representatives passed a bill excluding the South, with her peculiar property, from all territory on the American continent. Again the Senate refused concurrence, but the North clamored for the proviso, and embittered feelings were aroused which threatened bloodshed upon the floors of Congress. In the face of the storm which she was thus calling up, the selfish and fanatical North persevered.

The South could no longer suppress her righteous indignation. In March 1847, Virginia, by her legislature, passed a series of resolutions, declaring that all the territory acquired by conquest, or purchase, was the joint and common property of all the States, and that the enactment, by the Federal Government, of any law which should directly, or by its effects, prevent the citizens of any State from emigrating with their property of whatever description, into such territory, would be a violation of the Constitution, and of the equal rights of the States, and would tend directly to subvert the Union, and that if such a measure was adopted the people of Virginia could have no difficulty in choosing between the only alternatives that would remain—of abject submission to aggression and outrage on the one hand, or determined resistance on the other, at all hazards and to the last extremity. ^d

South Carolina passed resolutions similar in spirit, in December, 1847, and other Southern States responded in such

^a Executive Doc. No. 62, Congress 1859-60, in Richmond Dispatch, Feb'y 2, 1861.

^b Hon C. G. Memminger's speech before the Va. Legislature, 19 January, 1860.

^c Python. Territorial Status of the North and South. De Bow's Review, N. S., Vol. VII., 253.

^d The resolutions are given in full in Mr. Memminger's address, Va. Register, 117.

a manner as to give the North solemn notice of the issue to which her grasping spirit was hurrying her. A pause ensued, the treaty of peace with Mexico was made in May 1848, and by it an immense and valuable territory was ceded to the United States. The Congress was in session, and a sincere attempt was made in the Senate to effect a settlement of this dangerous question in a manner satisfactory to North and South. Delaware, though a slave State, was hardly more than nominally so, and might be regarded as neutral, and Mr. Clayton, a Senator from Delaware, assumed the graceful task of attempting a compromise. On his motion, the subject was referred to a committee of eight members, four from the North and four from the South, and according to usage, he was made the Chairman. Nothing can more strikingly exhibit the unjust spirit of the North and the absolute necessity finally driving the South to disunion, than the proceedings of this committee. ^a They cannot be better described than in Mr. Clayton's own words—"as soon as we assembled, a proposition was made by a member from the South, to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific. The vote upon it stood four Southern members for it and four Northern members against it. We renewed the proposition in every proper conceivable form, but our Northern friends rejected it as often as it was proposed. We discussed it, we entreated them to adopt it. We did not pretend that it was a Constitutional measure, but that it had been held by many as a compact between the North and the South, and was justified as a measure of peace. We argued to show the justice of extending the line to the Pacific. I obtained a statement from the land office, showing that by such an extension of this line, *the North would have the exclusive occupation of one million and six hundred thousand square miles in the territories outside the States, and the South but two hundred and sixty-*

two thousand square miles, in which, observe, slavery could only be tolerated in case the people residing there should allow it. The proposition being rejected by the North, there was, indeed, as the Senator from South Carolina, Mr. Calhoun, has described it, '*a solemn pause in the committee.*' All hope of amicable settlement for the moment vanished, and unnatural contention seemed likely to prevail among us." Finally three-fourths of this committee agreed that the rights of the South, in the territories, should be entrusted to the decision of the Supreme Court, and they reported a bill giving an appeal to the Supreme Court, from the decisions of the territorial judges, in all cases of *habeas corpus* or other cases involving the question of personal liberty. The effect of this would have been, that when a Southerner carried his slaves into the territories, his right to control them, as property, could have been brought before the Supreme Court. To this proposition, the Southern Senators, with great unanimity consented, but the Northern were far from being unanimous. Nevertheless the proposition passed the Senate, but when sent to the House of Representatives, it was defeated on the 28th of July, 1848, by a vote of 112 to 97, *five sixths of the opposition being from the North..*

Here was a revealing of the foul inner soul of the North. They had insisted that the Supreme Court was the final judge of Constitutional questions, yet here they refused to submit to its decisions. They had forced the line of thirty-six and a half degrees on the South, in 1820, yet now they refused to abide by it. Conscious of their numerical strength, they were already preparing for that series of acts of hypocrisy, fraud and oppression, one of which was to entice the South to aid in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, whereby the North might overrun the whole territories with anti-slavery populations, and for ever exclude

^a They were revealed by Mr. Clayton, in a speech in the U. S. Senate, March 1, 1854. De Bow's Review, N. S., Vol. VII, 256.

the South and her property from the common soil of the Union.

In August, 1848, the Congress passed a bill for a territorial government in Oregon, and attached the odious "Wilmot proviso" to it. This was another outrage upon the Constitution and the rights of the South, but as Oregon was too cold a country to be attractive to slave labor, the South submitted.

And now came the great struggle for the rich territory acquired from Mexico, which had cost not only the blood and treasure expended in the war, but fifteen millions of dollars additional, of which the South assuredly furnished her full proportion. The South strove only for justice and equal rights in this rich region,—the North strove for exclusive control, and the Federal Congress became her ready instrument for perpetrating the grossest usurpation. California was the golden soil most attractive to avarice, and as this thrifty vice had been the schoolmaster of the North for centuries, it taught her how to secure the prize. At the close of hostilities, the white population of California did not exceed fifteen thousand. ^a Gold was discovered in February 1848, and forthwith a rush of men from almost every country in the world poured into California. They came in flocks and herds from Mexico, from China, from the Sandwich Islands, from the Atlantic States, from Great Britain, from Europe, "a daring, reckless, dangerous" people, comprizing every color, every condition, every fragmentary shape of humanity. In a short time California held a mixed population of nearly a quarter of a million. ^b Congress had passed no territorial law for them, and neither Constitution nor statutes, nor precedents, authorized them to form a State government and apply for admission as a State. But in an evil hour, President Taylor, who was a simple minded soldier, and no

match for the wily intriguers of the North, authorized a military officer in California to establish a government and call a Convention. In this proceeding, he usurped a dangerous power no where bestowed by the Constitution, or by any law, and not only formed a territorial government with a legislature, a judiciary, and himself as chief executive, but proclaimed the whole territory to be *under the laws of Mexico*, although the soil with its people had already passed under the power and control of the Constitution of the United States! ^c The object of Northern advisers in this proceeding, was to insist that as the laws of Mexico had abolished slavery, California could not be made slave territory, conveniently forgetting that the moment this region became the property of the United States, the Constitution abrogated all Mexican laws inconsistent with the rights of property of every State in the Union.

Under this usurped power, General Riley called a Convention at Monterey, in California, who met September 1, 1849, and framed a Constitution, one article of which *forbade slavery*, and this was adopted by a majority of a population many thousands of whom had not been in the country twelve months—had not taken the first step towards becoming American citizens, were of all classes and colors, and had never acquired the right to vote under any territorial law. Yet under this Constitution, California presented herself for admission as a State, and Northern Congressmen clamored for a vote. Is it strange that Southern statesmen should have stigmatized this proceeding as a fraud and usurpation? They asked only that the proper course should be pursued, that a territorial law should be passed, that the right of voting should be defined, and that the Constitution should be adopted according to regular forms. Surely this much might have been ac-

^a New Amer. Cyclopædia Art, California, page 260.

^b Ibid, Vol. IV., 260.

^c Hon. Henry A. Wise's Treatise on the Territories, quoted by Python in De Bow's Review, N. S., Vol. VII., 259. See also New. Amer. Cyclopædia Art, Calhoun, page 246.

knowledged as the right of a people whose most valuable property was threatened with exclusion from a hundred and fifty thousand square miles of the richest native soil and minerals in the world! But justice governed not the ruling powers. Again, a miserable *compromise*, (falsely so called,) was proposed. The North was always ready for such compromises as took all from the South and nothing from herself, and unhappily she found enough of Southern Senators and representatives, sufficiently misguided by false patriotism, or debauched by Northern patronage, to help her to carry out her plans. In September 1850, the Congress passed five bills, which, together, have been dignified with the name of a compromise, but how little they are entitled to the name, may appear by stating them: *the first* admitted California as a State, with her usurped and fraudulent anti-slavery Constitution—all loss to the South: *the second* took away from Texas all her territory West of the Rio Del Norte, although by solemn implied compact when Texas was admitted, her then existing territory was to be converted into four slave States *a*—loss to the South: *the third* organized the territories of New Mexico and Utah, by bills silent on the subject of slavery—no gain to the South: *the fourth* abolished the slave trade in the District of Columbia—an unconstitutional and dangerous blow at Southern rights: and *the fifth* provided new proceedings for the restoration of fugitive slaves—no gain to the South, as the return of her slaves had been her Constitutional right for sixty years, and yet even since this bill of 1850, Northern people have continued to steal her property and keep it, in spite of the act of Congress, and seemingly with increased enjoyment of their robberies, because of the additional pleasure of evading a positive law.

This series of acts formed the culminating point of Federal aggressions on the rights of the South. It stripped her of all the territory for which her blood and

her treasure had been freely poured out and turned it over to the free labor of the North. The South was hemmed in on every side, and deprived of all space within which to expand, while the North secured the means of adding twenty more free States to her power, and of crushing for ever the slave States, by the exercise of powers deceptively kept within Constitutional forms.

It was time that the South should withdraw and declare her independence. South Carolina determined to do so, and by an ordinance in 1852, affirmed her right to secede, took measures to arm her people, and invited the coöperation of her sister slave States. *b* By the persuasion of Virginia, she was induced to delay her withdrawal, more however from a desire to act harmoniously with the rest of the South, than from any hope of justice from the greedy and narrow minded North.

In 1854, an act was passed by the Federal Congress for the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and as this act contained a clause expressly repealing that part of the Missouri Compromise, which forbade slavery North of latitude thirty-six and a half degrees, it was thought by many to be proof of returning reason and justice, on the part of the North. But it was wholly deceptive and hypocritical. The North had accomplished her full purpose. Thirty four years of iniquity had enabled her to fill the territories with free labor while slave labor was excluded, and to have at her command an overflowing population, both native and foreign, with which to deluge any soil that the South might seek to settle. The Missouri restriction had done its work, and might be safely laid aside. While the line was recognised, the semblance of decency required that no attempt should be made to interfere with Southerners and their slaves, settling South of the line, but Northern cunning reasoned that if the South could be inveigled into an obliteration of the line, free settlers or squatters could be poured

a De Bow's Review, N. S., VII., 28.

b Mr. Memminger's speech before cited, Va. Register, 104, 119.

in, could form State governments, and thus the whole territory, both North and South of the line, would be secured to the North. Northern leaders prepared the snare, and Southern men, unused to wiles and intrigues, easily fell into it. Stephen Arnold Douglas—a name slightly suggestive of treason—a man born in Vermont and sent to the Senate from Illinois, was the chosen instrument to accomplish the purpose. The masses of the North were not at first informed of the working of this deeply laid plot in favor of free soilism, and the very frenzy of fanatical rage into which the proposal to repeal the Missouri Compromise threw them, was one of the means most efficient in working out the plan. The bill for organizing Kansas and Nebraska, did indeed abrogate the line, but in the same breath it provided the certain means of securing the whole territory in question to the North, by giving the right of voting and of final sovereignty to every free white male inhabitant, though he might not have been a whole day on the soil, and might have landed in an emigrant ship, at New York, not a week before. *a* To this system, Southern statesmen have very properly applied the name of "Squatter Sovereignty," and its effects in dissolving the Union have been plainly predicted.

No sooner was the bill passed, than a storm of furious indignation was raised through all the free States. The cry was made, that the South was attempting to thrust slavery on them: old and young, rank and file, preachers and people joined in the cry, and the fanatical elements of the North assumed the most dangerous form they had ever worn. The soil of Kansas being suited to slave labor, planters from Missouri and other slave States came in with their slaves, and feeling the need of resisting the aggressions of free soil settlers, the South made an earnest effort to secure Kansas. Then commenced the most extraordinary spectacle that

America had witnessed,—a spectacle painted in bloody colors and forming the fit prelude to the measures which have at last driven the South out of the Union. The anti-slavery people lashed themselves into madness in the resolve to wrest Kansas from slave settlement. Men, calling themselves ministers of religion, assembled their congregations and instead of preaching the gospel of love, urged them to hatred and murder, took up subscriptions to buy "Sharpe's rifles" with which to arm free soil settlers sent to Kansas for the very purpose of waging war upon slave holders. Scenes of brutality and blood followed in rapid succession on this unhappy soil, giving life and development to men who afterwards enacted robbery and murder in the name of freedom: the federal armies were compelled to interfere, and nothing but the remoteness of the region, prevented the war from becoming general. *b* This war on slavery gave huge proportions to the party in the United States, calling themselves republicans, who first adopted a sectional issue, and who were early warned by a prominent man of the North, that the South would never submit to their success. *c* Their declared principles were, that slavery should not exist in the territories—that the Supreme Court should not be respected—that the South should be hemmed in on every side, restricted, depressed, robbed of her slaves, shorn of her rights, until the mind of the North could be satisfied that slavery was in a course of gradual, but certain extinction. And although they had at first violently denounced the repeal of the compromise line, yet now, when they understood its working better, they changed their tone, and declared that they would never consent to have it restored—that they would make no more compromises with slavery. The result was that Kansas was lost to the South. All the territories were either wrested from her or were to be closed to her as soon as

a Kansas and Nebraska Act. Sec. 5.

b New Amer. Cyclopædia Art. Kansas, 105-106.

c Millard Fillmore in a speech in 1856.

hungry hordes from the North could seize them: her expansion was made impossible in the Union: even the protection of the Supreme Court was denied to her, and a party composed half of fanatics and half of robbers, declaring as their foundation creed, war upon her social system, were threatening to seize the executive power of the government and to use the *purse* and the *sword* for their own unholy purposes. Was it not time for the South to withdraw from a Union rendered hateful by its oppressions, and to assume her independence?

Having thus shown the unjust working of the Federal Government against the South, we must next advert to the wrongs done to her by separate States of the North. We have seen that the Constitution is a compact *between the States*: hence each State was bound sacredly to observe its covenants. The clause requiring the rendition of fugitive slaves, was as binding as any other, and so far from opposing it, each State was bound to do all in her power to keep it inviolate. We do not know anything more vividly showing the cheating, debauching, degrading power of the Northern social atmosphere, than the fact that her ministers of religion, held by her in the highest esteem, have insisted that the Northern States and people were under no obligation to enforce the fugitive slave law—that it was a duty devolving on the Federal government *only!*^a The number of slaves stolen from their owners, by Northern people, during fifteen years past, has been enormous. In one year, 1849, the number was one thousand and eleven, having an aggregate value of nearly a million of dollars. ^b Assuming this number as double a fair average, the value of property thus feloniously taken from the South, from the time of the Missouri Compromise to the year 1860, would have

been fifteen or twenty millions of dollars. Had the Northern people, after stealing these slaves, raised them to positions of comfort and independence, perhaps the world might have mistaken their fanaticism for philanthropy. But it has been truly said, that the only interest a Northern man feels in a negro, is *to steal him*, for after securing him, he leaves him to poverty and degradation, and to a social status, far below that of the slaves of Southern masters. After the terrible struggle of 1850, and the *compromise* then made, by which the South was deprived of all available territory and allowed only the miserable compensation of the fugitive slave law, it might have been supposed that Northern States would cheerfully carry out this compromise, and would aid the Federal government in performing this solemn covenant with the South. Let the facts tell with what bitter zeal these States have broken the Constitution, and snapped the bonds of a Union over the ruins of which they have since been uttering shrieks of rage and suffering.

Maine, by her law, forbade all her officers, under heavy penalties, from arresting or aiding in the arrest of a fugitive slave—forbade the use of her jails for their temporary custody, required that they shall be defended by her law officers, and that all expenses of the defence shall be paid out of her treasury: she has also denounced the Supreme Court of the United States for its decision of the Dred Scott case.^c New Hampshire enacted that all slaves entering her territory, with *or without* the consent of their owners, should be free, and that any attempt to capture or hold them, shall be a felony. ^d Vermont forbade *all her citizens* to execute or aid in executing the fugitive slave law, under penalty of imprisonment for not less than one year, and fine not ex-

^a Such is the view of Rev. Dr. Hodge, of Princeton. See his article in the Princeton Review, January, 1861, on the State of the Country, 17-22.

^b Compendium of Census of 1850, cited in Report of Joint Committee to Va. Legislature, 1859-60. Journal of Senate, Doc. No. 31, page 15.

^c Report of Joint Committee to Va. Legislature, 1859-60. Journal of Senate, Doc. No. 31, page 17,

^d Ibid and page 34.

ceeding \$1000—forbade the use of her jails or public buildings for their custody, and declared that a trial, by a Vermont Jury, shall be secured to an escaped slave. Massachusetts denounced heavy penalties against any of her citizens who should aid in enforcing the fugitive slave law, and required the appointment of commissioners, paid by the State, whose duty it should be to aid in the escape of fugitive slaves. Connecticut enacted that any person falsely representing that any person entitled to freedom was a slave, with intent to procure the forcible removal of such person from the State, should pay a fine of \$5000, and be imprisoned five years, and that the *truth* of a representation, that a person was a slave, must be proved by *two witnesses*—that depositions should not be admitted as evidence, and that any witness testifying falsely *in favor of a party* prosecuted under the act, should be fined \$5000, and imprisoned five years. No penalty was denounced against a witness testifying falsely *in favor of the State.*^a This law of Connecticut exhibits her law-makers as adepts in fraud and cruelty. Rhode Island forbade her officers to execute the fugitive slave law. New York pretending to have a fugitive slave law of her own, forbade her officers to execute any other law, gave an escaped slave a trial by jury, and required her law officers to protect them at the expense of the State. New Jersey denounced a penalty not exceeding \$1000 and imprisonment at hard labor, not exceeding five years, against any person forcibly taking away an escaped slave, and forbade her officers to execute any law except her own. Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa, all enacted laws similar to those already recited, or else otherwise constructed, with the immediate design to counteract and render worthless the fugitive slave law.^b And it is well known that in this unjust and

unconstitutional effort, they have succeeded. The few slaves who have been reclaimed, have cost enormous sums to their owners in contending against the delays and frauds sanctioned by the State laws, and scenes of violence and bloodshed have attended their recovery, which have admonished the South that *in the Union* her rights will never be respected by the dishonest and faithless communities with which she was leagued. Surely it was time, that from such a Union, the South should withdraw.

We are now to speak of wrongs perpetrated by the *people* of the Northern States. It is here that the evil has been greatest, for here has been the poisoned fountain from which have flowed the streams of the unjust Federal and State enactments that we have just reviewed. It cannot be said that a sincere, though mistaken philanthropy, has actuated the North. She got rid of her slaves, because she found them unprofitable, and in the very act of parting with slavery, she showed her money loving instincts. Her people *sold* their slaves to the South: no laws were passed to give freedom to men and women, who would bring money into Northern purses; all the laws for emancipation were prospective only, setting free such children as should be born after certain periods, and thus under the working of immense sales to the South, and of laws making new born freemen, slavery gradually died out in the Northern States.^c All that the South has asked, is that the same respect and protection shall be extended to her institutions, which she cheerfully yielded to those of the free states. Thus much she had a right to demand,—it was the essential condition on which she entered the Union, and so far from wondering at her withdrawal, it will hereafter be matter of astonishment that she bore so patiently and so long the insults, threats and dangerous assaults incessantly directed

^a Report of Joint Committee to Va. Legislature, 1859-60. Journal of Senate, Doc. No 31, page 19, 48, 49.

^b Ibid 19, 21.

^c Ibid pages 7-8.

against her by the people, who had solemnly bound themselves to live in amity with her. For more than twenty years, the abolitionists of the North have been growing in boldness and activity, until their sentiments have corrupted all classes of her society. The schools were full of their teachings: the primers put into the hands of their children, taught that Southern slave holders were fiends in human shape—that slaves were tortured even to death by their masters without censure of law. The most subtle falsehoods were taught through the daily reading of their population, with the design to excite hatred against the people of the South because of slavery. The minds of the young were early steeped in this poison, and as their bodies grew, they were strengthened in the delusion. The pulpit became the favorite means of diffusing anti-slavery sentiments, and when we remember how many millions of minds are insensibly affected by its teachings, and how strong are the motives it wields to sanction its views of morality, it will not excite surprise that whole communities should have been carried away by a fury against slavery, approaching insanity. It could not be expected that zealots, thus affected, should confine their efforts to the home circle. A formal crusade against slave holders was preached—the movement began with petitions to Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and territories—emissaries were sent from the North, who under disguises of pedlers and teachers, male and female, penetrated Southern families, and with infernal treachery, sought to unsettle the minds of contented slaves and to incite them to rebellion. That the South should have been sensitive under such assaults, cannot be surprising: her very life was threatened: her firesides were in danger: her women and children were menaced with butchery and violation, and no part of this horrible system of wrong, prac-

tised against her by the North, was more bitterly felt by her than the wrong done to her slaves themselves, who from a state of happiness and contentment were seduced to a knowledge of evil coming from the Hell of Northern fanaticism.

Hence the South remonstrated sternly with her assailants: she passed severe laws against tampering with her slaves: she warned the Northern people that this crusade must cease, that the incessant agitation of this subject would dissolve the Union, and that if it was true, as they insisted, that abolitionists formed but a small part of their population, it was the solemn duty of the boasted conservative majority to arrest these outrages. Many persons in the South who loved the Union continued to cling even to the last to the delusive idea that the larger population in the free States, disapproved of these abolition efforts, and that when the proper time came, they would crush them. But events have proved that all such hopes were unfounded—that the whole body of Northern society was rotten at the heart, and that the only safety of the South, was found in severing the cords which bound her to this putrescent mass.

The tide of anti-slavery feeling widened, deepened, swelled with each passing year. Its power was seen in the progress of the so called Republican party, which embraced every shade of anti Southern opinion, from the furious abolitionist, to the milk and water free soiler, who professed to be a lover of the Constitution. An infamous book, written by one Helper, called "The Impending Crisis," full of falsehoods and vulgar assaults upon the social system of the slave States, was not only welcomed by thousands of readers at the North, but was deliberately recommended to general approval by the signatures of sixty-eight members of Congress from the free States.^a This book "abounded in the most insidious appeals to the non-slave-

^a They were Schuyler Colfax, Anson Burlingame, Owen Lovejoy, Amos P. Granger, Edwin B. Morgau, Galusha A. Grow, Joshua R. Giddings, Edward Wade, Calvin C. Chaffee, William H. Kelsey, Wm. A. Howard, Henry Waldon, John Sherman, George W. Palmer, Daniel W. Gooch, Henry L. Dawes, Justin S. Morrill, J. Washburne, Jr., J. A. Bing-

holders of the Southern States, and sought to inflame the minds of the slaves and to incite them to rise in rebellion against their masters; to murder them and their families, and to ravage the country with fire and sword.

Yet, knowing its character, it was endorsed by men representing six millions of Northern people, and one of these signers was persistently supported as speaker of the House of Representatives, by the whole Republican party in the session of 1859. *a* Was it not righteous in the South to hate a union with such people?

A spirit so foul and cruel as that possessing the North, could not long be content with words and acts of ordinary violence. It sought for blood to quench its thirst, and was speedily manifested in a deed, which fell upon the South like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, and aroused her to prepare for the storm that was hastening onward.

One John Brown, a native of Connecticut, had been a favored agent of Northern preachers and fanatics in the bloody work of murdering slave holding settlers in Kansas. He was well suited to the purposes for which he was employed—a man nearly sixty years old, most of whose life had been spent in adventure,—of rugged and fierce nature, and unscrupulous fanaticism, hating slavery without knowledge of its character, and hating slave holders even to the death. Encouraged by the aid of sympathisers at the North, this man enlisted a band of con-

spirators, and in May, 1858, they held a secret convention at Chatham, in Canada West, where they hatched a plot of attack upon the South. They proposed to overturn the government of Virginia, to set the slaves free—to arm them and aid them in murdering their masters—to establish a government of which one W. C. Monroe, a free negro, was to be President, A. M. Chapman, Vice-President, John Brown, Commander in Chief, Richard Realf, Secretary of State, J. H. Kagi, Secretary of War, George B. Gill, Secretary of the Treasury, Owen Brown, Treasurer, and M. K. Delany, Corresponding Secretary. *b* After exciting negro insurrection in Virginia, they were to occupy assailable points in other slave States, for which purpose a map was carefully prepared, with the points marked out at which the conspirators were to rendezvous for their work. Having thus matured their plans, John Brown, with his brother assassins came to Virginia, rented a small farm about eight miles from Harper's Ferry, and there collected two hundred Sharpe's rifles, furnished by the Emigrant Aid Society, of Massachusetts, for Kansas murders, two hundred pistols, large quantities of ammunition and clothing, and fifteen hundred pikes manufactured for Brown, by Charles Blair, of Collinsville, Connecticut. These pikes were horrible weapons, having heads fifteen inches broad, with sharp edges and with handles longer than the ordinary musket. They were intended expressly *for the slaves*, to be used in butchering

ham, Wm. Kellogg, E. R. Washburne, Benjamin Stanton, Edward Dodd, C. B. Tompkins John Covode, Cad. C. Washburn, Samuel G. Adams, Abraham B. Olin, Sidney Dean Nathaniel B. Dorfee, Emory B. Pottier, Dewitt C. Leach, John F. Potter, T. Davis, (Mass.) J. F. Farnsworth, C. L. Knapp, R. E. Fenton, Philemon Bliss, Mason W. Tappan, Charles Case, T. Davis, (Iowa,) James Pike, Homer E. Boyce, Isaac D. Clawson, A. S. Murry, Robert B. Hall, Valent. B. Horton, Freeman H. Morse, David Kilgow, Wm. Stewart, Samuel R. Curtis, John M. Wood, John M. Parker, Stephen C. Foster, Charles J. Gillman, Ch. B. Heard, John Thompson, J. W. Sherman, Wm. D. Brayton, James Buffington, D. B. Matteson, Richard Mott, George R. Robbins, Ezekiel P. Walton, James Wilson, S. A. Purviance, Francis E. Spinner and Silas M. Burroughs. Whig, December 2, 1859.

a Journal of Va. Senate, 1859-60. Dec. 31, 22.

b New American Cyclopædia Art. Harper's Ferry VIII, 734. Report Journal of Va. Senate 1859-60. Doc. 31, page 3.

not merely the men, but the women and children of Virginia. ^a Brown's party consisted of himself, his three sons, thirteen white men from Maine, Connecticut, New York, Ohio, Indiana and Canada, and five negroes from Northern States. But this insignificant band were in correspondence and sympathy with thousands of more cowardly miscreants in the free States, who waited only for the success of the first blow, to induce them to furnish money and men for prosecuting this scheme of murder. In October, 1859, John E. Cook, one of the conspirators, was sent on a secret mission to the county of Jefferson, in Virginia, to ascertain the number of able bodied slaves in certain neighbourhoods, and their disposition to revolt, and Brown himself visited several parts of the State for the same purpose. Their proceedings were to commence with the capture of the village of Harper's Ferry, where was a United States Armory, with fifty thousand muskets and rifles, also machinery and works of great value for manufacturing arms.

On Sunday night, October 16, 1859, at half past 10 o'clock, the conspirators began their work. Approaching the village stealthily, they took possession of the Armory, and seized the person of William Williams, a watchman on the rail-road bridge. A part of the band strongly armed, and headed by Cook, then went to the residence of Col. Lewis Washington, a well known Virginia farmer and gentleman, living about four miles from the Ferry. Cook had previously visited him and been received with courtesy and kindness, and Col. Washington had exhibited to him an antique sword, presented by Frederick the Great to General Washington, and a pair of pistols presented to the same eminent person by Lafayette, which had been for many years heir-looms in the Washington family. This visit had made Cook familiar with the premises, and now, with the mean treachery characteristic of the North, he came with armed men, at midnight, rous-

ed Col. Washington from sleep—told him he was a prisoner, took all of his slaves, who were near the house, seized a carriage, a wagon and three horses, stole the curious arms that he had before seen, and carried all off together. Thence he proceeded to the residence of a Mr. Allstadt, another large farmer in the neighbourhood, carried off himself, his son, a youth about sixteen, and many of his slaves, and with all his prisoners and booty returned to the armory at the Ferry. All these movements were attended with little noise, and as the workmen came in Monday morning, they were seized and made prisoners, so that in a short time the conspirators held nearly sixty persons captive. ^b

Confused rumors of these events began to spread through the village, and at first, naturally, produced a panic. In a time of profound peace, to be thus assaulted by armed men, might well alarm a peaceful people. At first no man could say what number of murderers the North had poured upon them; it seemed highly improbable that a small number could undertake such an invasion, and rumor reported them at thousands. But as reflection returned, courage came with it. The people of the village and country around, began to arm themselves with any weapons at hand, and surrounded the armory and engine house in which the assassins were assembled. At daylight Cook, with two white men and about thirty negroes, crossed the bridge with a wagon, and struck into a road leading most directly into Pennsylvania. And nearly at the same time the first blood was shed by the conspirators.

A faithful negro, named Heyward Shepard, employed by the rail-road company, ventured across the bridge to watch their movements, and unhappily fell into their hands. The wretches told him of their plans and urged him to join them. He steadily refused, and eluding their grasp, attempted to escape, when they deliberately fired upon him and murdered

^a Report. Doc. 31, 4. Letter in Balt. American, Wednesday, Oct. 19, 1859.

^b Baltimore American, Oct. 19, 1859.

him in cold blood! *a* Such was the proof of abolition love to the negro!

Beyond doubt the assassins had expected to be immediately joined by large bodies of slaves, and to be thus enabled to make their assault successful. In this hope they were disappointed: not one negro joined them except under compulsion, and those who were forcibly carried from their masters, took the first opportunity of returning to their homes. *b* As Monday advanced, a guerilla warfare was kept up on the conspirators, by the hastily armed people of the town and country. Joseph Boerly, a grocer, seeing one of the bandits fire at one of the workmen, discharged his gun at the assailant: he was immediately fired upon and shot dead in his own door. Some hours later, George Turner, formerly a Captain in the United States Army, a graduate of West Point, and a citizen of Virginia, highly esteemed, while reconnoitering the position of the bandits, received a fatal shot from the armory. About noon a troop of horse from Charlestown, under Col. Baylor, having crossed the Potomac some miles above, came down on the Maryland side, and passing the bridge, drove the conspirators before them into the armory and engine house, capturing one named William Thompson. Volunteer soldiers from Shepherdstown marched down on the Virginia shore, and the insurrectionists, finding themselves pressed on all sides, kept under cover, but fired upon every man within reach. One of their shots took fatal effect on Fontaine Beckham, Mayor of Harper's Ferry—an elongated slug passed entirely through his body, making a dreadful wound of which he died almost instantly. When he fell, the people could no longer restrain their fury, and in a time of ungovernable passion, they brought out the prisoner, Thompson, on the bridge, and shot him down. Immediately afterwards, a gallant assault was made upon the armory

enclosure by the citizens and soldiers, led by Capt. Alburtis. Several of the conspirators were slain: the armory was carried and many of the prisoners released. Pressing forward towards the engine house, where most of the band were strongly posted, armed with Sharpe's rifles, the assailants received a fire which severely wounded seven of their number, and being imperfectly armed with pistols or fowling pieces, they were not able to carry the building. *c* Night came on, and a train of cars arrived from Washington, bringing a hundred marines, with two pieces of artillery, under the command of Col. Robert E. Lee. This brave and considerate officer, having made dispositions which rendered the escape of the bandits impossible, and fearing that an assault at night would cause the death of many of the captives, postponed it until the morning.

Early on Tuesday, the 18th, Lieut. Stuart, aid to Col. Lee, advanced with a flag of truce, borne by Samuel Strider, an old and respected citizen of Harper's Ferry. The engine house was very strong, having dead brick walls on three sides, and on the fourth a brick front, with large and powerful doors, which had been pierced for rifles. To use artillery would have endangered the lives of the citizens held captive within: hence the wish to obtain a surrender. Brown received Lieut. Stuart, and declared that the only terms on which he would capitulate were, that he and his companions should be permitted to pass out unpursued, carrying their captives to the second toll gate, on the turnpike, towards Pennsylvania, where the captives should be released, and then his pursuers might "do their worst." These terms were, of course, inadmissible, and after a long parley, Lieut. Stuart, with his steady old flag bearer, retired. Immediate preparations were made to carry the building by storm; the Marines advanced in two lines, under

a Baltimore Amer., in Whig, Oct. 19 and 21. New Amer. Cyclop., VIII, 735.

b Letters of Hon. James M. Mason, in Enquirer.

c Whig, October 21, 1859. Report Journal of Va. Senate, Doc. 31, 4. New American Cyclopaedia, VIII, 735.

Col. Harris and Lieut. Green: two powerful soldiers sprang forward between the lines, and attempted to batter down the centre door with sledge hammers; the doors shook and swayed, but refused to give way; more force was needed; twenty Marines seized a heavy ladder, and using it as a battering ram, burst in the doors; the soldiers rushed through the breach; a sharp firing was heard inside; private Rupert of the Marines, fell, mortally wounded, but his comrades pressed on, and after a short struggle, the bandits were overcome. Brown, desperately fighting, was wounded severely, one of his sons was killed, another mortally hurt. All resistance ceased, and the captive citizens who had been in imminent danger all escaped without a wound.^a

Of the twenty-two men engaged in this atrocious raid, fifteen fell in the combats of Monday and the final assault; two—Cook and Hazlitt, escaped to Pennsylvania, but were captured and sent back to Virginia, and five—Brown, Stevens, Coppoc, Copeland and Green, were taken by the soldiers. All were regularly tried by Jury, according to due course of law in Virginia, except Stevens, who was turned over to the United States authorities. The utmost fairness and even liberality was shown in their favor, in the conduct of the trials: an abolition lawyer, from Boston, named Hoyt, came on from Boston to defend Brown; he was received and every privilege of counsel was allowed to him. Able counsel represented the prisoners; the trial of Cook, in particular, brought out a splendid effort of oratory from the Hon. M. Voorhees, of Illinois. No irregularity—no summary process was resorted to; the law took its course, and the result was, that the prisoners were all found guilty of murder in the first degree, sentenced and capitally executed.

But in the interval between their arrest and execution, a state of feeling was exhibited in the free States, showing, be-

yond reasonable doubt, that these robbers and murderers enjoyed the sympathy and affection of the Northern people. Let it be remembered that these were criminals of the most atrocious type—men who had deliberately plotted murder for months and years, and not murder in a single case, but the murder of whole communities, the butchery of innocent children—the ravishing of women—the unloosing of the brutal passions of negroes and the goading of their ignorance to crimes which nature sickens to name. Men who, after thus plotting, had taken life in cold blood, and were only prevented from accomplishing all their infernal designs, by their own impotence! Were not such men proper subjects for punishment? Ought not the conscience of the world to have condemned them, and if there were consciences so debauched as hot to condemn them, who could fail to see in *such* consciences, souls unworthy of higher communion than that of the felons themselves. It seemed almost incredible, that any considerable number of persons at the North, would venture to utter a word in favor of these men. But let the facts speak.

The abolitionists openly and boldly declared their approval of Brown's motives and conduct, and in the midst of Northern communities, cheered on by many, and *arrested by none*, they uttered sentiments which ought to have caused the nation to shudder with horror. Wendell Phillips, a well known abolitionist of Boston, delivered a discourse in Henry Ward Beecher's church, in Brooklyn, New York, on Tuesday, the 1st of November, 1859,^c in which he said that "the rights of that one man (John Brown) are as sacred as those of the Commonwealth of Virginia. John Brown has twice as much right to hang Gov. Wise, as Gov. Wise has to hang him." "Is there any thing new about this matter: nothing at all: it is the natural result of anti-slavery teaching. For one, I accept

^a Baltimore American, October 19, 1859.

^b Whig, November 4, 1859.

^c Whig, November 11, 1859.

it: I expected it. On the banks of the Potomac—history will visit that river more kindly, because John Brown has gilded it with the eternal brightness of his glorious deed, *than because the dust of Washington rests upon one side of it.* And if Virginia tyrants dare hang him, after this mockery of a trial, it will take two Washington's at least, to make the name of the river any thing but abominable to the ages that come after it." On Sunday, the 6th of November, Edwin M. Wheelock, a Unitarian preacher, delivered a discourse at Dover, New Hampshire, which was published in the Boston Liberator, and spoken of in terms of the warmest approval, that paper saying: "has any thing quite equal to it been heard in any pulpit since the times that tried men's souls? It is true we cannot approve its warlike tone, yet our respect for its spirit is immeasurable." Yet in this approved discourse, the speaker said: "the gallows from which John Brown ascends into heaven, will be in our politics *what the cross is in our religion*—the sign and symbol of supreme self devotedness, and *from his sacrificial blood the temporal salvation of four millions of our people shall yet spring.* On the second day of December, he is to be strangled in a Southern prison for obeying the *Sermon on the Mount.* But to be hanged in Virginia, is like being crucified in Jerusalem! It is the last tribute which sin pays to virtue." ^a If it be said that these were madmen, and could have no influence, it may be answered with truth, that if they were mad, their madness had affected to a greater or less extent, a vast portion of the Northern people. The correspondence found upon the conspirators, and certain letters, which were afterwards published in Northern papers, proved; beyond question, that such men as Gerrit Smith, F. B. Sanborn, Doctor S. G. Howe

of Boston, and Thaddeus Hyatt of New York, men holding respectable positions *in their communities*, had full knowledge of the intentions of John Brown, and were guilty as accessories before the fact of the murders he committed. ^b It was furthermore proved, that in May, 1858, one Col. Hugh Forbes, who had been employed with John Brown, in Kansas, and who knew all of his plans for a raid upon Virginia, had an interview in Washington with William H. Seward, a United States Senator, a man of sharp intellect—not mad, but cold, subtle, calculating, cunning, and, in this interview, informed Seward of Brown's plot against Virginia, and talked fully about it. The New York Senator said, that he regretted hearing of it, and in his circumstances ought not to have been informed of it, ^c but *he never disclosed the plot, or raised a warning voice, or took any steps to prevent it.* Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, Joshua R. Giddings and Governor Chase, of Ohio, were also informed of the intended assault on Virginia, for more than a year before it took place, yet took no measures to discourage or forbid it! ^d In the letters found on the conspirators, most of the names had been carefully erased, but enough were discovered to make apparent a conspiracy widely spread through the Northern States, against the peace and safety not only of Virginia, but of all the slave holding communities of the South. ^e From avowed abolitionists, the South expected nothing else, but she had been, up to this time, unwilling to believe that the great body of the Northern people were ready to sympathise with murderers and insurrectionists. Her doubts on this subject were speedily removed.

Henry A. Wise was then Governor of Virginia—a man of brilliant talents—of intense energy—of fiery impulses, though now tempered by increasing years, and

^a Boston Liberator, in Whig, November 22, 1859.

^b Report. Senate Journal, 1859-60. Doc. 31, 5. New York Herald, in Whig, November 1st, 1859.

^c Letters of Forbes, in New York Herald. Whig, November 1st, 1859.

^d Ibid.

^e Report. Journal of the Va. Senate, Doc. 31, 6.

of great resolution. Immediately on hearing, by telegraph, of the outbreak at Harper's Ferry, he had gone to the spot, taking with him all the volunteer soldiers from Richmond and other places, that could be collected. He arrived after the bandits had been all killed or captured, but took prompt measures to restore order and to carry out the requirements of the law. From the arrest to the execution, he received more than five hundred letters from people in every part of the country. Some of them informed him of a determined purpose to rescue Brown, and urged him to guard against it. This he did most effectually, by assembling at Charlestown, where the prisoners were confined, a large body of citizen soldiery, who established a regular camp, with picket and sentinel duty, and ample means to resist any assault, and who continued their guard until the prisoners suffered the extreme penalty of the law. The letters from the free States breathed an unmistakable spirit. Many of them were full of brutal menaces, threatening certain death to the Governor and members of his family, if he did not pardon Brown, or commute his punishment. Others informed him that large organized bands existed, whose purpose was to set fire to the principal cities and towns of Virginia, if Brown was hung. Others, professing to be his political admirers, appealed to his clemency, his magnanimity, his hopes of future political promotion, as furnishing motives, urging him to pardon the felons. Others were from persons of national fame, well known in the country, and considered to be among the most conservative of Northern men; yet these urged the pardon of Brown and his associates, on grounds of public policy, declaring that they *thoroughly knew the sentiment of the Northern people*, and it was *so decided and so nearly unanimous in favor of the pardon of Brown*, that the Governor ought to exercise his power of

mercy, to conciliate this morbid popular feeling of the North! *a* Meanwhile the newspapers of the North, of all classes and complexions, with few exceptions, were joining in the same cry, and urging the pardon of these men, for the sake of preserving the Union. *b* It was a deeply significant fact, that no spontaneous burst of indignation and censure occurred at the North, immediately after John Brown's outrage on Virginia—no overwhelming public meetings were held to denounce his murderous raid and urge its punishment; but after weeks and months had passed, and after many people of the South had, in primary meetings, *determined to buy no more shoes and cotton fabrics from New England*, on Thursday, the 8th of December, 1859, a grand meeting was held in Boston, at which Edward Everett made a speech, and resolutions were passed condemning Brown's conduct. *c* Similar meetings were afterwards held in other places, and prominent New York merchants, *engaged in the Southern trade*, were loud and open in declaring their love to the South. *d* By way of commentary on the *motives* of such meetings, it is proper to state that on the 2nd of December, the day of John Brown's execution, a motion to adjourn to show respect for his memory, was made in the Massachusetts Legislature, and received a considerable number of votes, being lost in the Senate by a majority of only eight—that in Boston, Tremont temple was crowded to excess on the evening of the 2nd, and one J. Q. A. Griffin, a member of the Massachusetts House of Delegates, made a speech in which he said, that "the heinous offence of Pontius Pilate, in crucifying our Saviour, whitened into virtue when compared with that of Gov. Wise, in his conduct towards John Brown"—that in New York City, a large church was opened morning and night, and violent denunciations of Virginia, came from preacher and people—in Syra-

a Report Journal of Va. Senate, Doc. 31, 6. Session 1859-60.

b Whig, Nov. 11, 18, 22d and 25th, 1859.

c Whig, December 13, 1859.

d Ibid, December 10 and 16, 1859.

cuse, New York, the City Hall bell was tolled fifty-three times *without police interference*, huge town meetings were held, the South was denounced, sympathy for Brown was expressed, and money raised for his family; in Albany, one hundred guns were fired in honor of his memory: in short, in nearly every city and town of the North, the day was observed by tolling of bells, speeches in favor of murdering slave holders, the raising of funds for the family of the hanged assassin, and prayed that other assassins might rise up to take his place. Such demonstrations, encouraged and participated in by thousands, and *forbidden by none*, were evidences of Northern sentiment which could not be misunderstood. Was it not time for the South to withdraw from a Union with such people?

Horrible as was this plot against Virginia, it was equalled in atrocity and exceeded in actual destruction of property, by an abolition scheme in the Northern part of Texas. On the 17th of July, 1860, a mysterious fire broke out in Dallas in that State, and consumed nearly every building in town. On the same day conflagrations occurred at many other points; a large store, with a stock worth \$30,000, was burnt at Black Jack Grove—three warehouses with their contents, worth \$100,000, were burnt at Denton—a large warehouse at Pilot Point—a store at Ladonia—eight houses at Belknap, and nearly all of the small town of Wilford, perished by fire all within a period of twenty-four hours. Suspicions of conspiracy naturally arose. On the burning of the out-houses and granaries of a planter named Miller, a number of suspected slaves were seized: their examination led to the arrest of others: they were cautiously questioned, *separately from each other*, by vigilance committees, consisting of the most respectable men in the country, and from their statements the truth was fully developed. These unhappy wretches were the dupes and agents of *white men from the North*, who had concocted a wide spread plan of murder and desolation. Two Northern preachers,

named Blunt and McKenney, who had been expelled from the country some months before, were specially active in the infernal work. The whole of North Texas has been districted and sub-districted, and a white man was to be *supervisor* in each county. The plan was to set fire to the stores and houses, to destroy provisions, arms and munitions in possession of the people, to waste and ruin the country—to *poison* families by the slaves employed as cooks, and by poisoning springs and wells, and in the midst of the horror and dismay excited by such acts, the slaves were to rise on the first Monday in August, when a State election would draw the men from their homes. Under the lead of the Northern murderers, the work of butchery was to be done by the negroes; the men and older women were to be put to death, the younger women to be kept for a fate worse than death; the scheme had even ripened so far, that women distinguished for beauty, had been selected by the ringleaders among the negroes for their future wives.

As this diabolical plot was opened, a stern spirit of justice and vengeance pervaded the people. Most of the Northern men took the alarm in time and escaped, but fortunately some were secured. A white man was arrested near Fort Worth, who was implicated by negroes; their statements were confirmed by finding a number of rifles concealed by him; he was instantly hung, and the next day, boxes containing *six-shooters* came to his residence directed to him. *Poison*, in quantities, was found among the slaves at Waxahatchie, consisting of materials, which it was impossible that they could have obtained except through the agency of whites communicating with the North. In the same town, twenty-five houses were fired on the same day, and only the strenuous work of the people prevented its destruction. A white man was caught among the incendiaries and hung after making confession. Abolitionists fled from every county; the people were roused to righteous fury, and under the pres-

sure of their just instincts, they drove out from among them all Northern men who had not lived so long in the country as to establish a loyal character. *a* These events stirred Texas to her centre, and tended powerfully to unite her people for the coming revolution.

Out of the nettle danger, is plucked the flower safety.

Two beneficial results to the South followed from these gross outrages; first, the people were thoroughly roused and, in primary meetings, resolved to adopt a system of non-intercourse, in trade with the North: to make and wear their own home-spun fabrics, their own shoes and blankets, rather than depend longer upon men, whom they felt to be their bitter enemies. Second, the South began to arm and drill her people, to collect munitions of war, to reorganize her militia, to appropriate money for the purchase of rifles, sulphur and saltpetre, to prepare founderies for casting cannon, and machinery for making muskets, sabres and bayonets. John B. Floyd, a distinguished Virginian, was then at the head of the War Department of the Federal government, and finding, by examination, that a very small proportion of the federal arms had been distributed among the Southern States, he very properly determined to give her full share to the South, and accordingly gave orders under which were sent from the Springfield armory, and Watervliet arsenal, in the North, the following arms: to Charleston arsenal, South Carolina, fifteen thousand muskets and two thousand rifles; to the North Carolina arsenal, at Fayetteville, twenty-four thousand, nine hundred and twenty-eight muskets, and two thousand rifles; to Augusta arsenal, in Georgia, twenty thousand muskets, and two thousand rifles; to Mount Vernon, Alabama, fifteen thousand muskets, and two thousand rifles, and to Baton Rouge,

Louisiana, twenty-nine thousand, nine hundred and forty muskets, and two thousand rifles, making a total of one hundred and fourteen thousand, eight hundred and sixty-eight stand of arms. *b*

The crisis came hastening on, yet even then the outbreak of the storm might have been averted, had the avaricious and infatuated North chosen to yield to the just claims of the South and to pursue a policy of wise conciliation. South Carolina sent her commissioner, C. G. Memminger, to Virginia, who was welcomed with warmth, and on Thursday, the 19th of January, 1860, delivered, before both Houses of the Legislature, an address of great power and sweep of argument, in which he reviewed the wrongs of the South, and urged the assembling of a Southern Convention, composed of delegates from all the slave States, who should confer together as to the guaranties and redress to be demanded from the North, such as the repeal of all enactments against the rendition of fugitive slaves, the disbanding of all societies who were warring against Southern institutions, the full protection of slavery in all the territories, and a prohibition of all amendments to the Constitution in regard to slavery. *c* Unhappily a majority of the Virginia Legislature thought such a Convention inexpedient, not from any doubt as to the rights of the South, but from a desire to avoid farther agitation of a subject which was already rocking the Union to its base. Had this Southern Convention assembled, it would at least have had the effect of uniting the South at once, and in solid phalanx, and *might possibly* have delayed the rupture so soon to take place. But God did not so will it. Instead of resorting to measures of peace and conciliation, the North hurried on in unholy triumph with the idea that her numerical majority would enable her to seize the Executive power of the government and carry out all her sectional

a Houston Telegraph and Texas accounts. Whig, July 27, 1860; August 8, 15th, and September 5th.

b Richmond Examiner, May 10th, 1861.

c Mr. Memminger's Address in Virginia Register, 123-124.

purposes. The so called Republican party, gathered numbers daily; its whole aim and end was war upon slavery; at Chicago, its leaders adopted a platform, declaring that Congress had the power to abolish slavery in the territories, and it was their right and duty to exercise it, a thus repudiating the authority of the Supreme Court, and plainly indicating their purpose to overthrow that august tribunal. They nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, for Vice President. Their whole organization was sectional and intended to be so; they had no hope of obtaining a single electoral vote in any slave State; their avowed object was a *Northern* triumph, a victory by which parties living above a geographical line, should wrest all political power from parties living below it, thus openly inviting the dissolution of the Union, which George Washington had solemnly warned them would follow from such a contest. ^b

The leading minds of the extreme Southern States, saw that the time for action was coming, and deliberately resolved that the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, should be the signal for their withdrawal from the Union. Men in America and Europe, taking a superficial view of the subject, have declared that the election of Lincoln was the *cause* of the rupture of the Union, and have, hence, condemned the South for acting without sufficient cause. Nothing could be more absurd than such a view. The South would have scorned to make the mere election of any man, however personally odious and contemptible, if elected according to the forms of the Constitution, a cause for rupture. The election of Lincoln was the *occasion* of the outbreak, not the *cause*. It was the burning match applied to the magazine; the kindled powder and rending gases were the *cause* of the destruction; it was the feeble hand of a child making a breach in the dyke, already pressed beyond its strength of resistance by the swelling ocean; the rushing waters were

the *cause* of the ruin that followed; it was the trumpet of the hostile camp, at the sound of which the sons of freedom left their homes and ran into line of battle. Another gross error has been the assertion that leading disunionists *designedly* destroyed the integrity of the great Democratic party of America, by their wiles in the Charleston Convention in 1860, and thus prevented the success of that party, for the purpose of precipitating the South into revolution. The rupture of the Democratic party was itself one of the "signs of the times," and was the inevitable result of the revolution already in progress. Northern democrats, and some democrats from the border States, desired to nominate Stephen Arnold Douglas, whose doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty" made him justly odious to the South. Warm Southern men could not endure him, and insisted upon a platform, requiring the protection of slavery in the territories, by act of Congress. Hence the rupture which destroyed the strength of the democratic party. But the North had no excuse for voting for sectional candidates. John Bell of Tennessee, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts, were in the field as candidates, upon the simple platform of "The Union, the Constitution and the enforcement of laws," and had the North sought peace with the South, she might, without compromise of principle, have voted for these candidates. Such was not her intention; she desired to continue the *Union*, which she had caused the South to abhor, but with equal pertinacity intended to break the *Constitution* and nullify the *laws*.

The die was cast: the election came, and on the 6th day of November, 1860, Abraham Lincoln's electors received the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, California, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Oregon and Wisconsin—and tidings of his election flashed along the electric wires to every State in the Union.

^a Republican Platform in Well's Campaign Hand Book, 1860, 146.

^b Washington's Farewell Address, Well's Hand Book, 1860, 46.

SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART.

RICHMOND, MAY, 1862.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER II.

Effect of Lincoln's Election in South Carolina—Governor Gist—Legislature—Sympathy of Georgia—Edmund Ruffin of Virginia—Grand Jury in Charleston—Resignation of Judge Magrath—Other Officers—Secession Rally—Resignation of Senators—Feeling in Alabama—Other States—Correspondence of Brisbin and Gov. Letcher—Feeling in the North—Apprehensions—Gloomy Forebodings—Stagnation in Business—Losses—Meeting of the Federal Congress—President Buchanan's Message—Southern Forts—Patrick Henry's Warning—Conditions of Cession—Forts in Charleston Harbor—Castle Pinckney—Fort Johnson—Fort Sumter—Fort Moultrie—Major Anderson—Forbearance of South Carolina—Pledge of Honor between her Representatives and President Buchanan—Secretary Floyd's Instructions to Anderson—South Carolina Convention Meets—Ordinance of Secession Adopted—Commissioners to treat With U. S. Government—Anderson transfers his garrison from Moultrie to Sumter—Excitement—Moultrie and Pinckney taken possession of by S. C. Troops—Secretary Floyd resigns—Commissioners and President—Seizure of Charleston Arsenal—Of Forts Pulaski and Jackson—Women of Georgia—Secession of Florida—Of Mississippi—Star of the West—Carries Supplies and Reinforcements for Sumter—Attempts to enter Charleston Harbor—Is Fired On—Driven off—Secession of Georgia—Of Alabama—Of Louisiana—Of Texas—Forts Taken—Baton Rouge Arsenal—Pensacola Navy Yard—Fort Barrancas—McCrae—Fort Pickens Not Taken—Arms for the South—Seizure in New York—Attempt to Seize Arms Aboard the Montgomery—Gov. Brown retaliates—Day of Fasting and Prayer—Abraham Lincoln's Sentiments—Not Conciliatory—Virginia—Seeks an Amicable Settlement—Congress—Committee of Thirty Three—Crittenden Compromise—Legislature of Virginia—Convention—Peace Conference—Franklin Compromise—Congress rejects it—Senators and Representatives from Seceding States leave—Jefferson Davis of Mississippi—Southern Traitors—Andrew Johnson—Sherrard Clemens—Contrast—Chancellor Walworth—Southern Congress meets at Montgomery—Provisional Constitution—Jefferson Davis elected President—Alexander H. Stephens Vice President—Defences of Charleston Harbor—General Beauregard—Abraham Lincoln—Progress to Washington—Flight through Baltimore—Inaugural—Texas—Forts and Arsenals Taken—Gen. Twiggs—Virginia Convention—Secession Feeling Increasing—Bellona Guns—Vote in Convention against Secession—Sumter—Proposed Evacuation Military Necessity—Fraud and Hypocrisy—Northern Fleet and Army Prepared—Virginia and Lincoln—Expedition Leaves New York—Off Charleston—Bombardment of Sumter—Surrender.

Hardly had the telegraph borne to South Carolina the decision of the Northern States, before her action for with-

drawing from the Union commenced. Her Legislature met in Columbia, on the 5th of November, 1860, for the purpose

of casting the vote of the State for electors in the Presidential contest. Her Governor, William H. Gist, sent in his message, in which the coming storm was foreshadowed, and in view of the probable election of Lincoln, and of her determined purpose, in that event, to secede, he advised that the Legislature should remain in session, to take steps to meet the crisis; he declared that in his opinion, the immediate secession of the State was the only course of safety; that all indications showed that other Southern States would join her, that a peaceful separation would be desirable, but if the Federal government attempted coercion, war was inevitable, and, to be prepared for the worst, he recommended that every man in the State, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, able to bear arms, should be forthwith enrolled and drilled, and that ten thousand volunteers should be mustered into service and supplied with the best arms known to modern warfare. *a* A stern enthusiasm pervaded every mind: cockades were worn in the hats of thousands: an immense crowd assembled at Janey's Hotel, and heard, with high approbation, the speech of Senator Chestnut, who although up to that time uncommitted, now boldly proclaimed, that if Lincoln should be elected, the time for decisive action was come. *b* On the day of election, the telegraph office in Charleston, was surrounded by an excited concourse, and each dispatch from the North was announced: when the decisive message came, and Lincoln's election was known, one feeling filled all hearts. Loud and continued cheers for a Southern Confederacy were uttered: *c* the tidings were conveyed on every line of telegraph in the State, and every where the people were warm for immediate action. The Legislature received the Governor's message with approval, and an informal meeting of its members showed that the desire for immediate secession was nearly unanimous. Meanwhile the sympathy of

other Southern States, in their purposes, became strongly manifest. In Savannah, Georgia, a celebration of the opening of the Charleston and Savannah Rail Road, was the means of bringing out the sentiments of many prominent men in Georgia, and the Mayor of Savannah, pledged fifty thousand Georgians to rally to the aid of South Carolina if needed. On the 7th of November, the Speaker of the House of Delegates, in Columbia, received from Virginia the offer of the services of a volunteer corps of soldiers for South Carolina. The venerable Edmund Ruffin, a patriot of Virginia, known by all who saw him by the long, grey hair, floating upon his shoulders, had gone to South Carolina to be present in the opening scenes of a revolution, which he regarded as more important than the struggle which separated the American Colonies from Great Britain. He addressed the people of Columbia on the 7th, declared that Southern independence had been his study and thought for a long life, and he hailed with joy the resolve of South Carolina to lead in the struggle to obtain it. He was received with high enthusiasm, and all classes united in urging on the movement for secession.

On the 7th of November, the District Court of the United States, Judge Magrath, presiding, held its last session in South Carolina. It met in Charleston, and the Grand Jury, composed of gentlemen from the body of the State, retired as usual, and soon returned with a report in the following words:

"It was the purpose of this Jury, to lay before the Court some matters suggested by the indictments submitted to them, but the events of yesterday, seem to render this unnecessary now. The verdict of the Northern section of the Confederacy, solemnly announced to the country, through the ballot-box, on yesterday, has swept away the last hope for the permanence—for the stability of the Federal Government of these Sovereign

a Telegraph in Whig, November 6th, 1860.

b Charleston Mercury, 6th November.

c Ibid, 7th November.

States, and the public mind is constrained to lift itself above the consideration of details in the administration of law and justice up to the vast and solemn issues which have been forced upon us. These issues involve the existence of the government, of which this court is the organ and minister. In these extraordinary circumstances, the Grand Jury respectfully decline to proceed with their pre-^asentments."

To this address, Judge Magrath replied in terms of serious dignity: he declared his belief, that it was the fixed purpose of the State, of which they were citizens, to withdraw from the Union, and that he considered it his duty, without delay, to prepare to obey her wishes.

For this reason, he announced his resignation of his office: he said, "For the last time, I have as a Judge of the United States, administered the laws of the United States within the limits of the State of South Carolina. While thus acting in obedience to a sense of duty, I cannot be indifferent to the emotions it must produce. That department of government which I believed has best maintained its integrity and preserved its purity, has been suspended. So far as I am concerned, the Temple of Justice raised under the Constitution of the United States, is now closed. If it shall be never again opened, I thank God that its doors have been closed before its altars have been desecrated with sacrifices to tyranny. May I not say to you, that in the future, which we are about to penetrate, next to the reliance we should place in the goodness of that God who will guide us in the right way, should be our confidence in our State, and our obedience to her laws. We are about to sever our relations with others, because they have broken their covenant with us. Let us not break the covenant we have made with each other. Let us not forget that what the laws of our State require, become our duties, and

that he who acts against the wish or without the command of his State, usurps that sovereign authority which we must maintain inviolate."

The resignation of Judge Magrath, was immediately followed by that of James Conner, the United States District Attorney. Mr. Campbell, in behalf of the bar, responded, and, amid manifestations of deep and solemn feeling, the court closed its session, never again to resume it.

All the Federal officers of South Carolina hastened to resign, except those who were compelled by the exigencies of the postal service, or the indispensable routine of the customs, to retain their places for a season. William F. Colcock, collector of the port of Charleston, promptly declared that he would not serve under the enemy of his country, and that whether South Carolina seceded or not, he resigned.^b His assistants, Messrs. Cook and Jacobs, also sent in their resignations. Others followed in quick succession, and soon it was apparent that however strong might be the love of office, a stronger feeling had taken hold of the South Carolinians.

^c On the night of the 9th of November, a great "secession rally" took place at the Institute Hall in Charleston, and notwithstanding a rain, it was attended by a crowd who filled it to overflowing. Earnest, orderly and quiet even in their enthusiasm, these men heard, with profound attention, the addresses of their leaders. Judge Magrath being present, was called for, and appeared on the platform: he declared his belief that the time for deliberation had ceased, and the time for action come. He was received with evidences of deep respect and affection.^c

In Columbia, the sentiments of the people were outspoken in large meetings, held at night, with serenades to prominent Southerners and speeches from them, urging the most decided action. The

^a Charleston Mercury, in Whig, November 13th.

^b Letters in Charleston Mercury, Whig, November 13th.

^c Mercury, November 10th.

Legislature were nearly unanimous; the only difference of opinion among the members, was upon the question whether the State should separately secede, or should first seek concerted action by conference with the other Southern States. But doubt on this subject rapidly vanished. Prompt State action was decided on. Both houses passed, on the 10th of November, a bill calling a Convention to be chosen by vote of the people on the 6th of December, and to assemble at Columbia on the 17th, with power to adopt an ordinance of Secession if they held it to be proper so to do. The Senators, Hammond and Chestnut, sent in their resignations and never again appeared in the Congress of the United States. *a*

While the revolution was thus hurrying on with rapid strides in South Carolina, other States of the South were manifesting the warmest sympathy with her and preparing to separate themselves from the North. On the 11th of November, at Montgomery, in Alabama, an immense assemblage of people heard addresses from William L. Yancey and Charles J. Pollard, urging separate State action, and resolutions were adopted, declaring it to be the duty of the Legislature to call a State Convention as early as possible, to determine upon the proper time and means for withdrawing the State from the Union. *b* In the Legislature of Georgia, a bill was introduced, appropriating a million of dollars for arming the people and providing munitions of war, and another bill for assembling a Convention to consider the relations of the State to the Federal government, and her duty in the new aspect of affairs, resulting from the election of Lincoln. Many of the most enlightened citizens of Georgia, thought that separate action was inexpedient, and that a conference of all the Southern States should first be held. Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs

and Thomas R. Cobb, by request, appeared before the members of the Legislature, assembled in popular meeting, and addressed them. On the 14th of November, Mr. Stephens delivered a speech of great ingenuity, to show that the cause of the Union was not yet hopeless, that all honorable means should be used to save it—that notwithstanding the election of Lincoln, the Northern States might yield to a determined admonition from the South, and that a Convention, in Georgia, ought to be called. *c* Mr. Cobb, on the other side, urged that delay was dangerous, and that the Legislature ought to pass an act of secession, to be ratified by the people, and Mr. Toombs, with equal earnestness, insisted that all hope of justice from the North was gone, and nothing remained but separation, and, if necessary, war to maintain the rights of the South. Conventions were called in Georgia, Alabama and Florida, to assemble early in January. Governor Pettus, of Mississippi, to meet the crisis, issued his proclamation, calling the Legislature together on the 26th of November, and immediately on their assembling, he addressed to them a brief message, depicting in graphic style the wrongs suffered from the North, advising a Convention, and recommending the appointment of commissioners, to confer with those of other Slave States, and inform them *what Mississippi intended to do*. The Legislature called a Convention, to be elected December 17th, and to meet the 7th of January. Governor Ellis, of North Carolina, sent a message to the Legislature, on the 20th November, reviewing, with clearness, the gross breaches of the Constitution, perpetrated by the North, pointing out the perils of the times, and advising a conference of the Southern States,—a Convention,—the enrollment of the able bodied men, between eighteen and forty-five years old, who, he stated, would number one hundred and ten thousand, and the arming and equip-

a Resignation of Senator Chestnut, November 10th. Senator Hammond, 13th.

b Whig, November 14th.

c His Speech is in the Whig, November 24th.

ping of ten thousand volunteers, as a separate corps. *a*

In the border slave States, the same unanimity, in favor of secession, was by no means manifest. The press of Kentucky spoke out generally in favor of the Union. Missouri made no movement, though it was well known that she held within her borders, some of the warmest supporters of Southern rights. Virginia loved the Union, which had been constructed under her fostering care—to which she had given seven presidents, and under which the country had grown great and prosperous. She desired, if possible, to preserve it, but her determination was steadfastly fixed, to require from the North a guaranty of Southern rights and abstinence from hostile acts against slavery. Her earnest efforts to save the Union, were misunderstood by many of the Northern people. On the 15th of November, a Pennsylvanian, calling himself James S. Brisbin, wrote a letter to Governor Letcher, of Virginia, stating that the movements of South Carolina for secession, were to some a matter of amusement—to others of alarm—that disunion should not be tolerated—that twenty-eight millions of freemen in the North would crush it—that if the worst came, brother must march against brother, and concluded by saying, that *two hundred Virginians* had tendered him their command, and he was ready to give his life to maintain the Union. To this effusion, Governor Letcher replied in a tone of stern rebuke, remarking upon the excited state of the public mind, and the necessity for measures of conciliation to restore, if possible, confidence and good feeling between the two sections; censuring the denunciatory spirit of Brisbin's letter, which, as far as it could have any influence, would only add fuel to the flame, reminding him that his own State of Pennsylvania, was implicated in the crime of breaking the Constitution, by laws to resist the return of fugitive slaves,

and informing him, that he was certainly in error, in supposing that two hundred "Virginians" had called him to their command, as the Governor could not believe that native citizens of the State, would ever invite a *Pennsylvanian* to command them, even should they be willing "to aid in the ungracious work of reducing a Southern sister State to the abject condition of a conquered province of the Federal government." *b* This letter from her Governor, probably represented the feelings of a majority of the people of Virginia at that time. They knew they had been deeply wronged by the North—they were resolved that redress should be obtained and their rights secured by guaranties adequate to the end, they were unalterably opposed to coercion of any Southern State, by the Federal government, but they earnestly desired to exhaust every honorable means to preserve the Union. Their error was in cherishing any longer the idle hope of finding honor and good faith among a people, a large majority of whom were given up to the dominion of avarice and fanaticism. This error was grave, and cost Virginia dearly: it induced her to delay taking possession of the strongholds on her soil, arming her people and uniting at once with her more Southern sisters.

While the cotton States were thus alive with excitement, and moving steadily forward in a revolution which was to separate them from the Union, the people of the North looked on with feelings, at first, nearly akin to bewilderment and dismay. Blinded by their own vanity and selfishness, they had never believed disunion possible, and even to the very moment of the election of Abraham Lincoln, they had treated the solemn warnings, which the statesman of the South uttered in their ears, as mere empty threats. But now the reality began to open upon them with appalling power: their press spoke out the alarm which thousands were be-

a Message in Whig, November 27th.

b Letters in Whig, November 23d.

ginning to experience. The New York Express said, "deplorable and alarming as is the news from the Southern States, the Republican party at the North, flushed with victory and greedy for Federal power, is yet in no temper to appreciate the crisis, * * they are utterly ignorant of the South, and of the deep revolutionary causes there at work. These people and these journalists, in consequence of the twenty years threatening or remonstrating we have been having from the South, have not the least idea that a crisis is impending there, or if it is, they deem it such a crisis as may be crushed with powder and ball. * * The Republican mind, in the North, in short, has not the least idea of what is going on South, or what the South means, and it will not begin to comprehend it, till the cry of "bread," or "blood," is raised in our own streets, when thousands and tens of thousands of our laborers are thrown out of employ." ^a The New York Herald said, "The revolutionary movement going forward at the South, is the direct result of the success of the revolutionary movement, set on foot at the North, by an organized anti-slavery party, whose candidate has been elected upon the distinct issue of hostility to the domestic institution of the South, and utter destruction to its local fabric. So sectional is the issue, that Mr. Lincoln has been elected entirely by Northern votes, and has received no support from any Southern State. This very fact is, of itself, a practical dissolution of a Union, founded not in force, but in the good will and voluntary association of those who are parties to it. * * * Whatever may be the final result, the conflict now commenced cannot fail to be attended with the most disastrous consequences to trade and commerce and every description of business. A commercial panic and a financial revulsion, will inevitably ensue, making bankrupts of

our merchants and manufacturers, and bringing destitution to thousands who are now in good circumstances." ^b

These gloomy forebodings were but too speedily realized. Through all the commercial and manufacturing districts of the North, distress and alarm prevailed: no orders for goods came, workmen were discharged or put on half time and half wages: money began to hide itself for fear of the coming storm: the banks could not relieve a pressure caused by universal distrust; failures took place in numbers so great, that colossal fortunes toppled down in a day; no business was active, save the manufacture of arms for the South, under extensive orders, public and private; rents in the large cities fell to insignificant sums; some of the most costly business houses could not be rented out for enough to pay taxes and insurance; men reputed rich, began to find their wealth converted into withered leaves, like the coin of the Arabian fable; factories, stocks, ships and merchandise ceased to be convertible into money, and hung like a dead weight on their owners' hands: they would neither pay debts, nor yield revenue for support: a cry of suffering came up from all classes: so great was the ruin, that in six weeks after the election of Lincoln, a paper of much influence and extended means of information, estimated the loss actually sustained by the North, by reason of the crisis, at the sum of four hundred and seventy-eight millions of dollars, made up by fair computation of loss on wheat, flour and corn, at tide-water and in the interior, pork in the interior, imported and domestic articles, iron and woollens, loss to manufacturers by suspension, half work and loss of interest, decline in stocks and public bonds, and loss on real and personal estate. ^c

In the midst of this season of revolution, gloom and alarm, the Congress of

^a New York Express, 11th November, 1860.

^b New York Herald, November 10th, 1860.

^c The estimate is given in detail in the New York Herald, quoted in Richmond Whig, December 22. 1860.

the United States met at Washington, on the 4th of December, and President Buchanan sent in his message. This document vividly exhibited the perplexity and distress of a high public officer, whose principles compelled him to admit the wrongs suffered by the South, but who was strongly opposed to disunion. He reviewed clearly the breaches of the Constitution by the North, in reference to slavery, and declared that if justice was not done "the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and Constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in *revolutionary resistance* to the government of the Union." He denied, however, the right of secession, and argued against it at length, but in considering the position which a seceded State would hold, he asked the momentous question: "Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission, which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn from the Confederacy?" This question he answered *in the negative*, and demonstrated the soundness of his view, by referring to the history of the Constitution, to the fact that power to use force against a State, had been expressly refused to the Federal government, and that the exercise of such a power was "at variance with the whole spirit and intent of the Constitution."

Holding these opinions, history will ever deplore that President Buchanan failed to carry out their logical development into action, and to use all his official power and influence, in obtaining a peaceful acquiescence in the withdrawal of the seceding States, and of all others who chose to secede—the surrender to them of the forts and military stations on their soil, and a fair settlement between them and the States adhering to the old Union, of all money questions on either side arising from the separation. Had he so done, it is possible that a separate nationality, in the Southern States,

might have been so far perfected, and so equitably established in the eyes of the world, that the party of whom Abraham Lincoln was the head, on coming into office, would not have been able to disturb it, and for the first time in the history of the human race, a great revolution, *without bloodshed*, would have occurred. But Mr. Buchanan fell below the crisis: he was a Northern man by birth, and though elected on a national basis, he could not rise to a stand point above that of his section. He declared his intention to retain the forts on the soil of South Carolina, and to resist, with force, all attempts on the part of that State, to resume possession of them, and asserted, that "in such a contingency, all responsibility for consequences, would rightfully rest on the heads of the assailants."^a

Herein was the germ of war.

That we may see clearly what rights the Seceding States had in these forts and strongholds, it will be necessary to review their position. At the very time when Virginia was considering whether or not she should adopt the Federal Constitution, Patrick Henry warned her of the danger arising from this subject; he said, "you are to give into the hands of Congress all such places as are fit for strongholds: when you have these fortifications and garrisons within your State, your State Legislature will have no power over them, *though they see the most dangerous insults offered to the people daily.*" To this sagacious admonition, the advocates of the new government replied, that the only object of these forts and strongholds would be *national defence*, the defence of the United States, and *especially of the State in which they were located*, against a foreign foe, and that they would be so guarded by proper terms of cession, that they could not be used for purposes of domestic tyranny by the Federal government. ^b The prophetic eye of Patrick Henry, caught a glance of scenes which were hidden from his compeers. Could they

^a Message, December 4th, 1860.

^b Speeches of Patrick Henry and others in Virginia, Debates 1788.

have been then revealed, it is certain that Virginia would never have been a party to the Federal Union.

When the States were afterwards applied to for grants of the soil, and jurisdiction for the purposes of these forts, they readily yielded and conveyed them to the United States. But in every case the object was *defence* of the State in which they were located and through her, of the United States, *against outward foes*. In several instances, the object was *expressly* declared in the grant, and it was moreover declared that when this object ceased to be sought in good faith, by the United States, the soil and jurisdiction of these forts should revert to the State granting them. It is apparent that it was never the intention of any State to surrender *absolutely* and *unconditionally* the control and jurisdiction over these sites to the Federal government. Nearly every grant contains a clause declaring that if the United States did not construct the works for the purposes proposed, the grant should be void, and also expressly reserving to the State full power to execute and make effectual *her own process* within them: *a* And in the act of Virginia, ceding to the United States the lands at Old Point Comfort, and the shoal called the Rip Raps, for the erection of Fortresses Monroe and Calhoun, it was declared that the cession was "for the purpose of fortification and other objects of national defence," and the act provided, that "should the United States at any time appropriate them to any other purposes than those indicated in the preamble to this act, the same shall revert to, and revert in this commonwealth." *b*

In all the States, the same condition was implied, for assuredly it was not to be supposed that any State, when driven by the wrongs and oppression of the Federal government to withdraw from the Union, could permit her own soil to be occupied by hostile forts, which although intended for her defence, and ceded only

for that purpose, would be used to intimidate and overawe her people, to imprison her faithful sons, to turn their guns upon her own bosom, to seize and confiscate her property, to shut up her harbors and destroy her trade, and finally to reduce her to submission. It follows therefore from the very nature of the grant of these forts and strongholds, that when any State, for adequate cause, determined to withdraw from the Union, she had the right, immediately, to repossess and control all such places upon her soil, and all that the other States could require, would be a fair settlement in money, or its equivalent, for the property thus taken.

The harbor of Charleston, in South Carolina, was defended by several powerful forts, all of which were under the control of the Federal government when the decisive time arrived for her separation from the Union. Nearest to the city was Castle Pinckney, a work on the Southern end of Shute's Folly Island, at the mouth of Cooper river, having Hog Island Channel on the North, and Folly Channel on the South. Although not extensive, this fort was very important, because its guns commanded the whole Eastern line of the Charleston wharves: on the South it presented a semicircular face, and on the East and West, tangents from the arc in front ran back to a plain wall in the rear: it had two rows of guns, the lower tier being in case-mates, bomb-proof, about seven feet above low water mark, the upper tier guns mounted in barbette: the whole number of guns mounted being twenty-five 24 and 32 pounders, and six Columbiads, with several sea coast mortars: the fort was provided with furnaces for heating shot, and the magazine was well supplied with powder and loaded shells. By reason of the nearness of the lower guns to the water, the want of ventilation and the reverberation of sound, the case-mate batteries in actual combat would soon be useless, but the parapet guns were so

a Hotchkiss Statute Law of Georgia, 87-88. Statutes of South Carolina, V, 501.

b Act March 1, 1821, Va. Supp. to R. C., 25-26.

high as to be above the hulks of the largest ships of war. ^a Next was Fort Johnson, on James' Island, to the South of the harbor,—this was an old work, long disused, but with substantial walls in battery capable of being made serviceable. North East from Fort Johnson, in the very mouth of the harbor, distant about one mile from James' Island, on the one side, and Sullivan's Island on the other, and about five miles from Charleston, was Fort Sumter, a name ever memorable in the war soon to commence. It was built on an artificial island of sunken stone of ponderous strength; the fort, above the water line, was of brick and concrete of the most solid character; its plan was a pentagon, with one side parallel to the adjoining shore, thus presenting an angle to the channel; the height of the parapet above the water line, was sixty feet; the interior was well finished; on the Eastern and Western sides, were the barracks, mess-hall and kitchen for the privates, and on the South, the officers' quarters, which were very handsome; it was mounted with one hundred and forty of the heaviest guns, arranged in three tiers, the two lower being casemates, with arched bomb proofs, in which were mounted sixty-four 32 and 24 pounders, and on the parapets 8 and 10 inch Columbiads and heavy sea coast mortars; the heaviest pieces were turned towards the water, the lighter towards the land side, which was also protected by musketry, for which loop holes were cut in the walls: two furnaces for heating shot were provided; the magazine contained forty thousand pounds of powder, with a full supply of shot and shell: the batteries were capable of throwing eight thousand pounds of metal at one discharge; the weakest part of the fort was on the South side, where the masonry was less solid and, moreover, was not protected by any flank fire, as were the other walls: but the whole fort was a fine specimen of military engineer-

ing, exhibiting beauty, strength and variety in its arches, angles, casemates and batteries, with walls twelve feet thick at their base, and eight and a half at the top. Such a fort, if perfectly manned, would have been nearly impregnable. ^b

Farthest from Charleston was Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island—an enclosed water-battery, having a front on the water of three hundred feet, and running inland two hundred and forty feet: it was built with salient and reëntering angles, admirably adapted for defence: the outer and inner walls were of brick, capped with stone and filled in with earth, the whole thickness being sixteen feet: the barracks and quarters for men and officers were ample: the battery mounted a full complement of heavy guns, but the fort was assailable on the land side, and was commanded by the guns of Fort Sumter. ^c

Colonel Gardner of the United States army had been in command, but, about the first of December, 1860, he was relieved by Major Robert Anderson, a Kentuckian by birth, about fifty-six years old, an officer distinguished in the Mexican war, and of thorough military education. His command consisted of eight officers, fifteen musicians and fifty-five artillerymen. He garrisoned Fort Moultrie, but necessarily stationed a guard of only one or two men at Castle Pinckney and Fort Sumter. A large number of workmen were, however, employed on the forts and were daily adding to their strength, completing bomb proofs and mounting guns. Such was the state of things early in December, when President Buchanan delivered his message, and when South Carolina was firmly preparing to separate herself from the Union. Castle Pinckney and Fort Sumter were at her mercy. She could have occupied them any day and thrown into them a sufficient military force to hold them against all assaults: she held all the neighbouring islands,

^a Report in Dispatch, January 8th, 1861.

^{od}

^b Evans and Cogswell's pamphlet, Charleston, 1861, Appendix.

^c Charleston Mercury, in Dispatch, December 15th, 1861.

James', Morris, Shute's Folly, Hog Island and the larger part of Sullivan's Island: the feeble garrison of Fort Moultrie, could have been overcome by an attack from the land with numbers too great to be resisted, or could have been destroyed by the guns of Sumter. But she forebore. Intending to act with scrupulous good faith herself, she expected fair and honorable dealing from the Federal government. We shall see, that instead of honesty and candor, she encountered duplicity, foul dealing and assaults, which finally ruptured the Union and arrayed the South in arms in a righteous war of defence against a selfish, brutal and treacherous foe.

On Saturday, the 8th of December, 1860, four of the representatives from South Carolina, in the United States Congress, viz: John McQueen, M. L. Bonham, W. W. Boyce and Laurence M. Keitt, had an interview with President Buchanan, and an earnest conversation, as to the intended secession of their State, and the forts in Charleston harbor, with the view, on their part, as well as that of the President, to prevent a bloody collision between the parties. He requested that they would reduce their suggestions to writing, and submit them to him: they did so, and, on the 10th of December, presented to him the following paper:

*To his excellency, James Buchanan,
President of the United States.*

In compliance with our statement to you, yesterday, we now express to you our strong convictions, that neither the constituted authorities, nor any body of the people of the State of South Carolina, will either attack or molest the United States forts, in the harbor of Charleston, previously to the action of the Convention; and we hope and believe, not until an offer has been made through an accredited representative, to negotiate for an amicable arrangement of all matters between the State and the Federal government, provided that *no reinforcements*

shall be sent into those forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at present. a

This paper was signed by the four representatives above mentioned. On receiving and reading it, Mr. Buchanan made some objection to the word "*provided*," on the ground that it might be held as constituting an agreement on his part as President; to this the representatives replied, that they had no authority to make an agreement for the State, and therefore expected none from the President; Mr. Buchanan then received the paper, with a promise that he would return it to the gentlemen, signing it or one of them before he ordered any reinforcements to the forts, *b* and the arrangement was considered *not as a binding legal agreement*, but in a higher light, as a pledge of *honor* between the parties, that its terms should be observed. On the part of South Carolina, they were kept with sacred fidelity: on the part of the United States, they were grossly violated.

John B. Floyd was then Secretary of War; he was from Virginia, a State then adverse to disunion, and very earnest in the desire to avoid bloodshed and war; he approved of the arrangement made with the South Carolina representatives, and on the 11th of December, issued instructions to Major Anderson, in which he said: "You are carefully to avoid every act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression, and for that reason, you are not without necessity, to take up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude, but you are to hold possession of the forts in this harbor, and if attacked, you are to defend yourself to the last extremity. The smallness of your force, will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts, but an attack on, or attempt to take possession of either of them, will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then put your command into either of them, which you may

a Correspondence in Dispatch, January 8th, 1861.

b Letters of South Carolina Commissioners to the President, *Ibid.*

deem most proper, to increase its power of resistance. You are also authorized to take similar steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act." *a*

To the arrangement suggested in these papers, South Carolina acceded; her delegation in Congress unanimously approved it; her Governor took measures to prevent any irregular action of individuals from disturbing the peace, and the authorities of the State determined that no effort should be made to stop the collection of the customs, to take possession of the forts, or to employ force in any way, until hostile acts of the Federal government compelled resistance. *b*

On the 17th of December, 1860, the Convention called by her Legislature, and elected by her people, assembled in Columbia, in a church, over which floated a flag bearing the device of a palmetto tree, with an open Bible at its trunk, with the inscription, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble, therefore will we not fear, though the earth be removed and though the mountains be carried into the sea; the Lord of Hosts is with us—the God of Jacob is our refuge." *c* In the presence of the Convention and of both houses of the Legislature, the newly elected Governor, Francis W. Pickens, was inaugurated and delivered an address reviewing the causes which had alienated the State from the Union, declaring the fixed purpose of South Carolina to assert her separate independence, and then to invite the cooperation of her sister States of the South, in forming a general government.

On the evening of the first day of the Session, the Convention, by unanimous vote, passed a resolution that in their opinion the State of South Carolina should forthwith secede from the Federal Union, known as the United States of America, and a committee was appointed to draft an ordinance of secession.

On the 18th, the Convention adjourned

to Charleston, because of the prevalence of disease in Columbia.

On Thursday, the 20th of December, 1860, the committee, through Mr. Inglis, reported this memorable ordinance. While it was read, profound silence prevailed. It was in the following words:

"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of the State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed: and the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of 'The United States of America,' is hereby dissolved."

This ordinance was adopted by a unanimous vote of the Convention, and on the evening of the same day, an immense assemblage convened at St. Andrew's Hall, in Charleston, to attend upon the ceremony of signing the roll of parchment on which the ordinance was engrossed. The public procession entered the hall in order, the President and members of the Convention coming first, followed by the President and member of the Senate, and the Speaker and House of Representatives; their entry was greeted by loud and prolonged cheers from the spectators; the proceedings were commenced with prayer; the Attorney General of the State then announced that the ordinance had been engrossed by order of the Convention, and the parchment roll was signed by the members, who were called successively to the table. When all had signed, President Jamison raised the parchment in the sight of the assemblage, and announced that the ordinance of secession having been signed and ratified, he proclaimed the State of South Carolina an

a Mr. Buchanan's letter to the South Carolina Commissioners.

b Whig, December 13th, 1860.

c Charleston Courier, December 18th.

Independent Commonwealth. The whole audience rose, and with loud cheers and waving of hats and handkerchiefs, manifested the enthusiasm with which they heard this proclamation. *a*

Thus was the great North American Union dissolved. One of the thirteen original States, which had fought through the First Revolutionary War, now led the way in a Second Revolution, far more important than the separation of the Colonies from Great Britain. It is impossible to look upon such an event without feelings of mingled sorrow and triumph: sorrow that the most magnificent vision the world had ever seen should fade away: that the giant power which seemed advancing to world-conquest, should tremble and fall, that the Great Republic which never yielded to outward enemies, should break asunder by reason of internal dissensions:—triumph, that the spirit of liberty and resistance to oppression was yet unquenched, and that the people of a sovereign State were ready to encounter self-denial, suffering, danger—even death, rather than submit to wrongs which threatened her with degradation.

After declaring South Carolina an independent State, her Convention proceeded to make the changes in her Constitution and laws, necessary to meet her new relations, passed a resolution, appointing delegates to meet other delegates from such Southern States as might likewise secede, in General Convention, at Montgomery, in Alabama, on the 5th day of February 1861, for the purpose of forming a Southern Confederacy, and providing for their common welfare and defence, and elected three commissioners, R. W. Barnwell, J. H. Adams and James L. Orr, with power and authority to proceed to Washington, and negotiate with the United States government, for the peaceable return of the forts to the State, and a full and fair money settlement of the difference between the value of the

property received by her from the Union, and of her interest in that retained by the Federal government. *b* These gentlemen hastened to fulfil their grave mission, but hardly had they arrived in Washington, and made known their purpose, when events occurred which broke the promise of peace, held out by President Buchanan, and hurried on the Southern revolution with irresistible power.

We have seen that no move whatever for seizing the ungarrisoned forts or attacking Fort Moultrie, had been made by South Carolina. Nevertheless Major Anderson was in constant apprehension of assault, and kept a force of workmen busy in strengthening Moultrie and mounting additional guns; he had even made preparations, in case of attack, to retire with his command to the citadel in the Western part of the work, and defend himself to extremity, after blowing up the rest of the Fort. *c* Under the honorary pledge of President Buchanan and the instructions from Secretary Floyd, he had no right to dismantle one Fort and occupy another, for the purpose of strengthening his military position. Such a move would certainly have been a change in "the relative military status of the forts," and could only be justified by hostile movements by the State. No such movements occurred. On Christmas day, the 25th of December, Major Anderson dined with the authorities of Charleston; hilarity and good feeling prevailed, he left late at night, and the honest Carolinians dreamed of any thing rather than a hostile step on his part. *d* But at sunset on the 26th, the garrison of Moultrie were ordered to pack their knapsacks and hold themselves ready for a move; they were reviewed on parade, sent quietly aboard of two schooners and hurried over to Fort Sumter. Officers, with a few men, were left in Moultrie, with orders to fire upon the South Carolina armed steamers, Nina and General Clinch, if they attempted to mo-

a Charleston Courier, 21st and 22nd December.

b Charleston Mercury and Courier, Dispatch, January 8, 1861.

c Charleston Courier, 28th December.

d Washington Star, in Dispatch, December 31st.

lest the movement; the moon shone brightly; several passages by the schooners took place, provisions, powder, small arms and every article of use, capable of rapid transfer, were taken away. On one trip, the schooner, filled with men and baggage, passed close under the bow of *Nina*, yet her crew suspected nothing wrong; the officers in *Moultrie* held the lanyards of the guns ready to fire on the steamers at the first warlike symptom, but none such was seen; at last, when all was ready, the guns of *Moultrie* were spiked, the mortars dismantled, the gun carriages set fire to, and, under the light of the burning, the last of the garrison arrived in safety at Fort Sumter. ^a Having thus successfully accomplished an act of falsehood and treachery, they knelt on the ground in fanatical excitement, and raised the "stars and stripes" to the flag staff, bringing the first stain of dishonor upon a flag which was soon to be covered with infamy!

Confused rumors of these events, reached Charleston early on the 27th of December, and produced intense excitement. It was at first supposed that *Fort Moultrie* was in ruins, but in a few hours the truth was known, and Major Anderson's movement was universally regarded as an act of war. It was impossible to interpret it otherwise. Without provocation or tangible evidence to believe that any hostile act was intended against him, he had destroyed the defences of one fort, and taken possession of another much stronger and more menacing to the city, from which his guns commanded the harbor on every side, thus giving him the power to arrest the shipping bound to or from the port, and to assume an attitude of hostility, inconsistent with the safety of that part of the State. Governor Pickens did not hesitate as to the course required by the exigency; troops were ordered to assemble, and in a few hours the *Washington Light Infantry*, Capt. Simon-

ton, the *Carolina Infantry*, Capt. Pinckney, the *Meagher Guards*, Capt. McReady, forming part of a rifle regiment, under Col. Pettigrew, the *Marion Artillery*, Capt. King, *Lafayette Artillery*, Capt. Pope, with parts of two other artillery corps, the whole under command of Col. DeSausure, embarked on the *Nina* and General Clinch, and by 9 o'clock, on Thursday, the 27th, they had taken possession of *Castle Pinckney* and *Fort Moultrie*, and commenced the work of cleaning away the ruins of the fire and putting both forts in serviceable condition. ^b

When the telegraph informed the government, at Washington, of Major Anderson's move, for a time, the course of President Buchanan was uncertain. So palpable was the breach of faith involved in this act, that his first impulse seems to have been to order Anderson back to *Fort Moultrie*, to restore as far as possible the "status quo," and soothe the indignation of the Carolinians. ^c But evil counsels prevailed, and to them the President yielded; he refused to command what simple justice and good faith required, and from this moment his course of policy was such as to forfeit the confidence of Southern men, and to drive forward the car of revolution with ten fold rapidity. Secretary Floyd earnestly requested that his department might be directed to order Anderson back to *Moultrie*, and, his request being refused, on the 29th December, he tendered his resignation, saying: "I can no longer hold my office under my convictions of patriotism, nor with honor, subjected, as I am, to the violation of solemn pledges and plighted faith." His resignation was accepted, and Mr. Holt, the postmaster general, was appointed in his place.

The South Carolina commissioners, Messrs. Barnwell, Adams and Orr, opened a correspondence with the President, stating that they were fully authorized to

^a Charleston Courier, December 28th. Letter from an officer of the garrison. Dispatch, January 7th, 1861.

^b Charleston Courier, December 28th.

^c Letter to South Carolina Commissioners, in Dispatch, January 3th, 1861.

negotiate for forts, light houses and all other places, on her soil, on which the money of the United States had been expended, but that until Anderson's conduct was set right, or satisfactorily explained, they were compelled to suspend the discussion of the terms of settlement; they then urged the President to withdraw the federal troops from the harbor of Charleston, saying, "under present circumstances, they are a standing menace, which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threatens speedily to bring to a bloody issue, questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment." To this, the President replied, denying that he had made any agreement with South Carolina, though he admitted his conference with her representatives, and the terms of the paper received from them on the 10th of December, refusing in positive terms to withdraw the troops from Charleston harbor, complaining of the acts of the State, in taking military possession of Moultrie and Castle Pinckney; and declaring his intention to defend Fort Sumter against hostile attacks, *by such means as he might possess for the purpose*. The commissioners rejoined, reasserting that the paper thus received by the President, made a pledge of honor for observance of its terms on both sides, reminding him that he had determined not to order back Major Anderson, *before* he heard of the occupation of Moultrie and Castle Pinckney by the State troops, and saying in conclusion, "our mission being one for negotiation and peace, and your note leaving us without hope of a withdrawal of the troops from Fort Sumter or of the restoration of the "status quo," existing at the time of our arrival, and intimating, as we think, your determination to reinforce the garrison in the harbor of Charleston, we respectfully inform you that we purpose returning to Charleston to-morrow afternoon." The President returned this letter, with a written endorsement, that it was of such a character that he

declined to receive it. ^a The commissioners soon afterwards returned to their State.

Upon the plain facts of the case, it seems impossible to regard the act of Major Anderson in any other light than as a violation of a pledge of honor, and a treacherous move by which a hostile garrison was established in a powerful fort on the soil of South Carolina, which she could have occupied at any time and which she forebore to take, simply because of her trust in the pledge made by both parties. Yet Anderson's conduct was lauded to the heavens, by the people of the North; forthwith he became a hero; hundreds of guns were fired in salutes to his honor; he was toasted in public feasts and private assemblies. The New York World said, "his praises are on every tongue." The Times said, "that his step was probably taken without orders, and, if so, he will already have established for himself a hold on the admiration and affection of the country, which will not easily be weakened." The Philadelphia Enquirer said, "There is so much wisdom, energy and military forecast in the movement, as to create the belief that it was mainly *the work of the brave old Commander in Chief of our armies, General Scott.*" ^b The very disingenuousness and deceit involved in the move, seemed to give it peculiar zest and charm to the Northern people.

Its effect on the South was equally great, but in an opposite direction. Revolution rolled on with resistless energy. On the 30th of December, under orders from the Governor, South Carolina troops took possession of the Arsenal in Charleston, which had previously been only watched by State sentinels outside. Muskets, rifles, powder and munitions of war, estimated to be worth nearly half a million of dollars were thus secured; the State flag was run up to the staff and saluted by a round of artillery. Charleston was alive with warlike activity. Governor Pickens established his quarters

^a Correspondence in Dispatch, January 8th, 1861.

^b Quotations in Dispatch, 31st December, 1861.

in the city, and worked night and day in giving orders, holding conferences with military advisers and employing laborers for batteries to defend the harbor. Extensive works were commenced on Morris' Island, slaves were sent down from the country by their owners, and cheerfully labored on the islands and sea coast, in throwing up sand batteries and preparing to mount cannon. *a* On the 3d of January, 1861, under orders from Governor Brown, Georgia troops took possession of Forts Pulaski and Jackson, and armorers were immediately set to work cleaning the guns and preparing these strongholds for efficient service. *b* The women of Georgia began to move, and exhibited a spirit which was soon found to exist in the bosom of almost every woman in the slave States, and which afterwards showed itself in the noblest heroism, self-denial and patient toil, that the women of any country have ever exhibited. Men of the South might differ, but women were all secessionists. In Burke County, Georgia, a meeting of ladies was held, who resolved that "their honor, their interest and their social position demanded immediate secession from the abolition States of the demoralized and debased Union," and the *young* ladies resolved, that they would "reject with haughty scorn and proud disdain, all civilities from any gentleman who refuses or neglects to join the ranks of any Southern State, that shall in her sovereign capacity, withdraw her allegiance from this unconstitutional Confederacy; holding it to be self evident that a dastard can never win a woman's love, nor defend her honor." *c*

On the 3d of January, 1861, the Convention of the State of Florida met at Tallahassee, and on the 7th, by a vote of sixty-two to five, declared that Florida

ought to secede from the Union. A committee of thirteen reported an ordinance of secession, which was adopted on the same day. The Convention of Mississippi met at Jackson, on the 7th, and on the 9th, by a vote of sixty-four to fifteen, passed an ordinance of secession, which was welcomed with great joy and with an illumination of the city. *c* On the same day, an event occurred off the harbor of Charleston, ominous of war.

After determining not to order Anderson back to Moultrie, President Buchanan decided to send the Federal war frigate, Brooklyn, with reinforcements and supplies to Fort Sumter. But on the 31st of December, 1860, he abandoned this purpose, a part of his cabinet having earnestly opposed it. In a few days he again resolved to send troops to Sumter, and under his direction the War Department chartered a steamer, called the "Star of the West," which sailed from New York, on Saturday, the 5th of January, having on board two hundred and fifty soldiers, under Lieut. Woods, besides stores and munitions of war. On learning that she had sailed, and her purpose and destination, Hon. Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, and a member of Mr. Buchanan's cabinet, immediately resigned, alleging that to send reinforcements to Sumter, was in violation of an understanding had on the 31st December, and had not been authorized in any cabinet meeting. *e* Had the President intended to force the Southern States, as rapidly as possible, out of the Union, he could not have used means better fitted to the purpose than this step. It was absurd to suppose that South Carolina would quietly permit a fresh garrison of foreign soldiers to be thrown into a fort, on her soil, which already threatened to stop her trade and shed the blood of her people.

a Baltimore American, in Dispatch, January 4, 1861. President Buchanan's Letter to S. Carolina Commissioners.

b Telegraphs in Dispatch, January 4th and 5th.

c Savannah News, in Dispatch, January 7th, 1861.

d Telegraphs in Dispatch, 8th and 11th January.

e Mr Buchanan insisted that a cabinet meeting had *impliedly* authorized it. Correspondence Dispatch, January 11th

Great secrecy was observed as to the purpose of the steamer, and her time of sailing. A reporter, from one of the New York papers, asked her owner if she had been chartered by the government, and had taken troops or marines on board, and received a negative answer.^a But the truth became known, and was telegraphed to Charleston. Instant preparations were made to oppose her entrance. Major Anderson sent a message to the commandant, at Moultrie, stating that he expected reinforcements and supplies, by a ship from New York, and if she was interrupted, he would open fire on that fort. The answer was more energetic than elegant, "*Fire and be damned!*"

On the evening of Tuesday, the 8th of January, the armed steamer, General Clinch, left Charleston, with a guard of eighty men, from the Palmetto Guards and Irish Volunteers, and went down to the mouth of the harbor, to watch for the coming reinforcements. The *Star of the West* had orders to lie off during the night, and run in to Fort Sumter at day break, as it was impossible to find the channel in the darkness. At about half past six o'clock, she was discovered by the look out of the General Clinch, heading in from sea, and taking the channel for Sumter. Signals, by red and blue lights, rockets and calcium lights, were immediately made by the Clinch; the guard, at Point Cummings, on Morris' Island, were promptly in motion and their battery made ready. When the *Star of the West* came within long range, a shot from a twelve pounder was fired

across her bow: she continued her course and made no response except by hoisting the United States flag: another shot from a thirty-two pounder was sent with direct aim—the ball struck the water about one hundred yards from the steamer, and, ricocheting, passed over her stern, near the head of a seaman; still she kept her course: several shots followed in quick succession, all "line shots" and well aimed; one struck the ship on the bow, about two feet above the water, and just beneath a sailor, who was in the fore chains sounding; another heavy ball passed between the smoke stack and the working beams of the engine; the work grew warm; the captain and crew of the steamer behaved well, but began to estimate the chances of being sunk or captured; the battery on Morris' Island was fast getting their range, and soon they would be in reach of the guns of Fort Moultrie, which had already opened on them. On their right was seen a schooner, towed by a steamboat, which, they supposed, intended to attack them; the garrison of Sumter ran the guns out of the ports towards Moultrie, but did not fire; the captain of the *Star of the West*, thought the danger too great for farther progress, and, ordering his helm a port, turned and ran out to sea with all speed—a shot from the battery striking her quarter as she turned.^b When it became certain that her design was to retreat, the firing ceased.^c She returned to New York, arriving in that harbor on Saturday, the 12th, and the soldiers were landed at their former quarters on Governor's Island.

^a New York Express, in Dispatch, January 9th, 1861.

^b New York Post, in Dispatch, January 15th. Capt. McGowan's Narrative, in Journal of Commerce. Charleston Courier, January 10th.

^c Charleston Courier, January 10th

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART.

RICHMOND, JUNE, 1862.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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Thus ended the attempt of President Buchanan and General Scott, to reinforce a garrison, which the highest reasons of honor and policy required them to withdraw from Fort Sumter. Major Anderson displayed prudence and good feeling, in not firing on Fort Moultrie; the men in that fort fully expected his fire, and exhibited the most reckless disregard of danger, in opening their guns on the Star of the West, long before she was within range; but Anderson knew that it would require at least six hours for him to disable Moultrie, and in that time the steamer would probably have been sunk and all the lives on her lost. To avoid bloodshed and civil war he forebore to fire. ^a

But after the Star of the West retreated, he sent a flag of truce to Governor Pickens, with a letter, in which he denounced the firing upon her as an act of war; said he was not aware the State of South Carolina was at war with the United States, hoped that the act was done without authority and would be disclaimed by the Governor, and notified him, that if it was not disclaimed, he would not permit any vessel to pass within range of the

guns of his fort. The Governor replied, stating the position of South Carolina to the former Union, proving that any attempt to reinforce Sumter or retake the other forts, was inconsistent with her independence, and therefore an act of coercion, reciting the cautious steps taken to warn off all vessels coming for such purpose, and fully justifying the course adopted towards the Star of the West. In conclusion he noticed the threat of Major Anderson, and in a respectful, but firm tone, warned him of the responsibility he would incur by attempting to excite it. Anderson rejoined, that he would refer the whole subject to his government at Washington, and requested facilities for his messenger, Lieut. Talbott, in going and returning. These were promptly granted by Governor Pickens. ^b

The Convention of the State of Alabama, met in Montgomery on Monday, the 7th of January. Some difference of opinion appeared among the members, a minority being in favor of inviting the combined action of all the Southern States before seceding; but these differences rapidly faded away; a secret ses-

^a Lieut. Hall's statement. Dispatch, January 22.

^b Charleston Courier 11th. Dispatch 11th January. Telegraph.

sion was held; a committee of thirteen appointed, and after the unsuccessful attempt of the Star of the West to reinforce Sumter, immediate secession was the resolve of a large majority. On Thursday, the 10th of January, at half past two o'clock, an ordinance of secession was adopted by a vote of sixty-one to thirty-nine. It was received with great satisfaction, and the members who had voted for "cooperation," hastened to evince their loyalty to their State and to pledge themselves and their constituents to maintain her independence. ^a Montgomery was illuminated, and in Mobile one hundred guns were fired and \$100,000 subscribed for the defence of the City.

All doubts and differences in the cotton States rapidly disappeared; the Convention of Georgia met on the 16th of January in Milledgeville, and on the 19th, passed an ordinance of secession by a vote of two hundred and eight to eighty-nine; the minority promptly yielded and the final vote was nearly unanimous. In every part of the State, this result was acquiesced in, and in most parts it was received with enthusiasm; fire works, bells and cannon uniting in doing honor to the independence of the State.

The Convention of Louisiana met at Baton Rouge, on the 23d of January, and on the 26th, adopted an ordinance of secession by a vote of one hundred and thirteen to seventeen; the people were "wild with delight," ^b and testified their joy with more warmth than those of any other Southern State; the Pelican flag floated from every prominent building; in New Orleans the Washington Artillery fired twenty-one guns, six for the seceded States, and fifteen for the Southern Confederacy.

In Texas the Convention by a vote of one hundred and sixty-six to seven, adopted an ordinance of secession on the 5th of February, but required that it should

be ratified by a vote of the people, to be taken on the 23d; on that day the vote was taken and the ordinance was ratified by a majority of 31,367 votes. ^c

Meanwhile the seceding States proceeded with great promptness and energy to take possession of all forts, arsenals and strongholds on their soil, which could be captured without bloody contest. Warned by the conduct of President Buchanan to South Carolina, they lost no time in negotiation, lest federal troops should be poured into their territory, but, wishing to avoid actual war, they made no assault. By the 10th of January, nine forts were in the hands of the seceders; Pulaski and Jackson in Georgia; Morgan and Gaines in Alabama; Moultrie and Castle Pinckney in South Carolina; St. Philip, Jackson and Pike in Louisiana, which with their armaments, had been built and armed at a cost of \$4,549,485, and mounted in all 787 guns. ^d On the 11th of January, the federal arsenal at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, was surrounded by six hundred State troops. Major Haskins, who held command with two companies, at first refused to surrender, but after a parley with Governor Moore, and with the conviction that resistance would result in nothing but useless bloodshed, he surrendered. On Saturday the 12th, two battalions composed of troops from Alabama and Florida, numbering about five hundred men, under Col. Chase, presented themselves at the Navy Yard, at Warrenton, near Pensacola, and sent a message to Commodore Armstrong in command requesting its surrender. Resistance would have been vain. Sixty officers and men held the yard, and of these three-fourths were secessionists; the veteran Commodore appeared before the Southern officers and made a short but feeling address, alluded to his many years service of his country, said he had tried to do his duty, deplored the unhappy events which had caused

^a Telegraph in Dispatch, January 12, 1861.

^b Telegraph, *ibid*, January 28th.

^c Richmond Examiner, March 19th, April 18th. Tel in Dispatch, February 7th.

^d Dispatch, January 14, 1861.

such a scene, and stating that he had no force to resist them and did not desire useless strife, surrendered the yard. *a* On the same day, the Southern troops took possession of Fort Barrancas on the North of Pensacola bay, directly fronting its mouth; a bastioned work built of heavy masonry, mounting 49 guns, with armament and magazine in good order, and of Fort McCrue, on Foster's Bank, guarding the West side of the bay, a powerful work of brick masonry with walls twelve feet thick, embrasured for three tiers of guns, two under bomb proof casemates, and one *en barbette* mounting nearly 150 guns, radiating to all parts of the horizon, and having below it a water battery with ten additional guns.

But there was a third fort, guarding the bay, which was garrisoned by a hundred soldiers, under Lieut. Slemmer, which refused to surrender and which could not have been carried without a bloody assault; this was Fort Pickens, on the east point of Santa Rosa Island, a work of great strength, built of New York granite, with walls 12 feet thick and 45 feet high, with three tiers of guns radiating to every point and giving flank and enfilading fire at every angle of approach; its complete armament was 210 guns, including mortars, and its cost was nearly one million of dollars. *b*

On the 16th of January, the barracks at New Orleans were taken by the Louisiana State troops without resistance, two 12 pound and two 6 pound howitzers, with a few muskets, being all the munitions there secured. On the 23d of January, Georgia troops surrounded the United States Arsenal at Augusta, commanded by Capt. Elzey, with a guard of seventy soldiers. A summons to surrender was given, to which no answer was returned. On the 24th, about 800 Georgians were assembled, and 2 o'clock was fixed as the hour for an assault; before that time, Capt. Elzey had an interview

with Gov. Brown and arranged the terms of surrender; the garrison was permitted to salute the federal flag and receive safe conduct for the North, an inventory was made and a receipt given by the State authorities for all the property taken, consisting of two howitzers, and two cannon, 22,000 muskets and rifles, and large stores of powder, grape and round shot. Immediately upon the surrender, Capt. Wm. H. Walker of Georgia, formerly of the federal army, stepped forward and taking Capt. Elzey by the hand, cheered him by the assurance, which he made as an old brother in arms, that his honor and that of his command, were in no way compromised by this surrender to overpowering force. A salute was then fired,—for Georgia one gun, for the seceded States five guns, for the Southern Confederacy *in future*, a Union salute of fifteen guns, and the representative flag of Georgia, a pure white ensign with a large red five pointed star in the centre, was raised over the Arsenal. *c*

In all these seizures, great care was taken by the State authorities to proceed regularly, to take immediate inventories of the property taken, and have proper valuations made in order to a fair settlement with the States adhering to the former Union, of all money claims between them. *d*

Having resolved on separation and the maintenance of their independence by arms, if necessary, the Gulf States made efforts to provide a full supply of weapons and ammunition. Large orders had been sent to the factories of the North, and for months they were employed in turning out and sending South muskets, rifles, carbines, revolvers, percussion caps, powder, cartridges, holsters, cannon, artillery wagons, saddles, sabres, every article in short that could be useful in war, so that while all other kinds of business, trade and manufacture languished, the making of arms and warlike munitions

a Ibid, January 22 and 24.

b Dispatch, January 14, 1861.

c Augusta Constitutionalist Dispatch, July 28, 1861.

d Letter of Gov. Moore of Alabama to Pres. Buchanan, Dispatch 28th January.

was never so active. ^a For a me time, no attempt was made at the North to arrest this supply, but as the storm-cloud in the South grew darker, and lightnings began to flash from its bosom, the infuriated people of the Northern States began to wake from their stupor. Their first step was characteristic, being the illegal seizure of property bought and paid for by a Southern State.

On the 22d January, the police of New York City, under the direction of Superintendent Kennedy, went on board the Steamer Monticello, as she was about to leave for Savannah, and seized thirty-eight cases, containing 912 muskets, belonging to the State of Georgia; and on the 23d, the schooner Caspian of Rockland, Maine, while lying at a pier in East river, New York, was boarded by a police officer with a band of stevedores and, no one but her mate being aboard, she was quickly seized, her hatches opened and her whole cargo overhauled; twenty-five cases of muskets belonging to Georgia were removed.

On the 24th, another attempt was made, but not with the same success. The steamship Montgomery was to leave her pier in North River, for a Southern port; at 3 o'clock. Hearing she had arms aboard, Superintendent Kennedy ordered his police to seize them; the order was received a few minutes before three; the police, under Sergeant Wemyss, hurried down to the pier and rushed aboard, just as the ship was preparing to move. The captain asked the intruders what they wanted. The police, who were breathless with excitement, could only articulate "muskets," "treason," "contraband goods," and without more ado, jumped into the hold and commenced searching for the munitions of war. By this time the captain began to understand what was in the wind, and approaching the edge of the hatchway, held the following conversation with the police:

Captain.—What are you doing down

there, I should like to enquire? Pretty conduct this!

Police Sergeant.—We are searching for contraband goods, and cannot leave until we find them.

Captain.—Get out of the hold, you rascals, or I will soon make you! Let go that line there! he continued, addressing some men on the pier.

The idea of being carried to sea, and to a secession State too, was rather repugnant to the feelings of the police. If the captain had threatened to blow them to atoms with grape and cannister, they would not have been half so frightened. Hastily emerging from the hold, they clambered upon the bulwarks ready to jump ashore at a moments' warning.^b The harbor police on shore, prevented the casting off of the lines, but the captain of the Montgomery ordered them to be cut; two blows from an axe were sufficient; the steamer was free; her steam up; the engineer was ordered to "start ahead;" at the first move the police moved likewise, trembling and scrambling down from the bulwarks to the pier with such precipitation as to excite shouts of ridicule from the spectators; the Montgomery glided out into the river and proceeded on her voyage.

When these outrages were known in Georgia, Governor Brown took prompt measures of retaliation. Under his orders, every vessel owned in New York, then lying in the harbor of Savannah, was seized. After some delay and correspondence, the arms were released in New York and the vessels in Georgia.

While the Gulf States were thus separating themselves from the Union and preparing to resist coercion, the remaining States were profoundly agitated. The North now began to realize something of the misery resulting from her long continued injustice, and thousands there would gladly have yielded much to restore a sisterhood now broken forever. The City of New York seemed especially lit-

^a New York Herald, in December 1861, *passim*.

^b New York Herald, Jan, 25th.

ter against the abolitionists, and half of her restless people were ready to *secede* and declare their city independent and sovereign, like the celebrated Hano towns of past ages. But the party who had elected Lincoln to the Presidency, relaxed nothing of the obstinacy with which they had sought a triumph, resulting in the rupture of the Union. Selfish and vulgar in their men, their means and their aims, they could not rise above the vapors of a narrow minded partizanship to bestow a thought upon their country and her happiness. They even mocked at the serious alarm pervading reasonable minds, and attempted to diminish the frightful importance of the crisis. Early in the Congressional term, President Buchanan issued a becoming proclamation, appointing the 4th of January, 1861, as a day of fasting and prayer, and calling on the people to humble themselves and pray for Divine deliverance from the woes that threatened the nation. This announcement was received by the Republicans of New York City with open ribaldry and abuse. In the Board of Education, one Mr. Warren of this party, sharply ridiculed the idea of fasting and praying on the President's recommendation; one Mr. Firman "made fun" of such a proposition; Mr. Stafford poured out vials of vituperation and wrath upon the president, and generally the leaders of this party made this solemn call the occasion for scoffing and impiety. The day was seriously observed by the decent people of all parts of the United States. In the border States especially, immense crowds filled the churches and listened with fixed attention to the admonitions of their clergymen, but it was afterwards a subject of remark that the feeling in favor of Southern separation and independence, grew rather than diminished under the lessons of the day.

From the man who had been chosen by the anti-slavery party as their standard bearer, in their unholy crusade against the rights and happiness of the South,

there came early in the time of trouble a note of war and bloodshed, instead of a voice of peace and reconciliation. Mr. Lincoln lived in Springfield, Illinois, and his "home organ," the Springfield Journal, declared that South Carolina could not dissolve the Union by passing an ordinance of secession—her federal officers might resign, and she might close her courts and post-offices, but *she could not get out of the Union until she conquered the Government*—that the President elect would enforce all the United States laws upon her soil.^b This meant coercion, and coercion could be nothing less than war.

Strong as were their sympathies with their Southern sisters, the border slave States clung to the Union with a love inspired by nearly a hundred years of hopeful memories. They could not bring themselves to the bitter conviction, that their country was rent asunder never again to be united. They still hoped to find some remedy—some happy compromise by which the rights of the South should be made safe and the Gulf States induced to return. The course of Virginia, during these months of agitation, was so remarkable as to need special notice; her strength and population, her geographical position, and, above all, her habitual leadership in political movements in which the rights of the States were involved, made her action highly important, and eager eyes, South and North, were constantly turned upon her. Her adherence to the Union was firm and long—longer far than many of her sons thought safe and right; while there was the faintest hope of a peaceful solution, she persevered in seeking it, and when at last, under the workings of an Almighty Providence, she separated from the North, it was to cast herself as a shield before her Southern sisters, to bare her bosom to the storm of battle, and to call her children to the bloody field of a second Revolution in defence of liberty and conscience.

a New York Express. Dispatch, January 1, 1861.

b Whig, December 25, 1860.

Soon after the opening of Congress, in December 1860, Mr. Boteler of Virginia, moved in the House of Representatives, that so much of the President's message as referred to the present perilous condition of the country, be referred to a special committee of one from each State, with leave to report at any time. He hoped that this committee of thirty-three might devise some plan of adjustment for the national troubles. The committee was raised, and nearly a hundred resolutions, schemes, compromise plans and measures proposed by various members were referred to it, but its labors ended in nothing; the anti-slavery element was too strong; no plan that the South could with safety accept, approached to a successful vote. In the Senate, John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, an old, eloquent man, belonging to a generation fast passing away, brought forward certain resolutions, on the 18th of December, 1860, the adoption of which he believed would give peace to the land. His plan, afterwards known as the "Crittenden Compromise" was, to extend the line of 36° 30' to the Pacific, to forbid slavery North of that line, to recognise and protect it South of the line; to provide for new States, *with such boundaries as Congress might prescribe*, North or South of the line, with or without slavery, as their constitutions might require; to deny to Congress power to abolish slavery in any place under its jurisdiction, or in any slave holding State; to make the fugitive slave law efficient; to declare void all State enactments conflicting with it, and to forbid all amendments which would disturb this compromise. *a* He proposed that this plan should be made a part of the Constitution by being adopted by Congress and ratified by Conventions of the States. He declared his conviction that unless some such plan was adopted, the Union would be sundered in less than six months. He said some thought "that this agitation might pass off, but it was a

mistake; it was spreading and might swallow old Kentucky, as loyal and true a State as there was in the Union." Turning to the Republicans he said, "you can continue the existence of this glorious Union," and appealed to them with eloquence and pathos to consent to a plan for the purpose. To all his appeals, continued from week to week, until Southern men who heard him from the galleries hung their heads in shame, *b* the party he addressed returned no sympathy, no generous emotion. Cold, stolid, stubborn, they refused their assent to a plan of settlement *more than just* to the North—far less than equal to the South. Although the Crittenden Compromise would have shut up for ever against the Southern man and his property, six hundred thousand square miles of land to which he had as much right as the Northern man, yet, for the sake of peace and the Union, the border slave States would have accepted it. Its rejection by the anti-slavery party, hastened on the final rupture.

On the 7th day of January, 1861, at 12 o'clock, by proclamation of Governor Letcher, the Legislature of Virginia assembled in Richmond for a special session. One of its first acts was the appointment of a committee of fifteen in the House of Delegates, to whom was referred so much of the Governor's message as related to "coercion" of any State by the General Government. The committee, through its chairman, Wyndham Robertson, of Richmond, reported the same evening three resolutions, which were adopted by a vote of 112 to 5. *c* The first declared that the Union being formed by consent, could not and ought not to be maintained by force; the second, that the Government of the United States had no power to declare or make war against any of the States; the third, that when any one or more of the States had determined, or should determine, to withdraw from the Union, the Legislature of Virginia was unalterably opposed to any

a Congressional Report, Whig December 21, 1860.

b Correspondence of Dispatch, January 10, 1861.

c Report in Dispatch, January 8, 1861.

attempt on the part of the Federal Government to coerce the same into re-union or submission, and would resist such attempt by all means in their power. On the 8th, these resolutions were also adopted by the Senate, only one member—Caldwell of Wheeling—voting against them.

On the 14th of January, the Legislature passed a bill calling a Convention to be elected on the 4th of February, and to meet in Richmond on the 13th. Great care was taken that the sentiments of the people of Virginia should be fairly represented. The bill provided that on the day of election, the qualified voters should declare by a poll opened for the purpose, whether they desired that any action of the Convention dissolving the connection of the State with the Federal Union, or changing her organic law, should or should not be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection.^a The result was a decision by a large majority that these paramount questions should be submitted to a final vote of the people.

On the 10th of January, in the House of Delegates, Mr. Seddon, of Stafford, a warm secessionist, read aloud a written message just received by Mr. Lundy, announcing that the Star of the West had been fired into and forced back; vociferous cheers arose in the galleries; the house was in great excitement; war appeared inevitable. Resolutions were passed, that in view of the imminent danger of civil war, the Assembly, in the name of the Commonwealth of Virginia, respectfully ask of the President of the United States and of each Southern State, that the *status quo* of all movements tending to occasion collision, and concerning the forts and arsenals of the nation shall, on either hand, be strictly maintained for the present, except to repel any actual aggressive attempts, and that this resolution be immediately telegraphed to the President and to the Governor of each

Southern State.^b The Senate did not concur, a majority of its members probably believing that the maintenance of the "*status quo*" was impossible.

On the 19th of January, resolutions were adopted by the Legislature, that in their deliberate opinion, unless the unhappy controversy between the sections should be satisfactorily adjusted, dissolution of the Union was inevitable, and desiring to avert so dire a calamity, the General Assembly, in behalf of the Commonwealth, invited all the other States, whether slave holding or free, who were willing to unite in an effort to adjust the controversy in the true spirit of the Constitution, and to afford to the people of the slave holding States adequate guarantees for the security of their rights, to send commissioners to meet commissioners from Virginia, in Washington, on the 4th of February—that this "Peace Conference" should, if possible, agree on a plan of adjustment and submit it to Congress to be by that body proposed to the several States for adoption as part of the Constitution—that in the opinion of the Legislature, the plan known as the "Crittenden Compromise," would be accepted by the people of Virginia, and that pending this effort for peace, the United States Government and each seceding State, be requested to abstain from all acts calculated to produce a collision of arms.^c

Under these resolutions, the Legislature appointed John Tyler, formerly President of the United States, William C. Rives, John W. Brockenbrough, George W. Summers and James A. Seddon, delegates to the peace conference, and deputed John Robertson, as commissioner, to visit the seceding States, and John Tyler to approach President Buchanan, to urge acquiescence in the purpose of these resolves.

It will conduce to clearness of narrative at once to relate the result of this

^a Acts of Assembly, 1861, page 24.

^b Report in Dispatch, January 11th.

^c Dispatch, January 21st.

honest effort of Virginia to preserve the Union. The peace conference met in Washington, on the 4th of February; John Tyler was elected President, and on taking the chair, delivered a very eloquent address; alluding to the great duty before them, and touching with taste and skill upon the character of each State represented. Delegates were in attendance during the session from the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa and Wisconsin. The conference held its meetings in secret and continued in session until Wednesday the 27th of February, when by a vote of ten States to nine, it adopted a plan commonly called the "Franklin Compromise." Virginia and North Carolina, by a majority of their delegates, voted against it; the New York vote was equally divided; Indiana and Missouri declined to vote. *a* This plan provided that in territory North of 36° 30' slavery should not exist, in territory South of that line; the *status* of persons held to servitude should remain as at present, nor should congress pass any law to hinder or prevent the taking of such persons to such territory, nor to impair the rights arising from said relation, but the same should be subject to judicial cognizance in the federal courts, *according to the course of the common law*: that States with such boundaries as congress might prescribe, should be admitted with or without slavery as their constitutions might require; that no new territory should be acquired, except by treaty assented to by four fifths of the Senate; that the Constitution and its amendments should not be construed to give Congress power to abolish slavery in any territory or in the District of Columbia, unless by consent of Maryland and the owners of

the slaves; that the parts of the Constitution and amendments securing the rights of slave owners, should not be amended or abolished without the consent of all the States, and that Congress should provide by law for paying for fugitive slaves, rescued by violence or intimidation. *b*

Had this plan been adopted there can be little doubt that in a few years the increasing power of the anti-slavery party would have secured federal judges of their own complexion, who would have decided that *according to the course of the common law*, slavery did not exist, and thus Southern owners would have been enticed into the territories only to be cheated of their property. But illusive and unsatisfactory as this scheme of adjustment was, it met with no favor in the black republican Congress. By several votes its principles were rejected and in place of it, as a special act of righteousness to the slave States still adhering to the Union, the Congress, rising to the sublime in hypocrisy, passed, by a two-thirds vote, a proposition to be submitted to the States, as an amendment to the Constitution; that Congress should never have the power to abolish or interfere with slavery in the States where it existed. *c* Such was the *compromise* offered by the North!! God did not design that the South should continue longer under so hideous a domination.

John Robertson—a distinguished Virginian, ardently devoted to the advocacy of Southern rights, fulfilled his mission by visiting the seceding States and laying before their authorities the views and wishes of Virginia. A more acceptable envoy could not have been sent. But it was too late to save the Union. The answer of South Carolina may be held as nearly representing the sentiments of all the Gulf States. She expressed her acknowledgment of the friendly motive which had inspired the mission and her

a Reports in Dispatch, March 1st and 2nd.

b Telegraphic Report, Dispatch, February 23.

c Congressional Report, February 28th, March 3rd.

high regard for Virginia and her commissioner, but declared that the candor due to her, required South Carolina to say that she did not deem it desirable to commence negotiations, when she had no wish or intention to promote the ultimate object sought; that the separation between herself and the federal Union was final; and, the only appropriate negotiations between them were such as foreign States might initiate. That she had no confidence in the Federal Government, its most solemn pledges having been violated, and under pretence of preserving public property, hostile troops having been sought to be introduced by it into South Carolina, in order to her subjugation, and that even since the overtures of Virginia for peace, a vessel of war had been sent to the South with troops, and munitions of war had been concentrated on the soil of Virginia. ^a The allusion was to the sailing of the Brooklyn, with supplies for Fort Pickens and the increase of stores and ammunition at Fortress Monroe. Mr. Tyler had gone to Washington, but was unable to obtain a pledge, either written or verbal from President Buchanan, that he would abstain from acts necessarily considered hostile by the South. ^b

While these movements were in progress, the seceded States and their representatives "took no step backwards." Their resolve was firm; the separation was final. As fast as each State seceded, her representatives and senators announced the momentous result in Congress, and took leave of that body in addresses which produced a profound impression on the hearers. There were no longer scenes of violence approaching bloodshed on the floors of the two houses; the pent up indignation of Southern men, against words and acts of calumny, had found a vent. Their States had thrown off the yoke, and nothing remained but to declare their independence in fitting words of courage and warning. Senator Benjamin of Lou-

isiana, before his State withdrew, delivered a speech of rare power and pathos, in which he demonstrated the right of secession and the adequacy of the causes urging the Southern States thereto. He ended by saying, "you may carry desolation into our peaceful land and with torch and firebrand may set our cities in flames; you may even emulate the atrocities of those who in the days of the Revolution hounded on the blood thirsty savage; you may give the protection of your advancing armies to the furious fanatics, who desire nothing more than to add the horrors of servile insurrection to civil war; you may do all this and more, but you never can subjugate the free sons of the soil, into vassals paying tribute to your power; you can never degrade them to a servile and inferior race; never! never!" ^c Tumultuous applause, with waving of handkerchiefs and shouts of excitement, burst spontaneously from the immense crowd in the Senate galleries.

On the 21st of January, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, announced in the Senate the secession of his State, and in a brief address took leave of his former associates: he reviewed the right of secession, and showed in what it differed from nullification; he alluded to a time when Massachusetts threatened to leave the Union, and referred to his own declaration then made, that if she chose to leave, it was her right to go, and he would not vote one dollar or one man to coerce her back; he said, "I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents towards yours. I am sure I feel no hostility to you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussions there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and such I am sure is the feeling of the people whom I represent towards those whom you represent. I therefore feel that I but express

^a Telegraphic Report, Dispatch, 29th January.

^b Correspondence, February 7th.

^c Speech in U. S. Senate, December 31, 1860.

their desire, when I say I hope and they hope for peaceful relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country; and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers who delivered them from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus, putting our trust in God and in our firm hearts and strong arm, we will vindicate the right as best we may." ^a

While the Southern States were thus asserting their independence, the representatives of Virginia in Congress were not blind to the dangers of the crisis, and to her safety in the coming storm. On the 22nd of January her two Senators, Mason and Hunter, and eight of her representatives, Bocock, Jenkins, Pryor, DeJarnette, Edmundson, Martin, Garnett, and Leake, addressed to her people a serious warning, in which they declared their conviction that the party in power intended coercion and war, that no honorable compromise would be granted, that in the House of Representatives a resolution, giving a pledge to sustain the President in the use of force against seceding States, was adopted by a large majority, and in the Senate every Republican Senator had voted against Mr. Crittenden's Compromise, and in favour of a resolution offered by Clark, of New Hampshire, declaring that no new concessions, amendments, or guarantees, were necessary, and that the demands of the South were unreasonable; they farther declared their belief, founded on facts within their knowledge, that the Republican party intended by war to coerce the Southern States, under the pretext of enforcing the laws, "unless it shall become speedily apparent that the seceding States are so numerous, determined and united, as to make such an attempt hopeless;" they concluded by

declaring their solemn conviction that prompt and decided action by the Convention of Virginia would afford the surest means under the Providence of God, of averting an impending civil war. ^b

Had such counsels prevailed with all the border slave States, *it may be* that the united front thus presented would have convinced the Northern Government that coercion was impossible, and a peaceful disunion might have been accomplished. But it could not be; the people of Virginia were too much divided in sentiment to favour immediate withdrawal; it required a full development of the brutal plans of Lincoln and his advisers to unite Virginians heart and soul for secession. Such development soon came, *but with it came war.*

A small number of public men from the slave States openly united with the enemies of the South in Congress, and advocated force and bloodshed as appropriate means to restore the Union. Chief in notoriety and infamy were Andrew Johnson, Senator from Tennessee, and Sherrard Clemens, a representative from North-western Virginia. ^c In bright contrast with these was the course of the venerable Chancellor Walworth, of New York, who in the Democratic State Convention, held in Albany, on the 1st of February, appeared on the platform, and in a speech full of earnestness and eloquence, protested against any attempt to force the Southern States to submission. ^d He spoke of his great age, of the horrors of actual war he had witnessed in 1812, when his own house in Plattsburg was sacked by the enemy, a battle fought opposite to his very door, and his dwelling pierced by bullets; but civil war was infinitely more atrocious and more to be deprecated; he said, "it would be as brutal, in my opinion, to send men to butcher our own brothers of the Southern States as it would be to massacre them in the Northern States. We are

^a Speech in Senate, January 21st, 1861.

^b Address in Dispatch, January 25th.

^c Speech of Johnson, December 18th, 19th. Report in Dispatch, 24th January.

^d Report in Dispatch, February 4th.

told, however, that it is our duty to, and we must enforce the laws. But why? and what laws are to be enforced? There were laws that were to be enforced in the time of the American Revolution, and the British parliament and Lord North sent armies here to enforce them. But what did Washington say in regard to the enforcement of those laws? That man, honoured at home and abroad more than any other man on earth ever was honoured, did he go for enforcing the laws? No—he went to resist laws that were oppressive against a free people and against the injustice of which they rebelled. Did Lord Chatham go for enforcing the laws? No, he gloried in defence of the liberties of America. He made that memorable declaration in the British parliament: ‘If I were an American citizen instead of being as I am, an Englishman, I never would submit to such laws!’ *Such is the spirit that animates our Southern brethren, and shall we war upon them for it?* No, we must avert civil war, if possible, and I close by exhorting my brethren to do all in their power to avert civil war.” Had such counsels, coming from age, wisdom, and patriotism, prevailed, North and South might have been separated, and yet independent and happy.

Meanwhile the seceded States moved steadily forward in perfecting a Southern Union. On the 5th of February a Congress of Delegates from each State met at Montgomery, in Alabama, and in a few days adopted a Provisional Constitution, to continue in force for one year; they also adopted by unanimous vote a permanent Constitution for “The Confederate States of America,” by which name the young nation was styled.^a This form of government was similar in most respects to the old Constitution, but differed from it in some very important points in which experience had shown the necessity for guarding the sovereign-

ty of the States with greater care. In the opening clause the new instrument solemnly invoked the favour and guidance of Almighty God, thus repudiating for ever the Atheist spirit which had banished the name and presence of Deity from the charter of the former Union. One provision forbade the importation of negroes from any foreign country other than the slave-holding States or Territories of the United States, and Congress was required to pass such laws as should effectually prevent it.^b Thus the slanders of those who had asserted that one of the designs of Southern seceders was to re-open the slave trade, were effectually refuted.

The selection of a President for the Southern Confederacy was a duty devolved on the Congress, and required extraordinary caution and sagacity. To wield the executive power of a young nationality just entering upon her existence, demanded talents of a rare order—but to guide such a nation when threatened with war by an adjacent people of seemingly overwhelming strength, this indeed was a duty for which a rare union of qualities was requisite. Indomitable courage, unyielding firmness, coolness in danger, self-possession amid turmoil and storm, great mental strength, polished and disciplined by liberal education and accomplishments, all permeated and heated by the highest patriotism, these were the gifts called for in the man. The choice of the Congress fell upon Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. He was a native of Kentucky, but went in early youth with his father to Mississippi, then a territory. He was appointed by President Monroe a cadet at the West Point Military Academy, and graduated with the first honors of his class in 1828. He was commissioned as Lieutenant in the army, and served with distinction in the Black Hawk war in the west, during which a warm attachment arose between

^a Given in full in a publication, (1861) of the Constitution and Laws of the Confederate States.

^b Section 9, clause 1.

the celebrated Indian chief and the young officer, which continued up to the death of the former. In 1835 he left the army and settled upon a cotton plantation in Mississippi, perfecting himself by severe studies, in scientific and political learning. He was elected to the House of Representatives, but soon after taking his seat the Mexican war commenced, and he promptly took command of a regiment from his State, and joined General Taylor. At Monterey and Buena Vista he and his intrepid regiment were covered with glory. In the latter battle he was wounded early in the action, but keeping his saddle he led his men into the hottest of the combat, and twice by his coolness saved the day. In 1848 he was elected to the United States Senate. In 1853 he was called to the Cabinet of President Pierce, and was Secretary of War during his term. In 1857 he was again elected Senator from Mississippi, and held the office until his State seceded. His native powers and disposition, moulded, by education and study, and developed by a life of high adventure, fitted him in a remarkable manner for the stern duties to which he was now called.

Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, was elected Vice President, a man wonderfully gifted as an orator, of keen and penetrating mind, a careful student, and a patriot against whose integrity and self-devotion calumny could bring no charge.

The new government was formed and immediately commenced its functions. As soon as the War Department was opened, its labours became heavy and important. The States composing the Confederacy promptly turned over to the General Government the forts and arsenals taken by them, as well as the armed force and warlike munitions which they had collected.

Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, became the absorbing object of at-

ention. After the return of her first commissioners, South Carolina, by her Governor, had deputed Col. Isaac W. Hayne to renew the negotiation with President Buchanan. He discharged his duty with fidelity and skill, offering in behalf of his State, to pay the full value of Sumter and all its armament, but firmly demanding that the fort should be yielded up, it being wholly inconsistent with the safety of the State, and incompatible with her honor that a foreign power should thus hold a garrisoned stronghold on her soil, especially when that power asserted claims of sovereignty over her. On the 6th of February, the President, through Mr. Holt, the Secretary of War, rejected the "ultimatum" thus presented by South Carolina, declaring that if the fort was regarded in the light of property, he had no power to sell it, and if as a fortress, he was bound to retain it, and, if necessary, to reinforce its garrison. Col. Hayne left Washington on the 8th, and returned to his State.

The Confederate Government having received the control of the public defences, and being very anxious to preserve the peace, forbore to take hostile measures against Sumter, with the hope that their Commissioners to the new Administration, under Lincoln, might agree on terms of settlement; but in the meantime, the safety of Charleston and her harbor required active preparations for defence or attack, as the case might require, and vigorous measures were taken for the purpose. On Sullivan's Island Fort Moultrie was repaired and strengthened; the magazine was fully supplied, and so protected by an arch work of cemented brick and a thick covering of earth, that an explosion seemed impossible; sixty heavy guns were mounted, some of them Columbiads of great calibre, cast at the Tredegar Iron Works, in Richmond, Virginia; sand batteries were erected, covered with hides, and masked

a Sketch in Dispatch, February 13th, 1861.

a Correspondence in Dispatch, February 12th

mortars were mounted in them; two thousand soldiers were on the island, and daily drilled in artillery and infantry exercise. On Morris's Island new batteries were constructed, covered with railroad iron, slanting in direction so that shot and shell fired upon them would glance off nearly harmless. *a* Great activity prevailed; the work on the sand batteries went on incessantly, and prominent citizens encouraged the workmen by their presence, and by taking part in the labor. Often the venerable form and grey locks of Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, were seen stooping over a wheelbarrow filled with sand, as he cheerfully toiled to complete the fortifications.

For the command of the Military Department of South Carolina, the Confederate War Department selected a young officer whose name has since become a word of glory with his compatriots. Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard was a native of Louisiana—a Creole by birth. He graduated at West Point with distinguished honor, in the class of 1838. He was especially accomplished in the engineering department. He was brevetted as Captain on the 20th of August, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battles of Contreras and Cherubusco, and at the storming of Chapultepec he displayed heroic courage, and was twice wounded. It is related that at Vera Cruz his sagacity and skill as an engineer detected an error in a plan for a trench ordered by a superior officer, and saved the lives of men who would have been exposed to enfilading fire from the enemy; and before the city of Mexico his plan of attack was substantially adopted by the Commander-in-chief. *b* So well known were his merits, that the responsible post of Superintendent of the Military Academy was offered to him by the Federal Government; but when Louisiana seceded, he promptly resigned his commission and offered his sword to the South. He was of stature somewhat be-

low the medium, of dark complexion, with a cast of countenance serious—almost sad—in its expression; his eye was of immeasurable depth, but, under excitement, blazed with intelligence. Affable to his friends, he was yet reserved and silent in general; his heart was full of love for his native South, and for her independence he was ready to live and die.

He was commissioned as Brigadier General by the Confederate Government, and repairing immediately to Charleston, assumed command and urged forward the fortifications of the harbor. Under his skilful eye batteries rose, guns were mounted, mortars were placed, bomb-proof arches and defences were built, and a formidable array of siege pieces turned upon Fort Sumter from every side. For attack or defence he was alike prepared, and waited only to have his duty determined by the course of events and the orders of his superiors.

While the Southern Confederacy was thus preparing to assert and maintain its independence, the North was bringing forward its chief actor and his coadjutors to commence an administration productive of unnumbered woes to the country. On the 11th of February 1861, Abraham Lincoln left his home in Springfield, and entered upon his journey to the Federal Capital at Washington. So obscure had been his life previous to his elevation to the Northern Presidency, and so few and vague had been the outward symptoms of his mental power and disposition, that public curiosity watched his progress with more than common interest. He speedily shewed himself in his true colors, and the decent people of the North stood aghast at the spectacle. Intensely vulgar in his nature and habits, narrow in his opinions, obstinate and uncompromising in disposition, he was the fit embodiment of the unpatriotic and selfish spirit which had governed the North for many years. When he reached Indianapolis, nearly twenty thousand people had con-

a Letters of Virginius in D. spatch, February 11th.

b Charleston Mercury, in Dispatch March 9th, Examiner January 31st, 1862.

gregated, and from the balcony of a hotel he made a speech *from a manuscript prepared at Springfield.*^a After some facetious remarks about Solomon's declaration that "there is a time to keep silence," he enlightened his audience by giving his views as to the relation of the States to the Union, which the seceders were seeking to destroy. He said, "In their view the Union, as a family relation, would seem to be no regular marriage, but rather a sort of 'free love' arrangement, to be maintained on passionate attraction. By the way, in what consists the special sacredness of a State? * * If a State and a county in a given case should be equal in extent of territory and equal in numbers of inhabitants, in what, as a matter of principle, is a State better than a county? Would an exchange of names be an exchange of rights? Upon principle, on what rightful principle may a State, being no more than one-fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation, and then coerce a proportionably larger sub-division of itself in the most arbitrary way?" Thus Mr. Lincoln gave his matured opinion that the *Union* was a *marriage*, and the States were counties. How thirty-three people could be intermarried, or how a sovereign could have no more right and power than a small part of his own territory, he has never explained.

At Columbus, Ohio, he visited the Hall of Legislature, and in the presence of the Governor and members of Assembly, made another speech, in which he said: "I have not maintained silence from any want of real anxiety. It is a good thing that there is no more than anxiety, *for there is nothing going wrong.* It is a consoling circumstance that when we look out *there is nothing that really hurts anybody.* We entertain different views upon political questions, but *nobody is suffering anything.* This is a most consoling circumstance."^b A horrible delusion

seemed to have sealed his eyes, and shut out the sight of ruined trade, bankrupted commerce, starving artisans, a country writhing in agony and suspense. At the very time he made this speech, in Philadelphia, by the testimony of her Mayor, nearly all of her ninety thousand fire-sides were darkened and straitened by the calamitous condition of the country.^c

At Steubenville, Ohio, he made another speech, deifying the rule of the majority. He said, "If the majority should not rule, who should be the judge? When such a judge is found, we must all be bound by the decision. That judge is the majority of the American people."^d He was alike ignorant of fact and law—the *fact* being that two-thirds of all the votes cast were against him, and the *law* of the whole Federal system forbidding the rule of a mere numerical majority.

At Pittsburg he instructed a crowd on the subject of *the tariff*, giving views so immeasurably deep and recondite, that neither friend nor foe has ever yet pretended to comprehend them. He said, "As this is the first opportunity I have had to address a Pennsylvania assemblage, it seems a fitting time to indulge in a few remarks on the important question of the tariff—a subject of great magnitude and attended with many difficulties, owing to the great variety of interests involved. A tariff is to the Government *what meat is to a family*; but while this is admitted, it still becomes necessary to modify or change its operations according as new interests or new circumstances arise. * * I must confess that I do not understand the subject in all its multiform bearings, *but I promise you that I will give it my closest attention, and endeavor to comprehend it more fully.* * * * I have long thought that if there be any article of necessity which can be produced at home with as little, or nearly the same labor as abroad, it would be better to protect that article of labor at

^a Report in Dispatch, February 14th.

^b Dispatch, February 15th, 1861.

^c Mayor Henry's speech to Lincoln, 21st February.

^d Report in Dispatch, July 16th.

its true standard of value. If a bar of iron got out of the mines in England, and a bar of iron taken from the mines in Pennsylvania, can be produced at the same cost, it follows that if the English bar be shipped from Manchester to Pittsburg, and the American bar from Pittsburg to Manchester, *the cost of carriage is appreciably lost.*" This profound deduction of a conclusion from premises was received *with laughter*, whereupon Mr. Lincoln grew grave and continued his discourse until he found he was "trespassing upon the patience" of his audience, and said so. With exemplary long suffering they cried, "no, no, we will listen." *a* To listen to a harangue which neither speaker nor hearers could possibly understand was strong proof of their devotion.

At Northeast Station, in New York, he came out in new colors. Having uttered enough of political wisdom, he now assumed the gallant and the gay, and charmed Northern men and women with displays of his personal elegancies. He said he had received a letter from a young girl in this place, kindly admonishing him to do certain things, and among others to *let his whiskers grow*. He had taken her advice, and now he would be glad to see her; whereupon a young lady in the crowd was lifted upon the platform and made her way to Mr. Lincoln, and was by him vigorously kissed! *b*

In New York city, from a window of the Astor House, he made a speech, and then retiring to another part of the room, he shook hands with all comers. The great boxer, known as "Tom Hyer," was presented to him, when forthwith Mr. Lincoln threw himself into an attitude, and raising his arms as if to ward off blows, cried out, "Don't strike me, Mr. Hyer!" This feat was rewarded with laughter and applause by the admiring

crowd. *c* The Northern papers sparkled with choice specimens of his wit. "God bless you," said a melodramatic gentleman, "the flag of the country is looking at you." "Hope it won't lose any of its eyes," said Mr. Lincoln. *d* If he had any subtle allusion to the stars of the flag his hope was sadly disappointed.

While on Northern soil he was jubilant, airy, full of life; but as he approached the borders of the slave States, to whom his very election was a gross insult, he became more serious. Imaginary horrors tortured him; assassins seemed to lurk at every corner. No evidence has ever shown any intention to do him personal harm in Baltimore, yet he suffered some vague threats from obscure sources so to affect him that he decided not to display his accomplishments publicly in that city. At Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania, he prepared for a silent flight. Taking a train of cars before the one in which he was expected to travel, he passed through Baltimore at night, and arrived in Washington on the morning of the 23d of February, leaving Mrs. Lincoln and his family to come on in the next train. *e* It has often been asserted that he was disguised during this hasty passage, but there is no foundation for the statement. *f* He is said to have worn a Scotch cap and military cloak. In other respects, his quiet move sufficiently hid him from notice.

President Buchanan and Gen. Wingfield Scott had adopted the belief that there was danger of a public outbreak at the inauguration of Lincoln, under the lead of Southerners, for the purpose of overthrowing the Federal Government. They therefore assembled a large military force at Washington, and for the first time in the history of the Republic it was deemed necessary to uphold an incoming administration with bayonets and cannon. No

a Whig, February 18th, 1861.

b Telegraph from Buffalo, February 16th.

c Dispatch, February 22d.

d Ibid, February 23d.

e Baltimore American, in Dispatch February 26th.

f Richmond Examiner, March 1st.

stronger proof could have been given that the love of the people did not sustain it. On the 4th of March 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated, and took the solemn oath, administered by the Chief Justice, that he would observe and support the Constitution. How he has broken it, and trampled upon its most sacred requirements, will soon appear.

His inaugural address gave rise to doubts and discussion in the excited minds of public men, and to undefined apprehensions of coming violence. He declared that the Union was unbroken, and that to the best of his ability he would take care, as the Constitution enjoined upon him, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. He said, "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties on imports." This language was plain. It could mean nothing but force and bloodshed in its application to the seceded States, unless it was expected that they would quietly yield. But in the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln was William H. Seward, a man capable of intrigue and deception adequate to lull suspicion asleep, and to keep the Southern States hopeful of peace until the very moment the war-storm burst upon them.

The seceded States had promptly taken control of their own soil. On the 16th of February a body of Texan Rangers and "Knights of the Golden Circle," from San Antonio and the Salado, in

Texas, under General Ben McCulloch, surrounded the Alamo Arsenal, in San Antonio, and demanded its surrender. Its garrison was one hundred and twenty men. General Twiggs was commander of the Military Department of Texas. At first the demand was that the arsenal should be evacuated and the soldiers should leave their arms, but to this Gen. Twiggs replied that every man would be shot down before submitting to such disgrace.^a A conference was held, and finding that resistance would result only in useless bloodshed, Gen. Twiggs surrendered the post, and issued general orders directing that, to avoid bloody collision, the same course should be taken as to the other forts and strongholds in Texas. The places were given up, but the officers and men, with their arms, light batteries, clothing, camp and garrison equipage, quartermaster's stores, subsistence, medical stores, and means of transportation, were permitted to march to the coast, whence they were afterwards carried to the United States, the only terms of release asked from them being their parole of honor that they would not serve against the South until relieved according to military usage.^b For his conduct in thus avoiding civil war, Gen. Twiggs was branded as a traitor in Washington, and his name was stricken from the rolls of the army; but he was received with enthusiasm in New Orleans, and the highest honors were accorded him for his fidelity to his native South.^c

^a Letters in Dispatch, March 2d.

^b General Orders No. 5.

^c Examiner, March 12th.

SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART.

RICHMOND, JULY & AUGUST, 1862.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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The Convention of Virginia met in Richmond on the 13th of February, and commenced a session memorable in the history of the Southern revolution. Before it assembled, its character was well known. The people, feeling the weight of the crisis, laid aside, to a great extent, all previous political views, and chose men whom they regarded as the most skilful in conciliation, moderate and cautious, within their reach. The consequence was, that a large majority of the Convention were at first decidedly opposed to Secession, and anxious, by every means in their power, to restore the Union. Much of their time was spent in elaborately considering and passing upon certain resolutions on the relations of the States to the Federal Government. But as the session continued, it became evident that the secession feeling in the counties of the State, was rapidly increasing. The hope of compromise was passing away under the obstinate front presented by the anti-slavery party in Congress. Petersburg, Culpeper, Cum-

berland, Prince Edward, Botetourt, Wythe, and many other towns and counties held meetings and urged prompt secession. ^a Other causes daily increased the number of men in the Convention, who saw no safety for the South, except in separation from the Federal Union. On the 19th of February, John S. Preston, a commissioner from South Carolina appeared before the Convention, and delivered a speech of great power and brilliancy, vindicating the position of the Confederate States. Ominous movements on the part of the federal authorities began to appear: a garrison was thrown into Fort Washington, on the Potomac: at the powerful fortress, at Old Point, great activity prevailed, and patriotic Virginians in the neighbourhood, soon discovered that guns were being mounted on the parapet, and turned inland upon the very bosom of Virginia, but when the warning cry was given, a traitor in the Convention—one Joseph Segar—sought to drown it. ^b Already evidences of the foulest hypocrisy and falsehood in the

^a Examiner, Feb'y 21st. Dispatch 12th, 16th, 22d, 23d.

^b Letters of Col. John B. Cary, George W. Hope, Ro. A. Armistead, G. W. Semple, J. H. Joynes, Sam'l J. White, Joseph Phillips, Wm. Hain, John Gammel, Rich'd Hope, W. R. Vaughan, and R. H. Vaughan, and of Joseph Segar, in Whig Feb'y 8th, 16th, 18th.

federal authorities were beginning to appear. On the 26th of March, several heavy cannon, cast at the foundry at Bellona Arsenal, for the United States, were brought to Richmond on their way to Fortress Monroe; their movement caused uneasiness and suspicion; the Legislature took up the subject, and on Saturday night, the 30th, a heated debate occurred on propositions to stop the guns and call out the militia. The House of Delegates sat all night; telegrams passed between Richmond and Washington. Simon Cameron, Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of War, declared that *no order had been given* for the removal of the guns from Bellona to Fort Monroe; *a* the transfer was stopped in Richmond and the storm blew over. But the truth soon appeared. On the 22nd of March, a positive written order had been forwarded from the ordnance office, in Washington, to Junius L. Archer, superintendent of the foundry at Bellona, to send these guns to Old Point! *b* If Cameron knew of this order, his falsehood was distinct; if he did not, his ignorance was wilful and inexcusable.

Notwithstanding these omens, so great was the love of the Virginia Convention for the Union, that on the 5th of April, upon the proposition of Mr. Harvie, of Amelia, that the Committee on Federal Relations should be instructed to report an ordinance of secession; the vote stood *eyes ninety; nays forty-five!* This result was hailed with delight by the Northern people; Virginia was regarded as irrevocably committed to the Union cause. The N. Y. Tribune gloried in the fact, and declared that there was an end of rebellion in the border States from hence forward and forever on the negro question, and that the President would use all the majesty and power of the Government to crush the rebels! *c* Lovers of Southern

rights, in Virginia, hung their heads in sorrow, and many of her citizens were preparing to leave her and seek more congenial homes in the Confederate States. *d* It required the almighty hand of Divine Providence to strike the scales from Virginia's eyes, and enable her to see her duty and her honor; the blow came, and her movement was quick as the lightning's flash.

On the 9th of March, the War Department, in Washington, received an official letter from Major Anderson, stating that he had not more than fifteen days' subsistence and fuel in Fort Sumter. A council of military men was held, and General Scott advised that the fort should be evacuated as "a military necessity," it being, in his opinion, impossible to reinforce and provision it without great expenditure of blood and treasure. *e* Whether President Lincoln and his advisers ever really intended to withdraw the garrison, may now be considered doubtful; the fact that they *declared* such intention cannot be held as proof, because of the fraudulent course they pursued. But it is certain they permitted it to be published through the whole country that Sumter was to be abandoned, and in a semi-official manner announced it to the representatives of the Confederate States. Soon after the inauguration of the new authorities, the Commissioners of the Southern Government, Messrs. John Forsyth, Martin J. Crawford and A. B. Roman, presented themselves to Mr. Seward, the Federal Secretary of State, and sought recognition, informing him that they had authority to treat for a fair settlement of all questions between the two governments. Mr. Seward did not recognize them officially, but encouraged them to hope that peace might be preserved; an intermediate party of dignity and weight seemed desirable to both sides, and John

a Tel. to J. M. McCue. Dispatch, April 1st.

b Letter of H. K. Craig, Col. of Ordnance. Dispatch, April 3d.

c In Examiner, April 8th.

d Dispatch, March 28th.

e Dispatch, March 12th, 14th.

A. Campbell, of Alabama, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, was thus recognized. Mr. Justice Nelson of the same high tribunal, informed Judge Campbell, that Mr. Seward was greatly troubled and depressed by his position to the Southern Commissioners, and wished to avoid an immediate reply to their first letter, and suggested that the Judge might serve both parties. Accordingly he visited Mr. Seward and held with him a conversation in the presence of Judge Nelson, and received from him assurances which he communicated to Judge Crawford, one of the Southern Commissioners, on the 15th of March, in the following written declarations;

"I feel entire confidence that Fort Sumter will be evacuated in the next five days. And this measure is felt as imposing great responsibility on the administration."

"I feel entire confidence that no measure changing the existing *status* prejudicially to the Southern Confederate States, is at present, contemplated."

"I feel an entire confidence that an immediate demand for an answer to the communication of the commissioners, will be productive of evil and not of good. I do not believe that it ought at this time to be pressed."

The substance of these statements, Judge Campbell communicated to Mr. Seward the same evening, by letter, and received from him no intimation whatever that they were unauthorized. In fact Seward's statement had been even stronger: he stated that before a letter from Judge Campbell could reach President Davis, Sumter would be evacuated. *a* Five days passed, and instead of evacuating, Major Anderson was busy in strengthening Sumter! A telegram from Gen. Beauregard informed the Southern commissioners of this. Again Judge Campbell saw Mr. Seward, and again, in the presence of Judge Nelson, received from him assurances, that the fort was to be evacuated, and was authorized by him to state

to the Southern commissioners, that "the Government will not undertake to supply Fort Sumter, without giving notice to Governor Pickens." This was on the 1st of April. On the 7th, Judge Campbell again addressed Mr. Seward a letter alluding to the anxiety and alarm excited by the great naval and military preparations of the Government, and asking whether the peaceful assurances he had given were well or ill founded. Seward's reply was laconic; "Faith as to Sumter fully kept: *wait and see.*" At this very time a powerful fleet, with a large land force on board, had sailed from New York for the purpose of entering Charleston harbor! Thus, by a system of hypocrisy and falsehood which sought to make a man of truth and honor its tool, Seward and his collaborators had endeavored to lull to sleep the guardians of the South by promises of peace, while all the time they were preparing for war and bloodshed!

Their fraud had yet a farther development. One Capt. Fox was sent to Charleston, about the last of March, by the government, and stated that his object was entirely pacific. Governor Pickens admitted him to Fort Sumter, but by his request, Capt. Hartstein, a gallant South Carolina naval officer accompanied him. It was afterwards discovered by the Southerners, and made a matter of boasting by Northern men, that Fox, in his visit, was seeking to mature a plan for reinforcing, and provisioning the fort, for which enterprize his nautical knowledge was regarded as peculiarly fitting him, and that this was the purpose for which he was selected by the government. He returned to Washington and communicated his plan, of which Major Anderson was duly informed. With all his devotion to the Union, Anderson could not relish such perfidy, and wrote to Colonel Thomas, Adjutant General of the United States Army, that he was very greatly surprised at the proposal, "as a movement made now, when the South had, been errone-

a President Davis' Message to Confederate Congress, May 8th, 1861, with accompanying Documents. Examiner, May 16th.

ously informed that none such would be attempted, would produce most disastrous results throughout our country." He distinctly condemned Fox's plan, and said, "We shall strive to do our duty, though I frankly say that my heart is not in this war, which I see is to be thus commenced."^a Every communication made by the Federal authorities to the South, was intended to keep alive the impression that the fort was to be abandoned. A Col. Lamon from Illinois, said to be a relative of President Lincoln, was sent to Charleston, where he registered himself as *from Virginia*.^b He entered into illusive negotiations as to Sumter, proposing that a federal ship of war should enter the harbor and remove most of the garrison, leaving, however, a guard behind who should not be molested. Such an offer was of course rejected.

Abraham Lincoln, at one time, *seemed* to have determined, though with the most bitter reluctance, to order Sumter to be evacuated. He had *signed the order for the purpose*, and is said to have shed tears on the occasion. A leading article for a New York paper had been prepared, the proof-sheet of which was submitted to Mr. Lincoln and approved. In this, the ground was taken that the evacuation was an *absolute military necessity* brought about by *treason on the part of Mr. Buchanan* who, it was insisted, might have reinforced and supplied the garrison, but not only failed to do so, but *purposely* left it in such condition as to force his successor in office to encounter the ignominy of yielding it up to the Southerners. This same article lauded Mr. Lincoln's *pacifist policy*, saying "Had war—not peace—been his object,—*had he desired to raise throughout the mighty North a feeling of indignation which in ninety*

days would have emancipated every slave on the continent and driven their masters into the sea—if need be, he had only to have said—"Let the garrison of Fort Sumter do their duty and *perish beneath its walls*: and on the heads of the traitors and rebels and slavery propagandists be the consequences."

Yet after signing the order, *within one night*, Lincoln and his cabinet changed their declared purpose. They resolved not to give up Sumter. They deliberately adopted the horrible alternative presented in this article. A grave suspicion if not a demonstrated guilt, will forever rest upon them, that they resolved that the garrison of Sumter should "*perish beneath its walls*," in order to rouse the North to a war of extermination against slavery and slave owners! ^c The annals of the world in its blackest and bloodiest periods, do not furnish an instance of more inhuman and fiend like policy.

Happily for the South, watchful eyes were on her enemies. Notwithstanding the fraudulent efforts to deceive her, it was soon known that the Lincoln government was secretly preparing a formidable armament of naval and land forces in New York and Boston; the work-shops there were busy day and night, and even the Sabbath brought no intermission. A corps of sappers and miners and several companies of light artillery were sent from Washington to New York; in a short time three thousand men were ready to embark; the Minnesota, a steam frigate of 3200 tons; the Powhatan, a first class steam sloop of 2400 tons; the sailing frigate Cumberland; the sloop Pocahontas; the brig Perry and a number of merchantmen converted into transports, were nearly ready for sea. The

^a The Record of Fort Sumter, compiled by W. A. Harris, No. 28, page 37. For this pamphlet, as well as for many useful suggestions as to the controversy between the North and South, I am indebted to Lewis Cruger, Esq., Comptroller Confederate States. Washington Correspondent of N. Y. Tribune. Dispatch, March 29th.

^b Letter in Dispatch, March 30th.

^c The proof-sheet, with a communication from Gov. Pickens, will be found in full in the Columbia Guardian. Examiner, Aug, 8th, 1861. Record of Sumter, 38-44.

Navy Department was incessantly at work, and it was soon ascertained that orders had gone forth calling home all the squadrons in distant seas; nine governors from Northern and North-Western States, were in Washington, closeted with Mr. Lincoln and his Secretary of War, and, although efforts were made to keep their counsels secret, it became known that they were hatching a plot of war and subjugation against the South, and that these governors had been convened to ascertain how many troops their States would furnish. ^a The preparations in New York harbor pointed to work for reinforcing Sumter, with a plainness not to be mistaken. Swift rowing boats of light draft, sand-bags, Dahlgreen boat howitzers and life-boats were provided, besides powder, shot and shell in great quantities. The intent to attack the South was manifest. Major Holmes of North Carolina, and Major Johnson of Kentucky, two gallant and efficient officers, who had been employed on Governor's Island, near New York City, instantly resigned their commissions, rather than draw their swords against their friends. ^b On Sunday, April 7th, the van of the fleet, with a heavy force of soldiers, sailed for the Southern coast.

Virginia awoke as from a dream! She had slept a troubled sleep too long, but now she arose and confronted the disturbers of her peace. On the 6th of April, William Ballard Preston, of Montgomery, offered in the Convention, three resolutions: the *first* declared that the Federal Government was one of limited and expressly granted powers and had no right under the Constitution to subjugate a State or execute the laws within the limits of a State which had withdrawn from the Government, expelled the civil authorities of the same and was in the exercise of its independent sovereignty: the *second* that as a party to the compact, Virginia had the right to protest against

any such exercise of coercive policy on the part of the Federal authorities, and would never consent that the Federal power which was in part her power should be exercised for the purpose of subjugating the people of such seceded States: the *third*, that a committee of three delegates be appointed by the Convention to wait upon the President of the United States, present to him these resolutions and respectfully ask him to communicate to the Convention the policy which the Federal authorities intended to pursue in regard to the Confederate States. Mr. Baldwin, of Augusta, proposed to substitute in the place of the first and second resolutions a simple preamble to the effect that in the opinion of the Convention the uncertainty prevailing in the public mind as to the policy which the General Government intended to pursue towards the seceded States was extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country, tended to keep up an excitement which was unfavorable to the adjustment of pending difficulties and threatened a disturbance of the public peace. Mr. Preston accepted the proposed substitute and the resolution was adopted. On Monday the 8th of April the Convention appointed as its delegates Wm. Ballard Preston, George W. Randolph and Alexander H. Stuart. ^c

They left Richmond the next day for Washington, but heavy rains had so swollen the Potomac and washed away bridges on the Fredericksburg Railroad that they were compelled to return and go by Norfolk and Baltimore. Against all obstacles they made their way, but before they reached the presence of Abraham Lincoln, the storm burst and the thunder of battle sounded through the land.

To preserve the semblance of fairness, Mr. Lincoln sent to Charleston a special messenger with Capt. Talbot of the Federal army, to inform Gov. Pickens that

^a Telegram to New York Herald. Dispatch, April 6th. Examiner, April 8th.

^b New York Herald. Dispatch, April 8th.

^c Examiner, April 8th and 9th.

he intended to supply Fort Sumter with provisions, "peaceably if he could, forcibly if he must." The communication was as follows: "I am directed by the President of the United States, to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only, and that if such attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms or ammunition will be made, without farther notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort." ^a

On the 8th of April, the message was delivered. The long suspense was over; the fleet was approaching the coast. General Beauregard telegraphed to Hon. Leroy P. Walker, the Confederate Secretary of War, at Montgomery, the message received. He replied, that if there was no doubt as to the authorized character of the messenger, Beauregard should at once demand the evacuation of Sumter, and if refused, should proceed to reduce it. The demand was made at 2 o'clock of the 11th. Major Anderson replied, "I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication demanding the evacuation of this Fort, and to say in reply thereto, that it is a demand with which I regret that my sense of honor and of my obligation to my government prevent my compliance." Such was his written answer: he added a verbal message to Beauregard, "I will await the first shot, and if you do not batter us to pieces, we will be starved out in a few days." The generous and high souled officers of the South, keenly felt the pain of being compelled, by the brutal policy of Lincoln, to attack the small band of brave men who held the Fort. Under instructions from Secretary Walker, General Beauregard made a final offer to Major Anderson to abstain from attack, if he would agree to evacuate the fort within a definite time, and meanwhile would not open his fire upon the Confederate forces. To this

Major Anderson replied, that he would evacuate Fort Sumter by noon of the 15th, *if before that time he did not receive from his government controlling instructions or additional supplies.* ^b

No alternative remained; the hostile fleet was off the harbor; their plans were all matured, and they thought their success certain; a number of schooners and other light vessels had been chartered, which were filled and covered over with bags of sand; these were to sail boldly in carrying along side a large number of boats, loaded with men and provisions, and sheltered from the fire of the Confederate batteries by the sand bags; armed ships were to steam in after them, and by an incessant fire of shot and shells, to cover the approach of the schooners and boats, and drive back or destroy any steamers or vessels that might oppose them, as well as repel all assaults upon Sumter. ^c Such was their plan. It was rendered utterly abortive by the engineering skill and military foresight of Beauregard.

On three sides, formidable batteries of cannon and mortars bore upon the Fort. On the South, at a distance of about twelve hundred yards was Cumming's Point on Morris' Island, where three batteries had been completed, mounting six guns and six mortars. Farthest off of these, was the Trapier battery, built very strongly with heavy beams and sand bags, and containing three eight inch mortars; next was the "iron battery," invented by C. H. Stevens, covered over with rail-road bars and having thick iron plates to close the embrasures after the guns were fired, and flanking slopes of sand bags forming chambers of safety for the artilleryists. Nearest to Sumter, was the "Point battery," a very large and strong work, containing three 10 inch mortars, two 42 pounders, and a splendid rifled cannon, presented to South Carolina, by Charles K. Prioleau, and which had just arrived

^a Record of Fort Sumter, No. 26. 36.

^b Telegraphic correspondence, Examiner, April 13th. Official correspondence in Charleston Pamphlet, printed by Evans & Cogswell, 34.

^c New York Post, in Examiner, April 13th.

from England. From these works, a long line of batteries stretched down the sea side of Morris' Island, commanding the ship channel, and promising a terrible ordeal to the federal vessels, should they attempt to enter. The Trapier was manned by the Marion artillery, Capt. King, afterwards aided by the Sumter Guards, Capt. Russell; the Stevens and Point batteries were commanded by Major Stevens, under whom were the Palmetto Guards, Captain Cuthbert.

Nearly West of Sumter, on James' Island, was Fort Johnson, where a strong battery of mortars and cannon was erected within the old work. On the North-East was Fort Moultrie, commanded by Col. Ripley and ready with Columbiads, Dahlgreen guns, mortars and furnaces for red hot shot. In the cove near the Western end of Sullivan's Island, was anchored a floating battery, invented by Lieut. Hamilton, concerning which dismal apprehensions had been expressed. It had been called "a slaughter pen" by many who saw it and knew the purpose for which it was designed. ^a It was built of the palmetto wood, and the sides to be exposed to fire, were faced with thick iron plates. In the conflict at hand it proved a signal success.

At twenty-five minutes past 4 o'clock, on the morning of Friday, the 12th of April, the mortars of Fort Johnson opened upon Sumter. The heavy reports were heard in Charleston, and roused her people from the restless sleep into which they had fallen, after waiting the night before until 12 o'clock the opening of the fire. Immediately, crowds were pressing down the streets, and the light of dawn found thousands of men and women on the wharves and promenade, gazing with anxious hearts upon the scenes of the bombardment and defence. More than a mere spectacle enlisted their feelings, for fathers, husbands and brothers were at the guns, and the struggle now commenced was the opening contest for independence.

The fire from Fort Johnson was quickly followed by that of Moultrie, Cumming's Point, and the floating battery. The incessant flash of the ordnance made a circle of flame, and the bursting of bombs over and in Fort Sumter became more and more constant as the proper range was obtained by the artillerists.

As the light increased, the Federal flag was seen flying from a tall staff in the Fort. Yet Major Anderson did not open his fire. He reserved it so long that some were indulging in hopes that he would yield. Of this he had no intention. His delay was probably with the wish to husband the strength of his feeble garrison, to mark the comparative force of the adverse batteries, and to direct his guns against the most dangerous. At about half-past five he opened with two of his casemate guns upon Fort Moultrie. The balls glanced from the stuccoed brick, doing little injury. Again he was silent for nearly an hour, and then he opened again from both parapet and casemates, pouring a well directed stream of balls and shell against Moultrie, the floating battery, and the works on Cumming's Point. The bombardment now became more earnest and the fire waxed hotter and hotter. As long as he could, Major Anderson kept his parapet guns at work, but as the gunners of Moultrie and the Iron battery got the proper elevation and distance, they sent their shells with such accuracy that hundreds of them burst immediately over the ramparts, driving the men down to the shelter of the casemates below.

The Floating battery, concerning which so many fears had been felt, was moored within about one thousand yards of Sumter, and with 42 pounders poured a tremendous fire into the weakest part of the work. Nearly every ball took effect, battering down the Northern parapet, dismounting the *barbette* guns and forcing the men to abandon them. Finding this fire very severe, Anderson returned it

^a Charleston Letters in Dispatch, March 4th.

with vigor, sending one hundred and sixty-three shot and shells at the battery, of which only twenty-five penetrated to a depth beyond a few inches; the elastic and repulsive powers of the palmetto aided by a coat of iron, were fully tested and proved adequate to the shelter of the brave men who worked the guns of this novel armament.

The fire of Fort Moultrie was very effective. Lieut. Alfred Rhett, with a company of seventy men, commanded a battery of nine guns, and fired nearly gun for gun with Sumter; not a piece was dismantled in Moultrie, yet the shot from her, battered the walls of her adversary, struck down several of the parapet guns and destroyed the roofing of the quarters on the opposite side of the fortress. At one time the whole fire of Anderson was concentrated on Moultrie, and the conflict gathered all the interest of a fierce engagement between two powerful foes. In the evening of the 12th, the furnaces of Moultrie were at work, and several rounds of red hot shot were thrown into the barracks of Sumter, but by great exertions, the fire then kindled was immediately extinguished. ^a

The mortars and heavy cannon of Morris' Island, were very destructive to the adverse fort. The rifled gun especially did fearful work; it had patent side sights attached, by which perfect accuracy of aim and range were attained; it fired conical balls, and at every shot, masses of brick and dust were seen flying from the walls of Sumter. The first gun from the iron battery had been fired by the old patriot, Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, who was elected a member of the Palmetto Guard, and to whom the honor was specially awarded. Major Anderson made great efforts to disable this battery, pouring upon it a storm of solid shot, which hailed on the iron roof and glanced off harmless to the rear. At half past 10 o'clock, a heavy shot struck the middle post, crushing in the iron plating and making an indentation of several inches; this so deranged the lever by which the

door was worked, that it could not afterwards be used, but the fire was continued from the two remaining guns.

The day had been gloomy and lowering; occasional showers fell, but abated not at all the incessant cannonade; at half past seven in the evening rain fell in torrents; the wind howled over the sand hills of Morris' Island, and for a time the men were called from the guns to seek shelter in their tents and sheds. During the night, they were actively employed in strengthening the works, replacing the sand bags that had been struck down by the shot, and applying others at weak points, so that when the day broke, they were stronger than before.

Saturday, the 13th of April, dawned with a clear sky and cool, invigorating air. At daybreak the fire from all the batteries was re-opened on the fort, the damage to which was now very plainly seen; the barbette guns were nearly all dismantled; the parapet walls had crumbled away; deep chasms had opened below; the embrasures of the casemates had been so shattered as no longer to present a regular outline; the chimneys and roofs of the houses were in ruins. Still the brave garrison held out. Sumter re-opened her fire at seven o'clock, pouring shots in quick succession upon Moultrie, the guns from which returned shot for shot. After a volley of red hot balls from Moultrie, at ten minutes past 8, a thick black smoke rose from the Southern enclosure of Sumter, and immediately afterwards red flames were seen piercing the tops of the barracks: notwithstanding the efforts of the wearied garrison to subdue them, the flames spread fiercely until the whole Southern line of barracks were destroyed; the smoke was so suffocating that the men in the casemates were often compelled to lie on the floors in order to breathe. In the midst of the conflagration, some powder and loaded shells were reached by the flames and exploded, scattering ruin around them, but, happily, destroyed no lives.

^a Evans & Cogswell, 7. 8.

The Confederate guns were worked with redoubled energy, with the hope that the victory would soon be won. ^a

Yet, in the midst of these trying scenes, Major Anderson and his men preserved their courage. While the flames were raging, they kept up an incessant fire upon Fort Moultrie; their gallantry drew forth spontaneous plaudits from their adversaries, who knew how to admire true heroism; the men in the floating battery were nearest to Sumter, and could see the movements of her garrison, and at every answering shot fired at Moultrie, they burst out in cheers for Major Anderson.

While this brave officer was thus withstanding the terrible attack, a squadron of federal ships of war were off the harbor, within sight and hearing of the bombardment; they were seen from the look-outs on Morris' Island, and from the Clinch and Seabrook, two armed Carolinn steamers, under Lieutenants Pelot and Porcher, who had gone towards the mouth of the harbor to watch their movements. Their approach was fully expected by the Confederates, and during the night a band of brave men, under Col. Yates and Lieut. Dozier, aided by Engineer Geddis, Mr. McCormick and Mr. Lacoste, stationed themselves, with several small vessels, near Sumter, and with heaps of pine wood full of turpentine, kept up brilliant fires in order to reveal the swift rowing launches, expected with men and provisions for Sumter, and to enable the batteries to play upon them. ^b Yet no attempt to succor Anderson was made; the men of war remained prudently at a distance; it is not to be denied that the approach would have been frightfully perilous and would have cost many lives. Still, the inaction of these armaments has been thought not sufficiently accounted for upon the mere plea of cowardice. Grave suspicions are justified, that Anderson was *intentionally* left to his fate, and that Abraham Lincoln and his cabi-

net deliberately devoted this gallant soldier and his men to destruction, in order to rouse the North to a united and furious war of subjugation against the Confederate States! By the Providence of God, *a part* at least of this infernal scheme was defeated.

At 12 o'clock, the condition of Sumter and its garrison, had become desperate; the interior was a heap of ruins; the parapet had been so shattered that few of its guns remained mounted; the smoke was packed in the casemates so as to render it impossible for the men to work the guns; the number of the garrison was too small to relieve each other; incessant watching and labor had exhausted their strength; officers and men were alike worn, haggard and ready to drop down from want of sleep and reaction after terrible excitement. At a quarter before one, a shot from Moultrie directed by Lieut. Preston, struck the flag staff of Sumter and brought down the ensign. For nearly twenty minutes, it was not hoisted again. In this interval, a boat pulled out from Cumming's Point, bearing Col. Wigfall, of Texas, one of Gen. Beauregard's aids. He raised his sword with a white flag flying from its point. Before he reached Sumter, the federal flag was again raised over the eastern rampart, but as the boat drew near, a white flag was also seen in the beleaguered fortress. Col. Wigfall passed in through a port hole. Major Anderson met him, and a brief colloquy ensued. Wigfall told him he had done all that a brave man could do, and urged him to surrender. Anderson replied "they are still firing on me." "Then take down your flag," said Col. Wigfall, they will continue to fire while it flies." The flag was lowered and the firing ceased. ^b Meanwhile a boat from Charleston, with Cols. Lee, Pryor and Miles, aids to Gen. Beauregard, came to Sumter with offers of assistance, in case it was needed, to enable the garrison to escape the fire.

^a Evans & Cogswell, 18. Accounts in Examiner, April 17th. Dispatch, April 18th, 17th, 19th.

^b Charleston Courier, in Dispatch, April 19th.

^c Evans & Cogswell, 10. Northern statement in Dispatch, April 20th.

This was soon followed by another boat, with Cols. Chestnut and Manning and Major Jones, with the chief of the fire department, and the Palmetto Fire Company, to aid in subduing the flames. In the presence of these officers, Major Anderson agreed to surrender the fort on such terms as Gen. Beauregard should consider honorable and proper. The capitulation was soon arranged. All needed facilities were afforded for removing the garrison, with company arms and private property; Anderson was allowed to fire a salute to the flag he had so bravely upheld, and the fort was to be formally delivered to the Confederate authorities, on Sunday, the 14th of April.

Thus ended this memorable bombardment and defence, which were in nothing more remarkable than in the fact that not one man was killed, or seriously wounded, on either side. The great strength and skilful engineering of the Confederate works, sheltered their artillerists, while the small number of Sumter's garrison, enabled them to avoid the destruction surrounding them. These are *second causes* to which we may properly allude. But when the duration and violence of the fire and the large number of troops on the islands are considered, it seems impossible to doubt that a Divine control made this contest bloodless. So wonderful an exemption, might well have invited both sections of America to thoughts of gratitude and peace.

The drama was not, however, to close without a sorrowful tragedy. On the 14th, the federal flag was saluted by a fire of fifty guns. At the seventeenth discharge a caisson exploded, by which one soldier was instantly killed, one mortally and four severely wounded. This event deepened the gloom already saddening the depressed and exhausted garrison. Every attention and mark of kindness were shown to them by Col. Ripley, who assumed command of the fort. The steamer, Isabel, conveyed them down the harbor, where they were received on board the federal fleet. It is said that when

Capt. Gillis, the naval commander, met Major Anderson at the gangway of the Isabel and offered his hand, the gallant soldier barely touched it, and immediately afterwards turned his back upon him!^a He could not hide his contempt for men who had left him to fight alone the battle provoked by their pretended succor.

The fall of Sumter was the opening scene in the war for Southern independence. It was instantly followed by an outburst of feeling which on the one side developed Revolution in the South, and on the other, drove the North on with frantic rage to a war intended to be one of complete subjugation against the seceding States.

CHAPTER III.

Fury of the North upon the fall of Sumter—Anderson branded as a traitor—Mob spirit—Reign of Terror—Preparations to Subjugate the South—Northern Governors—Lincoln's Proclamation—He calls out seventy-five thousand men—Quotas of Troops demanded from slave States—Their answers—Interview of Virginia Commissioners with Lincoln—Secession of Virginia—Gosport Navy Yard—Capture of Harpers' Ferry—Channel to Hampton Roads obstructed—Governor Letcher's Proclamation—Volunteers—Enthusiasm in Richmond—Illumination—Seizure of Steamers Yorktown and Jamestown—Excitement in Maryland—Attack on Massachusetts Troops in Baltimore—Bloody street fight—Governor Hicks—Doct. Fuller and Lincoln—Northern troops at Annapolis—March to Washington—Border slave States—North Carolina—Seizure of Forts Macon and Caswell—Fayetteville Arsenal—Governor Ellis' Proclamation—Resignation of Southern Army and Naval Officers—General Scott—Unfaithful to his mother—Destruction of Ships and other property by the Federals at Gosport Navy Yard—Panic—Flight—Virginia alone—General Lee—Arms—Virginia unites with Southern Confederacy—War—Inhuman spirit of the North—Lincoln proclaims a blockade of Southern ports—President Davis's Message—Privateering authorized by Southern Congress—Rage of the North—Southern Commissioners in Europe—England and France

^a Wilmington (N. C.) Herald, in Dispatch, April 19th.

—Charles James Faulkner and M. Thouvenel—Seward and Dayton—European sentiments—English Ministry recognizes Confederate States as a Belligerent Power—Perplexity of the North—Position of the United States as to Privateering—Mr. Marcy's Letter in answer to Protocol of European Powers—American ground—Seward abandons it—His object—Baffled—Opening of the War.

When the news of the surrender of Fort Sumter reached the Northern Cities, a furious excitement was kindled. With brutal injustice, it was declared that the brave Anderson was a traitor. The New York Courier and Enquirer said: "Sumter has fallen—surrendered we fear by a traitor; and that traitor Major Robert Anderson. This is harsh language, but it is the language of truth, demanded by what appears to be the grossest act of treason ever perpetrated in this or any other country. The treason of Twiggs is admitted by all to have exceeded that of Benedict Arnold, but the names of both Arnold and Twiggs will sink into insignificance—indeed are almost rendered respectable—when compared with the more damning infamy which from present appearances must forever attach to that of Robert Anderson." ^a Others did not share in these suspicions, and received Anderson as a hero, but the excitement and rage caused by his overthrow, pervaded all classes.

An intolerant mob spirit promptly shewed itself. In Philadelphia, the office of "The Palmetto Flag," a newspaper advocating Southern rights was assaulted, its presses were broken and much of its property was destroyed. The mob then proceeded to the Argus office and demanded that the stars and stripes should be raised over it. Owners of stores, whose business was chiefly with the South, were compelled to close them. Prominent Democrats and others, believed to sympathize with the South, were visited and required to raise the United States flag over their houses, on pain of having them

torn down. ^b A reign of terror was established, and under its influence, truth and reason were hushed; the timid were overawed; the wavering were forced to decide; the time-serving and dishonest, were promptly brought to side with the majority, and soon the turbid current of popular feeling carried away all opposition and drew within its sweep every barrier that had opposed it.

A great war spirit was aroused and began to pervade not only the holiday volunteer soldiers of the cities, but the country people, the shoe-makers and cobblers of New England, and the coal heavers of Pennsylvania. Under the pretence of "sustaining the government," the North determined to wage war on the South. By their own fanaticism and injustice, they had caused the South to abhor the Union, yet they resolved to maintain the Union by force! to use gunpowder, cannon balls, bullets and bayonets in murdering the men, with whom they professed to desire to be united in bonds of brotherhood. Blinded by their own rage and selfishness, they could not see the yawning gulf of woe into which they were about to plunge their unhappy country. On all sides the cry for blood resounded.

In Philadelphia, a mob surrounded the house of Gen. Patterson, who was supposed to be friendly to Southern rights. Shouts and groans were uttered in turn, followed by a volley of stones, which broke the windows of his dwelling and green-house. He appeared at a window and made a short speech, saying "You have come here to fight, it appears! Now if you will enlist, I will lead you wherever you will go." ^c This proposal cooled their ardor and the arrival of the police scattered them. They did not abandon their purpose however, but surrounded every printing office suspected of Southern proclivities, and compelled them to raise the United States flag. Terrorism was every where; the ringleaders were furnished with ropes, with which they

^a N. Y. Courier and Enquirer, in Examiner, April 17th.

^b Examiner, April 17th.

^c Dispatch, April 18th.

openly threatened to hang all who opposed their proceedings; timid men were seen hastening to provide "something red, white and blue," to display over their property. In Easton, Pennsylvania, resolutions were passed to raise volunteer companies, and \$3000 were subscribed to equip them. The North was full of martial rage. Governor Dennison of Ohio, telegraphed to Lincoln, offering thirty thousand troops. Governor Weston of Indiana, received offers showing that the same number were ready to come forward in his State. Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, was constantly with Cameron, the Federal Secretary of War, arranging for the immediate transfer of a large body of troops from his State to Washington. *a* Massachusetts and New York were equally pressing with offers of men and money.

Had Abraham Lincoln and his cabinet desired to kindle the flames of civil war in the country, they could not have used means more perfectly suited to their ends, than their policy in regard to Fort Sumter. They hastened to seize the reins of the headlong passions of the North, and to turn them into the war paths. On the 15th of April, Lincoln issued a proclamation, declaring that combinations of men to obstruct the laws, existed in the States of South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or the powers of the marshals, and therefore he called out a force of *seventy-five thousand men* to suppress these combinations; that the first service assigned to this force, would be to re-possess the forts, places and property which had been seized from the Union, and he commanded the persons forming these combinations, *to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, within twenty days from that date.* *b*

The pretence that the solemn action of

seven sovereign States were "combinations to obstruct the laws," and the form of commanding them to disperse like a mob and return to their homes, would have approached the ludicrous, had they not been accompanied by immediate preparations for war and bloodshed. Let it be remembered, that the Congress in session when Lincoln arrived in Washington, had before it a "force bill," the object of which was to give to the President the power to call out and employ a military force to suppress the rising revolution, but this bill *never passed.* *c* Nevertheless, Edward Bates, of Missouri, the obsequious Attorney General of Mr. Lincoln, after some throes of conscience, gave his opinion that the President had the power claimed in this proclamation. The call for seventy-five thousand men, meant *war*, and war upon States! Yet this enormous usurpation of power by Lincoln, was hailed with delight by the Northern people!! In their rage against the South, they were eager to bow down their necks to a vulgar tyrant, and to yield up one after another, the most sacred rights of personal liberty bequeathed to them by a nobler generation.

Well knowing that the withdrawal of the Southern element, would leave him a Congress subservient to the debauched will of the North, Lincoln, in the same proclamation, called a special meeting of that body, in Washington, on the 4th of July, 1861.

In hot haste to urge on the war, Cameron could not wait the regular mails, but telegraphed to the Governor of each State still in the Union, asking for a call of troops. By the mails, he sent a schedule showing the number asked from each State, and the places of rendezvous. Delaware was to furnish 780, Maryland 3,123, Virginia 2,340, North Carolina 1,560, Tennessee 1,550, Arkansas 780, Kentucky 3,123 and Missouri 3,123. *d* And now came the sounds of indignation

a Examiner, April 17th.

b Proclamation in Examiner, April 15th.

c Congressional Report. Dispatch, Feb'y 23d. Examiner, March 1st.

d Call in dispatch, April 17th.

and resistance from the border slave States, which were immediately followed by acts stronger than words. Governor Letcher, of Virginia, replied to Cameron, that he had *doubted the genuineness* of his telegram, but having since received his communication by mail, he informed him that the militia of Virginia would not be furnished to the powers in Washington for the use and purpose they had in view, that their object was to subjugate the Southern States, and no requisition for troops to be used for such a purpose, would be complied with; that they had chosen to inaugurate civil war, and Virginia would meet it in a spirit as determined as the administration had shown towards the South. *a* Governor Magoffin, of Kentucky, telegraphed his reply to Cameron: "Your dispatch has been received. In answer to it, I say, emphatically that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her Southern sister States." *b* Governor Ellis of North Carolina also replied by telegraph, intimating that the extraordinary character of the call made him doubt its genuineness, declaring that he regarded the levy of troops for subjugating the South, as a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of power; that he would be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, or to a war waged on a free people; and that no troops would be furnished by North Carolina. *c* Governor Jackson, of Missouri, replied, that in his opinion the requisition was illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary, and its object inhuman and diabolical, and that Missouri would not furnish one man to carry on so unholy a crusade. *d* Tennessee and Arkansas were equally determined in refusal. Governor Hicks, of Maryland, was well known as a man of anti-slavery sentiments, and with the aid of Henry Winter Davis, of Baltimore, and other men untrue to the South, he

aided powerfully in demoralizing the noble State of Maryland, a large majority of whose people would then, beyond doubt, have voted to unite her fortunes with her Southern sisters. Yet even this faithless Governor was not prepared to furnish troops from his State for a war of invasion upon the South. He informed the Federal Government, that Maryland would furnish her quota of men, with the understanding that they were to be used only in the defence of Washington City and their own State. *e*

Virginia was now aroused to the highest point of indignation. All delay and hesitancy were over. At first some of her delegates, in Convention, *could not believe* in the reality of Lincoln's proclamation and call for troops to make war on the South. But the truth came; the mask had fallen; the wily intrigues and treachery of Seward no longer availed to deceive; indeed, the war policy of the Northern government was now so manifest, that they made no farther attempt to conceal it. Had any more light been needed by Virginia, it would have flashed on her from the report of her commissioners sent to Washington to learn the purposes of the Federal government.

On Friday, the 12th of April, Messrs. Preston, Stuart and Randolph, reached Washington and saw Mr. Lincoln. He appointed the next day, at 9 o'clock, to meet them again and hear their communication. On Saturday, the 13th, at nearly the hour when Sumter was captured, the Virginia commissioners again approached the Northern President. He is said to have addressed them in select and elegant language: "Gentlemen, *I hear you were coming*, and have prepared my answer to your convention." He then presented his answer, carefully prepared in writing. *f* It left no room for doubt as to his designs; he first stated,

a Reply in Examiner, April 18th.

b Ibid, April 17th.

c Ibid, April 17th.

d Reply in Dispatch, April 20th.

e Proclamation of Gov. Hicks, 18th April, 1861.

f Examiner, April 15th.

that having at the beginning of his official term, expressed his intended policy, it was with deep regret and mortification, that he now learned that there was great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what that policy was; he then declared that he had seen no reason to change the course indicated in his inaugural address, and meant to pursue it, and commended that address to the careful consideration of the commissioners; he repeated that the power confided to him, would be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; he said that by the words "property and places belonging to the government," he chiefly alluded to the military posts and property which were in the possession of the government when it came to his hands, but if it was true that Fort Sumter had been assaulted, he would hold himself at liberty to re-possess, if he could, like places which had been seized before the government devolved on him, and in any event, he would, to the best of his ability, repel force by force; that if Sumter had been assaulted, he would, perhaps, withdraw the mail service from the seceded States; that he would not, for the purpose of collecting duties or imposts, make an armed invasion of any part of the country, but he did not mean thereby to say that he might not land a force to relieve a fort upon the border of the country. With this answer the commissioners returned to Richmond.

On Monday, the 15th of April, they made their report to the Convention. Sumter had fallen; the South was blazing with excitement; Lincoln's call for troops had been made; his answer proved that he intended war; Virginia could no longer be neutral; nevertheless her delegates acted with caution and wisdom even while the storm was around them. A grave debate commenced, from which it was apparent that many who had been staunchest for the Union, while they regarded conciliation and peace as possible, were heart and soul with the South now,

when war was at hand. On motion of Mr. Holcombe, of Albemarle, the Convention went into secret session.

On Wednesday, the 17th of April, a vote was taken on the ordinance of secession, submitted by Mr. Preston, of Montgomery. Eighty-eight members voted for, and fifty-five against it; immediately after the vote, nine members who had voted in the negative, changed their votes, and six who had not previously voted obtained leave to record their names for the ordinance. Thus the final vote was 103 for, and 46 against it. Hardly had this result been reached, when John S. Carle, delegate from Wheeling, acted the part of a traitor. Before the injunction of secrecy was removed, he left Richmond and hastened to Washington, eager to betray his State into the hands of her enemies. Happily the action of Virginia was so prompt as to defeat at least a part of his infamous purposes.

Carefully keeping secret the passage of the ordinance, the Convention, calling in the aid of the Executive, took means to secure for the State all the arms, munitions, ships, war stores, and military posts within her borders, which they had power to seize. Two points were of special importance: one was the Navy Yard, at Gosport, with its magnificent dry-dock—its huge ship-houses, shops, forges, warehouses, rope-walks, seasoned timber for ships, masts, cordage, boats, ammunition, small arms and cannon. Besides all these treasures, it had lying in its waters the Merrimac, a powerful steam frigate of 2600 tons, new, fully equipped and nearly ready for sea; the Cumberland, a heavy sloop of war, carrying 32 guns; the Corvette Germantown of 939 tons, carrying 24 guns; the sloop of war Plymouth, of 989 tons, carrying 22 guns; the receiving ship of the line, Pennsylvania, carrying 120 guns; the ships Columbus, Delaware and United States dismantled; the frigate Raritan, out of order, and the ship New York on the stocks. The other point was Harpers' Ferry, in Jefferson County, on the Potomac river, with its Armory and

Arsenal, containing about 10,000 muskets and 5,000 rifles, with machinery for the purpose of manufacturing arms, capable, with a sufficient force of workmen, of turning out 25,000 muskets a year. *a*

Secrecy and promptness were essential. Governor Letcher acted with great zeal and vigor. The Convention, through the Governor, deputed John Seddon, John D. Imboden, Doct. Oliver Funsten and Alfred Barbour, formerly the superintendent of the Armory, to go by different routes to Harpers' Ferry and obtain possession. Messrs. Seddon and Barbour went by the Relay House, where they were joined by Capt. Turner Ashby, afterwards so renowned, and the three reached Harpers' Ferry, Thursday the 18th, where they expected to obtain the aid of the volunteer soldiers of the town. But at first they encountered much opposition from the inhabitants, and were compelled to wait for reinforcements. Meanwhile, Doct. Funsten had gone by Gordonsville and hurried forward the volunteers of Clark and Frederick, under Col. Allen, and Mr. Imboden had gone to Staunton, with orders to Gen. Kenton Harper, of that militia district, to move on Harpers' Ferry, with such force as he could obtain. The Brigade under Col. Harman, and the volunteer companies of Augusta, Rockbridge and Rockingham, were ordered out and promptly reported for duty. On the 18th, several of the Augusta companies left Staunton by special train for Gordonsville, and at the same time Gen. Harper with his aids, Major Harman and Adj't Christian, started by the stage-route for Winchester. Col. Crump as special aid to Governor Letcher, left Richmond, on Wednesday the 17th, with written orders and a statement of the action of the Convention. Gathering volunteers as he went, he arrived at Strasburg at the head of

seven hundred and eight men. A considerable force was now collected at Charlestown, under Col. Harper and Col. Allen, with about four hundred men, took his post at Bolivar, on the heights just above the town. Before the night of Friday, the 19th April, about 300 cavalry from Fauquier arrived, and were commanded by Captain Ashby and Lieutenant Bahdolph. *b* The small Federal force in possession of Harper's Ferry requested a parley; this was granted; but in a short time flames were seen to burst from the armory and arsenal; the garrison had set fire to the arms and buildings, and escaped across the rail-road bridge into Maryland. Lieut. Jones, who commanded them, fled so precipitately that he lost his sword and epaulettes in crossing the bridge. The Virginia troops instantly rushed into the buildings, and the people of the place having learned the truth, eagerly aided in quenching the flames. A large number of the arms were consumed, but about 5,000 improved muskets in complete order, and 3,000 unfinished small arms, were saved. The retreating garrison had laid trains to blow up the work shops, but the courage and rapid movements of the Virginians, extinguished them, and thus saved to their State the invaluable machinery for making muskets and rifles. *c*

The traitor, Carlile, had hastened to Washington, and in violation of his pledge of honor, had informed the Lincoln government of the action and intents of Virginia. Hence orders were telegraphed to destroy the works if attacked, and Carlile passed through Harpers' Ferry on the cars in route for Wheeling, while the armory was in flames! *d*

Virginia troops hurried forward to occupy the town and defend it against any attempt by the Federals to re-possess it.

a New. Amer. Cyclop. Art. Harpers' Ferry.

b Enquirer, April 20th. Dispatch, April 22d and 23d. Mem. from one of the Deputies.

c Alexandria Gazette. Dispatch, April 22. 'M. S. Narrative from Bolivar Christian, Esq'r.

d Memor. to author from a Confed. officer.

Volunteers from Staunton, under Col. Harman,—nearly three hundred students from the University of Virginia, and two hundred Albemarle men, left Charlottesville on the 18th, in the cars for Strasburg; thence they marched sixteen miles to Winchester, where they again took the cars to Harpers' Ferry. *a* Troops from Jefferson county joined them, and a force of more than a thousand men were rapidly concentrated, well armed and determined to hold the post at all hazards. No attempt was made to dislodge them. Gen. Harper had command until the militia were substituted by volunteer troops regularly mustered into service. He exerted himself efficiently in securing the machinery and aid of the mechanics, in treating with the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-Road Company, and in occupying the Maryland heights, to prevent a breach of neutrality by such of the people of that region as were untrue to the South. *b*

Meanwhile, with equal secrecy and vigor, measures were taken to secure the Gosport Navy Yard, and prevent the armed ships there from coming out. On the 17th, the day the ordinance passed, under secret orders, from Governor Letcher, three Light House boats were sunk in the channel, between Norfolk and Hampton Roads. The sloop of war Cumberland, ready for sea, with her officers and crew aboard, came down the harbor, but finding the obstruction impassable, she returned and took shelter under the guns of the ships at the Navy Yard. *c*

Governor Letcher issued his Proclamation on the 17th, declaring that seven States had seceded and organized a government, to which their people yielded willing obedience, and had notified the United States of their action, and thereby become a separate, independent and foreign power; that by the Constitution, *Congress only* had power to declare war; that until such declaration, the President had no authority to call for an extraordi-

nary force to wage offensive war against any foreign power; that, in violation of the Constitution, President Lincoln had called for seventy-five thousand men to enforce United States laws against a people who were no longer a part of the Union, and had threatened to use this large force to compel obedience to his mandates; that the General Assembly and Convention of Virginia had, both, by votes nearly unanimous, declared that she would consider such an exertion of force, as a virtual declaration of war, to be resisted by all the power at her command; that Virginia deeply sympathized with the Southern States in the wrongs they had endured and in the position they had assumed; that she had made earnest efforts peaceably to compose the differences which had severed the Union, and had failed by reason of this unwarranted act of the President; that it was believed that the influences which had induced this proclamation against the seceded States, would be brought to bear against Virginia, should she exercise her undoubted right to resume the powers once delegated by her people, and it was due to her honor, that an improper exercise of force against her people should be repelled. Therefore he ordered all armed volunteer regiments and companies in the State forthwith to hold themselves in readiness for immediate orders, and to report to the Adjutant General their organization and numbers, and prepare themselves for efficient service; such companies as were not armed and equipped were to report, that they might be supplied. *d*

This call to arms met an instant and enthusiastic answer. Through all the State, except the North-West, volunteer companies hastened to report. Beginning with the Capital, the companies in Richmond, numbering more than a thousand men, armed and uniformed, went promptly into service. The Grays, Capt.

a Lynchburg Republican, Examiner, April 22d.

b Convention Doc., No. 35, appen. G.

c Baltimore Sun, April 19th.

d Proclamation. Dispatch, April 18th.

Elliott, were sent to Portsmouth, with companies from Petersburg and the lower counties; the Blues, Capt. O. Jennings Wise, and Company F., Capt. Cary, were sent to Fredericksburg, where it was apprehended an attack might be made by the Federals from the Potomac. From nearly every county, reports for service came, and soon it was apparent that more volunteers were ready to take the field than the State could arm.

Amid these exciting events, came the announcement of the Ordinance of Secession, on the morning of the 18th. The wildest joy prevailed; the flag of the Southern Confederacy was run up to the staff on the West end of the Capital; crowds assembled on the square, and with vociferous cheers, saluted this emblem of the release of Virginia from the hated dominion of Black Republicanism. Numbers ran to the Custom-House, on Bank street, and tearing down the sign marked "United States Court," broke it into pieces. In less than two hours, not a vestige of Federal rule was visible in Richmond. The custom-house was promptly taken in charge by military officers of the State, and, even in the midst of a storm of feeling, systematic preparations were commenced to provide barracks for soldiers, and ample commissary stores for their support.

On the night of the 19th, Richmond was brilliantly illuminated, in honor of the fall of Sumter and the secession of the State. Nearly every building on the principal streets was a blaze of light; the weather was calm and propitious; a procession numbering ten thousand people marched through the city with torches and transparencies; farther than the eye could reach, the flashing line extended, while the incessant play of rockets, Roman candles and other fire-works presented a scene truly magnificent. ^a The principal street was light as day, and the side walks were crowded with ladies, children and their attendants. The whole

people seemed united in giving eclat to the celebration.

But other work was at hand. The steam ship Yorktown of 1250 tons, owned almost entirely by New York men, was seized at Rocketts, below Richmond, and a volunteer force placed in charge of her; the Jamestown of about 1000 tons, belonging to the same line, was seized at City Point, on James river, by a force from Petersburg, and, upon the promise of her captain, Skinner, to bring her to Richmond, was released. He promptly complied with his promise. These seizures were fully justified by the state of war, and were in just retaliation for the seizure in New York on the 15th April, of sixteen Southern ships and schooners, upon pretence of informality in their clearances. ^b Virginia afterwards offered to pay the Northern owners the value of their interests in the ships she had seized, but Secretary Seward, of Lincoln's cabinet, decided that it would be *treasonable dealing with rebels* for them to receive payment. These steamers were soon to be of essential service to the South.

Meanwhile the rushing tread of Revolution was heard in the neighbouring State of Maryland, and the first blood of Southerners was shed on her soil. The capture of Sumter, followed by the war proclamation of Lincoln and the secession of Virginia, kindled a flame of enthusiasm in her brave sons, which neither her Union Governor, nor the bought up servants of Lincoln's government, could quench. In the City of Baltimore, the Southern feeling was especially strong; Confederate flags were every where displayed; men and women vied with each other in declaring their sympathy for the South. When it became certain that Northern troops were to be assembled for the purpose of invading the seceding States, the indignation of the Marylanders could not be restrained. They felt that such a war was an assault not only on their brothers of the South,

^a Dispatch, April 20th.

^b Northern statement in Dispatch, April 19th.

but on their own institutions and rights, their fireside and families.

On Thursday, the 18th of April, about four hundred troops arrived at the Bolton Depot, in Baltimore. Part of them were regulars of the United States Artillery, who marched to Fort Henry, but the greater part were volunteers from Pennsylvania, half uniformed, half armed—some, half clothed. These were marched to the Mount Clare Depot and carried to Washington. When their character and destination were known in Baltimore, a crowd assembled and followed them through the streets, singing the popular Southern songs of "Dixie," "Away down South," and cheering loudly for the Southern Confederacy and President Davis. The Northerners marched rapidly through the city with a file of police-men on each flank. While they were taking the cars at Mount Clare, the crowd surrounded them—"a perfect pandemonium existed, and such shrieking, yelling, hooting and cheering was probably never heard before."^a Symptoms of violence appeared, but the train left at 4 o'clock without an assault. The excitement in no wise died. It being known that a body of volunteers from Massachusetts were coming through the city the next day, a fierce and determined purpose to resist their passage, was aroused.

Early in the forenoon of Friday, the 19th, excited crowds began to gather in the neighbourhood of the President Street Depot. At half past 10 o'clock, the trains arrived, bringing a body of volunteer troops, chiefly from Massachusetts, with some from Philadelphia. About sixty were armed and uniformed, the rest were not armed, and many were vulgar and tattered in appearance. They were about one thousand in number, all in route for Washington. It was proposed to send them in thirty-one cars along the Pratt street track, to the Camden station of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road. At the intersection of Gay and Pratt streets, a

large body of Marylanders assembled resolved to stop their passage. At this point, repairs were being made to the track, and a quantity of paving stones were lying in piles. Before the Southerners could obstruct the road, six cars had passed, but two others behind them were stopped. Seizing several heavy anchors near, the crowd dragged them upon the track, and with the aid of paving stones, and cart loads of sand, soon built a formidable barricade. The two cars returned to the President Street Depot, and after a hasty consultation of the officers, it was resolved that the troops should leave the cars and march through the city to the Camden Depot. *b*

But even before they touched the ground, the fight commenced. An athletic young man, a clerk in the custom-house, entered one of the cars and with stern and sharp words, reproached the Massachusetts troops for coming as volunteers to war on the South. A *captain* ordered him out, threatening to fire on him if he did not go; the young man answered with defiance, "you are too cowardly to fire;" the officer struck at him with his sword; the young man received the blow on his left hand, and rushing on his assailant knocked him down and wrested his sword and scabbard from him; a private interfered to protect his officer, but was also knocked down by a blow from a heavy pistol, and the fearless young Southerner escaped from the car with the sword and scabbard as spoils of victory, and with only a slight wound on the left hand. *c*

The troops now left the cars and prepared to march through the streets. Mayor Brown, of Baltimore, walked at the head of the column and earnestly sought to keep the peace. But this was a task now beyond all police power. A large body of Southerners, bearing the Confederate flag, poured down President street, and getting in front of the troops, checked their advance, shouting, threat-

^a Baltimore Sun, Friday, April 19th.

^b Ibid., April 20th.

^c Ibid., April 20th. Dispatch, April 22d.

ming and uttering loud cheers for the Southern Confederacy. Just as the troops turned out of Canton Avenue, they were received with a volley of stones, by which two soldiers were struck down and many others severely hurt. At Pratt street bridge the first gun was fired from the ranks; the crowd pressed vehemently on them; stones were hurled in showers; on reaching Gay street, the armed men turned upon the crowd, and, levelling their muskets, fired; several citizens fell dead,—others were wounded, and falling, were borne off by those near them. Fury took possession of the crowd; up to this time they had used no weapons more deadly than stones, but now revolvers were drawn and fired into the column of troops, and men were running in search of fire-arms. The armories of the volunteer companies were carefully closed and guarded, so that guns and pistols could only be obtained from private houses or gun-shops.^a The firing on both sides continued in quick succession of shots from Frederick to South streets. Several of the Southerners fell, but, undismayed, they pressed the soldiers with an incessant and heavy volley of stones, which struck their backs, heads and arms, and kept them so constantly in motion to avoid these missiles, that they could not level and fire with effect.

From South street, the Northerners no longer *marched*; they *ran* with all possible speed, followed by angry assailants, who hurled paving-stones and bricks among them, with occasional balls from revolvers or shot guns. At Commerce street, a flight of stones knocked many of the soldiers senseless to the ground; the order was again given them to *fire*, but so sorely were they pressed, that the men continued to run and the order was repeated before they could be brought to a halt. They wheeled and fired about twenty shots; two citizens fell dead, two were mortally wounded; the greater part of the balls passed over-head and took

effect in the walls of the buildings opposite, even as high as the second stories. The troops then resumed their flight, but in the very act of firing, one of them was knocked down with a stone, and as he attempted to rise another stone struck him in the face, when he crawled into a store, and prostrating himself, begged for his life, saying that his officers had threatened him with instant death, if he refused to accompany them, that at least one half the troops had been forced to come in the same way, and he hoped all who had thus forced others would be killed before they got through the city. His life was spared and he was sent to a station house to have his wounds dressed.

Harrassed and almost exhausted, the volunteers at length reached the Camden station. But here the fight continued without intermission; stones were hailed into the cars with such violence, that the windows and panelling were shattered; the soldiers' faces and bodies were streaming with blood, and they could only protect themselves by lying down or stooping below the windows; whenever an opportunity occurred, a volley of musketry was fired from the cars, by which several citizens were slain. A crowd of thousands swarmed out upon the railroad for more than a mile, throwing upon it logs, stones and other obstructions, which the police force who followed them removed as fast as possible. Amid hootings, shouts and curses, the train moved off; and at half past 5 o'clock, this battered Massachusetts regiment arrived in Washington, where they were received with great sympathy by President Lincoln and his friends, who hastened to bind up their wounds and comfort their souls, which were greatly perturbed and depressed by their first experience of a Southern reception.^b

In this irregular combat, eleven citizens were killed and seven wounded:^c among the slain was Robert W. Davis, a merchant highly esteemed; he was stand-

^a Examiner, April 22d.

^b Washington Art. in Dispatch, April 22d.

^c Baltimore Sun, April 22d. Examiner, April 24th.

ing with a friend at some distance from the track, on an elevation between a distillery and Redley street, and was taking no part in the fight, when several muskets were discharged from the car windows, and a Minie ball pierced his left side, causing death in a few minutes; his fall, under such circumstances, greatly increased the indignation of the Marylanders. Four soldiers were killed and thirty-three wounded.

Baltimore was full of stern excitement. Governor Hicks was in the city, and such were the manifestations of feeling, that even he became convinced that, for the time, no more Northern troops ought to pass through. Under his advice and direction, Mr. Garrett, the President of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company, telegraphed to the officers of the Philadelphia road, and the troops not yet passed through Baltimore, were sent back to the borders of Maryland. The Governor also sent a message to Mr. Lincoln, telling him the excitement was fearful, that he must send no troops to Baltimore, that the State and city forces would be sufficient to keep the peace. *a* To prevent the farther coming of troops from Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 20th of April, a squad of the Maryland guard, with forty of the Baltimore police, proceeded out on the rail-road line, burned the Canton and Back river bridges, and burned out the draw of the long bridge, at Gunpowder river, returning from their work in the afternoon. *b*

Large bodies of Northern troops were thus diverted from the rail-road lines and carried in transports to Annapolis. Among these, was a regiment of New York City, known as the "Seventh Regiment," composed in great measure of men from the wealthy and influential classes. This corps was greatly esteemed at the North as well drilled, well equipped citizen soldiers. About two years before the war commenced, they had visited Richmond

and Baltimore, and had been received with an open hearted hospitality which had drawn from them professions of eternal brotherhood to the volunteers of these Southern cities. Yet they were among the first to offer their services to Lincoln under his call for troops to make war on the South!

In the time of his bewilderment and alarm, caused by the unmistakable evidences of Maryland's indignation, Governor Hicks earnestly urged Mr. Lincoln to permit no more troops to cross her soil, and to request Lord Lyons, the British Minister, to act as a mediator between the contending parties of the country, in order to spare the effusion of blood. To these prayers, Mr. Seward replied, for the administration, that the force then proposed to be brought through Maryland, *was intended for nothing but the defence of the capital*, that Lieutenant General Wingfield Scott had selected the national highway along which they were to pass, upon consultation with prominent magistrates and citizens of the State, and considered it the least objectionable—that there was a time when United States soldiers, marching for the defence of their capital, would not have been unwelcome in Maryland, and that whatever other noble sentiments she may have forgotten, she ought at least to remember, that no domestic contention among the parties of this republic, ought to be referred to any foreign arbitrament—least of all to a European monarch. *c* By such sentimental hypocrisy, did this man seek to hide his bloody purposes in assembling an army which *he knew*, within less than five weeks, was to invade Virginia!

Another effort was made to move Abraham Lincoln to peace. On the 22d, a deputation of six members from each of the five Christian Associations of Young Men in Baltimore, headed by Dr. Fuller, an eloquent clergyman of the Baptist church, went to Washington and had an

a Correspondence Dispatch, April 22d.

b Baltimore Sun, April 22d.

c Seward's Letter to Gov. Hicks, April 22d.

interview with the President. He received them with a sort of rude formality. Dr. Fuller said, that Maryland had first moved in adopting the constitution, and yet the first blood in this war was shed on her soil; he then interceded for a peaceful separation, entreated that no more troops should pass through Baltimore, impressed upon Mr. Lincoln the terrible responsibility resting on him—that on him depended peace or war—a fratricidal conflict or a happy settlement. "But," said Lincoln, "what am I to do?" "Let the country know that you are disposed to recognize the Southern Confederacy," answered Dr. Fuller, "and peace will instantly take the place of anxiety and suspense and war may be averted." "And what is to become of the revenue?" rejoined Lincoln, "I shall have no government, no resources!" Dr. Fuller reminded him that the North and North-West would still remain an imposing nationality, and would furnish sufficient revenue. But the President was inexorable; he said, "he must run the machine as he found it." Dr. Fuller then told him that the impression existed among the people, whether erroneously or not he could not say, that his cabinet were principally for peace, and that General Scott had counselled peace, but that the President was for war. At this point Mr. Secretary Smith, of Lincoln's cabinet, hastened to declare that all the cabinet approved the President's course. Mr. Lincoln said, that as for General Scott, *he was General Scott's legal master*, and only counselled with him, and that General Scott had never advised peace. As to a peace policy, he said, "there would be no Washington in that—no Jackson in that—no *spunk* in that." Dr. Fuller hoped the President would not allow "*spunk*" to override patriotism. This led to the question of troops passing over Maryland. Mr. Lincoln insisted that he only wanted the troops for the defence of the Capital, and *not for the invasion of the Southern States*, and then, becoming scientific, he said,

"I must have the troops and mathematically the necessity exists that they should come through Maryland. They can't crawl under the earth, and they can't fly over it, and, mathematically, they must come across it. Why, sir, those Carolinians are now crossing Virginia to come here and hang me and what can I do?" After hearing from the President other imposing sentiments and a choice anecdote, the deputation left in despair. One of them uttered a prayer in which all might join: "May God have mercy on us, when the government is placed in the hands of a man like this!" ^a

Peace was far from the thoughts of Lincoln and his cabinet. The Marylanders were not ready for organized resistance. To a great extent, they were without arms; many private citizens had, indeed, shot-guns, rifles and revolvers, but concerted action among them was impossible. The council of Baltimore appropriated five hundred thousand dollars for the avowed purpose of putting the city in a state of defence, but with the farther intent on the part of many, that instant measures should be taken to relieve the State from Black Republican rule. General Trimble, a brave officer of warm Southern principles, was looked to as the head of military movements. His aids were Cols. Thomas and Spurrier. Col. Thomas came to Richmond, and, with secrecy and caution, Governor Letcher gave orders to aid the secessionists of Maryland. Twenty-five thousand muskets and twenty-two pieces of cannon, including three Columbiads, were started for Baltimore, and got as far as Strasburg, in Virginia, when finding that Gov. Hicks and Lincoln's agents were apprised of the move and intended to seize the arms on arrival, the faithful Southerners of Baltimore gave the alarm, and the transportation was stopped at Strasburg. Meanwhile, however, under Governor Letcher's orders, four thousand muskets had been sent from Harper's Ferry to Baltimore, to be used by her citizens in

^a Baltimore Sun, April 23d. Baltimore Exchange, April 23d. Dispatch, April 26th.

defending their soil against the passage of Northern mercenaries to make war on the South. About one half of these were quietly distributed, but the remaining two thousand were seized by order of Governor Hicks, and notwithstanding the remonstrances and exertions of Marshal Kane, were turned over to the Federal authorities!^a

Annapolis was crowded with troops from New York and New England; the sudden uprising in Baltimore, had so deranged their plans, that they were hurried into transports without adequate food, and suffered much privation; the *fine gentlemen* of the New York Seventh Regiment, were brought to raw pork without bread or water, and made piteous complaints before they were landed from the mouth of the Severn.^b The buildings of the Naval Academy were converted into barracks; the professors and midshipmen were turned out, and soldiers took their places. Military possession of the rail-road to Washington was taken, and Massachusetts and New York troops marched along its bed, while trains carried forward their baggage and supplies. By the evening of the 25th of April, eight thousand troops were in Washington; fourteen thousand barrels of flour were seized in Georgetown for the Federal government.^c The floors and committee rooms of the capitol were used for storing bacon, beef, molasses and all manner of army supplies, and Washington was a scene of excitement, confusion and upheaving, altogether indescribable.

The secession of Virginia, acted like a powerful electric current throughout the country. To the North it was a shock, all the more stunning because wholly unexpected. To the South it brought animation and vigor. Great rejoicings followed its announcement through all the

seceded States. At Montgomery, one hundred guns were fired by the citizens and eight guns by order of Adjutant General Cooper; an immense meeting of citizens from Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee and Kentucky was held, to exchange congratulations and consult for the future. In Charleston a crowd of Virginians and other Southerners surrounded the venerable Edmund Ruffin, who fired a cannon in front of the Courier office in token of his triumph. In Atlanta, Georgia, the news was at first doubted, but when confirmed, a burst of joy resounded; the church and town bells were ringing; the Superior Court adjourned, and the Judge fired the first gun of a salvo of artillery in honor of the event. In Augusta and Mobile, the tokens of gladness were equally enthusiastic. In New Orleans, the people almost entirely suspended business, and observed the occasion as a day of jubilee and holiday; bells were rung, artillery was fired; the flags of the Confederacy, of Louisiana and Virginia, were displayed in every quarter of the city, and at night a great meeting of native Virginians assembled to pass resolutions of rejoicing.^d

Meanwhile, the capture of Sumter and the call of Lincoln for an invading army, had roused other Southern States to action. Governor Ellis, of North Carolina, acted with great promptness and energy. Under his orders, Fort Macon, near Beaufort, was seized on the 15th, and promptly garrisoned by volunteers from Greensborough and other places. Fort Caswell was also taken, and on the 19th the Arsenal of Fayetteville was captured without bloodshed, thus securing to the State and the South sixty-five thousand stand of arms, of which twenty-eight thousand were of the most approved, modern construction.^e On the 17th, Governor Ellis issued a spirited proclamation, reciting

^a Memor. from Col. Grafton D. Spurrier.

^b Baltimore accounts, in Dispatch, April 29th.

^c Telegraph, Examiner, April 23d.

^d Telegraph in Examiner, April 19th. Atlanta Confederacy. Mobile Tribune. New Orleans Picayune. Dispatch, April 23d,

^e Hiawatha, and announcement in Dispatch, April 20th.

the demand of Lincoln for 75,000 men to invade the peaceful homes of the South, and to subvert with violence the liberties of her people, declaring that this attempt was not only a breach of the Constitution, but a "high handed act of tyrannical outrage," against every sentiment of humanity and Christian civilization, and a direct step towards the subjugation of the South and the conversion of the Republic into a military despotism. He therefore called a special meeting of the General Assembly, at Raleigh, on the 1st of May, and urged the good people of the State to united action in defence of their liberties. *a* The response of the people was spontaneous, and showed that North Carolina was thoroughly united. In one day three thousand volunteers were offered to the Governor; meetings for secession were held in nearly every county; the Confederate flag was raised and appeared along the rail-road lines, and encampments for soldiers, were filling up with a rapidity which soon brought the State into battle array.

In West Tennessee, the war feeling was equally strong. General Pillow went to Montgomery, arriving on the 15th, and offering to the Confederate war department a large force of volunteers. *b* Governor Harris called a special session of the Legislature, and it became evident that the State would speedily unite with the South.

The rushing tide of events broke up the land-marks of the old Union, and scattered its fragments along its borders. In no point was the effect more remarkable than in the disruption of the corps of officers composing the Army and Navy of the former United States. The withdrawal of the Gulf States had been followed by the resignation of most of their gallant sons, who held commissions in the old service, but now the movement went on with added fervor. Hardly had the secession of Virginia, and the open-

ing revolution in North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Kentucky and Maryland appeared, before the men of the South, in the Federal service, began to pour in their resignations. The Convention of Virginia, authorized her Governor to invite all her worthy sons in the United States naval or military employ, to resign and accept their proper rank in her service. But long before this invitation could be promulgated, or any public invitation from the Southern government be given, the officers of the South were throwing up their Federal commissions and rushing to the defence of their native soil. These heroic men did not wait to know that they would have rank and salary from the South; they knew that her government was in its infancy; that a mighty war was to be waged against her; that privation, suffering, toil and peril were to bear hard on her; but all this only kindled their patriotism and hastened their coming with their skill and their swords for her succor. Within four days from the 19th, nearly two hundred officers resigned. Adjutant General Cooper had thrown up his commission, when the design of attacking the South first appeared, and many officers from the Gulf States were already in the Confederate service. Virginians, Marylanders, Kentuckians, North Carolinians, Tennesseans, officers from Arkansas and Missouri, followed in a flood until, by the confession of the Lincoln government, the ablest and most experienced officers of the army and navy were gone, and the bewildered war secretary was driven to look for some explanation of the facts in the system of ethics taught at West Point! *c* Among the officers who thus resigned, were Albert Sidney Johnston, whose great military talents and chivalrous character had been signally displayed in Western campaigns; Robert E. Lee, who had commanded in subduing the John Brown raid, at Harper's Ferry and

a Proclamation in Dispatch, April 20th.

b Telegraph in Dispatch, April 17th.

c Simon Cameron's Report, with Message to Northern Congress, July 4th, 1861.

whose skill as an engineer and strategist were held in the highest esteem by the army; Joseph E. Johnston, whose name was soon to rank among the brightest of the heroes who led the forces of the South; Franklin Buchanan, already conspicuous, and afterwards to win an immortal name; Josiah Tatnall whose "word and blow" had fallen so heavily in China; Matthew F. Maury, well known throughout the civilized world as a scientific naval officer, whose researches had been of inestimable value to navigators; Wm. F. Lynch, the explorer of the Dead Sea; Robert B. Pegram, who had shown the highest heroism in a naval fight with Chinese pirates in the East Pacific—besides a host of others, many of whose names will appear with merited honor in the scenes of the war soon to be described. The rapid resignations of these officers and their withdrawal with their families and hundreds of Southern citizens from Washington, filled the Lincoln administration with alarm and impotent rage. Unable to retain the love on services of men whose native soil they were seeking to outrage, they endeavored to fix a stigma upon them, by refusing to accept their resignations, and *striking their names from the army and navy rolls*, but the South welcomed her sons with enthusiasm, and held them in higher honor, because of the ungenerous and cowardly insult which the vulgar officials of the North attempted to offer them.

Very few Southern officers of chivalrous and honorable character, retained their places in the Federal service. But there was one who, in the eyes of the world, and *especially in his own esteem*, occupied so exalted a position, that his case deserves a careful notice. Lieutenant General Wingfield Scott was a native of Virginia, and for his military services, had received from her a vote of acknowledgment—a sword—and the honor of having his name bestowed on one of her counties. He was a great soldier, but not

a great man. His overweening vanity and personal weaknesses, had often subjected him to rebuffs and assaults which he deeply felt; his political views had long been *Northern* in all essential points, and Virginia had uniformly disapproved of them, and had voted against him when he became a candidate for the Presidency. Yet he had some friends and many admirers among her people, and when it became apparent that Virginia would withdraw from the Union, they believed he would unite his fortunes with hers, and would devote to her his great military skill and experience. But they did not know the man. Love of office and of the salary and perquisites attached to office, craving for personal adulation and jealousy of inferiors, were with him far stronger passions than love of his native soil. Hence it was an easy task with him to cloak his faithlessness to his own mother, in her danger, under the pretence of fealty to the national flag and adoration of the Union. He knew that the Union was dissolved beyond all hope of reconstruction, and, four months before the fall of Sumter, in an elaborate letter to President Buchanan, he had expressed the opinion that *four separate nationalities* would arise from the ruins of the old system; a yet when a Virginian, in company with Robert Ould, a prominent lawyer in Washington of strong Southern principles, called on General Scott, Friday the 19th of April, told him that Virginia had left the Union, that official evidence of the fact was in their hands, and asked him if his native State might not claim his services, he looked up and very petulantly answered, "No, I intend to support the Stars and Stripes of my country!"^b It may be, the great Lieutenant General felt so oppressed and heavily laden with the accumulated oaths of allegiance he had voluntarily taken to the United States, that he was no longer free. When he was at Fort Moultrie in 1830, when South Carolina determined to nul-

^a Views of Gen. Scott in Whig, December 18th, 1860.

^b D.'s Telegram in Dispatch, April 22d, 1861.

lify the tariff laws, he sent for a Federal Judge, and, in the presence of his officers, addressed him with magniloquent gravity: "Judge, I have long ago taken an oath of allegiance to the United States government, but it occurs to me, that in this extraordinary emergency, *I will do it again*. There is no impropriety in it, and, gentlemen," turning to his officers, "*it will not hurt any of us.*"^a Having thus delivered himself, he retook the oath with solemn relish, and saw the same medicine administered in turn to each of his officers.

Thus, moved by all the mingled goadings of love of office, lust of honors, greed of money, thirst for flattery, rancor from disappointed hopes—hatred of poli-

tical enemies, inflated personal vanity, and wilful insensibility to the true emotions of patriotism, Wingfield Scott drew his sword against his native land and deliberately prepared to invade Virginia with hostile armies and to carry bloodshed and desolation to her homes. He planned a gigantic scheme of subjugation against the South, and when asked how he intended to deal with his native State, was accustomed to extend his open hand, and drawing together the thumb and fingers until they met in the palm with crushing grasp, to say, "*Thus!*" How far he succeeded, and with what glory he was at last laid aside by the Lincoln cabinet to whom he sold himself, will appear in due time.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

SONG OF THE SERGEANT OF THE GUARD.

WRITTEN BY THE GUARD-FIRE.

I think of you, my child,
While the long hours move so slow;
While the moon is in the sky,
And the camp-fire burning low:

I think of you, and sigh,
For the dear old days before,
That glimmer like far lights
On some distant, happy, shore.

'Tis at Vienna here,
Where we pause before we go,
Beneath the flaming flag,
To meet the swarming foe.

Balloons are in the sky,
And the morrow comes ere long:—
But I think of you alone,
And make my idle song.

VIENNA, Va., August 1, 1862.

SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART.

RICHMOND, SEPTEMBER & OCTOBER, 1862.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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Meanwhile, Virginia was stirred by events which followed each other with a rapidity known only in revolutionary times. To secure the Gosport Navy Yard with its immense naval and military stores was an object of great interest. The Richmond Grays, Capt. Elliott, went to Portsmouth on Friday the 19th, and the next day six volunteer companies from Petersburg, embracing infantry and artillery, and numbering four hundred men, went down in the afternoon train for Norfolk. General William B. Taliaferro, the chief of the militia district, including Norfolk, was promptly in that city directing the operations of the volunteers. On Friday the 19th April, the naval magazine at Fort Norfolk, was seized by a volunteer force under Lieutenants Pegram, Jones and Sinclair of the Navy, and nearly three thousand kegs of powder and fixed ammunition were secured; about one-third of this was sent to Richmond and Petersburg, a part to Hampton, and the rest was stored for use in Norfolk.^a These movements following the obstruction of the channel to Hampton Roads, and accompanied by

the constant arrival of volunteer soldiers from the interior, produced on the minds of the Northern officials the impression that an attack by an overwhelming force would be made on the Navy Yard. The fears of Mr. Lincoln's Government had been excited as early as the 10th of April, and on the 16th they had ordered the Merrimac to be made ready for steam, her armament to be completed, and the Plymouth, Dolphin and Germantown to be prepared for removal down the harbor. The Merrimac was said to be ready for temporary service on the 17th, but the commandant of the yard refused to have her fired up,^b doubtless because he knew that the attempt would be attended by a dangerous excitement. On the night of the 17th, the obstructions were planted. Captain Macauley commanded the yard. He sent a flag of truce with a message to General Taliaferro, at the Atlantic Hotel, in Norfolk, notifying him that the Federals would not attack the city if their movements were not interfered with, but that if any assault was made on the yard, or any attempt made to stop their proceed-

^a Letter in Petersburg Express, April 30. Report of Capt. Barron, Doc. No. 35, with Governor Letcher's Message to Convention of Virginia.

^b Secretary Gideon Welles' Report to Federal Congress, July 4, 1861

ings, they would open with the batteries of the ships in the harbor, and shell Norfolk even to destruction, and in view of such a contingency they warned the authorities to remove the women and children *a*. If not attacked, Capt. Macauley agreed that no attempt should be made to remove the ships at the yard.

Ordinary prudence required that this proposition should be accepted, and accordingly no hostile move was made by the Virginia forces. Norfolk was entirely at the mercy of the naval power in her harbor, and might have been destroyed in half a day by the huge batteries of the Pennsylvania and Merrimac, without reckoning the other ships. What the proceedings were which the Federals contemplated was a mystery to the Virginians. But they were soon enlightened. From an early hour of Saturday the 20th of April, it was apparent that hurried movements were in progress at the Navy Yard, and that a work of destruction had commenced. A large quantity of gun stocks floated down the harbor, and some being caught up and examined by Norfolk boatmen, bore evidence of having been broken by violence. In truth, the alarmed servants of Lincoln were destroying all the small arms, munitions and public property which they did not expect to be able to carry away, on destroying the yard. The splendid steam-frigate Merrimac, the Germantown, Raritan, Plymouth and Dolphin, were all *scuttled*, but the holes cut in their bottoms did not admit the water fast enough to sink them immediately. A pair of enormous sheers erected at a cost of \$15,000, for the purpose of hoisting the masts into large ships, were cut loose from the guys and thrown violently down across the stern of the Germantown, crushing in her decks and reducing her nearly to ruin.

As the night drew on, the hurry and destruction in the yard became more desperate. Just at dark the Federal steam loop Pawnee, came up the harbor under

steam, and with little difficulty passed the obstructions. What her object was, the Norfolk people did not know, and for a time fears of an attack were felt. But, proceeding immediately to the yard, she landed nearly two hundred and fifty workmen, besides a quantity of turpentine and other combustibles, which she had brought down from Washington, to make sure the cowardly and brutal act of vandalism on which Lincoln and his advisers had determined *b*. The workmen leaped ashore, and in a few minutes the loud ringing sounds of their hammers were heard even in Portsmouth, as they spiked the cannon, battered off their trunnions, shattered the gun-carriages, broke in pieces the muskets and carbines, and dislocated the metal machinery in the work shops. *c*

While this infamous work was going on, the train of cars from Petersburg bringing her battalion of soldiers arrived, and was welcomed with shouts of triumph by the people. The troops instantly alighted and formed, and soon the rumor reached the barbarians in the Navy Yard, that a heavy reinforcement had joined the Virginians, and that the yard would be speedily assaulted and carried by storm. Consternation and disorder prevailed among them, heightened every hour by an ingenious device of President Mahone, of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad Company, who kept trains of cars incessantly moving over the line, and thus succeeded in producing the impression among the Northern men and officers that heavy masses of soldiers were pouring into Portsmouth. It was even rumored that the troops of Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina were at hand, and the already dreaded name of "Beauregard" was whispered among the Northerners. A sort of frenzy took possession of them. There can be no doubt that they intended to make the work of destruction complete, and to leave nothing valuable behind them, but panic defeated their purpose.

a Norfolk Herald, April 22d.

b Petersburg Express in Examiner, April 24.

c Correspondence of Dispatch, April 23d.

Their conduct was marked by the madness which sometimes possesses seamen in a shipwreck. Officers and men drank freely—some to intoxication *a*—the yard was filled with clamor—hardly was intelligence left to apply the torch and light the flames intended to wrap the buildings, the ships, and all their surroundings in a mantle of fire.

Agitated by suspicions that Macauley was not zealous for them, Mr. Lincoln's cabinet had sent Capt. Paulding to Norfolk, with orders to take command of all the vessels afloat there, to repel force by force, to prevent the ships and public property at all hazards from passing into the hands of the Virginians, and to destroy whatever could not be removed *b*. He arrived Saturday, while the scuttled ships were yet sinking, and hurried on the work of destruction with hot zeal.

At about midnight several explosions were heard, and immediately after, flames burst forth in the wooden buildings running from the wharves, and increasing in strength, soon embraced in their fiery sheets the large ship houses, the cordage and sail lofts, the boat houses, and part of the work shops. One of the ship houses contained the entire frame work of the line-of-battle ship *New York*, which had been on the stocks nearly thirty-eight years, and which was now destroyed by Northern hands. The flames soon spread with intense heat to the whole line of buildings near to and fronting the harbor—the ships on the water were fired by order of Paulding, who knew that if only sunk they could soon be raised, and who resolved to make the destruction complete *c*. The *Merrimac*, *Raritan*, *Dolphin*, and *Germantown* were burnt to the water's edge; the great three decker, *Pennsylvania*, which had been lying in the harbor many years, was soon a pyramid of fire, and as she had not been scuttled and sunk, her destruction was final.

Many of her guns were loaded—some double-shotted, and when the flames reached them, were fired, with heavy reports, which echoed through the harbor and produced in the astonished listeners in Norfolk, the apprehension that her shot were turned upon them. No harm was done in the city, but among the buildings and machinery of the yard the solid shot from this huge burning ship darted with ruinous effect, until her loaded guns on that side were all discharged *d*. The conflagration of the great combustible material of the yard and ships lighted up the harbor, and was seen even in Hampton, sixteen miles distant. The lurid glare was thrown strongly on the houses of Norfolk, and reflected from them across the waters of Hampton Roads, causing the spectators at Old Point and Hampton to believe that the city had been set on fire.

Amid this scene of ruin, the officers and men from the yard hurried with drunken disorder aboard the *Cumberland* and *Pawnee*. An incident had occurred which hastened their movements, increased the panic, and saved much valuable property. Sergeant J. H. Myers, of the Marines, knowing what was intended, and not wishing to be carried off with his company, set fire to the barracks before the time appointed, and in the confusion, although pursued by a shower of bullets, made his escape by scaling the walls of the yard *e*. This event added to the terror already prevailing; the Federals knew not whom to trust, and for fear of mutiny and desertion, hastened the embarking of the men. Commodore Macauley was carried aboard on a litter, perfectly drunk and helpless, and many of the officers were in the same plight.

The destruction of the noble dry dock in the yard had been intended. Some of the granite coping had been "grappled up," but this did little harm. Into the

a Petersburg Express April 23d. Dispatch April 25th.

b Secretary Welles' Report.

c Ibid.

d Norfolk Herald, April 22d.

e Correspondence of Petersburg Express, April 23d.

chambers beneath and at the sides of the stone work, forty barrels of gunpowder were put, and a slow match was applied and lighted, but by the good providence of God the fire went out, and the panic among the incendiaries was so great that they paid no further attention to it. The next day these chambers were entered by the Virginians; the match communicating with the powder was seen; it was feared the fire was still alive; a brave young man, named Johnston, went forward with a bucket of water and flooded the spot so as to end all risk of explosion. *a*

After the officers and men from the yard went on board the Pawnee and Cumberland, it was found impracticable to go down the harbor until the flood tide came in; this did not occur until nearly 4 o'clock in the morning, at which time the Pawnee steamed down with the Cumberland in tow. A hasty battery had been erected on the Norfolk side, but no attempt was made to stop the ships. The obstructions caused some delay, and after passing them the Cumberland came to anchor, and the Pawnee proceeded towards Old Point.

Thus was accomplished this barbarous work of destruction, by order of the Northern Government, by which public property valued at more than six millions of dollars was lost, for all of which the South would cheerfully have accounted and paid upon a peaceful separation. Most fortunately, great as was the ruin, the treasures left were still greater. The cannon were generally spiked with nails, and were easily restored to serviceable condition. A large number in the west end of the yard had been left untouched; the number rendered useless by fracture or by having the trunnions battered off was not great; more than eleven hundred heavy guns were saved. In addition to these, eight immense timber-houses containing seasoned timber accumulated during years, for ship building, the machine shops filled with costly machinery, engines, and all mechanical appliances

for ship and gun work, the steam saw-mill, the warehouses stored with pork, beef, bread, spirits, tobacco, cordage, canvas, spades, shovels, blocks, and ship-chandlery of every kind, the officers quarters and dry dock were all left uninjured. Even the ships burned or sunk, except the *Pennsylvania*, were not a total loss. It will yet be our duty to record achievements by one of them, which filled the naval world with wonder, and completed a revolution in the warfare of the sea.

The rapid passage of exciting events, kept the mind of Virginia in a state of fevered emotion. On Sunday morning, the 21st, the telegraph brought to Richmond, reports of the destruction of the Yard, and the escape of the *Pawnee* and *Cumberland*. Since the secession of the State and the certainty of war were known, Governor Letcher and such military advisers as were near at hand, had labored earnestly to prepare for any sudden danger. A signal of alarm by the town bells had been notified to the volunteer companies. While the churches of the city were yet filled with their congregations, a report reached the Governor in such form as to be credited, that the *Pawnee* had entered James River, and was steaming up with the supposed intent to shell Richmond, or reduce her people to submission! Just as the congregations were about to be dismissed, the alarm bells were rung: instantly all was excitement: young soldiers started up in every church and hurried out, followed by mothers, sisters and wives, many of whom were seen weeping as they passed to their homes—the streets were alive with preparation, light artillery were carried from the gun houses and one of the heavy brass siege pieces, presented to Virginia, by France, was taken from the Armory, to be transported to Rocketts, above the wharves. The Howitzers, Fayette Artillery and Company F., from Richmond, with a company from Manchester, went down the river on each side to prepare for the coming invader, while the Governor's Guard of cavalry, set out

a Examiner, April 24th. Letters to the author from a resident of Norfolk, April 22d.

on a scout and reconnoissance. Meanwhile nearly the whole population of the city was aroused. It is a curious fact, that instead of showing alarm, by flight, men, women and children hurried down to the place of supposed danger, and by five o'clock in the evening, the hills above Rocketts were crowded by nearly five thousand spectators, eager to behold the enemy. As night approached, correct accounts were received, from which it appeared that the Pawnee had made no attempt to come up the river, though she had steamed rapidly from Hampton Roads towards the mouth of the James, probably with the hope of overhauling and capturing two steam tugs, which had in tow several arks and schooners, loaded with the powder from the naval magazine. Soldiers and people returned to their homes; the excitement subsided, and the occasion soon became a subject of merriment under the name of "The Pawnee War." But though the alarm was false, and the preparations bordered on the ludicrous, yet the spirit manifested was significant, and gave increased impetus to enlistments for the real war at hand.

Virginia was now alone in her sovereignty, and menaced by formidable dangers. Anxious to preserve the Union, she had abstained from warlike movements, until the very moment when war was upon her. Her people knew that she must bear the full brunt of invasion; her borders were on the enemy; her strongest fortress was in their hands and would be used against her. Yet from the time when Lincoln's purpose to make war on the seceded States became clear, she hesitated no longer, but sternly confronted him, and called her sons to the field to resist the Northern armies.

In respect to organization, her military state was, fortunately, more favorable than that of most of the Northern States who threatened her. An injudicious act of Assembly, passed on the 1st of April,

1853, completely disbanded her militia, with the hope that the volunteer spirit would keep well equipped and well drilled men enough ready for the field, to meet any emergency. But this was found not to be the case, and in 1855, her experienced and indefatigable Adjutant General, Wm. H. Richardson, pointed out the danger, and in a report to the Governor, used words almost prophetic. He said, "No foreign war has occurred, it is true, nor any thing within the State to disturb the public peace—but if ever there was a time when every Southern man, without distinction of party, should stand shoulder to shoulder in one indivisible phalanx, not only with arms in their hands, but trained to use them with effect, that time seems to be at hand, if it has not already come. What has the State of Virginia to oppose to aggression, insult and robbery, but resolutions and remonstrances which thus far have availed nothing. And if we are to be driven to choose between the surrender of constitutional rights and the use of the bayonet, we are totally unprepared for that last fearful alternative. No man in this State dreams of submission, but with the system of public defence almost entirely annihilated, how are we to sustain ourselves if the worst should happen." *b*

Urged by such considerations, and by the appeals of the wise in her councils, among whom James L. Kemper was most active and zealous, the Legislature of Virginia passed, on the 2d of March, 1858, an act, under which her militia were rapidly and efficiently reorganized. *c* On the 17th of January, 1861, Governor Letcher submitted to the Legislature plans for reconstructing the militia brigades, and on the 17th of April, when the State seceded, she stood ready to oppose to the assembling hosts of the North, the materials for an army formidable in numbers and courage. She had then organized a total volunteer force of 18,300 men, of whom 4,800 were cavalry, 1,430

a Dispatch, April 22d. Examiner, April 22d. Whig, April 22d.

b Report, Doc. No. 10, 14, Sess. 1855-6. Documents.

c Report of Gen. Richardson to Gov. Letcher, Nov. 1, 1861. Doc. No. 10.

artillerists, 6,040 light infantry, and 6,030 riflemen.^a She had also in her counties, cities and towns, undoubtedly true to the South, 130,000 men enrolled and organized in her militia regiments. The call to war, instantly aroused this patriotic column, and within five months, Virginia had in the Confederate service, sixty-eight regiments, including cavalry, artillery and infantry. But in the immediate outbreak of the storm following her secession, her wants were many and pressing, and her danger great in proportion.

Her first great need was a military leader of adequate talent and skill to organize her forces, give system to her war movements, arrange for camps of instruction, plan lines of defence, penetrate the designs of the enemy and prepare for a campaign. With the pressing want, came the man. Colonel Robert E. Lee, was a native of Virginia, a thoroughly educated officer, whose standing in the United States Army had been very high, and whose services as an engineer and tactician in the celebrated advance upon the city of Mexico, in 1847, were considered invaluable by General Scott. His residence was on Arlington Heights, overlooking the Potomac and the City of Washington. When Virginia seceded, he immediately resigned, although urgent dissuaves were used by the Federal authorities. He came to Richmond and the post of General commanding was tendered to him, which, after deliberation, he accepted. Assuming military command of a people passing from the pursuits of peace, to a war of giant proportions, he necessarily found his task one of oppressive difficulty and responsibility. Yet under his patient and masterly generalship, order rose out of chaos, mustering officers were appointed, rendezvous established—camps of instruction organized, subsistence provided, equipments, shelter and transportation furnished, and defensive lines were planned to meet and repel invasion. Before the forces of Vir-

ginia were formally turned over to the general Southern government, forty thousand men were armed and in the field from her soil, and under the combined exertions of her military and naval officers, two batteries and two steamers guarded James River, mounting forty guns; three batteries, with thirty guns were on the York; a battery with twelve guns, was at Aquia Creek, on the Potomac—Norfolk and Elizabeth river were guarded by six batteries, with eighty-five, thirty-two pounders, and eight and nine inch Columbiads; and Nansemond river, running towards the Norfolk and Peterburg Rail Road, was defended by three batteries, with nineteen guns.^b

To put arms into the hands of her soldiers, and provide them with artillery, powder, balls, shell, cartridges and accoutrements, was a farther need heavily felt by Virginia. For this great work she fortunately possessed a highly gifted officer. Colonel Charles Dimmock had long been known as Commandant of her State Guard. His skill and efficiency in less important posts, pointed him out for the ordnance department. He was made Colonel of Ordnance, in April 1861, and entered zealously upon his duties. It would be difficult to over estimate the results of the work accomplished under his command. Their bearing on the campaign, and the battles fought in its progress, was so direct that it is our duty to narrate them. The first want, distressingly felt in Virginia, was *percussion caps*. It was found that the supply in the State would not suffice for a single battle. Mr. Adams, Master Armorer of the Virginia Guard, had been sent by Col. Dimmock to the North, to buy machines for making caps, bullets and Minie balls, but the news of her secession caused an excitement around him which not only prevented him from obtaining such machines, but compelled him to escape and return home in the disguise of a common laborer. Yet within a few days after the want was known, a machine was con-

^a MS. copy of letter from Gen. Richardson to Governor, April 17th.

^b Doc. No. 35, Appendix D., Governor's Message to Convention.

strated at the works of a manufacturing company in Richmond, which cut the copper and formed suitable caps for muskets, and in a short time the detonating composition was furnished and applied, producing caps in sufficient quantities to remove all anxiety on the subject.

The work performed in the Armory and Laboratory of Virginia, under the management of Col. Dimmock, was astonishing in energy and results. Within less than eight weeks, muskets, rifles and carbines to the number of forty-three thousand, six hundred, were issued to soldiers in camp or in the field, and one hundred and fifteen pieces of artillery, of which fifty were completely mounted in Richmond, and provided with carriages, caissons and harness. In addition, were issued a million and a half of cartridges for small arms, the same number of percussion caps, six thousand friction tubes, eleven thousand rounds of fixed ammunition for artillery, two hundred and seventy-five thousand yards of webbing for belts, together with cartridge boxes, bayonet scabbards, cap pouches, pistols, sabres and other war munitions. And when the Armory of Virginia, with her military stores and preparations, were turned over to the Confederate States, she delivered her laboratory, with machines, fixtures and workmen, capable of preparing seventy-five thousand rounds of ammunition daily, and with it delivered a million of percussion caps, about ten thousand rounds of artillery ammunition and one hundred and fourteen thousand rounds for infantry.^a Such were the labors and treasures that Virginia brought to the Southern cause, in the opening of a war which she had earnestly struggled to avert, and into the very brunt of which she now threw herself in defence of the sacred rights of the South.

Meanwhile other Southern States vied with her in the enterprize and vigor with which they sought to prepare for war. Individual skill, ingenuity and money led the way for the exertions of the gov-

ernment. In Raleigh, North Carolina, Professor Emmons made a fine detonating composition, and Mr. Charles Knester produced percussion caps of excellent quality. At Selma, Alabama, a company was formed and promptly commenced the manufacture of field pieces, howitzers, mortars, cannon balls, shells, bullets, gun powder, and every other outfit for an army. In Nashville, Tennessee, Mr. Schott was soon turning out 60,000 gun caps per day. Saltpetre caves were explored; lead mines diligently worked—directions given for the artificial gathering of nitre from cellars and compost heaps. Southerners every where entered new fields of invention and industry to meet the stern exigencies of war.

The Confederate States acted promptly, in meeting Virginia in her move for liberty. Vice-President, Alexander H. Stephens, was sent to Richmond, with full powers, and on the 24th of April, entered into a convention with John Tyler, Wm. Ballard Preston, Samuel McDowell Moore, James P. Holcombe, James C. Bruce and Lewis E. Harvie, commissioners acting for Virginia, by appointment of her Couvention, by which it was agreed that in view of the probability that she would become a member of the Confederacy, her whole military force and operations, offensive and defensive, in the impending war with the United States, should be under the control and direction of the President of the Confederate States, that when Virginia's secession was ratified by her people, and she became a member of the Confederacy and adopted the permanent Constitution, she would turn over to the Confederate authorities all the military and naval stores, and property acquired by her from the United States, on the same terms and in like manner as had been done by the other States, and that any expenditures of money for the Southern cause, made by her before the proposed Union was consummated should be repaid by the Confederacy.^b

^a Doc. No. 35, Appendix D., pages 66-67.

^b Examiner, April 25th. Whig, April 27th.

It was evident that the soil of Virginia would be the first to feel the tread of invaders from the North, and her Southern sisters hastened to her aid. Governor Pickens called upon South Carolina, and her response was prompt. Amid demonstrations of high enthusiasm, Colonel Gregg's regiment, which had been stationed at Morris' Island, volunteered, and leaving Charleston, on the 22d, arrived in Richmond, the 24th. Brig. General M. L. Bonham, established his head quarters in Virginia, awaiting the arrival of other regiments. Troops from North Carolina and Louisiana soon followed, and, within a few weeks, the railroads leading from every Southern State, were daily loaded with companies, battalions and regiments on their way to Harpers' Ferry, by way of Lynchburg, or to Richmond. Yet, although the volunteer spirit was high, and men were encamped on almost every line, the length of transportation was so great, and the rolling stock and capacity of the Southern roads so inadequate, that Northern troops arrived in Washington more rapidly, and in larger numbers, than it was possible to accumulate Southerners in Virginia. The North plunged into the war with a temper in which avarice, ferocity and wounded pride all nited.

Never since the inhuman wars among the degenerate successors of Alexander of Macedon, has the world seen a more fiend-like and atrocious spirit than that exhibited by the Northern States in commencing this war on the South. The N. Y. Courier and Enquirer urged that instead of seventy-five thousand, at least *two hundred thousand* men should be raised and precipitated upon the slave States. It said, "not a vessel must pass in or out of the ports of the rebel States, and no supplies of any kind be permitted to reach them by water. In like manner, not a barrel of flour, pound of beef, or bushel of grain, or stores, or provisions, or clothing, or munitions of war, of any kind or description must be permitted to reach the rebels from the North, by land or water. They must be shut in, penned

in and starved into submission to the government. And to accomplish this *will not take sixty days*. In every slave State with the possible exception of South Carolina, the Union men are in a majority, but oppressed and trodden under foot by the rebels. Do this, and in less than six weeks the Union men everywhere will be in possession of the Government of the slave States; and then they will beg to be taken back into the Union. In the meantime, *let the levees on the Mississippi be at once prostrated in a hundred places while the water is high, and let the traitors and rebels living on the lower Mississippi be drowned out, just as we would drown out rats infesting the hull of a ship*. Nor is this all: *Let the negroes in the Border States understand that all moral obligation on the part of the North to sustain the peculiar institution has ceased, and let the traitors thus be taught at once the price of Rebellion, and its legitimate fruits."*^a

Such was the advice of the cowardly demon conducting this paper, who professed to believe that a large majority of the Southern people still desired the Union, and who yet advised the indiscriminate starving, drowning and butchery of the men, women and children of the South, including of course, the supposed Union men of whom he boasted!

The New York Tribune said: "Let Maryland and Virginia look to it, for as they are greater sinners, so their punishment will be heavier than that of others. Virginia is a rich and beautiful State, the very garden of the Confederacy. But it is a garden that is doomed to be a good deal trampled, and its paths, its beds and its boundaries are likely to be pretty completely obliterated before we are done with it. It has, what it is pleased to call, property in men which will probably take care of itself in the struggle, waiting hat in hand, for any new comer disposed to give a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. But it has other property—property in houses, in lands, in mines, in forests, in country and in town, which will need to be taken care of and equitably cared for. * * The worn out race of

^a N. Y. Courier and Enquirer, in Whig, April 30th.

emasculated First Families must give place to a sturdier people, *whose pioneers are now on their way to Washington at this moment in regiments. An allotment of land in Virginia will be a fitting reward to the brave fellows who have gone to fight their country's battles.*" ^a The N. Y. Herald which even after the election of Lincoln, had been loud-mouthed in advocating Southern rights, now under the pressure of cowardice and money interest, belied all its former professions, repudiated the sentiments it had announced two weeks before, and furiously urged on the war! The Philadelphia Sunday Transcript said: ^b "The slaveholding States must be taught a lesson that will never be forgotten—a lesson of fire and blood. They are as weak as they are insolent. The gigantic strength, the superior civilization, and the boundless resources of the free States are able to carry desolation from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Let the traitor States be starved out by blockade, and given to the swords and bayonets of stalwart freemen. If necessary, *myraids of Southern lives must be taken—Southern bodies given to the buzzards—Southern fields consigned to sterility, and Southern towns surrendered to the flames!*" With a refinement of torture worthy of Hell, Northern advisers urged that even when the war was over Southerners should not be permitted to return to "*peaceful and contented homes. They must find poverty at their fire-sides, and see privation in the anxious eyes of mothers, and the rags of children.*" ^c Even below this lowest depth, a lower deep of horror was prepared for the South. Her noble and virtuous women were to be subjected to infamy far beneath ordinary violation. They were to become a prey to the lust of Northerners, or as we will in future generally style them—*Yankees!* The Westchester Democrat in hounding on the Pennsylvania troops, reminded them that Baltimore had "always been

celebrated for the *beauty of its women*—that the fair were ever the reward of the brave, and that *Beauty and Booty were the watchword of New Orleans!*" ^d Such was the spirit with which the North entered upon this war, and our narrative will show that if all the horrors threatened have not come upon the South, it has been *only* because her stern and desperate resistance has baffled her foul and brutal assailant.

One Edward D. Baker, of Oregon, a member of the United States Senate, was specially virulent in urging the North to a furious war of invasion against the South. At a great Union meeting in N. York, he made a speech saying: "We of the North are a majority of the Union, and *we will govern our own Union in our own way.* I do not design to remain entirely supine, inactive, fearful till the war is brought to our midst. I will meet them on the threshold of their gathering, there in the very seat of their power and dictate to the rebellion terms of peace. It may take thirty millions, it may take fifty millions—what then? We have it! Loyal, nobly, grandly do the merchant princes of New York respond to the ardent appeal of the United States Government. It may cost us 7,500 lives—it may be 75,000—it may be 750,000 lives! What then? We have them! My mission here to-day is to kindle the heart of New York for war—war, sudden, bold, determined, forward war this day." ^e Thus did this shallow demagogue drive on the hungry mob of the North. His boasts of the liberal gifts of the "merchant princes" became ridiculous when it was ascertained that only the paltry sum of \$89,000 had been contributed to the war by private persons and corporations in New York—his talk of *fifty millions* as a maximum fell beneath contempt, when in a few weeks the expense of the Federal Government rose to more than a million of dollars per day—his hideous vaunts of

^a Tribune in Whig, April 30th.

^b Philadelphia Sunday Transcript in Dispatch, May 18th.

^c N. Y. Tribune in Whig, May 24th

^d Westchester Democrat, in Whig, May 6th.

^e Report in Whig, April 30th.

lives for sacrifice excited horror, when within less than one year thirty thousand Northerners were rotting in Southern soil, and he himself had met a bloody death from the rifles of men he came to subjugate.

Having thus opened the war, Abraham Lincoln and his advisers hurried on every measure in their power to make it destructive to the South. Two subjects engaged the immediate attention both of Lincoln and President Davis. These were—*Blockade* and *Privateering*, and as they developed some of the most humiliating exhibitions of Northern fraud and baffled ferocity that the contest evolved, they need careful notice.

On the 19th of April, Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring that he had deemed it advisable to *set on foot* a blockade of the ports of the seceded States, "in pursuance of the laws of the United States and of the laws of nations in such case provided," and that for this purpose a competent force would be posted before each harbor to warn off vessels attempting to enter, and after due notice to capture and subject to condemnation, such as sought to break the blockade, and with dismal foresight of coming trouble, in *the same proclamation*, Lincoln declared that if any person under the pretended authority of the seceded States, molested a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo aboard of her, such person would be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the *prevention and punishment of piracy a*

Carrying out this intent, on the 30th of April, Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the ports of Virginia and North Carolina, and Captain Pendergrast, of Kentucky, then commanding the Federal squadron in Hampton Roads, showed a zeal unworthy a Southerner, in stopping not only the trade, but the food of Norfolk, and seizing ships and cargoes of coffee belonging to Southern merchants, which without knowledge of the blockade, attempted to run in after long voyages from South America. The blockade of Charleston,

Savannah, Mobile and New Orleans, soon followed, but so great was the extent of coast to be watched, and so inadequate the blockading force, that for many months the system was merely nominal, and many hundred ships and steamers ran into, and escaped from Southern ports. Yet the stoppage of supplies to which the people had been accustomed, produced great privations and not a little suffering. Tea, coffee, salt and ice, were articles, the want of which was severely felt. As the stocks held gradually diminished, prices rose until they reached almost fabulous sums. But the privation and suffering endured were not without their benefits. Luxury disappeared, habits of self-denial and hardy patience were formed—men and women vied with each other in lopping off unnecessary indulgencies—in wearing home spun fabrics, and laboring for the common cause. Above all, domestic manufactures began to spring up, as if by magic, in every part of the South. Not only powder, shot, shell, percussion caps, cannon, muskets, rifles, sabres and all the grim enginery of war were manufactured, but muslins, woolen cloths, hats, caps, boots, shoes, sewing machines, telegraph instruments, and nearly every other article of urgent use were produced in the South by the inventive genius and industry of her own people, stimulated by absolute necessity. Herein commenced her independence.

When war became inevitable, President Davis immediately saw the importance of privateering to the South. She was wholly without a navy. Had the North consented to a peaceful settlement, the South would have been equitably entitled to half the armed ships of the former United States, and would have fairly settled and paid for all the public property she received. But Lincoln and his cabinet eagerly used the ungenerous advantage they held, and not only sent all the naval force at their command to blockade the South and seize her property, but recalled all the squadrons on foreign stations,

^a Proclamation in Whig, April 22d.

and bought or chartered at immense prices many other ships and steamers to be used for war purposes. Hence the employment of private armed ships under letters of marque, was the obvious policy of the South, to assault the floating commerce of her enemy, and neutralize the blockade. Doubting the constitutional power of the executive in the premises, President Davis, with that faithful regard for law, which was one of his characteristics, determined not to commission privateers until the Southern Congress had legislated on the subject. In view of this and other momentous issues involved in the war, he convened the Congress in special session.

They met at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 29th of April. The President sent in his message, a document of which the calm and clear statements were in singular contrast with the wild elements of war convulsing the country. He reviewed and established the doctrine of Secession, detailed the facts showing the bad faith of the Northern Government about Fort Sumter, and the necessity for its capture—spoke in terms of keen, yet dignified satire of Lincoln's proclamation, which attempted to treat seven sovereign States united in a confederacy, and holding five millions of people and a half million of square miles of territory, as "combinations," which he proposed to suppress by a *posse comitatus* of seventy-five thousand men; congratulated the Congress on the probable accession of other slave States; informed them that the State Department had sent three commissioners to England, France, Russia and Belgium, to seek the recognition of the Confederate States; advised legislation for the employment of privateers for measures of defence, and for perfecting the Government organization, and concluded with the declaration—"We feel that our cause is just and holy; we protest solemnly in the face of mankind that we desire peace at any sacrifice save that of honor and independence; we seek no conquest, no aggran-

dizement, no concession of any kind from the States with whom we were lately confederated; all we seek is to be let alone; that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, this we must resist to the direst extremity. The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be materially beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue the struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence and self government."^a

On the 6th of May, the Confederate Congress passed an act recognizing the existence of war with the United States, and authorizing the President to use the whole land and naval force of the country to meet the war thus commenced, and to issue commissions and letters of marque and general reprisal to privateers. But to prevent abuse and lawlessness the act cautiously provided that a registry of the names, tonnage, and crews, should be kept, and that no commissions or letters should issue to them until bonds, with ample security, were furnished, conditioned that the captains, officers, and men should observe and keep the laws and regulations of the Confederate Government relative thereto.^b Under this act privateers were promptly equipped in New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, and other Southern ports, and prepared to swoop down upon the Northern merchantmen in the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico. The avaricious ship owners and traders of the North stood aghast at the prospect. Dismal cries of terror and rage were heard; they clamored for blood! The privateers were to be treated as pirates, and hanged when caught! Lincoln and his cabinet were prompt to meet the call, and echoed *they shall be*

^a Message in Whig, May 4th, 1861.

^b Act of Confederate Congress, May 6th; sections 1, 2, 3, 4.

hanged when caught! But though restrained neither by law, nor precedent, nor humanity, they were held in by *fear*, the only motive that can subdue a mean nature. Two sources of apprehension worked on them: *First*, the fear of the censure of all civilized foreign nations; *second*, the fear of terrible retaliation by the Confederate Government.

The policy of European nations, and especially of England and France, in view of the dissolution of the American Union, was, of necessity, a subject of keen anxiety, both to the United and the Confederate States. When the Southern commissioners, Messrs. Yancey, Mason, and Rost, reached London and Paris, they enjoyed hospitable treatment from many prominent persons, and were admitted to informal interviews with high officials of the two Governments. ^a They found the administering powers of both countries unprepared and unwilling to recognize the Southern Confederacy, and make treaties with her as one of the great family of nations. Many considerations seem to have operated to produce this hesitation and delay, chief among which were the apparent suddenness of the rupture which seemed yet bewildering to distant observers, the violent ferment it caused among all American elements, the supposed instability of republican institutions, which made it uncertain to old monarchies, whether the new Confederacy would stand or whether farther convulsions would not result in greater changes—the natural dislike to a premature recognition of a league which might fall to pieces or possibly be overwhelmed in its infancy by neighbouring enemies—uncertainty as to the amount of Union material still remaining in their populations—unwillingness to be involved in a quarrel with the United States, which would surely have followed the acknowledgment of the seceding States, and which would have caused the immediate and unscrupulous confiscation of hundreds of millions of stock and other in-

vestments held by French and English people in the Northern States, and last, though not least, the powerful prejudice against slavery felt by almost all classes of France and England.

On the 16th of April, 1861, before any request for recognition had been made by the Confederate Commissioners, Charles James Faulkner, of Virginia, the minister of the United States, sent by President Buchanan to France, called on M. Thouvenel, the French Minister of Foreign affairs, and by direction of Mr. Seward, Lincoln's Secretary of State, held a conversation with him as to the "disturbed harmony of the American Union." Mr. Faulkner said that his own duties as ambassador would soon cease, and he would be succeeded by a distinguished citizen of New Jersey, that an application would doubtless soon be made by representatives of the seceded States for recognition by France; that he was instructed by his government to declare that the United States would oppose such recognition, and he asked that if such application was made, no proposition involving the permanent dismemberment of the American Union should be considered until his successor, Mr. Dayton, should arrive and be received. To this M. Thouvenel replied that no request for recognition had yet been made by the Confederate States, that the French Government was not in the habit of acting hastily upon such questions, that he believed the maintenance of the Federal Union would be best for North and South, as well as for France, and the government of the United States might rest assured that no hasty or precipitate action would be taken on that subject by the Emperor. But whilst he gave utterance to these views he was equally bound to say that the practice and usage of the present century had fully established the right of *de facto* governments to recognition, when a proper case was made out for the decision of foreign powers. ^b The official interview then ceased, but a far-

^a Examiner, May 30th.

^b Letter of Mr. Faulkner, Whig, May 8th.

ther conversation took place, during which M. Thouvenel asked Mr. Faulkner whether he thought force would be used by the Federal government to coerce the seceding States into submission. Mr. Faulkner replied that he could only express his individual opinion, which was, *that force would not be employed*; that although the United States government possessed the ordinary powers necessary for its preservation, yet the extreme powers could only be used in accordance with public opinion, and he was satisfied that the sentiment of the people was opposed to the employment of force against the seceding States; *that so sincere was the deference felt in the United States for the great principles of self government, and so great the respect for the action of the people when adopted under the imposing forms of State organization and State sovereignty, that he did not think the employment of force would be tolerated for a moment*, and that he thought the solution would be such a change of the Constitution as would invite the seceding States back into the Union or a peaceable acquiescence in their claim to a separate sovereignty. To this M. Thouvenel replied, that in his opinion, *the employment of force would be unwise, and would tend to a farther rupture of the Confederacy, by causing the remaining Southern States to make common cause with the States already seceded*. A more sagacious opinion could not have been expressed.

Mr. Secretary Seward, of Lincoln's Cabinet, had hastened to recall Mr. Faulkner, and had appointed William L. Dayton in his place. In his written instructions to Mr. Dayton, Seward assumed a tone of dictation towards the government of France, approaching insolence, though disguised in specious and subtle words. He instructed Mr. Dayton to inform M. Thouvenel that there were no differences of opinion whatever between Lincoln and his constitutional advisers, concerning the policy that had been pursued and would be prosecuted

by the United States government, and that the government would not come to an end at all in the hands of *that* administration. He said that M. Thouvenel's assurance that France would not act precipitately on the subject was entirely satisfactory, *"although it was attended by a reservation of views concerning the general principles applicable to cases, that need not now be discussed."* In the very face of truth and honesty, and in disregard of both, he declares that the "insurgents had instituted revolution with open, flagrant, deadly war, to compel the United States to acquiesce in the dismemberment of the Union;" that the government had accepted civil war as an inevitable necessity, and had put the land and naval forces into active movement to restore the Federal authority and *save the Union from danger*. "Therefore," said Mr. Seward, "you cannot be too decided or too explicit in making known to the French government that there is not now, nor has there been, nor will there be, the least idea existing in this government of suffering a dissolution of this Union to take place in any way whatever. There will be here only one nation and one government, and there will be the same Republic and the same Constitutional Union that have already survived a dozen national changes and changes of the government in almost every other country." Thus did Mr. Seward boast of a Union already gone for ever, and which more than one old man and woman in America *had seen born and die*, and thus with vulgar ingenuity did he seek to remind the Emperor, Louis Napoleon, of the vicissitudes attending the government of France. He concluded in swelling words: "Tell M. Thouvenel, then, with the highest consideration and good feeling, that the thought of a dissolution of this Union, peaceably or by force, has never entered into the mind of any candid statesman here, and it is high time that it be dismissed by statesmen in Europe." a

This arrogant letter, with its author

and the government he represented, were speedily dissected by the press of England, and their emptiness demonstrated. The London Times drew a significant parallel between George the Third and Lincoln's Secretary. "The spirit of George III. seems to have entered into the descendants of his revolted subjects. 'Before I will hear,' writes George III., in 1779, 'of any man's readiness to come into office, I will expect to see it signed under his own hand that *he is determined to keep the Empire entire*, and that no troops shall consequently be withdrawn from America *nor independence ever allowed.*'" Then quoting Seward's words, the Times continues—"We profess that we think the language of the King the more moderate and reasonable of the two, for George III. only refused to admit to his councils any one who would not sign a declaration against that independence which he was forced to admit himself three years afterwards, while Mr. Seward not only refuses to admit the possibility of that object for which one half of the Union is in arms against the other, *but issues an inhibition to all European statesmen to allow such a thought to cross their minds.* This is indeed a high strain of prerogative, and one to which none of the antiquated despotisms of Europe could for a moment aspire. * * We must entirely decline to recognize in Mr. Seward that gifted seer to whom the future is as the present, and who has the power of informing us not only of the event of a civil war between two Confederacies, which may possibly shiver to pieces in the very first moment of direct impact, but who can tell us in language ill suited to the present condition of his country, that in America there will be only one nation and one government, the same Republic and the same Constitutional Union that have already survived a dozen national changes and changes of government in almost every other country! This is the message which, through

Mr. Dayton, the American Secretary of State sends to the government of France, a message, if not of defiance, *certainly one which sounds very like an insult.*"^a

The London Post, known as the organ of Lord Palmerston, said Mr. Seward's message "would have been better timed, and *more likely to have produced some effect*, if it had been written on the 4th of March, and not on the 4th of May, when separation, to human speculation, appears to be a melancholy but accomplished fact."^b

Taking the tone of the press to be a reasonably accurate index of public feeling in England and France, we must conclude that the war which Lincoln and his cabinet inaugurated, was a subject of profound regret and reprobation, approaching horror among nearly all classes. As to the dissolution of the Union itself, decent sorrow was expressed both by high government officials and by the men who represented the sentiments of the masses. But this sorrow was not overwhelming. Could the separation have been peacefully accomplished, as the South desired, the governments and people of Europe would have cheerfully acquiesced, and would soon have welcomed the young Confederacy to their family circle. They saw no necessity for war—no good but rather exhaustless evil to come from it. They knew what war was better than Abraham Lincoln. Above all, they were amazed at the savage and brutal spirit with which the North opened the war, and they firmly expressed their abhorrence. The great English Journal said: "War to the knife, war, if necessary, pushed to absolute extermination, to the destruction of cities, the desolation of provinces, *the letting loose of millions of negroes on their populations*—these words furnish a brief abstract of the resolution at which the *people and government* of the United States appear to have arrived. Respective lenity is delegated to Heaven, and government and people alike breathe

^a London Times, May 23rd.

^b London Post, May 22nd. Whig, June 11th.

the language of massacre and destruction." *a* The Paris Pays, in a very clear and able article, demonstrating the rights of the seceding States, declared "the North well knows that there is something stronger than its desire for dominion over the South; it comprehends, despite its fanaticism, that the Constitution refuses it the means of reducing to subjugation the seceded States; it knows that it cannot place a daring hand upon the Southern Confederation, without abdicating its own rights of sovereignty; it knows that it cannot compel the South to re-enter the Union, without proceeding by means of war and conquest, and that in entering upon that course, it would hazard its own existence." *b* The Manchester Guardian said, "the enterprize of attempting to force the seceding States to return to their allegiance, is far less justifiable now than it would have been at the beginning of Mr. Lincoln's administration, because it has become, by the lapse of time, infinitely more difficult." The Liverpool Times declared that the South was too strong to be subjugated, and, alluding to the plan advised by some of the Northern papers, to free and arm the slaves against their masters, said they could not believe it possible, that Mr. Lincoln and his cabinet could resort to "*this diabolical policy.*" *c* Even Lord Brougham, with his strong abolition sentiments, when invited to attend and preside at anti-slavery meetings, coldly repulsed them, and declared that "on no account and by no means whatever, would he have any thing to do with holding, presiding at, or attending a meeting of that description. He strongly recommended all whom his voice might reach, to abstain from holding such meetings." *d*

Notwithstanding all these pointed rebukes, Lincoln and his advisers hurried on with preparations for war and block-

ade, believing, or professing to believe, that Foreign nations held the people of the seceding States to be mere outlaws and rebels, and would refuse to recognize them in any manner whatever. If such were Mr. Seward's hopes, they were speedily dissipated.

On the 7th of May, in answer to an enquiry from Mr. Gregory, Lord John Russell, in the House of Commons, stated that the questions arising out of the rupture of the American Union, had received the earnest attention of the ministry. "They have consulted the law officers of the crown. The attorney and solicitor general, the Queen's advocate, and the government, have come to the opinion that the Southern Confederacy of America, according to those principles which seem to be just principles, *must be treated as a belligerent.*" *e* This was at once a recognition of the Confederate States as *de facto* a nation—a power upon earth, for it bound England to acknowledge and respect her flag, to admit her citizens to her ports and maintain a strict neutrality between her and her enemies, and though it did not bind the British nation to permit Confederate privateers to bring their prizes into her ports, and have them condemned, yet it did instantly and for ever condemn the hideous purpose of Lincoln and his advisers, to hang such privateersmen as pirates.

The English press declared "*the commissions of Mr. President Davis, are as good as those of Mr. President Lincoln.* As to the resolution of the New York merchants, to treat the privateers of the unrecognized South as pirates, *it cannot be maintained.* Every jurist must hold, that so long as Mr. President Davis is President of a Confederacy of Southern States, he has the same right to issue letters of marque, which any Chief Magistrate of

a London Times, May 23d.

b Paris Pays, or Journale de L'Empire, in Whig, June 4th.

c Manchester Guardian, April 20. Liverpool Times, Whig, May 7th.

d Speech in House of Commons, Whig, June 6th.

e Report in Whig, May 24th.

a Republic either in North or South America would have." a

Having decided that the Confederate States had all the rights of belligerents, Earl Russell threw out a few significant words upon the blockade announced by Lincoln. He said, "It is well known to Lord Lyons, (the British minister at Washington,) and it certainly has been declared law by the United States, that no blockade could be recognized or deemed valid, *unless it were an effective blockade.*" b

When tidings of these decisions of the British ministry reached America, Mr. Lincoln and his obsequious partisans of the North, were full of dismay and perplexity. Then commenced that series of acts of subterfuge and meanness which have forever degraded the once proud name of the United States in the eyes of the world. The honest, yet keen sighted English statesmen, had snatched away the veil by which the North sought to hide her own ugliness. They showed that by the very establishment of the blockade, Lincoln acknowledged the separate nationality and the belligerent rights of the Confederate States. For, by the laws of nations, a blockade can only exist in the case of *belligerents*, it being the naval investment of the ports of one nation by another nation at war with her. c The United States had expressly denied the right of a nation to *blockade her own ports*, and when the kingdom of Naples in the war of 1859, blockaded the ports of Sicily, which it claimed as part of its territory, and seized an American ship attempting to enter, the United States government promptly raised the point, and insisted that the right of blockade could not be applied by a nation to her own ports which, by treaty, she had opened to other nations. d So torturing was

this difficulty, that the North, always ready for tergiversation, immediately declared that their blockade *was not a blockade*, that they had made a mistake in so terming it! that every nation had the right to say which of her ports should be ports of entry, and which not, and had a right to close any of her ports when she chose! e But here again they were met by insuperable difficulties. Congress had established the ports of the South as *ports of entry*, and without an act of Congress, Mr. Lincoln had no power whatever to close them. Moreover, the Congress could not shut them, without violating the Constitution, which declared that "No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce, or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another." f Thus, on every side, the North met rebuke and trouble for which they had no answer or remedy, *except brute force.*

But if their posit on and conduct on the blockade were humiliating, the subject of *privateering* involved them in even deeper shame. It must be remembered, that at the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Sardinia, Turkey and Prussia, on the 16th of April, agreed upon four propositions, which they wished to introduce into the Great Code of International Law, and which were to be binding on all nations that accepted them. They were

1. Privateering is and remains abolished.
2. The neutral flag covers enemies' goods, with the exception of contraband of war.
3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag.
4. Blockades, in order to be binding,

a London Times. Whig, May 24th.

b Idem. Report.

c Kent's Commentaries on American Law I, 144, 152.

d London Times, May 8, in Whig, May 27th.

e N. Y. Courier and Enquirer, in Whig, May 25th.

f Constitution, Art. I., Sec. IX., 6.

must be effective—that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient, really, to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

These propositions were, in due form, presented to the Government of the United States during the administration of Franklin Pierce. William L. Marcy, of New York, was then Secretary of State, and in a very strong letter, of July 28th, 1856, stated the views of his Government to the powers who had acceded to these four propositions. As to the second and third, he said the United States had long contended for them and cordially adopted them; and as to the fourth, he declared that the principle it involved was so entirely settled by international law, that it hardly called for the interference of the Congress of Nations at Paris. But as to the first proposition, relative to *Privateering*, Mr. Marcy presented unanswerable arguments against its adoption in the form proposed. He said, "The right to resort to privateers is as clear as the right to use public armed ships, and as incontestable as any other right appertaining to belligerents;" and quoted, from a French treatise of high repute, *Pistoye et Duverdy, des Prises maritimes*, published about the time of the Treaty of Paris, a very pertinent passage as follows: "The issuing of letters of marque, therefore, is a constantly customary belligerent act. Privateers are *bona fide* war vessels, manned by volunteers, to whom, by way of reward, the Sovereign resigns such prizes as they make in the same manner as he sometimes assigns to the land forces a portion of the war contributions levied on the conquered enemy." Mr. Marcy added, that the President yielded a most ready and willing assent to the principle, *applied without restriction*, of exempting private property from capture upon the ocean as well as upon the land, but that the President's views, as to privateers, had been expressed in his Message of December 4th, 1854; in which he said, "The proposition to enter into engagements to forego a resort to privateers, in

case this country should be forced into war with a great Naval Power, is not entitled to more favorable consideration than would be a proposition to agree not to accept the services of volunteers for operations on land." "The proposal to surrender the right to employ privateers, is professedly founded upon the principle, that private property of unoffending non-combatants, though enemies, should be exempt from the ravages of war; but the proposed surrender goes but little way in carrying out that principle, which equally requires that such private property should not be seized or molested by *national ships of war*. Should the leading Powers of Europe concur in proposing, as a rule of international law, to exempt private property upon the ocean from the seizure of public armed cruisers as well as by privateers, the United States will readily meet them upon the broad ground."

Mr. Marcy then spoke of the fixed policy of the United States not to maintain a great military or naval establishment in time of peace, and to rely chiefly upon *volunteers, military and naval*, in time of war; and shewed that if she surrendered the right of privateering, she must either abandon this excellent policy and burthen herself with the enormous expenses of a great standing army and navy, or she would be at the mercy of any strong Naval Power with whom she might be at war. Finally, he stated the conclusion of his Government, that the proposition to abolish privateering could not be accepted; but that if the Powers of Europe would agree to add to the proposition the following words: "And the private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent, on the high seas, shall be exempted from seizure by public armed vessels of the other belligerent, except it be contraband," the United States would accept the whole.

To this clear and powerful letter, the diplomatic representatives of the other nations involved never attempted any answer. The reason is obvious—England and France were not willing to give up

the right to capture prizes and seize private property on the ocean by their great public navies; and they saw at once that until they were ready to abandon this right, they had no answer to the resistless logic of Mr. Marcy. Thus the matter remained. The United States refused to forego the right of employing privateers.

And now when Lincoln and his Cabinet, urged on by the clamor of the Northern people, attempted to treat privateersmen of the Confederate States *as pirates*, the answer they received from Foreign Nations was overwhelming. No, you cannot do this; we may have abolished privateering, but *you have not*, and the seceded States, formerly part of your Union, have not, and they are now a Belligerent Power in arms against you, and entitled to all the rights of Belligerents!

Perplexed—almost maddened by their impotent rage against the South, a sudden thought entered the minds of the Lincoln Government. It had been working in the subtle brain of Seward early in April, and was afterwards suggested by an abolition newspaper in New York,

called the Times. This sheet made the amazing discovery, or rather, invention, that Mr. Marcy had not *rejected* the proposition of the Foreign Powers to abolish privateering, but had simply proposed to *amend* it. With great glee the editor urged that *it was not yet too late* to accept the proposition as offered, and urged the Government at once to give notice that the United States acceded to it! ^a It seems astonishing that the cunning which Mr. Seward certainly possessed did not enable him to see the gulf of infamy he was opening for the Lincoln party, in meanly yielding up the patriotic policy which had been established for his country by the honest and wise statesmen of the past. But he saw it not. He saw only the savage eagerness of the Government to hang the Southern privateers. Forthwith, under authority of Lincoln and his Cabinet, Seward informed the Governments of Great Britain and France, that the United States acceded to all the propositions presented in 1856, including the proposition to abolish privateering!

In due time came the answer.

STORY OF THE MERRIMAC. AS TOLD BY THE WATTS' CREEK PICKET.

BY SUSAN ARCHER TALLEY.

Calm was the earth, and calm the air,
And calm the water's flow;
Before us lay the noble James
In the sunlight all aglow—
When at our lonely post we stood,
Gazing across the broken wood,
To the level point below.

With rifles primed, and saddled steeds,
And stern and watchful eyes,—
For there, beyond the sheltering wood,
The Yankee stronghold lies;
Defended by their mighty ships,
And bristling batteries.

There rode the haughty Cumberland,
And there the Congress lay,
With all their mighty armament,
In stern and grim array;
And the Minnesota darkly looms
Far out, upon the bay.

Proudly the tyrant vessels ride
Upon the tranquil waves;
And bitterly our bosoms glow,
For at the towering masts we know
The ensign of the hated foe
That fain would make us slaves.

Then up our noble stream we gazed,
And our bosoms swelled with pride;
For there our mighty Yorktown lay,
And Jamestown, side by side,—
And the gallant little Teazer rode,
Upheaving with the tide.

There lay they, dark, and still, and stern—
Those vessels of the free;
Blockaded by those hated ships—
Imprisoned from the sea.
Oh, God! that in our Southern land,
So vile a wrong should be!

^a N. Y. Times, in Whig, May 25th.

SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART.

RICHMOND, NOVEMBER & DECEMBER, 1862.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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As early as the 15th of June, the Ministers of France and Great Britain had made a united call on Mr. Seward; had informed him that their Governments had determined to act together as to the war in America and the questions flowing therefrom, including the question of recognition, and offered to read to him a paper expressing the views of both Governments. The wily Northern official refused to permit them to read this paper until he knew its contents, and accordingly they left copies with him. He found them highly distasteful to him. France and Great Britain both recognized the fact that the United States, as they formerly existed, *were no longer one sovereignty*—that war existed between two contending sections—that the rights of belligerents belonged to each—that the Government of the Southern Confederacy existed as a fact; and the Minister of France, M. Mercier, very plainly intimated that the United States Government need not feel any surprise if, for certain purposes, *France should address herself directly to the Southern Government*. This communication was intensely bitter to Seward; he declined to permit it to be read to him, and two days after

receiving it, he wrote to the Federal Minister, Dayton, at the French Court, a letter, in which he said, "Every instruction which this Government has given to its representatives abroad, since the recent change of administration took place, has expressed our profound anxiety lest the disloyal citizens who are engaged in an attempt to overthrow the Union, should obtain aid and assistance from foreign nations, either in the form of a recognition of their pretended sovereignty, or in some other and more qualified or guarded manner. Every instruction has expressed our full belief that without such aid or assistance, the insurrection would speedily come to an end." "Every instruction bears evidence of an earnest solicitude to avoid even an appearance of menace or of want of comity towards foreign powers; but at the same time it has emphatically announced, as is now seen to have been necessary, our purpose *not to allow any one of them to expect to remain in friendship with us* if it should, with whatever motive, practically render such aid or assistance to the insurgents." a

After thus showing alike his great anxiety to conciliate foreign nations, and his torture at the very thought that the

a Mr. Seward's letter to Mr. Dayton, June 17, 1861.

Confederate States should in any manner be recognised, Mr. Seward reverted to the subject of privateering and the protocol presented at Paris, said that he had instructed Mr. Dayton to declare the unqualified assent of the United States to all the terms of the propositions there made, and intimated some surprise that he had not heard from France and Great Britain on the subject. Doubtless he had expected that these great nations would eagerly seize and welcome the assent of the Lincoln Government to the humiliating surrender of a cherished American policy.

Such was his attitude when the answer came. Its cold diplomatic tone hardly concealed the contempt which must have been felt for the motives of the Northern Government in this procedure. England and France occupied the same ground, but M. Thouvenel communicated, with most distinctness, the views of his Government. He declined to receive the assent of the United States to the propositions of Paris, except on the terms of annexing a written statement as follows: "In affixing his signature to the Convention concluded on date of this day, between France and the United States, the undersigned declares, in execution of the orders of the Emperor, that the Government of his Majesty does not intend to undertake, by the said Convention, any engagements of a nature to implicate it, directly or indirectly, in the internal conflict now existing in the United States." The meaning of this was plain, but M. Thouvenel made it even plainer by verbal explanations to Mr. Dayton, in which he said that France and Great Britain had already announced that they would take no part in the controversy raging in America; that the provisions of the Paris Convention, standing alone, might bind England and France to pursue and punish Southern privateersmen as pirates; that they were not willing to do so; that if Mr. Lincoln thought proper to do so, they could only protest in the name of humanity; but that they both

preferred to let the Paris Convention go unassented to by the United States rather than be drawn into the American controversy. *a*

This repulse cut Mr. Seward to the ground; he wrote again to Dayton, stating the deliberate falsehood, that the motives of the United States in offering to assent to the Paris Convention, had been a wish to ameliorate the rigors of maritime law, and a desire to relieve France from the dangers of the impending conflict, and instructing him to insist on an unqualified acceptance of the consent of the United States; and if this was refused, to desist from further negotiations on the subject. France and England have remained firm on the point, and the question of privateering is still open.

Thus did Mr. Seward's policy recoil on him. He betrayed his country, and offered to abandon one of her most important rights, with the hope of wreaking a bloody revenge upon the South; but he found, when too late, that the enormous bribe he offered was contemptuously rejected by the great nations he approached, and his intended victim was beyond his grasp.

Turning from this review of facts which were necessary to show the principles and temper with which the North commenced her war of attempted subjugation against the South, we now raise the curtain upon the farther scenes of this memorable contest.

CHAPTER. IV.

Northern Plan of Subjugation—Military Points—Cairo—Washington City—Federal Squadrons—The Anaconda to envelope and crush the South—Disparity in the War resources of the adverse sections—Spirit of the South—Preparations for the Campaign—General Polk—General Bragg—Manassas—Harper's Ferry—General Jackson—his early life—Education—Character—Capture of

a Draft of Declaration by M. Thouvenel, repeated in Seward's letter to Dayton, September 10, 1861.

Federal steamer *Star of the West*—Treatment of Captain Jenifer of Maryland—Benjamin F. Butler in Maryland, his exploits—Oppression—Habeas Corpus Suspended—Lincoln and Chief Justice Tañey—Military Despotism established at the North—Arkansas and Tennessee secede—West Tennessee—Tories—Patriotism of John Bell—Capture of Federal soldiers in Texas—Capt. Van Dorn—Richmond Howitzers' brush with steamer *Yankee*—Butler at Fortress Monroe—Federal steamers' attack Sewell's Point Battery—Driven off—Popular vote of Virginia for Secession—Alexandria invaded—Death of Colonel Ellsworth—Of Jackson the martyr—Effect in Washington—North Carolina secedes—Government of Confederate States transferred to Richmond—President Davis in Virginia—General Irwin McDowell prepares to advance from Washington—Beauregard at Manassas—Skirmish at Fairfax C. H.—Federal flotilla attacks Acquia Creek batteries—Hauls off severely damaged—Harriet Lane and Pig's Point battery—North-Western Virginia—Traitors—Usurped Government—Gen. McClellan—Col. Porterfield—his disaster at Phillipi—Outrages of Northerners near Hampton—Col. Magruder—Col. D. H. Hill—Major Randolph—Battle of Bethel—Northerners repulsed with heavy loss—Potomac lines—General Joseph E. Johnston—Evacuates Harper's Ferry—Reasons—Destruction—March—Movements—Col. A. P. Hill—Col. J. E. B. Stuart—Fight at Falling Waters—Turner and Richard Ashby—Affair at Kelley's Island—At Vienna—Introduction to Mountain Campaign.

All the military and naval movements instituted by Lincoln's Government, showed evidences of a great plan of subjugation, most probably devised by General Scott, for the purpose of enveloping the Southern States in a cordon of troops and armed ships too numerous and powerful to be successfully resisted. The Northern people clamored for "a short and sharp war," and evidently expected that their numerical strength would enable them to crush the seceders in ninety days. Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand troops, perhaps with the delu-

sive idea that a mere display of such force would disperse the "combinations" of which he complained; but finding his proclamation met by a storm of resistance which arrayed four additional States, with three millions of people, in arms against him, he speedily made a call for forty thousand more volunteers to be enlisted for the war, and twenty-five thousand men to be enrolled in the regular army. The outlines of the gigantic "plan" soon began to show themselves. In the valley of the Mississippi the town of Cairo was selected as a point for assembling a great body of men. This town is in the Southern extremity of Illinois, very near the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi, and nearly two hundred miles below the Northern boundary of the slave State of Missouri.

From this rendezvous it was intended to send enormous masses of armed men down the Mississippi, or into Tennessee and Alabama along the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers. Washington City was another point of interest. The army here assembled was intended not merely to guard the city, but to advance into Virginia and capture Richmond. At the same time, numbers of recruits were assembled in Ohio, from that State and Indiana, who were to penetrate North-Western Virginia, to take advantage of the traitor-feeling and movements already showing themselves among some of the people there—to advance through the Trans-Alleghany and valley counties—to cut off the supplies and retreat of the Southern forces, already assembling at Harper's Ferry, and compel their surrender, and to unite with the Federal forces marching from Pennsylvania through Maryland and flank the Southern army that might be opposing the advance from Washington, so as either to capture that army or compel its retreat upon Richmond.

While these great military projects were contemplated, naval operations, on an equal scale, were to be conducted. The squadrons on all foreign stations were called home; fresh ships were added to the blockading forces; the ship-yards of the North and North-West were full of preparation and work for building gun-

boats, many of which were to be iron-clad, and so strongly sheathed as to hope to resist the heaviest artillery; steamers and sailing vessels, in uncounted numbers, were bought or chartered on the most extravagant terms. The avarice of the Northern people found intense gratification in the lucrative and often fraudulent contracts thus opened to them; the fact that their own Government and people were cheated, did not give them one pang of remorse; from the highest officers, even the heads of the Federal Departments, to the meanest tools used by their sub-agents, all were intent on two great ends: *First*, to make the war violent and destructive to the South. *Second*, to make the war fruitful in dishonest gains to themselves. Actuated by such motives working on a people proverbial for covetousness, malice, mechanic skill and industry, it might well be expected that wondrous material results would follow, and that the North should cherish the hope that the seceded States would be overwhelmed. Lincoln and his Government proposed to send huge armaments to the Southern coasts and down the great rivers penetrating Southern territory, to seize all the seaport towns—to establish military garrisons in every State—to enclose the resistant population on every side—to stop their supplies of food and clothing; and by every means of coercion, to compel them to submit to a hated dominion.

The favourite illustration of the Northern press in describing this monstrous scheme of military and naval compression was, *THE ANACONDA*. They delighted in comparing it to this loathsome serpent; first coiling around the body of his victim, enfolding every limb, then crushing out the life, and finally covering the mangled carcass with slime from his own filthy secretions and swallowing it whole!!

Happily for the cause of human liberty and virtue, the Northern Python encountered in the South a young Apollo, who, like the fabled god of old, pierced the monster with shafts of glittering steel.

From the stand-point of the ordinary

observer, it would certainly have appeared that the combatants entering upon this war were most unequally matched, and that the South could hardly escape ruin if not subjugation. The white population of the North was more than double hers, and embraced an immense number of men driven almost by necessity to go into the army, as well as great bodies of foreigners, who finding other employments paralyzed, were ready to adopt fighting as a means of support. The North had an organized Government of seventy years growth, with all its departments and machinery in full working order; a standing army; a compact and powerful navy; a population excelling in the mechanic arts; workshops, stores, and unlimited material for war purposes; manufactories established; the whole foreign world open to obtain added supplies of arms, saltpetre, sulphur, clothing, every article called for in war; an established treasury system, and a credit which would sustain the heaviest financial demands. The South was literally an infant nation, and called, in her very cradle, like Hercules, to do battle with serpents; four millions of her population were useless as soldiers, and were even hoped by the North to be an element of weakness and danger, threatening her internal safety, though experience fortunately proved that such hopes were vain. The South had no navy, no sailors, and no sufficient mechanic arts and appliances either to supply her promptly and adequately with ships, gunboats, ammunition and arms, or to furnish her armies and people with clothing; she had no long organized system, no established credit, no treasury mechanism, by which the sinews of war might be supplied. Her seaports were blockaded; her rivers occupied by hostile steamers; her communication with the outer world cut off as far as possible; her own great products of cotton, tobacco, sugar and rice, were shut in so that foreign nations could not exchange for them the arms, merchandise and gold they would cheerfully have given for them; her own valuable minerals and medicinals were undeveloped, and from abroad

she could only obtain, at great hazard and expense, precarious and inadequate supplies of articles of imperative necessity.

Yet, with all these disadvantages, the Confederate States of America have given to the world one more demonstration of the truth, that a brave and united people *cannot be conquered*. Whatever differences may once have existed, it is certain that after the opening of the war, the Southern people more nearly approached unanimity in their resolve to achieve independence, and their hatred of the inhuman nation who made war on them, than any people who had previously conducted a revolution. Hoping to gloss over their outrages against freedom, the Northern Government continued to boast of a *great Union party* at the South, and of the necessity for liberating it, until it became apparent to every civilized nation that this boast was an enormous falsehood; that every advance of Federal arms increased rather than diminished the detestation with which the Southerners, as a people, regarded the North. Firm in the conviction that the great masses of the white population of the Confederate States were thoroughly united in the resolve to devote their property, their lives, all that was dear to them, to the task of resisting the aggressions of their enemies, the Southern Government prepared for the war.

To meet the foe at every threatened point was obviously impossible, and it is now apparent that in the campaign ending with the year from the fall of Sumter, the Confederates attempted too much. Naturally anxious to defend their seaports and river towns, and to prevent their occupation by a hated foe, they scattered their forces, distributing them at points which they supposed to be in danger, and at distances too great for rapid concentration; thus enabling the enemy to choose his own point of assault and descend upon it in overwhelming force. Yet the Southern Generals proved themselves to be highly skilled in strategy, and their troops, by their courage and devotion, gained, even in this first campaign, a name immortal, whether in victory or defeat.

The Northern papers, at first, announced all their plans, and in terms of garrulous boasting, stated every movement of troops of which they could gain information. Knowing the great resources of their enemies in men and means, the Confederates early saw the necessity for extreme caution and vigilance. The newspapers in the Southern States were charged to make no revelations of the number or movements of armed men, and with patriotic self-denial the injunction was obeyed.

The plans of the enemy, for invasion, required corresponding plans to counteract them. To meet the forces assembling at Cairo and in the West, for descent through the valley of the Mississippi, Confederate troops were gathered at Memphis and other points in Tennessee and the South-West. Leonidas Polk, Episcopal Bishop of Louisiana, a thoroughly trained military officer, who had graduated with distinction at West Point, was invited by President Davis to assume command of these levies with the rank of Major General, and promptly consented; feeling that the highest call of duty required him to lay aside, for a time, his sacred vocation, and take the sword. General Bragg, who had gained renown in the Mexican war, and especially at Buena Vista, where his terrible discharges of grape turned the tide of battle, commanded a fine body of Southern troops at Pensacola, and was daily employed in erecting formidable batteries to be used either in defending the harbor against the enemy's fleets, or in assaulting Fort Pickens. To meet the expected advance from Washington, Manassas Junction was selected as the rendezvous for a Confederate army. This was a point in Prince-William county, twenty-five miles from Alexandria and twenty-eight from Washington. It was the junction of two important railroad lines, the Orange and Alexandria road, running from Alexandria to Gordonsville, and there connecting with the Virginia Central road which ran to Richmond, and the Manassas Gap road, which penetrated the Valley of Virginia through the Blue Ridge mountains, running to

Strasburg and Woodstock, in Shenandoah county, and approaching, at its nearest point, within twenty miles of Winchester. The importance of Manassas Junction, as a base of defence, was promptly seen by the Southern Generals, and the South Carolina regiments, at Richmond, were ordered to the point at which already Virginians were assembling. Regiments from other Southern States followed in prompt succession, and soon the spot assumed the aspect of an entrenched camp.

Harper's Ferry became, from week to week, a point of increasing interest to the belligerents. It was situated immediately on the Potomac and on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which connected Baltimore and Washington with the Ohio river. The town, itself, was small and unimportant, being down in the hollow seemingly made by the river in its magnificent hurst through the mountain-barrier at that point. But the machine shops, and valuable machinery for manufacturing muskets and rifles, made it of the highest moment to the Confederates to retain its possession, at least until the warlike treasures there secured could be removed. Beyond the accomplishment of this purpose, its retention was not indispensable to the Southerners. It did not command the railroad any more than many other points on the line. As a basis of defence, it was liable to the hazard of being approached in the rear by Federal troops either advancing from the West, or crossing the Potomac below from Pennsylvania and Maryland. But so important was it to secure the works, that the Government of Virginia, and afterwards the Confederate authorities, resolved to make a stand there, even to desperation, until the machinery was removed.

Accordingly, regiments were rapidly concentrated there and, occupying the heights both on the Virginia and Maryland side, made preparations for a vigorous defence. These regiments came chiefly from the Valley of Virginia, but a large number of men from Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, and other Southern States, came by way of Lynchburg, on

the lines of railroad. Although neither Maryland nor Kentucky had seceded, yet numbers of their gallant men, hating the dominion of the North, and sympathizing with their Southern brethren, came into Virginia in squads, and even singly, and were formed into regiments, which fought with courage in the ensuing conflicts. They were, at first, chiefly assembled at Harper's Ferry. To command the forces there organizing, Governor Letcher, who was now aided by an advisory council consisting of John J. Allen, Matthew F. Maury, Francis H. Smith, Robert L. Montague, and Thomas S. Haymond, selected an officer who has since become so renowned that he must be formally introduced.

Thomas Jonathan Jackson was born in Clarksburg, Harrison county, Virginia, on the 21st day of January, 1824. Though part of his name seems to savor of New England, he is of pure Southern blood. His father died when he was but three years old; his mother did not long survive, and he was left an orphan boy with very limited means of support. His uncle, in Lewis county, took him to his home, and here he spent several years. His early education was defective, but his sturdy and honest character made him friends even in his boyhood. In 1842, a youth who had been appointed cadet at West Point, from that District, having declined the appointment, young Jackson eagerly sought it, and securing favourable letters to Mr. Hayes, the representative in Congress, he made his way to Washington; accomplishing thirteen miles of the journey *on foot*, from Clarksburg, over roads made knee-deep in mud by incessant rains for several days. His perseverance was rewarded. He received the appointment; and by his industry and patient toil, he overcame all obstacles arising from his imperfect early training, and graduated in 1846, in a class embracing many distinguished names. He was appointed Second Lieutenant, and was immediately ordered to Mexico. At the siege of Vera Cruz he worked his battery with a judgment and coolness which secured his advance to First Lieutenant. For his gallantry at

Cerro Gordo, he was brevetted Captain, and accompanying General Scott's army, he entered the City of Mexico, having received the brevet rank of Major for farther good conduct. He once commanded a battery, on which the fire of the enemy was so severe that nearly half of his raw artillerists fled: but Jackson stood firm, until receiving infantry reinforcements he stormed and captured the very guns that had scattered his cannoniers. *a*

After the war was substantially ended, he resigned his commission in the army and was appointed a Professor in the Military Academy of Virginia, at Lexington; but when his State seceded, he was prompt in entering the field, and with the rank of Colonel, took command at Harper's Ferry. He was, in height, about five feet ten inches, with a figure thick-set and square-shouldered; his walk was with long strides, and generally stooping; like Napoleon, he was not a graceful rider, *though he was never unhorsed*. Previous to the war he was considered, by many, as a slow man, even intellectually dull; but this superficial view has been effectually demolished by a brilliant life, which has drawn even from his enemies the acknowledgment that he is a man "whose prime qualities are celerity, quick conclusions, and startling execution; who, as a soldier, is as rapid as he is wary; abounding in surprises, brave almost to rashness, and inventive almost to romance." *b* His crowning merit was his sincere and humble personal Christianity; his creed was Calvinistic, but far above all creeds was a devout and trusting spirit, which looked unflinching to God in each event of life.

Soon after his arrival at Harper's Ferry, General Joseph E. Johnston was ordered to the post, and being his senior in rank, assumed the command; but Jackson retained his regiment, and by his influence and example, greatly aided

the distinguished officer whose name was soon to be so celebrated. The troops at Harper's Ferry were healthy and cheerful. They were fed abundantly on the splendid beef, pork, wheat and vegetables of the Valley; were in high courage, and wished, with the ardent enthusiasm of young soldiers, for an encounter with the enemy.

Thus a rapid and sweeping view of the field of contest is presented to our eyes: Over its arena events of startling moment were soon hurrying in quick succession.

On Friday, the 19th of April, the Federal steamer, *Star of the West*, whose attempt to enter Charleston harbor had made her famous, was laying off the port of Galveston, in Texas, loaded with supplies for Northern troops. A plan for her capture was quietly and successfully put in motion by Col. Earl Van Dorn, a Southern officer, already conspicuous, and afterwards one of the most brilliant leaders of the Confederate armies. A body of troops, about eighty in number, from the Galveston Artillery, the Island City Rifles, and the Wigfall Guards, embarked on the steamer *General Rusk*, and at 10 o'clock at night, started for the *Star of the West*. About this time the Federal steamer *Fashion* was receiving from Indianola the United States troops who had been paroled in Texas, and were going North. When the *Rusk* neared the *Star of the West*, her captain sang out, "Who's there?" Col. Van Dorn immediately replied, "The *General Rusk*, with troops." This produced the impression that the arrival was of Federal soldiers. The *Rusk* ran along side and made fast; the Texans were on deck in a moment, with arms ready; resistance was vain; the *Star of the West* surrendered, and was carried to New Orleans with her officers and men, where her arrival was saluted with twenty-three guns, fired from Fort Jackson and Algiers. *c*

The strong Southern feeling exhibiting

a Memoir in the Dispatch, May 31st, 1862. Memor. to author, from Col. J. M. Bennett, Auditor of Virginia.

b Boston Journal, quoted in Whig, July 14th, 1862.

c New Orleans Bulletin, 22nd April.

itself in Maryland, excited to brutality the Northern Government, kindled rage against her citizens, and led to violent measures for her subjugation. Captain Jenifer, a brave officer, born in Charles county, Maryland, had returned with his company from Texas to Carlisle Barracks, in Pennsylvania. Obtaining a brief leave of absence, he came to Baltimore, and was present on the day of the severe fight in the streets, when Northern troops passed through. Finding that if he continued in the Federal service he would be compelled to fight against the South, with whom were all his sympathies, he promptly resigned his commission, to take effect on the 30th of April; thus giving a brief interval for settlement of his accounts with the Government. He set out on his return to Carlisle, going part of the way on horseback, the railroad bridges having been burned. At the small town of Hanover, in York county, Pennsylvania, he was arrested under orders from her Abolitionist Governor, Curtin, seconded by a mob, upon the pretence that he was the bearer of dispatches, or important information, designed for the South. He proposed to the Mayor of Hanover, that he should be searched, which was thoroughly done, and nothing adapted even to excite a suspicion was found on him. Nevertheless, his feet were bound with chains, and handcuffs were sent for, and it was only upon the indignant remonstrance of a Captain Eichelberger, of Hanover, who seems to have been the only decent man present, that these gross indignities were suspended. Though entirely unarmed himself, he was carried by an armed guard to York, the county seat, and on Tuesday morning, the 23rd of April, he was locked in a cell in the common jail, and heavily ironed. Upon the earnest request of Lieutenant Wells, of the Navy, the irons were removed by order of Judge Fisher, but a few hours afterwards they were replaced by the sheriff, under direct instructions, by telegram, from Governor Curtin. In the evening Captain Jenifer was re-

leased on parole, and the next day went to Harrisburg, had an interview with the Governor, and boldly told him all the facts. The only reply this narrow-hearted official made was, "these are exciting times, and we have to be on our guard," with some expressions of regret at what had occurred. After his release, and after closing his affairs with Lincoln's Government, Captain Jenifer turned his back upon his cowardly persecutors, and readily obtained a commission in the Confederate Army. It was but just that under his command a Southern regiment afterwards inflicted a bloody retribution upon troops from the North.

To provide a suitable tool for the work of oppression in Maryland, Abraham Lincoln made Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, a General, and appointed him to command in the department embracing Annapolis and Baltimore. This man represented one of the foulest forms of Northern hypocrisy and fraud. He had professed to be a Democrat of the deepest dye, and unalterably opposed to abolitionism. He had even gone so far as to oppose the nomination of Douglas, and to advocate the election of Breckenridge, who was the Southern Democratic candidate. But his motives were wholly selfish. He knew that President Buchanan was bitterly averse to Douglas, and being anxious to control the collectorship of the port of Boston, he was zealous for Mr. Buchanan's favorite. When Lincoln came into office and the war opened, Butler promptly forgot all his Southern principles and hastened to testify his zeal for coercion. He was a lawyer, but ignoring the nobler aims of his profession, he knew it only to acquire the art of deceiving by specious words and betraying by subtle deeds. His countenance was most sinister in expression. He was cross-eyed and sour visaged. Nature denied him the power to look an honest man in the face. Such was the military ruler put by Lincoln, over the gallant Marylanders. At first he excited only contempt, but the time was coming when his infamy lower.

ed him in the eyes of all civilized nations, beneath the level of the brute!

His first exploit was to advance with twenty-four hundred men and seize the Relay House, on the Railroad between Washington and Baltimore. Not a soldier opposed him; not one single armed man was found to resist, yet his feat was announced in swelling periods, besetting a great military triumph. Two of his men fell, one having blown his own head off by the awkward handling of his musket, and the other having killed himself by eating a large quantity of unwholesome pies! ^a Upon this latter casualty, Butler founded a libellous charge against the Maryland people, declaring in a solemn public proclamation, that his men had been *poisoned with strychnine*, put into pies, which were temptingly offered to them! True to his low instincts, he accompanied this charge by a cowardly and atrocious threat, suggested, if not plainly made, by reminding the people that he had it in his power to "place the poisonous cup upon their tables, and put an agent, with a word, into every household armed with this terrible weapon." ^b The meaning of this horrible menace was plain—he threatened to incite the slaves to poison the families of their masters!

Under the rule of this man and his successors in Maryland, and the alarmed tyranny of Lincoln, the people of that gallant State were ground with the most galling oppression. The Constitution of the United States was openly disregarded; the pretence that the war was for the *preservation* of the constitution, presented a ghastly mockery, when contrasted with the conduct of the men who were every day overthrowing its most sacred principles. The constitution declared that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." ^c This clause

occurring in the section defining and limiting the powers of Congress, had always been construed to require an act of the law-making power to suspend this great writ of personal liberty. Yet, without a shadow of authority, Lincoln and his Cabinet arrested numberless citizens of Maryland, threw them into prison, confined them in Fort McHenry, surrounded them with soldiers, and refused to obey the august process of courts of justice, issued for their relief.

At 2 o'clock in the morning of the 25th of May, John Merryman, of Baltimore county, was arrested in his own house without process or warrant of any kind, by a body of armed men, and carried to Fort McHenry, where he was closely confined. On the 26th of May, the venerable Chief Justice Taney, of the United States Supreme Court, issued a writ of habeas corpus, commanding Gen. George Cadwallader, military commandant of the fort, to produce before the chief justice the body of John Merryman, that the merits of his case might be heard and determined.

On Tuesday, the 27th May, at eleven o'clock, being the time of return fixed by the writ, the marshal reported that he had served it. Cadwallader did not appear, but Col. Lee, one of his aids, came into court and read a paper, stating that Merryman was charged with various acts of treason, and that "he (Cadwallader) was duly authorized by the President of the United States, in such cases, to suspend the writ of habeas corpus." Col. Lee was preparing to retire, when he was stopped by a question from the chief justice.

Chief Justice.—"Have you brought with you, the body of John Merryman?"

Col. Lee.—"I have no instructions, except to deliver this response to the court."

Chief Justice.—"The commanding officer, then, declines to obey the writ."

Col. Lee.—"After making that com-

^a Baltimore Exchange, Dispatch May 15.

^b Ibid.

^c Constitution Art. I. sec. 92.

munication, my duty is ended, and I have no further power." He then retired.

The chief justice did not hesitate. He immediately issued an attachment against Cadwallader, returnable the next day, requiring him to be attached for his contempt in refusing to obey the writ. The next day a great crowd attended at the court-room; intense excitement and anxiety were felt. The marshal appeared, and after amending his return, the glaring facts came out, that the officer with the attachment went to the fort to serve it, he sent in his name and purpose, *he was not permitted to enter the outer gate*, but a messenger informed him there was no reply to his card! Thus did bayonets under Cadwallader, and his master, Abraham Lincoln, overturn the constitution. Chief Justice Taney delivered a lucid and strong opinion, showing that the President had no power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, much less to delegate such power to an under officer; that the process of the court had been arrested and set at naught by a force notoriously superior to any posse he could obtain to execute it; that if Cadwallader were before him he would impose on him the proper punishment of fine and imprisonment, but under the circumstances, he could not do more than report the facts to the President of the United States, "and call upon him to perform his constitutional duty—to enforce the laws by compelling obedience to the civil process." *a*

The sequel soon appeared. Mr. Lincoln took no steps whatever to redress a breach of the constitution, which he had himself, committed. The Northern people and press, with a few honorable exceptions, gloried in their shame, and kissed the chains which a vulgar

usurper was preparing for their limbs. The New York Tribune even advocated that the intrepid jurist who had so nobly vindicated the majesty of the law, should be arrested and imprisoned! *b*

The gulf of despotism being thus opened, outrage followed outrage, in quick succession. The constitution declared that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." *c* In the face of this, the people of Maryland were harrassed by incessant searches for arms in their houses, their fields, their work-shops, and wherever found, they were taken away by Federal officers and soldiers. The design was, practically to disarm her whole population, except such as were *known* to be sympathizers with the North, and such were *not* a majority of her people. The constitution declared that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated." *d* But in cases too numerous for detail, armed men, without warrant or charge on oath, and with no authority save the orders of irresponsible officials, entered the houses of men and women, seized their papers, searched their furniture, imprisoned their persons and insulted their families. In many cases, suspected persons in Maryland, and some of the Northern States were arrested by telegraphic orders sent by Seward or others, of Lincoln's cabinet, and were kept in close confinement, without being informed of any charges against them, or having any opportunity to confront their accusers.

The constitution forbade that any law should be made "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." *e* This was one of the provisions soonest and most grossly broken by the Yankee Govern-

a Baltimore Exchange, May 28.

b New York Tribune, 29th May.

c Amend. Art. II,

d Amend. Art. IV.

e Amended Art. I.

ment. As early as the 28th of April, the press in Washington was completely muzzled, and no paper there dared express any sentiment favorable to the South. ^a Afterwards, newspapers were suppressed for opposing the war policy, and demonstrating its madness and ruin. The Baltimore Exchange, the New York Daily News, Freeman's Journal, the Southern Religious Telegraph, of Philadelphia, were successively stopped. In a short time, the press of the North was brought to the requisite point of servility; no voice was publicly upraised in favor of peace, and when men spoke privately their sentiments of hatred and contempt for such despotism, spies were speedily found to accuse them, and they were arrested as enemies of the government. ^b

Under this system of oppression, Maryland was manacled—subjugated—"a sovereign State in chains." Her sisters of the South looked on with burning indignation, and with the resolve to release her when time and power favored. Meanwhile, they were confirmed in the purpose to endure devastation, robbery, bloodshed, all the horrors of war, rather than submit to Northern dominion.

The lawless course of the Lincoln Cabinet approached its climax in an act which the Northern press lauded in fulsome terms, as a *wondrous stroke of policy*. In the telegraph offices through the North, were millions of written messages left by persons who *believed they might trust* to the honor of the corporations and of the government, for the privacy of their communications. Secret orders were issued, and on the 20th of May, at 3 o'clock, a descent was made by government officials on every considerable telegraph office in the States under Federal control, and the accumulated papers of twelve months were seized. These embraced not only original messages, but copies of the answers. ^c The design was to detect in this enormous mass, correspondence which might enable the government to seize

men at the North, who sympathized with the Southern Revolution.

Yet the results of this giant robbery were of the feeblest importance to the Northern cause. One result certainly followed, very acceptable to the corrupt party in power. It enabled them to pay some hundreds of thousands of dollars in salaries, to their tools employed in dissecting the defunct telegrams.

With every step of tyranny by the Lincoln Government, the Union sentiment of the slave States, melted away. On the 24th of April, the *Van Buren Press*, a newspaper, in Western Arkansas, which had been warm for the Union, hoisted the Confederate flag over its office. On the night of the 23d, the United States troops evacuated Fort Smith, which was immediately occupied by State soldiers. A Convention was called, members elected, and on the 6th of May, by a vote showing the immense preponderance of the Southern element, Arkansas adopted an ordinance of secession. She promptly ratified the Provisional Constitution, and was admitted to the sisterhood of the Confederate States, on the 20th. ^d Tennessee did not wait for a convention, but by act of her Legislature, adopted an ordinance of secession, which was duly submitted for rejection or approval, to the people of the State—the ultimate sovereignty. She was admitted to the Southern Confederacy on the 17th of May, with the condition, however, that the act of the Legislature should be fully approved by the people. Before the vote was taken, some disaffection to the South had appeared in the Eastern part of the State, among an unenlightened population, who were led astray by the traitor Andrew Johnston, and the profane and vulgar demagogue, W. G. Brownlow. To such a height had this disaffection risen, that an Alabama volunteer company, the Lauderdale Rifles, although received with cheering and hospitality, in all other parts of the State, were attacked with stones by about five hundred Union men, at

^a Examiner, April 29.

^b Whig, April 30

^c New York Tribune, 21st May, Examiner, 25th May.

^d Confederate Acts and Resolutions, No. 142.

Strawberry Plains, in the mountains of East Tennessee. The Tories took care first to ascertain that the troops were unarmed, and then made their cowardly assault. The Alabamians fired some twenty revolvers, which quickly dispersed the assailants, as the cars moved off. None of the troops were hurt. *a*

But while an insignificant fragment of her people were thus recreant, the great heart of Tennessee, was true to the South. Her best men were warm in the cause. The patriot, John Bell, addressed the people of Knoxville, denounced the coercion policy of Lincoln, and declared that although he had thought the course of the cotton States in seceding unwise, yet now when secession was an accomplished fact, they were right to resist force, and *could not be subdued*. He said: "For myself, I have taken my position. The noose may be around my neck, but I am frank to declare myself a REBEL. I have counseled resistance to the invasive policy of the Federal Government, and if that makes me a rebel, and any punishment is to follow it, I am willing to incur it. I do not seek to evade either the charge or the responsibility." *b* Tremendous cheering followed these brave words, and were so prolonged that the old patriot could not proceed. On Saturday, the 8th of June, the vote was taken, and Tennessee adopted the ordinance of secession, by a majority of more than sixty thousand votes. *c*

After the capture of the *Star of the West*, Major Sibley, with his force of five hundred United States troops in Texas, found themselves hard pressed. He succeeded with much difficulty in chartering two schooners, the *Horace* and *Urbania*, to take them to Key West. They were towed down by the steamer *Fashion*, from Indianola, to the pass opening into the Gulf of Mexico, but the crowded condition of the schooners was intolerable, and the *Fashion* was sent back to Indianola with a captain and guard of fifty men,

to procure more vessels. Hardly had this guard disembarked before the indefatigable Colonel Van Dorn was upon them—captured Captain and all, put them into comfortable quarters, at the Cassimir House, and seized the *Fashion*. He fitted up in a few hours a small squadron, consisting of the *Fashion* and two propellers, the *Mobile* and *United States*, built breastworks of cotton bales on the decks, and with eight hundred men, collected from the surrounding counties, he steamed down the harbor, and summoned Major Sibley to surrender. Cooped up in two schooners, crowded to excess, without cannon, and with an overpowering force upon him, the Federal officer yielded, on the 24th of April. In the afternoon the steamer *General Rusk*, which had been captured by the Confederates at Galveston, arrived, bringing to Colonel Van Dorn a 24 pounder, two 6 pounders, and one hundred and fifty men. The public arms and property of the Federals were retained, private arms and property returned to the owners, the officers were paroled, and such of the men as did not choose to remain, were sent North, after taking an oath not to serve against the Confederate Government until exchanged. Eleven officers, of Southern birth, resigned their commissions. *d* Colonel Van Dorn afterwards proceeded with so much prudence and vigor, that nearly all the Federal troops in Texas were captured and paroled.

Meanwhile the warlike movements in Virginia and on her borders became daily more threatening. To meet an expected advance from Fortress Monroe a line of defence was projected, to extend from the York river to the James, across the Peninsula. Southern forces were assembled at Gloucester Point, opposite Yorktown. Federal armed vessels were daily passing in the Chesapeake Bay, and occasionally attempting to run up the rivers.

a Letters in Dispatch, June 10.

b Knoxville Register, June 7.

c Whig, June 12.

d Correspondence N. O. Picayune, 24th April.

On the 7th of May, the Federal steamer "Yankee" approached the Point with apparent design to enter. Captain J. Thompson Brown held the beach with a company of Howitzers from Richmond. He had no earth works or stationary guns, but drawing out upon the shore, under the slight shelter of a few bushes, his Parrott rifled gun, with three smooth bores, he prepared to receive her. When two miles off a shot was sent across her bow; she instantly opened fire with her 32 pounder, and though her shots generally fell short, one heavy ball pitched close to the shore battery. The Howitzers returned her fire coolly, and struck her twice from their rifle, when finding that a nearer approach would be hazardous, she turned and steamed away. ^a This slight encounter was interesting, because it was the first on the Northern borders, and it was not without importance, because it indicated that field artillery might be sometimes successfully employed against armed vessels on rivers. Warmer work was close at hand.

On the 18th of May, General Butler, already well advanced in infamy, left Annapolis, and on the 20th reached Fortress Monroe, as commander of the military department of East Virginia and North Carolina. Troops, numbering nearly nine thousand men, soon followed him. Part of them were disembarked and encamped at Newports News, in Warwick county, at the mouth of James river. Butler was full of self confidence, and promised vigorous warfare against the State into whose waters he had thrust himself.

By earnest labour the approach to Norfolk had been guarded by heavy batteries, lining the shores of Elizabeth river, and the beach of Craney Island. The lowest was at Sewell's Point, far down the harbour, and so near to Old Point and the Rip Raps, that its guns commanded a large part of Hampton Roads. This battery was yet incomplete. Men were working upon the embrasures,

raising timbers and throwing up earth. The Federals resolved to attack, and, if possible, destroy it, before the guns could be mounted.

On Saturday, the 18th of May, the little steam tug Kahokee ran down from Norfolk, carrying a number of negroes to work on the battery at Sewell's Point. The Yankee steamer Monticello fired upon her, when the Kahokee ran under the guns of a battery at Boush's Bluff, about two miles above Sewell's Point; the Monticello approached, but the battery opened, and she retired, dropping down opposite Sewell's Point; here she commenced a heavy fire upon the incomplete works—shot and shells hailed in and around them; the soldiers stood their ground bravely, though without the means of returning the fire. The Yankee steamer Freeborn, Captain Ward, upon a signal from the Monticello, approached, and taking a position within five hundred yards of the shore, opened with a 32 pounder, but the only effect was to cause a rapid dispersion of the negroes who had been at work on the battery. ^b Darkness suspended the attack.

During Saturday night, intense activity pervaded the battery. By great exertions, three short 32 pounders, and two rifled ^c pounders were mounted and got ready for action; they were manned by an artillery company from Columbus, Georgia, Captain Colquitt, and the Woodis Rifles, of Norfolk, Captain Lamb. The works were strengthened with timbers and earth, and all was prepared for a stern resistance.

At 4 o'clock, Sunday afternoon, the 20th of May, the Monticello again opened her fire, and threw a storm of round shot and shells from her six guns, some of which were fired with great precision. But she was no longer to have the game all in her own hands. The battery steadily replied, and though the artilleryists were inexperienced, their fire was effectual. Shots from the rifled guns pierced

^a Letter of L. F. J. in Whig, May 15th.

^b Petersburg Express, May 21st. Northern account in Dispatch, May 23d.

the Monticello again and again. One struck her near the water line, when she instantly threw up a signal rocket, and two other steamers, the *Yankee* and *Young America* came to her aid; the *Yankee* opened fire, but a shot from the battery took her in the stern, raked her decks, cut away her flag staff, and caused her to retire to a more prudent distance. About dark all the steamers retreated from the fight, the Monticello moving and rolling heavily, and evidently much disabled. ^a

This contest furnished one more proof of what had long been regarded as settled—the superiority of a land battery to an assailing force of ships or steamers. Not a man in the battery was killed, and but two slightly wounded. The loss of the Federals was not immediately known. Already they commenced that plan of concealment and falsehood as to their defeats and losses, which they afterwards elaborated into the largest system of intentional lying that the world has ever known. By flag of truce passing between Norfolk and Old Point, it was discovered that the Monticello had six of her crew killed and several wounded, and that her injuries were such as to require extensive repairs before she could be safely used.

On the 23d of May the people of Virginia voted upon the Ordinance of Secession, referred to them by their Convention. The result was that the Ordinance was adopted and ratified by a majority of 92,149, at the polls, and 10,515 in the camps, making a total of over one hundred thousand votes. ^b This day thus signalling the deliverance of Virginia from the thralldom of Lincoln's political rule, was selected by him for the opening of that scene of bloody invasion of her soil for which he had long been preparing. ●

General Lee had early decided not to attempt the defence of Alexandria. This town lies immediately on the Potomac,

seven miles below Washington. It was unavoidably subject to bombardment and destruction by the naval force of the North, and the same cause made it untenable by a land force. Batteries for its protection could not have been erected in the face of armed steamers, and of the enemy assembled at Washington. A small force, chiefly of cavalry, was kept there, but with orders to evacuate the town without contest, in case of serious invasion.

On the evening of the 23d the corps of occupation was detached in Washington, and received orders. As early as half past 4 o'clock on the morning of the 24th, a lieutenant from the Federal steamer Pawnee, notified Colonel Territt, the Southern officer in command at Alexandria, that the town would be occupied by Federal troops by 9 o'clock. Ample time was thus given, and Colonel Territt, with most of his men, easily retreated to Manassas. But Captain Ball, with about forty cavalry, remained in the town; he had given orders that they should move at 8, believing, with Southern *nonchalance*, that they would have plenty of time, or perhaps misled by the designed ambiguity of the Federal notification. At about day-break, three steamers, with transports in tow, arrived at the wharf, bringing a large body of infantry, among whom were a regiment known as Ellsworth's Fire Zouaves, of New York. The troops instantly disembarked and occupied the town. Captain Ball and most of his men were captured and carried, *hand-cuffed*, to Washington. ^c Beyond this untoward loss, the Southern cause did not suffer; the cars of the Orange and Alexandria railroad had been cautiously kept three miles from the city, and escaped with Col. Territt's men and many citizens, to Manassas. Even the telegraph operator retreated safely with his instruments, carrying with him all important dispatches under his control.

^a Petersburg Express, 21st. Whig, 22d.

^b Estimates official and non-official. Governor's Proclamation, 14th June. Returns in office of Secretary of Commonwealth Va.

^c Corres. Enquirer letter, May 25th. Whig, May 28th.

Artillery, cavalry and infantry corps set out from Washington, by the long bridge across the Potomac, and marched by land towards Alexandria, nearly at the time that the steamers came down. The Southern pickets and riflemen at the long bridge, and skirting the Potomac, fired on the decks of the vessels as they passed, and then retreated. In a few hours twelve thousand Federal troops were on the Virginia side of the river. Arlington Heights were taken, wagons with entrenching tools followed, and preparations were made for earth works and entrenched camps. In Alexandria the Federal soldiers spread through the town—the telegraph office was seized—public buildings were occupied, and every emblem of the South was eagerly sought for destruction. Even the signs of the *Southern Protection Insurance Company*, and of the *Southern Churchman*, a religious journal, were torn down.^a The *Fire Zouaves*, of New York, ran through the streets shouting Hi! Hi! their usual call to their turbulent assemblages and fights at the North. They gloried as though the taking of a defenceless town were the conquest of the South. But their triumph was quickly quenched in blood!

Two men met each other face to face in Alexandria—the one a type of the brutal, aggressive, unscrupulous spirit of even the least vulgar men of the North; the other a representative of the stern, death-devotion of the South in defence of her rights and homes. Both fell, but *the Northern man fell first*, and from the blood of the martyred Southerner a harvest of armed men has sprung. Ellsworth, the Colonel of the Zouaves, was a New Yorker, who had made himself conspicuous as a holiday soldier and captain of a company of Chicago Zouaves, who dressed finely and drilled briskly. In his more advanced post as Colonel of a regiment, from which mighty deeds were expected, he was highly esteemed by Lincoln, and being rather young and very successful in showing to advantage the

arts of his tailor and hair-dresser, he was a favorite with Northern ladies. His vanity being thus puffed up, he flamed with eagerness to do great exploits against Southerners, with as little personal risk as might be convenient.

James William Jackson was a native of Fairfax county, Virginia, of very respectable family. He was about six feet high, stout and powerful in frame, with stern features, high cheek bones, aquiline nose, well-shaped mouth and chin. He was of proved courage, fond of wild adventure, a splendid shot with rifle or fowling piece, a skillful pugilist, a dangerous man when provoked, yet most affectionate in his family and capable of deeds of the gentlest humanity. His whole soul was concentrated in love to the South,—he led in every move against her enemies—was among the first to reach Harper's Ferry, rifle in hand, to attack John Brown and his bandits, and was the first to out down an Abolitionist election-pole, which Yankees had ventured to raise at Occoquan, in Prince William county, during the canvass of 1861. Soon after becoming proprietor of the Marshall House, a hotel in Alexandria, he raised over it *the Confederate Flag*, and put forth his business card, adding to his name and house the significant declaration, "Virginia is determined, and will yet conquer under the command of Jeff. Davis." The flag was large and handsome, and was spread to a staff forty feet high, raised on the roof near the sky-light. It could be plainly seen from the river, and even from points near Washington. Threats of violence had been made against it; Jackson met them by the declaration, that his house was his own—that his "flag represented his opinions, and that there would be two dead men near when that flag came down."^b

Flushed with easy conquest, Ellsworth, at the head of his Zouaves, passed up King street; Jackson's flag caught his eye; he instantly exclaimed, "That flag must come down;" and, attended by a

^a Pamphlet Life of Jackson, 19.

^b Life of Jackson, 28.

few of his men, rushed into the house. Nothing can better exhibit his personal vanity and folly than this act. The servants shrunk away; the few whites he met made no reply to his enquiries; he ascended the stairs—made his way to the roof; the flag was hauled down, and securing it, he commenced his descent in triumph.

Meanwhile Jackson was aroused from sleep; a servant told him that Northern soldiers were in the house. Hastily throwing on part of his clothes, he seized his double-barrelled gun, which was kept loaded, and went to the second story landing; here he met the invaders; Ellsworth was in the act of receiving the flag from one of his men, saying aloud, "I'll take the prize." Jackson's voice was heard, "Yes, and here is another prize for you;" and as Ellsworth wrapped the flag around him, the fierce Southerner took unerring aim and fired a load of buck-shot into his heart. With a single cry, "My God!" Ellsworth fell dead. Francis W. Brownell, of Troy, New York, a member of the Zouaves, instantly levelled his Minie musket close to Jackson's head and shot him down, the other barrel of his gun being fired as he fell. With cowardly barbarity the Zouaves bayoneted the dead body, and left a bayonet pinning it to the floor for five hours, permitting no one to remove it. In the presence of Jackson's sister, Mrs. Thomas, they threatened to cut the body "into bits." They robbed it of keys and money, and finally ordered the family to leave the house, and carry the corpse with them, by five o'clock in the evening. ^a

The martyr's remains were interred in the burying-ground at the old homestead of his family in Fairfax county. In the South he was regarded, almost universally, as a hero who had deliberately offered up his life for her cause. The flames of patriotism were kindled anew; recruiting received double impetus; subscriptions in money, to a considerable

amount, were made up and sent to his widow; his name was on every tongue.

Even when regarded in the cold light of ordinary human ethics, Jackson's deed was right. If Ellsworth's invasion was a military measure, then he met the fate of war, and was killed as thousands have been in open combat in entering the houses of an assaulted city. If it was not a military invasion, then without authority he entered another's house and robbed him of his property, and he was justly slain in the act of committing a felony.

As might have been expected, the Northern papers declared the killing to be an assassination. But it was soon apparent that the deed produced profound depression and gloom among their soldiers and officials. It was terribly significant. They felt in their hearts that such a fate might be expected by any invader of the South. The Yankee soldiers in Alexandria talked of it, and one was heard to say to another, "*Damn me, if I don't believe they'll kill us all.*"

Ellsworth's body was carried to the White House in Washington, and Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln moaned over it. When it was taken to the Baltimore depôt, a large military cortege, with the President and the members of his Cabinet, attended it. Suddenly heavy reports of guns were heard on the Virginia side; the officials stopped—military men consulted together—a panic was threatened—the soldiers were withdrawn in confusion, and the body reached the depôt almost unattended. ^b Lincoln feared that Southerners were advancing on Washington, and was not easily re-assured.

Believers in omens found a warning to the North in another event. On the day of the occupation, a sailor, from one of the Federal ships, climbed the roof of the market house, in Alexandria, to raise the United States flag. But as he ascended the pole his grasp failed, and fall-

^a Life of Jackson, 33, 44.

^b Statement of Mr. Comfort, an eye-witness.

ing down, he broke his neck and instantly died. ^a

To reward Brownell, who killed Jackson, Lincoln raised him from the ranks and made him a Lieutenant. But he was a doomed man. He afterwards fell in battle on the soil of Virginia.

The Southern Revolution moved on without pause. On the 20th of May the Convention of North Carolina met at Raleigh, and on the evening of the same day, *by unanimous vote*, they adopted an Ordinance of Secession. A farther Ordinance was passed, adopting the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States. Thus, in the course of one day, North Carolina was under three distinct governments. As her Ordinance was adopted before the final vote of the people of Virginia ratifying the previous action of the Convention, the good-humored boast was made that she was "out" before Virginia. The result was hailed with the liveliest joy. In Raleigh a hundred guns were fired—bells were rung, and everywhere in the South sounds of welcome were heard.

The invasion of Virginia, and the great assemblage of Northern troops on her borders, made it clear that the chief struggle of the campaign would be on her soil. Her defence, therefore, was the defence of all her Southern sisters. It was evident that great advantages would be gained by having the President, the heads of the military and civil departments, and the law-making power, within her bounds, where intelligence could be promptly communicated, and instant action had. Accordingly, the representatives of Virginia, in the Provisional Congress at Montgomery, Messrs. Rives, Hunter, Brockenbrough, and Staples, urged the change. It was resolved on, and in a short time suitable buildings in Richmond were obtained, and every Department of the Government was removed to the new seat.

On the morning of the 29th of May, President Davis arrived in Richmond. His coming at that time was, to many,

unexpected, but when his presence was known, he was welcomed with enthusiasm. He received visitors with little formality, at the Governor's house, at such hours as could be spared from pressing duties. He found the military preparations in a state requiring instant energy, and within a few hours after his arrival he telegraphed and wrote messages to every State in the South, urging that troops should be sent forward with increased speed. His vigor was fully needed. The enemy were threatening at every assailable point.

General Irwin McDowell was appointed to the command of the Federal army in Virginia, now stretching from Arlington Heights, opposite Washington, to Alexandria. He was considered a scientific and able officer. Under his direction, aided by the incessant exertions of the War Department, and the very special advice of General Wingfield Scott, the army was rapidly prepared for an offensive move, and provided with every munition that could promote its efficiency. The Northern papers were filled with swelling accounts of its equipments and grandeur; the arrival of regiment after regiment of infantry, and battery after battery of flying artillery, was daily heralded; people, press and Government united in the belief that the Northern onslaught would be irresistible, and that the forces of the South would be scattered before them. The Confederate army was gathered at Manassas Junction, under the command of Brigadier-General Bonham, of South Carolina. It was reinforced as rapidly as troops could arrive from the counties of Virginia and the South, and though still far inferior to the enemy in numbers, was full of courage and stern resolution. The pickets of the two armies often approached each other, and already the fierce character of the war was foreshadowed. Federal pickets were almost daily and nightly shot down; the Confederate officers did not encourage the practice, but it was the result of the burning indignation felt by the South

^a Enquirer Correspondent, May 25.

ern people against the invaders of their homes. It is said that a brother of the martyr Jackson, fearfully avenged his death with his long-range rifle, and that within a week from the occupation of Alexandria, four Northern pickets fell before his fire. *a*

On the 31st of May, General Beauregard arrived in Richmond. The North had persuaded themselves that he was dead, and had given minute accounts of his killing during the bombardment of Sumter, and of the removal of his body to France! But he was alive for the service of his country. Without delaying a moment to receive the warm welcome that would have greeted him, he hurried from Richmond to Manassas and took command of the Army. He was untiring in military labours, entrenching his camp, mounting heavy guns, drilling his regiments, and informing himself and his officers, by incessant scouts and reconnaissance of every hill, wood, valley, stream, road, bridge and crossing in the region, soon to become historic, between the Potomac and Manassas Junction.

Federal soldiers, elated by their and superior equipments, began to undertake movements in detached bodies, generally of cavalry, into the country for purposes of plunder or intimidation. Before daybreak, on the 1st of June, a company of United States cavalry, eighty-five strong, under Lieutenant Tompkins, dashed into Fairfax Court House with shouts and yells. The Confederates were taken by surprise, and some cavalry from Prince William, believing an overwhelming force was upon them, retreated in disorder. But the enemy's triumph was short. Captain John Q. Marr, a brave and highly esteemed volunteer officer from Fauquier county, had his company of Warrenton Riflemen encamped in a field near the village. Roused by the noise of the assault, he called upon his men, and pre-

ceding them, ran into the street as the Federals passed; in the dark he received a shot through the heart and fell dead. The dragoons galloped through the town, but were soon heard returning; by this time the rifle company were ready; Ex-Governor William Smith, who happened to be in the village, encouraged them until Colonel Ewell, of the Confederate Cavalry, took command. Lieutenant Shackelford led the Rifles, who, though without bayonets, steadily received the charge of the cavalry with a sheet of fire which emptied fourteen saddles. The Yankees hastily let down a barrier of draw-bars on their flank, and retreated through the fields, carrying with them some of their wounded and five men as prisoners. They had little cause for boasting, having lost five killed and nine prisoners, besides several horses and a number of fine arms. The Southerners lost one killed—the gallant Marr—and Colonel Ewell was slightly wounded. *b*

Very early in the war, the Southerners saw the importance of the Potomac, and the necessity, if possible, of contesting its free passage by batteries on the Virginia shore. To do this was not easy, for the Federals held Fort Washington on the Maryland shore, about ten miles below Alexandria, and maintained a fleet of armed steamers on the river, which ran up and down daily, seeking for enemies. But with great caution and skill, even before Virginia turned over her forces to the Confederate Government, her naval and military authorities had erected a battery behind the trees and foliage at Acquia Creek, ten miles from Fredericksburg, at the terminus of the railroad running from Richmond to the Potomac. Twelve heavy guns were finally mounted in this battery, but only four were in position when they were discovered by the enemy, and forthwith a decree was fulminated from Washington that this threatening work should be destroyed. The battery was command-

a Staunton Vindicator, in Whig, June 3.

b Compare Dispatch, June 3rd, 4th, 6th, and Whig, June 4th, with Northern accounts; Dispatch, June 7th.

ed by Captain Wm. F. Lynch, of the Navy, under whom were Commander Thorburn and Lieuts. Cooke and Trobel. An infantry force of Southerners was encamped in the rear, ready to repel a land attack.

On the 30th of May, the Federal steamers Freeborn, Anaosta, and Resolute, opened the assault by a fire of shot and shells, but they prudently kept at a distance, and though the guns from the shore deliberately replied, not much harm was done. The batteries were uninjured, and not a man in them were hurt. The Freeborn received a shot which splintered her gun-wale, and wounded one of her men. *a*

On Saturday, the 1st of June, the combat was renewed, the steam sloop Pawnee, Commander Rowan, having joined the Northern flotilla. Finding that nothing could be done at the two mile distance of the previous day, the Pawnee drew nearer. For five hours the bombardment was tremendous. An incessant storm of shells rained upon the shore works and burst over the heads of the artillerists. Finding that a wooden railroad building, on a platform near the river, impeded his fire, Capt. Lynch ordered it to be burned, which was promptly done. When the flames burst forth, the Federals believing that their shells had kindled them, loudly cheered, but they soon discovered their mistake. To aid the fixed guns, Captain R. Lindsay Walker, of Virginia, commanding the "Purcell Battery," which consisted of six field-pieces, two of them being very fine rifled cannon, stationed his guns upon the beach and opened with great effect upon the Pawnee. The heavy guns were fired with deliberation, and with better aim than before. The fire began to tell upon the steamers, and after throwing more than six hundred solid shot and shells, by which not one man was killed and one only slightly wounded, the flotilla hauled off, defeated and des-

pondent; the Freeborn had one of her wheels shattered, one of her main deck beams and knees cut in two, her bulwarks pierced through, and her port yard injured. The Pawnee was severely damaged, and lost twenty-eight men killed on her decks. *b* It is a fact worthy of notice, as additional proof of the systematic falsehood practiced by the Lincoln Government, that though the official reports of the other naval commanders were paraded in the Northern journals, that of Commander Rowan, of the Pawnee, was never made public.

On the 5th of June came another encounter between a Northern steamer and a Southern battery. The Harriet Lane, carrying six guns, among them a long 32-pounder, attacked the work at Pig's Point, at the mouth of the Nansemond and James Rivers, commanded by Lieutenant Pegram. The fight lasted forty-five minutes, and resulted in no damage to the battery, but the Harriet Lane received several shots, one of which struck full in her shot-tub, near the forward guns, and scattering the balls in every direction wounded twenty-five of her men, and killed them mortally. *c* After receiving several uncomfortable salutes, she hauled off of range.

Meanwhile, events of great importance were passing in Northwestern Virginia. This region, unhappily, contained many residents of Northern birth or parentage, who had never caught the spirit of the South, and many others, who from mere selfishness, preferred their own chances for money-gains to the honor of their State. Hence a movement of traitors was developed, immediately upon the publication of the Ordinance of Secession. The local surroundings of much of this region, almost identified them in tastes and interests, with the people of Pennsylvania and Ohio. In the town of Wheeling, the action of the Virginia Convention

a Official Report, Baltimore American, June 3d.

b Reports in Whig, June 4th, 5th, 7th. Dispatch June 7th. Examiner 4th and 5th

c Report from one aboard Harriet Lane, Dispatch June 10th, Mem. Book, found on person of private R. M. Parker, 2d Co., 1st Vermont Regiment. Dispatch Extra, June 12th.

was openly denounced, and steps were taken there and in the adjacent counties to organize a formal resistance to the will of an overwhelming majority of the people of the State. The treason and infamy of these Tories, are made glaringly manifest, by the fact that they were a *minority in their own region*. The counties of Logan, Upshur, Webster, Lewis, Gilmer, Calhoun, Roane, Wirt, Ritchie, Doddridge, Harrison, Taylor, Marion, Hancock, Brooke, Ohio, Marshall, Wetzel, Tyler, Pleasants, Wood, Jackson, Mason, Cabell, Wayne, Boone, Fayette, Kanawha, Putnam, Nicholas, Clay, Pocahontas, Braxton, Randolph, Tucker, Preston and Monongalia—constituting Northwestern Virginia, on the 23d of May, threw a majority of more than four hundred votes in favor of ratifying the *Ordinance of Secession.* ^a

Nevertheless, the traitors of this region, under the lead of such men as the perjured John S. Carlisle, and the renegade, Waitman T. Willey, pressed on the unholy work of attempting to paralyze the arm of Virginia, when she struck for Southern rights. As might have been foreseen, they were greedily seconded by Lincoln and his coadjutors of the Northern Government. The first step of the conspirators was to call a convention, to meet at Wheeling, on the 13th of May. The members were, to a considerable extent, self-elected, it being a well ascertained fact, that some appeared as the representatives of counties where no meetings had been held, and *whose people were ignorant that any such persons as the pseudo deputies had ever lived among them.*

On the day after assembling, Carlisle introduced a proposition to separate the tenth and eleventh congressional districts from the old State, and make them a new State, to be called "New Virginia." ^b

This bold proposal to violate the Constitution of the United States, was not then voted on. The convention called a successor to meet on the 11th of June, perhaps with the lingering hope that in the meantime the people of Virginia, by their vote on the 23d of May would repudiate the ordinance of secession, and turn their backs upon the South. But this hope was crushed; the enormous vote for withdrawing the State from the Federal Union ought forever to have silenced their treason, and would have stopped them at once, had they been only misguided malcontents, rather than deliberate and selfish traitors.

When their next convention assembled in June, the plot suggested by Carlisle for severing a fragment from Virginia and making a new State within her limits was re-opened, and earnest efforts were made to hatch this serpent's egg into life. They proposed to call the new State "Kanawha," and full of zeal they corresponded with their sympathizing brethren of Lincoln's cabinet, in Washington.

But they found their path strewn with thorns. Although Edward Bates, the Federal Attorney-General, had been able to satisfy his legal conscience that Lincoln's war on the South, and blockade of her ports were constitutional, yet even he could not face the fearful crime of advising the gross usurpation contemplated by the Wheeling traitors. A clause of the Constitution stared him in the face. "No new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress." ^c

He wrote to the conspirators that they had no power to erect the new State of

^a No regular official returns were received from many of them, but their votes were gathered from other sources and stated in the Richmond newspapers as above declared, without contradiction.

^b Telegram in Whig, May 14th.

^c Constitution, art. IV. sec. III.

Kanawha. For a time their counsels were paralyzed, but under the inspiration of Northern cunning, an idea instinct with fraud seized them. They determined *that they would be Virginia*; they, the deformed fragments of a feeble minority, would be the State in all her sovereign power. This idea was suggested from Washington, and forthwith acted out. The Wheeling cabal elected one, Francis H. Pierpont, Governor of Vir-

ginia, and appointed John S. Carlile and Waitman T. Willey, Senators to represent her in the United States Senate. They moreover appointed Samuel Crane, Auditor and Treasurer, a man who from the really respectable and useful occupation of a tanner, had sunk through successive grades of descent, until he reached the lowest point, and became a tool of treason-mongers.

A FUNERAL HYMN—FROM PRUDENTIUS.

BY W. GORDON M'CAKE.

[The following stanzas are from a hymn "*At Funerals*," to be found in the "*CATHERINE BINON*" of PRUDENTIUS, and is considered one of the sublimest hymns of the early Ecclesiastical Latin Poetry of the middle ages. The translator has endeavored to preserve the metre, but cannot hope to do justice to the sublimity of the original.]

JAM MAESTA QUIESCE, QUERELA:
LACRYMAS SUSPENDITE, MATRES!
NULLUS SUA PIGNORA PLANGAT:
MORS HAEC REPARATIO VITAE EST.

I.

Be silent, O sorrowful mourner,
O mothers, give over your tears!
Let none weep aloud for these children,
Life is paid by this death for its cares.

II.

O Earth, take him home to thy keeping,
And pillow his head on thy breast!
I lend thee remains of a Christian,
Noble fragments I give to thy rest.

III.

Protect thou the body I give thee,
Its Creator will surely require
Again of thee what he has fashioned
In the likeness of that which is higher.

IV.

Till, O God, Thou re-call'st and re-form
This body, which wasteth again
To the dust, in what region wilt Thou
Command the pure soul to remain?

V.

It shall lean on the breast of the prophet,
As does Eleazar the blest—
Whom Dives, in torment beholdest
In Heaven afar, and at rest.

VI.

We follow thy words, O Redeemer,
When Victor o'er Death on the tree
Thou willedst the thief, thy companion
Should follow triumphant through
Thee.

VII.

Lo! the Bright Path is free to the faithful
Which leads to that Paradise blest—
And that grove rest from man by the serpent,
Is opened at our behest.

VIII.

Best Leader and Guide, I implore Thee
To grant that the soul of this one
In the land may have sacred repose,
Whence an exile and wanderer he'd
gone.

IX.

'Round his tomb the sweet flowers shall
grow,
We will wreath it with garlands of
green,
On inscription and cold marble too,
The richest perfume shall be seen.

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RICHMOND, JANUARY, 1863.

[No. 1.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT B. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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One of the first acts of the pretended government was characteristic of a band of knaves, and established, beyond question, their sympathetic alliance with the Washington cabinet. Pierpont's treasury was empty, and his subjects showed no readiness to open their purses. Carlisle made a piteous appeal to New York for a charitable contribution to pay at least the tavern bills of the members of the Convention. But the response was slow and scanty; money would not come by fair means, and as money was indispensable, they resolved to steal it. In the Branch Exchange Bank of Virginia, in Weston, Lewis County, the sum of twenty-seven thousand dollars had been deposited by the State authorities, to the credit of the Western Lunatic Asylum, to be used for the benefit of that noble public charity. Governor Pierpont, after obtaining the ready aid of the Federal General McClellan, at Grafton, sent a regiment who, on Monday, the 24th of June, at 5 o'clock in the morning, entered the quiet town with a band discoursing the *Star Spangled Banner*, and robbed the Bank of this money in gold. It was carried to Wheeling, and instead of filling its holy mission of relieving the saddest of human woes, it was expended in the salaries of usurpers, and in raising troops to shed the blood of Southerners!

Nor was this all. Under the pretence that Pierpont, and his associate traitors, represented Virginia, the Lincoln government paid over to them the sum of forty-eight thousand dollars, being funds arising from the sale of public lands, which the Federal Government had received, and which Virginia had persistently refused to accept, because she regarded the act of Congress, distributing this fund among the States, as unconstitutional and tending to public corruption. Such was the auspicious opening of the new government!

But however infamous might be their origin and proceedings, these men, unhappily, possessed the power to do great harm to Virginia. They had a sufficient number of adherents to neutralize the loyal men, and to threaten with invasion the parts of the State bordering on the Alleghany Range and lying along the route of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road. The military authorities, in Washington, hastened to seize this advantage. It was determined that a strong column should move from Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, and gathering such reinforcements as could be obtained in the disaffected region, should penetrate Virginia, take possession of her county seats, drive off the loyal population or corrupt them to Northern allegiance, divert her resources from the Confederate cause, and, if possible, take Harpers' Ferry, in the rear, and capture the army there; overrun the lovely valley between the Alleghany and Blue Ridge, pierce even to Staunton, and aid in the contemplated advance upon Richmond. a

a Plans in N. Y. Times. Dispatch, May 18th.

a Wheeling Intel. Whig, July 11th.

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To lead the Western army, Ohio designated an officer, who was soon adopted by the Federal Government. He has filled so considerable a space in the public view, that he must receive a special notice. George B. McClellan, was a native of Pennsylvania; he was appointed a cadet in the military academy at West Point, and graduated with distinction in the class of 1838, at the same time with Thomas J. Jackson and others, since well known; he took part in the Mexican war, and received the usual brevets for gallant services; his science and mental habits pointed him out as a fit commandant of the Corps of Sappers and Miners, to which post he was soon promoted. ^a During the great Anglo-French-Russian war, he visited the Crimea and studied, by observation, the art of fortification and attack. After his return, he resigned his commission and engaged in civil pursuits. When the war opened, he was President of the Ohio and Mississippi Rail Road, enjoying a salary of some thousands per annum. When the Governor of Ohio offered him a commission as Major General of volunteers, he accepted it *upon the condition that his salary as President of the Rail Road should be continued.* This fact sufficiently indicated that his motives were not such as flowed from excessive zeal for the Northern cause. It has, moreover, often been asserted, in the public prints, *and never denied in his behalf,* that at the dawn of hostilities, he declared to a prominent citizen of the South, his sympathy with her cause, and his desire to enlist in her military service. ^b Stronger inducements turned him to Lincoln's side, but these truths remain, and, with other facts in his military history, prove him to have been a man wanting in high and *honest* principle. He was about thirty-seven years old, compactly built, but somewhat under the average height, with dark hair, broad forehead, firm and well shaped mouth and chin, large nose, and expressive eyes. His manners were affable and engaging; he was capable of great and skilfully applied intellectual labor.

To meet the coming dangers in the

North-West, Governor Letcher and his military advisers, were full of anxiety. They selected Col. George A. Porterfield, who had graduated with credit at the Virginia Military Academy, and had served in the Mexican war. His instructions were to proceed with a small body of volunteers to Grafton, in Taylor County, where the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road crosses the Monongahela, to recruit other volunteers as fast as possible, to seek to encourage the loyal and win the disaffected, to negotiate with the Rail Road authorities, and to oppose, as far as possible, the armed progress of the enemy.^c

On the 25th of May, while Porterfield, with about one hundred men, was holding Fetterman, a small town on the Rail Road, three miles West of Grafton, he was joined by Lt. Col. J. M. Heck, who, though residing almost immediately on the Pennsylvania border, had just received a commission because of his known loyalty to the South, and his military aptitude. Col. Heck was sent to Richmond, with an urgent report from Porterfield to Gen. Lee, asking reinforcements. He arrived on the 28th. Gen. Lee expressed his wish to send the needed troops, but stated that by reason of the pressure of the enemy in force, at Alexandria and other points, all he could do was to send a supply of arms, and authorize a regiment to be raised in the valley and mountain counties. On the 26th, Col. Porterfield, with his small force, undisciplined and half armed, took possession of Grafton.

In his correspondence with the Rail Road officials, they assured him in most earnest terms of their entire devotion to Southern interests, and especially to Virginia, yet at this very time they were transporting federal troops for her invasion and were preparing to precipitate an overwhelming force of her enemies upon her weakest frontier! ^a On the 25th, Governor Letcher wrote to him that when established in Grafton, he should move by night with proper force to Wheeling, seize the arms which Cameron, the Federal Secretary of War, had sent thither to be used

^a Record of West Point Graduates.

^b Dispatch, Sept. 19th, 1861.

^c MS. narrative from Capt. Bolivar Christian

by the traitors, and recover some State arms which had been seized by malcontents at Kingwood. He was also instructed to break the telegraphic communication between Wheeling and Washington, and by all the means in his power to stop the advance of the invaders from Ohio, for which purpose he might destroy the Rail Road bridges. Col. Porterfield, on the 26th, ordered his subordinate, Lieut. Col. Willey, to destroy the bridges as far West as possible. ^a Several bridges were burned, but the interruption was not sufficient, materially to impede the enemy.

Col. Porterfield's position was one of great difficulty; recruits rallied slowly to his camp; men of Southern sympathies were yet uncertain whether they ought to take up arms; the disaffected were numerous and dangerous. Learning that a heavy advance guard of McClellan's army had reached Wheeling, he deemed it prudent to fall back to Philippa, ^b the county seat of Barbour, about twenty eight miles from Grafton. Here his force was ascertained to number not more than seven hundred effective men, of whom about one hundred and eighty were cavalry from Augusta, Rockbridge and Bath. He had four hundred and forty extra muskets, packed in cases, which were to be distributed to recruits as they came in; but he had no artillery, and very meager means of transportation.

• Discovering, through spies, that Porterfield had no cannon, the enemy determined to attack him. Four regiments were sent from Wheeling, numbering more than three thousand men. Col. Lander commanded the Ohio 14th, and Indiana 9th, with two field pieces; Col. Kelly, a traitor of Wheeling, had a regiment of Tories, almost entirely men of Northern birth, though recruited in Virginia, and parts of the Ohio 16th, and Indiana 7th. Lander was to ap-

proach cautiously in front, and wait till Kelly got in the rear of Philippa. The plan was well laid, and would, doubtless, have annihilated the small Southern force, but for a noble exercise of female patriotism.

On Saturday night, the 1st of June, two brave girls, Abbie Kerr and Mary McLeod, of Fairmount, Marion County, heard of the intended attack; at 6 o'clock on Sunday morning, they mounted their horses, and bearing a written message from a friend of the South, to authenticate their mission, they started for Philippa, thirty miles distant. On the route, their appearance and movements aroused the suspicions of a tory blacksmith, who hastened before them to the village of Webster, where they were stopped by Union men. With singular address and self possession, they answered all enquiries, and having previously taken care to destroy the written message, they offered to submit to a search if properly conducted. They were allowed to proceed, and with hearts beating with joy, they made their way to Philippa, arriving at two o'clock. Here they informed Col. Porterfield of the enemy's approach. ^c No time was to be lost; a retreat was the only mode of saving his troops and munitions. He prepared for it by impressing wagons and horses, and calling in most of his sentinels and pickets. But, unhappily, from causes not satisfactorily explained, but supposed to be connected with the state of the weather, the movement was delayed.

Sunday evening and night, a heavy rain fell; darkness, storm and mud impeded the enemy's march. Lander's corps marched twelve miles, and arrived at Tygart's valley river, on the hill above Porterfield's camp, before daybreak of Monday the 3d. Kelly's troops were compelled to march twenty-two miles, and did not arrive in time, nor did they succeed in getting in the rear of Philippa. Four o'clock was the hour appointed for the combined attack. Finding that Kelly was delayed, Lander waited no longer, but planting his two field pieces, opened a fire of grape and solid shot, which swept directly through the

^a Letters of Gov. Letcher and Col. Porterfield. Wheeling Intelligencer, in Whig, June 13th.

^b Usually, but incorrectly called "Philippi." In the Barbour family, from which the county is named, Philippa is the title of several female members. The reduced State map of Virginia, by Herman Boye, gives the correct name.

^c Staunton Spectator, in Dispatch, June 21st.

Southern camp. Notwithstanding the faithful warning of the day before, they were taken by surprise and commenced their retreat in disorder. Kelly's force arrived, and now emboldened by the hope of easy victory, the enemy rushed upon the retreating Virginians. But they were met with a brave, though irregular resistance from a part of the pursued, in which each man fought for himself. Kelly was shot down on the bridge crossing the river, by Archy McClintock of the Bath Cavalry; the wound was thought to be mortal, and his fall greatly discouraged his followers. The pursuit was abandoned, and the Southerners made good their retreat to Beverly, in Randolph county. They had three wounded, privates Hanger and Dangerfield, each of whom lost a leg, and Mr. Hogshead, who was shot in the arm. They also lost the unpacked muskets, and most of their stores and camp equipage. The enemy's loss was chiefly from their own irregular fire, and was at least twenty-five killed and sixty wounded, though it was carefully concealed in their published accounts, and was ascertained only by the private admissions of their men to the neighbourhood people. ^a

After the fight was over, the fearless girls who had ventured so much for their country, wishing to know whether any Southerners were wounded or captured, disguised themselves and with buckets of soap, as if for sale, penetrated the enemy's camp even to head quarters. Here they learned that Mr. Withers, a member of the Rockbridge cavalry, was a prisoner, up stairs. Being unsuspected, they watched a favorable opportunity and went up; one of them quietly entered the room, cut the cords with which he was bound, and furnishing him with an old hat and coat, they succeeded in getting him to a horse, and the three escaped safely to Col. Porterfield's lines. When the enemy learned of their deeds, the infamous Kelly offered a reward of a thousand dollars for their capture, and, it being unsafe to return to their

homes, they came to Staunton, and thence to Richmond whither their fame had already preceded them. ^a

Col. Porterfield's conduct was examined by a court of enquiry, who censured his delay in retreating, as well as the negligence of his infantry pickets, but bore testimony to his personal courage and self-possession. ^b The misfortune at Philippa, attended as it was by a surprise, a disordered retreat, and the loss of arms and stores, which were then specially valuable, produced disappointment and some depression among Southerners. But their spirits were soon raised.

After General Butler took command, at Fortress Monroe, and New Ports News and the village of Hampton were occupied by the federals, they began a series of outrages, which constituted a part of that long and broad current of atrocious vandalism and cruelty, that has forever disgraced the North in the eyes of civilization, and which one of her own Abolition editors acknowledged were sufficient to alienate the South. ^c These villainies had commenced in Alexandria; stores were broken into and rifled; the Depot of the Orange and Alexandria rail road was seized, its papers were torn up, and its iron safe was forced open and robbed; an instance of female violation occurred, so shocking that the facts were suppressed by the military authorities. ^d It might have been predicted that Butler's rule would encourage such outrages, and accordingly within three weeks after his arrival, the farm of Mr. Wm. Smith, near Hampton, was entered, his fine wheat fields wantonly destroyed; his cows, hogs and poultry shot, and his bacon, prepared for his family, all stolen. Similar devastation was committed on the farms of Mr. West, Jefferson Sinclair, Wm. Lee and of many other persons; at Mr. West's his two grown daughters were seized and violently carried to the fort; at

^a Justice, in Dispatch, June 21st.

^b Finding of court, consisting of Cols. Taliaferro, and Pegram, and Capt. DeLaguel. Dispatch, July 10. Whig, July 12.

^c Henry J. Raymond of the N. Y. Times, Letter dated 4th July, 1861.

^d Dispatch, May 29th.

^a Wheeling Intelligencer. Whig. June 13th. Col. Spalding's account. Dispatch, June 8th. Staunton Spectator, in Dispatch, June 20th.

Mr. Cooper's, in Hampton, the invaders broke up and burned his furniture. Carey S. Jones, John B. Carey, Dr. Banks, George M. Bates and others, suffered like outrages. Mr. W. C. Marrow was seized, and having on a uniform coat, he was stripped entirely naked, marched in that condition through the streets and then carried a prisoner to the fortress; rape upon negro women and even children, was common, and as impunity for crime was practically enjoyed, white women were, in several cases, the victims of the lust of these Northern demons. ^a Slaves escaping from their masters, were welcomed by Butler, and soon the number became so great, that the labor of the adjacent country was broken up and crops, even if not destroyed, were left to rot on the ground. In a short time, only four white residents remained in Hampton, and from the country for miles above, the unarmed people had fled to escape the brutal wretches who had come under the pretence of *establishing the reign of the constitution and laws!* Men who had been rich, with comfortable farms, contented slaves, and abounding crops, were in a few days reduced to penury. Hundreds of sad refugees, men, women and children, left their desolated homesteads and took refuge within the lines of the Southern army; sympathising homes in many cases opened to them in Williamsburg, and in the counties where they had relatives or friends, but their uncomplaining distresses called for aid in money and supplies, which the people of the South cheerfully gave as they were able. Already Northern cruelties were uniting all the inhabitants of the Confederate States in love to each other, and hatred of their brutal enemies.

Col. John Bankhead Magruder, formerly a dashing federal artillery officer, commanded the Southern troops posted at Gloucester Point, Yorktown and Williamsburg, to guard the Peninsula. Unable, with his limited force, and without ships, to suppress entirely the enemy's incursions, he yet determined to hem them into the narrowest possible border around the fortress, and to chastise their insolence.

He advanced part of his force to Bethel Church, fifteen miles from Yorktown, nine from Hampton and eight from New Port's News. The force thus advanced, consisted of about six hundred of the first North Carolina regiment, under Col. Daniel Harvey Hill, three hundred of the fifteenth Virginia, under Lieut. Col. Wm. D. Stuart, Brown's and Stanard's batteries of the Richmond Howitzer battalion, numbering eight pieces, commanded by Major George W. Randolph, and about one hundred Cavalry, under Capt. R. L. Douthat. They reached the church on the 7th of June.

On the same day Capt. Worth, with nine of his troop of Pittsylvania Cavalry, encountered a working party of thirty-five federals, and instantly attacked them; they broke and fled, losing two of their number, whom Worth shot with his pistols. ^a On the 8th, Col. Hill, learning that a party of the enemy were marauding at the farm of Mr. Whiting, about five miles from Bethel, on the road to Hampton, dispatched Major Randolph with a howitzer, and an infantry support of twenty North Carolinians, under Lieut. Col. Lee, to attack the pillagers and reconnoitre the country. On their way, hearing that the enemy's force was from seventy-five to a hundred, they sent back information to Col. Hill and pushed on. They were seen at a distance by the federals, who instantly took to flight. Mounting their cannoniers on the limbers, Lee and Randolph followed at full speed, leaving the infantry behind. On getting within long range, the howitzer was rapidly unlimbered, and sent a shell which exploded over the fugitives and hastened their flight. Meanwhile Col. Hill had sent by another road, a company of his infantry and a howitzer, under Lieut. West, who came up with the enemy just at the bridge over Back river. The howitzer opened on them, and they returned a straggling volley which did no harm, though one ball passed through West's hat. The North Carolinian's pressed forward, and Lieut. Gregory captured one of the fugitives. Another prisoner fell into the hands of the party

^a Norfolk Herald, in Dispatch, June 4, 10, 15, 18, 24, 25, 27.

^a Letter from Yorktown, in Dispatch, June 12th.

under Colonel Lee. ^a The rest escaped to Hampton.

Enraged at these interruptions to his robbing propensities, and informed by negro spies that the Confederate force at Bethel did not exceed twelve hundred men, Butler resolved to overwhelm them, and thought the task would be easy. He ordered his Massachusetts subordinate, General E. W. Pierce, to march with Duryea's regiment of New York Zouaves, Col. Townsend's Albany regiment, and two howitzers from Hampton, while Bendix's German regiment, and Col. Washburn's battalion, with a battery of United States artillery, marched from New Port's News. The movement took place on Sunday night, the 9th of June; the design was to take the Southerners by surprise and attack them at daybreak in front and flank. To prevent the danger of firing into each other in a night attack, the men were ordered to shout aloud the battle cry of "Boston!" ^b

But, despite their precautions, the Northerners were destined to test each other's fighting qualities. The night was gloomy; the work was trying to the nerves. About 3 o'clock Bendix's Germans found themselves within a hundred yards of Townsend's Albany men, and opened upon them with artillery and musketry; the Dutch were a thousand strong and fired nine rounds, or nine thousand shots, by which two men were killed and eight wounded. ^c The Albany men were defeated and ran back in confusion. Gen. Pierce, who was with this regiment, and who thought the Southerners were upon him, immediately halted and sent to Butler for reinforcements. Col. Allen's regiment was started to him. The mistake was discovered and the various bodies having now formed a junction, moved to the attack. They were at least four thousand, five hundred strong.

To meet this force, the Confederate army did not exceed thirteen hundred. They

had no experience in war, and many of them were very young, but they were brave, and were led by gallant and skilful officers. Col. Magruder had already won a high reputation. Col. Hill was a thoroughly educated and scientific leader, well known as an author of works of merit. Major Randolph had passed his youth as a midshipman in the United States Navy, and studied gunnery both in theory and practice; he then resigned and devoted himself for some years before the war to the legal profession, in which he acquired signal skill. He was a member of the Virginia Convention, and one of the three commissioners whose visit to Abraham Lincoln has been narrated. His Howitzer battalion had been carefully drilled and instructed under his own eye, and had learned to handle their guns with great quickness and accuracy. His coolness and self-possession in danger, made him invaluable in the approaching struggle.

And now came on the first field battle of the war. The position of the small Confederate army was certainly, perilous, yet officers and men united in the resolve to make a determined stand. This was indeed their safest course; for a retreat before the numbers brought against them, would have been disastrous. They were favored by the locality and improved it to the utmost. Col. Hill set all the available force to work in entrenching, forming his earth-works skilfully to meet the exposed points of the position. During most of Saturday and Sunday this labor went on, and even on Monday morning with the sound of cannon and musketry in their ears, the men plied their busy spades.

Below Bethel Church ran a stream of water—a branch of Back river—which swept around the main position of the Confederates. The road from Hampton, ran straight across this branch over a bridge; the entrenchments were chiefly on the upper side, but some hundred yards across the branch on the right, earth-works had been thrown up to protect the right flank. On the right and left of the position were swamps with thick growth of forest and underwood, but in front was an immense open field, with one or two small wooden

^a Compare three accounts in Dispatch, June 12th and 17th. Mem. from off.

^b Butler's official Report, Dispatch, June 19th. Pierce's orders, *Ibid*.

^c Baltimore Republican, June 12th.

houses. One of the howitzers, under Capt. Thompson Brown, was stationed in the work across the branch, supported by a North Carolina and three Virginia companies, under Lieut. Col. Stuart. Another North Carolina company was posted across the branch, in the woods to the left of the road; the remaining companies of Colonel Hill's regiment, were on the left, behind the works above the branch, and Major Montague's battalion were on the right; a rifled howitzer was in battery in the works on the left of the road, and directly in front of the approach to the bridge; a Parrott gun was on the right of the road, and along side of it, the remaining four howitzers commanded the road and the field in front. ^a

Before daybreak on Monday, the 10th, Col. Magruder detached nine hundred infantry, under Col. Hill, with a howitzer battery under Major Randolph, to make a reconnoissance in force and ascertain the position of the enemy. As Hill and Randolph were riding at the head of their column, in the grey light of dawn, they observed a woman hastening towards them with a distracted look as if pursued, and fearful of meeting enemies at every step. These officers, with some difficulty, succeeded in calming and reassuring her, when she informed them that three hundred men, dressed in red, had seized her husband and carried him violently away from his house, that firing had been heard on the other road, and the soldiers in red "had double quicked towards it." Convinced of the truth of this narrative, and soundly judging that this body of the enemies' Zouaves must be the advanced guard of a larger number, the Southern officers halted their column and communicated with Col. Magruder, who immediately ordered the force back to Bethel. They had hardly time to return and take a hasty meal, before the enemy appeared. Thus the outrage of the Northerners in seizing an unoffending man in his bed, and forcibly taking him from his home, was the means of

saving the Confederate force from surprise and disaster. ^a

At 9 o'clock a forest of glittering bayonets rose to view, and immediately the head of the enemy's column was seen advancing up the road in ranks of four, at quick time. The federals came on with shouts and yells—the Confederates were silent, but many of them "lifted up their hearts in prayer to God." ^b Waiting till the foe were within range, Major Randolph sighted his Parrott gun and fired. The shell struck directly in the front rank, and, darting through, carried havoc in its path; the other howitzers opened, and after some shots too high, got the range, and launched a deadly fire into the enemy's column. Unable to endure, they left the road and took shelter behind the woods and houses. Meanwhile the federal artillery was hastened into position, and commenced a furious discharge of shells, round shot, grape and cannister, which tore through the forest, bringing down limbs and sometimes whole trees, ploughed up the earth-works, and shrieked over the heads and around the trenches of the Southerners; yet so faithful was the protection of their hasty work, that this terrible fire was almost harmless.

Several times the federal infantry came into view and attempted to form for an advance on the flank, but, as often as they gathered, the fire of the howitzers was so destructive, that they scattered and again ran under shelter. The discharges of the Confederate guns, when the enemy was in range, were so rapid and effective, that they induced the belief among the federals that not less than thirty rifled cannon were opposed to them. But the Southern fire was not wasted; when the enemy were sheltered or out of range, it was very deliberate and sometimes suspended. This gave cause for hope among the federals that their heavy artillery fire had silenced some of the opposite guns. They attempted another flank attack with infantry, on the right of the Confederate lines. Duryea's

^a MS. Mem. from officer.

^b Letter from member of Life Guard, in Dispatch.

^a Col. D. H. Hill's official report. Whig, June 25th. Map of the field.

Zouaves cautiously glided through the woods, and, emerging in force, were seen leaping the fences to the right and in front of Brown's howitzer, and not more than two hundred yards off. The danger was imminent. Col. Stuart ordered his companies to fire; the Life Guards, under Capt. John Stewart Walker, rose behind their works, and being armed with the best Minie rifles, delivered a volley which cut down numbers of the assailants. The Zouaves threw themselves upon the ground, and seeking the shelter of fences and shrubs, returned the fire, sending a hail-storm of Minie balls around and among the Southerners, by which several were wounded; their fire was steadily returned, until an accident came near losing this important out-work to the Confederates.

The howitzer, under Capt. Brown, had played steadily on the enemy, throwing shell and shrapnell into their ranks. Unfortunately, at about 12 o'clock, the priming-wire became bent and entangled in the touch-hole and was broken, thus temporarily spiking the gun and rendering it useless. It was moved back several hundred yards into the swamp. Perceiving that his small force could not hold the position, Col. Stuart, under Col. Magruder's orders, withdrew his men to the trenches, at the church. The Zouaves instantly took advantage of these events, and hurried forward to seize the position. At this critical moment, Col. Hill ordered Captains Bridgers and Ross, with their North Carolina companies, to support Stuart, and drive back the foe. Ross joined Stuart at the church. Bridgers' company crossed the road under a heavy fire, and after delivering a volley, dashed forward intending to charge the Zouaves with the bayonet. With a cry of terror, they gave way and fled; the works were reoccupied; and Stuart, with his command, hastened back to them. This brilliant charge brought merited reputation to the North Carolinians, and saved the day at that point. Finding they could not penetrate the Southern lines, the Zouaves withdrew in a body to the right, evidently with intent to cross the branch at a ford a mile below; Magruder ordered the Chatham Grays, under Capt. Worth, from Montague's battalion, with one howitzer, to go rapidly to the ford

and hold it to extremity. They arrived in time, and the Zouaves finding a cannon and cavalry force opposing their passage, hastily retreated.

Thus, for more than three hours at all points the enemy had been successfully resisted, and had suffered heavily. General Pierce was at his wit's end, or, to use his superior, Butler's words, "lost his presence of mind." Another desperate attempt was made on the left flank of the Confederates; a heavy column of volunteers from various regiments was organized, and under the command of a truly gallant officer, Major Winthrop, aid to General Butler, moved to the left, and, notwithstanding several deadly discharges through their ranks from the howitzers, succeeded in gaining the shelter of the swamps and woods on the left of the road. They had discovered that the battle badge used by the Southerners, was a white band round the hat. With ready deceit, the leading Federal troops adopted the same badge, and as they emerged from the swamp, not more than two hundred yards from the earth works, they cried out, "*Dont fire, we are friends.*" But the North Carolinians were not deceived; rising behind the trenches and taking deliberate aim, they received them with a fire which did bloody execution. Major Winthrop mounted a log and waving his sword, called to his men, "*Forward men, and the day is ours.*" A young North Carolina marksman fixed his eye on him, and quietly saying to his comrades, "*I think I can bring him,*" levelled his musket and sent a ball through the Federal officer's breast; he fell and almost instantly died. His fall, attended by the destructive fire which was thinning their numbers, so disheartened his followers, that they retreated in haste to their main body.

Once more a heavy column of the enemy which had been held in reserve, advanced down the Hampton road, directly on the Confederate centre; the United States colors were carried at their head, and they seemed resolved to push their way and overwhelm the Southerners. The guns at the church played steadily upon them, throwing shells into their ranks, and inflicting severe loss, but they marched firmly on. This was their final effort, and the

crisis of the battle. A fresh howitzer was brought up from the rear, its fire was added to the others and the united storm of shells launched into the advancing column was so destructive that it halted—wavered—the colors were seen to stop—then to move to the rear. By Major Randolph's order, the fresh howitzer was pushed by hand across the branch, and accompanying it himself, he had it placed in the position occupied by the gun that had been spiked and withdrawn. From this advantageous point it again opened, firing at a wooden house in front, in which the enemy's sharpshooters had taken shelter, and playing also diagonally across the field, on Greble's Federal battery, on the Hampton road, from which an incessant stream of shells, round shot and shrapnel, had been pouring for four hours on the Confederate lines.

The wooden house in the field had sheltered the enemy and considerably impeded the Confederate fire. It was very important to burn it, and four North Carolina soldiers volunteered for the work. One of them, Henry L. Wyatt, with rash courage, advanced till within less than fifty yards of the house, when he received a musket ball in his forehead and fell; finding that to attempt to go up to the house would be certain death, the others returned. The howitzers under Randolph then opened on the house with shells, and in a few minutes set it on fire, and it was burned to the ground. The front being thus cleared, the Southern artillery re-opened with severe effect. Men and horses fell in numbers around the Federal battery. Lieut. Greble, of the United States regular service, was killed at his gun, which he had worked with great courage, and where he was left almost alone. The infantry found shrapnel and shells plunging through their ranks, and could get no place of shelter except by retiring from the field. Bewildered, disheartened and thoroughly defeated, General Pierce finally ordered a retreat, and at half-past one o'clock his battered regiments took the road back to Hampton.^a

Magruder had not more than one hundred cavalry under Capt. Douhat, whom he sent to harass the flying enemy. They pursued them as far as Back river bridge, and succeeded in capturing twenty-three prisoners, and securing a number of muskets, knapsacks, cartridge boxes and overcoats, thrown away in the precipitate retreat. To have attempted a pursuit by his infantry, or to push the cavalry too far, would have been very hazardous, as the forces of the enemy still outnumbered him nearly four to one.

Butler was bitterly censured by Northern papers, for not taking, in person, command of so large a force and so important an undertaking. Had he done so the result would probably have been no better, as he had never given the faintest evidences of generalship. At 10 o'clock General Pierce had sent him word that the battle was sharp, and he wanted reinforcements. Butler hurried forward more troops, but *never went himself*. He was, however, intensely active in the heavy duty of providing for his wounded, receiving them from wagons, carts and ambulances, and putting them in boats to be towed round to the hospitals.^a Dropping the office of general in *time of battle*, he assumed the more peaceful duties of nurse and hospital steward.

In this singular combat, the Confederates lost one killed and eleven slightly wounded. The loss of the Federals was very heavy, how heavy will probably never be known, for the most studious efforts have been made by them to conceal it. Butler stated it at "forty or fifty," but his statement was a disgraceful libel upon his own troops. To suppose that nearly five thousand men retreated from a battle of four hours, because of a loss of forty or fifty, would brand every officer and man as a coward! The supposition was indignantly rejected by Federal officers engaged in the battle, who did not hesitate to declare that they retreated because they suffered fearfully in killed and wounded. A New York volunteer wrote

^a For the facts of this battle I have compared Butler's off. report; Hill's do.; Northern and Southern accounts in N. Y. Herald, Tribune; Balt. Repub.; Dispatch

June 12th, 13th, 15th, 17th, 19th, 25th; Examiner and Whig of same dates; mem. from officers and men in the fight.

^a Butler's off. report, Whig, June 18.

as follows: "As a soldier ready to serve my country, I feel myself constrained to protest against the garbled accounts and false statements made by some of the Northern papers concerning the fight at Big Bethel. Such reports do us great injustice. If, as these papers stated, we were repulsed with a loss of but thirty or forty killed, every thinking man must say that we were the most arrant cowards on earth. Such was not the case. We fought bravely, and did not leave the field until after the number of killed and wounded proved to us that further attempts would be destructive." Two days after the combat, accounts directly received in Baltimore from the fortress, stated the loss at four hundred.^b In the single regiment of New York Zouaves, the loss, by official reports, appeared to be one hundred and eighty-six,^c and as they were not more exposed than two other regiments, it is probable the loss in killed, wounded, missing and prisoners, was not less than six hundred men.

Although Gen. Butler comforted his employers in Washington with the declaration, "We have gained more than we have lost. Our troops have learned to have confidence in themselves under fire; the enemy have shown that they will not meet us in the open field, and our officers have learned wherein their organization and drill are inefficient," yet, he found few believers at the North. The facts soon came out and were received with howls of rage and disappointment. The reverse was so decisive and humiliating, that the New York papers shrunk with dread from the thought of making it known in Europe. A steamer was about to start for Liverpool; she would carry out the dolorous tidings; could they not be neutralized at least for a time? Yes, by a fraud for which the North was always ready. Forthwith a huge falsehood was concocted, and appeared in several of the New York papers, in form as follows:

^a Northern account in Dispatch, July 6.

^b Balto. Republican, June 12.

^c Adjutant reports New York Daily News, Whig, June 29.

Late and highly important—Capture of the Rebel batteries at Great Bethel by General Butler—One thousand Rebel prisoners taken.

WASHINGTON, June 12, 1 A. M.

A special messenger arrived an hour since from Fortress Monroe, bringing the intelligence that Gen. Butler this morning proceeded, with a large reinforcement, to Great Bethel, and after a severe fight, captured their batteries, one of seven, and the masked batteries of fourteen guns, and also took one thousand rebel prisoners.^a

Such was the unblushing falsehood with which the people of the North attempted to deceive the foreign world; a fraud repeated and multiplied in the progress of the war, until Northern accounts of battles were held in universal ridicule and contempt.

The body of the brave Major Winthrop was interred with much respect by the Confederates, and the spot carefully marked. In a few days his brother came from New York to Fort Monroe, and, under a flag of truce, visited the Southern lines. When the object of his sad mission was made known, Col. Magruder ordered the body to be disinterred and delivered to him; and with this proof, that Southern soldiers were willing to return decency and courtesy for brutal invasion, he returned to New York.

Federal officers who accompanied the flag of truce, conversed with Colonel Magruder about the battle. They spoke with special surprise and admiration of the accurate firing done by the Howitzer battalion. These artillerists were nearly all youths; some hardly more than boys. The Northern officers asked Magruder where they were trained, and expressed a suspicion that they were some of his old corps of United States artillery, who had followed him into the Southern service. "Not at all," he replied; "they are only a party of school boys from Richmond with their primers in their pockets."

The battle of Bethel, attended as it was by so small a loss and so brilliant success, acted with exhilarating power upon the minds of the Southern people, who had been depressed by the difficulties in supplying and arming their troops, by the great

^a Dispatch June 17, from N. York papers.

preparations for attack made by their enemies, and by the misfortune at Philippa. Unused to a state of war, they were liable to immoderate despondency or triumph. They were yet to learn by long and stern lessons of vicissitudes, that a nation needs the chastening of sorrow as well as the encouragement of victory, in order to attain to strength and virtue.

The course of events now leads us again to the lines of the Potomac. We have seen that Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was in command at Harper's Ferry. He arrived on the 23d of May, and immediately made a careful reconnoissance of the position, calling in the important aid of his Chief Engineer, Major Whiting. The plateau to be defended, including the town, formed a triangle, with the Potomac and Shenandoah on two sides, and the heights known as Furnace Ridge, in the rear.^a The Maryland heights were higher than those on the Virginia side, and artillery there posted would have commanded not only the town and its environs, but the ridge behind. It was therefore obvious to the keen military eye that scanned the position, that it could not be held except with a force large enough to hold both sides of the river. Nor was this all. The Potomac was easily crossed at several points within twenty-five miles above and below Harper's Ferry. The Federal General Patterson was in command of an army rapidly increasing and assembling at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and Hagerstown, Maryland. In the early part of June, this force was estimated at eighteen thousand men. McClellan was advancing from the West, with an army of not less than twenty thousand men. His van regiments were already on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. Harper's Ferry was in the extreme North of the Valley, and by no means its key, as the enemy might cross the Potomac at any of the other points practicable. The obvious policy of the Federals was to avoid a direct assault upon the Confederate forces at the Ferry, where they would have met a bloody encounter, to cross with Patterson's force at Williamsport, near Martinsburg, to form a

junction of this body with McClellan, to seize Winchester, and thus cut off the communications and supplies of General Johnston's army, which would have been forced either to surrender from sheer want, or to fight its way through an enemy of three times its numbers. This was undoubtedly General Scott's plan, and might have succeeded had he not been foiled by military foresight and skill equal to his own.

Gen. Johnston early decided to evacuate Harper's Ferry, and obtained the approval of the War Department. But profound secrecy was observed as to the design. To deceive the enemy and guard against surprise, heavy guns were mounted on Furnace Ridge, under the direction of Major Whiting,^a and the Maryland heights were also held and fortified. All appearances indicated a purpose to hold the position to extremity. No people were more perfectly uninformed on the subject than the great body of Southerners themselves. They looked on Harper's Ferry as a special pet, believed it could never be taken, and would almost have resented as an insult the information that it was to be abandoned.

By the 12th of June, all the purposes for which the Confederate government deemed the continued occupation of the point essential, were accomplished. The musket machinery had been removed to Richmond, the rifle machinery to Fayetteville, North Carolina; all the arms, whether whole or injured, had been secured, and such of the workmen as were willing to serve the South, had been engaged. Then, for the first time, preparations for the move began; the orders issued grew ominous; the sights and sounds preceding the march of an evacuating army, were manifest. Neither was the move a moment too early.

On the 12th of June, a part of McClellan's van-guard, supposed to number nearly two thousand men, advanced on Romney, a town in Hampshire county, about thirty-seven miles from Winchester. They were met with an irregular fire from the mountain Sharp Shooters, which killed several; and as they entered the town, a daring shoemaker seized his gun and shot

^a Gen. J. E. Johnston's off. rep. Manassas, Warden & Cattlett's pamphlet, 98.

^a Ibid, 99.

one of them down. ^a He was immediately killed himself, but the foe were discouraged. Many of the citizens left their homes, and outrages to property and persons were commenced by the invaders.

When news of this advance reached Gen. Johnston, on the 13th, he sent Col. Ambrose P. Hill, by rail road, to Winchester, with his own and Col. Gibbon's regiments, with orders to add to his command the 3d Tennessee regiment, which had just reached Winchester, and move towards Romney to meet the enemy. But as soon as the invaders heard of Hill's approach, they hurriedly decamped, retreating from Romney on the day after they entered it.

Meanwhile, Patterson's van, under Gen. Cadwallader, was approaching the Potomac. Gen. Johnston's orders were given, and the measures for evacuation commenced.

And now came one of those instances of terrible, but necessary, destruction of property, which brought home, with appalling power to the minds of the people, the truth that war with its horrors was upon them. The beautiful rail road bridge across the Potomac, one thousand feet long, with six spans and graceful piers of stone, had, for several days, been prepared for the ruin awaiting it. Kegs of powder had been introduced below the timbers, under the centre and on the Maryland side. At daybreak of the 14th, the bridge was fired; flames mounted from its sills and flashed along its line, destroying the solid wooden structure, until the fire reached the northern end, when a tremendous explosion, which was heard twenty miles off, flung the broken fragments into the air and left nothing of the bridge, except the blackened and mutilated piers. ^b At the same time the workshops and arsenal in the town, were set on fire; these buildings were of great size, and in many places surmounted by belfrys, which rose high above the roofs. The conflagration raged without resistance, tower after tower fell in, followed by roofs and tottering walls, until the work of destruction was complete; the flames burned with such fury, and the smoke

^a Winchester Virginian, June 14th.

^b Baltimore Sun, June 15th.

was so stifling, that the men could not work in the town, and the measures for evacuation were with difficulty completed. ^a

At daylight, on Saturday, the 15th, the march commenced. Fourteen thousand men, with their train of artillery and baggage wagons, entered the turnpike leading to Charlestown, and in column trod the road. The line stretched along nearly five miles in open order. So warlike a sight had never before met the eyes of the peaceful people inhabiting this lovely rural district. The men were in fine spirits, having heard rumors of the enemy's invasion of the valley, and believing they were soon to meet them in battle. As the day advanced, the sun poured down from a cloudless sky; the road grew hot and dusty and these brave men now first felt the severity of a summer's march. Yet with patience they pressed on until the evening, when in a shady grove, four miles beyond Charlestown, they were halted for the night. Weary limbs and bodies were thrown down; the wagons came up with plenty of food. Cool water ran from abundant springs around; the men were refreshed and the buoyant spirits of the soldier, forgot the toils of the day. ^b

In the mean time, information of the movement having reached the Federal army, under Patterson, they at once supposed it to be a retreat, and thereupon resolved to advance. On the evening of the 15th, two regiments of Regulars, with six hundred Rhode Islanders, under General Torney, crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, twenty-one miles, by the meanders of the river, above Harpers' Ferry, and ten miles from Martinsburg. The federal troops were in high glee, and waded through the river up to their middles and sometimes to their arm-pits, singing "Dixie," and other popular camp songs. ^c They were soon followed by other regiments and Cadwallader assumed the command.

Information of this advance reached

^a Account in Examiner from eye witness, July 3d.

^b *Ibid.*

^c Northern account. Dispatch, June 21st.

Gen. Johnston on the morning of Sunday, the 16th. His resolve was instantly taken. The line of march of his army was changed. Leaving the turnpike, he entered the county road, leading northward, nearly at right angles to his course the day before. Expecting the enemy to approach, he prepared to offer him battle near Bunker Hill, a small settlement about midway between Charlestown and Martinsburg. With the prospect of a conflict, the spirits of the Southern soldiers rose to stern enthusiasm. Men from Tennessee, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Maryland and Virginia, were all there together, and all eager to meet the common foe. Company officers passed along the lines and examined the muskets, rifles and cartridges; artillerymen looked to their guns and caissons, and saw that all was ready.

But their hopes of a fight were doomed to disappointment. When the federals learned that Gen. Johnston was advancing, they recrossed the Potomac more rapidly than they had come, but so far as can be learned, they sang no songs on the way. By the evening of the 16th, only a few of their pickets were left on the Virginia side, and these were ready for flight at a moment's notice. Ascertaining the retreat of the enemy, Johnston's army was ordered, regiment after regiment, to march to the rear. Then, for the first time, the patience of the men gave way, and murmurings passed along the ranks. But soon learning the truth, they cheerfully bore the fatigues of the march, and reached Winchester on the 18th. Here Gen. Johnston prepared to maintain his position, to keep the enemy in check, and, if necessary, to effect a junction with Gen. Beauregard at Manassas.

In addition to the destruction of the rail road bridge at Harpers' Ferry, the bridge across the Shenandoah, which empties into the Potomac, just at the Ferry, and the bridges at Martinsburg and Shepherdstown were destroyed. All the government property that could be removed, was safely brought away, a few heavy guns were dismantled and rolled into the river, with the trunnions broken, and about fifty condemned flint lock muskets were thrown into the

canal, whence they were fished out by the boys in the neighbourhood. ^a Col. George Stewart, with his Maryland battalion, was sent back to Harpers' Ferry, on the 19th, to reconnoitre and bring away some public property yet removable. ^b When he left, desolation reigned in the town, and of so small importance was the position for any military purpose, that it was not occupied by the Federals.

It is impossible to doubt that the evacuation of Harpers' Ferry and the movement of Gen. Johnston to Winchester, the true key to the head of the Valley—completely thwarted Gen. Scott's plans, and dislocated his whole scheme of the summer's campaign. One of the best proofs of this is the fact, that the Northern papers hastened to make the gratuitous announcement, that Gen. Scott declared that "the evacuation of Harpers' Ferry was in perfect accordance with his plans, and that no Southern movement would in the slightest degree affect his programme." ^c What his programme included, may be hard to divine, but it is at least reasonable to suppose that it did not include the escape of Johnston's army from starvation or capture—the baffling of Patterson, until his movements degenerated in a mere feint, and the terrible reverse which the junction of Johnston and Beauregard, in a few weeks, brought upon the Federal arms. Gen. Scott's *real* opinion on the subject, was given in a remark, said to have been made by him at the time, that "*one of Joe Johnston's retreats was equal to a victory.*"

Col. J. E. B. Stuart, a Confederate cavalry officer, afterwards greatly renowned, was ordered, with his dragoons, to the neighbourhood of Martinsburg, to observe the line of the Potomac. His vigilance and activity were incessant in watching and harassing the enemy, and giving notice of his movements. On the 20th, Col. Jackson, whom we have already introduced, was sent with his brigade to Martinsburg, to support Stuart, and with orders to destroy

^a Baltimore Sun, June 16th. Dispatch 19th.

^b Official Report of Gen. Johnston. 100 Wardes and Catlett's pamphlet.

^c Dispatch, June 21st.

such of the rolling stock of the Baltimore and Ohio road, as he could not bring away. This was rendered indispensable, by the fact that preparations for using the road and its stock, against the South, were in progress, and that a handbill calling for two thousand laborers, at two dollars per day, to repair the bridges, had been posted up.^a A number of locomotives and cars were successfully carried to Winchester, but more than forty of the largest and finest engines, with others old and disabled, and nearly three hundred box, platform and iron cars, were destroyed either by fires kindled upon them, or by being thrown down the embankments, or into the streams, from the ruined bridges above. *b*

THE PLEASANT DAYS OF OLD!

Oh! the pleasant days of old, which so often people praise—
True, they wanted all the luxuries that grace our modern days;
Bare floors were strewed with rushes—the walls let in the cold;
Oh! how they must have shivered in those pleasant days of old!
Oh! those ancient lords of old, how magnificent they were!
They threw down and imprisoned kings, to thwart them who might dare;
They ruled their serfs right sternly; they took from Jews their gold—
Above both law and equity were those great lords of old!
Oh! the gallant knights of old, for their valor so renowned:
With sword and lance and armor strong, they scoured the country round;
And whenever aught to tempt them, they met by wood or wold,
By right of sword they seized the prize—those gallant knights of old!
Oh! the gentle dames of old, who quite free from fear or pain
Could gaze on joust and tournament, and see their champions slain;

^a Baltimore Sun, June 25th.

^b Ibid and Dispatch, June 28th.

They lived on good beefsteaks and ale, which made them strong and bold;
Oh! more like men than women were those gentle dames of old!
Oh! those mighty towers of old, with their turrets, moat, and keep.
Their battlements and bastions, their dungeons dark and deep;
Full many a baron held his court within the castle hold,
And many a captive languished there, in those strong towers of old.
Oh! the troubadours of old, with their gentle minstrelsie
Of hope and joy, or deep despair, which e'er their lot might be—
For years they served their ladye love ere they their passion told—
Oh! wondrous patience must have had those troubadours of old!
Oh! those blessed times of old, with their chivalry and state;
I love to read their chronicles, which such brave deeds relate—
I love to sing their ancient rhymes, to hear their legends told—
But, Heaven be thanked! I live not in those blessed times of old!

YULE.

CHAPTER I.

“The good God never tires of drawing beautiful pictures for His children. All through the Spring, Summer and Fall, He gives them every day new flowers and fruits, and pleases them with sweet bird music. Then, in the winter, He says, “Now, my children, I want you to work and study, that you may become useful and wise to understand the meaning of all that I do for you.” So He sends the winter rains to wash out the pretty colors, and the winds to blow the graceful leaves away. But every once in a while, He shows the blue sky and clear sun, to remind us that His love continues, and often, especially as now, at Christmas, He sends the snow to cover up the black ground and housetops, and trees, just as our Saviour came down to cover up all our sins and make us pure



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HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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On Tuesday, the 2nd of July, the Federal army under Patterson again crossed the Potomac at Williamsport. They were about eighteen thousand strong. The advance guard, under General Cadwallader, were nearly eight thousand in number. Colonel Jackson's command did not exceed four thousand five hundred men. He immediately sent notice to General Johnston of the enemy's approach, and directed Colonel Harper, with a battalion of his 5th Virginia regiment, part of Stuart's cavalry, and one piece of artillery from Captain Pendleton's battery, the whole not exceeding 380 men, to reconnoitre, feeling the van of the assailants. The Federals came in sight near a place called Falling Waters, six miles east of Martinsburg. Before the main body came up, Stuart, ever vigilant, sent forward two companies of cavalry, under Captains Patrick and Hurd, made a dash upon the van guard, which was advancing in three sections up the road, and after some sharp firing, threw them into disorder, and killed and captured many of their number; the main body now came up, at least five thousand strong, throwing out skirmishers, and endeavouring to flank and surround the small Southern force. Colonel Harper and his men received the attack with great coolness

and courage, skillfully availing themselves of the shelter of close fences and skirts of woods, and slowly retreating, firing deadly volleys as they fell back. The Morgan Guards, of Winchester, under Captain Avis, West Augusta Guard, of Staunton, Captain Waters, and Rockbridge Rifles, Captain Letcher, were in the hottest of the fire, and sustained most of the loss. Captain Pendleton, with his men, served their gun with great accuracy and effect, sweeping through the ranks of the enemy at every discharge. This brave officer was already gaining fame; he had received a military education, but on reaching manhood had assumed the sacred office, and was an Episcopal clergyman when the war called him to his country's service. He was a fine artilleryist, and each time he sighted his gun in this action, is said to have uttered a prayer—"May the Lord have mercy on their souls, and may this kill a thousand of them." He continued his fire, changing position, until his gun got out of order, and was brought safely to the rear. After inflicting severe loss on the enemy, the Southerners retreated upon Colonel Jackson's main body, advancing to reinforce them. In this sharp encounter, which lasted from 9 to 12 o'clock, the loss of the Confederates was two killed and ten wounded; the Federals lost at least eighty in killed and wounded, besides forty-five prisoners.

This severe check from so small a num-

a Winchester Republican, July 5th. Whig, July 8th. Examiner, July 5th Official Report Gen. Johnston, 101.

ber did not much inspirit the invaders. Though General Patterson telegraphed to Washington that his force "had routed and put to flight ten thousand of the rebels,"^a the facts came out, and the telegraph through Louisville stated that the Federals had "evidently nothing encouraging to communicate." On the 31st of July their army entered Martinsburg without opposition, and encamped in the town and its environs.

On hearing of the invasion, General Johnston immediately advanced with his army from Winchester, and uniting with him Colonel Jackson's command, reached Darksville, six miles from Martinsburg, where he selected his battle ground, and awaited the enemy's approach. With numbers less by six thousand than the Federals, he would have acted rashly had he attacked them in Martinsburg, where solid buildings, walls of masonry and artificial defences protected them, and where a battle would probably have destroyed a Virginia town. All reasonable expectation required the invader to advance. With scouts thrown out, and cavalry in front, and his army ready for line of battle in twenty minutes, Johnston remained four days, offering a combat. But *General Patterson did not advance*. Finding that such was not his intention, his sagacious adversary withdrew to Winchester with his army. Here he threw up entrenchments. Major Whiting planned defensive works, and mounted heavy guns, some on navy carriages. More than two thousand militia from the neighbouring counties, under General Carson, were called out and manned these fortifications. ^b Stuart, with his cavalry, continued to observe every movement of the enemy.

Meanwhile, on the line of the Potomac, above and below Winchester, interesting conflicts occurred. When the Federals left Romney, Colonel Hill, with his command, was withdrawn, and the defence of this region was committed to Colonel Angus McDonald, with a small body of in-

fantry and cavalry volunteers, and with authority to call out the militia when needed.

In McDonald's corps was a fine cavalry company, commanded by Turner Ashby, in which his brother, Richard Ashby, was an officer. These brothers were from Fauquier county, and were already known for their chivalrous courage and patriotism. They were splendid riders, sitting and managing their horses with such address, that man and horse seemed but one. They were not large men, but lithe, graceful, and vigorous. Turner Ashby had a dark, glittering eye, black beard, chiselled features, and quiet manners. When danger came he was first in the charge, and last in the retreat. His voice was singularly clear and musical, and when, with drawn sabre and his horse's head turned to the foe, he uttered his battle cry, "*Follow me, men!*" the sound thrilled with electric power through their nerves, and they followed him, even to the death.

On Thursday, the 20th of June, these brothers left their camp, six miles from Romney, on a scouting expedition. Turner Ashby, with eleven men, approached the Potomac. Richard, with nineteen, skirted the line of the Baltimore and Ohio rail road. Dividing his force, he proceeded with seven men up the road, deceived by a traitor, who promised to guide him to a spot where he could capture part of the enemy. Suddenly a body of fifty Federal cavalry appeared from ambush, and rushed on them. No line of retreat was open except a deep cut for the rail road. Down this, Richard Ashby, and his brave men rode, halting often and firing at the foe, who kept at a respectful distance. He would probably have made good his retreat, but in seeking to wheel and front their pursuers, himself, and five of his men, were thrown into an open culvert, or "*cow-pit*," across the track. Seeing the accident, the enemy galloped on them. Some of his men escaped, but their gallant leader, after cutting down one with his sabre, and striking another senseless with the butt of his pistol, was overpowered, and fell to the ground with four sabre cuts on his head and forehead. While

^a Baltimore Sun, in Dispatch July 5th.

^b General Johnston's official Rep., 101.

thus helpless, one of the cowardly assailants asked if he was a Unionist. The dying soldier gasped "no—a Secessionist," and instantly a bayonet was plunged through his breast.^a

In the meantime, Turner Ashby came up, and ignorant of his brother's fate, united the twelve with his command, and pushed up towards Kelley's Island, where at least seventy of the enemy were concealed in the brushwood, and undergrowth, beyond a large culvert on the rail road. Pressing through the culvert at the head of his men, they received a volley which wounded two of their number, and brought down several horses, among them the noble black steed on which Ashby rode. The fire of the enemy was returned, and with quick presence of mind, Ashby shouted, "*Bring up your reserves—dismount, boys, and at them with your bowie knives.*" Hearing this command, the Federals broke from their concealment, and fled, followed by a shower of pistol and carbine bullets. The reserves were fifteen miles off!

In these fights the Southern loss was two killed, and three wounded. The enemy lost eighteen killed, nine wounded, ten horses and a number of pistols and Minie rifles. Richard Ashby was found and tenderly carried to the camp, where he died the next day. On the field, Turner Ashby, sad with fears for his brother, approached his horse who had been shot entirely through with a rifle ball. When he came up, the affectionate animal recognized him, and raising his head, uttered a feeble cry. Tears gushed from Ashby's eyes. But the moment of manly weakness passed away. From this conflict and from the time of his brother's death, it was noticed that he was even more than ever devoted to his country's cause, more reckless of his own life, and more terrible in his onslaughts upon the enemy.^b

On the lines from Manassas to Alexandria and Washington, the adverse forces

gradually approached each other. On Sunday, the 16th June, the Federals sent a train of cars as far as Vienna Station, fifteen miles from Alexandria, with a small armed force. On their return in the evening, a straggling shot was fired into them; in consequence of which, at a station nearer to Alexandria, they were heard to declare, that they would come up the next day with a force sufficient to "clear out all the rebels in the neighbourhood." Col. Gregg, of South Carolina, with about six hundred men from his regiment, two guns from Capt. Delaware Kemper's battery, and two companies of cavalry, one from Chesterfield, under Ball, and one from Bedford, under Terry, had left their camp on the 16th, upon a reconnoitering tour. They spent Sunday night at Dranesville, and after an extended reconnoissance, were returning on Monday the 17th, when, having passed about eight hundred yards beyond Vienna Station, they heard the whistle of an approaching train. They had been informed of the threats of the enemy the day before, and Col. Gregg instantly ordered them, in double quick, back to Vienna. Kemper's guns first reached the spot, and were well planted, so as to command a long reach of the railroad, emerging from a deep cut. The infantry and cavalry came up soon after, and were posted on the edge of the woods.

Hardly was Kemper in position before a train of cars, pushed by a locomotive behind, came into view from the east. One was a passenger car, but most were flats, without sides or roof. They held some three hundred men, from the First Ohio regiment, and were commanded by Brig. General Robert C. Schenck, in person, who sat with Col. McCook in the passenger car. They had left Alexandria with nearly 700 men, but had distributed strong picket guards by the way. Their excursion was the first attempt, known in history, to invade a hostile country, and make an actual assault from a railroad train, and the result was somewhat discouraging to such enterprises. A mile from Vienna, a man on the side of the track stopped them, and earnestly urged them to return, saying, "any under McClellan was to be..."

^a Account by J. B., a Chaplain, Whig, July 8th.

^b Winchester Republican, in Dispatch July 8th. J. B., a Chaplain, in Whig, July 8th.

a battery and strong force of the enemy were ahead; a the officer to whom he spoke reflected for a moment with his hand to his head, and then made a signal to the engineer to proceed.

As they swept round the curve from the cut, their flashing bayonets revealed their hostile character and intent. Kemper waited only for a good range, and then opened upon them with frightful accuracy, sending round shot, shells, and grape, driving through them. The locomotive was struck by a ball, which threatened to disable it. The engineer hastily disengaged his engine from the train and put back for Alexandria, under full steam. Thus left to their fate, with ranks shattered by rapid discharges, their wounded and dead falling upon the flats or the ground beneath, the Federals could hardly have been expected to stand. Braver men would have given way. They leaped down from the cars, and hastily gathering as many of their killed and wounded as they could, took to the woods. The Southern infantry and cavalry fired on and pursued them until their rapid flight baffled all attempts to overtake them. A few fired some disordered shots, and attempted a more regular retreat, but the greater number fled so precipitately that they ran not merely through, but over the bushes and saplings, leaving parts of their garments hanging upon them. In this luckless encounter, the Federals left eight dead on the field, and carried off nine dead and about thirty wounded; they also lost a number of muskets, and nearly all their haversacks and blankets. c

On the 5th of July, a skirmish occurred near Newport's News, unimportant, save that it resulted in the death of two Southerners, one of them a gallant and much loved officer, Col. Dreux, of Louisiana.

On every theatre of war the month of July saw contending armies drawing

a Alexandria account. Dispatch, June 21.

b Account to Author, from Alexander J. Marshall, Esq.

c Compare Schenck's Official Report. *Exatimote Sun*, in Dispatch, '19, 21.

b Gen. Johnston's official Rep., 101.

nearer together, and finally engaging in the shock of battle. Our narrative now lends us to the scenes of a mountain campaign.

CHAPTER V.

North-Western Virginia—Area—Population—Slaves—Early Settlers—Classes of Residents at the Opening of the War—Advance of Gen. McClellan—Federal Force Driven from New Creek Depot—Randolph County—Physical Features—General Robert S. Garnett—His Previous Life—Appointed to Command Confederate Army in the Mountains of Virginia—Arrives at Huttonsville— Cheat Mountain Pass—Laurel Hill—St. George Pass—Col. Heck Fortifies Rich Mountain—His Attack on the Federals at Buckhannon—Federal General Rosecrans—Skirmish at Middle Fork Bridge—Col. John Pegram takes Command at Camp Garnett, on Rich Mountain—Hart's House—Reinforcements under Cols. Scott and Johnson—Rosecrans Ascends the Mountain on Pegram's Left Flank—Guided by a Traitor—Confederate Force at Hart's House—Battle of Rich Mountain—Disparity of Force—Desperate Fighting—Capt. De Lagnez—Irving—Curry—Skipwith—Higginbotham—Lieut. Statham—Boyd—Confederates Forced to Retreat—McClellan's Misapprehension—Col. Pegram's Effort to Recover the Hill—Capt. Anderson—Major Tyler's Successful Retreat—Dangers of the Mountain—Pegram's March to Join General Garnett—Difficulties—Distresses—Starvation Threatened—Council of War—Surrender to McClellan—Colonel Scott's Movements—Obeys Orders—Saves the Stores at Beverly—Retreats Across Greenbrier Mountain—Gen. Garnett's Command—Bloody Skirmishing—He Learns that Pegram's Left Flank has been Turned—Attempts to Reinforce Him—Roads Blocked—Garnett Retreats through the Gap to St. George—Federals Pursue—Battle of Corrick's Ford—Death of Gen. Garnett—Georgians Cut-Off—Sufferings—Confederate Army Reaches Monterey in Safety—McClellan's Telegrams—Exultation of the North—Federal Congress Assembles—Lincoln's Message—Asks for Men and Money—Northern Finances—Customs—Taxes—Unsound Basis of Credit—Appropriations—Advance of McDowell's Army Urged—He Prepares to Advance—Confederate Preparations to Meet Him—Johnston Joins Beauregard—Northern Army Marches upon Manassas—Confidence

of the North—*Vaults of Northern Journals—The Eve of Battle.*

The North-Western section of Virginia, early in the war, became very important to both belligerents. It embraced an area of thirty thousand square miles, holding a population of two hundred and sixty-four thousand whites, and six thousand six hundred slaves. The part beyond the Western ridges of the Alleghany mountains contained much fertile land, and pastures supporting thousands of fat cattle, and abounded in coal and iron in course of development. The white settlement of this region had commenced one hundred years before, in 1761, when four soldiers, William Childers, John and Samuel Pringle, and Joseph Linsey, deserted from Fort Pitt, in Pennsylvania, and took refuge in the forests bordering the Yohogany. Two of them were apprehended, but the two Pringles penetrated deeper, and deeper into the wilds of Virginia, until they reached the west fork of Tygart's Valley river, now known as the Buckhannon, in the present county of Barbour. Here they scooped out their habitation in a huge sycamore tree, the stump of which is yet to be seen, and with their rifles got abundant food from the buffalo, elk and deer, which gambolled around them in primitive innocence. Yet their state was far from being comfortable. They were without salt or vegetables; their powder was daily diminishing, and at night the wild screams of the panther, and the dismal howls of the wolf, were almost incessant; they were also near the hunting grounds of savages, whose tomahawks and knives were often before their imaginations. Nevertheless, they remained until only two loads of powder were left. John then departed for the nearest trading post on the Shenandoah, fixing a time for his return; Samuel stayed by their sycamore home: he fired one load at a buck, and missed: starvation threatened, but happily his last load brought down a fine buffalo, on which he fed until his brother returned. *b*

a Auditor's Report, 1861, Doc. No. 5, page 195.

b Withers' *Border Warfare*, 80—91. Howe's *Hist. Collec.*, 187.

These hardy pioneers were soon followed by other settlers, and after many years of bloody contest with the wolves, panthers, catamounts and Indians, the Anglo-Saxon rule was firmly established, and the region began to smile with the blended lights of magnificent nature and successful art. At the time of the rupture between the North and the South, the white people of this section might be considered as divided into three classes: *First*, Northern men, who had very recently settled in the country; these came chiefly from Ohio and Pennsylvania, though many were from New England, having migrated under a formal scheme of colonizing for abolition purposes, inaugurated by one Eli Thayer, of Boston. Men of this class were, almost without exception, opposed to the Southern movement, and were among the most treacherous and virulent foes that the South had to contend against. *Second*, Men who, though of Northern origin, had long been settled with their families—had acquired property—often held slaves, and had caught some of the sympathies of Virginia. These men, although generally lovers of the Union, were not untrue to their State, and sought, as far as possible, a position of neutrality. *Third*, Men who had come themselves, or whose ancestors had come, from the eastern parts of the State. These were, as a class, a brave and patriotic body, devoted to the South, and ready to seal their devotion by as patient and resolute endurance of the persecutions and outrages inflicted by their enemies, as any people have ever shown.

We have seen that these divisions of sentiment and interest were eagerly seized upon, by the leading traitors of this region, seconded by Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet. The political fraud attempted by them has been narrated. The military movements by which the Federal Government intended not only to secure the North-West, but to use this region as a base from which to project columns of invasion into the peaceful Valley of Virginia, and the rich counties of the South-West, must now engage our attention.

The army under McClellan was to be

used for this purpose. Its advanced regiments had already penetrated far in upon the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad; had driven Porterfield, with his small force, from Philippi; had occupied that town and Grafton, and had pushed forward, by county roads, from Wheeling and the Ohio River to Buckhannon, in Upshur country, a town on the river of the same name, situated about eighteen miles South of Philippi and twenty-five miles West of Beverly.

On the line of the railroad they were not permitted to advance without opposition. Learning that a force, estimated at about three hundred, were at New Creek Depot, a point eighteen miles West of Cumberland, and about twelve by direct route from Romney, Col. A. P. Hill, commanding the Confederate Brigade there, directed Col. John C. Vaughan, of the 3rd Tennessee regiment, to take two companies from his own and two from the 13th Virginia, and endeavor to dislodge the enemy. Col. Vaughan promptly started with the four companies, the Tennesseans under Capts. Lilliards and Mathas, and the Virginians under Capts. Crittenden and White. A cautious reconnoissance discovered the enemy strongly posted on the North bank of the Potomac with two pieces of artillery in position. At 5 o'clock on Saturday morning, the 15th of June, the attack was made. The Confederates rushed through the river, up to their waists, in perfect order, but with great enthusiasm, firing as they advanced. The Federals broke and fled, firing a few random shots; their artillery was captured, and was found loaded, but spiked; their flag was also taken, with other property abandoned in the fight. Several were seen to fall, but were carried off by their comrades; the Southerners had but one man slightly wounded.^a The railroad bridge, at the point, was burned, and the troops returned in safety. This affair checked the advance of the enemy on the line of the Potomac, but probably hastened their attack in the mountain region.

^aOfficial Reports, Colonels Hill and Vaughan. Whig, June 24.

The county of Randolph, which was soon to be the arena of conflict, was formed from Harrison in 1787, and was part of the great district of mountain, plain and valley formerly known as West Augusta. It lies immediately west of that towering ridge of Alleghanies which separates the Valley from Northwestern Virginia. At the point of approach, therefore, which McClellan must select, this county hold the key to the Valley, there being but two practicable doors of access, the one through the pass of Cheat Mountain, and the gap behind it through that part of the Alleghany called Greenbrier Mountain, and the other about twenty miles further South through a gap leading to Huntersville, in Pocahontas county. Beyond the chief range of the Alleghany and nearly parallel with it, Randolph is cut by a series of lofty mountain ridges known as the Laurel, Rich, Cheat, Shaver's and Middle Mountains, which fill more than half of the county and leave a belt of table or plain lands hardly ten miles broad in its western border.

The mountains were covered to their very summits with a thick growth chiefly of laurel and pine, interspersed with the majestic chestnut and oak; huge rocks and boulders jutted out from their sides; precipices broke their contour; loose stones and sliding earth made the footing unsteady and the ascent dangerous. Mountain streams of transparent clearness ran through the ravines, and, uniting flowed away, directed by the course of the ridges, until they fell into the Tygart's Valley and Cheat river, and ran northward and westward to find their way at last, into the Ohio. The roads were very narrow and rough, winding along the edges of chasms, through rugged valleys, over mountain tops, and across the beds of streams and rivers; often, after heavy rains, they were so deep in mud as to be impassable for artillery and baggage wagons; even the turnpike leading through Beverly, the county seat, down the gorge between the Rich and Cheat mountains, was in some places so bad as to require a team of six horses to haul a wagon with as many barrels of flour. Through the spring and summer months, rain in all this region was abundant, even to floods; the clouds gathered around the mountain tops and,

broken upon their ridges, descended in streams which saturated the forest cover, deluged the few open fields, and converted the road-beds into a mixture of mud and clay, through which progress either by man or horse, was almost impossible.

Yet with all their ruggedness there was one peculiarity of these mountain ranges, which was known only to the most experienced woodsmen and hunters frequenting them, and ignorance of which deeply affected the fortunes of the coming military campaign. Though impracticable for artillery and cavalry, the ridges could be penetrated and traversed at nearly any point desired, by light armed infantry. Strong and active men, aided by axes, could creep through the forests, clamber up the precipices, pierce the laurel groves, and reach advantageous positions for attack, defence, advance or retreat, as the occasion required. This fact was soon ascertained by the severe experience of both the contending armies.

Governor Letcher and his advisory council were very anxious to maintain the Southern authority in Northwestern Virginia, and not only to keep back the invaders from the Valley, but if possible, to drive them from the region they had already occupied. General Lee cordially united in this wish, and when the Confederate Military Department assumed control, it adopted the same view. The difficulty was, while pressed at other points by a great preponderance of force, to send forward to this mountain region sufficient men, arms and commissary stores, to meet successfully the heavy column which the enemy were bringing upon it. The passes into the Valley were too important to be left undefended. Had the full strength of the enemy been known, it is probable that no attempt would have been made to do more than entrench and hold these passes through Cheat and Greenbrier mountains, which were of such natural strength, that it has been said by one familiar with the region, "an army might be annihilated without gunpowder, by rolling rocks down upon it," and where without exaggeration, it was certain that five thousand resolute men might have stopped twenty thousand for an indefinite time.

For the command of the Confederate army to operate in this mountain region, Brigadier-General Robert Selden Garnett, was selected. He was born in Essex county, Virginia, in 1819, graduated at the West Point Military Academy, the 1st July 1841, and entered the service as brevet Second Lieutenant of the 4th artillery. He was for a time assistant Professor of Tactics, and George B. McClellan was his pupil. He was aid-de-camp to Gen. Wool, at Troy, upon the opening of the Mexican war, and by his own request was sent with the first troops for the scene, took part in the battles of Resaca de la Palma, Palo Alto, and Monterey, and was promoted for gallant and meritorious conduct in the bloody day of Buena Vista. His qualities as a man and a soldier attracted high esteem, and on his return, he was presented with a beautiful horse and accoutrements by citizens of Natchez, and a very handsome silver-mounted sword, by his friends in New York city. General Taylor had great confidence in him; and sent him with T. Butler King, to California, on business connected with her admission to the Union. While there, he designed the seal of the new State, and his sketch was adopted with a slight alteration, by her Legislature. He was afterwards engaged in removing the Indians from Florida to their territory west of the Mississippi. His disposition and accomplishments induced his appointment as commandant of cadets at West Point, in which office he served two years, and competent observers have said that the conduct and discipline of the academy were never better than during this time. In 1856, Maj. Garnett was sent to Washington Territory with 400 troops of Col. Wright's command, and rendered important services in subduing to submission and peace, the hostile Indians of that region. After his return, being greatly depressed by the death of his wife, he obtained leave of absence and permission to visit Europe. While there, he learned of the opening scenes in the revolution which dissolved the Union. With singular prescience he wrote home to his friends, predicting "that it would be a most sanguinary war, and that few who participated in it, would survive it;" yet he signified his intention to resign and offer his services

to his State, as soon as she required them.^a Returning from Europe, he reached Virginia in March 1861, and when she seceded, he resigned. His services were gladly accepted, and he was appointed Adjutant-General of the State forces. His labors in organizing and preparing her armies for the field were incessant and were so highly valued, that General Lee, with reluctance, decided that he ought to leave them, for field duty. General Garnett, accepted the critical and dangerous command offered to him, but with the express condition that ten thousand men should be put under his control. With this number, he believed he could accomplish all that was expected of him. There can be no doubt that his military superiors intended he should have this number, but their plans were disturbed by the slow recruiting in that region on which they depended, and the rapid movements of the enemy.

After the rout of Col. Porterfield's command at Philippa, he fell back to Beverly, and then to Huttonsville, ten miles farther South. Here his scattered forces were collected; they were chiefly armed with "flint-lock" muskets, and being without cartridge boxes, carried their cartridges in their pockets, where the drenching rains to which the men were exposed, soon made their powder worthless.^b Their reverse had acted very unhappily on the Southern cause in the Northwest. Traitors were exultant—neutral men grew colder—patriots were profoundly discouraged. Col. Heck, from Staunton, hastened forward supplies and cartridges, and on the 7th of June started with an artillery company and four brass six-pounders, afterwards organized and known as the Lee Battery, Capt. Anderson, one company of cavalry, and three of infantry. Having been ordered by the Governor to call out the militia of Pendleton, Highland, Bath, Pocahontas, Randolph and Barbour counties, and use them as might be deemed best, he required and readily obtained one hundred men from

each of those counties, knowing that volunteers thus secured, would be of more service than ordinary militia.^c With all the force thus obtained, he reached Porterfield's headquarters, at Huttonsville, on the 15th of June, and found that Gen. Garnett had arrived the day before, and assumed the command.

The work of organizing the separate companies into regiments was instantly commenced. Reinforcements came forward from Richmond and the South, by Lynchburg, traveling by railroad to Staunton, and thence marching through the valley and mountain roads. Finding his command would soon reach about four thousand and five hundred in number, Gen. Garnett determined to advance.

To this he was urged by many considerations, among which the strongest were his earnest wishes to encourage the patriots of the trans-Alleghany region—to remove the depression caused by Porterfield's retreat—to give assurance to the loyal that they were not to be deserted, and to be in position to strike a blow at the enemy whenever a fit opportunity offered. Neither was his decision imprudent. To have stopped at the Cheat Mountain Pass would have been hardly looked on as an occupation of the country, and would not have much encouraged the Southern feeling among its people. He determined, therefore, to push forward to the Laurel Mountain Pass, sixteen miles north of Beverly, and about ten from Philippa. This position was naturally strong, and with entrenchments he believed it could be made almost impregnable. But his military skill at once taught him that it would be untenable unless he could be secure against an approach of the enemy in his rear. Beverly was to be his depot for commissary supplies to be wagoned from Staunton. The Federals were already at Philippa, and were approaching Buckhannon. A glance at the map will show that from that town they could march by the Rich Mountain Pass to Beverly, and from Philippa they could reach his rear by a county road, through a very difficult and rugged gap between Beverly and St. George, in Tucker

^a I am indebted to Gen. Garnett's family, and especially to his brother, A. S. Garnett, Esq., and to Dr. C. L. Garnett for MSS. relating to his life and services.

^b Capt. John T. Cowan's MS. narrative, to author.

^c MS. narrative, from Col. J. M. Heck.

county. *a* General Garnett sent Col. Hansborough, with a battalion of his regiment, to guard the St. George Gap, justly believing that it could be held by a small number against a considerable force. And at the same time that he took up his line of march to Laurel Mountain, he sent Colonel Heck, with his regiment, consisting of ten companies of infantry, one of cavalry, and the Lee Battery of artillery, to select and entrench a camp on the western slope of Rich Mountain, where the turnpike from Buckhannon passes over to Beverly. Thus his plan for defence being matured, he waited only the promised reinforcements to secure his hold on the country, and, if expedient, assume the offensive.

Col. Heck marched immediately to the spot indicated, and selecting his position, commenced forming and entrenching his camp. His whole force worked diligently for several days, and being joined by a competent engineer, Professor Hotchkiss, he soon constructed works capable of making a sturdy resistance to the foe. On the 26th of June, under Gen. Garnett's orders, he organized a foraging party of about three hundred men from his regiment, and made a rapid dash upon the enemy at Buckhannon. Learning of his approach, the small Federal force there decamped without offering fight, but about twenty-five Union men, under a Capt. Westfall, fired from ambush on his scouts near a mill, which was grinding corn for him. The advance of his main body cleared the way; he entered the town, bought from the people enough of corn, bacon, oats and other stores to load several wagons,—secured a small quantity of powder and lead,—seized a lot of provisions, chiefly mess pork left by the enemy, took two notorious traitors into custody, and returned the next day in safety to his camp. *b*

This successful excursion was immediately followed by the occupation of Buckhannon, by five thousand of the enemy, under Gen. William S. Rosecrans. *c* They

gradually pushed forward their forces towards Camp Garnett, by which name the Rich Mountain position was known, and established their camps nearer and nearer. A picket of about fifteen Confederate cavalry, was maintained at the bridge, over the Middle Fork river, fifteen miles from Camp Garnett, and, on the 5th of July, had a sharp skirmish with about a hundred of the enemy, who crept forward, and lying concealed until nearly dark, succeeded in surprising a detached guard of a lieutenant and three men. Two Southerners were severely wounded, but all escaped; the men at the bridge promptly returned the fire, and taking skillful advantage of cover, repulsed their assailants and held the bridge. Though the northern papers claimed this small affair as a victory, McClellan did not so consider it, and sternly rebuked the attempt, which, it seems, was made without orders: *a*

The picket at the Middle Fork was reinforced, but as the enemy advanced in greater numbers, it was soon evident that it could not long be maintained. On the 7th of July, Major Nathaniel Tyler, who had joined Col. Heck, with seven companies of the 20th Virginia regiment, was sent with two companies towards the bridge to reconnoiter; he united the guard to his command, and, by a vigorous dash, drove in the enemy's pickets, but discovering that their advance was upon him, in great force, he retired without loss and reported at camp. It was now evident that a collision must soon occur. Within three days thereafter, the enemy encamped in numbers on Roaring Run, and on the farm of Dr. Hillery, within view of the Confederate camp.

On the evening of July 7th, Lieut. Col. John Peyram, arrived at Camp Garnett from Laurel Mountain, bringing with him the remaining companies of the 20th Virginia Regiment. He was of the same rank with Col. Heck, in the Virginia service, but holding a commission also in the Confederate army, he took precedence by military rule, and assumed command of the post. He had graduated with distinction at West Point; had served several years in

a Mem. and drawing from Col. Jas. R. Crenshaw.

b Official Report, Dispatch, July 9th.

c Often incorrectly styled, "Rosecranz." I have his own signature before me, in a letter to Col. Heck.

a MS. from Capt. Cowan. Northern account in Whig, July.

the United States army, had practically observed and studied war on a grand scale in the Austria-French campaign in Italy, and was much esteemed by General Garnett, as a brave and reliable officer. On his taking command, Col. Heck and Engineer Hotchkiss, gave him all the information in their power, as to the position and its surroundings and the probable lines of assault, which the enemy would adopt. Col. Pegram approved the location and arrangement of the entrenched camp, and believed he could hold it against an attack in front by greatly superior numbers. His chief anxiety, therefore, was to guard against an approach of the enemy by flank or rear. The practicability of such approach depended on the features of the mountains behind him. These physical aspects of his position at once assumed the gravest importance.

Near the top of Rich Mountain, just where the turnpike from Beverly crossed the summit, was the residence of a Mr. Hart, who had taken pains to convince the Confederates that he was zealous for the South. Camp Garnett held the approach by the road from the front, and all the information given to Col. Pegram led him to believe that rugged precipices, impassable laurel thickets, and wall-sided ravines, shut up all approach to his rear, by his left flank. *a* On his right flank, however, he learned that there were neighbourhood roads and paths through the mountain, which though exceedingly rough, could be traversed by infantry, and would lead the enemy, by a very circuitous route, into a road coming into the turnpike a mile and a half west of Beverly, from which point they could readily gain his rear. His attention was therefore directed to this point of danger. Yet he did not entirely dismiss all fears of an assault by his other flank. On the evening of the 10th, the sound of chopping and falling of trees was heard far to the left; Capt. Mooman who, with his company, was nearest to the point, reported, and expressed the opinion that the enemy were attempting to make a road to

a Col. Pegram's official report. It has not been printed, but, by the courtesy of Adjutant General Cooper and his assistant, Col. Withers, I have had the opportunity of examining it.

their rear. Two infantry companies, the Rockbridge Guards, under Capt. Curry, and Buckingham Guards, Capt. C. H. Irving, were sent up to Hart's house, and spent the night on the mountain top, exposed to a thunder-storm and rain of more than ordinary violence. *a*

On the night of the 9th, Gen. McClellan advanced his main body to a point nearer to Capt. Garnett, but almost hidden from view, being on lower ground, with intervening woods. Skirmishing had been sharp during the day, between the advance of the enemy and two companies of Confederates, deployed in the forests. In the afternoon of the 10th, the Federals in force pushed forward and drove in the Southern pickets, but a well aimed shell from Capt. De Lagnel's gun, fell in their midst and sent them back in confusion.

Part of the promised reinforcements were now approaching Gen. Garnett from the east. Col. Wm. C. Scott, with the 44th Virginia regiment, after a steady march of seven days, reached Beverly on the 10th. Col. Edward Johnson, with his Georgia regiment, was advancing from Staunton, but was yet two day's march from the Greenbrier mountain.

Early on the morning of the 11th, a Federal cavalry sergeant, who had been sent to carry communications between McClellan and Rosecrans, missed his way, rode up to the Confederate lines, was fired on, wounded and taken prisoner. He was carried to head quarters at Camp Garnett, and there revealed the fact, that Rosecrans had set out with a heavy force to penetrate the mountains and gain the rear of Pegram's camp, but on which flank they designed to approach, he would not say, and probably did not know.

Learning of Scott's arrival at Beverly, Pegram now sent him an earnest written message, stating that he thought it almost certain the enemy were working their way round to his rear, by his right flank, and requesting him to take a position with his regiment on the road before mentioned, one and a half miles from Beverly. *b* At

a Capt. Cowan's MS. Col. Heck's MS.

b Col. Scott's official report, in Whig, April 23d, 1862.

the same time he sent a message to the same effect to Gen. Garnett, informing him of what he had learned from the wounded prisoner and asking that Col. Scott might be ordered to the indicated point.

When Scott received the message from Pegram, he was on the march to Laurel Mountain, but immediately turned and hastened with his regiment to the point he was requested to occupy. Here he received a missive from Gen. Garnett in the following words: "Colonel. General Garnett directs that you return to Beverly; and take up the position on the Buckhannon road, requested by Col. Pegram, and defend your position to the last, if you should be attacked. (Signed) Jas. L. Corley, aid." These orders were distinct and were obeyed. A strange series of events now occurred to thwart the plans and prevent the co-operation of the brave and skillful Southern officers, contending with overwhelming numbers of the enemy, in these mountain passes.

Guided by a traitor, who was afterwards ascertained to be a son of Hart, Gen. Rosecrans set out from Roaring Run, before daybreak, of the 11th, with three Indiana and one Ohio regiment of infantry, and Burdall's dragoons, numbering together more than three thousand men; hoping to gain, by a difficult march through the mountain, Pegram's left and rear, and take him by surprise, while McClellan attacked him in front. ^a The path was rugged and perplexed beyond all expectation; the weather was uncertain; often heavy showers of rain poured down for hours, and then the clouds broke, the sun appeared and filled the air with heat. Through the laurel thickets, clambering up ravines, slipping from stones dislodged and earth moistened by the rain, the Federals toiled up the mountain; the cavalry were obliged to dismount and leave their horses under guard; seven hours were spent in making as many miles, and not until nearly two o'clock did the enemy reach the wooded spur of Rich Mountain, opposite to Hart's house.

Their hopes of surprising the Confede-

^a Northern account, Cincinnati Commercial. Whig, July 23d.

rates were disappointed. Suspicious sights and sounds induced Col. Pegram to reinforce the small body near Hart's, by sending two more infantry companies and one piece of artillery from the Lee battery, the whole under command of Capt. DeLaguel. This brave officer, soon to be the hero of one of the most unequal, yet gallantly contested struggles of the war, found himself at the head of about three hundred men. Under his orders, breastworks were instantly prepared, by cutting down trees and piling the trunks; he selected a position for his gun, and not knowing the spot at which the enemy would appear, kept out the Buckingham Guards, Capt. C. H. Irving, as pickets in the woods, to watch for their approach. ^a

At 2 o'clock, their leading regiment appeared, advancing through the forest. Capt. Irving received them with a sharp fire, under which several fell killed and wounded; they halted and sought shelter, but pushed forward by their officers, they again advanced, and Irving's men, slowly falling back, whenever the enemy were seen, darted on them a sheet of fire. They returned volley for volley, but with little effect for a time, as the trees sheltered the Southerners. But after recovering from their first check, the Federals began to extend their lines in the woods, to right and left, thus exposing the small force contending with them. This compelled the picket company to fall back with some loss to the main body near Hart's.

As soon as this movement was discovered, the enemy advanced with shouts, still keeping the shelter of the thick trees and undergrowth. DeLaguel now opened upon them; his gun was skilfully worked by Lieut. Statham; its rapid reports thundered through the mountains and awoke the echoes for miles around; shells, grape and canister were hurled against the enemy; the small body of Confederate infantry selecting proper positions behind their

^a In describing the battle of Rich Mountain and the subsequent movements of troops, I have been greatly aided by three well drawn maps, by Engineer Hotchkiss, which have been kindly entrusted to me by Col. Heck and Major Tyler.

breastworks, and in the woods on each side, received their fire of musketry, until it could be opened with effect. Notwithstanding the shelter of the trees, and their great numbers, the enemy could not advance in the face of the artillery fire. They were repulsed and fell back to a safer position behind the ridge of the spur. Here they were again formed, and their officers' voices could be heard, with loud oaths and curses, urging them on to another attack. *a*

Again they advanced, throwing out their men on either flank, and seeking by their numbers to surround the Confederate position. Again they were received with quick discharges from DeLaguel's gun, and steady volleys from his infantry. The Federals in front, again recoiled and threw themselves flat on the ground, endeavoring to creep forward in this position. Colonel Lauder was heard swearing at, and encouraging his men, asking, "*Why in the Hell the Hoosiers didn't form by platoons!*" He called for sharpshooters, and getting twenty to venture forward, behind the trees, he ordered them to fire at the horses and men at the cannon. *b* By this time the artillery ammunition was beginning to fail, and the fire slackened. The artillerymen began to fall at the gun, or received disabling wounds: Lieut. Statham was shot through the hand in the very act of taking from the caisson the last load of canister. Still DeLaguel kept up his fire; when nearly all his men were killed or wounded, he loaded and fired again and again, with the aid of Benjamin Foltz, a brave boy, hardly fifteen years old, until his young comrade was shot through the arm, and he was himself severely wounded in the side, by a rifle ball: then, reluctantly abandoning his gun to the enemy, he crawled with Sergeant Turner, who was likewise wounded, to the shelter of a stable near a thick wood on the right.

Under the concentrated fire of more than two thousand men, the Southern infantry were now fast falling. They had been reinforced by another company, the Powha-

tan Rifles, under Capt. Skipwith, who moved up the turnpike, exposed to a shower of bullets. *c* Still the little band of Confederates held their position with heroic obstinacy, and though nearly surrounded, kept up their fire with fatal effect. *d*

Their officers suffered heavily. Captains Curry and Irving were dangerously, and Capt. Higginbotham severely wounded. Lieut. Boyd was killed. The gallant Skipwith received a fatal shot in the head, yet, after falling, he defied the enemy, now advancing, and shot one of them dead with his pistol. Forty-five of the Southerners were killed and more than thirty wounded, making nearly one-third of their whole number; their desperate resistance had made another Thermopylæ of Rich Mountain pass; twice they had repulsed the enemy, and for more than two hours had kept him at bay; they had fought like men. Federal officers afterwards declared, "they fought more like demons than men." *e* It was now their duty, by a retreat to save as many as possible, of lives so worthy. Capt. Curry, who though severely wounded, was in command, ordered them to retire through the woods in their rear. The enemy rushed forward, and with cowardly ferocity, bayoneted several of the wounded, and stripped the pockets of the dead, calling out aloud the names and amounts of the bank notes found in them! *f*

Meanwhile, Col. Pegram, at Camp Garnett, had been hourly expecting the assault of McClellan, who was in his front, with seven full regiments of infantry and eighteen pieces of cannon. It is a fact, now fully ascertained, that the Federal commander, hearing the heavy firing on Rich Mountain, redoubled and intensified by the thousand echoes from the adjacent heights, believed that General Garnett had learned his plan of attack, and, by a rapid movement, had thrown a strong force upon Rosecrans, and would probably overwhelm him. *g* Fearing, therefore, that the rear attack, on which he greatly relied, had failed, he hesitated and delayed to assault, in

a Lieut. Statham's account. Whig, August 7th. Cincinnati Commercial. Whig, July 23d.

b Account in Cincinnati Commercial.

c Capt. Curry's MS. narrative.

d Capt. Cowan's narrative. MS.

e Mem. to author from Lieut. Statham.

f Mem. from Col. Crenshaw.

front, the strong entrenchments defended by Pegram's command.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, feeling keenly anxious for the safety of the force at Hart's house, Col. Pegram mounted his horse and rode up the pass, first ordering that another gun from the Lee battery, under Capt. Anderson, and six companies of infantry, under Major Tyler, should follow him to reinforce DeLaguel, and that Col. Heck, with the six hundred men remaining, should, if attacked, defend the camp to extremity. He reached the mountain top just as the Southern troops, overpowered, were about to commence their retreat. His horse was wounded by a random shot, and plunging violently, forced him to throw himself from his saddle for fear the animal should fall and roll over him. Stunned and hurt by the shock, he rose, and leaning for a moment on Capt. Curry's shoulder, urged him to encourage his troops to make one more stand, as reinforcements would soon arrive. The brave Captain, who had been in the hottest of the whole fight and knew the overwhelming force of the enemy, replied, that it was then too late for reinforcements. The retreat was continued, and Col. Pegram returned down the mountain, hoping yet to retrieve the day. *a*

The gun under Capt. Anderson was hurried up the pass with all speed, but the horses, unaccustomed to the startling sounds of cannon and musketry reverberating through the forests, and alarmed by the wounded horses which galloped headlong down from above, took fright and overturned the carriage, which tumbled with the gun down a precipice near the road. *b*

Meeting Major Tyler with the six companies, and being joined by Capt. Anderson's artilleryists, Col. Pegram resolved to lead them against the enemy, and endeavour, by a skillful ambuscade, to surprise and defeat them. His address to his men was received with cheers, and placing himself at their head, he began the ascent. The glooms of evening were now at hand, and the sombre shadows of the mountains were deepened around them. As they

wound through pathless thickets a shot was heard in the rear. Major Tyler reported to Col. Pegram that the shot was from a member of one of the rear companies, who mistook another for the enemy, and that the events around them, acting on raw troops, had excited them so much, that they would not act coolly. Having now fully learned the superior force of the enemy, and being convinced that with six hundred men, however brave, he could not successfully attack three thousand, Col. Pegram ordered Major Tyler to take the command, and endeavour to lead them through the unfrequented paths of the mountain to join Gen. Garnett at Laurel Hill, or Col. Scott, at Beverly. *a* He then returned to his command at Camp Garnett.

Leading his men cautiously through the thickets north of Hart's house, and within less than a mile from the enemy, Major Tyler marched all night, surmounting obstacles which might well have discouraged irresolute men. No definite path opened before them; the darkness was often intense, when gusty clouds covered the heavens; heavy showers of rain frequently fell; tangled branches of undergrowth shut up their way, making it necessary, sometimes, to creep close to the ground; rough chasms lined with rocks, were encountered, over which the men helped each other, by joining hands above and below; in the constant windings thus made, they often lost the proper direction of their march, and had no guide to recover it, except the position of some well known stars, and of a comet, which for several nights previous, had been hanging in the northern sky. By attentively watching these celestial signs when the clouds would permit the view, and marking the course of the running streams, they slowly toiled their way, and after a night of danger, gloom and hunger, they struck the Meritt road, and reached Beverly at day-break of the 12th, having taken eight hours to march seven miles. They were now safe, and after getting food and a short rest, they continued their retreat to Huttonsville. *b*

At about 10 o'clock at night, Colonel

a Capt. Cowan's MS. narrative. Mem. from Capt. Curry.

b Col. Pegram's official report. Capt. Curry's MS.

a Pegram's official report.

b Major Tyler's MS. Narrative.

Pegram again reached his camp. The enemy were now in his rear and in front, outnumbering him as twenty to one. No course was prudent except a retreat, and this was attended with great difficulty and danger. His food was nearly exhausted. Very early in the day he had made two earnest appeals to the commissary at Beverly, for three days' rations of hard bread and bacon, but could not obtain them.^a Out of his six hundred men, three-fourths had no rations, and the remaining fourth had not more than flour enough for one day. Suffering from his fall, depressed and anxious, Col. Pegram yet bore up bravely against the adverse fortunes opposing him. He ordered the two remaining cannon to be spiked, and preparations made for a silent march. He left his sick and wounded under care of a surgeon, with orders to hoist a white flag at day break. He was himself so much hurt and exhausted, that he had once resolved to remain in his camp, and ordered Col. Heck to commence the retreat, with the hope of reaching Gen. Garnett's camp or some point of safety and supply. A signal and the countersign "Indian" were given, to enable the men to know their friends in the darkness. At 1 o'clock at night the silent and gloomy move began. Capt. Lilley with the Augusta Rifles, and Engineer Hotchkiss, led the line which stretched in single file along and up the northern slope of the mountain. Summoning all his strength, the gallant but unfortunate young commander now resolved to join the retreating forces. He resumed the command and sent his orderly up the line to announce his orders, but in the darkness, Captain Lilley's company was not reached, and during the night became separated from the main body. The toils and sufferings of the march now rose to severity; torrents of rain poured down, drenching the men, and chilling them to the bone. Through the thick-set forest, the fallen trees, rugged chasms and precipices, they urged their way, often compelled to touch each other, to prevent the breaking of the line and their separation and dispersion.^b Other

dangers threatened them; the enemy were close at hand. Parts of two of their regiments were actually on both sides of the advancing company; in the deep darkness a low whistle was heard, and was immediately replied to by the Southern officers, with the same signal; the Confederates passed through unassaulted, and continued their retreat.

When the first beams of breaking day appeared, Capt. Lilley and Mr. Hotchkiss, with Majors Reger and Stuart, and Colonel Wilson, two of whom had been casually at Camp Garnett, found themselves with about fifty of the company, out of sight or sound of the main body, and unable to find them without hazardous movements and delay. From the point they had reached, two-thirds of the way to the top of the mountain; they were able to strike into a path leading nearly over the summit and down a gorge on the opposite side to the Meritt road running to the Beverly Turnpike. They decided that it was best to continue their retreat; passed safely over the mountain, gained the road, made a detour from it to avoid risk, and were soon in safety.^c

THE LEAF.

From the French of A. V. Arnault. (Fables.)

BY TENELLA.

Torn from thy stem by some rude gale
Where wand'rest thou, poor leaf so frail?
Alas! I know not; fair to view
Once on a noble oak I grew,
But when the storm burst o'er its head
I with the inconstant fled:
Since then o'er hill and vale I've strayed
Where e'er the summer winds have play-
ed,
Hither and thither, without thought,
Nothing I fear—complain of naught;
Soon I shall crumble into dust
And float away where all things must,
And where is that? Oh whither goes
The withered Laurel—faded Rose?

^a Official Report.

^b Prof. Hotchkiss's MS. Narrative and Report to Col. Heck.

^c MS. Narrative of Col. Heck, Professor Hotchkiss, and Capt. Cowan.

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HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT E. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

(Copy-right secured.)

At sunrise the main body, under Pegram, were on the slope of the mountain, and, looking down, saw Beverly and the valley of Tygart's river beneath them. Several of the officers urged that they should now venture down into the valley, and endeavour to reach Beverly; but Col. Pegram felt it to be his duty, if possible, to join Gen. Garnett, whose command he believed to be in danger, and to need reinforcement. He knew also that the enemy were near, in great force, and his pocket telescope revealed a body of men moving between his position and the town. It was afterwards ascertained that this armed body was Capt. Lilly's company retreating in safety, and that if the whole command had marched down, they would have reached Beverly and escaped, as the advance guard of the Federal force did not enter the town until one o'clock. Such are the sad *contretemps* of war—so near together are often safety and disaster, escape and captivity! Yet Pegram's decision was right. It was better to suffer in the path of duty, than to swerve from it with the doubtful prospect of advantage.

The march was continued during the day, slowly and cautiously, through the mountain, in the direction of Laurel Hill. The rugged paths and heavy undergrowth, still impeded it; hunger and fatigue began to tell upon the strength of the men; at

seven o'clock in the evening, they reached the valley river, having marched only twelve miles in eighteen hours. Col. Heck asked and obtained permission to go down into the valley and see if the road from Beverly to Laurel Hill camp was clear. He ventured down with a citizen, and at a house, three miles from the main road, he learned that no enemies had been seen. On his return, Col. Pegram decided to move towards the road without delay. Again the weary march commenced; the men were obliged to wade the river three times, following the meanders of their heavy and difficult path; as the rear companies were making the last crossing, several shots were fired: whence they came, the officers could not learn; it was very dark, and this random fire was probably from unfounded apprehensions of the enemy's presence. A Lieutenant and nearly all the men of the Lee Battery disappeared, and it was afterwards found that they had made their way safely to the roads beyond Beverly and escaped.

Col. Pegram, having obtained a horse at the nearest house in the valley, rode forward towards Leedsville church, which was on the road between Beverly and Laurel Hill. He learned from the people living in the neighbourhood, that Gen. Garnett had retreated towards Tucker county, followed by a heavy Federal force, and that the enemy were three thousand strong at Leedsville, and were extending their lines on every side. The prospect of escape was now growing more gloomy every

a Capt. Cowan's Narrative, MS.

hour; his men were nearly famishing—to give them partial relief, he induced the country people to furnish all the cooked provisions they could supply, but the quantity was small for five hundred hungry men. He could learn of but one possible avenue of escape—a precipitous and almost impassable road running east across the several frowning ridges, separating Randolph from Pendleton county. But to gain this, he was obliged to march within three miles of the enemy's camp, at Beverly, and probably through their pickets, and even should he gain the road, he had no reasonable hope that his starving men could obtain from the few poor and scattered settlements along the way, enough of food to keep them alive. ^a

The unfortunate young commander rode to his corps, and ordered them to recross the river and return to the foot of the mountain. A private room was obtained in a farm-house near, and a council of war assembled, consisting of Cols. Pegram and Heck, and the commandants of the companies. A majority thought that escape was physically impossible, and concurred in the opinion of the commander, that a surrender ought to be made. Col. Heck and Capt. J. B. Mooman dissented; though they both regarded the chances of escape as exceedingly small, they thought the attempt should be made, and the march continued until they met an overwhelming force of the enemy, when a surrender could still take place: if, however, they were so fortunate as to evade the Federals, they thought it possible that food enough could be obtained along the mountain road, to keep the men alive until they reached supplies.

Col. Pegram was now called on to decide the most painful question that ever comes before a commanding officer. Had he continued his march, and had his brave officers and men been surrounded and cut to pieces, by the exultant and cruel foe, who had already shown their savage temper at Rich Mountain, or had he gained the mountains only to leave the ghastly and emaciated corpses of his starved soldiers

scattered along their rugged steeps, he would have met a storm of rebuke only less bitter than his own self-reproaches. He could not take such a responsibility. With profound sadness, he determined to surrender.

Late at night he sent the following note to Beverly:

HEAD QUARTERS at Mr. Kettle's }
Farm House, July 12, 1861. }

To the Commanding Officer of the
Northern Forces, Beverly, Virginia.

SIR,—Owing to the reduced and almost famished condition of the force now here, under my command, I am compelled to offer to surrender them to you as prisoners of War. I have only to ask, that they receive at your hands such treatment as Northern prisoners have invariably received from the South.

I am, sir, your ob't servant,
(Signed) JOHN PEGRAM,
Lieut. Col. P. A. C. S. Commanding.

Between 7 and 8 o'clock, the next morning, two officers from Gen. McClellan's Staff arrived, bringing his reply, as follows:

HEAD QUARTERS, Department of the }
Ohio, Beverly, Va., July 13, 1861. }

JOHN PEGRAM, Esq., styling himself
Lieut. Col. P. A. C. S.

SIR,—Your communication, dated yesterday, proposing to surrender as prisoners of war, the force assembled under your command, has been delivered to me. As commander of this department, I will receive you, your officers and men as prisoners, and I will treat you and them with the kindness due to prisoners of war, but it is not in my power to relieve you or them from any liabilities incurred by taking arms against the United States.

I am, very respectfully,
Your ob't servant,
(Signed) GEO. B. McCLELLAN,
Maj. Gen. U. S. A., Com'g Department

In his interview with the Federal officers, Col. Pegram stated that he was not in condition to dictate terms; the surrender was made; the Confederate troops marched to Beverly, meeting on the way wagons

^a Pegram's official report.

with hard bread, sent for their relief. a Arriving in the town, the men stacked their muskets, and no Federal officer appearing to receive their swords, the Southern officers hung them upon the stacked arms, and in a short time many of them were stolen by the vigilant and enterprising guards stationed around them! b

The number surrendered was 22 officers and 359 men, of the 25th regiment, and 8 officers and 166 men of the 20th, making a total of 555. In a short time, Capt. Curry, who had been left wounded at Camp Garneft, Lieut. Statham, and other hurt or worn out officers and men, were brought in, but the total number did not exceed seven hundred.

The fate of the intrepid DeLagnel was singular. While lying wounded near the stable at Hert's house, he saw the enemy rush in, and, with brutal rage, commence bayonetting the helpless men, who were too much hurt to escape. Sergeant Turner, near him, held up his wounded arm as they approached, yet he was shot through the body and fell. Certain that death awaited him from these cowardly wretches, if they found him, DeLagnel crawled down into the thickets—evaded all pursuit, and made his way, faint from hunger and loss of blood, to an humble farm-house in the neighbourhood. Here he was sheltered and kindly nursed for some time; he began to recover and ventured to go out occasionally. The enemy learned of his place of refuge and sent a party who took him prisoner, and conducted him to their camp.

General McClellan treated with courtesy and kindness the prisoners whom the fortunes of war had thus thrown into his hands. On being informed that some of his men had bayoneted the wounded, he declared that if they could be identified, he would inflict on them exemplary punishment. c His elation at the success achieved by twelve thousand men, over seven hundred, was excessive, and exhibited itself in forms which history preserves

to his lasting shame. It may be, that his self complacency, in the hour of victory, softened his temper towards the vanquished.

Under instructions received by telegraph, from General Scott, on the 14th of July, all the Confederate prisoners of war, under the grade of commissioned officers, were released upon taking and subscribing an oath, to the effect that they would not take up arms against the United States, or serve in any capacity against them, until regularly discharged from the obligation according to the usages of war. The commissioned officers were released upon giving their parole of honor to the same effect. But, from this privilege were excepted all such officers as had recently been in the United States army or navy, and who, in Gen. McClellan's opinion, had left the Federal service with intent to bear arms against the United States. a Under these orders, Col. Pegram and Capt. DeLagnel, were sent North, and many months elapsed before the cold-blooded policy of Lincoln's government, in refusing to sanction exchanges of prisoners was broken down by the immense accumulation of Northern captives within the Confederate lines. Then, they effected exchange and returned to the Southern army.

Among the companies of the 20th regiment, were the "Hamden Sydney Boys," made up almost wholly from students in the college of that name, and commanded by its President, Capt. John M. P. Atkinson, a clergyman who had felt called to take the field for his country. McClellan treated him with consideration and respect, and is said to have addressed his young company as follows: "Boys, secession is dead in this region,—Go back to your college; Take your books and become wise men."

Our narrative now returns to the scenes of Rich Mountain. At about 2 o'clock of the 11th of June, Col. Scott, with his regiment, reached the point on the road leading into the Beverly Turnpike, designated

a Pegram's official report.

b Col. Heck's MS. narrative.

c Mem. from Lieut. Statham.

a A full copy of Gen. Scott's telegram is before me, furnished by one of the paroled officers.

by Col. Pegram, where he halted and prepared to obey Gen. Garnett's orders, and defend the position to the last. Soon the sounds of conflict reached him; the roar of the cannon and sharp discharges of musketry on the mountain, told that a fierce encounter had occurred. But this fire was on Pegram's left flank, and after some reflection, Col. Scott concluded that he ought not then to leave his position—that according to Col. Pegram's note, an approach of the enemy on his right flank might soon take place, which it was his duty to resist, and should he leave his post and go up the mountain, the threatened assault on the right flank might cause signal disaster. Meanwhile the firing continued, sometimes in constant volleys, then scattering or suspended when the enemy were repulsed. Anxious and impatient, Scott eagerly looked for some message from Pegram to indicate what movements were going on, and what he ought to do, but none came. To end this painful suspense, John N. Hughes, a well known resident of Beverly, and formerly a member of the Virginia Convention, volunteered to go up towards Hart's house and reconnoiter. His offer was gladly accepted, and putting spurs to his horse, he galloped up the mountain. ^a

He approached within two hundred yards of the Confederate lines, in one of those intervals when the beaten enemy had retired. He had seen enough to show that Federal troops, in numbers, almost surrounded the position, and seeing no Southern flag or signal, he feared that the men on the summit were enemies. He was halted by one of DeLagnel's companies, and in a moment of error, hoping to save his life, he cheered aloud for "the Union." He was instantly fired on; a musket ball pierced his breast and he fell dead on the spot. His body was carried up to Hart's house, and being recognised, his death cast a gloom over the Southerners. The brave DeLagnel wept like a child. ^b

Nor was this the last of the sad misad-

venture attending the wild drama of the Rich Mountain fight. A body of Southern cavalry, from Leedsville, appeared at Hart's house, and being mistaken for enemies, were received with a shell from DeLagnel's gun, which induced them to retreat, under the belief that the position was held by the Federals. Something in their appearance caused DeLagnel to suspect that he had fired on friends for foes, and he ordered Lieut. Cochrane, with four of his Augusta Churchville Cavalry, to follow and ascertain their character, and if friends, to conduct them back. ^c

Waiting in vain for the return of Hughes, Scott grew more anxious every moment. He learned nothing until Lieut. Cochrane, with his troops, came up and informed him of the facts. Feeling now assured that the flank approach of the enemy was on Pegram's left, he hesitated no longer. He started his regiment at double quick up the mountain, but being reminded by Cochrane that the distance was four miles, and much of it a precipitous ascent, he brought his men to quick time, for fear they would be exhausted when their strength was most needed. He reached a lime-kiln on the road, less than a mile from Hart's house. The battle was now over; the Confederates had retreated; the enemy had seized the cannon and were in possession of the log entrenchments on the summit. From the best information Scott could obtain, their numbers exceeded his as four to one. To attack them in their strong position, with artillery to aid them, would, in his judgment, have been an imprudence from which nothing but disaster could follow. The officers concurred with him. ^d No course remained but to return to Beverly.

Arriving late in the evening, he held a hasty conference with prominent citizens, and it being now apparent that Pegram's position had been turned, and that the enemy, in overwhelming force, would soon be in the town, and in the rear of General

^a Col. Scott's official report. Whig, April 23d and 28th, 1862.

^b Capt. Curry's MS. narrative.

^c Lieut. Cochrane's statement. Whig, April 23d, 1862.

^d Their statement is in the Whig, July 27th, 1861.

Garnett's camp, at Laurel Hill, Col. Scott decided that it was his duty to save the large amount of commissary and quartermaster's stores at Beverly. He, therefore, ordered wagons to be instantly prepared and loaded, and twenty-one prisoners to be taken from the jail, intending to march at once to Laurel Hill. But in a few hours he was informed that Gen. Garnett was retreating; no time was to be lost; the night was gloomy; torrents of rain often fell; the roads would soon become heavy. He gave his orders and commenced a retreat with a long wagon train, marching all night, and arriving in Huttonsville about day-break; here he halted to rest his men and was joined by Major Tyler, with the companies under his command.

After commencing his retreat from Rich Mountain, Col. Scott received three written orders from Gen. Garnett. Two of them directed him to block the roads leading into the Beverly Turnpike; these orders were given upon the supposition that the enemy's approach would be on Pegram's right flank, and as Scott's information enabled him to know that no enemy had been or would be in this road, he properly decided that he ought not to exhaust the time and strength of his men, by marching up the route indicated and felling trees. But the last order directed him to block the road leading from Rich Mountain to Beverly, and to "endeavour to keep the enemy in check on the other side of Beverly, until day-light." * This order was very important, and was founded on correct premises, having been sent after Gen. Garnett determined to retreat through Beverly. Unfortunately, however, Col. Scott did not receive it until he was far beyond Beverly, on his retreat, and when its execution, by him, was physically impossible. His men did not fell a tree or block a road at any point.

He continued his march through the Cheat Mountain pass, and across Greenbrier mountain, to the river running along its eastern base, where he met Col. Edward Johnson, with his regiment advancing from Staunton. Their united force then crossed the eastern ridge of Alleghany, where they were met by Governor Letcher and Gen. Henry R. Jackson. The

latter assumed the command and retired to Monterey, in Highland county, where he had good communication with Staunton on the east, and the gorge of the Dinwiddie Gap on the west, gave him great advantages to stop the advance of the enemy.

While these events were in progress, Gen. Garnett's command, on Laurel Hill, had been sorely pressed. His whole force there, including Hansborough's regiment, did not exceed three thousand infantry, with three companies of cavalry, and Shumaker's battery of six field pieces. On the 5th of July, Gen. Morris, with the left wing of McClellan's army, moved down from Philippa to Bealington, and took his position about a mile and a half in front of the Laurel Hill entrenchments, with seven thousand infantry, several companies of cavalry, and twelve pieces of artillery. Bloody skirmishing immediately commenced. On Sunday evening, the 7th, before day-break, the Confederate pickets gave the alarm; a Georgia regiment, under Col. Ramsey, immediately advanced from the camp, and scattering as skirmishers in the forest, kept up a rapid fire on the enemy wherever they appear, holding them in check for eight hours. The Federals opened the skirmish with yells and cheers, oaths and obscene taunts, but their fire was entirely inaccurate and without effect. At 3 o'clock, the 23d Virginia regiment, under Col. Wm. B. Taliaferro, took the place of the Georgians and continued a skirmishing fire until night; one of its companies, the Richmond Sharp Shooters, Capt. Tompkins, being armed with fine Minie muskets, rendered most efficient service. During the day, twenty-five of the enemy were killed; how many were wounded could not be ascertained. The 23d, lost one killed and two wounded; at 7 o'clock, the 27th regiment, under Col. Fulkerson, succeeded the 23d, and firing was kept up until nearly midnight. For several days this skirmishing went on without decisive result. The Federals once opened a fire of artillery with round shot, shells and grape, but did no harm except to the forest trees. On Wednesday, the 10th, the attack was suspended; the Northern troops drew off, awaiting the result

of McClellan's advance on Pegram, and of the attempt of Rosecrans to turn his flank. ^a

On the eventful 11th, Gen. Garnett cooperated with Pegram in making dispositions to meet and drive back the flank assault expected. He anxiously waited farther tidings from Camp Garnett. Early on the morning of the 12th, Major Bacon arrived and informed him, that the fight on Rich Mountain had resulted in disaster, that the enemy had gained the position and were marching on Beverly, that Pegram had been shot from his horse and was probably killed, and most of his command were supposed to be prisoners. General Garnett saw the necessity for instant movement, and ordered three day's provisions to be cooked, but while the men were preparing, a tremendous fall of rain made cooking almost impossible. Lieut. Washington, one of his aids, volunteered to go to Pegram's command, and ascertain its condition; he made a daring effort to reach them, but the intervening enemy rendered it impossible, and he returned. Garnett now ordered preparations for the march. His first plan was to push rapidly to Beverly, and, if possible, reinforce and save part of Pegram's command, and then continue his march to Cheat Mountain. It being of great importance to check the enemy, he sent forward Lieut. Humphreys, with a small body of cavalry, supplied with axes, and with directions to block the road leading from Rich Mountain to Beverly.

By a very unfortunate misapprehension, Lieut. Humphreys felled trees and stopped the road between Beverly and the Laurel Hill camp, about two miles from the town. ^b When the main body came up, the mistake was at once apparent, and hasty preparations were made to clear the road, but in conversation with Humphreys, General Garnett learned that he had forwarded to Col. Scott directions to block the road beyond Beverly, leading to Huttonsville. Supposing that this had been done, and knowing that in that case it would be impossible for his army to avoid being overtaken and

attacked by superior numbers and at great disadvantage, Garnett promptly decided to march across the mountain to St. George, in Tucker county.

There is good reason to believe that the Confederate commander intended in this move to accomplish something more than the safety of his army. His line of march would lead him in the direction of Gen. Johnston, at Winchester, and could his troops, in good fighting order, have been united with the division there, they might have essayed an attack on Patterson. But, for the time, to preserve his army was his chief thought. Its condition was very critical.

The march for the mountain pass, commenced at about 10 o'clock, and was continued during the day and part of the night, with a short interval for rest and food. Heavy clouds covered the heavens, and during many hours poured down rain in furious torrents; the road was rugged beyond description, and now, cut by the descending floods and washed into gullies, it was often thought by the officers impassable for the wagons and artillery. It was barely wide enough in some places for a single vehicle. Yet, with resolute endurance, the army toiled on; the men often pushing with hands and shoulders the half buried wheels. The brave commander rode along the lines with the rain streaming from his hair and beard, encouraging officers and men by his words. Late at night he bivouacked at Kalar's Ford, on Cheat River, with his advance, his rear guard being about two miles behind on Pheasant Run. ^a

Early on the morning of Saturday, the 13th, couriers brought tidings that the enemy were close at hand, pressing hard on the rear. They consisted of the Federal General Morris' division, outnumbering Garnett's by thousands and eager to overwhelm him. Preparations were made to receive them. The Georgia regiment first

^a "Ned's" Letters in Dispatch, Monday, July 15th, 1861.

^b Mem. from Col. Crenshaw. Richmond Examiner, July 19, 20, 23, 26, 31.

^a Col. Wm. B. Taliaferro very kindly furnished me with a copy of his MS. report to Gen. H. R. Jackson, which has aided me much in narrating these events. Col. Crenshaw's memorandum has also been very useful.

covered the rear, and after delivering its fire, and checking the advance, retired behind the 23d, which in turn held the enemy at bay. Positions for these successive stands were skilfully selected by Adjutant Corley, and kept back the foe until the rear guard reached Kalar's Ford. This ford crossed the river twice within a distance of about six hundred yards, the road between the crossings, winding through an open field, skirted by a thick forest at the foot of a spur of the mountain.

To gain time for the escape of the wagon train, it became necessary here to make a stand. Four companies of the Georgians were thrown in ambuscade into the skirt of woods; the remaining companies were formed across the open field, and as they were insufficient to rest their flank on the river, the gap was filled by men from the 23d Virginia. The front thus presented, checked the pursuit and enabled the advance guard, with the wagons, to move forward. But, unhappily, a premature order was given to retreat; the Georgians fell into confusion and precipitately retired towards the second crossing, the Virginians of necessity followed; the enemy pressed vigorously; the four companies in ambuscade could do nothing but lie still in the woods, and three other Georgia companies, unable to cross in time, turned up the mountain, and eluding the enemy's notice, buried themselves in the thick forests of the spur. These untoward events destroyed the Georgia regiment for all purposes of organization.

The retreat was now continued to Corrick's Ford, three miles and a half beyond Kalar's. This was a deep and rough crossing, rendered more difficult by the violent rains of the day before. Several wagons were stalled in the bed of the river and abandoned. The teamsters who had crossed, drove their teams with wild haste up the narrow and heavy load to the left; here, nearly thirty wagons were blocked and the horses cut from them. For the infantry and artillery a path was hastily cut, leading from the river to the right and joining the main road some distance be-

yond. There was imminent danger of demoralization and panic. All now depended on the steadiness of the rear guard, consisting of the 23d Virginia regiment and the artillery, and right valiantly did they meet the crisis.

Hastily conferring with Col. Taliaferro and the other officers, Adjutant Corley sent a message to Gen. Garnett to inform him of the position of affairs in the rear. Dispositions were then made for a gallant stand.

The ford and the road for some distance was obstructed with wagons. A steep bank overhung the river, on the right of the path, cut for the artillery; behind this bank was an elevated place, dotted with trees. On the ridge of the bank, the 23d regiment were drawn up, supported on their flank by three pieces of artillery, one of them rifled and a very fine gun. On the right was a fence, and on the left a skirt of thick but low bushes. Hardly had their position been taken, before the enemy appeared, and his skirmishers were seen gliding rapidly along the opposite bank, under cover of a fringe of trees. Thinking it possible they were the Georgians, who had been left in ambuscade, the Southerners held their fire. Lieut. Washington advanced to the edge of the bank, and in a stentorian voice cheered for Jeff. Davis; the Southerners echoed the cheer and instantly a volley was fired from the enemy. Their character was now revealed; the infantry returned their fire, and the artillery opened on them. Lieut. Lanier handled his guns most skilfully. Just as the 14th Ohio regiment, marching in column, got within range, the rifled gun sent a shell which taked them from front to rear, killing and wounding more than twenty of their number; this raking fire was kept up with so much vigor and effect, that the regiment broke ranks and left the road. *b*

a Doct. Wm. A. Carrington, surgeon of the 23d Reg. and Med. Director of General Garnett's army, who remained to attend to the wounded, and was taken prisoner by the enemy, but soon afterwards exchanged, has given to me a hasty but very accurate drawing of the localities at Corrick's Ford.

b Cincinnati account. Dispatch, July 19. Mem. from Col. Crenshaw and Dr. Carrington.

a Col. Crenshaw's mem. J. D. B's narrative, in Charleston Mercury, copied in Dispatch, Sept. 19th, 1861.

The enemy now threw their skirmishers forward, and, for three quarters of an hour, the musketry on each side was incessant. The Federal artillery poured out a constant fire of shells and grape, but without effect. The Virginians held their ground with firmness, taking cool and careful aim, and driving back the enemy in their repeated attempts to cross the river in their front. Rain was falling all the time. Some of the men were armed with flint-lock muskets, and seeing that the rain had rendered them useless, Lt. Col. Crenshaw withdrew them from their exposed position and ordered them to form in the rear. Col. Taliaferro dismounted, and taking his post on the right of his men, encouraged them with his voice and presence, sometimes firing his revolver at the enemy.

The check thus given by a resolute stand to the advance of the Federals, was of the utmost importance to the retreating Southerners. It enabled them to gain the brow of the hill beyond the ford, and extricate such of their wagon-train as were not immovable. Finding that eleven of his men were killed, and seventeen wounded, and perceiving a movement of the enemy evidently with the purpose of crossing the river some distance above, and turning his left flank, Col. Taliaferro ordered a retreat. Two artillery horses of the rifled gun were wounded, and, falling, wrenched the tongue of the carriage in two, so that its removal was impossible. With ready presence of mind, Lieut. Washington forced a shoe from the foot of one of the horses, and taking out a nail, spiked the cannon. This was the only piece of artillery lost. The Confederates withdrew in good order.

Meanwhile, Gen. Garnett receiving Capt. Corley's message, rode rapidly to the rear. Evidences of panic and disorganization met his eye. Meeting Col. Ramsey, he asked, "Where is your regiment?" The reply was, "I don't know." Knowing that this regiment was one relied on to protect the rear, the General was astonished and concerned at the answer, and ordered him to collect his men instantly and follow him. Coming up to the 23rd, now in retreat, and perceiving that the enemy were

pressing hard in the rear, Gen. Garnett now adopted a plan, almost desperate in its daring, to stop their advance, and give his harrassed army time to recover and escape. His officers urged him to seek a position less exposed, but he firmly answered, "The post of danger is now my post of duty." He called for sharp-shooters; Col. Taliaferro sent him the whole of Capt. Tompkins' company. He selected ten of the best marksmen, under Lieut. DePriest, and ordered the others to join their regiment. He then posted them behind piles of brushwood, not far from the second crossing of the ford, and keeping near them, opened a fire on the advancing enemy, which stopped them for a time.

His purpose being nearly effected, he had ordered the marksmen to retreat, and was in the act of turning himself, when a musket ball pierced his breast, and, falling from his saddle, he died almost instantly. His body fell into the hands of the enemy. It was recognized by officers who had known him in life. Surgeon Carrington, who had remained to attend the Confederate wounded, and had been captured by the Federals, took charge of the body of his General. In death his features bore a look of calm dignity, which subdued to silence even the rude Northern soldiers, who came up to gaze at him. When General McClellan was informed of his death, he ordered great respect to be paid to the remains; he was preserved in a metallic coffin, carried to Grafton, and thence to Baltimore, and finally deposited in the burying-ground of his family, in Virginia. A rude monument of stones marked the place of his death.

Thus fell this chivalrous and accomplished officer. In his sad campaign, it would be hard to point out an error, either of plan or of execution, or a misfortune which skill could have averted with the means at his disposal. He died like a hero, at the spot where peril was greatest, and in the very act of insuring, by his own self-sacrifice, the safety of the soldiers under his command.

Three miles beyond Corrick's Ford, the Confederates reached a point almost impregnable. It was on the road at the top

^a MS. narrative from General Garnett's family.

^a Mem. from Dr. Carrington.

of a mountain gorge, locked in on every side by rugged and impassable spurs. Here a brief halt was made; Col. Ramsey succeeded Gen. Garnett in command. His officers earnestly advised that this fine position should be defended to extremity. But the enemy did not pursue. They had suffered heavily in their forced march and in the fight, and probably learning from their scouts the strength of the Southerners' position, they drew back their forces towards Beverly.

The Confederate army continued their march towards West Union, in Preston county, suffering toils and distresses seldom exceeded. Col. Ramsey was in feeble health, and, was often so weak that he could not keep his saddle. Some disorder and demoralization occurred; stragglers began to leave the ranks; some of the cavalry and infantry left the main road and penetrated through the ridge to the East by a precipitous bridle-way, impassable for wagons and artillery. Yet the main body kept together, and maintained courage and constancy in their greatest straits. Food became scarce; thirty wagons had been lost at Corrick's Ford; flour was hastily cooked, and with cows and beef procured on the way, they precariously subsisted. At West Union a new danger threatened them; this point, about six miles from the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was held by the Federal General Hill, with three thousand men. The Southerners passed within two miles and a half of his camps, and, expecting an attack, prepared to receive him. But Hill made no advance. For his failure to attack, he was called to account by his Government, and defended himself by exhibiting evidence that from all the information he could gather from McClellan and others, he had reason to believe the Confederates were nearly eight thousand strong. ^a

Safely passing this point of danger, they crossed the angle of Alleghany county in

Maryland, re-entered Virginia, in Hardy county, and passed the gorge of the Eastern Front Ridge. They now reached a point at which it was necessary to decide whether they should carry out Gen. Garnett's plan of joining Johnston, at Winchester, or go down the valley to unite with Gen. Henry R. Jackson. The officers decided that in their present reduced, feeble and somewhat disorganized state, they could not add much to Gen. Johnston's effective force, and therefore continued in a Southern direction to Petersburg, a small town in Hardy county. From this town, Lt. Col. Crenshaw was sent forward, to provide food and accommodations in the county intervening; he met, every where, the greatest kindness and readiness to assist, but the army followed him so quickly, that only small supplies of food could be collected. On the 21st of July they reached Monterey, and enjoyed a welcome rest, after a march of one hundred and sixty miles, attended by dangers, toils, sufferings and sorrow, which would have broken up an army less resolute and patriotic.

We now return to the seven companies of Georgians, cut off at Kalar's Ford. They turned up the mountain and plunged into its gloomy fastnesses, where the foot of man had never trodden before. Without food or blankets, cold and wearied, these brave men lay down beneath the dripping trees and slept. Sunday morning, the 14th, opened with a clear sky, the sun dispersed with his rays the fogs clinging to the wooded ridges, and cheered the soldiers with warmth and hope. All day they kept up their bewildered march, without guide, save a small pocket compass, which one of them fortunately had. They suffered the pangs of hunger, and sought some relief, by stripping off the inner bark of the birch and spruce pine and swallowing the juice. Again a night was spent in the dismal forest. Monday, the march was resumed; hunger tortured them and began to tell on strength and spirits; young cheeks grew pale and hollow; older men faltered; the cheerful command, "close up, close up men," became fainter; the line grew long and straggling; famine preyed on their vital powers, and glared in their eyes. Captain Jones, of the Washington Rifles had, in the ranks, his son, a gallant

^a The published reports in the Northern papers, stated Gen. Garnett's force at about ten thousand, and his loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, at Rich Mountain and Corrick's Ford, at two thousand! See accounts in Dispatch, July 17, 18, 19, 20, 27, 29 and 30th.

but tenderly reared boy, eighteen years old. Faint with hunger, he came to his father and begged for food. Shaking out from his haversack a few crumbs of biscuit, the distressed officer said, "Take these, my dear boy, eat them slowly, and may God save your life." Strong men wept at the sight. Yet, in this time of trial, youths of frail forms often shewed "hearts of oak," and bore their sufferings without a murmur. Another night was spent in the forest.

Tuesday, the 16th, found them still wandering without hope. They could not have endured much longer. Without succor their starved bodies would soon have been scattered through the mountains. At mid-day, a stranger appeared among them; he told them his name was Parsons—that he was a Virginian and a friend—that he had followed their trail and could lead them to safety. Yet, even in this hour of anguish, most of the officers and men preferred death to captivity. They feared the offered guide might prove a traitor. After a moment's pause, the commanding officer said to him: "Lead us out of this wilderness, and we will reward you, but, remember, if you deceive and betray us, I will blow out your brains, with my own hand, at the first sight of the enemy!" He guided them, by a change of course, down the mountain, struck a shallow stream at its base, along the bed of which they waded, leaping from rock to rock, and finally emerged into an open field, along which ran a beaten road. A wild cheer of joy rose from the ranks; their faithful and generous deliverer hastened to a neighbouring farmhouse and soon returned with a wagon plentifully loaded with food. Hope and light-heartedness returned. With invigorated spirits, they resumed their march, and in a few days safely united with Gen. Jackson's command, at Monterey.

Such were the facts attending the Rich Mountain and Laurel Hill campaign. It caused a loss to the Southerners of fifty-eight killed, seventy wounded, some of whom afterwards died, about seven hundred prisoners, five field pieces, about fifty wagons, besides camp equipage and stores.

* a Narrative of J. D. B. in Charleston Mercury. Dispatch, Sept. 19th.

The loss of the enemy has never been disclosed by them, but, judging by the number of their wounded, seen in the hospitals, at Beverly, and the covered wagons seen by country people, loaded with dead and disabled men carried away from Corrick's Ford, they probably had not less than three hundred killed and wounded. The campaign produced sadness and depression in Southern hearts, but no change of purpose or irresolution. On the other hand, the triumph and joy of the North were unbounded. They lauded McClellan to the heavens, boasted that he had "won two victories in twenty-four hours," and bestowed on him the title of the "Young Napoleon." This sounding name has clung to him in cruel ridicule ever since,—even his admirers, perceiving the absurdity of claiming a resemblance between the thunder bolt movements of the great Corsican, and the feeble strategy of a General who made a reputation by assuming as his own, the success of Rosecrans with three thousand men over three hundred, who failed with eighteen thousand to overwhelm Garnett's force of one-sixth the number, and who afterwards took a year to drill an army, and then lost it in the swamps of Virginia. His own dispatches had much to do with his early reputation: inflated in style, and false in fact, they were the embodiment of the man and were greedily welcomed at the North, only because they met there a congenial audience of boasters and liars.

In his telegram to Washington, he said, "We have annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia, and have lost thirteen killed and not more than forty wounded. We have in all killed at least two hundred of the enemy, and their prisoners will amount to at least one thousand. Have taken seven guns in all. I still look for the capture of the remnant of Gen. Garnett's army, by Gen. Hill." The troops defeated, are the crack regiments of Eastern Virginia, aided by Georgians, Tennesseans and Carolinians. Our success is complete, and secession is killed in this country." His men, in their way, were as jubilant as himself. According to their own statements, "every man's face was expanded into a

broad grin of satisfaction." ^a They commenced the work of gathering trophies, and seemed to expect the abject submission of the South in a few days!

In Washington, the Federals were in the highest joy. "Hurrah for McClellan! was shouted on the streets, and Here's to McClellan, was the toast in parlors, at tables and in bar-rooms." ^b President, Cabinet, Congress, office holders and camp followers were all on fire, and all united in the pressure, urging Gen. McDowell at once to advance with the "Grand Army," and crush the rebellion! This leads us to review the course of events in that city, and on the Potomac, since our narrative left Gen. Johnston confronting Patterson in the valley.

On the 4th of July, according to Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, the Federal Congress assembled in Washington. All the Senators and representatives from the Gulf States, and most of those from the border slave States, being absent, the Northern spirit was so predominant in the body, that the administration had no difficulty in obtaining such legislation as it desired. Mr. Lincoln's message declared that no subjects would be brought before them, except such as related to the war. He gave his own interpretation of the facts as to Fort Sumter, insisting that the "assailants of the Government began the conflict of arms, without a gun in sight or in expectancy, to return their fire, save only the few in the fort." Yet, with singular inconsistency, he admitted, that with a view to the reinforcement of Fort Pickens and the relief of Sumter, the Government had, "a few days before, commenced preparing an expedition, as well adapted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumter," and it was a fact, beyond denial, that this expedition had sailed, and was off Charleston harbor, when the bombardment commenced. He said, the conduct of the insurgents brought up the question, "must a Government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own

people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?" and that, so viewing the issue, no choice was left him but to call out the "war power" of the Government. He gloried in the spirit of the North with which his call had been met, but admitted that none of the slave States, except Delaware, had given a regiment through regular State organization. He stated that in addition to the seventy-five thousand men, called out for three months, he had already called for a large number for the war, and had added largely to the regular army and navy. The *matériel* of his army filled him with admiration. He said "so large an army as the Government has now on foot, was never before known without a soldier in it, but who had taken his place there of his own free choice. But more than this; there are many single regiments, whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the world. And there is scarcely one from which could not be selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress and perhaps a Court, abundantly competent to administer the Government itself!" ^a

When it is remembered that this Federal army, according to the report of Cameron, the Northern war secretary, then consisted, after excluding the eighty thousand three month's volunteers, of two hundred and thirty thousand men, distributed into about three hundred regiments of all arms, ^b we are oppressed by a view of the huge caldron of learning, science, art and statesmanship here seething together! It was fortunate for the South that though this huge host doubtless contained many thousands fitted to be Presidents, Cabinet officers, Congressmen and Judges, of the calibre then possessed by the North, it had few Generals worthy of the name, and no soldiers equal in valor, patriotism and endurance to the men marshalled against them for defence of their homes.

In his message, Mr. Lincoln argued

^a Cincinnati Commercial, in Whig, July 23d.

^b Correspondence of New York Herald, July.

^a Message, July 4th, 1861.

^b Summary of Cameron's Report, in Dispatch, July 13th.

against the right of secession, in a series of imbecile sophisms, which have already been noticed. He was driven by the plain facts of the case, to admit that he had gone beyond the Constitution in some points, but defended himself by the plea that he had committed *very small sins* in this way, and that he had broken some laws in order to keep the rest from being broken by the rebels!

He made no concealment of the magnitude of the task he had undertaken, in attempting to subjugate the South. Any attempt at concealment would have been useless, for the facts already transpired, shewed in what spirit he would be met. He therefore boldly said to the Congress: "It is now recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest a *short and decisive one*; that you place at the control of the Government for the work, at least four hundred thousand men, and four hundred millions of dollars. That number of men is about one-tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where apparently all are willing to engage; and the sum is less than the twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole."

To throw some faint rays of light down into the appalling gulf of ruin into which this man and his cabinet were now hurrying his unhappy country, it will be necessary that we examine the financial condition of the United States at this momentous crisis.

On emerging from the Revolutionary War, the thirteen States then Confederated, found themselves involved in debt, which when ascertained and funded, in Washington's administration, amounted in 1790, to seventy-five millions of dollars. This amount continued, with yearly variations increasing or diminishing it, until after the late war with Great Britain, when in 1816, it reached the sum of one hundred and twenty-seven millions. As the resources of the country expanded, and the revenues gradually swelled far beyond the expenses, the national debt was diminished, until in 1836, it might be considered as extinct, amounting then only to the small sum of thirty-eight thousand dollars, while the Treasury overflowed with a surplus of

nearly forty millions, and the Congress was called to exercise their ingenuity in disposing of this large accumulation. But this happy state of things did not long continue: Corruption increased and invaded every department of the government; luxury crept into public expenditures. Before the close of a single administration, a national debt of twelve millions had again been created. From this time, the burthen had never been removed; it had been sometimes diminished, but much oftener augmented, until in the year 1859, it amounted to a sum very near to sixty millions of dollars. ^a The administration of President Buchanan was signalized by extravagant expenditures and reckless creation of government liabilities, so that when Abraham Lincoln entered office, on the 4th of March, 1861, he faced a public indebtedness of fully eighty millions.

As the national debt increased, so did the annual expenditures of the government. In 1790, the modest sum of two millions paid all Federal expenses; in 1820, they had risen to thirteen millions, and for the next ten years did not increase; in 1840, they were twenty-three millions; in 1850, they were forty three millions, and in 1858, they had risen to the very serious total of seventy-two millions of dollars. The last year of Mr. Buchanan's reign, saw them reach nearly to eighty millions, and when his black republican successor was inaugurated, no reasonable prospect of diminishing them could be seen. ^b This sum, for ordinary expenses, together with the annual interest on the public debt, required a revenue of eighty-five millions of dollars a year.

To meet its expenses, the Federal Government had under its control three sources of revenue: *First*, sales of public lands, with other similar supplies, so unimportant that they were ordinarily classed under the same head: *Second*, indirect taxes collected in the form of duties on imported goods: *Third*,^c direct taxes on the property and persons of individuals. The public lands had yielded an annual aver-

^a Statistics in Am. Almanac 1861, p. 179.

^b Ibid, p. 177.

age revenue of three millions: in 1855, they had, under peculiar influences, risen to twelve millions, but in the next year they fell, and in 1859, they had again sunk to the sum of \$3,839,247. The next year saw a decline rather than an increase, so that three millions of annual revenue was all that could be hoped from them.

Direct taxes had been annually collected by the Government for the period of forty-six years, running from 1790 to 1836; the largest sum collected thus, in any one year, had been nine millions in 1816. In 1836, they had sunk to the insignificant sum of about one thousand dollars, and from that time to the beginning of black republican rule, a period of twenty-five years, they had been entirely unknown.

The customs, or tariff tax, had yielded an annual sum varying with the state of the country, the percentage imposed, and the amount of exports, but generally sufficient to make up all defects in the needed revenue. The highest sum ever yielded by them, was in 1854, when they attained to sixty-four millions of dollars; they afterwards declined, and in 1859, yielded only forty-nine and a half millions.

The secession of the Gulf States necessarily wrought a powerful effect upon the relations of the customs to the revenue of the former Union. Not only were the duties previously collected in Southern ports at once swept away, but other changes speedily appeared, very bitter to the money-loving Northerners. Early in the session of the Federal Congress in the winter of 1860-61, Justin S. Morrill, a representative from Vermont, introduced into his House a tariff bill, which, with slight modifications, was passed into a law. In this, the iniquitous protective heresy, which for some years had been dormant, if not dead, once more reared its crest. Encouraged by the absence of many sturdy opponents of their system, and availing themselves of the pretext that the large increase of the public expenditures and debt made an increase of the tariff indispensable, the majority of the Congress passed a bill in which the simple principle of a horizontal tariff of thirty per cent on all imports was abandoned, and a very unequal and complicated system of duties was adopted,

greatly increasing the import charged on many articles, and especially on foreign manufactures. This law went into operation early in the year 1861. One of its effects most disastrous to the North had not been foreseen when it was enacted, but was very painfully manifest even before it took effect. The Confederate Congress had passed their tariff laws, and, discarding all protective ideas, and desiring to raise no more revenue than their economical expenses required, they made the import duty as low as possible, and entirely exempted some articles on which a heavy duty was exacted by the United States. Thus bacon, lard, beef, fish, breadstuffs, gunpowder and lead, could be imported free in the South, while in the North they were burthened with a duty of thirty per cent. Coal, cheese, iron in blooms, pigs, bars, bolts and slabs, railroad rails, spikes and plaster, paper and all manufactures of wood, could come to Southern ports by paying a duty of fifteen per cent, while the same articles were compelled to pay from thirty to fifty per cent at the North. On other articles, especially the finer manufactures of wool and cotton, the difference was even more striking. The effect of this was to threaten to turn the whole tide of foreign importations into Southern ports. Even the Boston or New York merchant was prompt to seize the idea, that by importing his goods through Charleston, Mobile or New Orleans, he could afford to pay the carriage from those cities to his own, and yet sell cheaper than he could if he had imported them directly, for the difference in duty would greatly over pay the expenses of the intermediate carriage.

When the inevitable working of these elements was seen, the Northern people and their government were alike enraged. This was the first plain evidence that the South was really about to escape from the cruel commercial vassalage to which she had so long been subjected, and that not only would Northern profits be immensely diminished, but a flood of wealth would be

^a Compare Acts and Resolutions Provisional Congress, Nos. 20 and 88, p. 41, 135, with *Statist in American Almanac*, 1861, 180-182.

diverted into the treasuries of the section which had thrown off a yoke too heavy to be longer borne. The government was even in advance of the people in wrath. Mr. Lincoln groaned for "his revenues," and asked what would become of them? The Morrill Tariff was one of the many causes which hastened on the crisis and instigated the Federal government to a blockade of the ports of the South, and a war of subjugation against her people.

But even after the war commenced and all the important ports in the seceded States were, to a considerable extent, closed by blockade, the Morrill Tariff failed to realize the hopes of revenue founded on it. Though the duties were high, the importations were small—so small, that the customs for the first quarter after the law took effect, amounted only to five and a half millions of dollars. ^a Mr. Secretary Chase, of the Federal Treasury, pleased himself with the hope that trade would revive and the customs improve, yet even he did not venture to promise more than thirty millions for a year under this law. Thus it will appear that the total revenues which Mr. Lincoln could expect from lands, customs, and every other existing supply, were thirty-three millions, which would fall short by fifty two millions of dollars of meeting the *ordinary* annual expenditure of his government.

And now, in the face of this already alarming deficiency, he asked from the Congress an appropriation of four hundred millions of dollars! The very sound of such a sum would have induced honest men to pause and "count the cost." How was it to be obtained? Certainly not by land sales and customs, for they did not yield enough to pay common expenses. Neither could it be raised by direct taxation—it would have pauperized the country or overturned the government. There was but one other mode. It must be *borrowed*, and whether borrowed in the shape of government bonds sold to capitalists, or of Treasury notes, passed to the public creditors and fundable at interest, it would be equally a debt on which the interest

must be punctually paid, and for the principal of which some adequate representative property-fund must exist, or the nation was clearly bankrupt! Accordingly, Secretary Chase undertook the formidable task of showing that the financial measures proposed by the government were *safe and feasible*.

Taking the census of 1860 as his guide, he estimated the total value of the property in the States, "not in insurrection," at eleven thousand millions, and of that in the insurgent States at five thousand millions of dollars. And here two grave errors were apparent in the calculations of the Federal secretary, each sufficient to strike away many of the pillars on which his dangerous money plans were built. *First*, he included Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland, as certainly to be relied on for final adherence to the North, when many symptoms indicated the reverse. *Second*, he took the census returns as his guide, instead of the schedules of *taxable property* in each State, which could readily have been obtained. It is well known that the census-takers make their returns of the value of property, upon information very loosely obtained from the holders themselves, who are often prone to exaggerate their possessions, and to include in their supposed means, ethereal and invisible, assets such as fancy stocks, choses in action, suspended claims and unproductive estate, which can never, with safety, be relied on as a basis of credit. This was especially the case with the property holders of the North. The only real and safe basis was the property *subject to taxation*, and ascertained and valued by disinterested public officers.

Assuming this solid basis as the proper one, we find that in 1860 the taxable property, real and personal, of the free States, amounted to the sum of six thousand three hundred millions, and the same property of the slave States amounted to five thousand millions. ^a Thus the amount asked by Lincoln, added to the existing debt, was nearly equal to one-twelfth of the whole

^a See estimates in Amer. Almanac, 1861: 248—376. In most cases the specific amount of taxable property in the States is given: in a few States, it has been ascertained by calculation from given elements of population and amount of taxes.

^a Secretary Chase's Report, Examiner, July 11.

taxable property held by his people! And this was to be only the beginning of the accumulation—a mere trifle compared with the sums needed if the war should run beyond his views of a “short and decisive contest.” It will conduce to a wider comprehension of the subject at once, to say, that before one year had ended from the assembling of this Congress, twelve hundred millions of debt had been contracted by the United States, and that such was then the enormous military, naval and civil burthen heaped up, and so corrupt and extravagant the mode of contract, that even if the war could have been closed in two months from that time, the total of debt would then have nearly reached to two thousand millions of dollars?

Furious as they were for a vigorous prosecution of the war against the South, the Northern leaders could not look at this appalling financial prospect, without some misgivings. Already they began to solace themselves with the hope that by brute force they would be able to rob the South of her property, reduce her people to poverty, and apply the means thus obtained to the payment of the Northern debt. Mr. Secretary Chase, in his message, threw out this tempting bait in the following words:

“It will not, perhaps, be thought out of place, if the Secretary suggest here that the property of those engaged in insurrection or in giving aid and comfort to the insurgents may properly be made to contribute to the expenditures made necessary by their criminal misconduct.” This plan was greedily seized upon and advocated at the North. The *New York Times* sought to comfort its readers by saying, “at this time, therefore, it may be encouraging to the country to be reminded that by the law and usage of nations, it is entirely legitimate to make the property of the citizens of the rebel States, whose wickedness has provoked this war, pay the whole debt incurred by the Nation, in restoring the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws.” The majority in Congress were sufficiently willing to attempt this policy; yet, having doubts about the effect of a sweeping confiscation law, they contented themselves for the time with passing a law

to forfeit the estates of all officers over the grade of lieutenant of infantry, serving, or who should thereafter serve, in the Southern Army or Navy.

Mr. Chase did not venture to advise that the whole sums needed by the Government should be raised by loan. He advised that a duty should be laid on brown and refined sugars, syrup, candy, molasses, coffee, and tea, and that twenty millions should be raised by direct taxes, or interval duties or excises. The sums thus secured, together with the existing tariff, and the proceeds of lands, he hoped would yield enough to pay the ordinary expenses and the interest on the debt then in being. For the large balance asked, he sought from the Congress authority to issue Government bonds and treasury notes.

Mr. Lincoln found his Congress as full of rage against the South, and as obsequious to his views as he could have desired. The House of Representatives elected Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, its Speaker—a narrow-hearted Abolitionist, with sense enough to make his fanaticism inexcusable. The whole tone of the debate, the measures proposed and bills introduced, showed a determined purpose, if possible, to overwhelm the South and reduce her to the condition of a conquered Province. Instead of limiting their action to the numbers and sums prayed for by Lincoln, they voted him five hundred thousand men, and five hundred millions of dollars, with authority to call out even a larger number of men, if he wanted them! Their very vote was an acknowledgment that they were making war on a Nation, and gave the lie to their absurd pretences that they were attempting to put down a rebellion.

Yet, even in this Congress, there were a few noble spirits who feared not to denounce the Administration and defend the South. Chief of these were John C. Breckinridge, one of the Senators of Kentucky, who, in a speech of great power, showed the violations of the Constitution practised by Lincoln, and solemnly pointed to the dangers of a coming despotism at the North. He was ably seconded in the lower House by Henry C. Burnett, from the same State. Mr. Vallandigham, a representative from Ohio, but of Virginia pa-

rentage, was eloquent and strenuous in his opposition to the war policy; and sought earnestly, though in vain, for means of arresting it. Numbers bore down these patriotic men. The great body of both houses pressed on the sanguinary measures already in movement.

An advance of the army under General McDowell was now vigorously urged on the War Department. The enormous debt arising, alarmed even the servile Congressmen, and made them insist that the war should be "short and decisive." The Abolition papers repeated the cry. The New York Tribune headed nearly every leader with the slogan—"On to Richmond," and filled its columns with boasts of the victories to be achieved, and threats against all who opposed the movement. Members from the North and Northwest were daily closeted with the Cabinet officers pressing for action, and before the appropriation bills were passed they threw out significant menaces that their votes would depend on the vigor of executive motion. In the midst of this pressure came the news of McClellan's success at Rich Mountain. Forthwith the torrent already high, overflowed. General Scott gave the order, and McDowell prepared for his memorable advance.

A deliberate attempt was afterwards made by Wingfield Scott, to persuade the world that this forward move was against his military judgment and previous resolve, and that in ordering it he only yielded to irresistible outward pressure. But the attempt has been unsuccessful. He was as thoroughly prepared as he could hope to be—much better than he would be within a few weeks, when the term of his three months' men would expire. His army had been assiduously drilled, and was provided with everything in the way of arms, munitions and supplies, that could make it efficient. He had fifty-five thousand men under McDowell, and eighteen thousand under Patterson, within reinforcing distance. His spies had informed him that the Confederate forces under Beauregard and Johnston were inferior to his in number by at least thirty eight thousand men. With such advantages, it is impossible to doubt that he ordered the advance because he believed he would conquer, and that a

few days would find him at the head of a victorious army in the humbled capital of the Southern Confederacy, and of his native State.

That this was his long conceived plan, is proved by his orders to Gen. Patterson, revealed by that officer many months afterwards. When Patterson first crossed the Potomac, on the 15th and 16th of June, he was informed from Washington, that Gen. McDowell would, nearly at the same time, make an advance upon Manassas. The next day General Scott sent him an order directing him to send at once to the main army, "all the regular troops, horse and foot, and the Rhode Island regiment and battery." This order was imperatively repeated the day after, and the troops and battery were sent. On the 9th of July, Patterson thought himself not strong enough to attack Gen. Johnston's army, and held a council of war. All his important officers opposed an advance, and advised a lateral movement to Shepherdstown and Charlestown, from which points a backward movement could be readily made. Patterson informed Gen. Scott of his condition, stated his purpose to go to Charlestown, and asked *when he intended to attack Manassas*. On the 12th Scott replied, directing him to occupy Charlestown, as he proposed, and informing him that *Manassas would be attacked on Tuesday, the 16th*. The next day, Saturday, the 13th, Scott again telegraphed to him in these words: "If not strong enough to beat the enemy, *early next week*, make demonstrations so as to detain him in the Valley of Winchester." The object of this was plain. General Scott intended to hurl upon Beauregard, at Manassas, his grand army of fifty-five thousand men; he desired, therefore, that Johnston should be kept from uniting his forces with Beauregard's, and at the same time that Patterson should be in position to join McDowell if it was deemed essential.

We turn now again to the Confederate lines. The able and keen sighted commander of the army of the Shenandoah, was never for a moment deceived by the feints of Patterson. On the 15th of July,

^a General Patterson's speech in Philadelphia, 20th November, 1861.

Col. Stuart reported the advance of the enemy from Martinsburg. Watching him closely, he was found to halt at Bunker Hill, nine miles from Winchester, and the next day to move his left to Smithfield, a village eight miles west of Charlestown. Gen. Johnston instantly penetrated the motives inducing this lateral march. He saw that Patterson was seeking to hold him in check while Beauregard was attacked. Receiving, at one o'clock on the morning of the 18th, from the War Department at Richmond, a telegram, informing him of the advance of the Northern army towards Manassas, and directing him, if practicable, to reinforce Beauregard, Johnston made instant preparations to move his army. With consummate caution and skill he kept Patterson uncertain as to his intentions until it was too late to thwart them. His sick, to the number of seventeen hundred, were provided for in Winchester. To defend the town, the militia, under Gens. Carson and Meem, were sufficient, as it was very improbable that Patterson would remain in the Valley after learning of the Confederate movements. The advance guard, under Stuart, made demonstrations of attack, while the main body marched quietly through Ashby's Gap in the Blue Ridge, to the Piedmont Station on the railroad running from Manassas Junction to Strasburg. Here the infantry took the cars while the cavalry and artillery continued their march. He reached Manassas at noon of Saturday, the 20th, accompanied by General Bee, with the Fourth Alabama, the Second and two companies of the Eleventh Mississippi Regiments. Gen. Jackson's Brigade, and the Seventh and Eighth Georgia Regiments, had preceded him; the rest of his army was looked for with eager interest. The President of the road had given assurance that they should arrive during the day. ^e

Meanwhile, Gen. Beauregard had selected his battle-field. After thorough examination of the whole sweep of country between Manassas and the neighborhood of Alexandria and Arlington Heights, he had decided, in case of a general advance of

the Federal army, to make his stand on the southern line of a stream called Bull Run, which will be more fully described hereafter. He kept, however, strong advanced bodies between this stream and the enemy. At Fairfax Court-House, Brigadier-General Bonham had six regiments of infantry, four from South Carolina and two from Virginia, Shield's bowtizers, and Delaware Kemper's six field pieces, together with about five hundred cavalry, under Col. Radford, of Virginia. Near Fairfax station, on the railroad, General Ewell had three infantry regiments, two from Alabama and one from Louisiana. They were stationed at intervals of about a mile, and had earth works thrown up. Col. Rhodes' 5th Alabama guarded the approach from Alexandria by the Braddock road, and was strongly entrenched and defended by two masked batteries. At Centreville, about three miles from Bull Run, Col. Coker was stationed with his regiment and Latham's Light Artillery. In case of an attack by a detached body of the enemy, even if numbering ten or fifteen thousand, these advanced troops were to resist vigorously; but if the Federal army came on in force, they were to make only such show of resistance as would entice the enemy on with the hope of easy victory, and then retire to their appointed stations in the line of battle behind Bull Run. The rest of Beauregard's army bivouacked for three days previous to the eighteenth, on the Run, steadily awaiting the expected assault.

The long threatened advance began. On Tuesday, the 16th, General Scott and his staff visited the Army South of the Potomac. The next day, at half past three, General McDowell left Washington. His troops were already in motion, marching in three heavy columns, from Alexandria and Arlington Heights, one along the railroad, one on the Braddock road, and one on the turnpike to the Court-House. Night was approaching. Gen. Bonham was prepared to move, and though almost enveloped in the converging lines of the enemy, fell back in order and without loss. Delaware Kemper saluted the approaching column with a fire from his rifle gun, which

^e Johnston's off. Report, Warder & Catlett 102, 103.

^e Examiner July 20, 1861.

killed and wounded several of their number; in the hasty retreat now necessary, the horses of one of his cannon became unmanageable, balked and overturned the piece. It was spiked and abandoned, together with some worn-out tents, and cast off clothing. On the Braddock line, Col. Rhodes with his gallant subordinates, Maj. Morgan and Captain Shelley, received the enemy with a discharge which did some execution, and their advance at that point could have been checked.^a But under the express orders given, Gen. Ewell also retired with his force, and with Col. Cocke, from Centreville, reached the main army in safety. The retreat at all points was admirably managed to produce the desired impression. The Federals believed they had won a victory, and pressed on with boisterous joy.

As they passed through Fairfax Court-House, their triumph overflowed; the men ran forward with leaps of jubilee; they roared Union songs at the top of their voices. Among these ditties a favorite one was significant. Two of its lines ran thus:

Old John Brown lies mouldering in his
grave,
But his soul is marching on!^b

The spirit animating such men could not be mistaken. They were robbers and murderers, like the assassin they gloried in! It was ordered of God that many of the voices which howled this pæan to a demon, should in a few days be quenched in blood.

The people of the North were inflated with a confidence in the success of their "Grand Army," which showed itself in loud boasting and threats. Their newspapers were filled with the most minute particulars of the equipment and various divisions of their host, and with prophecies of the complete and ruinous overthrow of the Confederates. The New York Tribune in headings of its columns, portentous in size and type, thus announced the triumph-

^a Gen. Beauregard's Official Report Battle Bull Run, Warder & Catlett, 93, 94, Examiner.

^b For illustration see Mr. Russell's letters to London Times, Oct. 19th.

ant march. "The Forward Movement—Advance of Gen. McDowell's Army—Fifty Five Regiments in the Column—The Grand Corps d'Armée 55,000 Strong—The Rebels on the Run—Return of Deserters—They want to fight and are sent on—The Spirit of our soldiers—They go singing Hymns of Liberty—Woe! Woe! to the Traitors—Additional Artillery forwarded—Desperate condition of the Rebels."^a From the whole tenor of the Northern press, and the conduct of their people, it is apparent that it any doubts of their triumph were felt, they were drowned in a torrent of ferocious vanity.

In Washington city, an excitement prevailed verging to madness. The approach of a sanguinary battle between eighty thousand men once inhabiting a common country, was regarded as a great gala occasion. Hereafter the world will look with ineffable horror and disgust upon the conduct of the men and women who took part in these scenes; they were the fit representatives of the brutal majority who now controlled the North. The Federal Congress adjourned to give its members an opportunity of flocking to the rear of the battle-field, and partaking of the bloody feast expected. Senator Wilson, the Abolitionist of Massachusetts, gave extensive orders for a dinner and carouse to be enjoyed at his expense, at Centreville. Invitations were issued for it; men in numbers went out; even females whom the North considered fair specimens of its standard of modesty and virtue, dressed for the occasion, and rode out to the field; many of them carried *opera glasses*, with which to view the charming spectacle of mangled limbs and streaming blood.^b Wagons loaded with crockery, glass-ware, and dining furniture, with a bountiful supply of meats, sauces, champagne, and materials for ice cream, went out under the hilarious superintendence of the Massachusetts Senator. So great was the demand in Washington for saddle horses, buggies and road vehicles of every kind, that prices rose, and livery stables flourished. All that part of the population who sympathized with Lin-

^a N. Y. Tribune, July 17th and 18th.

^b See letter of Mr. Russell, to London Times, July 22, 1861.

coln's Government, was full of extravagant hope and confidence.

The South was silent as death. As the crisis approached, we look in vain through her journals for boasts and threatenings. There were indeed words of cheer—admonitions to stand to their colors, addressed to the army. To provide a reserve in case of misfortune, President Davis asked for the militia of Virginia, and Governor Letcher ordered out those of the district running from the Blue Ridge to the head of Tidewater. It was known by the Confederate commanders that the enemy outnumbered them nearly as two to one. But among the officers and men under their command, there was an iron resolution more potent than numbers, and soon to manifest itself in heroic deeds.

Thus on each side the contending sections stood, and their people held their breath to watch the conflict.

CUPID'S FREAK.

H. H. M.

[*Respectfully dedicated to one who will understand it.*]

As Cupid looked with furtive glance
On Phœbe's marble brow,
And saw the fairy dimples dance
Upon her cheeks of snow,
The little god was so bewitched
By her enchanting face,
Where dwelt in perfect harmony
Each rare and winning grace,
He stooped and one sly kiss imprest,
Half seriously, and half in jest.

The maiden's face glowed with a blush,
When this salute was given,
As mellow as the roseate flush
The sunlight leaves in Heav'n.
And yet sweet Phœbe chid him not,
Nor knew the god's design,
And thought it but the homage Love
Had paid at Beauty's shrine.
But rendered doubly bold by this,
The god imprest a second kiss!

"Oh! deem me not," said he, unkind,
In dealing thus with thee;
Though called by moon-struck poets
BLIND,
Thou'lt find how well I see!"

When next the maid her mirror sought
To smooth her flowing hair,
A radiant smile illumed her face
But showed no dimples there.
His language now was clear as day,
Each kiss had stolen one away!

She forthwith to her bow'r repaired,
And weeping begged to know
Why other maidens should be spared,
And she be treated so.
Her words were wildly eloquent,
And planned with nicest art;
But still his sullen silence proved
They had not touched his heart.
In mute despair she hung her head
When cunning Cupid, answering said,

"Go! cease thy stolen charms to seek,
Nor idly thus complain;
A dimple worn upon each cheek
Would serve to make thee vain—
Fair maid," quoth he, "full well I know
That Beauty would not rest,
Content with what the gods provide
Though more than Hebe blessed,
Let gratitude the fates repay
Who smiled upon thy natal day.

Endowed with every peerless grace
Exquisitely combined;
Not only loveliness of face
But beauty of the mind;
Withal a voice whose magic tones
Would thrill an angel's heart!
Which causeth joy far purer than
Æolian harps impart.
Why should'st thou, Phœbe, thus repine,
Since all these matchless gifts are thine?"

But when the little god looked down
Into her earnest eyes,
Where, in reflected beauty shone
The azure of the skies,
And saw, with tears impearled, each orb
Assume a richer hue,
Like new-born violets freshly bathed
In morning's sparkling dew,
He smiled relentingly, and swore
The dimples should be her's once more.

The charms restored in beauty bright
The faultless maid did seem
As lovely as the forms of light
That grace a poet's dream!
Yet, were she thus exalted far,
Earth's fairest ones above,

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HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER VI.

Scene of the battle—Bull Run—Manassas Plains—Disposition of the Confederate forces—Federals advance—Battle of Bull Run—Ayres' battery—Kemper's—Gen. Longstreet's Brigade—First Virginia Regiment—Seventeenth—Washington Artillery of New Orleans—Repulse of the Federal infantry—Capt. Lee—Col. Walrath's twelfth New York Regiment—Severe musketry—Gen. Tyler—Denounces New Yorkers as cowards—Major Harrison—Artillery Duel—Accurate firing of Southern Artillerists—The Northerners repulsed at all points of attack—their acts of barbarity—Gen. Scott comes to Centreville—Returns—Preparations for battle—Sunday, July twenty-first—Federal Divisions—Col. Richardson—Col. Hunter—Heintzelman—Col. Miles in reserve at Centreville—Confederate officers in war council—Determine to attack the left wing of the enemy—Federals advance at Daybreak—Their plan of battle—Well conceived—Their movement to Sudley's Ford on the extreme left flank of the Federals—View of the battle-field—Edmund Ruffin—Battle of Manassas—Hunter's Division crosses at Sudley's—Col. Evans moves from the Stone Bridge to meet him—Disparity in numbers—Severe conflict—Gen. Bee of South Carolina—Col. Bartow of Georgia—Desperate combat—Fourth Alabama Regiment—Heintzelman's Division crosses—Imboden's battery—New York Zouaves—Charged by Carter and Hoge's Cavalry—The South-

erners borne back by numbers—Seventh and Eighth Georgia Regiments—Schenck attempts to cross at Ball's Ford—Repulsed—Sherman and Keyes cross the Run—Artillery fire—Abattis at Stone Bridge—Plateau of Henry and Robinson's houses—Gen's Johnston and Beauregard—Reinforcements to Gen. Bee—Col. Jackson's Brigade—New line of battle—Critical condition of the Confederates—Beauregard addresses them—Leads them into battle—Fury of the combat—Coolness of Jackson—Death of Gen. Bee—Fight around the Henry house—Death of Col. Bartow—of Col. Fisher—movement of Confederate troops to reinforce their left flank—Kershaw's and Cash's Regiments—Early's Brigade—Arrival of Gen. Kirby Smith with troops on Manassas Rail-Road—Vigorous assault on Federal right—They give way—Retreat—Panic—President Davis on the field—The pursuit—Scene at Cub Creek Bridge—Wild terror of the Federals—Events of the rout—Wilson's feast interrupted—John A. Gurley—Flight of Civilians—Lincoln and his Cabinet—Confident of victory—First droppings of the storm—Scenes in Alexandria—Washington—Results of the battle—Instances of Federal atrocity—Gen. McClellan summoned to Washington—Disorganization of the Federal armies—Question of an advance by the Confederates—Reasons why they did not advance—Military—Political.

That we may have a clear view of the battles now impending, it will be necessary to look at the features of the country in which they occurred. An accompanying glance at a map of Virginia, will aid the reader in following our description. On the line between the counties of Fauquier and Prince William, runs a mountainous ridge, known by the homely title of the Bull Run Mountain. Under a different name it is

continued through the county of Loudon, up to the Potomac. At a distance, it presents to the observer those same tranquil tints, varying from a deep blue, to a shade hardly stronger than that of a clear firmament, which makes the charm of the mountain district of Virginia. Through this ridge, the county road and the Manassas Gap Rail-Road, penetrate between Fauquier and Prince William, by a pass known as Thoroughfare Gap. In the mountain, gush out several springs which unite their little rills within a few miles, and form the stream called Bull Run. It is the dividing line between Prince William and Fairfax, and runs with gentle meanders in a course somewhat South of East, until it falls into Occoquan River, ten miles above its mouth, in the Potomac. Bull Run, like the other streams of that region, is in most places, and at most times sluggish and shallow, but is liable to enormous increase, in its volume and rapidity, under the heavy rains of Summer. A single day of rain will cause it to rise beyond its banks and overflow with a rushing torrent, dangerous to those who have only known its peaceful seasons.

Its banks are generally steep and rocky, but it is crossed by a great number of country and neighbourhood roads and by fords, some well known and long used, others more difficult and only known to the people living in the vicinity. The Northern bank is generally much higher than the Southern. The country on both sides is broken and abounding in thick woods. On each bank it rises from the stream and rolls into gentle hills, as it falls back; on the North side, this rolling surface is continued beyond Centreville; on the South side, after rising from the banks, the country flows away in the Manassas Plains towards the Junction, often varied by hills and with open fields and thick forests irregularly succeeding each other.

A straight line drawn from Centreville to Beauregard's Camp, at Manassas, would cross the run nearly at Mitchell's Ford, about equi-distant from the two points, and about three miles from each. Next below Mitchell's, a mile and a half distant, was Blackburn's Ford; farther down, about the same distance, was McLean's Ford, and

still farther down, was the Union Mills Ford, close to the bridge of the Orange and Alexandria Rail-Road. About two and a half miles above Mitchell's Ford, was a substantial Stone Bridge, across which ran the Warrenton Turnpike from Centreville. Three fords, very little used, known as Island, Ball's and Lewis's, intervened between Mitchell's and the Stone Bridge. And, finally, about two miles above the Bridge, was Sudley's Ford, crossing two branches of the run, close by the springs and church of the same name.

The position of Manassas Junction is naturally strong, and forms the key to a wide sweep of country, running from the mouth of the Occoquan on the Potomac, to the Blue Ridge and the Valley of Virginia. It is elevated above the plains, which stretch from Centreville, and with a rolling and often thickly wooded country on each side, its approaches by the roads could be readily made nearly impassable. The Engineering skill of Beauregard had added greatly to its natural advantages. A line of forts, commanding every possible avenue of assault, zigzag in direction, and extending fully two miles, with angles, salients, bastions, casemates and facings of Sand-bags, surrounded the central buildings. Thirty-two pounders were mounted in the principal batteries, and the works were so arranged that a rear attack was almost an impossibility. In a small framed farm-house, close to the Rail-Road, Gen. Beauregard had his head quarters. Here, in a room of simple garniture, hung around with maps of the State and contiguous counties, at a plain pine table he sat a large part of each day, examining plans, receiving reports, and exerting every energy of his trained war genius to render the small army under his command efficient to resist the numbers about to be hurled upon him. In the open piazza of the farm-house, his table was spread, and three times a day he met his military friends at a board as hospitable as it was unostentatious. He enlisted the confidence of all under him, and his soldiers loved and obeyed him.^a

^a Sketch in New Orleans Picayune. See Examiner, July 20th.

To guard his line of battle, upon Bull Run, he made the strongest disposition of his forces that their numbers would allow. Lowest down, near the Ford at Union Mills, was the Brigade of General Ewell. It consisted of two Alabama Regiments—the 5th, under Rhodes, and 6th, under Seibel; Seymour's 6th Louisiana volunteers; a part of the Washington Artillery from New Orleans, commanded by Major Walton, consisting of four twelve-pound Howitzers, and three companies of Virginia Cavalry, under Captains Harrison, Green and Cabell. Next above, in rear of McLean's Ford, was Gen. D. R. Jones' Brigade, consisting of a South Carolina Regiment, under Col. Jenkins, and two Mississippi Regiments, Burt's 17th and Fetherstone's 18th, with two six-pounders from the Washington Artillery, and one Company of Cavalry. Next above, was Blackburn's Ford, covered by the Brigade of General James Longstreet, composed of three Virginia regiments, the first under Moore, the eleventh under Garland, and the seventeenth under Corse, with two six-pounders also from the Washington Artillery. The approaches to Mitchell's Ford, were held by Gen. Bonham's Brigade, composed of Kershaw's 2nd; Williams' 3d; Bacon's 7th, and Cash's 8th South Carolina Regiments. Shields' and Delaware Kemper's Batteries, and six companies of Virginia Cavalry, respectively commanded by Captains Flood, Radford, Payne, Ball, Wickham and Powell, all under Col. Radford. Gen. Cocke's Brigade, covered the fords from the Stone Bridge to Mitchell's. It consisted entirely of Virginia troops; Withers' 18th; Lieut. Col. Strange's 19th, and R. T. Prejon's 28th; with Capt. Latham's Lynchburg Battery and one company of Cavalry. Finally, the left flank was held by Col. Evans, who protected the Stone Bridge, and watched the crossings above, with the 4th South Carolina Regiment, under Sloan, Major Roberdeau Wheat's special Battalion of Louisiana Volunteers embracing a well known company, called the "Tigers," two six-pounders, and two companies of Virginia Cavalry. *a*

a Beauregard's official Report. *Warder, &c.*, 80, 81.

Brig. Gen. Jubal A. Early, commanded a Brigade, consisting of two Virginia Regiments, Kemper's 7th, and Early's 24th, with Hay's 7th Louisiana Regiment, and three rifled cannon of the Washington Artillery. Gen. Early was a graduate of West Point, but had left the United States Army, and for some years had been in civil life. He was a member of the Virginia Convention, and was well known as one of the strongest advocates of the Union, and opponent of secession. But when the unhappy policy of Lincoln drove his State from the Northern Confederacy, he at once identified himself with her cause, and drew his sword in behalf of the South. His brigade was held in reserve in rear of the central fords.

Such was the brave front presented by Beauregard to the advance of the enemy, before any part of Gen. Johnston's army had joined him. His men were all volunteers, unused to the hardships of the bivouac and most of them yet untried in battle. They bore the exposure and privations of their duties, with resolute and cheerful spirit. Many of them then first ate raw beef and declared it was better than they expected. They looked for the Federal approach with a stern enthusiasm and a purpose to resist to the death whatever might be their numbers.

On the morning of Thursday, the 18th, the great body of the Federal Army had reached Centreville, and were appearing in huge and threatening masses in front of the Confederate positions. Under orders from McDowell, the Federal General Tyler, determined if possible to force a passage of the run at Mitchell's and Blackburn's Fords, which were most directly in the line of their march from Centreville. Although it was known that these fords were defended, yet such was the vain confidence of the Northerners in their well equipped army, that they believed a vigorous demonstration would be soon followed by the flight of Southern troops.

At 12 o'clock, the Federals opened fire with twenty-pounder rifled guns, in battery, on a hill more than a mile and a half from Bull Run. Their fire was at first entirely at random, and though they gradually got the range more accurately, they did no

harm whatever. Their forces intended for the attack were massed in front of Bonham's Brigade, which guarded Mitchell's Ford. A shower of shot from their long range cannon, fell within the lines of the Confederates, yet not a man, horse or gun was injured. Delaware Kemper pushed forward two of his smooth-bore six-pounders, to a ridge six hundred yards beyond the ford, and with the support of two infantry companies, quietly waited, reserving his fire until the enemy should venture within range. Finding that the distance was too great for effect even from their heavy rifles, the enemy now threw in advance a light battery with an infantry force to sustain it. This was a part of the celebrated artillery of the United States, formerly commanded by Sherman and now by Captain Ayres. Kemper sent into their midst six solid shot, directed with singular accuracy, and producing such damage that guns and infantry hurried off together in evident discomfiture. The purpose for which Kemper had been sent across the run, was now accomplished, and his guns were withdrawn to a proper position commanding the ford.

Gen. Longstreet's Brigade was stationed, chiefly in an open field, above the road-crossing of Blackburn's Ford; several companies of the first and seventeenth Virginia regiments, were deployed as skirmishers in the thick skirt of undergrowth, fringing the South bank of the run, and stray detachments of pickets had advanced into the woods beyond the stream. The north bank rose to a considerable elevation, immediately from the water's edge. On the top of this ridge, the enemy planted their twenty pounder rifles, and for half an hour kept up a heavy fire, to clear their front and make way for their contemplated assault. On an elevation in rear of the Confederate infantry, two six-pounders of the Washington Artillery, under Lieut. Garnett, were stationed ready to open upon the columns, which were cautiously moved forward, behind the opposite ridge.^a

At half past 11, the pickets gave the alarm, and announced the approach of

heavy ranks of the enemy, not less than three thousand strong. To meet these, twelve hundred bayonets, wielded by as many volunteers, constituted the Confederate infantry. The deep reverberation of the enemy's cannon, had been sounding for nearly an hour, and the men stood to their arms. Unexpectedly to them, the Northern infantry succeeded in gaining the cover of the woods running down to the stream, and immediately discharged a shower of bullets, which sang through the trees and around the heads of the Southerners, striking down several, killed and wounded. Thus assaulted, these gallant men did not waver. Longstreet dashed along their lines on horseback; his commanding form met every eye, and his voice was heard amid the rattle of the musketry, "Forward men, to the water's edge." They advanced with rapid enthusiasm, and gaining the shelter of the undergrowth, caught sight of their enemies and instantly opened on them a galling fire.

The battle at this point now grew warm. The first and seventeenth Virginia, were chiefly engaged, and with great vigor and resolution repulsed every attempt of the Federals to cross the run. The reports of musketry, on each side, were incessant, and now the two pieces under Garnett, began to pour out a steady stream of shells and shot, directing their fire by the smoke which rose from the trees. Early in the action, Col. Moore, of the 1st Virginia, received a ball which passed through his left arm, and glanced from his ribs, inflicting a severe and disabling wound. Lieut. Col. Wm. H. Fry, after leading the regiment bravely for a time, was suddenly attacked by a sun-stroke, which obliged him to leave the field. Major Skinner and Adjutant Mitchell, then led their men, and this intrepid regiment gained in its first battle a fame which increased with every subsequent encounter. In the very act of turning to cheer on his command, Captain James K. Lee, a cool and courageous officer, highly esteemed by his men, received a mortal wound—a Minie ball piercing his side and coming out in front. As he was borne faint and bleeding from the field, he gave an illustration of his coolness and self poise, worthy of mention. He remark-

^a Beauregard's official report, 64, 65.

ed to one of his men, that the guns of Garnett's battery *were aimed too low*: a message to that effect was sent to the artilleryists: the range was elevated, and the next discharge sent a hail of grape and cannister into the midst of a dense mass of the enemy, who were grouping just below the summit of the ridge to prepare for a charge. The effect was very destructive, and in a few moments, under the continued fire of the Confederate cannon and infantry, the Federals broke in disorder, and retreated across the ridge to the shelter behind. *a*

Under the rallying of their officers, the enemy again formed and with increased numbers renewed the assault. Two companies of the First Massachusetts regiment attempted to flank the Southerners on the left, but were received with so deadly a fire that they were repulsed and fell back. The attempt was now made again with two pieces of light artillery, under the Federal Captain Brackett. They pushed into the woods, and gained a position where they unlimbered and opened, but hardly had they fired once, before they drew upon themselves a rain of musket bullets and grape shot, which killed several of their horses, struck down the cannoniers in numbers, and threatened the battery with capture. In great distress, Brackett rode to the rear and implored assistance from the 12th New York regiment, under Col. Walrath. That officer referred the request to Col. Richardson, commanding the brigade, who forthwith gave the word, "Move forward New Yorkers, and sweep the woods." *b* The regiment was scarcely in motion before a part of the battery, which had been limbered up, came rushing in mad haste out of the woods, followed by a storm of grape and cannister, and, bursting through the ranks of the New Yorkers, threw them into confusion. Recovering from this shock, the regiment reformed, and moved steadily forward about thirty rods through the low thick pines and brush wood. But at this point they were met with a terrible fire of

musketry and cannister, which swept down their ranks in numbers. Those who remained returned the fire, and by order of their Colonel, threw themselves flat on the ground, and sought to load and fire from that position. They could not long endure the hot shower to which they were exposed; "one of the line officers ordered a retreat;" the centre and left fell back rapidly; the Colonel tried to stop them, and to keep his right steady, and rally them on the colors, but the fire was too severe to be borne; the men broke in every direction, *ran over the Colonel*, and made their way to the rear with all possible speed. As soon as he could extricate himself, the Colonel rejoined them and made some further efforts to rally them, but they were beyond recovery, and ran on, intent only on getting out of fire. General Tyler rode up and *denounced them all as cowards*, and such was the bewilderment, that one officer rode rapidly to the rear, and another took shelter behind a large pile of stones, but which of them thus prudently acted has been a subject of serious dispute among themselves. *a*

In the severe encounters of this second advance the infantry of Longstreet's command displayed conspicuous gallantry and firmness. Captains Dulaney, of the Fairfax Rifles, and Shackelford, of the Warrenton Rifles, were seriously wounded—the former was borne from the field, but Shackelford bound his handkerchief around his wounded leg, and continued for two hours to lead his men. Major Carter H. Harrison, of the 11th Virginia, while leading two companies into action, received two wounds from musket balls, one of which was mortal. When borne from the field, he said to his comrades in arms: "Go back to your places, I feel that I am dying, but I have tried to do my duty, and do not fear death." Several companies crossed the run, and Capt. Marye's, from the 17th, and Dooley's and Boggs', from the 1st regiment, under the lead of their commanders, charged with the bayonet, and drove the Northerners before them. The

a Memor. from member of Co. B.

b Col. Walrath's letter in N. Y. Times. Examiner, Aug. 10th.

a See the correspondence, Examiner, Aug. 10th; Whig, Aug. —.

enemy soon afterwards retreated, and they safely returned to the south side. ^a

After having thus twice repulsed the assaults made on his position, Gen. Longstreet sent for reinforcements, and by order of Gen. Beauregard, two regiments of infantry and two pieces of Artillery, from Early's brigade, were brought up. Once more the baffled Federals returned to the attack, bringing up numbers beyond any they had employed. They commenced a heavy fire of musketry, under which Hays' 7th Louisiana volunteers moved steadily to the front, relieving the 17th Virginia, and nearly at the same time, Lieutenant Colonel Williams, with the 7th Virginia, moved to the right under sharp discharges from the enemy, and relieved the 1st regiment. Two of Early's rifled guns were moved into the field right of the road, and taking position behind a belt of timber, opened upon the enemy, who, in the face of this fierce torrent of musketry and grape, tried in vain to force a passage. While this conflict was yet in progress, the remaining infantry of Early's brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hairston, with five pieces of artillery, including the two cannon under Lieutenant Garnett, were brought up—the infantry was ranged on the left of the ford, and the cannon unlimbered on the right, and the whole Confederate fire at this point was concentrated on the half-concealed columns of the Federals. Their infantry could not stand the storm, and after a few scattering volleys, gave way and retreated rapidly to the rear.

Then commenced a conflict which Gen. Beauregard characterized as "a remarkable artillery duel." It had been a subject of much interest and anxiety with the Confederate officers to know how far the Southern artillery would prove efficient. It was known that the habits of the Southerners, from boyhood, made them skilful with small arms, and excellent riders, and therefore no fears were felt of want of effect with the musket and rifle, or the exploits of cavalry. But they had never been accustomed to handle cannon,

^a Mem. from one engaged. Beauregard's Official Report.

and apprehensions were felt that in encountering the well trained and perfectly equipped light artillery of the United States, the South would suffer serious disadvantage. The first regular collision now occurred, and with results so marked, as to banish most of such apprehensions. The batteries on the Federal side were in commanding positions, and were among the best they had. The seven pieces of the Confederates, three of which were rifled, were of the Washington Artillery, and under the management of Captain Eschelman, Lieutenants Squires, Richardson, Garnett and Whittington. This corps was commanded by Major Walton, and consisted of citizen soldiers of Louisiana, nearly all occupying social positions which made them well known. They had bestowed much pains on their drill, and under an act of the Louisiana Legislature, passed some time before the war, they had received an appropriation of five thousand dollars, which was expended in practising at all available ranges with their cannon. In the battle now in progress, their fire had been at first turned upon the Federal infantry, directed only by the gleam of their bayonets or the smoke from their musketry. Their rounds of shell, round shot, grape and cannister, had been exceedingly fatal, and after the Federal infantry drew out of range, their batteries from the ridge of the hill concentrated their fire on the seven pieces of the Southerners, hoping to disable them or drive them from the field. The Northern artillery at this spot consisted of two 20 pound Parrott rifles, under Lieutenant, Benjamin, and six pieces—two 12 pound howitzers, two 6 pounders, and two 10 pound Parrott rifles, under Capt. Ayres.

At first, the aim of the Federals was wide of the mark, but gradually they corrected it, and soon a stream of shot and shells began to fall around the Southern cannon, throwing fragments among horses and men, by which Capt. Eschelman and five privates were wounded. Nothing daunted by this fiery trial, the artillerists, under direction of Gen. Longstreet, pushed their guns by hand forward to an advanced

^a Mem. from Dr. Loughborough, member of Louisiana Senate.

position, where they were out of the range so accurately got by the enemy, and were also on a more favorable point to seize a view of the adverse battery. The advantage of this move was quickly apparent. A shower of round shot and spherical case shell passed harmless over their heads. They now opened their fire, aiming with the keenest judgment of distance and place, and guided solely by the flash and smoke of the opposing guns. Report after report followed in rapid succession. For a time the enemy returned shot for shot, but the Confederate fire grew in vigor and effect, while the Federals slackened. Longer and more irregular became the intervals between the Northern discharges, until battered and routed, they took to flight, and the Southern cannon sent a parting flight of shells, which burst in the midst of the retreating masses of infantry and artillery-men, causing them to break and scatter in utter rout, casting away in their flight, muskets, hats, blankets, and knapsacks, and abandoning a cannon, of which the horses had all been disabled. ^a This completed the repulse of the enemy in front of Blackburn's ford, and at that point they advanced no more to the assault.

While this conflict was here in progress, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the baffled Federals again appeared in force before Gen. Bonham's position at Mitchell's ford. One piece from Kemper's battery, supported by four companies from Col. Kershaw's South Carolinians, was thrown across the run and occupied the same ridge held earlier in the day. The Confederate gun was quickly in position, and fired five times, sending two solid shot and three spherical case into the Federal ranks with such accuracy and destructive effect, that they forthwith retreated, with every sign of discomfiture. At five o'clock the retreat of the enemy along the whole line of his attack, was final, and this preliminary battle of Bull Run, ended in a brilliant and unquestionable victory for the Confederate arms.

The Southerners had made a fair, stand up fight against numbers superior to them

as three to one. "Not one yard of entrenchment nor one rifle pit sheltered the men at Blackburn's ford, who, officers and men, with rare exceptions, were on that day for the first time under fire, and who, taking and maintaining every position ordered," ^a drew upon themselves the merited praise of their Generals and gratitude of their country. The Southern loss was fifteen killed and fifty-three wounded. The Northern loss has never been clearly ascertained. It is a significant fact that no official report of it was published, and reports in the Northern newspapers made it vary from two hundred to a thousand. The battle lasted five hours and a half, giving them full time to remove their dead and wounded; yet after the retreat, sixty-four corpses were found on the field, one hundred and seventy-five muskets, and one hundred and fifty hats, with a large quantity of accoutrements and blankets, were picked up by the Southerners. Twenty prisoners were taken, and if any conclusions can be drawn from the length of the struggle, their complete repulse, and the declaration of their own officers as to the "murderous fire" ^b to which they were long exposed, we may safely say that a loss of eight hundred in killed and wounded, was the least that could be admitted with any credit to their courage. In the darkness of the night following the battle, they succeeded in bringing off the cannon abandoned in their flight, and which the nature of the intervening ground had prevented, the Confederates from securing.

Two incidents attending and following this conflict attested the cruel and perfidious spirit of the North. The Confederate hospital was in a framed building, rather more than a mile west of Mitchell's ford. Over it was raised a conspicuous *Yellow Flag*, the well known sign of a hospital among military men. In addition to this, the movements of ambulances and stretchers in carrying the wounded to this building, could easily be seen by the naked eye at a distance beyond that occupied by the

^a Beauregard's Off. Rep., 90.

^b See Col. Walrath's letter from N. Y. Times, Examiner, Aug. 10th.

^a Beauregard's Off. Rep., 88, 89.

Federal batteries. Under such circumstances it is impossible to doubt that the character and uses of the house were known to the enemy. Yet early in the action, the rifled guns of the Northerners were turned upon it—round shot and shells passed through it—and in the midst of this cowardly fire, Surgeon Cullen, of the First Virginia regiment, found it necessary to remove the sick and wounded to a place of safety! The other incident was even more characteristic.

The day after the battle the Northern commander sent a flag of truce to General Beauregard, asking permission to bury their dead. This was granted, and a large body of men came forward to the lines running from Mitchell's to Blackburn's ford, with spades and shovels, and engaged in the *supposed* work of humanity—but it was afterwards discovered that they spent very little time upon their dead, hastily thrusting them into shallow ditches, and throwing earth upon them so sparingly that they soon after presented the horrible spectacle of feet protruding and parts of putrid bodies exposed. The greater part of the labor of this Northern burying party had been spent in secretly throwing up earthworks to be used in sheltering their artillery and infantry in the coming conflict. This was, of course, done under official orders.^a Such acts were unworthy of savages, but were precisely suited to the genius and character of the North.

The results of the battle created no little excitement in Lincoln's dominions. They were immensely exaggerated by some classes, and systematically misrepresented as insignificant by others. The New York Tribune thus spake of it: "A minor fight has been reported to have taken place at Bull's Creek, six miles from Manassas Junction, where several of the Federal troops were killed. The fight lasted half an hour, but the Southerners were too well posted. Three masked batteries opened at intervals on the Federal troops, and they retired."^b The people of Washington did not regard it as "a minor fight." Mr. Russell, the

English correspondent of the great London Journal, was in that city, and anxious to get a vehicle to carry him towards the lines of the army. He applied to the livery stable keepers, and found them so alarmed by the sight of the 18th, that they were unwilling to risk their horses and buggies near the battle field. He relates the conversations he held with many. One said, "I can assure you, sir, that the troops had 1,500 killed and wounded; I know it." Mr. Russell adds—"I went off to headquarters, and there Gen. Scott's aid informed me Gen. McDowell's official report gave six killed and thirty-seven wounded. The livery keepers stuck to the 1,500 or 2,000. The greater the number *hors de combat*, the higher the tariff for the hire of quadrupeds." He finally hired a cabriolet, drawn by two horses, and a strong led horse under the saddle, and says—"I had to enter into an agreement with the owner to pay him for horses and buggy if they were captured or injured by the enemy, and though I smiled at his precautions, they proved not quite unreasonable." Thus equipped, he prepared for the field, to observe for himself.

On Saturday, the 20th, General Scott was at Centreville, in deep consultation with McDowell.^a When he returned is not precisely known, but he left behind him his carriage, handsomely furnished and prepared for a triumphal entry in due time into Richmond. The severe lesson of the 18th had taught the Federal commanders that to force a passage by Mitchell's or Blackburn's fords, was a bloody work, for which neither their officers nor men were in any measure competent. They consequently changed their plan, and adopted a schema of battle, well considered, ably conceived, far reaching in its grasp, admirably devised to give full advantage to their immense superiority in numbers, and which, if carried out in its full sweep of design, would have inflicted a murderous blow upon the Confederate cause. To this great strategic plan we must now give attention.

^a Dispatch, July 20th. Mem. from member of 1st Va. Reg't.

^b N. Y. Tribune, July 20th.

^a Proved by a letter from a Federal soldier to his sister, July 20th. Published in Dispatch, Aug. 2d.

On the evening of the 20th, General McDowell issued his orders to the heads of the several divisions composing his formidable army. He told them that the Southerners had planted a battery on the Warrenton turnpike—had seized the stone bridge, and made a heavy abattis of felled trees on the right bank to oppose their advance, and that the ford above the bridge was also defended, whether with artillery was not positively known; but every sign indicated that the passage of the Run would be defended. He, therefore, designed to turn the position of the Southerners, force them from the turnpike, re open the road, and, if possible, gain the Manassas Gap Railroad, and destroy a portion of it, so as to prevent the union of Johnston's forces with Beauregard's. To carry out this design, he ordered that the whole of the First Division, under General Tyler, except Col. Richardson's brigade, should move at half-past two o'clock the next morning, Sunday, the 21st, on the Warrenton turnpike, and threaten the passage of the bridges, but should not open fire till daybreak; that the Second Division, under Col. David Hunter, should move at 2 o'clock, and after crossing a suspension bridge over a branch of Bull Run, called Cub Creek, should turn to the right and march up, crossing the Run above Sudley Ford, and then turning down, should clear away the enemy, guarding the lower ford, and then bear to the right, to make room for the succeeding division—that the Third Division, under Col. S. P. Heintzelman, should march at half-past 2, and after following the Second beyond the suspension bridge over Cub Creek, should take an intermediate road, of which some vague reports had been obtained, and cross at a supposed ford between Sudley's and the bridge, and press forward between the stream and the Second Division. The Fifth Division, under Col. Miles, was to remain on the heights of Centreville, in reserve; one of its brigades, and Richardson's, from the First Division, were to take a threatening post in front of Blackburn's ford, and maintain a fire of artillery, but their work was to be wholly a feint, intended to keep the Southern forces at that point, and prevent reinforcements from moving to the left, where the grand attack was to be

made. ^a The Fourth Division, under Gen. Runyon, had been left in the rear of Fairfax Court House.

While these imposing preparations for battle were in progress, the Confederate Generals were not idle. Gen. Johnston's date of commission entitled him to precedence of Beauregard, and to command of the army, but on arriving at Manassas, knowing that a minute knowledge of the country, and the positions of the troops, would require days of study, and having entire confidence in his able subordinate, he adopted his plans, and practically yielded the control of the field to him. The harmonious action, and skilful union of effort, of these two brilliant soldiers, powerfully aided the Southern cause. Having felt the enemy on the 18th, and confiding strongly in the vigor and steadiness of his volunteer army, Beauregard had resolved on an attack, to be commenced with his right wing with the dawn of the next day. General Johnston approved the plan. To a late hour, Saturday night, their consultation continued. Midnight passed—the small hours glided away, and at half-past four o'clock, Sunday morning, the order for battle was completed and sent from the headquarters of Beauregard. ^b

Sunday, the twenty-first of July, dawned with a cloudless heaven, looking down over the fields on which the bloodiest combat theretofore waged in North America was about to occur. The scene was lovely and picturesque beyond the common views of Nature. Far in the west was the blue outline of the mountain boundary, tranquilly meeting the sky, with wreaths of white vapor slowly rolling up its sides and melting before the coming sun. A vast amphitheatre was spread out from its base, covered, in spots, with the green tints of the forest, silvered in lines of gliding streams, and varied with hill and dale, between which the broad plains of Manassas appeared, dotted in the distance with the white tents of two opposing armies. Around Centreville, and in the plateau beyond the hills, over the Run, the Federal host was moving with glittering bayonets,

^a McDowell's General Orders, No. 22. Whig, Aug. 16.

^b Johnston's Official Report, 103, 104.

unfurled banners, long lines of frowning artillery, and open files of engineers with axes, picks and levers, ready to clear the way for the army. Beyond the stream were the far less numerous, less showy lines of the Confederates, sternly waiting the attack, or the word for their own assault upon the enemy. As the day dawned, a group of anxious spectators assembled on a hill a mile south of Mitchell's Ford, which, bare of trees and elevated above the surrounding plains, commanded a view of the expected field of battle. Among them was seen the form of the veteran Edmund Rutlin, his grey locks damp with the mists of night, his rifle resting on the ground, with the barrel grasped in his hand, his eye keenly scanning the distant horizon for the first signs of the invaders of the land he so much loved. In a short time, Johnston and Beauregard, attended by their aids, rode to the summit of the same hill, and taking their stand for observation, swept the country below, on each side of the Run, with skilful and practised glances.^a

The sun rose. Hardly had the fields around them been reddened by his rays, before the heavy reports of distant cannon were borne upon the air from the ridges far in front of the Van Pelt Hill, where Col. Evans, with his brigade, guarded the approaches to the Stone Bridge. The discharges were slow and measured—they might be a mere feint—they might be the opening roar of artillery covering an advance in numbers; but neither the naked eye, nor the glasses in the hands of the officers, could detect their approach. While they were watching, a signal officer marked a long, wavering cloud of dust, far to the left, moving forward in forms known to attend the march of a great body of men. He drew near to report, and almost at the same moment the hand of Beauregard was extended to point out the same ominous cloud. The Generals observed it long and carefully. It might be the army of Patterson, advancing to join McDowell; it might be a flanking movement of some of the heavy columns that had marched, four days be-

^a An eye-witness' narrative. Dispatch, July 25.

fore, from Washington. Whether it was the one or the other, it betokened an advance, which these sagacious officers well knew would require a review of their whole plan of battle, and instant measures for a change in their defensive line.

We turn now to the movements of the enemy. Some hours before daylight their march from Centreville began. General Tyler led the way with his division, embracing the brigades of Keys, Schenck and Sherman, numbering fifteen regiments, with more than twelve thousand men and thirteen pieces of artillery, chiefly rifled, including the renowned batteries of Carlisle and Ayres. Next followed Colonel Hunter's Division, embracing the brigades of Colonels Andrew Porter and A. E. Burnside—ten regiments, numbering at least eight thousand men, with twelve cannon, consisting of one battalion of United States regulars, and the celebrated Rhode Island battery. Next came Heintzelman's Division, embracing the brigades of Franklin, Wilcox and Howard—twelve regiments, containing more than ten thousand men, with two complete batteries of regular artillery. Each division, moreover, embraced several companies of cavalry.^a Orders had been issued that the men should provide themselves with four days' rations of cooked provisions, doubtless with the hope that they would be able to take and hold Manassas Junction until farther supplies, by railroad or wagon trains, could reach them. Thus began the march of these huge columns. Fortunately for the South, already there appeared among them marks of mismanagement and want of unity, which confused and delayed their advance, and finally brought them to the field hours behind the time intended for the attack.^b

Another event, pregnant with disgrace to the North occurred. The time of enlistment of the fourth Pennsylvania infantry, and of a full battery of the New York eighth regiment, expired on the evening of the 20th. General McDowell and Secre-

^a The Divisions, Brigades and Regiments, of McDowell's army, are given in full in the N. Y. Herald, Saturday, July 20th.

^b Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune, July 23rd. Whig, Aug. 5.

tary Cameron, both entreated them to remain a few days; but finding that a battle was at hand, they inflexibly refused; and on the morning of the 21st, they marched away from the field with the reports of the Confederate cannon sounding in their ears! ^a

Before six o'clock, Tyler's advanced brigades had reached the designated point in front of the stone bridge. Here Schenck's and Sherman's brigades were arrayed in line of battle, the first on the left and the latter on the right of the road, but no advance of their infantry occurred for several hours. Skirmishers were thrown out, and encountered the pickets of the Southerners with slight loss on either side. The Federals brought forward a 32 pound rifled gun on the road, and fired several shots at the supposed position of the force guarding the bridge; but they were not replied to, and soon their fire slackened, and for hours was nearly suspended. According to the arranged plan of battle, Tyler delayed his attempt to cross the Run until the divisions above had crossed and turned down towards him. For this movement he waited nearly six hours.

As the sun ascended in the heavens, the heat increased. The division of Hunter wound along a circuitous route for nine miles, and did not reach the ford at Sudley's until nearly eleven o'clock. Heintzelman's division sought for the intermediate road, which was to conduct them to a ford between Lewis's and Sudley's, but could not find it. Perplexed and delayed, they were at last compelled to take the same route with Hunter, and arrived near Sudley's an hour later. The men were hot and thirsty, and were sent forward to fill their canteens at the Run while the brigades of Hunter's division passed over.

Although Beauregard had determined to attack the enemy with his right, he had not neglected the danger of an advance on his left to the almost undefended ford at Sudley's. Col. Robert T. Preston, with his 25th Virginia Regiment, had been sent on picket duty towards the suspension bridge over Cub Creek. Cols. Strange with the 18th, Hunton with the 8th, and Wm. Smith with a battalion of the 49th

Virginia, guarded the Lewis and Ball fords, and watched the approach to Sudley. Very early in the morning Col. Preston, noting the movements of the enemy, fell back with his pickets and took his place behind Ball's ford. ^a

From his position on the Van-Pelt hill, above the stone bridge, Col. Evans watched closely the movements of the enemy. He had but nine hundred men, with two six pounders, while opposite to him were nearly twelve thousand, with thirteen long-ranged cannon. Nevertheless, he soon became satisfied that the attack in front of the stone bridge was but a demonstration, and that the real assault would be commenced by the enormous columns who were approaching Sudley's to turn his left flank. Communicating these facts and his decision upon them to the commanding Generals, he instantly marched with his small but heroic brigade to meet the enemy above, leaving only four companies to guard the bridge, and giving notice of his movement to General Cöcke below him.

Arriving, about half-past ten o'clock, in the wooded fields in front of Sudley, he formed his men in line of battle. The disparity of forces was truly appalling, yet these brave men did not waver for a moment. Sloan's South Carolinians, and Wheat's Louisiana battalion, with two six pounders, one under Capt. Latham and the other under Lieut. Leftwitch, and two companies of cavalry, the whole not exceeding eight hundred men, confronted the brigade of Burnside's, four thousand strong, with its splendid battery of artillery. The Federal skirmishers first advanced and were hotly received with a musket volley, which drove them back upon the main body. Under cover of their artillery, the Northern infantry moved forward and were met by a well-directed fire from the six pounders, which plunged through their crowded ranks and told, with damaging power, upon their organization. At the same time they were met with desperate courage by the intrepid Wheat and his men, and Sloan's infantry, who darted on them streams of fire, kept up with a rapidity and precision before which the

^a Warder & Catlett, 17, 18. Beauregard's official Report, 118.

^a McDowell's official report.

Federals went down in hundreds. Yet it was a physical impossibility that so unequal a struggle could be long continued. The Southern ranks were thinned by the artillery and musketry of the enemy, and by dint of sheer numbers they were slowly pressed back. The gallant Wheat was shot through the lungs; his wound was thought fatal, and he was borne from the field.^a Presenting a resolute front, Col. Evans yielded the ground inch by inch, until he was reinforced by Gen. Barnard E. Bee, of South Carolina, and Col. Francis S. Bartow, of Georgia, who, with four regiments and two companies, and Imboden's battery of Staunton artillery, of five pieces, left their strong position on the plateau of Mrs. Henry's house, near the point where the Warrenton turnpike crosses Young's Branch, and hastened across to sustain the hero-band under Evans.

This reinforcement added 2,800 muskets besides the artillery to the Southern force at this point. They were led by officers of the highest courage and self-devotion. Again the line of battle was formed; Imboden, under Gen. Bee's direction, selected an admirable position for his pieces, upon the slope of a hill, where he was somewhat sheltered from the enemy's artillery, and yet had a fair range upon their columns. Hardly had he unlimbered and placed his pieces, before six long Parrott guns of the enemy opened on him. Their shot and shells at first passed over head, but gradually their aim improved, and he lost many of his horses and had several men wounded. But his fire was constant and vigorous; cutting his fuses for 1500 yards, which was about the distance of the Federals, he launched a storm of spherical case upon them, firing in all 460 rounds, and never ceasing until his ammunition was exhausted, and he had inflicted heavy loss on the enemy. Two pieces of the Washington Artillery seconded him part of the time, until ordered to another point. Meanwhile, the infantry force of General Bee faced the columns of Burnside and Porter, with unflinching resolution. Out-

^a He recovered, and afterwards greatly increased his renown; falling at last in the battles of the Chickahominy.

numbered as four to one, they yet maintained a dauntless front, and returned the fire of the Federals, with discharges of musketry, so close and steadily aimed, that chasms were opened in their ranks at every volley. The fourth Alabama regiment covered themselves with glory. Marching to the battle field from Manassas, much of the way at double quick, they rushed immediately to the front, where they were exposed to a galling fire from Rickett's battery and musketry. To prevent their complete destruction, the officers ordered the men to lie down and load, and then rise and fire; this was done with perfect steadiness and terrible effect; three times the Federals attempted to overwhelm them, and three times were driven back with great carnage. At length when their supports were withdrawn, and their ranks were thinned by incessant fighting, their brave Colonel Jones, having been shot from his horse, and severely wounded, they were ordered to fall back to avoid being surrounded. As they passed through a field thinly dotted with stunted pines, they came in sight of a regiment which they took to be Southern; their signal was basely answered to deceive them; believing they were near friends, they prepared to form behind them in order to rest, when as they were unfurling their flag, they received a heavy volley which killed and wounded many. They instantly returned the fire with severe effect, and put their treacherous foes to flight, but having now lost their Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major, they retired behind a skirt of pines, until their exhausted strength was somewhat restored.^b They were soon again in the hottest of the battle.

The fierce resolution with which the Southern troops now resisted the advance of the Federals, has never been surpassed. Their fire was terribly effective; their few pieces of artillery were handled with a skill and precision which made gaps in the enemy's ranks at every discharge. Regiment after regiment of Northerners were broken and disorganized, never to return to

^b Official Report of Capt. Goldsby, July 29th, 1861. Dispatch August 1-17th.

a coherent state. General McDowell, finding his advance thus stubbornly checked, his men cut down and withering away, dead, wounded or disheartened, notwithstanding that he had already nearly ten thousand men against thirty-four hundred, sent hurriedly to the rear for reinforcements, directing the regiments of Heintzelman's division not to wait for the general advance, but to break off from the column and come forward to his help. ^a Heintzelman sent rapidly to the front a Massachusetts, a Minnesota and a New York regiment, numbering together, nearly three thousand men, and Rickett's renowned light battery, which was planted on a hill to the right of Hunter's division, and opened on the Southern lines. But hardly had it fired twenty minutes, when it was found that the distance was too great for effect, and it was moved forward to within four hundred yards of Imboden's battery. Here it encountered not only the well directed shells from the Southern cannon, but also a deadly fire of musketry, which killed many of the horses, and cut down the cannoniers in such numbers as completely to disable it. ^b Seeing the imminent danger of its capture, the Federal infantry were ordered to its support, and for a time saved it, by assembling in such numbers that it would have been madness for the thinned ranks of the Southerners to have charged. The New York Fire Zouaves, formerly under Ellsworth, seeing the exposed pieces of Imboden, up the ravine, on the slope of which they were planted, valorously resolved to capture them, and rushed forward for the purpose. But in mid career they met a frightful volley from the 11th Mississippi and 4th Alabama, which greatly staggered them, and as they passed a gap in the pines, two companies of Stuart's Virginia Cavalry, under Captains Carter and Hoge, dashed upon them like a tempest, firing their carbines, almost in the moment of onset, and then using their sabres with great carnage. The Zouaves broke and fled, hundreds of them rolled on

the ground, many never to rise again, many bleeding and wounded, crawled between the feet of the horses, while some unhurt, lay still and pretended to be dead. Three companies who had passed the gap and escaped the shock of the cavalry, turned and poured a galling fire upon the Southern horsemen, and at nearly the same time Federal artillery opened on them. The cavalry were thus compelled to retire with considerable loss, but they had struck the enemy a heavy blow. The Zouaves never recovered from the effects of these encounters; their organization was broken up; they fought no more as a regiment, though detached companies and squads fell into the lines of other corps, and continued the contest. ^a

Meanwhile the unequal struggle at this point went on with redoubled fury. The short and thin Southern lines were swept by a powerful artillery, and by concentrated musket fire from the division of Hunter, and the advanced brigades of Heintzelman. Still the gallant men under Bee, Evans and Bartow, opposed them with desperate firmness, and inflicted blows, under which they staggered and faltered, until reinforced by fresh troops constantly arriving. Alabamians, Georgians, Mississippians, Carolinians and Virginians, vied with each other in deeds of valor. Often under overwhelming pressure, a regiment fell back, but the men with few exceptions, retained their individual constancy, and formed again ready for another struggle. The 7th Georgia suffered severely; their brave Colonel Gartrell was wounded, but kept the field; the 8th Georgia, under Lt. Col. Montgomery Gardner, rivalled the 4th Alabama in the heroism of their stand and the extent of their losses. Gaining a thicket near a battery of the enemy, they opened a destructive fire; the Federals appeared on the hill in their front, and almost surrounding them with thousands, poured upon them incessant volleys. For two hours they were exposed to a concentrated

^a McDowell; Official Report.

^b Heintzelman's Official Report.

^a Letter of cavalry officer, July 27th, in Whig August 22. Heintzelman's official report. Johnston's report 108; Beauregard's do., 134, 135.

fire, under which they melted away, but never for a moment did these devoted men flinch from their duty. Colonel Bartow had his horse shot under him; Adjutant Branch fell mortally wounded; Colonel Gardner had his leg shattered by a grape shot. Still they held their ground, coolly loading, carefully aiming and firing with deadly effect into the masses of the enemy in front, cutting the 6th Massachusetts regiment to pieces, almost destroying the leading corps of Rhode Island, and making frightful breaches in the ranks of the regulars of Burnside's division. To prevent the annihilation of these Georgians, their officers ordered a retreat; three times the command was repeated before it was obeyed, between each repetition they fired a volley, and when at last they commenced their retreat, they loaded as they stepped, often turning to fire upon the advancing foe. Among the companies of this regiment, the Oglethorpe Light Infantry, composed of the finest young men of Savannah, was most exposed, and suffered most. They held the extreme right, nearest the enemy, and bore their fire with heroic constancy, returning it vigorously, up to the moment when, with mutilated ranks, they fell back with the remnant of their regiment. Colonel Bartow had been their first commandant, and was loved by them almost to idolatry. His grief at seeing his brave boys falling dead and bleeding around him, increased the reckless daring with which he sought the post of danger.^a

The Federal forces prayed against Generals Bee and Evans, increased in volume until it became overwhelming. Heintzelman's brigades all crossed the Run, and moving up in line with Hunter's, pressed down towards the bridge. At about 12 o'clock, Gen. Tyler thought it time to put his infantry in motion, to co-operate with the Federals already crossed. His orders to his Brigadiers had been, that *as soon as they saw any signs of stampeding among the Southerners in front of them, they should cross with all speed, and join in the pursuit.*^b He waited in vain for such signs;

^a Letter in Dispatch July 29th.

^b Schenck's official report July 23d. Whig, August 9th.

all he could learn from the sound of battle and observations from a high tree, was that a crossing above had been effected, and that the Confederates were slowly falling back, fighting all the way. He determined to move. General Robert C. Schenck, on the left of the turnpike, moved with his Ohio men, followed by a New York regiment, up a narrow road, through the woods, terminating in Ball's Ford, a rough and difficult crossing below the bridge, but when he came in view he received the fire of six guns, two under Latham, and four under Rogers, which were handled with admirable accuracy and skill, and launched upon him a stream of shells and grape-shot too warm to be borne. The Ohio men fell back rapidly behind the woods; the New Yorkers suffered most, being in the direct line of the fire. Col. McCook attempted a flank movement, but was roughly handled by the battery and its small infantry support, and reported to General Schenck that the position could not be turned. Schenck then withdrew to a prudent distance, and took no farther part in the great combat in progress.^a

THE TRIUMPH OF SPRING.

BY TENELLA.

The Ice King opened his frozen gates to hold high court one day,
And his servants all were summoned there,
Dutiful homage to pay;
His palace was built of veinless blocks,
hewn in the frigid zone,
And lit with a gleam of rosy light from her
Aurora thrown.
His sea-green throne was a frozen wave,
brought from the Northern pole,
Which seemed with its foaming crest concealed
e'er it had ceased to roll.
Dressed in his dazzling robes he sat in his
council chamber wide,
And cast on its strong and solid walls a
glance of haughty pride:
A sceptre of ice in his hand he held, which
glittered with many a gem,
While the diamond and opal's changing
light flashed from his diadem.

^a Schenck's Report. Correspondence of N. Y. Tribune, July 23. Whig, August 5th.

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[No. 5.]

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER VI.

(CONTINUED.)

The brigades of Sherman and Keyes were put in motion to cross at the fords above the bridge. The small Southern forces defending these fords had been withdrawn by orders to hasten to the support of Bee and Evans. Hence the Federals encountered no opposition at the Run. Sherman crossed first, and bearing to the right, sought to join his line of battle to that of Heintzelman. But he had hardly emerged from the shelter of the skirt of trees, on the stream, before he met a heavy fire from the Southern artillery on his left, under which his men wavered and recoiled. To re-assure them until a diversion of this fire could be made, they received an order to lie down, *which they ve. y promptly obeyed.* This practice, once begun, was repeated by the men until, in the words of a Northern eye-witness, "some regiments, at last, could not be made to stand at any point whatever; the least report of cannon, or musketry, sending them instantly upon their knees; and an entire company of the New York Second were seen to grovel in the dust at the accidental snapping of a percussion cap of one of their own rifles!"^a

^a Letter in the N. Y. Tribune, dated July 23rd.

The brigade of Keyes followed Sherman's across the Run, and bore to the left until it encountered a severe fire from a part of Latham's battery of two six-pounders, under Lieutenants Davidson and Leftwich, which was so effective that to advance in its face was too trying to the Federals. They, accordingly, made a rapid movement by the left flank across an open field, clearing the way to the Federal engineer corps under Captain Alexander, who crossed the stream and cut out and cleared away the abattis of felled trees in front of the stone bridge. Keyes intended to turn the battery of two guns and capture it, but before his flank movement was executed it had been removed to a safe position. He then sought to advance in line with Sherman, bearing down upon the small force of Southerners who, up to this time, had nobly sustained the whole attack of the enemy.

The position of these brave men would now have been appalling to any but the stoutest hearts. They were reduced to an effective force of less than three thousand men, with but eight pieces of artillery; the enemy were in front and on each flank with enormous infantry masses, numbering more than twenty-five thousand, with twenty-four pieces of artillery, embracing many rifled cannon and the regular light batteries of the United States—considered most effective. Though their terrible fire and stubborn courage had greatly shattered and disheartened the Federal ranks, yet the Southerners were so feeble in numbers as to be in danger of being entirely

^a Tyler's Report, 27th July. Whig, Aug. 17th.

surrounded. Under such circumstances General Bee gave the order to fall back. Reluctantly it was given and reluctantly obeyed. As they retired, the enemy, with shouts of exultation, pressed forward, and believing the victory complete, they poured a tremendous fire of artillery and musketry upon the retreating regiments, causing fearful loss. Shattered and thinned, but not subdued, they gained the shelter of the ridge of the plateau above the Stone Bridge, on which two small framed buildings, known as the Henry and Robinson houses, were located. Here General Bee and his associates stopped the retreat, and with indomitable resolution, cheered their men with the hope of speedy reinforcements, and re-formed them for another desperate stand.

This plateau was soon to be the arena of the fiercest and most sanguinary struggle of the battle. It is enclosed on three sides by small streams, which empty into Bull Run, near each other, half a mile South of the Stone Bridge. It rises from the level of the Run to a height of about one hundred feet, and falls off in very gradual descents to the enclosing streams. Its sides are cut by ravines and broken by clusters of young oaks and pines. Along the Eastern and Southern sides of the plateau were almost continuous skirts of small pines, affording admirable shelter for marksmen. The largest water boundary is Young's Branch, on the North, very near to which the turnpike from the Stone Bridge, and the Sudley road, cross each other nearly at right angles. To the West of the plain adjoining open fields, a broad belt of oaks runs across the crest on each side of the Sudley road. The Henry House was a small wooden dwelling, inhabited by a widow Henry, farthest from the Run, only a few hundred yards from the Sudley road, and in an open field; the Robinson House was inhabited by a free man of color of that name; it was not far from the turnpike, and was surrounded by a dense growth of trees. ^a

We now turn, for a moment, to the Confederate lines on the right, where, accord-

ing to the arranged plan of battle, an advance was to be made and an attack commenced. By an accident, which, on the whole, was probably fortunate, General Ewell did not receive the orders to advance until late in the day, when it was indispensable to fight the battle on the ground chosen by the enemy. But Gen. D. R. Jones, at McLean's Ford, threw his brigade across the Run early in the day, and advanced upon the enemy's battery of 18 pounders on the left. Colonel Jenkins, with the 5th South Carolina regiment, led the attack, followed by the 17th and 18th Mississippi, under Colonels Brent and Fetherstone; the battery opened at long range, and threw shot and shell with vigor until Jenkins' Sharp Shooters got near enough to reach men and horses with their Minie balls, when the cannoneers limbered up and hastily retreated. The Confederate loss, in this movement, was seventy in killed and wounded. ^a Waiting for the advance of the divisions of Ewell and Longstreet, Colonel Jones soon learned that the heavy attack of the enemy on the left made entirely new combinations necessary, and that all that could be done on the right was to keep a sufficient force guarding the fords to hold the enemy at bay.

While the terrible conflict on the left was opening, and the fire waxed hotter and hotter, Generals Johnston and Beauregard, on the hill above Mitchell's Ford, watched the signs of the day with the deepest solicitude, but with the self-possession of consummate soldiers. Soon after 11 o'clock, the increasing roar of cannon, and rattle of musketry, with the ominous clouds of dust and smoke gathering and approaching from the left convinced them that the enemy were there making a sustained and powerful effort to turn their flank. No conflict of opinion, or of plan, existed between them. They saw at once that to reinforce their left as rapidly as possible was necessary, and that a change of all the combinations previously determined on must take place. Couriers and Aids were dispatched on every side. The order for the advance on the right was countermanded, and in its

^a See maps by Warder & Catlett, and Adj't S. P. Mitchell, and Beauregard's Report, 133.

^a Letter of "Dan," in Dispatch, Aug. 6th. Beauregard's Report, 128.

stead, brigades and regiments, with their batteries, were directed to march to the left with all speed. They had previously ordered the brigades under Bee and Barrow to take their position near the Henry House, in order to support Evans, if needed; and how nobly they had met their duty we have already seen; they had also ordered forward the brigade of General Jackson, consisting of the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 27th, and 33rd Virginia regiments, with five pieces of the Washington artillery, to take position along the Run within distance to support Cocks's or Bonham's brigades, if either was pressed. Jackson had moved up accordingly, and by mid-day was within supporting reach of the hard-pressed and sorely tried regiments that had borne the brunt of the day. Johnston and Beauregard now ordered up all their reserves not already in movement, consisting of Early's brigade and that of General Holmes composed of two regiments, and the "Purcell battery" of artillery, under Captain Lindsay Walker, which had marched up from the lower Potomac, opposite Fredericksburg, and had not long before arrived at the extreme right end of the Confederate lines. Kershaw's and Cash's regiments, and Kemper's battery, from Bonham's brigade, were detached and sent to the left. A fine legion of South Carolina troops, under Colonel Wade Hampton, had also just arrived, and had already plunged into the combat and suffered severely. Having rapidly made these dispositions, the two commanding Generals, with such of their staff as remained, put spurs to their horses and galloped at full speed to the plateau, where the decisive struggle of the day was about to occur.

Their presence brought new life and vigor to the exhausted but still resolute officers and men holding the ridge. Jackson had already arrived, and taken a judicious position to the left of the ravine and woods, planting Imboden's battery, now reduced to four pieces, (one having been disabled,) and two of Stanard's pieces, so as to sweep the coming foe, and supporting them in the rear and on the right and left by the regiments of Colonels J. L. Preston, Harper, Allen, Cummings, and Lieutenant Colonel Echols. The fire of the enemy was still kept up. General

Bee rode up to the spot where the 4th Alabama were resting, and asked if they would again follow him into the battle. "To the death," was the immediate answer; and again they faced the iron storm. The commanding Generals cheered the men with words and deeds of courage. General Johnston brought to his side the color-bearer of the intrepid Alabamians, all of whose field officers had been killed or wounded, and with dauntless mien and great personal exposure, advanced to the front, rallying them upon their colors and bringing them with new energy into battle line. General Beauregard rapidly organized the regiments and shattered corps at hand to present a firm front to the enemy. He then insisted that Johnston should leave to him the immediate conduct of the field, and should go to an elevated spot called "Portici," or the Lewis House, about half a mile distant, and hurry forward reinforcements as well as direct all subsequent movements. It was indispensable that one should take such position, and as it properly devolved on the senior General, Johnston assumed it, and with great skill wielded the reserves as they came in reach, so as to hurl them with most effect upon the foe.

General Beauregard formed his line of battle by placing on his right Hampton's Legion, Harper's regiment, and seven companies from Hunton's eighth Virginia, detached from Cocks's brigade. These formed a support for the whole line, and also a reserve to meet any advance of the enemy from the direction of the Stone Bridge; next were the commands of Bee, Evans, and Barrow; in the centre were four regiments of Jackson's brigade, with Imboden's four six-pounders, Walton's five, two of which were rifled; two of Stanard's, and two from Roger's battery, under Lieutenant Keaton; on the left were the remnants of the Georgia regiments, Col. Smith's battalion of the 49th Virginia, Falkner's 2nd Mississippi and Fisher's 6th North Carolina, which had just arrived on the field. His whole force did not exceed six thousand infantry and cannoniers, with thirteen pieces of artillery and two companies of Stuart's cavalry. a

a Beauregard's Report, 131.

Against this small army, the enemy now advanced in immense force, flushed with the hopes of victory. The divisions of Hunter and Heintzelman, joined by part of that of Tyler, were on the left, and the brigade of Keyes threatened the right. Not less than twenty-four thousand infantry, with seven companies of regular cavalry and twenty-four pieces of cannon, all equipped and supplied with every application of art that could make them efficient, composed this force. At the same time, heavy and threatening reserves were clustering around the Stone Bridge and the fords above and below, and at a greater distance were the masses under Miles and Richardson, which could be brought up in time for fearful increase to the momentum of the already overwhelming foe. Seldom has war presented such inequality in armies about to engage in mortal struggle—never has the smaller body shewn a more indomitable resolve to conquer or perish.

The heroic Commander, as he rode along his lines, and posted them for battle, addressed officers and men in words which thrilled them with stern determination. He told them that reinforcements were rapidly coming to their aid, and that at all hazards they must hold their posts until strengthened. He recalled to their thoughts their homes, their firesides, mothers and wives, their independence—all that man holds dear; he reminded them of the ruthless character and purposes of the foe, and urged them to victory or death. Every where loud cheers greeted his presence and his words, and he saw in the flashing eyes of his men an unconquerable spirit, that was able to wrest triumph from the very jaws of defeat.

Meanwhile the enemy had advanced upon the other edge of the plateau and seized the fields and skirts of woods around the Robinson and Henry houses, planting the powerful rifled batteries of Ricketts and Griffin upon advantageous positions to play with effect on the Confederate lines. At the same time their heavy masses of infantry began to deploy to the right and left, so as almost to throw a semicircle around the Southerners. The artillery of the armies both of the Potomac and Shenandoah, here assembled, consist-

ed of Colonel Pendleton's Corps, Alburtt's, Imboden's and Stanard's, five guns of the Washington and Heaton's sections of Rogers' battery, with part of the Newtown artillery. They played upon the crowded ranks of the enemy with terrific effect, and kept back their advance until the increasing weight and number of the Federal cannon compelled them to shift their positions. From the new points selected they fired upon the batteries opposed to them with great accuracy, killing men and horses, disabling many of their guns, and in some cases silencing them entirely. In seeking a spot to throw enflading fire upon the Southern guns, three Federal pieces were brought so near to the 33d Virginia regiment, that several of its companies sprang forward and seized them, but a musketry fire from almost a brigade of the enemy, compelled them to abandon them and return to the line. ^a

At two o'clock, Beauregard gave the order for the right of his line, except his reserves, to advance and recover the plateau. They rushed forward with resistless valor. Jackson, with his steady brigade, pierced the enemy's centre, and notwithstanding severe losses, drove them right and left, and down the slopes descending to Young's branch. The Northern lines were broken and swept back along the whole front of the Southern advance. Their men fell under a withering fire, and gave way before fierce lines of steel which pressed impetuously upon them. Their officers hurried forward regiment after regiment, and again rallying an overwhelming force, by sheer dint of numbers, forced back the Confederate lines, recovered the guns lost in their retreat, and again held the plateau from which they had been dislodged.

Now, at nearly three o'clock, the long hoped for reinforcements were drawing near. Withers' 18th Virginia regiment, from Cocks's brigade, was first to arrive. Again the dauntless Beauregard ordered a charge by his right, and, this time, his reserves were added, and he prepared in person to lead his men into the deadly storm. His choice spirits gathered with

^a Beauregard's Report, 135.

their men, and with word and deed cheered them to the conflict. The intrepid Bartow headed his Georgians. The noble eighth, reduced from 600 to 60 men, had been withdrawn, first, however, receiving from Beauregard a merited honor. Raising his hat, he bowed to them and said—"I salute the 8th Georgia with my hat off." Bartow encouraged the 7th to a desperate stand. In answer to Colonel Gartrell, who asked where he wished them, he said—"Give me your flag and I will show you." Amidst a rain of bullets he led them to their post and said—"General Beauregard says you must hold this position, and Georgians I appeal to you to hold it." General Bee, with the 4th Alabama, and the other regiments of his shattered corps, prepared to advance. Pointing to Jackson's brigade, then under heavy fire, he uttered words which have since given an immortal name to the hero of thirty battles: "Look at Jackson's men, *they stand like a stone-wall.*"^a When the time came he was ready for the charge.

Beauregard rode a horse of great beauty, strength and spirit, presented to him by a citizen of Virginia.^b Placing himself at the head of his lines, and immediately leading Hampton's Legion, which had lost all its field officers, he gave the signal for the charge, and like a war god, rushed down upon the foe. His men charged with irresistible fury, pouring upon the Federal columns murderous volleys of musketry, and then levelling their bayonets, threw themselves in lines of glittering points upon the broken masses. The battle reached its height. Its sublimity rose beyond the power of words. The thunder of artillery convulsed the air; the reports of thirty thousand muskets blended in a deafening storm of sounds, which swept beyond the battle field to distant ears: a volcano of dust and smoke enveloped the contending legions, and hung like a death canopy over head, while from its lurid bosom crimson flashes

streamed, and fierce shouts arose, contending with the roar of cannon. Beneath this sulphurous cloud men moved and joined in mortal combat, and deeds of daring were performed rivalling the sternest heroism of the past.

In the field of thin pines south of the Henry house a sanguinary encounter occurred between a regiment of Northern Zouaves and regulars, on one side, and the Tiger rifles and a corps of Mississippians, on the other. The regulars fired a destructive volley, and the Zouaves, in their gay jackets and red trousers, attempted a charge. The excited Southerners after emptying their rifles in a fatal discharge at close quarters, threw them down, and drawing their bowie knives, rushed like tigers upon the enemy. We might well hesitate to describe the scene that followed were it not attested by the narratives of the Northerners who survived. The terrible weapons wielded by the Louisiana and Mississippi men, were keen, heavy blades, twenty inches long, with double edged points. With these they assailed their adversaries, parrying the points of their bayonets, and often, by dextrous blows, striking them from the muskets. Once within arms' reach, the fate of the foe was quick and bloody. Every cut and thrust was death. Often the more skillful did not wait to close, but hurled the weapon with unerring aim, and buried it in the breast of the opponent. The slaughter of the Zouaves and regulars was so great that the ground beneath the pines was covered with the dead; *few wounded men fell there.* The survivors broke and fled in terror before their assailants.^a

The brigade of Jackson charged with a vigor and steadiness which swept their front. The renowned officer commanding them, infused into them his own amazing coolness and self-possession. In the very fury of the conflict, he seemed to grow every moment more quiet and calm; a stern smile sometimes appeared to light his habitually grave and steady features; his voice became lower in tone, but so dis-

^a Account of 8th Georgia, Dispatch, July 29th, 31st. Narrative Charleston Mercury, Dispatch, July 29th.

^b Thomas W. Dowell, Esq., of Richmond.

^a Narrative from Zouave, in Baltimore Sun, July 25th. Dispatch, July 31st, Aug. 6th. Examiner, Aug. 1st.

tinct that it was heard amid the din of battle. When hurrying aids and couriers brought to him information of the movements of the surging masses of the enemy in front, or instructions from the senior Generals, his calm answer was always ready—"Very well." Long and firmly his men sustained the rolling fire to which they were exposed; but when their time came to advance, they moved like a torrent, firing with fearful accuracy and making huge chasms in the ranks of the hostile regiments before them. Jackson's horse was shot under him, and nearly at the same time a rifled bullet carried away part of one of his fingers, but with imperturbable coolness he wrapped his handkerchief around the wound, and on foot continued his orders as though nothing had disturbed him. When one of his officers proposed to dress the injured hand he answered—"It is of no consequence," and directed regiment after regiment into the battle in the most effective manner. ^a It was then that their admirable conduct drew from General Bee the tribute already mentioned.

For a time the Federals stubbornly resisted the impetuous onset, and assembling their numbers, pressed them against the Southern forces leading the assault. General Bee displayed a devoted valor never exceeded. He rode before his thinning lines, calling on officers and men, by all that was dear to their hearts to drive back the tide of assailants so sorely pressing them. His mutilated ranks could no longer maintain their position; by main force they were pressed towards the Southern verge of the plateau. Approaching Jackson, he said in tones of manly anguish—"General, they are beating us back." "Sir," replied Jackson, in a quiet voice,—"we will give them the bayonet." He gave the word, and with exhilarating cheers, his Virginians ran forward with levelled steel, and threw themselves upon the hostile ranks. The Federals did not cross bayonets, but broke and fled. Encouraged by the sight, the Alabamians

again advanced; in the moment of triumph, the hero, Bee, fell mortally wounded. He was borne to the rear, and the noble regiment that he had led, now reduced in numbers and completely worn out, was led with shattered ranks and a deathless name, to a place of safety. ^a

Around the Henry house, the combat raged with indescribable fury. The building itself was pierced with round shot, shell and grape; its roof was ploughed into furrows, its wainscoting shivered to pieces. Its widowed owner, Mrs. Henry, was an invalid; she had been once removed, but was brought back, and in the moments of terror following the opening of the struggle close to the house, her relatives fled and left her lying on a couch in an upper room. A cannon ball passed through her body and instantly killed her! In the open field, two hundred yards to the right of the house, Rickett's battery had been placed by the Federals, and became the occasion of the fiercest conflict. Most of its horses had been disabled by the Southern musketry. A shell from one of Pendleton's pieces had exploded a caisson, which, in bursting, killed four more horses. Thus the battery could not be removed. Sanguinary struggles for its possession occurred. The Federals massed their infantry for its support. The Southerners, bending so as to avoid the first fire, glided upon them with the swiftness of eagles, and sending a hail of bullets before them, drove off the supports and seized the pieces. Again and again they were captured and recovered. A generous rivalry has existed among the Southerners upon the question who had the honor of taking these guns and a part of Griffin's battery, which nearly at the same time fell into their hands. It is certain that many shared the honor, and at different times not less than four regiments seized them. After a desperate struggle, they remained with the Confederates, and were turned upon the defeated enemy. ^b

^a Charleston Mercury—Dispatch, July 29th. Off. Rep. 4th Alabama, by Captain Goldsby.

^b On Wednesday, July 24th, in company with several friends, who had been sent

^a Letter from an officer, July 27th. Dispatch, 29th.

Still the conflict deepened; the impetuous charges of the Southerners drove back the enemy, and forced them towards the northern and western slopes of the plateau. Every where on the right they were repulsed and beaten from the cleared fields and wooded skirts of this bloody plain. But noble lives were the purchase of this success. As the Georgians, led by Colonel Bartow, pressed forward, he unfurled the standard of his favorite regiment, and with cheering words, drew them on to the assault of a part of Griffin's battery; he received a slight wound and his horse fell under him, but instantly mounting another, and still grasping the flag, he waved his cap round his head and led them on; a ball pierced his breast near the heart—he fell—his men gathered round him—his dying words sounded in their ears—"They have killed me, but never give up the field!" He was gone, but his words were obeyed. A nearly at the same time fell Colonel F. J. Thomas, an ordnance officer on General Johnston's staff, whose conduct in the battle had been conspicuous for gallantry and effect. Colonel Fisher led his 6th North Carolina regiment into the hottest of the combat, and

up as members of a committee from Richmond, to attend to the removal of our wounded, I passed over the entire battle field of Bull Run and Manassas, a distance in circuit of nearly twenty miles. Though great exertions had been made by the Southern troops to bury all the dead, yet in consequence of the neglect of the Federals, many of their dead remained scattered through the fields near the stone bridge, and around the Henry house, swollen and horrible with putrefaction. The exploded caisson and the bodies of the killed horses were still in the field to the right of the house. The building itself was a wreck, vividly picturing to our eyes the horrors of war. Round shot had reduced the shattered interior to a single room, and here were lying several wounded Federal soldiers. The fields along the turnpike were strewn in many hundred spots with remnants of bread, placed there to sustain the wounded till they could be removed. The scenes of a battle field three days after the conflict, will not be easily forgotten.

Address of Hon. T. R. Cobb, in Confederate Congress, July 24th.

while bravely advancing, nearly thirty yards in front of his men, received a fatal shot, and fell dead on the field.

Riding forward, leading his men, cheering them by his example, watching every movement and with lightning like quickness seizing every advantage. Beauregard steadily drove the foe from his front. In the very moment of victory, a solid shot struck his horse full in the brain and hurled him headlong to the ground. To extricate himself from the saddle was the work of a moment—and when his men found him again on his feet almost unhurt, they uttered enthusiastic shouts, and rushed with redoubled energy on the broken Federals. They were swept from the whole plateau, and the sternly contested ground was in the hands of the Confederates.

But in the meantime the woods and open fields on the left, were swarming with Federal troops, pressing forward regiment after regiment, and moving southwest from the Sudley-Brentsville road, with the purpose of flanking the Southerners, and seizing the Manassas Gap Railroad. Most opportunely the Confederate reinforcements now began to arrive, and were sent by Gen. Johnston, directly to the points where most needed. Kershaw's second and Cash's eighth South Carolina regiments were led through a skirt of oaks, and taking a fine position, opened a destructive fire upon a heavy brigade of the enemy in front, among whom were the Federal regular infantry. At the same time Delaware Kemper got his guns in battery, and began a fire, which for precision and effect, was not exceeded at any time in the battle. His mark was chiefly a dense column of the enemy's regulars, and the result is thus described by an eye witness: "In the twinkling of an eye, Kemper, who had command of the battery, had unlimbered his guns and opened on them. Now came a most interesting scene. The enemy were on the slope of a hill where we could see the dust raised by every shot, and as they would strike in the dark masses of men we could see the gap they would make, like the splash of a stone in water, which was instantly closed up again, amid loud and fierce shouts from our gunners and cavalry. Col Stuart rode forward to a

little rise, and then shouted to the gunners below, how to shoot. "A little higher!" "a little lower!" "more to the right!" and when they made a centre shot, he waved his hat and fairly danced with delight. At last a shot took them right on the corner of their column which was towards us, and seemed to *split it open*. They could stand it no more, but broke and retreated in disorder over the hill." ^a A Seconding this bloody artillery attack, the South Carolina infantry advanced, and fell upon the shaken brigade of Federals with bullet and bayonet; a regiment of Zouaves in their way was roughly handled and broke in every direction; many of them fell on the ground *as if dead*, though really unhurt, and when the Southerners had charged several hundred yards beyond them, they rose up in their rear. Capt. Kemper, while moving out alone to the left, to seek a good place for his battery, was surrounded by some twenty of these resurrected knaves, who demanded his sword. He replied he would only surrender it to an officer, and seeing a column moving near whom he recognized as friends, with quick presence of mind, he offered to go to them and yield himself a prisoner; the Zouaves went with him, and were all captured, while he was released after a captivity of ten minutes. ^b

Still the Federal brigades, though severely cut up and much disheartened, continued to press on to the left. Gen. Johnston watched their efforts, and threw to their front every fragment of force within his reach. The terrific fighting of the early part of the day had caused a large number of men, some seriously, some slightly wounded, and others not hurt at all, to go to the rear, and many of these had, as is customary in such cases, spread discouraging reports as to the numbers and overwhelming strength of the enemy, and the slaughter of the Confederates. Yet when assembled in the rear, and recovered somewhat from the effects of the fight, a large proportion of these men who were fit for duty, were rallied into companies, and

once more moved to the front. ^a With all the troops he could assemble, Gen. Johnston still saw with grave anxiety that the enemy immensely outnumbered him on the left and were pressing on. In the earnest emotion of a soldier's heart he was heard to say aloud, "Oh, for four regiments!" ^b The words had not long escaped his lips before the great dramatic event of this wonderful battle occurred and brought the aid, which turned the enemy's triumph to defeat and ruin.

The mismanagement and dilatoriness of the Manassas Gap Railroad officials, had delayed the arrival of a large part of Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah. At three o'clock, during the height of the battle, a train of cars carrying Gen. Kirby Smith, with Colonel Elzey's brigade, consisting of Gibbon's 10th Virginia, Stewart's First Maryland, and Vaughan's 3d Tennessee, numbering about 1,700 men, and having also with them Beckham's battery of four pieces, came rushing down towards Manassas. The roar of the battle sounded in their ears for a long distance, and when within five miles of the junction, General Smith gave peremptory orders and stopped the train. His troops leaped out, instantly formed, and under his lead started at a double-quick for the battle-field, not more than three miles off. Gen. Johnston learned of their approach with the liveliest joy, and directed them to the proper point. At a quarter before 4 o'clock, they poured out "like an avalanche of glittering steel" from the woods near the extreme left, and fell upon the flank of the enemy. Gen. Smith fell with a severe wound in the neck, but the brave and experienced Elzey succeeded him, and led on the brigade without a pause; they poured on the Federals a fatal volley; Beckham seized a favourable spot near the Chinn House, five hundred yards southwest of the Sudley road, and opened with every piece a severe fire upon the exposed masses of the left Federal flank. They broke in disorder and fled. With extreme difficulty, the now alarmed and beaten lines of the enemy, were rallied for a final stand, and formed in an imposing line of battle of crescent like form.

^a Letter from an officer, in Whig, Aug. 22d.

^b Col. Kershaw; Report July 28th, Whig Aug. 12. Charleston Mercury Dispatch, 3d.

^a Johnston's Report 107. Kershaw's do. ^b Letter in Dispatch, July 25th.

reaching from a point called the Pittsylvania House, between Young's branch and Red House Ford around, crossing the Sudley road and Warrenton Turnpike, nearly to Chinn's house. They were still numerous and apparently formidable, embracing infantry, artillery and cavalry, but the long march and bloody resistance had exhausted their strength and broken their spirits, and the vigorous rush of the Confederate reinforcements struck them with terror.

Meanwhile Early's brigade, whose movement from the right had been commenced late, by reason of delay in delivering the order, had arrived, and was sent by Gen. Johnston, to the left of Elzey. The Southern line of battle was again formed irregularly but rapidly, consisting of Early's and Elzey's brigades, Kershaw's and Cash's South Carolinians, Withers' 18th, and Preston's 28th Virginia, and with great impetuosity assailed the Federals in front and on both flanks, driving them back with terrible discharges of musketry and artillery, and then sweeping down on them with the bayonet. They were forced back from the Chinn House, through a patch of woods on the west slope of the plain, and thence across Young's branch and the Turnpike. The retreat now became a rout. Panic spread from rank to rank, as long as any order was observed, but soon divisions, brigades, regiments and companies fell to pieces, and their now confounded and frenzied elements poured in headlong masses down the roads and over the fields leading to the rear, intent only on flight.

In this sanguinary day, the Federal officers generally had displayed very little courage or capacity. There were marked exceptions, but by their own acknowledgments many of the field and hundreds of the company officers were guilty of shameful cowardice. When the retreat commenced, the Generals of the brigades not seriously involved soon joined in the movement, and 5 o'clock in the afternoon witnessed the whole of the "Grand Army" that had taken part in the fight, in broken and tangled masses, hurrying back to Centreville. President Davis arrived on the field just after the rout had reached its first stage, and the cheers with which his presence was greeted by the Southern

troops added fresh impetus to the flight of the Federals.

Over the turnpike and along the Sudley road, they ran in crowding, heaving, struggling swarms. Thousands who had marched to the field by the long circuit to the Sudley Springs, retreated by the Stone Bridge. Artillery and infantry were jammed in the narrow pass along the abattis and on the bridge—horses reared and plunged amid the footmen; despairing of escape, their riders cut their traces and forced them forward, crushing down all in their way; at this point several cannon, including a 32-pounder on wheels, known as "Long Tom," were overturned or left, and fell into the hands of the Southerners.

Gen. Holmes' brigade, which had marshaled from the extreme right, was not in time to take part in the infantry combat, but Walker's battery played upon the retreating enemy with severe effect. One of his rifled guns, sighted by Lieut. Willie Pegram, sent a shell through a compact body of the Federals, cutting down a lane of dead men so that a line of light opened in its track. The artillery of Walton was served with terrible accuracy, and the slaughter among the flying Federals had never been so great during the day.

Along the Sudley road, across the Run and towards Centreville, Early's Brigade, with Col. Strange's 19th Virginia regiment, pursued the terror-stricken foe, capturing prisoners and sweeping down, with their fire, hundreds of the fugitives. Col. Radford, of Stuart's Cavalry, with six companies, dashed down the road far in advance of the infantry, and penetrated the column of the enemy, with a reckless daring, which would have been madness, had not the disorganized state of the Federals made them almost impotent. They turned back half a regiment of prisoners, and seeing before them, in the surging crowd, cannon and caissons, they rushed on them with wild cheers, shouting, "the guns—the guns!" sabreing the artillerists and whirling the artillery horses round, so as to stop and secure the prize. Straggling squads of fugitives fired upon them, and several fell, yet with great enthusiasm they pressed on, until they discovered that they were wholly without support—surrounded by

thousands of foes, and that a light battery was about to be opened on them from a hill-side, not two hundred yards distant. Col. Radford then promptly ordered them to withdraw, but before they could obey, four rounds of grape and cannister were showered on them: four fell dead, among them Capt. Radford, brother of the Colonel, and a gallant private, Edley Irving, of Bedford county; seven were wounded, the rest escaped unhurt—a fortunate result, chiefly due to the nearness of the pieces, which threw their deadly contents almost solidly together. ^a The Confederate infantry came up, and again the frantic flight of the enemy was resumed.

Down the turnpike, from the Stone Bridge, Hampton's Legion, Withers', Kershaw's, Cash's and Preston's regiments with Kemper's battery, pursued the dark, confused crowd, who not only filled the whole road-way, but ran along the boundaries of the adjacent fields, and eagerly sought the shelter of every skirt of woods in the line of their retreat. At the suspension bridge, across Cub Creek, the Sudley road and the turnpike converged, and thence continued in one track to Centreville. Kemper planted his battery upon a slight rise, which perfectly commanded the point of convergence at the bridge; here he opened a terrific fire upon the flying masses coming together from both roads; Edmund Ruffin fired the first gun; eleven rounds followed in rapid succession: every shot ploughed its way through the dense crowd; every shell burst in their midst, hurling death and destruction around; the bridge was a scene of horror; artillerymen drove with frantic fury among the infantry; cannon, caissons, horses were mingled in inextricable toils, and in the very moment of the most frenzied pressure, a shot from one of Kemper's pieces struck among the horses of a crossing team; the wounded animals plunged aside and overturned the wagon in the centre of the bridge, blocking the passage; the teamsters and drivers cut their horses loose; ^b

train carriages, ambulances, cannon and caissons filled the road; five pieces of the Rhode Island battery here were stopped; the frightened and now shrieking Federals rushed madly on, over all obstacles and through the creek, and the Southern dragoons, under Lieut. Col. Munford, Major John Scott, Capt. Davis and Lieut. Randolph, here secured a magnificent prize, consisting of artillery, loaded wagons, ambulances and horses.

The fight became every moment more and more terror-urged. Muskets, swords, cartridge-boxes, knapsacks, haversacks, caps, and, finally, shoes and clothes, were thrown away; every thing that could impede motion, was rejected. All thoughts were swallowed up in the one great desire to escape the Southern cavalry and the avenging cannon following close on their rear.

The brigades of Schenck and Richardson, which had never crossed the Run, made no attempt to stand and rally the fugitives, but retreated with the current, though in some order. As Richardson approached Centreville, he sent forward a message to Col. Dixon Miles, the Federal commander there, for a supporting force; but was soon met by his subordinate, Col. Stevens, who said he could get no aid from Miles, and that he had no confidence in him, *because Col. Miles was drunk*. Warm words passed between Miles and Richardson; the latter, though the junior, said, "I shall obey no more orders you shall see fit to give me." Miles said, "I shall put you under arrest." Richardson answered, "I never will obey your arrest and you cannot put me in that position." Miles rejoined, "I do not understand this," and the military colloquy ended. ^a

On the right, Longstreet's brigade and the part of Bonham's not sent to the left, crossed the Run and pressed the Federals hard in pursuit, but as night was approaching, and the utterly exhausted condition of nearly every other brigade prevented support, Gen. Bonham considered it imprudent to press the pursuit too far, knowing that a whole division of fresh Federal troops were at Centreville. Ewell's brigade, under orders from Johnston, had marched

^a A Trooper's letter to his wife. Whig, July 29th.

^b Kershaw's report. Whig, August 12th. Burnside's official report.

^a Richardson's official report, July 25th.

from the extreme right to the left, to meet the numbers there attempting a flank movement, but not being needed, were sent back to their post at Union Mills.

At Centreville, an attempt was made by Gen. McDowell to arrest the panic and reform his army. Blenker's brigade, from New York, held a steady line, and were highly extolled by the New York papers. But *they were never under fire*; how long they would have withstood the contagion of the alarm palpitating in the hearts of thousands around them, if they had been assailed, has never been shown; the conduct of the New Yorkers, who marched away from the battle-field in the morning, certainly did not argue strongly for troops from that State. McDowell soon found that all attempts to arrest the flight were vain, and gave orders for a continued retreat to Washington and Alexandria.

Meanwhile the scenes in the rear of the flying army, were hardly less frantic. Mr. Russell, after watching the smoke and dust for hours, and hearing the distant roar of cannon, and rattle of musketry, rode forward until within sight of a small bridge beyond Centreville. Here the first symptoms of the Federal disaster met his view. He says, "Suddenly there arose a tumult in front of me, and then I perceived the drivers of a set of wagons with the horses turned towards me, who were endeavouring to force their way against the stream of vehicles setting in the other direction. The men by the side of the new set of wagons, looked excited and alarmed, and were running by the horses—in front, the dust quite obscured the view. At the bridge, the current met in wild disorder. "Turn back!" "Retreat!" Shouted the men from the front. "We are whipped!" "We're whipped!" They cursed and tugged at the horses heads, and struggled with frenzy to get past. Running by me, on foot, was a man with the shoulder straps of an officer: "Pray, what is the matter, sir?" "It means we're pretty badly whipped, and that's a fact," he blurted out in puffs, and continued his career. I observed that he carried no sword. The ambulances were crowded with soldiers, but *it did not look as if there were many wounded.*

Negro servants, on led horses, dashed frantically past: men, in uniforms, whom it were a disgrace to the profession of arms to call "soldiers," swarmed by on mules, chargers, and even draft-horses, which had been cut out of carts or wagons, and went on with harness clinging to their heels, as frightened as their riders. Men literally screamed with rage and fright, when their way was blocked up. On I rode, asking all, "what is all this about?" and now and then, but rarely, receiving the answer, "we're whipped!" or, "we're repulsed!" Faces black and dusty, tongues out in the heat, eyes staring,—it was a most wonderful sight!"^a Describing the scene at Centreville, he says, "There was no firing—no musketry. I turned my horse's head and rode away through the village, and after I got out upon the road, the same confusion seemed to prevail. Suddenly, the guns on the hill opened, and at the same time the *thuds* of artillery from the wood, on the right rear. The stampede then became general. Drivers flogged, lashed, spurred and beat their horses, or leaped down and abandoned their teams and ran by the side of the road; mounted men, servants, and men in uniform, vehicles of all sorts, commissariat wagons, thronged the narrow ways. At every shot a convulsion, as it were, seized upon the morbid mass of bones, sinews, wood and iron, and thrilled through it, giving new energy and action to its desperate efforts to get free from itself. And so the flight went on. At one time a whole mass of infantry, with fixed bayonets, ran down the bank of the road, and some, falling as they ran, must have killed and wounded those among whom they fell."

The abolitionist, Wilson, with his friends, male and female, were enjoying their sumptuous dinner, in Centreville, when the rout commenced. They sat down with the joyous belief that the Confederates were routed, that victory was certain—as the feast went on, they were still cheered with reports of triumph. But, in the midst of the banquet, came the hand writing on the wall—their hilarity was

^a Mr. Russell's letter to London Times, July 22d.

hushed—faces grew pallid—anxious whispers passed—the tumult of the rout began—the thunder of the Southern cannon was louder and nearer. A warning cry was raised and the vulgar revellers started from their seats, and, wild with alarm, sought horses and vehicles, and fled away from the battle-field in horror and despair. Alfred Ely, a New York congressman, from the Rochester district, was entangled in the meshes of flying regiments and made prisoner by the Southerners. The table yet spread, and loaded with delicacies, was left standing, and Confederate soldiers, in less than an hour, entered the room and ate iced cream, brought from Washington to regale their enemies!

John A. Gurley, a congressman from Cincinnati, Ohio, was on the ridge of a ravine, when the rout commenced, and teamsters began to throw their loads overboard and take to flight. A body of Southern Cavalry were seen with drawn sabres sweeping down upon a group of some fifty congressmen and Northerners, who fled in every direction. A citizen of Toledo, Ohio, found his buggy, after a frenzied search, and was about driving headlong off with a friend, when the unhappy Gurley clutched the reins, and piteously begged to be taken in. The horse was stopped; the Cavalry were coming; it was no time for courtesies; the citizen struck Mr. Gurley a severe blow with his fist, which sent him ten feet backwards; the buggy darted off; Gurley cried with alarm, casting frantic looks first at the cavalry, then at the buggy, but finding there was no relief, he ran with such speed that he gained the woods and escaped. ^a

All night long, the rout continued. Every road to Alexandria and Arlington Heights, was filled with crowds of disorganized men; silent, gloomy, terror-stricken, pressing on as though an avenging God were behind them. The wounded and exhausted fell by the way-side in hundreds. A Northerner, who had come out late from Washington, confident of victory, thus describes the scenes he met.

^a Cincinnati Enquirer.

"The next hour overwhelmed us with testimonials that a great disaster had indeed fallen upon our gallant army. The sights and scenes we encountered in forcing our way through this torrent of fugitives, to Fairfax Court House, where we arrived at two o'clock in the morning, will never be effaced from my memory.—For five long hours, we stemmed the flood of panic-stricken civilians, streaming by on horseback and in carriages, lashing their steeds to the top of their bent; of army wagons emptied of their loads and filled with stragglers, urging their tired teams forward with all speed; of soldiers of all regiments, in squads of threes, fives and twenties, some in complete armor, and others stripped of every thing but trowsers, shirts and shoes, and all so weary, hungry and foot-sore, that nothing but a panic as remorseless, senseless and deaf as the grave, could have impelled them onward; of ambulances, bearing wounded men, cut and disfigured by every conceivable form of mutilation; of vehicles broken down, overturned and abandoned by their occupants, in their insane flight; of artillery horses running loose with their harness dangling at their heels, and of cattle for the camp turned back to avoid capture." "After a while, the main drift of carriages and horsemen floated by, leaving straggling soldiers, almost the sole element in the streaming tide. On they came,—on, on, in solemn, silent procession, clad in all costumes, belonging to all regiments, uttering not a word except in response to some query of mine, or to make a hurried inquiry for the direct route to Fort Corcoran, the Long Bridge, or Alexandria. As we pushed onward, the current grew stronger, but maintained the same disorderly flow. From hill-tops and from valleys, where the eye could take in a long section of this straggling panorama, it presented a strangely fascinating appearance. As we stopped to rest at the foot of a long acclivity, and the full moon filtered his beams through a slight haze, an unusually dense line of half armed soldiers stretched away to the top, looking through the light cloud of powdered dust, like some huge serpent, wounded in a mortal part, and writhing

with a mazy motion, as he dragged his extended folds down the hill." ^a

Washington, meanwhile, was the theatre of marvellous changes of triumph, hope, fear, despair. In the forenoon, McDowell telegraphed repeatedly to Scott, that he was victorious, and the rebels were repulsed with slaughter; the news was let out upon the city; extravagant joy inflated government sympathisers; each faint sound of cannon, was welcomed as the death-warrant of a hundred Southerners; all day the jubilee continued. Ever since the battle of Bethel, the "masked batteries" of the Confederates had been a terror to the Federals, so often spoken of, and so much dreaded, as to pass into a proverb. And now, in his message, McDowell was specially happy in declaring that his victorious army had been advancing all day amid the "masked batteries of the rebels." In the evening, Lincoln, Cameron, Seward and Scott, eager for confirmation of their supposed victory, betook themselves to the room of the army telegraph, connected with the War Department. Here they waited hour after hour—the messages grew doubtful—then alarming—the flush of triumph on their visages was succeeded by the pallor of anxiety and fear—at last the shadow of the truth came; it was but a shadow, yet it was enough; silent, gloomy, despondent, at midnight Abraham Lincoln left the room.

Soon the routed soldiers began to arrive; the sombre portents, sent before them, deeply affected the Federal troops around Alexandria and on Arlington Heights, and the contagion of panic swept over them with the coming of each squad of despairing fugitives. To a great extent, the works south of the river were abandoned, and all hastened across the long bridge, or in steam-boats, ferries and by every mode of crossing they could find, to Washington; even there, many did not stop, but pressed right through, to the Baltimore rail-road, and the first intelligence gained of hundreds was, that they were in the City of New York! ^b Those who could not get

away, or cross the river, presented, the next day, a haggard and revolting spectacle, very different from the Grand Army, which, with music and banners, "hymns of liberty" and bounding steps, had gone forth but five days before. It was like the ghastly and grinning skeleton of a man once strong and proud. With blood-shot eyes—disordered hair, clothing torn and foul, they lay on the cellar doors and pavements, weary and worn, rousing themselves from horrid dreams only to beg for food. The people of Alexandria and Washington were daily the witnesses of such scenes. A large part of the army that fled from Manassas, as well as that under Patter-son, were "three month's men," and, in the time of alarm and disorganization following this fearful reverse, they left in thousands, and made their way to their homes, or to Northern regions far removed from the bloody field.

Such was the battle of Manassas and the rout that followed it. The Confederate loss was 378 killed, 1489 wounded, and 30 missing; the Federal loss has never been made known by them, and we can only gather it approximately from facts ascertained. Gen. Beauregard, in his official report, thus reasonably estimates it: "Their abandoned dead, as they were buried by our people where they fell, unfortunately were not enumerated, but many parts of the field were thick with their corpses, as but few battle-fields have ever been. The official reports of the enemy are expressly silent on this point, but still afford us data for an approximate estimate. Left almost in the dark in respect to the losses of Hunter's and Heintzelman's divisions—first—longest and most hotly engaged—we are informed that Sherman's brigade, Tyler's division, suffered in killed, wounded and missing, 609; that is about 18 per cent. of the brigade. A regiment of Franklin's brigade—Gorman's, lost 21 per cent. Griffin's loss was over 30 per cent., and that of Keyes' brigade, which was so handled by its commander, as to be exposed to only occasional volleys from our troops, was at least 10 per cent. To these facts, add the repeated references, in the reports, of the more reticent commanders to the "murderous fire," the "pis-

^a The Night after the Battle, by H. B. S., in N. Y. Tribune, August 5th.

^b Gen. McDowell's official report.

tol range" volleys and galling musketry of which they speak as scourging their ranks, and we are warranted in placing the entire loss of the Federalists, at over 4,500 in killed, wounded and prisoners." ^a This cautious and well grounded estimate, is probably far below the truth. Sixteen hundred prisoners fell into the Southerners' hands, embracing officers and men from *forty-seven Federal regiments*, proving clearly that that number were actually engaged in the battle. Yet the divisions of Miles and Runyon were wholly disengaged. The captures of arms, munitions and military property, made by the Confederates, were of immense value, exceeding in cost two millions of dollars. They consisted of twenty-eight field pieces, with more than one hundred rounds of ammunition for each gun, thirty-seven caissons, six forges, four battery wagons, sixty four artillery horses, harnessed completely, five hundred thousand ball cartridges, four thousand, five hundred sets of accoutrements, more than five thousand muskets, nine regimental and garrison flags, with a great store of pistols, knapsacks, swords, canteens, blankets, axes, entrenching tools, wagons, ambulances, draft-horses, camp equipage and hospital stores. ^b The quantity of provisions captured was not large, most of those which had come to Centreville, having been distributed to the Federal soldiers the day before the battle.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

A HYMN FROM ST. GREGORY THE GREAT.

TRANSLATED BY W. GORDON MCCABE.

*Ecce jam noctis tenuatur umbra,
Lux et aurora rutilans coruscet:
Viribus totis rogitemus omnes
Cunctipotentem, &c.*

I.

Lo! now the shades of night roll slowly by,
With brilliant flush Aurora floods the sky:
And we as one seek with an earnest cry,
God the Almighty.

^a Official report, 153.

^b Ibid, 154-155.

II.

That our dear Master may in pity free
Us, one and all, from this our apathy,
Save us, and grant, O God, through love of
Thee,

Glory yet to be.

III.

O blessed Godhead, grant this boon in love,
Father and Son and Holy Ghost above!
Whose endless praises through the world
shall move,

And echoing move.

PASSION AND PRINCIPLE.

BY ANDERSON.

Author of "Boarding an Engineer."

[CONCLUDED]

CHAPTER III.

It was far on in January now; for more than three months Cornelia had been living this new, refined, delicious life. Something had happened though, now to call Sandy off to Richmond, and he would be gone perhaps a month. He did not go at once, when he first became aware of the necessity. One night, after they had spent an unusually long and pleasant evening together, he held out his hand to bid her good by, when she rose to leave the room. "Good by," he said, "I shall not see you in the morning."

She had not thought much of his going before, but as she placed her hand in his, and looked into his sad face, all the happy hours of the past, the long walks, the pleasant evenings, rose before her, and in contrast the lonely hours of his absence. It was with heartfelt sorrow she cried, "Oh, Sandy, must you go? I shall be very lonely 'til you get back."

Over his face there passed a look of tender joy, for one instant the heavy lids drooped over the new softness in his eyes. He pressed her hand and said tremblingly, "Will you—Cornelia;" then added in a hesitating voice, while a burning blush suffused his face, "I have something to tell you when I come back."

For one moment she wondered at his

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RICHMOND, JUNE, 1863.

[No. 6.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT E. HOWSON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER VI.

(CONCLUDED.)

Within a few days after this memorable conflict, discoveries were made increasing heavily the already ponderous load of infamy brought on the North by the war and its conduct.

In the wagons captured were found an immense number of handcuffs, estimated, from their bulk, to amount to thirty thousand! This may have been an over estimate, but it is certain, they were numbered by thousands, and were far beyond the necessities of an army for its own police and discipline. They were intended to manacle Southerners, and were part of the equipment of the invading host prepared, under the eye of Wingfield Scott! In many of the Federal knapsacks were found halters of smooth rope, terminating in a noose, and plainly designed for hanging men whose defence of their homes and liberty made them "rebels" in the eyes of the Northern people, who had neither pure homes to love, nor liberties to defend.

On the persons of the slain, and in the knapsacks thrown away by thousands, on the field, were found a large number of

letters, some of which were written to be sent to correspondents in the North, but the greater part were from the fathers, brothers, sisters, wives and acquaintances of the Federal soldiers. On examination these letters were found, with few exceptions, so full of foul obscenity, brutal oaths and fiendish malice against the South, that they could not be published without shocking the decency of public opinion. It is specially remarkable, that the letters from Northern women, were full of obscene allusions and inquiries, giving a glimpse into the putrid fountains whence they flowed, and furnishing renewed cause of joy that the South had cut loose the bonds which once bound her to the society that could hold such women!

In Centreville there was a small but graceful Episcopal church, where devout congregations had often assembled, and the presence of God had been invoked with solemn forms, and all the hallowed associations of Christian worship. Into this sacred building, the vulgar officers and soldiers of the North had intruded, and not content with destroying the seats and defacing the altar, they covered the walls with indecent inscriptions and every form of profanity that their malice could invent — most of them expressing their hatred of the South and her patriot leaders. Three days after the battle, a small group of spectators, including Joseph Mayo, the Mayor of Richmond, and the correspondent of a London Journal, stood in this church and looked on the vision of sacrilege it presented. The effect for a time was such as to produce profound silence. As they turned away, Mr. Mayo offered a reward to obtain a copy of the sentences written on

a Letter in Lynchburg Republican, dated July 23d. Dispatch, July 27th.

walls, intending to preserve it as a record of Northern infamy. a

The splendid victory of the Southern troops, and the disgraceful rout of the Federals, were events too patent to admit the ready falsehoods with which the North had theretofore sought to delude their people. It is true, that even in the midst of the horrors of the defeat, and with broken regiments, who had fled from the battle field around it, a pictorial newspaper, of New York, called *Harpers's Weekly*, which had once received large patronage in the South, and was therefore especially noted for its garrulous servility to Northern popular hatred, made some hideous efforts to encourage its readers by wood cuts representing imaginary victories won by the Federal soldiers. But, in general, the North admitted their defeat, and even exaggerated their losses.

General Scott went with lacrymose outcry to Lincoln and Cameron and begged they would accept his confession, that he was the great coward of all the army, because he had not had courage enough to resist the current which pushed him "on to Richmond," before he was ready. They sought to bind up his broken heart, but determined to find another head for the army. Their eyes were immediately turned on George B. McClellan, who, with three thousand troops, had defeated three hundred, and was therefore "a young Napoleon." He was summoned immediately to Washington, arrived on the 24th, and was promptly invested in substance with the chief command. Some of the forms of power were continued with Scott, but his downfall was decreed. One of his last orders was a calumnious charge, that the grave of Washington, at Mount Vernon, had been desecrated by Southern soldiers, whom he termed "rebels," and directing that "should the operations of war take the United States troops in that direction," they should behave with due respect and reverence. b If he hoped thus to light up his fading renown with the North, he was disappointed. In a short time he was laid

aside with, all proper forms, to give his decadence the aspect of a voluntary retirement. Lincoln and McClellan took pathetic leave of him. He went to New York and soon afterwards to Europe.

The effect of the great battle and victory on the South, was powerful, yet singularly silent. Feelings too deep for noisy utterance and jubilant demonstrations were excited. A sense of profound relief and of gratitude to an Almighty Deliverer pervaded every bosom, mingled with deep sorrow for the death of the hero patriots who had fallen, and of earnest sympathy for the wounded. The people felt that their noble army had thrown themselves between a cruel enemy and their homes, and freely poured out their blood in their defence. Parents, brothers, sisters, friends hastened on from the far distant South, and at the intervening States of the Confederacy, to claim the privilege of nursing the sick and wounded. Private supplies of food, clothing and hospital stores began to pour along the rail-road lines, and in nearly every county and town the devoted women of the South began to assemble, generally in their churches and lecture-rooms, and work patiently, and without ceasing, in making clothing for the soldiers and lint and bandages for the hospitals. The amount of labor thus performed, was astonishing, and will constitute a subject for yet more extended notice, as we trace farther the progress of the war. It is, beyond question, true that the aid given by Southern women to the cause of the Confederacy, upheld the Government to an extent which millions of treasure would not have accomplished, and their patriotic services in furnishing clothing and supplies, and nursing soldiers in hospitals and in their own homes, were as indispensable to the success of the war as the labors of the quartermasters, commissaries and surgeons in regular commission.

No loud boasting and unmanly exultation in the South, followed the battle of Manassas. Yet, it cannot be denied, that the magnificent fighting of their men, and the consummate skill of their officers, excited a proud consciousness of individual superiority over the people of the North, and were not without evil effects in dimin-

a Letter of Correspondent of London Morning Herald. See Dispatch, Aug. 7th.

b Order of July 31, 1861.

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ishing exertions for filling up the armies with volunteers. s

An incident occurred during the battle,

A few days after the battle of Manassas, a poem appeared from the pen of the gifted Virginian, John R. Thompson, which is so admirable in its union of keen satire, accurate description and lofty thought, that I wish to preserve it in this work, although it has been so often published and read as to be familiar.

ON TO RICHMOND.

AFTER SOUTHEY'S "MARCH TO MOSCOW."

Major General Scott,
 An order had got,
 To push on the column to Richmond,
 For loudly went forth,
 From all parts of the North,
 The cry that an end of the war must be made

In time for the regular yearly Fall Trade;
 Mr. Greeley spoke freely about the delay,
 The Yankees, "to hum," were all hot for the fray,

The chivalrous Grow
 Declared they were slow,
 And therefore the order
 To march from the border
 And make an excursion to Richmond.

Major General Scott,
 Most likely, was not
 Very loth to obey this instruction, I wot,
 In his private opinion,
 The ancient Dominion,
 Deserved to be pillaged—her sons to be shot,

And the reason is easily noted:
 Though this part of the earth,
 Had given him birth,
 And medals and swords
 Inscribed with fine words,
 It never for Winfield had voted.

Besides, you must know, that our first of commanders

Had sworn quite as hard as the army in Flanders,

With his finest of Armies and proudest of Navies,

To wreak his old grudge against Jefferson Davis,

Then "forward the column!" he said to McDowell,

which tended to increase the dissatisfaction already felt in the South, with the figures and arrangement of the *Confederate*

And the Zouaves with a shout,
 Most fiercely cried out,
 To Richmond or h—ll, (I omit here the vowel.)

And Winfield, he ordered his carriage and four,

A dashing turn-out, to be brought to the door

For a pleasant excursion to Richmond.

Major General Scott
 Had there on the spot
 A splendid array
 To plunder and slay;
 In the camp he might boast
 Such a numerous host,
 As he never had yet
 In the battle-field seen.

Every class and condition of Northern society

Were in for the trip, a most varied variety;

In the camp he might hear every lingo in vogue,

"The sweet German accent, the rich Irish brogue,"

The beautiful boy,
 From the banks of the Shannon,
 Was there to employ
 His excellent cannon,
 And beside the long files of dragoons and artillery,

The Zouaves and Hussars,
 All the children of Mars,

There were barbers and cooks,
 'And writers of books—

The *chef de cuisine*, with his French bills of fare,

And the artists to dress the young officers' hair,

And the scribblers all ready at once to prepare

An eloquent story
 Of conquest and glory,

And servants with numberless baskets of Sillery,

Though Wilson, the Senator, followed the train

At a distance quite safe, to "conduct the champagne;"

Flag. It had been somewhat hastily adopted by a Committee of the Provisional

Congress, soon after the formation of the Southern Union. It was a feeble and un-

While the fields were so green, and the sky
was so blue,
There was certainly nothing more pleasant
to do
On this pleasant excursion to Richmond.

In Congress the talk, as I said, was of ac-
tion

To crush out *instanter* the traitorous faction.
In the press and the mess,
They would hear nothing less,
Than to make the advance, spite of rhyme
or of reason,

And at once put an end to the insolent
treason;

There was Greeley,
And Ely,

The blood-thirsty Grow,
And Hickman, (the rowdy, not Hickman
the beau.)

And that terrible Baker,
Who would seize on the South—every acre
And Webb, who would drive us all into
the Gulf, or

Some nameless locality smelling of sulphur
And with all this bold crew
Nothing would do,

While the fields were so green and the sky
was so blue,
But to march on directly to Richmond.

Then the gallant McDowell
Drove madly the rowl
Of spur that had never been "won" by him
In the flank of his steed,
To accomplish a deed,
Such as never before had been done by
him:

And the battery, called Sherman's,
Was wheeled into line,
While the beer drinking Germans,
From Neckar and Rhine,
With Minie and Yager,
Came on with a swagger,
Full of fury and lager.

(The day and the pageant were equally
fine.)

Oh! the fields were so green, and the sky
was so blue,

Indeed 'twas a spectacle pleasant to view,
As the column pushed onward to Richmond.

Ere the march was begun,
In a spirit of fun,
General Scott in a speech
Said this army should teach
The Southrons the lesson the laws to obey,
And just before dusk, of the third or fourth
day,

Should joyfully march into Richmond.
He spoke of their drill,
Of their courage and skill,
And declared that the ladies of Richmond
would rave

O'er such matchless perfection, and grace-
fully wave

In rapture their delicate kerchiefs in air,
At their morning parades on the Capitol
Square.

But alack! and alas!
Mark what soon came to pass,
When this army in spite of his flatteries,
Amid war's loudest thunder,
Must stupidly blunder

Upon those accursed "masked batteries;"
There Beauregard came,
Like a tempest of flame,
To consume them in wrath,
On their perilous path:

And Johnston bore down in a whirlwind to
sweep

Their ranks from the field,
Whereg their doom had been sealed,
As the storm rushes over the face of the
deep:

While swift on the centre our President
prest,
And the foe might descry,
In the glance of his eye,
The light that once blazed upon Diomed's
crest

McDowell! McDowell! weep, weep for
the day,
When the Southrons ye met in their battle
array;

To your confident hosts, with its bullets and
steel,

'Twas worse than Culloden to luckless
Lochiel!

Oh! the Generals were green, and old
Scott is now blue,

And a terrible business McDowell to you
Was that pleasant excursion to Richmond.

5760

Boyd's Army

graceful imitation of the United States flag, consisting of three horizontal bars of red, white and red, with a corner field of stars corresponding in number with the seceded States. It was liable to all the objections to the old flag, on the ground of indistinctness at a distance, which had been long known to naval officers, and to the graver objection, that it was easily mistaken in battle for the flag of the enemy. The very fact that it resembled the ensign of a corrupt and exploded Union, ought to have condemned it, and it would long ago have been substituted by a nobler standard, had the Confederate Congress been able to agree upon an appropriate device. At the crisis of the bloody struggle on the Henry plateau and around the Chinn House, when Beauregard was filled with hope that the heroic courage of his men would be rewarded with victory, he saw, far to the left, a heavy column approaching. He feared they were Patterson's army, and knew, that if so, he would be compelled to retreat and leave the blood-bought field to the foe. He looked with unspeakable anxiety at the flag borne at the head of the advancing column; he gazed at it with the most powerful glass within his reach; still its dim and uncertain blazonry eluded his scrutiny; it bore an ominous resemblance to the Federal flag; at this moment he received a warning message from Captain Alexander, of the signal corps, that a large force was advancing on the left, supposed to be Patterson's; with feelings akin to torture, Beauregard conferred with Colonel Evans, who was near him; they strained their eyes with efforts to pierce the mystery of the approaching standard; still it escaped them; to await a perfect development might have been ruin; a message was prepared for General Johnston, that the army was about to fall back upon the reserves, which he was organizing in the rear; one final intense gaze was fixed by the two officers on the flag; a happy blast of wind then opened its folds, and clearly disclosed the three bars of the Southern ensign; it was the flag of Col. Hays' seventh Louisiana regiment, leading Early's brigade into the battle on the extreme left, and in a few moments, with feelings beyond words, Beauregard saw the column he had dreaded, deploy in a charge upon

the enemy, which completed their repulse at every point, and drove them in rout and ruin from the field. In describing this event, he afterwards said, pointing to the "stars and bars" floating over him at a dinner, "I am glad to see that war-stained banner gleaming over us at this festive board, but I hope never again to see it on the field of battle." ^a To avoid such dangers, a battle-flag was adopted for the armies of the Shenandoah and Potomac, consisting of a field of light silk, crossed in the centre by broad bars from the corners, and with stars in the angles around it. It was very graceful and distinct.

The arrival of Etzey's brigade was so opportune, its courage so conspicuous and the results following so happy, that when Johnston and Beauregard, with President Davis, approached him, they congratulated him as "the Blucher of the day," and saluted him as Brigadier General on the field. ^b Gen. Kirby Smith was long confined with his severe wound, but his conduct and skill had marked him for glory, and he secured it in the subsequent fields of the war.

The policy of the Confederate Generals, in not following up their successes at Manassas by a prompt advance on Washington, has been a subject of much comment and some severe animadversion since the battle. An immediate advance was indeed physically impossible. Monday, the 22d, was a day of rain—not ordinary showers, or a moderate though constant flow, but such a rain—so heavy, flooding—continuous—that man and beast were alike unable to move—the runs rose to torrents—the roads were cut into chasms—artillery could not have been transported. In addition to this, the army was completely worn down with fatigue and excitement. Some of the brigades, which were not in the action, had made long and hurried marches from the left in a suffocating day: many of the soldiers, though not wounded, were so wearied and broken in health, that rest was essential, and hundreds were sent to

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^a Correspondent of the New Orleans Delta. Dispatch, Nov. 27th, 1861.
^b Letter from officer of Crozier Guards, Tennessee. Dispatch, Aug. 5th.

the hospitals at Culpeper Court-House, merely to be restored by repose and relaxation to a vigorous condition. There had been much difficulty as to the subsistence of the army when united, and want of adequate transportation would have greatly impeded our efficient advance. General Johnston, in his official report, assigned as sufficient objections to any serious purpose of assault on Washington, the apparent firmness of the fresh Federal troops at Centreville, the strong forces occupying the fortifications near Georgetown, Arlington and Alexandria, the certainty that General Patterson, with his army, then estimated at thirty thousand, would reach Washington sooner than could the Confederates, and the condition and inadequate means of the army in ammunition, provisions and transportation. Gen. Beauregard also gave as sufficient reasons why an *immediate* advance had not been made, the worn and exhausted state of the men, who had marched and fought all day, under a July sun, without food or water; the heavy and unintermitting rain of Monday, and the want of sufficient cavalry. These blended reasons of the two commanders, amply vindicate their prudence in not attempting an instant advance.

But it has been often insisted, that at any time within two weeks from the great battle, an advance might have been made with a refreshed and triumphant army, and sufficient supplies of food and ammunition to have secured success. The questions involved in this view are, first, the *practicability* of their capturing Washington, and, second, its *expediency* and policy. As to the first, it is now absolutely established that Patterson, just before the battle, had not more than ten thousand men, and six pieces of artillery. ^a His army, like the greater part of McDowell's, was composed of three months' men, who refused to re-enlist, and left for their homes in thousands; so that within a few weeks from the 21st, the formidable hosts that had been assembled at Washington and on the upper Potomac, melted away, some slain, many wounded, more by desertion, and yet more

by the ending of their terms of enlistment and their persistent refusal to re-enter the service. Some regiments, upon the imploring request of Mr. Lincoln, did re-enlist, but they were so few as to call down special laudations from the Northern press. The larger part hurried off to recount their warlike toils to admirers at home. It is also true, that on the Maryland side, Washington was then very inadequately defended by fortifications. Its great circuit, level surface and wide intervals unimproved, made it a task of immense labor to surround it by a chain of forts or redoubts. It is also probable, almost to certainty, that reliable information was brought to the Confederate authorities, that the Potomac was fordable above Washington, and a way open to Georgetown heights, along which an army might have advanced without a prospect of successful resistance. It seems reasonable, therefore, as a military question, to assert, that had a Confederate army, forty thousand strong, with the artillery then possessed by them, crossed the river, above the city, within two weeks from the battle of Manassas, Washington would have fallen into their hands. ^a

But when we approach the question of the expediency and policy of this measure we are lifted at once above mere considerations of military force and success to the grave moral and political aspects of the case. It may be that the President of the Confederate States with his advisers and the thoughtful and educated men who led the armies of the South, were not without reflections like these: The North has sustained a great and humiliating defeat, but her resources are untouched, her strength is unexhausted, her men are as numerous as before, her supplies are boundless, her navy is powerful and unburt,—if we now advance and take the city she considers her national capitol, may we not expect an uprising of her people more violent than ever, an endless war, a bloody strife running through years of thrice embittered conflict? Have we any probable ground to believe that the capture of Washington will be so stunning a blow as to break her spirit and

^a Gen. Patterson's Speech, in Philadelphia, Nov. 20th. See Dispatch, Nov. 30th.

^a See Mr. Russell's Letter to London Times, July 29th.

dispose her to peace? On the other hand, may we not hope for happier results, if time be given for reflection and for the return of reason to people who in making war on us, are violating their own principles of self-government and destroying their own constitutional rights? They have declared that this war *must be short and decisive*, now, therefore, when defeat has driven back their invasion, and it is evidently impossible that we can be speedily overcome, is it not rational to believe that they will abandon the attempt and make peace with us? Furthermore, this great and decisive success has demonstrated our ability to maintain our independence. Upon the recognized rule of established governments, therefore, we may hope soon to be admitted *de facto* into the great family of nations, and to have a right to all their privileges.

It may be true that these reasonings were founded on false premises, and have been proved by experience to have been unsound, yet no generous nature can deny that, from the stand point then occupied by the Confederates, they were such as elevated minds might well have entertained. Had the North been moved merely by passion and resentment, it is possible that a time to pause, to consider and to reason might have led her to peace. But her fanaticism was as cruel and relentless as it was narrow and unreasoning—her merchants, mechanics and tradesmen were governed by a mean selfishness which could not bear the thought of losing the rich profits obtained by union with the South. Above all, the men whom she had raised to power were fixed in the resolve to prosecute to destruction a war commenced by themselves to force the South to submit to their rule. It is probably, therefore, now an established conviction in most southern minds that the capture of Washington after Manassas would have been the most fortunate policy; that the Confederates had all to gain and little to lose by such a step—that it would have added nothing to the strength and fervor with which the North has prosecuted the war, and would have gained important territory and a splendid *prestige* to the Confederate States.

It cannot be denied that the battle of

Manassas was followed by a period of fancied security and of relaxed exertions on the part of the Southern people highly dangerous and inauspicious. We shall see that this inactivity shewed itself chiefly in the falling off of enlistments by volunteers. Afterwards when severe trials came and misfortunes were experienced—some even went so far as to assert that this grand battle and noble triumph were the *greatest calamity that could have befallen the South!* Such a view is shallow and unphilosophical. The young nation had entered upon the great arena of Discipline, presided over by the Almighty and All-Wise. She needed adversity afterwards, to warn and strengthen her, and she received it. But in her very youth she was granted a triumph which will for ever stimulate her sons by the memory of heroic deed and undying resolution. And on the other hand, the disgrace and humiliation of such a defeat will cling to the North for a century to come.

From the fields of Virginia, the course of the war now leads us to the region beyond the Mississippi.

CHAPTER VII.

Missouri—Her importance in the contest—Her domain—Population—Southern sympathies—Col. Benton—His influence in his State—His anti-Southern attitude—Missouri rejects him—Governor Jackson—Opposes Lincoln's war policy—Federal coercive measures—Capt. Nathaniel Lyon—Captures State encampment near St. Louis—Outrages—Massacre of women and children—Legislature passes military bills—General Sterling Price—Appointed Major General—Gov. Jackson calls for volunteers—Retires from Jefferson City—Battle of Booneville—Fight at Cole Camp—Volunteers in North-west Missouri—Gens. Raines and Slack—March to Sarcovie—The army organized—Battle of Carthage—Seigel defeated—Col. Weightman—General McCulloch with Confederate forces from Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas joins Price—Advance—Question of rank—Battle of Springfield—Surprise—Seigel defeated on the South lines—Capture of his guns—Violence of the battle on the North—Totten's battery—Wool's—Effective fire from shot guns—General

Lyon killed—The Federals defeated—Retreat—Losses—Burying the dead—Gov. Jackson in Richmond—John Chas. Fremont appointed by Lincoln to command in Missouri—his frauds—Despotic measures—McCulloch retires South with Confederate forces—Gen. Price advances with Missourians—Success at Fort Scott—Gen. Harris—Approach to Lexington—Federal Colonel Marshall—Mulligan—Lexington invested by Missourians—Progress of the siege—Assaults—Hemp bales—Hospital hill—Perfidy—The Federals suffer for water—Destructive fire of the Missourians—Mulligan wounded—Surrender of Lexington—Captured spoils—Fight at Blue Mills Ford—Illinois and Iowa troops routed—Gen. Jeff Thompson's campaign—Battle of Fredericktown—Fremont superseded—Missouri admitted to the Southern Confederacy—General Price appointed a Major General in the Confederate army—Close of the Missouri campaign of 1861.

The position and internal elements of the great State of Missouri made her choice between the North and the South of the highest importance to the contending sections. Her southern boundary was nearly the line of 36° 30', the memorable parallel beyond which the ill-omened compromise of 1821 had said to a lawful institution of America, "So far shalt thou go and no farther." Her northern line ran on the parallel of 40½°; thus her domain extended more than two hundred miles north of Cairo in the southern extremity of Illinois, and along this boundary, the Mississippi River washed with his eastern waters a soil devoted to free labor, and with his western the homes of planters and farmers in Missouri, surrounded by healthy, contented and prosperous slaves. Her area was sixty-five thousand square miles, containing a population of one million two hundred thousand, of whom one hundred and sixteen thousand were slaves. Cotton was once grown in her southern counties, but the conditions of climate adapted to its culture not being sufficiently uniform it had been abandoned, and hemp, flax, Indian corn, wheat, oats and tobacco had for many years been her staples. These assimilated her crops and her system of labor to a great extent to those of Kentucky and Virginia. Although her slave population bore a far less proportion to her free

men than in the cotton or some of the border slave States, yet her people, whether slave-owners or not, had learned the value of the institution in promoting order, cherishing a high tone of morality and honor, and curbing the vulgar materialism with which the North was overrun. Hence when the decisive time came, she was found to exhibit powerful sympathies with the South, and if left to a free choice, there can be little doubt that her people would have voted by a heavy majority to unite her fortunes with the Confederate States after the war policy of Lincoln and his Cabinet had driven Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia from the former Union.

The origin and character of her population were favorable to Southern affinities. Her soil was originally part of the vast region claimed by France and passed to Spain by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Even as early as 1720 her lead mines had attracted laborers: Canadian French had found homes within her bounds, bringing with them if not slavery itself, at least no antipathy to it. After Spain became owner of the region, she adopted a very liberal and conciliatory policy, granting lands on easy terms and drawing many colonists from the old country, and from Mexico and Spanish Louisiana. In 1800, the country passed again under the dominion of France, and in 1803 was sold and ceded to the United States. It need hardly be declared that the Spanish rule and the policy of France during all this time were favorable to the institution of slavery, and to the extent that Missouri was settled, her people adopted the habits of agriculture and social life known only in countries where slaves perform labor and receive in return homes, food, clothing, domestic enjoyments, comfort and care in infancy, sickness and old age. This original mould formed her population in after years, so that when she was prepared for admission to the Union she was thoroughly with the South, and firmly demanded her place with her constitution recognizing and protecting slavery. In 1856 her free population born in the United States numbered five hundred and twenty-one thousand, of whom 277,000 were native Missourians, 70,000 native Kentuckians, 45,000 Tennesseans, 41,000

Virginians, and 17,000 North Carolinians, while only 13,000 were natives of Indiana, about the same number of Ohio, 11,000 of Illinois, 8,300 of Pennsylvania, 5,000 of New York, and much smaller numbers of other States.^a These facts very strongly exhibit the Southern proclivities of her native people. But she also held a foreign population then amounting to seventy-three thousand, and since that time largely increased, especially in and around Saint Louis. These were chiefly Germans, or as they were usually called by the natives "Dutch." With few exceptions they were northern in all their feelings and prejudices, and were easily led by the Lincoln Government into the brutal war of subjugation which they essayed against the South.

Far deeper than the troubled surface of party politics, the people of Missouri had shewn a love of the South and a resolve to adhere to her fortunes which could not easily be changed. If there was any one man who might be held to have been a leader in her general counsels, that man was Thomas Hart Benton. For forty-three years a resident in her bounds, for more than thirty years her senator or representative in the Federal Congress, possessed of singular learning, of acute and powerful intellect, laborious, zealous, untiring in perseverance, thoroughly acquainted with her interests, the father of her land system, the explorer and developing spirit of her mines, the pioneer of her railroads on their way to the Pacific Ocean, it has been truly said that "in Missouri his power was at one time boundless, and throughout the West he moulded public opinion to his will for many years." Yet when he abandoned the cause of the South, Missouri abandoned him. After the iniquitous Wilmot Provision was introduced into Congress, Mr. Calhoun, on the 19th of February, 1847, presented in the Senate a series of resolutions declaring in clear and strong terms the rights of the South, and especially her right to go with her people and her property into the terri-

tories for the acquisition of which she had so lavishly contributed her blood and treasure, and to have her property there fully protected. Hardly had they been read, before Mr. Benton denounced them as "fire brand resolutions." Mr. Calhoun expressed surprise and said he had expected Mr. Benton's support as he was from a slave State.

MR. BENTON. "You had no right to expect any such thing."

MR. CALHOUN. "Then, I shall know where to find the gentleman!"

MR. BENTON. "I shall be found in the right place—on the side of my country and the Union."^a

Thus did he shew that he was willing to trample on the rights of the South for the sake of the Union. Mr. Calhoun's resolutions were not brought to a vote in the Senate, but they were sent to the Legislature of every slave State. The Legislature of Missouri, by a decisive vote, adopted them, and sent them to Mr. Benton as instructions for his guidance as to the views of his State. He immediately refused to obey them, and declared that he would appeal from the Legislature to the people of Missouri. He returned home and took the field, canvassing his State through its length and breadth, and exhausting all the powers of his vehement and bitter oratory in denouncing the resolutions. But the result was his signal overthrow. A new legislature were elected, in which democrats and whigs united against him: his opponent, Mr. Geyer, was chosen senator in his stead, and from this time he never regained his influence in the State, and was never again returned to the Senate by her Legislature.

At the time of Lincoln's election, Claiborne F. Jackson was the Governor of Missouri, a firm and able statesman, devoted to the rights of the South. Thomas C Reynolds was her Lieutenant Governor, equally strong in his attachment to her cause. Her people instead of becoming colder were more decided in their views than when Mr. Benton had attempted to convert them to Northern heresies. Yet

^a New Am. Cyclop. Art Missouri 587, 591, 592.

^a New Am. Cyclop. Art. Benton, 150.

Like other border States—Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina and Tennessee, she loved the Union and wished to preserve it. In her convention first assembled, not one member was in favor of secession. Had Mr Lincoln and his advisers been guided by even the faintest rays of wisdom Missouri would not have been lost to them. In their frenzied eagerness to retain her, they resorted to force: the proud spirit of her people rose in revolution, and the result was a prolonged and bloody struggle, exhibiting some of the noblest spectacles of heroic courage and endurance displayed in the course of this memorable war.

On the first day of May 1861, a special session of the Missouri Legislature convened at Jefferson City according to the proclamation of her Governor. His message was one of warning and of lucid exposition of the rights of the States and the danger threatening them from the absolutism claimed by Lincoln. He quoted the farewell message of President Jackson that "the constitution cannot be maintained nor the Union preserved in opposition to public feeling by the mere exertion of coercive power confided to the Government;" he appealed to the authority of John Quincy Adams, who declared that "if the day should ever come when the affections of the people of these States shall be alienated from each other; when the fraternal spirit shall give way to cold indifference, or collision of interest shall fester into hatred, the bands of political association will not longer hold together parties no longer attracted by the magnetism of conciliated interests and kindly sympathies; and far better will it be for the people of the *disunited* States to part in friendship from each other than to be held together by constraint." He denounced the outrage of which Lincoln had been guilty in calling for 75,000 men to make war upon the seceded States, and declared his belief that he gave utterance to the universal heart of her people when he answered that Missouri would not furnish a man for such a purpose. He advised that the example of other slave States should be followed by Missouri at least to the extent of arming her people, revising her very defective militia law, and making it efficient

and putting the State in an attitude of defence.^a

The Legislature responded promptly to the Governor's advice, and was proceeding with caution and vigor to the difficult task of reorganizing the military forces of Missouri. Very few States, either North or South, were in a more defenceless and unprepared condition, so far as public measures of war were concerned. The authorities were almost entirely without muskets, rifles or powder. Militia drills had fallen into disuse, and, if officers existed at all, their rank and functions were alike regarded as nominal. The Legislature went into secret session, and enacted a bill, under which the Governor was authorized to collect the militia into camps, train them under proper officers, and to furnish them as soon as possible with ammunition. The material for soldiers in the State was magnificent; they had not been organized or trained, but they were nearly all accustomed, from their childhood, to use the rifle or the double barrelled fowling piece; their habits were hardy and their courage and spirits kept high by the healthful breezes of their western plains.

The Federal authorities took the alarm, and adopted measures of coercion, attended by outrages which speedily kindled the State into a blaze. The United States officer, commanding at St. Louis, was Nathaniel Lyon, holding the rank of Captain in the regular service. He was a native of Connecticut, an abolitionist by profession and feeling, cold and implacable in temper, with nothing of the genial and chivalrous nature which elevates the true soldier, capable of pursuing those whom he regarded as enemies with cruelty and outrage, but, withal, possessed of courage, skill and energy, which were abundantly shown in his brief career. He corresponded incessantly, by telegraph, with the Government at Washington, and shaped his course according to their wishes. His small body of regulars were speedily swelled to about six thousand men, by recruits received almost entirely from the German population

^a Message of Gov. Jackson, May 1, 1861.
Whig, May 11.

of St. Louis, who eagerly pressed into the Lincoln service.

At Camp Jackson, about two miles from St. Louis, Brig. Gen. D. M. Frost, had collected about eight hundred Missourians, and was employed in having them drilled under the authority of the Governor. They had received from Baton Rouge, in Louisiana, about a thousand muskets and four pieces of artillery, but were not supplied with ammunition. On the 10th of May, Capt. Lyon marched out from the city with nearly four thousand of his Dutch levies, and entirely surrounded Camp Jackson, planting cannon so as to command every point. Gen. Frost, addressed to him a letter asserting the lawfulness of the camp, and of the purposes for which it was organized. Lyon replied, stating that Frost's command was regarded as hostile to the United States Government, that they were, for the most part, made up of secessionists, that they were plotting the seizure of Federal property, and the overthrow of its authority, that they were in communication with the so called Confederate States, and had received material of war known to belong to the Federal government—that their preparations were evidently to carry out the purposes of the Governor and of the Legislature, which had already enacted "unparalleled legislation," with a view to hostilities against the government. He therefore required them to surrender on no other condition than that they should be humanely treated. Gen. Frost replied, that his encampment was organized under a law of the State, and was simply for drilling the militia of that district, that such being their condition, they were not prepared to resist the demand made by five times their number of armed men, and therefore he surrendered. Their arms were delivered up, and the men were marched to the city. This oppressive outrage was witnessed with disgust by a crowd of persons from St. Louis. They vented their feelings by hisses, groans and contemptuous cries against the Federals, which so enraged them, that before a stone was hurled or a pistol fired, the soldiers discharged a volley into the crowd, killing more than twenty persons, among whom were two women and sev-

eral children, and badly wounding others. Spectators saw, with horror, a young girl of fourteen, dying on the ground, with a bullet through her temple, and children, of eight and ten years, bleeding and lifeless from gun-shot wounds. This cowardly assault, was returned by a shower of stones and several pistol-shots, which brought some of the soldiers to the ground. The rage of the people was intense, and a general conflict was with difficulty prevented.

On the night of May 11th, another butchery occurred. The German levies, who were dignified by the title of "Home Guards," paraded the streets in companies, often followed by the hootings of indignant crowds. At about 10 o'clock, a boy discharged a pistol in the rear of one of these bands of foreigners, when the company wheeled and fired down their own line, killing four soldiers and four citizens, and wounding many others.^b The city was in violent excitement. The news of the capture of Camp Jackson and of those bloody outrages, soon reached every part of the State. Both Houses of the Legislature promptly passed a military bill—the State Treasury was removed, and twelve thousand kegs of powder purchased by the authorities, were conveyed to places of safety; the Osage Bridge was burned to retard the advance of Federal troops; every where men began to enroll themselves at the call of the Governor, and it was soon evident that open war would commence.

The military bill, passed by the Legislature, was very long and comprehensive. It empowered the Governor to call out every man between eighteen and fifty years old, with some exceptions, created the "Missouri State Guard," and authorized enlistments of volunteers for seven years, who were to take an oath or make affirmation that they would faithfully serve, and true allegiance bear, to the State of Missouri, and defend her against all her enemies, and that while on duty, they would observe and obey the orders of the Gov-

^a St. Louis Republican, May 11th. Whig, May 13th, 16th, 17th.

^b Telegram in Whig, May 14th. St. Louis Republican, May 12th.

error, and of the officers duly appointed by him. It authorized the creation of nine Generals, and placed in the power of the Governor the whole military resources of Missouri. Important and far reaching as were its provisions, not one of them could be justly assailed as beyond the Constitutional power of the representatives of the State. ^a

The office of Major General was conferred by the Governor, upon Sterling Price, a citizen already well known in the State, and whose fame, as an able soldier, has since become world wide. He was born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, in the year 1805, and settled in Missouri in 1830; he cultivated a farm, but his intelligence and manly virtues so commended him to the people, that, in 1844, he was elected to the United States Congress. When the Mexican war commenced, he sought the field, and, at the head of a regiment, rendered useful service in new Mexico. Though he had not received a military education, yet his strong native powers, and quick presence of mind, gave him aptitude for war, which was rapidly developed in the campaign through which he served. In 1852, he was elected Governor of Missouri, having been nominated by the democrats who opposed Mr. Benton's anti-Southern views.

In person, he was tall and large; his countenance open, frank and engaging; in manners, he was affable and conciliatory; few military officers have ever established such a hold on the hearts of his men as he. He accepted the appointment tendered by Governor Jackson, and issued immediate orders for organization. But, before appealing to arms, he made earnest efforts for compromise and peace, in which he was met by Gen. Harney of the Federal service, as far as the Washington government would permit him to go. ^b The infatuated ferocity of the Lincoln cabinet precipitated a war which lost Missouri to the North.

The course pursued by Lyon, made him

so acceptable to the abolitionist rulers, that he was promoted to a Brigadier General, and appointed to the command of the Federal troops in and near St. Louis. Emboldened by his success in capturing the small force under Frost, and anxious to show his zeal in subduing what he called rebellion, he established a military despotism in the city, and pushed his armed bands into the country, arresting men whom he suspected of strong sympathy with the South, seizing the State munitions wherever he could find them, and making no secret of his purpose to subject the Governor and the Legislature to the control of the bayonet.

Finding that the earnest efforts for peace, made by Gen. Price, under his direction, had resulted only in farther encroachments on the part of Lyon and his myrmidons, Governor Jackson issued his proclamation on the 12th day of June, calling the people of Missouri to arms. He reviewed with force the oppression and lawlessness of the Federal rule, in nullifying the State laws, taking her volunteers prisoners, suspending her commerce with other States, harassing her people in their trade with each other, by the exactions of armed soldiers, imprisoning peaceful citizens without warrant of law, and murdering not only her men, but defenceless women and children. Notwithstanding all these indignities, the Governor had sought conciliation, and Gen. Price had made an agreement with Gen. Harney, which was published on the 21st of May, and which the State authorities had faithfully observed. But the Federal government had repudiated the act of their own authorized military commander, had displaced Gen. Harney and promoted Lyon, who had carried on hostile operations in utter disregard of plighted faith. Still anxious to preserve the peace, Governor Jackson had gone to St. Louis and held an interview with Lyon and Col. F. P. Blair, Jr., in which he went so far as to offer that he would disband the State Guard—disarm all State companies—forego all attempt to organize the militia—bring no arms or munitions of war into the State,—protect all citizens, regardless of their political opinions,—suppress all insurrectionary movements,—repel all attempts to invade it from any quarter, and thus preserve a

^a See sketch of the Bill, Missouri Republican. Whig, May 18th.

^b Whig, May 14th, 17th, 18th and 20th.

strict neutrality in the unhappy contest, and, finally, that he would, if necessary, invoke the aid of the United States to carry out his pledges, provided only that the Federal Government would disarm the so-called Home Guards which it had illegally organized and armed, and pledge itself not to occupy with its troops any localities in the State not then held by them.

To this proposition so submissive as almost to be humiliating, Lyon and Blair answered in arrogant terms, refusing to disarm their home guards, and plainly declaring their intention to take military possession of every important part of Missouri and hold her in the same condition to which Maryland had been reduced.^a

Governor Jackson justly declared that the acceptance of these degrading terms would not only have sullied the honor of Missouri, but would have aroused the indignation of every brave citizen, and precipitated the very conflict which it had been his aim to prevent. Therefore he called out fifty thousand men to assemble in arms, and though he reminded them that Missouri was still one of the United States, and that only her convention could change her relations to the Union, yet he declared that her people were not bound "to obey the unconstitutional edicts of the military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington, nor to submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its wicked minions in the State." "Rise then," he concluded, "and drive out ignominiously the invaders who have dared to desecrate the soil which your labors have made fruitful, and which is consecrated by your homes."

After thus uttering defiance to the enemies of the State, Governor Jackson knew well that in Jefferson City he was no longer safe. The Missouri river and the main stem of the great Pacific Railroad immediately connected it with St. Louis. A U. S. Commissioner in that city, upon affidavits filed with him, issued a warrant to arrest the Governor for treason. General Lyon, at the head of all the troops he could raise, set out forthwith for the capitol, ho-

ping to seize the Governor and all his principal officers. But he was disappointed. Gen. Price issued orders for the State troops to assemble at Booneville, a town on the Missouri river and the Pacific Railroad, about fifty miles above Jefferson city. To this point the Governor retired. Volunteers attended him, and others soon rallied to his standard.

Brigadier-General Parsons marched by land from Jefferson City, with a small force, which increased as he went, and taking with him four small pieces of cannon that had been concealed in the country, arrived near Booneville on Monday, the 17th of June. About eighteen hundred Missourians were now assembled in camp, six miles below the town. Of these not more than six hundred were armed. The State had plenty of powder but very few muskets, and her brave sons were, for a long time, obliged to fight with double and single barreled fowling pieces, hunting rifles, and every other species of private weapons they could procure.

General Price was suffering with severe dysentery, and was obliged to leave Booneville on the 16th, and go by steamer, to Lexington, an important town on the river, one hundred and thirty miles above Booneville. It was in a rich country, and surrounded by people of strong Southern sympathies. Gen. Price selected it as a proper point for a rendezvous, and directed that no stand should be made at Booneville. News of the first conflict in Missouri had just reached them. It took place near Independence, in Jackson county, close to the Kansas border. This region was warmly Southern in feeling, and had raised several companies of volunteers, under Col. Holladay. A body of five hundred Federal cavalry, from the neighborhood of Fort Leavenworth, attacked them, thinking they would be easily dispersed. But the Missourians received them with a hot fire, which broke their ranks, and repulsed them with considerable loss. Col. Holladay, a brave and energetic officer was unfortunately killed by the fire of his own men. He was succeeded by Col. Richard Hanson Weightman, who was afterwards conspicuous in the war.

The plan for the campaign conceived by

^a Proclamation, June 12, in Louisville Courier.

General Price, was to collect at Lexington as rapidly as possible, the volunteers from Independence and the whole region accessible, and march down into the extreme Southwest part of the State, where subsistence was abundant, where the men could be organized, drilled, and as far as possible armed; where they could be aided by Confederate forces from Arkansas, and whence they could advance on the enemy. This general plan was approved by the Governor, and no serious thoughts were entertained of giving battle at Booneville. ^a

But General Lyon precipitated a conflict. He passed through Jefferson City, and hardly stopping for a moment, pressed up the river eager to overwhelm the Missourians. He arrived at a point eight miles below Booneville, on Monday the 17th, with at least three thousand men, well armed, and instantly debarked from his steamers. The six hundred armed State troops were under command of Col. John S. Marmaduke. He marched out of camp and advanced down the river, to meet the enemy. Gov. Jackson sent orders that the line of battle should be formed just below Booneville, but the men were then too near the foe and too eager for the fray to fall back. They posted themselves in loose order, in a wood along a wheat field, which ran nearly to the water's edge. As the Federals advanced, confident of easy victory, the Missourians received them with a close volley, under which more than a hundred men fell, killed and wounded. This rude shock staggered them for a time, but ascertaining the small numbers of the foe, they advanced, firing as they moved. The fight lasted an hour and a half. The Missourians finding themselves outnumbered, retreated in haste, yet in comparative safety, losing only three men killed and seventeen wounded and prisoners. This reception was by no means encouraging to the Federals. On the 18th they were much troubled in St. Louis, and sent more troops up the river, with several pieces of light

artillery, and a number of coffins and mattresses. ^a Yet with their accustomed spirit of boasting and mendacity, they announced in the St. Louis papers that they had defeated the State troops, and inflicted on them a loss of three hundred killed, six hundred prisoners, and fifteen hundred stand of arms taken!

From Booneville, Governor Jackson retreated with his small army towards Warsaw, in Benton county. The Federals had great hopes of intercepting him by a body of "horse guards," at Cole Camp, about twenty miles northeast of Warsaw, and nearly on the line of his march. This tory assemblage at Cole Camp had been organized immediately after the opening of hostilities at St. Louis. Though surrounded at a radius of thirty miles by rich lands, and a population favourable to the South, yet the people of the small settlement were nearly all from the free States, or else composed of foreigners. Governor Jackson had learned of this movement, and had promptly sought to counteract it by urging the recruiting of State volunteers in the neighborhood. Two companies were soon raised—the Windsor Guards, of cavalry, under Captain Gibbons, and the Warsaw Guards, infantry, under Colonel O'Kane. These brave officers with their men, prepared to surprise the Cole Camp tories, at the very time that they were making ready for an advance to intercept Gov. Jackson, and entrap him between two fires.

On the night of the 18th of June, the tories were assembled nearly four hundred in number, in a log house, near the village. They were without much discipline in drill, and being wholly unconscious that enemies were near, had neglected all ordinary precautions. At about twelve o'clock, the State troops descended upon them; it was intended that both companies should attack simultaneously, but the cavalry arrived first, and with clattering hoofs and rapid shots from double-barrelled guns, fiercely assaulted the building. The tories broke and fled in utter rout, receiving a fire

^a Mem. from Col. Thomas L. Snead, formerly aid to Gov. Jackson, afterwards in Confederate service.

^a Account by citizen of Missouri, July 3, Dispatch. Memphis Appeal, Whig June 26.

from the infantry, which completed their dismay. They threw away muskets, knapsacks, cartridge boxes, everything that could impede their flight. They lost more than three hundred, killed wounded and prisoners, besides about four hundred muskets and accoutrements, which were greatly needed at the time by the State troops. The attacking party lost not more than five killed and twenty wounded. *a*

This success opened a clear line of march for Gov. Jackson and his forces, who were now commanded by Brigadier-General Parsons and John B. Clark. They arrived safely at Warsaw, where their numbers increased, and whence they continued their march towards the Southwestern part of the State, where they expected to be rejoined by General Price, and reinforced by Arkansas troops, under McCulloch. They were cautiously followed from Booneville by the Federals, under Col. Totten, and the German Brigadier, Seigel.

In the meantime, Gen. Price having to some extent recovered his health at Lexington, was hastily calling to his side all the recruits he could raise in this region. Fully aware that the line of the Missouri river gave facilities for attack to the enemy which would bring them upon him in overwhelming numbers and perfectly armed, before he could throw his men into fighting posture, he resolved to carry out his plan of appointing his rendezvous in the extreme Southwestern angle of the State, where he could assemble, encamp and drill his troops, and prepare to take the field with hopes of success. Brigadier-Generals Slack and James R. Raines, actively aided him, and were soon at the head of twenty-five hundred men, one-third of whom were unarmed. None were provided with cartridge boxes or canteens. Their weapons were of all kinds and conditions, chiefly the trusty fowling-pieces and rifles with which they had ranged the woods and brought game to their households. They were very scantily supplied with baggage, provisions, wagons, camp furniture, or any of the equipage which give some semblance of comfort to a well appointed army. But they

were full of courage and patriotism, enured to hardships, and instinct with individual self possession which made them the most admirable of materials for soldiers in such a campaign as they were to encounter.

Vivid evidences of the Southern sentiment of this Northwestern region of Missouri had been presented from the very opening of the strife. Early in May, at least four hundred volunteers had gone into a camp of instruction, at St. Joseph, in Buchanan county, the west terminus of the Hannibal railroad. They were the St. Joseph Artillery, Captain Thornton, Jackson Guard, Capt. Cundiff, Emmett Guard, Capt. Quirk, Light Guard, Captain Kay, Border Guard, Captain Boyd, Buchanan Rangers, Captain Morris, and Easton Rangers, Capt. Gates. They were for a time commanded by Major Frederick Smith, a good tempered but timid man. When news of the St. Louis massacre reached them, Smith became alarmed, and urged them to disband, but the brave men under him indignantly refused, and raised a storm around his head which compelled him to resign. *a* Captain Cundiff was elected in his place. At this time, there were at least twelve thousand pounds of powder in the magazine at St. Joseph, for which Col. Jeff. Thompson had contracted with the owners, by order of Gov. Jackson. But as the public excitement in the State increased the owners refused to deliver it except for cash. As this was not according to the contract, and as it was certain that the Federal authorities would soon seize it, the volunteers under Captains Boyd and Kay, went to the magazine, broke open the doors, loaded the powder in wagons, and carried it to their camp. The next morning, the whole body marched to Cargill's farm, and secreted the powder in faithful hiding places through the country, where it was never found by the Federals, although diligently sought. It was afterwards of great service to the Southern cause.

These volunteers then took a strong position on the east bank of Platte river, and received daily accessions to their numbers.

a Mem. from Col. Snead.

a MS. narrative from Colonel Charles P. Hyde.

About the 19th of May it was deemed most prudent by the Governor, to disband them for a time. Orders to that effect were issued, and very reluctantly obeyed. The men retired sadly to their homes, but their spirit of resistance to Federal despotism showed itself in significant deeds. Lieut. Hyde, who commanded four pieces of artillery, determined that if he could prevent it, they should not be lost to the South. They had been taken from the United States Arsenal at Liberty, hauled fifty miles and mounted, by means raised almost entirely by his own exertions. Aided by Capt. Gates and a few trusty comrades, in the dead of night he carried them some miles to a dense thicket, and buried them. They were undiscovered by the enemy, but rose to a glorious resurrection a few months afterwards.

Such were the sentiments and spirit of these men who now gladly reassembled at the call of their country, and joined Generals Raines and Slack in the Northwest. They were but truthful representatives of the vigorous and patriotic natures composing their army.

About the 26th of June, General Price gave orders to his subordinates to follow him with the troops as rapidly as could be done with prudence, and set out from Lexington, travelling nearly south to Sarcouxie, in Newton county, where he met General McCulloch, with the advance of the Arkansas men.

On the 21st of June, the Missourians commenced their march in three columns, one under Gen. Slack, on the Warrensburg road—one under Col. Weightman, on the Columbus road, and one by Wellington and Pleasant Hill, under General Raines, his command consisting of his own troops and a brigade which had been commanded by Gen. Morins, of Platte. This last named officer had proved too irresolute for the crisis and gone home, and his brigade was commanded by Lt. Col. Hyde. These three columns proceeded southward, receiving many marks of good will and sympathy from the people on the route, which greatly aided and sustained them. They needed all the private gifts in food and clothing they could obtain, for their commissary wagons were often empty, and the fields of

green corn on the road side frequently furnished their only meals. They pressed cheerfully on, enduring toils and exposure, which would have dampened the ardour of less patriotic men. On the 26th of June, General Raines received information that the Federal Colonel Sturgis, with thirty-five hundred men, had left Kansas City, and was endeavouring by forced marches, to intercept him. Raines therefore effected a junction with Slack, the next morning, about day light. The enemy did not appear, and they marched on southward, crossing the Marais des Cygnes river, at Papinsville, and camping for the night on a low savannah. Rain poured down in torrents during the night, and the next morning many toil worn men could be seen sleeping soundly in water from three to five inches deep. But these hardy Missourians were not discouraged. Col. Hyde was ordered forward with his cavalry, and successfully secured the bridge over the Little Osage, at Ball's Mills.

After crossing the Osage, the army was safe from pursuit, and rested several days, to give the men an opportunity of drying their clothes and making themselves more comfortable. The march was then resumed. At the Marmiton, an unexpected obstacle was met. This usually small stream was now swollen to a mighty river, by the heavy rains. They were wholly without pontoons, or the means of constructing them. But with the sturdiest courage and quickest ingenuity, the western volunteers fell to work, and in a short time constructed rude, but substantial rafts, on which the whole army, baggage train, artillery, and cavalry were carried over without the loss of a man or horse. General Raines personally superintended the passage, and was among the last to cross. Two days afterwards the whole force under Raines, Slack and Weightman, effected a junction with Gov. Jackson, at Roup's Point, in Cedar county, where he had arrived a short time before, with the brigades of Parsons and Clarke.

The work of organizing the Army of Missouri was now commenced with some approach to system. The whole number assembled was nearly four thousand men, but of these nearly a thousand were with-

out arms. The number of cavalry was considerable. They had a sufficient supply of powder, but a scanty stock of bullets and buck shot. They had eight pieces of cannon, but no shells, and very few solid shot or rounds of grape and cannister. They sought to supply these defects by cutting up trace chains and iron rods, collecting hard pebbles and smooth stones, and other ingenious devices to prepare for the terrible ordeal of battle. On the 4th of July they commenced their march to join McCulloch in the extreme Southwest. a

THE BISHOP AND THE KNIGHT.

Low at the Bishop's feet he knelt,
His black locks thickly sown with gray,
As though the sorrows he had felt
Had stolen half his youth away :

His careworn features did express
A dying hope, a long distress—
An unknown depth of loneliness.

The Bishop spoke: "Who art thou, son?"
Then deeper still he bowed his head—
"I am a miserable man,
A man oppress'd with guilt," he said:
"From distant lands I came to thee,
I seek to know if yet there be,
Forgiveness to be won by me."

"Speak on," the Bishop made reply;
"Behold my son, the Holy Rood!
It was for sinners base and vile
The Saviour shed his blood."

Then in a whisper faint and low
The kneeling penitent did show
His tale of sin and shame and woe.

The Bishop's face grew ashy pale;
Awhile he paused, in dumb surprise—
Then spoke aversion in his mien,
And horror in his eyes;

"Ah, never at my feet did bow
A christian stained as deep as thou;
I may not, dare not, shrive thee now.

"Rise, and go hence: I will believe,
When this my staff shall bud and bloom,
Such sin a pardon may receive,
And thou escape thy doom!"

Up rose the kneeling penitent,
His knightly form with anguish bent,
And from the palace forth he went.

a Col. Snead's Memo.

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Submissive to the stern decree,
He bowed; and so his hope was gone:
With haggard looks of wild despair
Past men's abodes he hurried on,
As a hart wounded in the chase,
Seeking a solitary place,
In which to weep a little space.

This found, he fell upon the earth,
Slow scalding tears were in his eyes;
His parch'd lips breathed no word of prayer,
But inarticulate cries;
Till while alone he groaned and wept,
A strange, sad calmness o'er him crept,
And in the cool dark night he—slept.

Ere morn he woke to heavy grief.
Outcast from Heaven and from men;
The tempter whispered to his soul,
"Return unto thy sin again;
Repentance can no pardon win,
And pleasant are the paths of sin!
Then finish as thou didst begin.

As tho' he felt a serpent wreathed
In thickest folds about his heart,
With sickening horror he recoiled,
And sternly bade the thought depart,
"Oh cause of all my misery!
O loathsome wound, of which I die,
Down sinful thought—I thee defy!"

Then, as he went upon his way,
'Twixt rocky banks high and steep,
Behold, he saw a mighty stream.
Beneath whose waters deep
A tempting voice assailed his ear,
"How hateful does thy life appear!
Come, hide thy sin and sorrow here."

With quicken'd step he hurried on;
Despair's mad impulse he withstood;
Though, in his weariness of life,
His heart said, "Death is good,"
Unto himself he made reply,
"Not till God willeth will I die;
O tempting flood, from thee I fly."

Anon he heard a far-off chime
Of sweet bells, wafted on the air,
And knew that in the distant town
It was the hour of prayer.

To him it seemed those bells did say,
"Come thou to prayer—come thou to
pray!"

He felt he could not but obey!

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[No. 7.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT E. HOWISON

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER VII.

(CONTINUED.)

But the enemy was drawing near. Gen. Seigel, with three thousand troops, chiefly Germans, left St. Louis and came by the south west branch of the Pacific Railroad, to its terminus at Rolla, in Phelps county. Here he learned of the movements of Gov. Jackson and Gen. Price, and promptly resolved to throw his force between them, and by a vigorous attack to overwhelm the Missourians, and prevent their forming a junction with McCulloch. His men were admirably armed with muskets of the best quality, and he had seven pieces of artillery, perfectly supplied with cartridges, shells, round shot, grape and cannister. With this array, he doubted not that he would easily rout the undrilled and half armed State troops. On the morning of the 5th of July, he passed through Carthage, in Jasper county, and marched forward, across the rolling prairies, to meet the forces of Governor Jackson, advancing from Golden Grove, about twenty miles above.

Ten miles beyond Carthage, after crossing Spring River, Seigel discovered that his progress was to be opposed. The Missourians were drawn up hastily in his front in line of battle. So entirely undisciplined were they, and so artless and unme-

thodical were their movements, that the Federal General, who was an educated soldier, ridiculed them to his officers. The State infantry formed in the centre, under Generals Clark, Parsons and Slack; the cavalry were loosely thrown on each flank, under Gen. Raines; the artillery were planted on a roll of the prairie lands, and were under command of Col. Weightman. The battle commenced by rapid discharges from Seigel's artillery, which were turned chiefly on the State cavalry, and drove them back whenever they attempted to advance on the wings. Emboldened by this success, the Federal centre was thrown forward, but they were met by a stubborn and bloody resistance from the State foot soldiers who, though hardly preserving a line, used their fowling pieces and rifles with fatal accuracy, and with a courage and coolness which amazed the Federal commander.

At the same time, the Missouri artillery got their guns into position and prepared to open. Bledsoe's battery fired the first shot. Col. Weightman was sitting on his horse keenly marking the movements of the enemy. The moment he heard the report of the gun, he cried out with delight, "That's old San Jacinto!" In truth, it was a fine brass piece, which had been captured by himself in Mexico, in 1847, and his practised ear quickly detected its peculiar ring. Happy to recognise a faithful friend, he dismounted, took his seat on the trail of the gun and directed its fire during most of the battle. The field pieces, under his command, now opened and launched a shower of iron pellets and pebble stones upon the enemy.

a MS. from Col. Hyde.

The mounted men on the flanks, finding that their horses could not be managed amid the roar of the battlefield, leaped from their saddles and rapidly picketing, hastened in ward with their guns, thus adding largely to the irregular semi-circle, which was closing in upon the foe. Finding his forces in great danger of being surrounded and cut to pieces, Seigel ordered a retreat; his contempt was turned to wonder and something very like fear, and he was glad to find his men safely across Spring river, with the bridge burned behind them. On the South side of this stream, he again formed them, posting his cannon in good positions to sweep the approaches. He supposed the Missourians would be content to rest on the field they had won. But he was mistaken. After a short interval of rest, required by a sharp contest from 9 to 11 o'clock, they again advanced without any attempt at military order, but slyly taking advantage of every log, heap of brush-wood and inequality of ground, which would afford shelter and enable them to assail the foe with advantage. The reports of muskets, shot-guns and rifles were incessant, while the roar of artillery resounded over the usually tranquil expanse of the prairies. A large body of Missourians moved quietly up the stream, and with a readiness and rapidity acquired by their rural training, made rafts of drift-wood and logs, which soon formed a practicable bridge. On this they crossed about eight hundred infantry, with two field pieces, and made a flank movement upon the Federals. Finding himself out-fought, if not out-maneuvred by these rustic soldiers, Seigel again ordered a retreat. His men fell back towards Carthage, across the prairie, followed by the Missourians, who were now assured of victory. A running fight of nearly six miles occurred; the hardy State troops were now in congenial employment, and followed up the retreating Federals with keen relish. They succeeded in capturing four cannon, besides a number of small arms, wagons and horses.

Harrassed and broken, Seigel's forces reached Carthage about six o'clock in the evening, and again attempted a stand, by forming behind houses, walls and pailings, but the spirit of the assailants was now

too high to be baffled. They threw themselves rapidly into positions from which they could reach the Federals with their fire; the muskets and bayonets of Seigel's troops, produced little or no effect on scattered men, who were incessantly changing their position, and who fired loads of buckshot or pistol bullets from their guns, at close range, or singled out their victims with deadly rifle balls.

Again the enemy commenced their retreat, moving with all speed towards the railroad, where they hoped to receive reinforcements. Their flight now resulted in the loss of eighteen wagons, loaded with valuable stores. Darkness alone saved them from more serious loss. The Missourians followed them, until their officers considered it most prudent to stop the pursuit and recall their men to Carthage.

This disordered, yet brilliant battle, had a very happy effect upon the patriots of Missouri. It taught them that, though undrilled and half armed, they were more than equal to the "home guards" and regulars of the Federal Government, and that nothing but a resolute spirit was needed for success. The loss of the Missourians was twelve killed and fifty wounded, while that of the Federals, in killed, wounded and prisoners, was not less than four hundred. But, according to their established system of falsehood, the Northern papers, although compelled to admit a defeat, asserted that their artillery "made fearful havoc," and that the "loss of the rebels could not have been less than five hundred." ^a

The arms captured in this battle furnished a seasonable supply to the troops of Gov. Jackson. He remained a short time at Carthage, continuing the work of organizing and drilling his army. On Friday, the 5th of July, while the battle at Spring river was in progress, Generals McCulloch and Price advanced from the South, and suddenly occupying Neosho, in Newton county, twenty miles South of Carthage, they captured a guard of two hundred men, who had been left there by General

^a Fort Scott Democrat, July 7th. Kansas Journal, Dispatch, July 11th, 15th, 23d, Memorandum from Col. Snead. MS. from Col. Hyde.

Seigel. ^a The prisoners were soon paroled, but their arms were distributed to the Missourians. On Saturday, the 6th, McCulloch and Price, with their force, effected a junction with Gov. Jackson. Good feeling and cheerfulness prevailed. The Missourians welcomed their brave brothers from Arkansas, and all were cheered by the hope of maintaining the independence of the State against the lawless military rule of Lincoln and his subordinates.

The united forces marched to Cowskin Prairie, in the South-Western angle of the State, where abundance of water and grass supplied their horses, and from the rich and hospitable country around, they were able to collect wagons and provisions for a march. On the 15th of July, they made a hasty and imperfect numeration, which gave them a total of some seven thousand men, of whom nearly three thousand were cavalry. Learning that the enemy were assembling in force at Springfield, they moved towards them, and at Cassville, in Barry county, they were joined by Brigadier General McBride, of Missouri, with the forces under his command. Their numbers were now not less than ten thousand, and they were daily receiving recruits. But a large part of them were still unarmed: few had cap pouches or cartridge boxes; every heavy rain threatened their powder; they were unused to the restraints of military rule, and often restless under them. Gen. McCulloch looked on the great body of undisciplined men, assembled around him, with concern, and labored hard to bring them to the shape and force of a regular army. The individuality of the men, however, stood out in bold relief, and made the task of a tactician very difficult. Gen. Price well knew the nature of the materials under his command, and constantly assured the Confederate officers that they had nothing to fear, that when the time of battle came, these untaught and head-strong men would fight together and with a resolution which would spurn defeat. On the 1st of August, they were joined by another body of Mis-

^a Northern account. Fort Scott Democrat, July 7th.

sourians, the army then moved deliberately forward towards Springfield, the van being led by Gen. McCulloch, with his Confederate troops.

Heretofore no serious question had been raised as to military precedence between the State and Confederate officers, but the matter began now to assume a grave importance. Gen. Price, though educated a civilian, had had wide experience as a soldier in the Mexican campaigns, and possessed a warlike aptitude and an influence with his men, which marked him for command. Gen. McCulloch had known war from his youth, and had made its stern duties his chief study. Price was a Major General in the State service. McCulloch was a Brigadier General in the Confederate service. If the State troops were merely militia, and Price a General of Militia, the question was at once settled—McCulloch would have been entitled to precedence. But the Missourians, with much show of reason, contended that their State had assumed an independent attitude, and by her laws, as a Sovereign, had raised an army which was on a regular military footing, and therefore their Major General was entitled to command. This embarrassing question grew in consequence every day; when we remember the high toned jealousy with which military men guard their own rank, we may consider it as fortunate that it did not work disastrous results. We shall see that at the critical moment, the impulses of patriotism were too strong to be overcome by professional pride.

When the army reached Crane Creek, about thirty miles from Springfield, a consultation was held as to their future course. Gen. Price and his Brigadiers earnestly advocated an advance. Gen. McCulloch doubted its prudence; he thought his army had not yet reached a state of discipline in which he could rely on it, and feared that if defeated or even checked, it would be wholly disorganized. It became evident that he was seriously contemplating a retreat. Gen. Price was filled with concern: he knew that if a retrograde movement was now made, Missouri would at least, for a season, be lost to the patriots, and feeling the highest confidence in the

courage and endurance of the men, he believed they would defeat the enemy and capture Springfield. Under these circumstances, knowing that the question of rank entered deeply into the difficulties felt by Gen. McCulloch, the magnanimous Missourian made to him a proposition, that he would yield the point, would turn over to him as Commander in Chief, the whole Missouri forces, if he would at once advance to the intended attack. ^a To this, Gen. McCulloch agreed. He had felt embarrassed by the doubtful position of a divided head for the army, than which nothing could be more dangerous in the face of the enemy. This difficulty being removed, his other doubts were overcome by his own courage and by the evident spirit of his men. They again advanced, and on Wednesday, the 7th of August, had reached a camp three miles from Wilson's Creek and twelve miles from Springfield.

They now commenced a systematic organization of the army, requiring daily reports of the number and condition of the various regiments. On the morning of the 9th, the forces of Missouri numbered eight thousand, of whom only about six thousand were armed, the Confederate troops were three thousand, two hundred, coming from Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, and there were eighteen hundred Arkansas State troops, under General Pearce, a brave and efficient officer. Thus the total effective force was about eleven thousand, three hundred men, of whom nearly six thousand were mounted. ^b They had fifteen pieces of artillery. Their supply of powder was sufficient, but they had only a small stock of shells, grape and cannister, and supplied the want with every kind of missile that could be shot from the mouth of a cannon. They had few muskets and fewer bayonets. The chief arms of the horsemen and infantry, were double and single shot-guns, and common country rifles.

Just at the time when McCulloch was hesitating as to his advance, he received

dispatches from Major Gen. Polk, commanding the Confederate department of the Mississippi, directing him to make the campaign of Missouri, and co-operate with the State forces there. These orders fixed his determination to march upon Springfield.

In the mean time, General Lyon had assembled at that place an effective army of nearly ten thousand men, consisting of his own and Col. Totten's forces from Booneville and St. Louis, and the troops heretofore acting under Gen. Seigel and Sturgis and Col. Sweeny. About two thousand were "home guards," of Missouri, the rest were United States regulars and volunteers from the North Western States. They were all well equipped and generally provided with small arms of the best quality. Their artillery consisted of sixteen pieces—several batteries being of the regular service.

On Friday, the 9th of August, General McCulloch moved up to Wilson's Creek, not more than nine miles from Springfield, and pitched his tents; the wagons could not come up in time, and the men were again obliged to resort to the neighbouring fields for green corn, which they roasted by their camp fires, and ate with keen appetites, satisfying their thirst from the creek, where thousands were seen drinking, with their heads down to the water. They were without canteens or cups. Gen. McCulloch gave orders that at nine o'clock that night the army should march on Springfield in two columns—the one consisting of the Missourians, under Price, and the other of the Confederates and Arkansians led by himself. The utmost cheerfulness prevailed: the men danced and gambolled on the prairie grounds before their tents, indulging in the rough sports to which they had been used in peaceful times. As the hour of nine drew near, heavy clouds overspread the heavens, threatening rain. Fearing that their powder would be wet, and thus his whole force made impotent, Gen. McCulloch countermanded the order for the advance, and directed the men to secure their ammunition. It was probably a happy fact that the march did not take place, though the disappointment for a time was great.

^a Col. Sneed's Memoir.

^b Gen. McCulloch's official report to Adjutant Gen. Cooper, Aug. 12, 1861. Mem. from Col. Sneed.

By a singular concurrence of plan, Gen. Lyon had ordered an advance of his army to commence at the same hour which McCulloch had selected. The Federals moved in three heavy columns under Lyon, Seigel, and Sturgis. The column led by Lyon was at least six thousand strong, and marched on the same road along which Gen. Price would have advanced with his six thousand Missourians. A night battle would thus have been inevitable, attended by all the horror and confusion incident to such a struggle, and resulting probably in no decided success for either. *a*

The camp of the Confederates and their allies was stretched across Wilson's Creek, the Missourians being on the north and east, and the Confederate troops and Arkansians on the south. Gen. Rains held the extreme outpost on the north, with a body of twelve hundred mounted men under Col. Cawthorn; Cols. Churchill and Greer held the position farthest south and to the left, with their regiments, of which the extreme southern outposts were under Col. Hyde and Major Brown. No attack was expected, and in view of an intended movement the pickets had been withdrawn.

Very early on the morning of Saturday, the 10th, Gen. McCulloch was taking breakfast at Gen. Price's headquarters, with that officer and his staff. While the meal was in progress, a courier arrived from Gen. Raines, announcing that the enemy were in sight and in great force. McCulloch seemed to doubt the accuracy of this report, and continued his breakfast coolly; another messenger in haste came in, and stated that a heavy body of the enemy were advancing on Gen. Raines, but that he would hold his position as long as possible. Still McCulloch seemed incredulous. Gen. Price said to him with much excitement—"Gen. McCulloch, have you no orders to give?" Turning to the courier, McCulloch said—"Go to Gen. Raines—tell him to ascertain all the facts, and report to me at headquarters." No longer able to restrain himself, Gen. Price

struck his hand heavily upon the table, and in a voice of thunder said to his staff: "Gentlemen, to your horses!" Instantly all arose and hurried away. They had no time to lose, for hardly had they reached the open air before a shot from Seigel's batteries on the south, darted into the camp, and nearly at the same moment Lyon's artillery opened on the north-east, the balls actually crossing each other at an obtuse angle. *a* It was now apparent that by their silent night march, the enemy had succeeded in gaining both sides of the allied camp, and had commenced a joint assault.

Thus surprised and vigorously attacked, it might have been feared that the undisciplined army would have given way and fled in utter rout. But the crisis proved the individual courage of the men and the skill and daring of their officers. Gen. McCulloch, now thoroughly aroused to the emergency, hastened to his headquarters, and hurried forward his troops to the threatened point. On the right, Seigel opened a heavy fire from his cannon on Churchill and Greer's regiments. By muffling the wheels he had succeeded in getting positions very near to the Southerners, and his fire for a time was severe and destructive. *b* His infantry force consisted of United States regulars, under Captains Plummer and Gilbert, and of Dutch home guards, chiefly from St. Louis. The assaulted regiments sustained themselves gallantly, and were speedily reinforced. Gen. McCulloch sent forward Col. Hebert's Louisiana Volunteers, and McIntosh's mounted Arkansians, who, moving to the left, gained a position along a fence enclosing a corn-field. Here McIntosh dismounted his men, and the two regiments rapidly advanced in the face of a galling fire from the regulars and Germans. Undismayed by their losses, the Southerners sprang over the fence, and rushed forward with impetuous valor, firing as they advanced, and working such havoc among the opposing regiments, that they broke and fled rapidly upon their main body.

a Col. Snead's mem.

b F. G. W.'s narrative, Sep. 5. Dispatch, Sep. 23.

a Fed. Reports, Fremont Aug. 1^o 1861. Col. Snead's mem

Meanwhile the enemy's artillery continued to play with damaging effect. Reid's battery was brought up to oppose it, and, taking a well selected stand, opened such a storm of irregular missiles of all kinds upon it, that the horses and men fell rapidly, and the enemy were in evident confusion around it. Seizing the critical moment, Gen. McCulloch placed himself at the head of two companies of a Louisiana regiment near him, and marching to the right, drew rapidly upon the adverse guns. At the same time, McIntosh and Hebert, with their men, came up, and with a loud cheer, Louisianians and Arkansians rushed upon the enemy's cannoniers, driving them from their guns and capturing every piece except one.^a Nothing could now arrest the tide of success on the right. Seigel's shattered columns stood for a moment—then wavered—the Confederates and Arkansians pressed upon them with resistless vigor, firing such volleys as they advanced, that the ground in front of them was strewn with dead Dutchmen. Seigel gave way and retreated in confusion, carrying off but a single cannon of the six pieces he had brought into action. He was pursued by half a Texas regiment, and a part of Col. Major's Missouri cavalry, and so fiercely pressed, that he was obliged to abandon his last gun, which was triumphantly seized by the Southerners.

The enemy were now completely routed and driven far from the field on the south, with heavy loss in men, horses, cannon, and small arms. But on the north the fate of the day was yet undecided. Here Lyon commanded in person, and brought an enormous column of men into line of battle, supported by Col. Totten's celebrated battery of ten guns, and armed, to a great extent, with long range muskets. This imposing force threw its weight first upon Gen. Raines' out-post guard, which consisted of twelve hundred mounted men, under Col. Cawthorn, and about thirteen hundred infantry and artillery, under Col. Weightman. These twenty-five hundred Missourians resisted the heavy onset with great courage, fighting irregularly, yet with

^a Gen. McCulloch's official Report, Aug. 12th.

severe loss, both to the enemy and themselves. Col. Weightman displayed conspicuous gallantry. Before the battle he declared that he would redeem Missouri or perish in the attempt.^a In the storm of battle he rallied his men, and led them to the charge, exposing himself with reckless heroism. While maintaining the unequal struggle, he fell, mortally wounded, and was borne from the field. Discouraged by his fall, and pressed upon by numbers more than double their own, the Missourians fell back. The Federals pressed forward, and the shells from Totten's battery set on fire a range of tents standing on the slope of the hill above the creek, and consumed them, with a number of baggage wagons.^b Gen. Price ordered the infantry and artillery under Generals Slack, McBride, Clark and Parsons, to move rapidly forward, and hurried to the relief of Raines.

Encouraged by their partial success in driving back the advance guard and burning the camp, the enemy came on with confidence. But they were met by the Missourians, aided by several regiments of their allies, with vigorous resistance. Finding that the long range guns of the Federals gave them great advantage at a distance, the Southerners pressed up to close quarters and poured terrible volleys from their fowling pieces and rifles into the opposing ranks, loading and firing at will, and bringing down such numbers of killed and wounded, that the advance of the enemy was checked.^c The roar of the battle was now tremendous, bursting along two opposing lines, which swept for miles over the rolling fields on each side of the creek—the rattling discharges of musketry were mingled with the sharp reports of the hunting-rifle and the heavier volume of sound from the shot guns, while the deep bass of the cannon on each side added to the fearful sublimity of this grand battle-concert. Col. Totten and Capt. DuBois, of the Federal artillery, planted their

^a Little Rock True Democrat, August, 22nd.

^b Fed. accounts in Examiner, August 17th, 19th.

^c Fed. account, from Capt. Fairchild, of Kansas; Examiner, Aug. 21st.

guns in good positions, and sent destructive rounds of grape and shells into the Southern ranks, driving back their advance, and aiding the shattered lines of the Federal infantry in their efforts to fall back and reform.

At this point of the struggle, the defeat of Seigel enabled Gen. McCulloch to turn his troops to the succor of the Missourians. Cols. McIntosh, Hebert, Gratiot, Churchill, Greer and Hyde, brought their regiments into action; McCrae's battalion was equally prompt. Woodruff's battery was opposed to Totten's and returned its fire with great accuracy and effect. In the rude words of a spectator—"Woodruff tackled Totten and lifted him clean out of the water, and his track was marked by dead Dutch as thick as pumpkins on bottom land."^a With the loss of many men and horses, the Federal battery was with difficulty withdrawn. Part of it was again planted, where it swept the front—part was masked to meet an advance, which the Southerners were seen preparing to make.

Gen. Pearce, of the Arkansas State troops, displayed the greatest courage and vigor in manœuvring his troops and bringing them upon the foe. As the Arkansas third regiment advanced at double quick up the hill on the left, he met them, and waving his hand, said—"Boys, they are over the hill—drive them, drive them!" and then galloped on to bring up the rest of his men. The third regiment dashed forward, passed the crest of the hill, and while pressing towards a skirt of young oaks and bushes beyond, they received the fire of the masked guns of Totten's battery, and at the same time, a shower of Minie balls poured upon them from the Federal infantry concealed in the wood. Some fell killed or disabled, but fortunately the aim, both of the artillery and musketry, was too high, and shot, shells, grape and bullets, howled over their heads in savage revelry. Getting near enough to make their fire effective, the word passed along the Arkansas line, "Boys, it is our time now!" and instantly they darted a

stream of rifle bullets and buckshot into the half concealed ranks of the foe. The Federal force in their front was very large; they loaded and fired by platoon and company; the Arkansians loaded and fired at will, and such was their dexterity and coolness, that they sent ten volleys for every six of the enemy. ^a The conflict at this point was very deadly—one hundred and six of the Arkansas men were killed and wounded—the enemy lost four hundred and fifty killed—their wounded were carried to the rear. The fire of the Southerners was too hot to be borne. The Federals left the woods and retreated so stealthily, that their movement was not known for some time after the slackening of their fire. The Arkansians moved forward with cheers, and occupied the deserted strong hold.

Along other parts of the line, the battle raged with continuous fury. The opposing ranks alternately advanced and retired. The fire of small arms was incessant and terrible. The Missourians fought with obstinate bravery. Many of their officers were wounded, but all who were able kept the field. The Federal General, Lyon, threw forward his regiments to the critical points, and marked the progress of the battle with deep anxiety. For several days he had been a prey to uneasiness and disappointment, which had changed his appearance, and brought upon his face a troubled look, manifest to all around him. He had not received as many men as he hoped for, and found himself obliged either to abandon South-west Missouri, or to fight a battle with an enemy of unknown numbers. He had planned a surprise by a night attack, but even after all was arranged he said gloomily to one of his staff—"I am a man believing in presentiments, and ever since this night surprise was planned I have had a feeling I cannot get rid of, that it would result disastrously."^b After the battle was joined he was still haunted by the spectre of his own presentiments, and sometimes seemed bewildered. Yet he showed no personal fear—gave his

^a Letter of F. G. W., Sept. 5th, 1861.

^b Correspondence of N. Y. Herald—Examiner, Aug. 22d.

^a Little Rock True Democrat, August 22nd.

orders promptly, and exposed himself every where. His horse was shot under him, and nearly at the same time he received a flesh wound in the leg and a bullet cut the scalp of his head. General Sturgis, seeing the blood on his hat, took it off and expressed anxiety—but General Lyon said it was slight, and immediately mounted another horse. He saw that his men were unable to advance in the face of the flashing semi-circle of fire before them, and marked with deep concern the huge chasms in his lines, where the remnants of his torn regiments had given way. He prepared for another and more vigorous charge. Turning to Gen. Sturgis, he said—"I fear the day is lost. If Colonel Seigel had been successful, he would have joined us before this. I think I will lead this charge."

His men were brought into line. A regiment from Iowa had displayed much courage, and lost all their field officers, who were either killed or disabled. They begged Gen. Lyon to lead them. He assented, and, sending other officers to order forward all his available troops, he addressed the regiments nearest to him—"Forward, men—I will lead you." Once more they bore down upon the Southerners, who met them with a withering fire, before which hundreds fell. Two rifle bullets pierced Gen. Lyon's breast. He reeled in his saddle and fell from his horse. When his men reached him he was dead, and the same troubled look he had borne for days clung to his countenance in death. His body was placed in an ambulance and carried to the rear. Efforts were made to conceal his fall from the men, but it was soon known. The first effect was to dishearten and paralyze them. The Southerners pressed up within a hundred yards, and launched upon the enemy such destructive volleys, that they again gave way and retreated in confusion.

General Sturgis succeeded Lyon in command. He exerted himself to restore order and confidence. After the first shock caused by Lyon's death, was over, a desire to avenge him began to prevail among the Abolition regiments. Again they were brought into line. Again Totten's battery was planted on a ridge and opened with

effect. Again an advance was made, and the most furious encounter of the day took place. McCulloch and Price threw forward nearly all their reserves. Carroll's and Greer's regiments, gallantly led by Capt. Bradfute, charged upon Totten's battery. They shot down horses and cannoniers, and nearly reached the guns; but behind them was a heavy supporting force of infantry, who kept up an incessant and fatal fire, and after a desperate struggle these brave regiments were compelled to fall back to the main line. The opposing ranks swayed to and fro, and alternately advanced and retired. The ground between them was covered with the dead and wounded. McCulloch threw forward the Louisianians on the left to an impetuous charge. Reid's battery again entered the field, and the Southern cannon having reserved for the crisis a large part of their best missiles, now began to fire grape shot, cannister and shrapnel, which cut up the enemy's ranks with fearful carnage. Still the Federals maintained the contest. Victory trembled in the balance—when, at the moment of the heaviest strain, General Pearce, with two regiments which had been held in reserve, moved forward at double-quick and threw themselves upon the enemy. The onset of the Southerners was now irresistible. Totten's battery fell back; the Federal centre gave way; the wings were forced to the rear. General Sturgis saw that the day was lost, and gave the order for the whole army to retreat—and very soon their infantry columns, artillery and wagons, were seen in the distance, among the hills, rapidly making their way towards Springfield, defeated and driven from the field.

This stubbornly contested battle, lasted from half past five o'clock in the morning till noon. The loss on both sides was severe, but certainly much heavier in the Federal than the Southern army, thus proving the important point, that shot guns and hunting rifles, in the hands of men who resolved to fight at close quarters, were more deadly than muskets. From the best reports that could be obtained, the whole allied loss was two hundred

a Gen. Sturgis's off. Report.

and sixty-five killed, eight hundred wounded and thirty missing. Some of the wounded and missing were made prisoners. The Missourians had one hundred and fifty-six killed on the field, and five hundred and seventeen wounded. ^a The Federals lost not less than eight hundred men killed, a thousand wounded, and three hundred prisoners, besides six pieces of artillery, several hundred muskets, and some of their regimental colors. Many of the Southern officers were wounded, among them General Price and his efficient Brigadiers, Slack and Clark.

Soon after the battle the Federals sent a flag of truce to ask leave to bury their dead and attend to their wounded. The extent of their loss may be gathered from the narrative of an eye-witness, who says—“All the remainder of that day as well as during the night, seven of their six-mule teams were busily engaged carrying off their dead and wounded. Early Sunday morning I was detailed as Sergeant of a large force, to finish the burial of the enemy's dead. Armed with shovel, pickaxe and spade, we proceeded to the principal point of the battle-field, to complete this mournful task, which the enemy, unable to accomplish, had given up in despair. The ground was still thickly strewn with the ghastly and mangled forms of the dead. We placed fifty-three bodies in one hole, gathered within a compass of one hundred yards. Covering them over, we hastily departed, leaving hundreds unburied. The effluvia was too horrible for human endurance. The bodies of these unburied dead, deserted alike by friend and foe, are scattered over the country for miles, left as food for the worms of the earth, the wild beasts of the forest, and the fowls of the air—while their bones will bleach in the sun and rain long after they shall have been forgotten.” ^b

The battle of Springfield ^c was a ruinous

^a Official Reports of Generals McCulloch and Price.

^b Baton Rouge Advocate correspondence. Dispatch, Sept. 21st.

^c General McCulloch calls it the battle of “Oak Hills.” The Federals term it “Wilson's Creek.” General Price calls it

blow to the Federal dominion in South Western Missouri. Sturgis and Seigel hardly gave their discomfited army time for rest, before they re-commenced their retreat, moving towards Rolla with all haste. So precipitate was their flight that they left the body of General Lyon in Springfield, where it was found by the victorious Southerners on entering the town. It was respectfully interred in the grounds of John S. Phelps, and soon afterwards was taken up, and forwarded in a metal case, to St. Louis, whence it was taken to his native State of Connecticut, for final sepulture.

With the retreat of the Northern army, terror and despair spread among their sympathisers in Springfield. Hundreds of families took to flight, hastily loading their household goods in wagons, and falling into the long train of the centre guard. Many of these were bitter foes to the South, who felt that their own cruelty would justly bring down upon them the indignation of patriots. But others were merely timid Union men and women, who were tortured with groundless fears. To re-assure them, General McCulloch, on the 15th of August, issued a proclamation, addressed to the people of Missouri, stating the invitation of their Governor, that he would come to aid in relieving them from oppression. He said—“I do not come among you to make war on any of your people, whether Union or otherwise. The Union people will all be protected in their rights and property, and it is earnestly recommended to them to return to their homes. The prisoners of the Union party who have been arrested by the army, will be released and allowed to return to their friends. Missouri must be allowed to choose her own destiny. No oaths binding upon your conscience will be administered.” ^a This address had a happy effect upon the Southern cause.

“Springfield,” as it was fought near that town and for its possession. I think that title preferable and quite as appropriate as “Guilford Court House” or “Waterloo,” both of which were fought some miles from the villages of those names.

^a Proc. Springfield, Aug. 16th. Dispatch, Aug. 27th.

Decisive as was the victory of the Southerners in the great battle just fought, the Northern press adhered to their system of falsehood, and claimed it as a splendid Union success! The Philadelphia Enquirer thus heralded it—"The tardy telegraph brings us the thrice welcome news of a grand victory of the Union troops in Missouri, under Generals Lyon and Seigel. Heaven be praised! The righteous cause of the nation is triumphant!"^a But however it may have been regarded by the falsifiers in the North, it is certain that Seigel and Sturgis felt it to be a disastrous reverse. They retreated so far that McCulloch and Price could not have followed them without throwing their troops within reach of flanking movements from St. Louis and Booneville. The whole of South Western Missouri was freed from Federal rule. Preparations were made for holding a Convention to secede from the former Union and unite with the Confederate States.

President Davis and his government looked with the deepest interest upon the opening of the gallant struggle of the Missourians for their independence. On the 26th of July, Governor Jackson arrived in Richmond, having left his army soon after the junction with McCulloch. On the 27th, he was visited by an enthusiastic crowd, who assembled in front of the Spotswood Hotel where he was staying, and whom he addressed from a window. He spoke with joy of the great victory of Manassas, and said his people in Missouri were, like other Southerners, not much disposed to *hold off* when in sight of the enemy; they had had three battles already, in two of which they had routed the Federals; he spoke in warm terms of admiration of Gen. McCulloch, and exhorted all men able to bear arms, at once to take part in the great struggle now in progress.^b

He was cordially received by the Confederate government, and all the aid was promised that could be prudently given with due regard to the pressing need of other regions. On the 6th of August, in

^a Philadelphia Enquirer—Examiner, August 17th.

^b Examiner, July 27th.

secret session, the Southern Congress passed an act to give aid to the people and State of Missouri, appropriating a million of dollars to supply clothing, subsistence, arms and ammunition to the troops in that State, who might co-operate with those of the Confederate States during the existing war, which sum was to be expended under the discretion of the President. After receiving assurances of support, on which he could rely, Governor Jackson returned to his State.

Mr. Lincoln and his cabinet regarded the bold movements of the patriots of Missouri with alarm and wrath, and resolved to take the most vigorous means for their suppression. Without a shadow of Constitutional authority, by mere military proclamation, they declared Gov. Jackson to be deposed from his office, and appointed Hamilton R. Gamble, Governor in his stead.

The spurious Governor, on the 5th of August, issued a proclamation calling on all sheriffs, magistrates and other conservators of the peace, to arrest and bring to punishment all persons who were in any manner using violence against their fellow-citizens, and exhorting the people to give information of any deposits of munitions of war that they might be taken possession of by his agents. He farthermore coolly announced that the act of the Legislature, commonly called "the military law," had been abrogated. By whose authority this high act of abrogation had been performed—whether his own or by Mr. Lincoln's, he did not venture to say; but he declared that the appointment of a Major General, according to the act of assembly, was annulled, and enjoined all soldiers who had assembled according to that law, to cease acting in a military capacity. He graciously promised security to such of the State Guard as would relinquish their arms and return to their homes, and informed the troops of the Confederate States, that they had come into the State against the will of Missouri, and must depart instantly. This proclamation was approved by the Federal government, and Cameron, the Secre-

^a Acts Confed. Congress, No. 211, page 14

tary of War, informed pseudo-Governor Gamble that the government would cause his promises of security to such Missourians as would lay down their arms, to be respected.^a

To command the military department of the State, Mr. Lincoln selected John Charles Fremont, who had been promoted to be Major General. He was born in Savannah, Georgia, January 21st, 1813, and was the son of a Frenchman, and of Anne Beverley Whiting, the divorced wife of her first husband, named Pryor, who was forty-five years her senior. He early shewed a fondness for mathematics, and received his training at Charleston College. He had no regular military education, but was appointed teacher of mathematics in the navy. He was soon wearied with sea life and commenced civil engineering on land, exploring the mountain passes between South Carolina and Tennessee. In 1838, he received, from President Van-Buren, a commission as Second Lieutenant of Topographical Engineers. While in Washington City, he met with Miss Jessie Benton, daughter of the Missouri Senator, and loved her. Mr. Benton at first opposed their union, and, by his influence, had Lieut. Fremont ordered to the far West, to examine the river Des Moines. He performed the duty rapidly—returned and was secretly married to Jessie on the 19th of October, 1841. She proved to be one of the "strong minded" women, and, through his subsequent career, aided him in public with tongue and pen.

Col. Benton became reconciled to his son-in-law, and finding him full of energy and skilled in exploring, threw all his great influence in his favor, obtaining for him important duties under government. Col. Fremont's adventures and successes in the Wind River Mountains,—upon their loftiest peak, fourteen thousand feet above the sea,—down the Kansas river—among bands of hostile Indians—on the borders of the Great Salt Lake, and on the Western slopes of the Colorado, have made his fame world-wide, and given him the title of the Path Finder. His enterprizes in California, are thought to have added

more to his wealth than to his reputation for honesty. In 1856, he was nominated as the candidate of the Republican or Abolition party for the Presidency of the United States, and notwithstanding his Southern birth and training, accepted the nomination. His confession of faith was, "I am opposed to slavery in the abstract and upon principle, sustained and made habitual by long settled convictions. While I feel inflexible in the belief *that it ought not to be interfered with, where it exists under the shield of State sovereignty.* I am as inflexibly opposed to its extension on this continent beyond its present limits. ^a He was defeated by Mr. Buchanan, but continued very popular with the anti-slavery people of the North and North-West, especially with the foreign and infidel elements. To please his numerous admirers, Lincoln sent him to Missouri.

It was soon manifest that however skilful and bold as an explorer of mountain passes and wild valleys, he had none of the qualities of a great General, and moreover that he was thoroughly corrupt and unworthy of trust. Unscrupulous, dishonest, apparently frank, but really fraudulent, he made his brief career in Missouri forever notorious, by his gigantic peculations. Even before his arrival, he had commenced a well digested system of cheating the government for the benefit of himself and his friends. He made a large purchase of Austrian muskets, which were shipped from Europe—paying divers heavy profits and commissions to his favored agents, but when opened and put into the hands of troops, they were found worthless—in fact; more dangerous to the man *behind* than *before* the barrel. He arrived in Saint Louis on the 25th of July, and immediately commenced measures for defence and attack, all of which were so managed as to give the largest possible profit to the host of contractors who surrounded him. He threw up fortifications around the city, each cubic yard of which cost the government three times the ordinary price of excavation and embankment; horses, mules, gun carriages, accoutrements, provisions, powder—in short, every article that could

^a Proclamation and Telegram Message. Examiner, August 12th.

^a New Am. Cyclop. Art. Fremont vii. 743, 747.

be bought, sold or manufactured, furnished copious streams of fraudulent gains to his friends. It is true, the army contractors, in the East, had furnished him rich examples for imitation. The corruption and dishonesty were so great, that even the Republican Congress felt compelled to expose and denounce them, and it will ever be a dishonor to the Lincoln Cabinet, that after Fremont's frauds and robberies had been made known to the world, by the report of a committee, he was yet reinstated in command, and assigned to positions of trust and responsibility.

One of his first acts, after taking military control at Saint Louis, was to make a forced loan from the Banks of half a million of dollars. Emboldened by the impunity which he hoped to enjoy under abolition protection, he soon proceeded to a measure which, for lawlessness and atrocity, had not yet been paralleled even by the unscrupulous party in power at Washington. On the 30th of August, he issued a proclamation, declaring that, in his judgment, the public safety and the success of the Federal arms required "unity of purpose without let or hindrance to the prompt administration of affairs;" therefore he proclaimed martial law through the whole State of Missouri, and asserted that the lines of his army of occupation extended from Leavenworth, by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla and Ironton to Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi; all persons within these lines, taken with arms in their hands, were to be tried by court martial, and shot if found guilty; he farthermore proclaimed, that the property, real and personal of persons who took up arms against the United States, or who should be proved to have taken part with their enemies in the field, should be confiscated, and their slaves should be freemen. a

When we remember that martial law, according to the best definitions, means no law at all, except the will of the military commandant, and that even the abolition Congress of February, 1861, had solemnly disclaimed all power to interfere with slavery where it lawfully existed, and that Fremont had once declared this to be his own opinion, we may form some faint no-

tion of the horrible tyranny with which the people of Missouri were now threatened. He proceeded without delay to carry out his purposes, and in a few days several slaves of the patriots of the State were found with deeds of emancipation in their hands, regularly signed by order of this self-constituted despot. The Union people of Missouri and Kentucky, were filled with amazement and alarm; many of them instantly took part with the South, and others hastened to send forward bitter remonstrances to Lincoln.

The frauds and violence of Fremont, were openly denounced by prominent Missourians. Col. Blair, the brother of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet officer, became his bitter enemy, and earnest efforts were made to have him removed. His proclamation gave intense delight to the abolitionists, who regarded it as the prelude to universal emancipation. But Lincoln was not yet prepared, in his own purposes, for such a step. He was not restrained by its lawlessness, for he had already broken the most sacred bonds of the Constitution. But he feared its effect on the border slave States, which still adhered to him, and he was, moreover, convinced that there were yet unorganized numbers at the North, who had composed the great Democratic party, and who, though violent against the South, were opposed to Abolition. Hence the unhappy President was driven to and fro, by pressure from either side. He finally determined to repudiate that part of Fremont's proclamation which related to slaves, and to reserve to himself this great measure of emancipation, which, in the select language of his court, was to be "*played as a winning trump card*" against the South, when all other efforts to subdue her had failed.

His public letter to General Fremont, annulling that part of the proclamation which freed slaves in Missouri, gave great offence to the abolition party, and somewhat cooled the ardor of New England for the war. Fremont complained of the "fire in his rear," but declared his purpose to push on the campaign in Missouri with renewed vigor, in order to silence his enemies. Another Federal General, now in the State, was John Pope, a native of Kentucky, but a resident of Illinois. He was

a Proclamation, Saint Louis, Aug. 30th.

as thoroughly corrupt and dishonest as Fremont, and added to his other qualities a habit of lying and boasting, which had made him notorious in the United States service, both before and after he left the West Point Military Academy. These two commandants made worthy representatives of the abolition rule in Missouri.

After the signal victory of the Southerners, at Springfield, General Price earnestly advocated an advance, believing that the united forces would be sufficient to drive the defeated enemy before them, and perhaps to expel the Federal forces entirely from the State. But Gen. McCulloch differed with him as to the plan of the campaign. He had information that very heavy forces were assembling at Saint Louis, and at various points on the Missouri river, which would soon be in motion, and might endanger his retreat. He thought it best, therefore, to retire with the Confederate and Arkansas troops, towards the Southern border of the State. Gen. Price could not endure the thought of retreating. The Missourians rallied around him, and with great skill and promptness, he planned a series of movements which were executed with wonderful daring, and resulted in complete success.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

THE FIRE LEGEND—A NIGHTMARE.

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MS. OF THE LATE
EDGAR A. POE.

I.

In the deepest dearth of midnight, while
the sad and solemn swell
Still was floating, faintly echoed from the
forest chapel bell—
Faintly, falteringly floating o'er the sable
waves of air
That were thro' the midnight rolling, chafed
and billowy with the tolling—
In my chamber I lay dreaming, by the fire-
light's fitful gleaming,
And my dreams were dreams foreshadowed
on a heart foredoomed to care!

a Telegram from Rolla, Sept. 2nd.

II.

As the last, long, lingering echo of the mid-
night's mystic chime,
Lifting through the sable billows of the
thither shore of Time—
Leaving on the starless silence not a token
nor a trace—
In a quivering sigh departed; from my
couch in fear I started—
Started to my feet in terror, for my dream's
phantasmal error
Painted in the fitful fire a frightful, fiend-
ish, flaming face!

III.

On the red hearth's reddest centre, from a
blazing knot of oak,
Seemed to gibe and grin this phantom
when in terror I awoke;
And my slumberous eyelids straining as I
staggered to the floor,
Still in that dread vision seeming, turned
my gaze toward the gleaming
Hearth and there!—oh, God! I saw it; and
from its flaming jaw it
Spat a ceaseless, seething, hissing, bub-
bling, gurgling stream of gore!

IV.

Speechless struck with stony silence, fro-
zen to the floor I stood,
Till methought my brain was hissing with
that hissing, bubbling blood;
Till I felt my life stream oozing, oozing
from those lambent lips;
Till the demon seemed to name me—then
a wondrous calm o'ercame me,
And my brow grew cold and dewy, with a
death damp stiff and gluey,
And I fell back on my pillow, in apparent
soul eclipse.

V.

Then as in death's seeming shadow, in the
icy fall of fear
I lay stricken, came a hoarse and hideous
murmur to my ear;
Came a murmur like the murmur of assas-
sins in their sleep—
Muttering: "Higher! higher! higher! I
am demen of the Fire!"

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[No. 8.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT E. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER VII.

* Leaving the neighbourhood of Springfield, he marched Northward with an army of about five thousand men, and seven pieces of artillery. Learning that a large body of irregular Federal troops from Kansas and the Indian territories, were assembling at Fort Scott, under Montgomery and Lane, he turned suddenly to the left, and before they had more than rumors of his approach, he fell upon them at Drywood Creek, on the 4th of September. They resisted stoutly for more than an hour, but the impetuosity of the Missourians broke their ranks, and they fled in disorder, with a loss of about fifty men killed and wounded, and a number of small arms. The State troops lost three killed and twenty-seven wounded. Montgomery's troops abandoned Fort Scott and retreated towards Kansas. ^a Gen. Price took possession of the fort and threw into it a small garrison.

He now made a feint of an approach to Jefferson City, and encamped, Saturday night, the 7th of September, near Clinton, in Henry county. ^b From this point, the question of his movements was so doubtful to the Federals, that they believed Jef-

^a Telegram from St. Louis, Sept. 14th.

^b Telegram from Jefferson City, September 12th. Dispatch, Sept. 14th.

erson City to be his aim, and made preparations to meet him.

In the meantime, Brig. General Thomas A. Harris had vigorously exerted himself in the patriot cause in Northern Missouri. Although surrounded by enemies and within their reach from many points, he secretly organized a force, and by the rapidity of his movements, produced the impression that he was stronger than he really was, and thus kept the Federals in check. At St. Joseph's, in Buchanan county, on the east bank of the Missouri, the patriots were very strong. They took military possession of the town, and obtained considerable supplies, greatly needed by the patriot armies. In Andrew county, a force of nearly two thousand Missourians, under Major Poller assembled, and, after some skirmishing with the home guards, made their way to Gen. Harris' camp. On the 13th of September, a body of Missourians made a gallant attack on the Federal entrenchments at Boonsville. They did not expect to carry them, but designed to alarm the garrison and prevent them from sending troops to Lexington, upon which point Gen. Price had now commenced his march. These objects were completely accomplished. The Missourians retired with a loss of only twelve killed and thirty wounded, and soon afterwards joined Gen. Price. On Tuesday, the 10th of September, Gen. Harris crossed the Missouri, at Arden Creek. Recruits in bodies of ten, fifty and a hundred, constantly joined him, and when he effected a junction with General Price, he added nearly three thousand effective men to a force already consisting of more than six thousand. Gen. Price having now successfully embarrassed the

enemy as to his movements, turned directly North and marched upon Lexington, reaching the town of Warrensburg, in Johnson county, just after a body of Federals had retreated from it on hearing of his approach: Here he rested for a day, receiving from the people the most hospitable treatment, and feeding his men abundantly on the ample supplies they provided. He had now been joined by reinforcements from several quarters, among others by a very effective body under Col. Martin Green. A heavy rain storm delayed his march until ten o'clock of the morning of the 11th, when he pushed rapidly forward with a cavalry detachment, hoping to overtake the enemy. But they fled before him to Lexington, and when he reached a point within two and a half miles of the town, finding his men much fatigued and very hungry, he halted for the night, refreshed his troops, waited until his infantry and artillery came up, and then prepared for the attack. ^a

The town of Lexington stands on the South bank of the Missouri river, about two hundred and sixty miles from its mouth. It contained about twelve thousand inhabitants, and consisted of two parts—*Old Lexington*, which was farthest from the river, on a high bluff, and *New Lexington*, farther up and somewhat less elevated, though still on a commanding bluff, which sloped down to the steamboat landings at the water's edge. The two settlements were united by a line of straggling houses running nearly two miles. About equidistant from each, was a large and strong brick building called the college. After General Price with his small force left the town in June, it was occupied by Col. Peabody of the Federal service, with a body of home guards, and some troops from Kansas. His numbers were afterwards increased by a portion of the Missouri Union eighth regiment, under Col. White and seven hundred of the Illinois cavalry, Col. T. M. Marshall. Col. Peabody established his headquarters at the college, and commenced a line of earth-works around it. Finding that Lexington

was now seriously threatened by General Price, Capt. James A. Mulligan moved up from Jefferson City with his Irish brigade, arriving on the 9th of September. He assumed command and found, by the reports of his officers, that his total force was about thirty-five hundred men. He instantly resumed the work of entrenching; and, finding his supply of tools inadequate, he searched the two towns and the country around for shovels, spades and pickaxes. He planned an earth work ten feet high, with a ditch eight feet wide, enclosing the college, with a large area capable of holding a garrison of ten thousand men. Into this, the whole army train, with its wagons, cannon, caissons, mules and horses were brought. The home guards had worked but feebly until the arrival of Mulligan: he forced them to more vigor, and the sturdy Irish of his brigade plied their muscle with great effect. In a few days the works became strong enough to resist a formidable assault. ^a The fortifications were half a mile from the river, which, at Lexington, was about nine hundred yards wide. Eight hundred thousand dollars in gold, and the State Seals which had been forcibly taken by Col. Peabody from the vaults of the Lexington Bank, were brought within the entrenchments and hid under the dirt floor of the college cellars.

On Thursday the 12th of September, Gen. Price advanced upon the town. A strong picket of the enemy met him at the outposts and a sharp firing commenced, but in a short time the Federals fled and took refuge in the entrenchments. The Missourians took possession of the old town, and advancing their artillery within full range of the earth works, opened a heavy fire from Parsons' battery, under Capt. Guibor, and Bledsoe's battery, under Capt. Emmett McDonald. Capt. Bledsoe, himself, was not able to take the field, having received a severe wound in the fight at Drywood Creek. The Federals returned the fire with six brass pieces and two Howitzers, but, having no shells, they produced very little effect. The fire of the

^a Gen. Price's official report, Sept. 23d, 1861. Dispatch, Oct. 9th, 1861.

^a Chicago Tribune, in New York Herald, October 1st.

Missourians was already very destructive to the wagons and teams assembled in the entrenchments. Heavy sheets of smoke covered the field in every direction, from which the flashes of the guns burst forth as they were deliberately discharged on either side.

Under the murky canopy thus concealing them, Gen. Raines prepared to lead a column to the assault of the breastworks, at their North-Eastern angle, where they seemed weakest and from which the garrison had been drawn away by the persistent fire of Missourians upon other points. He formed his men in a skirt of woods and boldly advanced through the smoke. But their movement to the left had been discovered by the enemy, who rallied in force to the threatened point. Kneeling down to shelter themselves, with levelled muskets and fingers upon the triggers, the Federals were silent as death. The Missourians advanced at a rapid run—when within a hundred yards of the breastworks—the smoke lifted—a line of fire flashed along the entrenchments—five hundred muskets launched their bullets against the advancing ranks. ^a But the effect was astonishingly small; with a presence of mind inspired by their habits, the Missourians dropped at the flash, and, instantly rising, again rushed forward. Again they met a fire which was more destructive. By this time the Federals had assembled a heavy force, with a large part of their artillery at the assaulted point, and the Missouri officers, finding that a surprise was hopeless, and that a farther advance would be attended by enormous loss of life, withdrew their men to the shelter of the wood.

The cannonading continued without intermission until sunset. At this time, finding his ammunition nearly exhausted, and knowing that his wagon train and supplies could not arrive for at least twenty-four hours, Gen. Price withdrew his troops to the fair grounds near the old town. Thousands of his men had not eaten a particle for thirty-six hours, but had borne this severe privation like heroes. He encamped, and distributed the supplies at hand and such as could be obtained in the neigh-

bourhood. ^a Good humor and cheerfulness prevailed. The men, after their scanty meals, gathered round their campfires, or in groups through the bivouac, to talk of the events of the day and the coming siege. The higher officers met in consultation as to the best means of successfully prosecuting the attack. A happy thought struck them, and General Price, the next day, gave orders to carry it into effect.

Hemp was one of the great staples of the rich country surrounding Lexington. It was, according to the custom of hemp-growers, gathered into compact bales, which were stowed away until they could be transported to market. The Missourians scoured the country for miles around, and brought in a large number of these bales to be used when the assault was reopened. By the evening of the 17th, all the wagon trains, with food and ammunition, had arrived, and reinforcements had been received, which swelled the patriot army to not less than twelve thousand. General Price made preparations and issued his orders for a renewal of the attack the next morning.

On Wednesday, the 18th, at an early hour, the State troops were in motion. General Raines took his position on the East and North-East, and selecting commanding platoons for his artillery, opened a damaging fire from Bledsoe's battery, under McDonald and from six pieces, under Capt. Churchill Clark, of St. Louis. At the same time, Gen. Parsons invested with his brigades the South-Western boundary of the works, and commenced a steady discharge from the guns under Captain Guibor. Col. Congreve Jackson, with his command, and a part of Gen. Steen's division, were posted in reserve within easy supporting distance of Rains and Parsons. It had been ascertained that the Federals had not sufficient supplies of water within their entrenchments, and were compelled to resort to the river, nearly half a mile distant. Taking prompt advantage of this necessity, the Generals commanding, detached from their columns swarms of skirmishers and sharpshooters, who threw themselves under cover of skirts of woods

^a Account in Chicago Times. See Dispatch, Oct. 5th.

^a Gen. Price's official report.

and of hemp bales, and picked off, with deadly aim, the men sent out from the college works. ^a The effect of this mode of attack was very serious: the Federals were compelled to send out large bodies and fight their way to the water through the skirmishers; bloody conflicts ensued; larger and more compact detachments from the besieging army gradually worked their way round, between the entrenchments and every approach to the water, and drove back the besieged to the shelter of their works.

Col. Mulligan now perceived that his condition was alarming, yet he bore himself bravely, and sought to keep up the courage of his men. By his orders, a part of the old town was burned, in order to destroy the shelter of the Missourians and make a fair sweep for his cannon. But he gained very little advantage from this act of vandalism;—the hemp bales and hasty works thrown forward by the State troops, furnished them all needed protection. Gen. Price availed himself, with great skill and promptness, of all his advantages, and being convinced that success was within his grasp, sent a message, under flag of truce, to Mulligan, summoning him to surrender. The Federal officer sent a defiant answer: "If you want us, you must take us." ^b But his resistant spirit was by no means shared by all his troops. The Irish brigade and Col. Marshall's cavalry continued hopeful, but the home guards grew despondent.

Upon a high bank, between the new town and the college, stood a large building previously the dwelling-house of Col. Anderson, which the Federals had converted into a hospital; it contained their sick to the number of twenty-four, but it contained also a large body of armed soldiers. The Missourians had faithfully respected this building early in the siege, and had not directed a single shot against it. But the Federals, with a perfidy now habitual, attempted to use it for military advantage. A steamboat laden with valuable stores was lying at the wharf of New Lexington. To capture her, two regiments,

one from Gen. McBride's and the other from Gen. Harris' division, led by Cols. Rives and Hughes, marched along the river, passing necessarily within reach of the muskets of the men in the hospital building, over which a white flag was flying. The object of the State troops was seen, and although sacredly bound to abstain from combat, the Federals opened a heavy fire from the hospital! Indignant at this breach of faith, several companies from Gen. Harris' and the fourth division, rushed up the bank, leaped over every barrier and attacked the Montgomery Guard, under Capt. Gleeson, who formed the garrison. They resisted for a time, but were speedily overpowered; Gleeson was shot through the jaw; twenty-five of his men were killed and wounded; father Butler, the Chaplain of the Irish brigade, who seems to have been in the midst of the fray, was wounded by the path of a musket ball through the skin of his forehead, the garrison surrendered, and, with loud cheers, the hill was occupied by the State troops. ^a The steamboat was also captured, with several small boats, and stores greatly needed were secured for the State army.

The hill on which the hospital stood, was not more than one hundred and twenty-five yards from the entrenchments, and completely commanded them. The fire of musketry from the Missourians, was so severe that it was plain to the Federals that if artillery was brought to the point, their entrenchments on that angle would be hardly tenable. They resolved therefore to make an immediate sortie, while the numbers holding the hospital were yet small. The attack was made with great impetuosity and with overpowering force; the State troops at the point were driven back, and the Federals again held the bank. In the words of Gen. Price, "they made upon the house a successful assault, and one which would have been honorable to them, had it not been accompanied by an act of savage barbarity—the cold blooded and cowardly murder of three defenceless men, who had laid down their arms and

^a Gen. Price's official report.

^b New York Herald, Oct. 1st.

^a Compare account from Chicago Tribune and N. Y. Herald, Oct. 1st, with Gen. Price's official report.

surrendered themselves as prisoners! The triumph of the savage enemy was very short. Rallying their men, and drawing reinforcements from the divisions of McBride and Harris, the Missourians again rushed upon the building, penetrated to its interior, drove out the Federals, pushed them with heavy loss to their breastworks, and reoccupied the hill which they never lost again during the siege.

The progress of the assault during the 18th, had been steady, and the enemy's works had suffered severely. The possession of the hospital hill was a decisive advantage. It was immediately occupied by artillery, and early in the morning of Thursday the 19th of September, the roar of cannon and rattle of musketry again resounded through the hills around the beleaguered camp. The garrison had suffered much the day before from thirst; fortunately for them a heavy rain fell during the evening and night, and the men were seen holding their blankets outspread until thoroughly saturated, and then wringing out the precious fluid into their camp dishes and kettles. The rain continued at intervals, and their surrender from want of water would probably not have been a necessity for many days. But the pressure of the assault, was incessant and bloody. Cannon surrounded them on three sides, and occupying positions of command, poured out constant torrents of shot, shell, stones, fragments of iron, every missile that could be found and used for battering and death. Breaches yawned in the earthworks at many points, and at some they were nearly level with the ground. The scenes in the interior were thus described by an eye witness: "The situation of the Federal troops grew more and more desperate. Within their lines were picketed about the wagons and trains a large number of horses and mules, nearly three thousand in all, now a serious cause of care and anxiety; for as shot and shell plunged among them, many of the animals were killed and wounded, and from the struggles of these latter, the danger of a general stampede was imminent. The havoc in the centre of the entrenchment was immense. Wagons were knocked to pieces, stores scattered and destroyed, and the

ground strewn with dead horses and mules."^a

To these alarming losses were added the destructive volleys of the Missouri infantry, who now steadily approached the earthworks, rolling bales of hemp before them, sheltering themselves behind these effectual barriers and taking deadly aim with rifles and shot-guns at every man who showed himself above the entrenchments. The active and daring spirits of the assailants found full scope in this novel mode of fighting. The men under Gens. Harris and McBride, Cols. Rives and Boyd, and Major Winston were especially engaged behind these moveable breast-works; and handled their guns with wonderful skill. The brave patriots from the country for miles around came in with their rifles and volunteered for the siege; their services were accepted by Gen. Price, and from day to day they selected their own positions, and taking aim deliberately and always at a living mark, they added much to the annoyance of the enemy. So severe were the damages inflicted by the incessant fire from these hemp bales that the Federals made several sorties upon them, but were always driven back with loss.^b They then selected their most skilful sharpshooters and placing them at angles from which the sides of the bales were exposed, fired at the advancing Missourians whenever their persons were incautiously exhibited. The conflict now assumed some of the phases of Indian warfare. To draw the fire of the Federals, the State troops sometimes raised their caps on their ramrods, and when a volley of bullets had whistled around or through them, they boldly exposed themselves and often succeeded in bringing down the marksmen who had thus thrown away their loads. But this device was soon discovered; a line of light below the caps revealed their emptiness. One of the Missouri brigadiers good humoredly said to his men: "*Boys, put your heads in the caps when you raise them and you will certainly draw their fire!*"^c

^a Chicago Tribune, in N. Y. Herald Oct. 1st.

^b Related to the author by Gen. Price.

^c Official Report of Gen. Price.

Thus with stern cheerfulness the work went on; the Federals were pressed on every side until hope gave way and their gloom and despondency were as great as the patriot joyousness and courage.

On Friday the 20th, the siege continued with uninterrupted vigor. Capt. Kelley's battery, consisting of the four resurrected pieces buried by Hyde, which we have heretofore mentioned, had been ordered to a position on the east, and kept up a heavy fire, under which the havoc inside the entrenchments hourly increased. The home guards under Major Bocken raised a white flag over that part of the works held by them. When Col. Mulligan was informed of it he sent Capt. McDermott with the Jackson Guard from Detroit, to haul it down. In desperation, a cavalry assault was made by the Illinois mounted men upon one of the patriot batteries, but the assailants were terribly cut up with grape and buck shot, and retreated in confusion to the entrenchments.^a

Hope now deserted the Federal commander. He had received two wounds, one by a grape shot which inflicted a flesh wound in his right arm, and the other by a bullet which pierced the calf of his leg: Col. White of St. Louis was killed, Colonel Marshall was severely hurt by a ball in the chest. The home guards abandoned the outer works, and retreating within the inner lines again raised a white flag from the very centre of the fortifications. It was seen by the Missourians and their fire instantly slackened, and ceased entirely as soon as orders from the officers could be communicated. Col. Mulligan summoned his subordinates in council, and decided to capitulate. Captain McDermott went out with a white handkerchief tied on a ramrod, and a parley took place. Maj. Moore was sent to Gen. Price's headquarters, and the terms were agreed on. The surrender was unconditional; the officers were to be retained as prisoners of war; the men were to yield up their arms and accoutrements, and it was understood that after giving a promise under oath not to serve again until exchanged, they were to be

permitted to return to their homes, though this did not form a part of the terms of the capitulation. The Federal soldiers marched out to the tune of "Dixie," played by the State bands and laid down their arms.

The mortification of Col. Mulligan was so bitter that it found vent in tears. Events are related of some of his officers and men which exhibit their conduct as somewhat too dramatic and highly-strained to be consistent with true courage and resolution. It is said "the men threw themselves upon the ground—raved and stormed in well-nigh frenzy, demanding to be led out again to finish the thing. In Col. Marshall's cavalry regiment, the feeling was equally as great. Much havoc had already been done among their horses during the siege, and but little more than half of them remained. Numbers of the privates actually shot their horses dead on the spot, unwilling that their companions in the campaign should now fall into the enemy's hands."^a

This signal victory of Gen. Price was crowned with fruits worthy of a conquest so bravely won and of an army so heroic, cheerful and self-devoted. They captured five colonels, a hundred and nineteen other commissioned officers, and thirty-five hundred non-commissioned officers and privates, five cannon, two mortars, over three thousand muskets, rifles and carbines, about seven hundred and fifty horses, a great number of sabres, pistols, accoutrements, wagons and teams, a quantity of ammunition, and more than a hundred thousand dollars worth of commissary stores. In addition the Missourians recovered the great Seal of their State and their public records, and Gen. Price caused to be returned to the Lexington Bank the eight hundred thousand dollars in specie of which it had been robbed. The whole sum in coin and notes abstracted was \$960,000, and all was returned except \$15,000 in notes supposed to have been stolen by Federal troops, many of whom were afterwards seen well supplied with Lexington Bank notes.^b

The privates taken prisoners were hu-

^a Account in N. Y. Herald, Oct. 1.

^a Account in Chicago Times. Dispatch, October 5th.

^b Account in Dispatch, October 8th.

manely treated, and under the control of Gen. Rains were returned to their homes. Most of the officers accepted terms of parole, and were discharged. Col. Mulligan for a considerable time refused to give his parole and was retained a prisoner. Gen. Price yielded to him and his wife his own carriage, and treated him with courtesy and kindness, which gradually dissolved the obstinate pride in which he had at first attempted to wrap himself. He afterwards gave his parole and did not serve the Federals again until exchanged.

The loss of the Missourians in the whole siege was twenty-five killed and seventy-two wounded. The Federal loss was much greater, and though never officially reported, was estimated by their own narratives as amounting to five hundred in killed and wounded. They left a hundred and forty of their wounded in the hospitals at Lexington.^a

Gen. Price bore testimony to the heroic endurance of his army which we feel bound to repeat. He said: "The victory has demonstrated the fitness of our citizen soldiery for the tedious operations of a siege as well as for a dashing charge. They lay for fifty-two hours in the open air without tents or covering, regardless of the sun and rain, and in the presence of a watchful and desperate foe, manfully repelling every assault and patiently awaiting my orders to storm the fortifications. No General ever commanded a braver or better army. It is composed of the best blood and the bravest men of Missouri."

It is not to be supposed that this triumphant siege was conducted and ended without some efforts on the part of Federal troops in other parts of the State to relieve the beleaguered garrison. The keenest desire was felt to save the Northern army from the impending disgrace, but every attempt was met and defeated by vigorous movements which rivalled the brilliancy of the principal drama. Early in the conflict, Col. Mulligan sent twelve men under Lieut. Rains, on the steamer *Sunshine*, to hasten to Jefferson City and bring reinforcements. Forty miles below

Lexington, the *Sunshine* was captured by State troops under Col. Martin Green, and the lieutenant and his men were brought back prisoners and safely kept in the fair grounds until the surrender.^a In the *Sunshine* were captured a large quantity of bacon and sugar, and six hundred stand of arms. From the Hannibal and St. Joseph's railroad, Gen. Sturgis was advancing with nearly two thousand mounted men, hoping to reach Mulligan in time for his relief. Gen. Price detached Gen. Parsons with a mounted brigade to meet him, and in order to check his advance he sent out active scouting parties, who succeeded in capturing every flat-boat and river craft within fifteen miles of Lexington. When Sturgis reached the river he was unable to cross, and on sending out small parties to secure them, he was not only disappointed, but many of his scouts were cut off and captured. Finding that Parsons with a select body of cavalry was approaching him, he retreated with all speed, pressing his horses day and night, until many of them sunk exhausted by the way.

Just before the surrender of Lexington a very brilliant affair had occurred on the river, thirty-five miles above. Soon after the battle of Springfield, Gen. Steen, with the approval of Gen. Price, had sent Captains Saunders and Boyd to the northwest counties of the State, to gather recruits, and while on the march to Fort Scott, Colonels Hyde and Thornton were ordered to the same region to collect the recruits and lead them to Price as soon as possible. Col. Hyde, while at Rock House Prairie, in Buchanan county, received an earnest request from the ladies of St. Joseph, asking his protection against the marauding bands of "Jayhawkers" in Kansas, under Lane and Montgomery. He sent forward Capt. Boyd, with two hundred mounted men, who restored confidence and kept the pillagers at a distance. At St. Joseph's, Col. Hyde took possession of the steamer *Omaha*, loaded with groceries, which were needed for the army. He received from the Federal General White, commanding the east department of Kansas, a message

^a N. Y. Herald Oct'r 19. Gen. Price's Report.

^a Account in the Chicago Tribune. Telegram from St. Louis Sept. 14.

to the effect that if Hyde would not cross into that State for invasion, the Federal troops would keep the Jayhawkers from crossing into Missouri, as it was desirable that the war on both sides, should be conducted on civilized principles. To this proposition Hyde cheerfully assented—all the more readily, in truth, because he had never intended to invade Kansas. Thus the maraud of Montgomery and Jennison was prevented.

About the 12th of September some twelve hundred recruits had assembled, and a courier from Gen. Steen urgently ordered them to join the army at Lexington without delay. They immediately marched through Clay county towards the Missouri. Col. Hyde was seriously ill with fever, but was carried on a litter. Capt. Saunders was in nominal command, but no organization, even into companies, had yet taken place. They learned that Col. Scott's Federal regiment of Iowa and Illinois men had been thrown by the Hannibal road into St. Joseph, and were marching down upon them through Platte county, while another Northern regiment was approaching their left flank from Chillicothe, in Livingston county, on the railroad. Their safety evidently required that they should cross the Missouri as soon as possible. They were neither organized nor drilled; were armed only with shot guns and rustic rifles; had no artillery and no ammunition, except what they had brought from their homes. But every man was a sturdy fighter. Nearly every one was a descendant from Virginians or Kentuckians. Early on the morning of the 17th of September they reached the Blue Mill Ferry, five miles south of Liberty, in Clay county. Preparations for passing were quietly made. Capt. Boyd's battalion had crossed; others were crossing; when suddenly stragglers from the rear ran forward and announced that the enemy were pouring through Liberty in pursuit, and would be down on them in thirty minutes. Without hesitation and almost without orders, the Missourians pushed back across the river, and posted themselves behind logs and trees on the road, above the ferry. The enemy in pursuit were Col. Scott's

regiment, with two six pounders. They rushed down with impetuosity, but hardly had their leading platoons got within range before the Missourians received them with a deadly fire, before which nearly every man in sight fell, killed or wounded. The dense woods on each side of the road prevented them from deploying. Hoping to clear the way they hurried their cannon into position, and fired several rounds of grape, but the Missourians rained on the artilleryists such fatal showers of buck shot and rifle bullets, that more than half their number went down, and the rest limbered up in haste and fled, leaving a caisson full of ammunition in the hands of the victors. The Federal infantry endeavoured to return the fire with volleys of musketry, but the Missourians, now warm to the work, shot with terrible precision, picking down the enemy at every discharge, and wounding others with every load of balls. The Yankees could not face the storm, but broke and fled to the rear in utter rout. Three hours before, they had boasted as they passed through Liberty, that they would kill or capture all of the "ragged rebels" before them. Now they returned defeated and panic-stricken, with their ambulances loaded with dead and wounded men. The Missourians made no attempt to pursue. Their work was effectually done. They had displayed signal courage and individual skill. In the midst of the fight, William Pope, an aged and wealthy planter of Platte county, who was accompanying the column for a time, ran up the road, and taking off his hat, with his white hair streaming in the wind, cheered on the Missourians, until a bullet pierced through his body, and he fell bleeding to the ground. He was borne to the rear and afterwards recovered from his wound. The loss of the enemy was forty killed and a hundred and twenty wounded, besides a quantity of ammunition and some small arms. The Missourians lost only three killed and thirty wounded. They crossed the river, and in a few days joined Gen. Price. a

a MS. narrative from Col. Hyde. Some published accounts of this action represent the enemy as being Jayhawkers, under

Meanwhile, in other parts of the State, the Federal power was fiercely assailed. One of the brigadiers appointed by Gov. Jackson, was Gen. Jeff. Thompson, a leader of great vigor and courage. He was at least six feet high, and so singularly slender that his height seemed greater than it was. His high cheek bones, and firm facial lineaments, expressed determination, and his deep hazel eye seemed capable of looking into the soul. He generally wore a grey suit, with a brown felt hat, in which was a single plume fastened with a star. He was a warm Southerner in feeling, and sought every opportunity of defeating the Federals.

His operations were commenced on the Missouri side nearly opposite to Columbus, in Kentucky, about twenty miles below Cairo. The gun-boats of the enemy made several efforts to dislodge him with shells, but he planted four brass pieces in battery, and gave them so warm a reception that they were alert in hauling off after an hour's action. He then prepared for a campaign in the interior, it being specially important to secure a stock of lead from the mines in the Ozark range, and to break the communication of the enemy between Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi, and Pilot Knob, in the upper part of Madison county, which was connected by rail-road with New Madrid. On the 12th of October, Gen. Thompson broke up his camp at Spring Hill, Stoddard county, and at the head of five hundred mounted riflemen, pushed immediately for the Iron Mountain rail-road, designing to strike it at Big River bridge, about forty miles below St. Louis. Col. Andrew Lowe, a brave officer, commanded the infantry, and marched after him to Fredericktown, making short distances each day. Gen. Thompson was completely successful in securing lead, and shipped eighteen thousand pounds to New Madrid. He surprised a Federal guard at

the bridge, killing and wounding eleven, and capturing fifty-eight. He then burned the bridge, and collected a large stock of the enemy's stores, preparing them for shipment to the rear. Eighty Federals from a post above, hearing the firing, hastened down, and catching the Missourians scattered in the country, attacked them, but were speedily routed, losing several men, besides fifty muskets, and forty-five overcoats, thrown away in their flight. Skirmishes now daily occurred, and always with advantage to the Missourians. Provoked by their boldness, the Federal leaders resolved to throw upon them an overwhelming force and crush them. Two thousand five hundred men came from Cape Girardeau, three thousand from St. Genevieve, by way of Perryville, and about fifteen hundred from Ironton. They were commanded by Col. Ross, aided by Col. Plummer and Capt. Scofield. Gen. Thompson's forces consisted of about twelve hundred men, with one 12 and three 6 pounders.

The great disparity of force forbade the Missourians to offer a general field battle, but Gen. Thompson put in practice his great skill as a partisan leader, and gave the enemy a severe lesson. He first collected all his lead and other stores, and sent the wagons on before him to Greenville. In the neighbourhood of Fredericktown, the General rode into his camp, and his presence was greeted with such a round of vociferous cheers that the advanced parties of the enemy, supposing them to be preparing for a charge, fell back in haste upon the main body. At 4 o'clock on the morning of the 21st of October, the Missourians advanced to a point within half a mile of Fredericktown, and selecting their own ground, deliberately offered battle to an enemy outnumbering them as five to one. Lowe's third regiment, with two battalions, under Majors Jennings and Rapley, were stationed on the right of the Greenville road, and three hundred yards in their rear on the left of the road, were the second and fourth regiments. The 12 pounder was on the edge of a wooded hill on the right, and the three 6's were nearly in the road.

The nature of the ground preventing a

Lane and Montgomery, but this is erroneous. The Kansas marauders were not nearer than Kansas City. Col. Hyde, though suffering with fever, was present at the battle, and ascertained the facts.

α Memphis Avalanche, Thursday, September 19th.

deployment in force, the enemy first advanced a single regiment of infantry, with cavalry support. The 12 pounder sent its balls among the horsemen just as they rose over a hill which hid the town, and scattered them. The Federal infantry advanced through a corn-field upon Lowe's regiment; he cautioned his men to aim well and shoot coolly, and at the first fire seventy of the enemy fell; the regiment fell back in disorder; they were reinforced and again advanced; a sharp contest ensued, but the Federals fired wildly—often before their guns reached their shoulders, while the State troops fired with most destructive precision. By this time, three regiments of Federals had gained position and their marksmen began to bring down the artillerists at the cannon. Every man at the twelve pounder was killed or wounded: Lieut. Harris, who commanded it, when left alone, fired it twice, sending fatal showers of grape among the thick columns of the enemy. He was severely wounded but escaped. The brave Lowe was shot through the head and instantly killed. His regiment was withdrawn, and the reserved infantry advanced and held the Federals at bay, dragging the twelve pounder by hand several hundred yards to save it if possible. They were ordered to abandon it and place themselves in ambush. The State troops retreated slowly and in good order. The enemy's cavalry attempted to charge them, but when within short range, Brown's battery, of three guns, opened on them from a wood where the pieces were concealed and poured among them so terrible a storm of cannister, that they were mowed down as with a scythe, and their shattered remnants hastily retreated. Gen. Thompson brought off his gallant little army and all his stores in order, with a loss of seventeen killed, twenty-seven wounded and fifteen prisoners. The enemy's loss was by their own acknowledgment four hundred killed and wounded.^a They were greatly chagrined at the result, but with unusual candor bore testimony to the gal-

lantry of their adversaries. One of their men, who participated in the fight, wrote an account in which he said, "some of the enemy performed deeds of heroism worthy of a better cause. One of their cannon was placed in the woods, near the mouth of the lane, and was vigorously worked. As our forces advanced, they picked off one after another of the gunners, till at last but a single one was left. He continued his work of loading and firing as fast as he could, nothing daunted. He seemed utterly oblivious to every thing but the work before him, and made no motion towards retreat. At last he fell bravely and heroically at his post."^a

After getting his stores and the large supply of lead safely to New Madrid, Gen. Thompson continued his operations on the river with great activity, and often with material loss to the enemy. On Thursday, the 21st of November, at Price's landing, above Cairo, he succeeded in capturing the Federal steamboat Platte Valley, with a number of prisoners.^b His movements were so rapid and bold, that they seldom failed to accomplish his purposes—and to annoy and harass the foe, even when he was not strong enough to defeat them.

The bold and brilliant movements of the Missouri patriots excited rage and alarm in the Lincoln administration. General Fremont was severely censured by the Northern papers for not having reinforced Mulligan in time. Whether any efforts he could have made would have availed to prevent the catastrophe, may be doubted, but his other offences were quite sufficient to give ground for just complaint, and his enemies hastened to urge his removal. Hoping to recover his position by activity and success, he put himself at the head of the army and advanced towards Jefferson City, sending back promises that he would overwhelm General Price, either before or after he had united with McCulloch. After the capture of Lexington, Price had moved southward with his army. His men had made an active campaign, in which they had marched and fought with an endurance

^a Official report. J. P. Parvis. Oct. 28th. Letters of Lieut. Gov. T. C. Reynolds, November 25th.

^a Letters in St. Louis Democrat. Dispatch, Nov. 19th.

^b Memphis Avalanche, 23d November.

and courage which rendered them worthy of the name of heroes. A very large number of them had volunteered in haste and hied to the camps with hardly a change of clothing. They brought their horses, guns, powder and buckshot, as if for a great hunt, and when success crowned their efforts at Lexington, they were naturally anxious to return to their homes. The difficulty of maintaining a wagon train sufficient to support so large an army, was seriously felt. Within less than two months after his successful siege, Gen. Price found it expedient to disband a large part of his army and dismiss them to their homes. They had already learned to admire and love him, and when they left his camp they declared their faithfulness to the patriot cause, and their resolvé again to take up arms when an emergency required it.

With numbers thus diminished, General Price continued his march deliberately towards Neosho, in Newton county, near the Southwestern borders of the State. He had still an army of bold and active men, many of whom were mounted, and by frequent excursions, to cut off bodies of home guards and Union men, and secure their supplies, he maintained an undaunted front in the presence of the enemy. Fremont advanced with his army to Springfield. Anxious to retrieve his waning reputation, he declared an earnest purpose to attack and destroy the small force under Price.

A small body of State cavalry held the town of Springfield, who had received orders from Gen. Price to retire, after giving to the enemy such check as their force would permit. On the 2d of November, Fremont's body-guard, numbering four hundred and fifty men, advanced with great confidence. The Missourians, numbering three hundred and twenty, were drawn up in a wood. The Federals charged them three times, and were repulsed each time with severe loss; they were received with accurate volleys from shot guns, under which a hundred and sixty-nine of their number are alleged to have been killed and wounded. The Missourians lost six killed and seven wounded. a

a Memphis Appeal, in Dispatch November 25.

Having accomplished their purpose they retired in safety, and the next day Fremont, with his troops, occupied the town.

But his insubordination, dishonesty and lawlessness had now become so flagrant, that the Federal Government could no longer maintain him in power, without risking the final ruin of the Union cause in Missouri. The Attorney-General, Edward Bates, declared it would be "a crime" to keep him in command. His offences are thus summed up by a Northwestern paper, once his advocate: "He pays no attention whatever to acts of Congress, the orders of his superiors, the usages of the service, or the rights of individuals. When he wants money he takes it—when he wants property he seizes it. In the case of the fortifications he sets the Secretary of War at defiance, completing them in direct contravention of his orders, paying for them in the same way." "When he wants a lot he occupies it. He has put improvements of a permanent character, worth thirty thousand dollars, on a piece of ground, without even saying a word to the owners. He unites railroads without consulting their officers; he furnishes rolling stock without asking if it is wanted—anything that will give Wood, Haskell, Beard, Lalover or Palmer a contract, is never denied them."

"Wanting some money one day, he sent to the paymaster to send it to him. The paymaster answered that the funds in his hands were directed to a specific object by a law of Congress, and that he could not obey him. He was clearly right, but the General sent down a file of soldiers, put him under arrest for doing his duty, and took the money he wanted." a

The investigations made by impartial men, and even by friends of Fremont in St. Louis, developed startling frauds and speculations committed by him either directly or through his agents. He was always surrounded by a band of contractors, most of whom had been his acquaintances in California, and with whom he shared the pleasing duty of plundering the public funds without mercy. Mr. Beard, a Californian, had a contract for building the for-

a Chicago Tribune. The article is headed "Lawlessness."

tifications of St. Louis, some of the items of which were as follows: For excavations, *forty-five cents* per cubic yard—full ordinary price *ten cents*; for embankments *fifty-five cents* per cubic yard—full ordinary price for excavation and embankment together, *twenty cents*; for puddled earth, *ninety cents* per yard—often done for *nine cents*; for sodding slopes and scarps, *one dollar and a half* per square yard—worth *twenty cents*; for fascines, to-wit: bundles of twigs tied up together, *one dollar* per cubic foot—worth possibly, *ten cents*; for lumber, *one hundred dollars* per thousand feet—worth at most *fourteen dollars* per thousand; for a cistern holding ten thousand gallons, two thousand five hundred dollars—it could have been built either at St. Louis or Chicago for forty dollars! Fremont's contracts for horses were even more fraudulent than these. It was his common practice to issue to one of his creatures, written authority to buy five hundred, a thousand, or two thousand horses, and these contracts were immediately sold to others at profits of ten or twenty thousand dollars according to the amount. His operations in the purchase of small arms, capped the climax of his frauds. Thirty thousand Austrian muskets, commonly called *needle primers*, had been bought by one of his favorites at two dollars and three quarters, and were purchased by this patriotic General at six dollars and a half each. They were sent to Cincinnati, rifled and altered to percussion, at a further cost of \$4 65 each, and were then ascertained to be worth about the price of old iron. A lot of Hall's carbines, which had been rejected by the inspecting officers of the Government, were bought by Fremont from one of his friends at twenty-two dollars each—a transaction which is said to have yielded a profit of ninety thousand dollars. Such were but specimens of the gigantic robberies systematically practised by him upon the Government treasury.

It is true these were but parts of a monstrous tissue of fraud and dishonesty then running through every part of the North. Many of the advocates of Fremont went so far as to defend him by *pleas of con-*

session and avoidance, saying that though it was true that he had stolen the public money, yet others had stolen more than he, and therefore he ought not to be condemned. *a* But he had vigilant and powerful enemies high in office, and sufficient influence was brought to bear on Mr. Lincoln, to induce him finally to give the order for the removal of Fremont, and the appointment of Gen. Hunter in his place.

Knowing that such an order might soon be expected, Fremont had taken singular pains to prevent it from reaching him. He had now advanced with his army to Springfield. His Dutch troops were blindly devoted to his fortunes, and thousands of others had been won by his great potency in dispensing wealth. He had already a numerous corps of aids and two body-guards, one of whites and one of Indians. He gave strict orders that no one should be admitted through the inner lines surrounding his headquarters, except by his direct orders. Notwithstanding his precautions, one of the three military messengers sent from St. Louis, by address and stratagem, succeeded in gaining admission, and, making his way to Fremont's presence on Saturday night, the 7th of November, delivered to him the fatal missive which struck his power dead. For a time, the degraded General showed symptoms of rebellion; he sternly demanded how the messenger had reached him and threatened his arrest for violating the discipline of his camp. Many of his German adherents were eager in sustaining his ardent wish to disregard the orders of his Government, and for a time open revolt was threatened, but his subordinates, Seigel and Asboth positively refused to sustain him, and with ill grace he yielded to his fate.

Then followed an extraordinary scene which furnished a fit commentary on his boastful address to his army, that he was taken from them on the eve of "great victory, which they were about to win." Messengers came in from the country west of Springfield, announcing that General Price, with forty thousand men, was advancing to attack them before the next morning;

a Chicago Tribune, a paper friendly to Fremont. See Examiner Nov. 25.

a See report of the Investigating Committee of Federal Congress. Examiner Nov. 20, 1861.

panic spread through the people and the army, "many of the women and camp-followers taking the road to Bolivar, Buffalo and Rolla, on the run, while portions also, and those not small, of the newly raised and disaffected soldiery, gave plain signs of *undue excitement*." ^a As General Hunter advanced with a cavalry force, *en route* to Springfield, to assume command, he was met by these reports; "special messengers, on foaming steeds, dashed out of all the dark bridle-paths through the woods, carrying the dismal tidings of near disaster to the new incumbent of the Western Department. Never before was seen such long faces on any orderlies, express-riders, or military guides."

With the next morning came the certainty that the alarm was false. The panic-stricken soldiers, now ashamed and crest-fallen, gave no more signs of revolt in behalf of their somewhat dilapidated idol. Hunter assumed command, and Fremont took his departure in stately procession, with an Indian body-guard in front, a white guard next, then a train of wagons carrying with them not only his own private stores, but Deputy Paymaster Phinney, with the military chest, containing three hundred thousand dollars and all his public order books and papers. He was greeted in St. Louis by a meeting of Germans, who voted that "they recognised in John C. Fremont, the embodiment of their patriotic feeling and political faith," and that "he had performed his arduous and responsible task with all possible energy and honesty!" ^b

After Fremont's inglorious departure, General Hunter did nothing with his army to satisfy the eager desires of the Union men. With Price in his front and McCulloch on his left flank, he regarded an advance as too dangerous to be hazarded, and was compelled to content himself with holding the part of the State then within his lines. A very large portion of Missouri was thus released from Federal tyranny, and even in the parts nominally held by the Union troops, thousands of the

people sympathised strongly with the South.

On the 20th of August, 1861, the Confederate Congress, at Richmond, passed an act, one section of which admitted the State of Missouri as a member of the Confederacy, upon an equal footing with the other States under the Constitution for the Provisional Government, upon condition that the said Constitution should be adopted and ratified by the properly and legally constituted authorities of the State. Another section recognised the Government of which Claiborne F. Jackson was the Chief Magistrate, in Missouri, to be the legally elected and regularly constituted Government of the people and State, and authorized the President of the Confederate States, at any time prior to her full admission, to form with her a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive. ^a

General Price, with his army, entered the town of Neosho, in Newton county, early in November. On the second day of that month the Legislature had here assembled, by proclamation of Governor Jackson. The attendance was full; twenty-three members of the upper, and seventy-seven of the lower house being present, and with entire unanimity they passed an act of Secession from the Federal Union, adopted the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States, and initiated such measures as would perfect the union between their State and their sisters of the South. ^b Captain Myerson, a brave officer of the Missouri army, was sent to Richmond by Governor Jackson, with dispatches announcing these important movements. In the condition in which Missouri then was, with a usurped power holding a large part of her territory, it was evidently impossible that the act of Secession could be submitted to a fair vote of her people. The Legislature, elected when votes were *free*, might be lawfully held as fairly representing the will of her legitimate population. The Confederate Congress accepted the act of her law-making body as a sufficient ratification of the Con-

^a Springfield Corres. of N. Tribune. Dispatch, Nov. 20.

^b Resolutions in St. Louis Republican.

^a Acts of Confederate Congress, 30—32. No. 225.

^b Memphis Appeal; in Dispatch, Nov. 25.

federate Constitution, and the President proclaimed her to be a member of the Confederacy. a

The military control of the region thus added to the Southern Union, west of the Mississippi, was of vast importance. Notwithstanding the brilliant services and success of General Price, President Davis, for a time, delayed to appoint him to a high office in the Confederate army. His hesitation and delay on the subject, brought upon him severe animadversions from the warm advocates of the gallant Missourian, but the cool and candid were willing to admit that his course was the result rather of tenacity of opinion than of prejudice or inability to appreciate high merit. A thoroughly educated military man himself, he had an abiding conviction that in the gigantic war now raging, final success would depend on the prudence and skill with which great armies were handled and great campaigns planned. He regarded General Price as distinguished rather for his civil talents than for his military skill. But subsequent thought, and the logic of unquestionable facts changed his views, and convinced him that the man who had raised an army of devoted soldiers—had inspired them with his own patriotism—had led them through toilsome marches of hundreds of miles—had shared with them hunger, cold, exposure and weariness—had fought and won in a great pitched battle, and conducted a successful siege against powerful entrenchments, was worthy of any warlike trust that could be confided to him. He sent to Sterling Price a commission as Major General in the Confederate army.

From Neosho, General Price marched to Cassville, in Barry, and thence to McDonald county, in the extreme South-western angle of the State. Here he rested and recruited his army, and then again moved Northward. On the 30th of November, from Neosho, he issued a stirring proclamation, calling volunteers to his camp. Its effect was to increase his army until twenty thousand Missourians were again under his leadership. With these he continued to advance up the western border of the State towards Kansas,

a Proclamation, 28th Nov., 1861.

while General McCulloch was marching with a larger army from Arkansas, with intent to co-operate with Price, and strike a heavy blow against the ruffians under Montgomery and Lane.

The campaign in Missouri ending with the autumn of 1861, was full of events, singular in their interest and brilliancy. No people could have shown a more chivalrous and resolute determination to throw off a hated yoke than the volunteers of the State, under the lead of her Governor and Generals. If the result was not all that the friends of freedom could have desired, it was at least highly encouraging. The Federal power was shocked to its centre. So far from being able to subjugate the patriots, Mr. Lincoln and his forces found themselves again and again defeated, and often with losses in arms and munitions, which supplied the State troops with all they needed. The patriot Government maintained itself intact. It was never subdued and never driven from the State. In the very face of the Federal armies it assembled and passed an act of Secession. The spirit of the native and true population of the State was strongly Southern, and they needed but opportunity and organization to enable them to triumph.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

RACHEL OF RAMA.

BY CHRISTOPHER WAIVE.

In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.

[St. MATTHEW, II: 18.

Where the river floweth,
Floweth to the sea;
Where the streamlet goeth,
Murm'ring wild and free;
Where the bayon gleameth
In the pale moon-light;
Where the valley dreameth
Through the silent night;
Where the mountain listeth
His wild crest on high;
Where the Gulf-sand drifteth;
Where the snow-flakes fly;

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HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT B. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Naval History—The U. States Navy at the Opening of the War—Great increase—Proportion between ships and guns—Heavy cannon—Destitute condition of the South as to ships—Her exposure—Sea coast—Rivers—Her ruin predicted—Affair at Mathias' Point—Death of Capt. Ward—Richard Thomas Zarvona—Capt. Hollins—Successful artifice—Capture of the St. Nicholas—Of the Monticello—Mary Pierce—Margaret Zarvona captured—His cruel imprisonment—Affair at Gresham's—Southern privateers—The Jeff. Davis—Her captures—The privateer Savannah—Captured by the brig Perry—Her crew imprisoned in the Tombs—The Petrel—Sunk by the frigate St. Lawrence—Her crew in the Moyamensing prison of Philadelphia—President Davis declares the purpose to retaliate—Trial of the privateersmen—James T. Brady, of New York—A hung jury—Conviction in Philadelphia—Result—The privateer Dixie—The approaches to New Orleans—Ship Island—Naval fight there—Recapture of four schooners by the Confederates—Lieut. Sellen—The Confederate war steamer Sumter—Capt. Semmes—Escapes from New Orleans—His cruise—Captures—Correspondence with foreign authorities—Cruisers on the Brazil coast—Arrives at St. Pierre—Escapes the Iroquois—More captures—Arrives at Cadiz—Course of the Spanish authorities—Goes to Gibraltar—Northern preparation for Naval descents on the South—Hatteras fortified by the Southerners—Attacked by a large Federal fleet—Forts

Clark and Hatteras captured—Federals routed from Chickamacomaque—Attack on the Federal fleet below New Orleans—Capt. Hollins—The Manassas—Lieut. Warley—Runs into the sloop Richmond—Fire ships—Federal Fleet under Commodore Dupont attacks Port Royal—Forts Beauregard and Walker reduced—Sea Island Cotton District—Messrs. Mason and Slidell appointed Confederate Ministers to England and France—Escape from Charleston in the Theodora—Take passage on the British mail steamer Trent—Seized by Capt. Wilkes—Rejoicing at the North—England demands their return—Seward surrenders them—Charles James Faulkner—His treatment by the Lincoln government—Cruise of Confederate steamer Nashville—Returns safely—The Patrick Henry and Jamestown in James river—Summary of Naval results.

In treating, thus far, of the origin and progress of the war, we have dwelt chiefly upon social and political questions involved, and the operations of the land forces of the two sections engaged. It will now be proper to bring more fully into our view the naval movements on each side. They were in many aspects deeply interesting. The very poverty of the South in ships and naval armaments, at the beginning of the struggle, gave rise to novel positions and forms of conflict, which have effected a revolution in sea warfare.

In March, 1861, when the administration of Abraham Lincoln commenced, he found under his command a navy of ninety ships of war, carrying eighteen hundred and nine guns. Of these, only fifty-three were effectively in service, and they were not the most formidable or most heavily armed. Thirty-seven ships were in ordinary or on the stocks, and to these belonged an

armament of thirteen hundred and ninety-six guns.^a Thus, it will be remarked, that for all the purposes of the nation, in the closing months of Mr. Buchanan's term, fifty-three public armed vessels, carrying four hundred and thirteen guns, were deemed sufficient. These embraced not only the naval force in the waters of America, but the squadrons in the East Indies, the Pacific, the Mediterranean and on the coast of Africa.

But when Mr. Lincoln, and his Cabinet, resolved to blockade and subjugate the South, they instantly took measures for an enormous increase in their navy, and the Northern Congress and people seconded their efforts with lavish zeal. The world was open to them to procure materials and supplies for ship-building; their own merchant ships and unarmed steam vessels, were numbered by thousands; their mechanics sought employment, and speculators eagerly pressed upon the government agents private ships, to be converted into armed cruisers. Millions of money, in public credits, were at their command. Immediately, their plans were matured: steamers and transports were purchased; Keels were laid not only in the Eastern ship-yards, but on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers; iron armor was prepared; mortar ketches were built; the founderies and shops worked day and night upon engines, plates and guns. The effect of such activity, manifested itself in a swollen navy, embracing ships with names unheard of in the glorious annals of the past. Within less than two months after his career opened, Lincoln commenced his war on the South and lost eight of the most powerful ships formerly of the Federal navy, with an armament of five hundred and twenty guns. Yet such was the infuriate energy with which the work for conquest was carried on, that in eighteen months, a navy had arisen rivalling in number and power the grandest fleets of the old maritime nations of Europe, and, in fact, exceeding in the number of vessels in actual service, the marine force of England. On the first of September, 1862, the Federal navy embraced three hundred and eighty-six ships and steamers, carrying three thousand

and seventy-seven guns.^a Of these, only two were in ordinary, and seventy-four were in course of building or repairing, and were urged on by thousands of workmen, who relieved each other, so as to fill the round of twenty-four hours.

It will be remarked, that although the numbers of vessels had been so largely increased, the number of guns carried by them, had not enlarged in the same proportion. The ninety ships and steamers of the previous year, carried an average of twenty guns each. The three hundred and eighty-six, of September 1862, did not average eight guns each. But to suppose that they were, therefore, relatively less formidable, would involve a grave error. The change was the result of improvement in gunnery and of experience in the art of destruction. It had been ascertained that a few heavy guns of great calibre were more than sufficient to cope with double or treble their number of lighter pieces. Thus, the two decked steam frigates, Colorado and Merimac, each carrying an armament of forty eleven-inch Columbiads, with a heavy rifled gun, working on a pivot, were held, by experienced naval men, as being each more than a match for the three decker Pennsylvania, carrying one hundred and twenty thirty-two pounders. The introduction of heavy guns of long range, and especially of rifled cannon, had changed materially the conditions of naval attack and defence. A gun-boat, with a single pivot rifle, of great power, might completely disable an adversary, carrying ten thirty-twos, before the latter could come near enough to make her shot effective. Hence, the aim of modern naval warfare, has been to diminish the number and increase the calibre and range of a ship's cannon. Guns, with smooth bores, capable of projecting shells of ten, eleven, thirteen and even fifteen inches in diameter, have been constructed, and rifled pieces prepared adapted to a shell of seven inches. The mechanical genius of the North, rioted in the delights of moulding and forging engines of destruction, with which to assault the South. Not only were Columbiads, rifled cannon, solid shot

^a U. S. Navy Register, 1861, pp. 95-97.

^a Federal Navy Register, 1862, pp. 101-107.

of cylinder form, with steel points, shells filled with death-dealing missiles, and incendiary materials prepared in quantity beyond estimate, but iron clad ships, gun boats with iron turrets and of previously unheard of construction, were hurried into being and sent upon the work of restoring the Union by bloodshed and desolation.

To meet these formidable assaults, the South, at the opening of the war, had literally nothing that deserved the name of a navy. Probably, no other nation on earth, which had any seacoast or navigable rivers, was so deficient in armed ships. The noble war vessels, at the Gosport navy-yard, had been totally or temporarily destroyed by the vandalism of Lincoln and his satellites. The few frail steamboats, built merely for traffic, and hardly capable of bearing the weight and recoil of a single heavy gun, were the only means immediately available for a Southern fleet. And it was, moreover, true that the South, thus naked and without naval defences, was peculiarly open to the assaults of ships and gun boats. Her sea coast stretched in a continuous line of eighteen hundred miles, from Cape Henlopen, round the point of Florida, to the mouth of the Mississippi. Along this were scattered her sea ports, many of which were without the protection of the feeblest battery. The Mississippi river, which ran through her richest region, was itself an "inland sea," and gave access to her enemies almost as freely as the Gulf of Mexico. The Ohio washed her Northern boundary. The Missouri, Tennessee, Cumberland, Red River, Yazoo, Alabama, Santee, Roanoke, York, James, Rappahannock, Potomac and Kanawha, were all navigable by gun boats, and, at high water, many of them would admit the passage of a ship of two thousand tons. Thus the South was penetrated through her very vitals, by waters which would invite the presence of her enemies, against whose attacks it seemed impossible to defend her.

The consequences of this defenceless and exposed condition of the Confederate States, were triumphantly predicted by their foes; gravely feared by their friends, and held as inevitably disastrous by neutral observers. In England, naval men were convinced that the South must lose

all her sea ports. The full results which were to follow the overpowering force of the North, on the water, were often summed up by Yankee editors and announced as follows: *first*, that they would effectively blockade the line of the Southern coast at every point where entrance was previously practicable; *second*, that they would capture every Southern sea port; *third*, that they would chase from the high seas or burn, sink and destroy every Southern armed ship and privateer; *fourth*, that they would take every fort and battery to which their floating guns could get access; *fifth*, that they would penetrate her rivers—subdue the border population, and, landing troops from transports, would gradually possess the whole country and reduce it to submission.

How far these predictions have been accomplished, will appear in the progress of our narrative.

We have seen that the waters of Virginia, were the theatre on which the Federal naval operations were first opened. The affairs at Gloucester Point, Aquia Creek, Sewell's and Pig's Point batteries, were somewhat discouraging to their hopes of easy conquest. Nevertheless, their flotilla continued to pass up and down the Potomac, and a few blockaders watched the mouths of the Rappahannock, York and James. At Mathias' Point, in King George County, on the Potomac, the Confederates intended to erect a battery which would command the channel. The difficulty—amounting almost to impossibility, of hauling heavy cannon through the deep sand of the roads between the point and Fretricksburg, delayed the plan and finally compelled its abandonment. But, with a view to the employment of light artillery and sharp shooters against the Federal vessels, an earth-work was commenced on the point, by the Southerners. This drew the attention of the enemy, and they determined to take possession of it and make a lodgment on the point. On Wednesday night, the 26th of June, the Pawnee and Freeborn drew near. Commander Ward, of the latter, obtained from the Pawnee two boats crews with arms and entrenching tools. Early the next morning, these were sent to the point, effected a landing and commenced work on the battery

Ward undertook to protect them with the guns of the *Freeborn*, which lay in the stream, about six hundred yards from the work. Meanwhile, two Southern companies, the Lancaster cavalry, Capt. Lewis, and Sparta Guards, Capt. Goublin, with a few volunteers from King George and Caroline, drew cautiously near, and getting within long musketry range, opened a fire, which killed and wounded several of the Federals on shore; the rest took to flight, crying out to their officers, "We told you so." "We told you they'd shoot" and plunging into the river, swam for the *Freeborn*. A hail of bullets was already pelting the decks of that steamer, and her wheels had made several revolutions, showing a design to run up the river. The piteous cries of the swimming sailors arrested her. She opened her fire of cannister, chain shot and grape into the bushes, but without effect. Four men fell on her deck; her gunner received a ball in the hip and was disabled. Capt. Ward sprang to the gun; in the very act of sighting it, he was seen by James Streshly, of the Sparta Guard, who was armed with a Sharpe's rifle, and who, though nearly seven hundred yards distant, took careful aim and sent a bullet through the Federal officer's body. ^a He died at 8 o'clock that night. His remains were taken aboard the *Pawnee* and carried to Washington.

While these events were passing, a series of acts of singular daring, by Southerners, resulted in the capture of several Federal vessels. Richard Thomas, of Maryland, a man of eccentric habits, but courageous, enterprising, and devoted to the South, came to Richmond, where he received a commission from the Governor of Virginia as colonel of volunteers. He usually styled himself, Richard Thomas Zarvona, by which name he was commissioned. He met Capt. George N. Hollis, of the Confederate Navy, who had recently returned in the frigate *Susquehannah*, from the Mediterranean sea; had resigned, and, successfully evading efforts to arrest him, had entered the Southern service. A plan requiring courage and address for its accomplishment, was arranged between them.

^a a Washington Republican, June 28th. Dispatch, July 3d, 4th.

and cautiously imparted to officers of the navy, who eagerly entered into it. For its success, it required the co-operation of all its parts, and the assent of the Southern naval and war authorities was obtained. The details being agreed on, Capt. Hollins repaired to Point Lookout, in Maryland, at the mouth of the Potomac, to await coming events. Col. Thomas went to Baltimore.

The Steamboat *St. Nicholas*, was regularly employed in running between Baltimore and Washington, carrying freight and passengers. On Friday, the 28th of June, she was lying at her wharf, in Baltimore, loaded with goods for her usual landings on Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac, and with supplies for Washington, Alexandria and Georgetown. During the day a larger number of passengers than usual had come aboard, but no suspicion was excited. Among them was Richard Thomas, disguised as a French lady, in a silk dress, ample hoops and a costly bonnet. He feigned ignorance of English and quietly remained in the ladies' saloon. Capt. G. W. Alexander, with twelve men in the secret, took passage either in Baltimore or at ports below, but neither the captain nor crew, nor any passengers of the boat, detected in the tall, dark, well-dressed female, who sat fanning herself in the cabin, and whose demeanor was so unexceptionable, the leader of a band of secret foes. The boat reached Point Lookout during the night, and Capt. Hollins came aboard. Still no alarm was felt. The *St. Nicholas* steamed away from the Point, and when in the wide expanse of water, at the mouth of the Potomac, the French lady took off her bonnet, dropped her hoops, and appeared on deck in man's attire and fully armed. Alexander and the twelve Confederates were ready, and Capt. Hollins quietly told the captain of the boat that she was in his possession and must be stopped. Resistance would have been worse than useless. She was promptly surrendered. Hollins then desired to run the *St. Nicholas* into the mouth of Coan river, in Northumberland county, to meet expected reinforcements and carry out the daring plan so fortunately opened. Not being familiar with the channel, he requested Capt. Kirwan, of the captured

boat, to run her in. "Thinking he would now secure a point of advantage, Kirwan declined, but Hollins coolly informed him, that if he refused, he would himself seek to carry her into the river, and if she ran aground, he would set fire to the steamer and her cargo and take to the boats. a No threat was made, but this simple announcement of his purpose was all sufficient. Kirwan yielded and piloted the boat safely into the desired haven.

Meanwhile a party of twenty sailors, under Lieut. Lewis of the Confederate navy, with whom were Lieuts. Simms, Minor and Thorburn, had gone up from Richmond to Fredericksburg, where they were joined by about four hundred men of a Tennessee regiment from Aquia Creek, under Col. Bate. The whole force embarked on a steamer and ran down to Monascon wharf, on the Rappahannock, nearly opposite to Coan River. Here they landed. The infantry, under their Colonel, and the sailors under Lieut. Thorburn, marched across the neck of land, a distance of about twelve miles. The rest of the party secured various vehicles, which had been obtained by Lieut. Maury, who had gone before them to Monascon for the purpose. The night was dark and rainy. They reached Coan river wharf the next morning, and found the St. Nicholas awaiting their arrival.

They were now eager to enter upon the most daring and hazardous part of their plan, which was the capture of the Federal armed steamers Freeborn and Pawnee, by surprise and boarding. For this purpose, the Tennesseans had been brought from their camp. The enterprize though perilous, was far from desperate. The St. Nicholas had been constantly employed in carrying supplies to Washington, and sometimes to the Federal flotilla. Her capture was unknown and her approach would have been welcomed. The plan was, to run alongside of the Pawnee and instantly sweep her decks by a volley of musketry, then to board—overpower her commander and the remains of his crew, and seize the signal book, by means of which the rest of

the flotilla might have been effectually deceived and captured.

But an unexpected obstacle met them. On examining his orders from the War Department, at Richmond, communicated at Coan river, Col. Bate felt himself forbidden to employ his regiment upon this service. The risk was regarded as too great. To venture with a single frail steamboat, without cannon, into the midst of a squadron of formidable ships, carrying the heaviest guns, was regarded as a hazard beyond the utmost limits of even the most adventurous warfare. The lives of five hundred valuable officers and men would have been unduly jeoparded. The orders were plain and could not be disobeyed. To attempt the attack, without the land force, would have been madness. It was therefore reluctantly abandoned, much to the disappointment both of soldiers and seamen. Had they gone up the river, they would not have found the Pawnee, as she had carried Ward's body to Washington, the 27th of June, and had not yet returned to her station.

But Capt. Hollins resolved to secure his prize and, if possible, to capture others. Volunteers readily joined him, and he steamed out into the bay in the St. Nicholas, with only fuel for ten hours aboard. He first satisfied himself that his way into the Rappahannock was clear of blockaders. Then a keen look out was kept for coasting vessels. Soon a fine brig was discovered under Federal colors. They ran along side of her. Lieut. Simms and his boarders leaped on her decks and took possession, to the amazement of her skipper and crew. She proved to be the Monticello, from Rio, with two hundred and seventy tons of coffee. In a short time, a schooner was seen heading up the bay, Lieuts. Minor and Maury, with a few men, boarded her; the former ran to the wheel—put her helm up, and ordered her master and crew to go aboard the St. Nicholas, which they promptly did. She was the Mary Pierce, ten days from Boston, with two hundred and fifty tons of ice, a most acceptable capture to the South. Another schooner hove in sight, coming down the bay; Lieut. Thorburn boarded her, and found her to be the Margaret, with two hundred and six tons of coal—the very ar

a MS. letter from a Southern officer to his wife.

ticle most needed by the St. Nicholas! They now entered the Rappahannock with their prizes, and partly by towing, and partly with sails, they all arrived safely at Fredericksburg. ^a

This singular adventure, caused much rage and some alarm at the North, and gave a vivid proof of what courage and enterprize might accomplish for the South. Col. Thomas readily undertook another expedition, with the sanction of the Governor of Virginia. He was brave, but impulsive, and imprudent. He was on his way up the bay to Baltimore, in the steamer *Mary Washington*, on the 8th of July, dressed in citizen's clothes, and with the usual ticket of a passenger. He was recognized and pointed out by two persons on board, and when the boat reached Fort McHenry, he was arrested and placed in close confinement. The conduct of Mr. Lincoln's government, towards this unfortunate prisoner, was cruel and revengeful. Instead of bringing him to trial, they sent him to Fort Lafayette, in New York, confined him in a dungeon, shut in from light and healthful air, and refused him the privilege of conversing with friends or counsel. In the progress of the war, Governor Letcher felt impelled by duty and humanity, to make an earnest effort for his relief. In January, 1863, the Governor addressed to Mr. Lincoln a communication, reviewing the facts as to Col. Zarvona, showing that he was in the military service of Virginia; that in the capture of the St. Nicholas, he had used no measures save those justified by the usages of war, that he was entitled to such treatment as prisoners of war ought to receive and to exchange according to cartel. Reciting then the inhuman treatment to which Zarvona had been subjected, Governor Letcher informed Mr. Lincoln that he had caused two officers—Captain Thomas Dameron and Lieut. Wilson Dameron, belonging to the 4th regiment of North Western Virginia, under the usurped government of Pierpont, and five privates, all of whom had been captured by Virginia State troops, under Gen. Floyd, to be kept in close con-

finement in the Penitentiary, at Richmond, until Col. Zarvona should be exchanged or discharged. ^a No immediate reply was made by the Washington government, but some months afterwards Zarvona was released and came to Richmond.

The conduct of the Federal naval officers, in their expeditions up the rivers of the South, was worthy of a nation of thieves and marauders. With the withdrawal of the Southern element, it seemed as though the truth and honor, which once distinguished the American navy, had departed, and that none were left but men capable of fraud, pillage and cruelty. On Monday, the 24th of June, the steamer *Monticello*, whose encounter with *Sewell's Point*, had taught her captain and crew to attack dwelling houses, rather than batteries, ran up the Rappahannock river nearly to Urbanna. When opposite the handsome residence of Mr. James W. Gresham, in Lancaster county, she stopped her wheels and sent two boats ashore with a swivel and nearly fifty men well armed. Ten or twelve men with muskets and side arms, came to Mr. Gresham's yard and said they were in search of poultry. He told them they could get none. The marauders then scattered in squads through the grounds to pillage. Capt. Currell's infantry company, in the neighbourhood, learned of their presence, and under the command of Adjutant Hathaway, made a sharp attack upon them, sending a volley of musket balls among them, which started them in rapid flight to their boats. They were followed by successive rounds, until they reached the steamer. Two were killed and six wounded. As soon as the boats were out of danger, the captain of the *Monticello*, whose name was Boame, opened a heavy fire, which was chiefly aimed at *Mr. Gresham's house*, although not a shot had proceeded from it, or from the yard around it. Happily no person was killed or hurt by this fire, but the house was torn to pieces with shot and shells. Mr. Gresham's mother, a lady more than eighty years of age, was in bed in one of the chambers; a ball passed through the

^a MS. letter from Confederate officer. Examiner, July 2d, 4th. Dispatch, July 2d, 4th, 6th.

^a Gov. Letcher's letter to Lincoln and Message to Legislature, Dispatch, February 14th, 1863.

room, a few inches above her head; another tore the bottom of the mattress on which she lay; she was then removed to the kitchen, and in a few moments, a heavy shot burst into this apartment, tearing up the floor and scattering the bricks in every direction. Yet the old lady escaped unhurt. Having thus displayed her prowess, against an unarmed dwelling, tenanted chiefly by women, the Monticello returned to Fortress Monroe. *a*

The formidable navy of the North, almost daily increasing in numbers, did not deter enterprising spirits, in the Confederate States, from fitting out privateers and sending them to sea whenever the opportunity was offered. They contended with immense disadvantages. Vessels suited to the purpose were not at hand; to escape the blockaders was difficult, and even when prizes were taken, it was necessary in most cases to destroy them. England, France and Spain, shewed no disposition to open their admiralty courts and permit Confederate privateers to bring Northern vessels and cargoes in for condemnation. Hence the motives for encountering the hazard of such attempts were lessened in vigor. Yet so much was done—so many vessels were taken and successfully carried into New Orleans, Mobile and other more obscure ports of the Gulf of Mexico and Atlantic, that Northern merchants and ship owners were kept in a fever of alarm; premiums of insurance rapidly advanced; freight began to avoid the vessels of New England, New York and Pennsylvania and seek neutral bottoms. Other results soon appeared, and yielded substantial profit to the privateersmen.

The Brigantine, *Jeff. Davis*, carrying letters of marque, was specially successful. Her first encounter was with the brig, *John Welch*, of Philadelphia, sailing from Trinidad for Falmouth, England, with three hundred hogsheads and four hundred and seventy-five boxes of sugar. On Saturday, the 6th of July, while off Cape Hatteras, and a little east of the Gulf stream, this luckless brig was encountered by the

privateer, under French colors, and speedily brought to, by a shot across her bows. The Northern Skipper's "indignation was uncontrollable at his inability to make any resistance," *a* but his prudence was greater than his wrath. He surrendered; he was treated "politely but firmly;" himself and crew were transferred to the *Jeff. Davis*; all needed instruments, charts, provisions and supplies were taken out; a prize crew was put aboard the brig, and she filled away to the South West. Her value, with her cargo, was not less than \$75,000. The privateer then ran boldly Northward, and the next day, when not more than two hundred miles South-East of Nantucket, captured the schooner *S. J. Waring*, from New York, bound for Montevideo, with an assorted cargo. Her value, loaded, was about \$100,000. On Monday, the 8th of July, when still nearer to Nantucket, another schooner was discovered, who bore down directly for the *Jeff. Davis*, until near enough to see her long gun uncovered, when it was too late to escape. This prize was the *Enchantress*, of Newberryport, from Boston for St. Jago de Cuba, with a cargo of pork, beef and flour, worth \$50,000, a very acceptable capture to the Southerners. The next day, the privateer captured the ship *Mary Goodell*, with lumber from New York; her cargo was not easily managed by the captors, nor peculiarly valuable to them, and as their prisoners were becoming burthensome, they released her and transferred to her most of the officers and men they had taken from their prizes. Five of the *Mary Goodell*'s crew, smitten with the love of adventure and gain, joined the *Jeff. Davis*. On the same day, she captured the brig, *Mary E. Thompson*, but finding her cargo of little value, let her go, sending in her another party of their prisoners. *b* Having thus made a highly successful cruize, the privateer reached a safe haven in the South.

Similar enterprizes resulted in the capture of a large number of other vessels, many of which were safely brought into Southern ports. The value of the property thus obtained, increased until it amounted to millions. Many who had risked their

a Compare Addison Hall's Narrative, Whig, June 28th, and Northern account, Examiner, June 29th.

a New York Herald, July 1861.

b Ibid. July 1861. Dispatch, July 23d.

money in fitting out privateers, found themselves enriched in a few weeks. The Northern cruizers were bitterly censured, by the North, for not doing more to drive these bold adventurers from the seas. Federal vessels ranged the ocean in search of them, but for some time the results were far below the hopes of the North, and although the increasing number of armed vessels, the occupation of Southern ports by the enemy, and the vigilant watch of blockaders seemed, for a time, to suppress the naval operations of the South; yet, in the progress of the war, we shall see them renewed again and again, with a daring and success which baffled every attempt of the Northern government to annihilate them.

Most of the prizes taken early in the war, were brought safely into Southern ports. Some were recaptured or destroyed by the Federal vessels. The most valuable of these, was the barque *Alvarado*, captured by the Jeff. Davis, fourteen hundred miles South-East of Florida. She was loaded with furs, wool, coffee and medicines. Her cargo alone was valued at \$100,000. A prize crew was put on board, and she made her way safely, until in the offing of the port of Fernandina, when she was seen by the Federal sloop of war, *Vincennes*, who immediately gave chase and ran her ashore on the beach near the mouth of the port. The prize crew escaped with their private property. The Northern captain who, with his wife and a negro remained aboard, raised the Federal flag, Union down. The drums of Fernandina gave the alarm, and a detachment of Confederates went aboard the *Alvarado*, and brought off the Northerners. They intended to save, also, as much of the cargo as possible, but the *Vincennes* got within range, and sent three launches full of armed men to board the barque. A six pounder on the beach opened on them and kept up a steady fire, but they reached her decks, set her on fire, and then hastily departed. ^a As she lay under the guns of the *Vincennes*, it was impossible to save her.

^a Fernandina, East Floridian, Aug. 7th, 1861.

The Northern ships of war made diligent efforts to capture privateers, and at length were, to some extent, successful. The schooner, *Savannah*, a swift little vessel of fifty-five tons, sixty feet long, and drawing about eight feet of water, was fitted out in the harbor of Charleston, and went to sea on Sunday, the 3d of June, commanded by Capt. J. Hamilton Baker, with a crew of twenty-four men. She carried an eighteen pounder, mounted amid ships on a swivel. On the 4th of June, she fell in with and captured the brig *Joseph*, of Rockland, Maine, from Cardenas, Cuba, with a cargo of sugar for Philadelphia. A prize crew of eight men were put aboard, and brought their capture safely into Georgetown, South Carolina. In the afternoon of the same day, the privateer came in sight of the Federal brig *Perry*, of ten guns, which was carefully disguised, so as to look like a merchantman, her guns having been run back, her port-holes closed, and every sign of armament removed from sight. Deceived by her appearance, the *Savannah* ran directly for her, and did not discover her true character, until within less than a mile of her. The *Perry* then gave chase, several shots were exchanged, but ten guns were too strong for one, and the *Savannah* surrendered. She was carried to New York. Her officers and crew were taken aboard the Federal steamer *Minnesota*, and put in irons. ^a In a few days they were transferred to the *Harriet Lane* and carried to New York. A crowd assembled to see them. The delight and triumph of the North, over the capture of sixteen brave men, was manifested in most unseemly and brutal forms. The men and officers were all handcuffed with iron shackles, in pairs, and marched through the streets. The Northern press gloated over the announcement that, "as they walked together, they pulled their coat cuffs over their manacles, to hide them from view, and hung their heads so as to escape the curious scrutiny of the people."^b Thus they were carried to the Tombs, a

^a Northern account, in *Examiner*, June 21st.

^b *New York Tribune*, June 26th.

prison in which persons accused of the worst crimes were confined. Here they were assembled in "Murderers' Alley," and confined in the cells opening upon it, which were usually appropriated to felons of the most heinous type.

The Federal revenue cutter, William Aiken, had been taken by the South Carolina authorities, soon after the opening of hostilities. Her name was changed to "The Petrel." She was fitted out as a privateer, and under command of Captain William Perry, with a crew of forty-nine men, escaped from Charleston harbor, on the 4th of August, by running close to the Northern shore and passing through Rattlesnake Inlet. When well out to sea, she encountered the Federal frigate, St. Lawrence, of 44 guns. The same stratagem had been adopted by this frigate, as that practised by the Perry. Her guns were drawn in,—her port-holes closed, and the lines around her gun-decks carefully disguised. Her whole appearance was that of a large merchantman. The Petrel ran down upon her, until near enough to see the officers, in uniform, on her quarter deck. Suspicions were then excited, but with the wildest impudence, the privateer fired a gun loaded with grape, which passed over the heads of the Federal officers. The St. Lawrence then discharged a full broadside at the Petrel, which cut her to pieces, tore open her decks—shattered her hull, below the water line, and reduced her to a sinking condition in a few minutes. Her crew took to the boats and the water, receiving another discharge of grape shot from the St. Lawrence, while in this defenceless state. Eight were killed and five drowned. The remaining thirty-six were picked up by the boats of the St. Lawrence. They were heavily ironed, both on hands and feet, and sent by the Federal gun boat, Flag, to Philadelphia. Here they were confined in the Moyamensing prison, and the same triumph and thirst for their blood were shown, which had been manifested in New York, as to the crew of the Savannah. In a few exceptional cases, humanity and sympathy

a Philadelphia Ledger, in Examiner, August 21st.

were evinced, but the general current of feeling, at the North, called for the death penalty, and was expressed in the declaration of one of their journals, which declared that these "bad men were marching straight to their doom."

Fortunately the South now held the means of retaliation, and President Davis used them with a firm and skilful hand. The disastrous defeat sustained by the North, at Manassas, had left several hundred prisoners in Confederate hands, many of whom were officers. On learning from authentic sources, that the Southern privateersmen were imprisoned, as felons, in cells nine feet square, and that the death penalty was threatened against them, the Confederate government put in close confinement a like number of Federal officers, in cells as nearly as possible like those of the Toombs and Moyamensing prison, and by flag of truce, informed the Lincoln cabinet that those officers were thus imprisoned and would be held to answer—life for life—for the privateersmen. Although the Northern government made no direct answer, yet, such relaxations in the rigor of treatment, first adopted towards their prisoners, took place, that the Confederate authorities very gladly placed the captive officers in more comfortable quarters.

In October, 1861, the trial of the Savannah's crew came on, in the United States Circuit Court, for New York. The prisoners were defended by able counsel, chief of whom was James T. Brady, of the New York bar. He argued boldly and eloquently, to show that whatever view the Northern people might take of the Confederate States, yet, in point of fact, they were a belligerent power, with an organized government, at open war with the North—that the right of revolution had been too fully recognised to be denied, and that as privateering was a right, which the United States government had upheld, they could not now treat these men as pirates. He quoted, to the jury, a striking passage from a speech made in the House of Representatives, in 1848, as follows: "Any people, any where, being inclined and having the power, have a right to rise up and shake off the existing govern-

ment, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable—sacred right—a right which, we believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people, that can, may revolutionize and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this;—a majority of any portion of such people, may revolutionize, putting down a minority intermingled with or near about them, who may oppose their movements. It is a quality of revolution, not to go by old lines, or old laws, but to break up both and make new ones." He then amazed the jury by informing them that these were the words, not of a secessionist, but of *Abraham Lincoln* himself, in a speech delivered in Congress, and afterwards printed and sent forth to the world. The defence was so masterly and so well founded, that notwithstanding the prejudices of the jury, they could not agree upon a verdict. ^a A majority were ready to find the prisoners "guilty," but the minority stood firm.

Nearly at the same time, the crew of the *Petrel* were brought to trial in Philadelphia. Mr. Justice Grier, of the Supreme Court of the United States, sat in the Federal Circuit Court, with the Circuit Judge, Cadwallader. The case first selected for trial, was that of a man who, not long before embarking as privateersman, had been a resident of the North. The indictment charged him with treason, as well as piracy, and Judge Grier charged the jury strongly against him. He was found guilty and condemned to be hung. The day of execution was, however, put far off, and, in the mean time, neither the district attorney, nor the court, showed much anxiety to bring the others to trial. On the 4th of November, Justice Grier gave utterance to some words from the bench, which probably expressed the conclusions to which the government had come. Informal exchanges of prisoners had repeatedly occurred, with the sanction of the Federal authorities. The judge

^a Report in Northern paper. Dispatch, November 15th.

said, "it seemed like a farce to try the privateersmen at this time. The dictates of humanity, should counsel the government to treat captives, on the sea, like those taken on land. He could not understand the policy of hanging the first, and exchanging those taken on land." ^c Whatever doubts the Lincoln cabinet may have had on the subject, were speedily decided by the determined front of the Southern government:

As soon as it was ascertained that one of the *Petrel's* crew had been condemned to death, lots were prepared and drawn for the Federal officers, held to answer for the lives of the privateersmen. The fatal lot fell to Col. Corcoran, who had commanded an Irish regiment, from New York. He was informed that he must prepare for death, and notice was given to the Northern government, that he would be executed as soon as it was known that the sentence of the Philadelphia court had been carried into effect. The result was, that the condemned sailor was respited, and finally the Lincoln cabinet were forced to abandon their inhuman policy, and all the Southern privateersmen were duly exchanged as prisoners of War.

Except in the cases of the *Savannah* and *Petrel*, the Northern cruisers had little success in their efforts to capture Southern privateers. The Clipper, "*Dixie*," of 150 tons, gave them much trouble. She carried three guns and a crew of forty men, and being painted black, was not easily seen in murky weather. She took care to avoid the dangers into which the victims of the *Perry* and *St. Lawrence* had fallen. On the 25th of July, she fell in with the schooner *Mary Alice*, from *Guayaquil*, for New York, with a cargo of sugar. The capture was easily effected; three of her crew were taken aboard the *Dixie*; a prize crew took possession of the *Mary Alice*, and set sail for *Wilmington*, but, unfortunately, when in the offing, she was captured by the Federal frigate *Wabash*, and sent to New York with the privateersmen. ^b The *Dixie* continued her cruise

^a Philadelphia Telegram. Examiner Nov. 13th.

^b Dispatch from New York, Aug, 11th. Dispatch, Aug. 15th.

with vigor and success, but as the number and vigilance of the Northern war ships increased, it became nearly impossible to get prizes into Confederate ports, and as the destruction of captured vessels and their cargoes brought no profit, the motives for privateering and the activity of the system diminished until a new phase of the war again revived it. The *Jeff. Davis*, after many successes and hair breadth escapes, was lost on St. Augustine bar, on Sunday, the 18th of August. Her crew and armament were saved.

Although laboring under the most oppressive disadvantages, the Confederate Navy Department made earnest efforts to create a force, in public armed ships, to defend the numerous ports and rivers of the South, and to assault the North upon the high seas, where her expanded merchant marine made her specially vulnerable. The approaches by water, to New Orleans, from the Gulf of Mexico, were specially important, and yet very difficult to defend. Opening from Lake Borgne, into the Gulf of Mexico, is a broad outlet of water, furnishing two distinct channels—one into the Gulf, and the other running by the Southern coast of Mississippi, through Pass Christian and Pascagoula Bay to Mobile. Between these channels, is a line of long narrow islands, one of the most important of which is Ship Island, lying opposite to Biloxi Bay, in Mississippi, and nearly at the mouth of Lake Borgne. It was very desirable that this Island should be held by the Confederates and fortified, so as not only to resist the passage of invaders towards New Orleans, but to facilitate the exit of privateers and ingress of their prizes, and of vessels running the blockade. But, being exposed to assault along its whole line on the gulf, the Island was not defensible against numerous and heavy ships. While the blockading force was small, the Confederate authorities determined to establish a station and batteries on Ship Island, with a co-operating naval power, such as they could provide from the means at hand.

General Twiggs, from his head quarters at New Orleans, issued the necessary orders, and his efficient aid, Capt. Higgins, formerly of the Federal navy, carried them into execution. Two steamers, the

Oregon, Capt. Myers, and the Swaim, Lieut. Warley of the Confederate navy, were armed and fitted out, and sailed on Friday, the 5th of July, to Bay St. Louis, where they filled a large number of bags with sand. They then cruized off Ship Island, one on the inner and the other on the outer shore, and finding no blockaders near, they took possession of a suitable point for a battery, and being reinforced by a body of marines, under Capt. Thomson, the steamer *Gray Cloud*, they speedily put an unfinished fort at the point, in condition to resist attack. The walls were about nine feet high, the port holes completed, with iron casings, and strengthened with sand bags, and a temporary two inch plank roof provided, double, covered with sand. Guns were mounted and ammunition landed from the *Gray Cloud* and *Oregon*. Before these preparations were completed, at 6 o'clock on Friday morning, the 9th of July, two Federal ships appeared, one the large steamer *Massachusetts*, the other a tender. The batteries opened fire and the ships replied, sending more than thirty round shot and shells into the sand, which were speedily gathered up by the Southerners and returned from their batteries against the ships! The distance was too great for much damage. Only one man on shore was hurt, receiving a slight wound from a fragment of shell. The *Massachusetts* was struck three times, and finally a shell exploded over her deck, immediately after which she hauled off with her companion, and steamed for Chandeleur Island, twelve miles distant. This successful occupation, had good effects in securing the fruits of their labors to the gardeners, fruit-growers, wood cutters, coal burners and poultry raisers of the island, and in re-establishing the commerce along the whole line of the inner channel, which had been depressed by the presence of the Federal vessels. e

These events were immediately followed by another success of the Southerners, which gave much pleasure, because it was retributive in its character. The steamer, *Massachusetts*, had seized four small schooners in the channel, near Biloxi, before

a New Orleans Picayune, July 11th. N. O. Delta, July 9th.

the blockade was formally announced to the authorities of that port. They were the *Fanny*, *Three Brothers*, *Olive Branch* and *Basilide*, of not more than sixty tons burthen, each, and employed in the lumber trade. The Massachusetts towed her prizes to the Federal frigate *Brooklyn*, whose commander sent aboard of them nineteen sailors, as prize crews, and ordered Lieut. Selden to take command and carry them to Tortugas. Selden was a native Virginian, but false patriotism had induced him to remain in the Northern service. He set sail with his small fleet; but the masters and seamen of the prizes, declined to pilot him, and being left to his own resources, he wandered about after a somewhat bewildered manner, until he found his schooners all becalmed, on the 10th of July, off Cedar Keys, a cape of Florida, at least three hundred miles from his destined port. They were seen from the shore, and forthwith an expedition was prepared to attack them. The steamer, *Madison*, employed on the Suwanee river was obtained; two small cannon were put aboard, and sixty Florida volunteers, well armed, embarked and ran directly for the schooners. As they approached, Lieut. Selden ran up the Federal flag aboard the *Fanny*; the *Madison* saluted it by a shot, which whizzed over the schooner; Selden valorously fired his revolver, whereupon, in great alarm, lest this bravado should draw a volley, the Northern sailors jumped down into the hold. The *Madison* did not fire, but ran along side, and Major Wid-smith, commanding the expedition, ordered the flag to be hauled down, which was very joyfully performed by the master of the *Fanny*. All the schooners were recaptured and brought into Suwanee river. Selden and the prize crews, were sent to Richmond as prisoners of war. ^a

The Southern naval officers were very anxious to have war ships at sea, in regular commission, under the Confederate government. The first of these that went to sea, was the "*Sumter*," a steam ship that formerly ran between Havana and New Orleans, under the name of the *Havana*. She was strengthened and fitted

out for carrying guns, and armed with seven fine cannon, one of which was a sixty-eight pound pivot gun. Her commander was Lieut. Raphael Semmes, of the Confederate navy, whose name afterwards became a terror to Northern merchantmen and ship owners. On the 15th of June, she dropped down from New Orleans to Fort Jackson and St. Philip, where she lay for some weeks, quietly watching for an opportunity to escape the blockaders. This time was well spent in training her crew at the guns, and in disciplining them for sea duties. About the 28th of June, she fell still farther down the river, to a point near the "Head of passes," where the great volume of the Mississippi burst out by three separate mouths into the gulf. Here, Capt. Semmes established a rigid watch, and sent out scout boats every night to prevent surprise. On Sunday, the 30th of June, his lookouts informed him that the *Brooklyn* had left her station, and steamed into the gulf. He immediately got up steam and ran down from the "Head of passes," but, as he approached the critical point, his pilot told him that he was well acquainted with the South-West Pass, but knew little or nothing of *Pass a l'oultre*, through which Semmes intended to run. He resolved to run boldly on, and fortune favored him. As he passed the lowest pilot-station, he signalled for one, and a brave and skilful pilot immediately pushed off from the shore, gained the deck, and in half an hour the waters of the gulf were before him. ^a

Hardly was the pilot dismissed, before the *Brooklyn* was seen returning from the South-West, and instantly steam and sail were applied to give the *Sumter* her greatest speed. The *Brooklyn* was a very rapid ship, and commenced the pursuit with vigor. For some hours the "frothing" of the *Sumter's* boilers weakened her steam and diminished her speed, but gradually this was remedied, and when all worked well, she outran her pursuer and rapidly

^a A MS. official report of Capt. Semmes. It has not been published, but by the courtesy of Hon. S. R. Mallory, Secretary of Navy, and of Mr. Tidball, chief clerk of the department, I have had an opportunity of examining it.

^a New Orleans Delta, July 12th.

increased the distance between them. At half past 3 o'clock, Capt. Poor, of the Brooklyn, gave up the chase and bore away. The crew of the Sumter sprang into the rigging and gave three cheers of triumph, and leaving the Federal ship behind, the Southern cruizer was soon in mid-passage between New Orleans and Cuba. Capt. Poor returned to his blockading station, and was soon relieved of his command and summoned to Washington, to meet the wrath of his Northern employers for having permitted this escape.

The Sumter had but just entered on her cruize, when her dangerous qualities began to show themselves. In her brief passage across the gulf, she captured eight prizes, one of which, a fine ship, called the Golden Rocket, she burned after removing her crew and every thing light and valuable. The seven remaining, were the barques Louisa Kelham and West Wind, Brig Cuba, and schooners Machias, Naiad, Ben Dunning and Albert Adams, all of which were brought safely into the port of Cienfuegos, in Cuba. ^a

Although all these vessels were the property of Northern owners, the cargoes were, to a great extent, owned by the merchants and citizens of the West India Islands, and were, therefore, exempt from seizure or destruction, as the property of neutrals. Under these circumstances, Capt. Semmes, on arriving at Cienfuegos, July 6th, addressed a letter to Don Jose De Lias Pozuela, governor of the post, reciting the facts, stating the existence of the war of aggression, waged by the North against the South, the blockade of Southern ports, the consequent difficulty of sending in prizes; the fact that the South had been fully recognized as a belligerent, by the leading European powers, and asking that the Spanish authorities would receive these prizes until such time as they might be committed to the adjudication of the Confederate prize courts. The governor, after consulting the Captain General of the Island, answered, that they had reached two conclusions on the subject. *First*, that no cruising ship of war, *either of the South*

or North, with prizes, could be admitted into the ports of Cuba, unless forced in by distress, and claiming the right of asylum. *Second*, that if any of the prizes had been captured within the jurisdictional waters of Cuba, the Spanish tribunals would take cognizance of their cases; but if otherwise, they would be detained until the decision of Her Catholic Majesty relative to them should be made known. ^a

Capt. Semmes left a prize master, Don Mariano Ulas, in charge of the captured vessels, to represent the interests of the Confederate States as to them, and again put to sea. He intended to run directly to the coast of Brazil, in search of the numerous Northern merchantmen generally trading to and from Rio, but he soon discovered that his steamer could not carry more than coal enough for eight or nine days, and although by good management he added to the space of his coal bunkers, yet he found it would be necessary often to seek ports, where he might replenish his supply. He therefore ran for the Spanish main, entering the port of Gurazoa St. Annes. At first, the Venezuelan authorities were not willing to permit him to obtain coal, but on learning that the Sumter was a ship of war, in full commission, they withdrew their objections. After leaving St. Annes, he captured two prizes far out at sea, carried them to Puerta Cabello, seeking to have them received on the same terms as in Cuba. But the governor showed a plain purpose to thwart him, insisting that these prizes had been captured within a marine league of the coast, and were therefore not valid captives by international law. As Semmes knew that this pretence was false, he promptly carried his prizes again to sea, put crews aboard, and sent one to New Orleans and the other to Cienfuegos—the first being owned wholly by Northerners, and in the case of the latter, the vessel being owned at the North and the cargo by neutrals.

He then continued his cruize, touching at various points on the South American coast. In nearly all, he encountered the most malignant and treacherous opposition

^a New York Times, July 15th.

^a Copies of Letters, MS. official report.

from the United States consul, who sought first to induce government authorities to refuse him admittance, and failing in this, endeavored to persuade merchants not to sell coal to him. At Surinam, in Dutch Guiana, the Yankee consul had married a mulatto woman, and soon shewed his abolition sympathies, by seducing two negroes to desert from the Sumter, one of whom was Capt. Semmes' body servant and a slave. As Holland had never abolished slavery in her colonies, Capt. Semmes made this a subject of complaint to the authorities, and left an official demand that the deserters should be received and held in custody.

Reaching the coast of Brazil, he narrowly escaped shipwreck on Itacolomi shoal. He had no pilot, but kept his lead busy. The man sounding; announced that he found no bottom with nine fathoms, yet, almost instantly afterwards, the ship struck a sand bank in two fathoms. She swung off into deep water with very slight injury, and the sides of the bank were found perpendicular. No note of it was seen on the chart, which was one of Blunt's compilations. Cruizing off the Brazil coast, Capt. Semmes soon discovered that the alarm of Southern privateers and men of war, had spread far and wide among Northern merchantmen, and that, to a very great extent, they were banished from their regular trading grounds. He left the port of Maranh, on the 15th of September, and, for twenty-six days, cruized in the belt of sea between latitude $2^{\circ} 30'$ and $9^{\circ} 30'$ North, and longitude $41^{\circ} 30'$ and $47^{\circ} 30'$ West, being the very region generally abounding in trading ships, running both North and South, by Cape De Rogue, on the extreme east of South America, yet he captured but two prizes, obtaining some eight hundred dollars in money, and some articles needed by his ship. On the 9th of November, he ran into Martinique, where he paroled his prisoners, and delivered them all to the United States consul, except three, who asked and obtained permission to enter the Confederate service.

Meanwhile, the exploits of the Sumter had spread consternation among Northern ship owners, and the Lincoln government were daily berated for not capturing her. Several federal ships of war were special-

ly charged with this duty. The Keystone State followed her from one port to another, many hundred miles, but never came in sight of her, and finally lost her track entirely. After remaining at Martinique for some days, the Sumter ran to St. Pierre, a port in the North of the Island, having learned that coal in abundance could be obtained there, and received the sanction of the authorities for procuring it. On the 14th of November, while moored close to the beach, taking in coal, the Sumter found a dangerous enemy close upon her. The Federal sloop of war, Iroquois, exceeding in size and strength of armament the Southern cruiser, as two to one, appeared off the harbor of St. Pierre, and not only established a blockade, but, in gross violation of international law as to neutral ports, ran into the harbor at night, and several times came within a ship's length of the Sumter! Capt. Semmes promptly brought this outrage to the attention of the French authorities, in a letter in which he very clearly pointed out the principles of public law applicable to the case. The French frigate Acheron, Capt. Duchatel was sent by the governor to St. Pierre to enforce neutrality. The captain of the Iroquois was informed that no warlike demonstration would be permitted, and that she must either leave the port entirely for twenty-four hours before the Sumter, or the latter ship must be allowed to leave twenty-four hours before the Iroquois. On receiving this notice the Federal sloop left the immediate harbor, having first, however, taken care to establish spies and a system of signals by which a Northern schooner in the port should inform her when the Sumter unmoored, and in what direction she was steaming. Instead of running out to sea, however, as the law required, the Iroquois hovered in the offing, eager for her prey. On the night of the 23d of November, at 8 o'clock, Capt. Semmes slipped his moorings and, under a full head of steam, started Southward. Just as he expected, the Northern schooner instantly shewed blue lights, which, doubtless, indicated to the Iroquois the direction in which the Sumter was running. In fifteen minutes Semmes gave the order; her head was changed, and running Northward with great speed, she safely skirted

the coast of Dominia, while the Federal sloop was buffeting her way Southward, against a head wind and sea. By day-break the next morning, the ships were probably a hundred and fifty miles apart! a

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

SYMPATHY.

The fall of dew at eventide on every thirtiety flower—
 The mystic influence softly shed at twilight's solemn hour.
 The ever watching stars that gem the awful brow of night,
 And kindle heaven's canopy to make the darkness bright.
 A path of light along the wave, when all is gloom beside,
 A moonbeam nestling lovingly, amid the rushing tide.
 The carols, that from forest aisles, send up the matin birds,
 That speak unto the human heart in music's thrilling words.
 The violet that from the turf, looks up with azure eye,
 And meekly breathes its perfume forth to bless the passer by.
 The palaces that time builds on, from age to age alone,
 Far down in earth's embosomed caves, till man beholds them done,
 And motionless with holy awe, stands 'neath their crystal domes,
 Or thrilled with new sublimer thoughts, beneath their shadow roams.
 The shell that tossed by wind and tide, lies on the sandy shore,
 And blushes in the sunset glow, that it can do no more.
 And they who find the pearly shell, may pass it careless by,
 Yet in some heart perchance 'twill wake, a smile where was a sigh.
 The spring that from the frowning rock, comes gushing cool and pure,
 And sends its rippling murmurs on, where all was still before;
 And here and there the flowers that bloom, where all just now was drear,
 The blighted earth to beautify, the heart of man to cheer.

a MS. official report.

Yet none of these—nor one, nor all, can truly picture thee,
 In all thine offices of love, O blessed sympathy!
 For they but seldom on the soul a lasting impress leave,
 But thou dost calm the inner life of those who thee receive.
 Thou comest when the way is dark and pitying our tears;
 Thou sittest down to weep with us, and lo! Hope's star appears,
 And as its beams illumé our path, the shadows flee away,
 And faith again in human love, is born of sympathy.

CORA.

EXISTENCE AND PROSPERITY OF THE CONFEDERACY.

While approving generally the views of the author of the article on "A Southern Republic and a Northern Democracy," in the future policy of the Southern people, in building up our slave institutions, as the corner stone of the Southern Republic, and in allowing citizenship only to native born whites, other principles are necessary to continue the existence and prosperity of the Confederacy. These principles, more than all other abstract views of races and conditions of life—cavaliers, et cetera, are protective export and import dues, as essentially necessary to support the expenses of the Confederate government—build up a powerful navy for home defence—construct forts and arsenals—pay the interest and principal of the public debt, and the damages to the loyal citizens of the Confederacy.

If theories and beautiful pictures, painted by ardent hopes and patriotic aspirations, could set aside the logic of dollars and cents, then "to do were as easy as to know how to do," and the Southern Confederacy, an established fact throughout the contingencies of the future. But such is not life, man-life, or national life—and prosperity requires the two ends to meet—the receipts to equal, if not to exceed the expenses. The huge debt of the Confederate and State governments, have to be paid in gold and silver, and to accomplish

Howell found

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HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT E. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Captain Semmes now determined to run for a port in Europe. He selected Cadiz, because his ship needed repairs to her hull, boilers and machinery, and he knew there were good docks in this Spanish harbor. On the way, she captured a very fine ship, the *Montmorency*, of Bath, Maine, loaded with coal for the British Mail Steam Packet Company. As the cargo was neutral, and he could not remove it, he paroled the men, took a bond from the Captain for \$20,000 for the ship and released her. On the 3d of December, he captured the ship *Vigilant*, of Bath, and after taking off her crew and a fine rifled nine pounder, with which she was armed, destroyed her. He dealt in like manner with the *Eben Dodge*, of New Bedford, Massachusetts. On the 4th of January, 1862, he reached Cadiz. The authorities required him to observe quarantine, for want of a bill of health, and at first the governor of the port insisted that he should not remain more than twenty-four hours. But Capt. Semmes represented that his vessel needed repairs, and that he desired to communicate with the representative of the Confederate Government, Hon. Wm. D. Yancey, who was then in Spain. Accordingly a telegram was dispatched to the Central Government, at Madrid, and in a short time a reply came, that the *Sumter* might

enter the port after proper sanitary precautions, and be taken into the dock for repairs. The dock master repaired her hull so as to make her sea-worthy, and then reported to the governor that she was ready for sea. But Captain Semmes needed repairs for her machinery, and also a supply of funds, which Mr. Yancey had telegraphed he would receive. He therefore asked that he might remain until he was ready for a voyage; the governor required him to leave in six hours; he therefore went aboard and determined to run to Gibraltar, having a sufficiency of coal for that purpose. Just as he was heaving up his anchor, a message from the shore informed him that the Central Government had given permission that he should remain forty-eight hours longer, but Semmes replied that as this time was too short to accomplish the only objects for which he had desired to remain, he would leave at once. He steamed out of the harbor without delay, and arrived at Gibraltar on the 16th of January, where he was hospitably received and kindly treated by the British authorities and inhabitants. ^a

The cruise of the *Sumter* was ended. It was a memorable one in many respects. It had struck terror into the people of the North owning ships and merchandise at sea, and with the aid of the Southern privateers, had almost banished the enemy's trade from the frequented tracks of the ocean—had greatly increased the rates of insurance in Northern vessels, and induced shippers to give a preference to all other bottoms over those of the North. These

^a Semmes' MS. official report, with copies of letters.

were heavy blows, and excited such apprehension and rage that no efforts were spared to capture this dangerous Southern cruiser, or to paralyze her energies. The Federal consuls were specially virulent, and resorted to measures unworthy of a magnanimous nation. When the purser of the *Sumter*, in company with a gentleman who had formerly been the United States Consul at Cadix, visited Tangiers, in Morocco, they were arrested by a guard at the instigation of the Federal Consul there, loaded with irons and closely imprisoned. On the 20th of February, the United States sloop of war, *Ino*, arrived, and took possession of the prisoners. The Moorish authorities, learning that they were charged with political and not criminal acts, remonstrated, and the British Consul, Mr. Hay, took the same view, and insisted that the treaty between the United States and Morocco, which on this point was similar to that with England, did not justify the arrest. But the captain of the *Ino* refused to yield them up, and threatened to lower his flag and declare war against Morocco. This insolent threat so alarmed the feeble Moorish town government, that they ceased to interfere. The facts caused a debate in the British Parliament, and the views and conduct of Mr. Hay, were approved. The prisoners were carried off by the *Ino* and not released until some months afterwards. ^a

The *Sumter* was left at Gibraltar, but we shall meet again her skilful and adventurous commander and his brave crew, in the progress of the war.

The increasing numbers and vigilance of the blockading ships, guarding the entrance to the chief ports of the South, made it very important to the Confederates to avail themselves diligently of the many more obscure and difficult inlets along their coast. Among these, the narrow channels, known as Oregon and New Inlets, connecting the Ocean with Pamlico Sound, on the coast of North Carolina, and running through Hatteras Banks, were specially useful, and, for many months, valuable cargoes on small steamers and

sailing vessels, were constantly making their way safely through them into the ports on the interior of the Sound. In addition to these, was another channel called Hatteras Inlet, made in 1846 by a violent storm, which caused the waters of the Atlantic to burst their way through the sand banks, at a point forty miles South of Roanoke Island, six miles below Cape Hatteras, and about fifteen miles North of Ocracoke Inlet. This channel, thus formed by the war of water and land, was very little known except to navigators of the sound and the adjoining people of North Carolina. Its importance as a means of obtaining supplies and furnishing a safe retreat for privateers and their prizes, and also as a channel of invasion, if mastered by the enemy, turned upon is the attention of the military authorities of the State, early in the war, and they resolved to fortify its approaches. ^a

Accordingly, about the first of May, Col. Elwood Morris, with a corps of engineers and laborers, commenced the work, the progress of which was afterwards superintended by Gen. Walter Gwynn, aided by Commander Muse and Lieut. Davall of the Navy. Fort Hatteras was first built. It was a redoubt with sand banks rivetted with sod. It was strong and well constructed, and its location was such, that experienced officers believed that when a suitable armament of guns were mounted, no hostile ship could enter the inlet. ^b

Efforts were made to obtain the heaviest cannon then accessible in the South for this work. Gen. Gwynn, went to Norfolk for the purpose, but could procure nothing heavier than thirty-two pounder smooth bores. On the 29th of June, the Convention of North Carolina, by its vote, turned over the military property and the defence of the State to the Confederate Government. On the first of July, Capt. Lee of the Engineer Corps, was ordered to inspect the coast fortifications. He visited Hat-

^a E. W. Report in Dispatch, September 7th, 1861. Hatteras Inlet is not found on the maps.

^b Official report of Warren Winslow, Military Sec'y N. C. Examiner, September 27th.

^c Debate in the British House of Commons, March 17th. Dispatch, April 7th.

teras and reported that "the redoubt is well constructed and nicely finished, and is also conveniently arranged in its bomb-proofs, magazines and filling rooms, all of which are dry and well ventilated. Six cisterns to hold 5000 gallons each, are to be introduced into the parade of the redoubt."

To give added protection to the inlet and form an outpost to Fort Hatteras, a smaller work was constructed about a mile distant and nearer to the Ocean, commanding the approaches by the channel. In honor of the Governor of the State, it was called Fort Clark. On the 28th of August, this fort had five thirty-two pounders mounted. Fort Hatteras had eight thirty-two pounders mounted, and nine not mounted, though the carriages were complete and at hand, and one ten inch Columbiad, which had been brought from Fort Macon. Its pivot carriage was ready, but it was left lying on the beach and was never mounted. ^a

Soon after the larger work was commenced, the attention of the Federals was called to it, and, early in July, a plan was conceived by their Navy Department for attacking and if possible capturing it. ^b Their ships of war occasionally reconnoitred its approaches, but so obscure was the channel, that they avoided any attempt to enter. On Sunday, the 21st of July, while the small Confederate steamer, Beaufort, carrying a single rifled gun, was lying in the inlet, and her officers were dining ashore with the garrison of Fort Hatteras, a Federal steamer hove in sight. She was a large propeller, carrying seven guns, one of them a rifled six pounder. The signal from the light house, announced "a war steamer standing in from the Northward." Lieut. Duvall, commanding the Beaufort, hastened aboard and prepared for action. The batteries ashore were then not in condition for work, but the hostile ship showed no intention to attack them. She rounded to at least a mile and a quarter distant, and as she lost headway, fired her rifle at the

Beaufort and sent a shell whistling high over the hurricane deck. Duvall and his crew gallantly responded with a shot which was seen to throw up the water close under the side of the propeller. She now opened with three side guns as well as her rifle, but not a shot struck the Beaufort. The crew of the Confederate worked coolly and fired with precision. The Federal ship was struck several times, and finding the work too hot, she retreated behind a sand bank, which hid all except her upper masts. From this point she continued to throw shells, and as it was impossible for the Beaufort to give her gun such elevation as would reach her enemy, Duvall steamed deliberately up the Sound with colors flying in defiance. ^a The propeller soon left the sheltering bank and went to sea. The Southerners gathered confidence from this encounter, and sailing vessels, with supplies, came in almost daily, and afterwards loading with cotton, made their outward run for the welcoming ports of Bermuda or the West Indies.

Preparations for an attack on Hatteras were urged forward, and by the 28th of August were complete. The expedition was chiefly naval, and was assuredly the most enormous sea armament ever sent to reduce two extemporized works, mounting together thirteen guns. The fleet consisted of the huge steam frigate, Minnesota, the flag ship of Commodore Stringham, the Wabash, Capt. Mercer, the Susquehannah, Harriet Lane, Pawnee, Monticello, Adelaide, George Peabody, Tempest and Fanny, carrying altogether at least one hundred heavy guns. In addition to the naval force, eight hundred and sixty men from the Federal infantry and light artillery, at Fortress Monroe, were embarked on the Adelaide and George Peabody, to aid in the attack. General Butler went with them, and was expected to land and distinguish himself by directing a successful assault. ^b The whole naval and military force numbered not less than three thousand men.

^a Inventory of Munitions in Northern official Report. Dispatch, Sept. 6th.

^b Northern account, Sept. 1st, Washington. Dispatch, Sept. 4th.

^a Raleigh Standard. Dispatch, Aug. 1st.
^b New York Times. Examiner, Sept. 6. Butler's off. report. Dispatch, Sept. 4.

To meet this formidable assault, the garrisons of Fort Hatteras and Clark together, did not exceed seven hundred and seventy men. They were chiefly North Carolina volunteers, under the command of Colonel Wm. F. Martin.

On Monday, the 26th of August, at one o'clock, the Federal fleet sailed from Fortress Monroe. Gen. Huger promptly telegraphed from Norfolk to Gov. Clark, and warned him to prepare. Captain Samuel Barron, of the Confederate navy, with several officers of that service, hastened to the scene of danger, arriving at the Inlet on the 28th, in the steamer Winslow, and bringing with them a large additional supply of ammunition.

Wednesday, the 28th, was calm and serene; the heavens were clear; the sea was smooth; all things favored the Northern fleet. The vessels had all arrived off the inlet Tuesday evening, and the next morning, at day break, preparations were made to land the troops. South West gales had been blowing some days before, and a heavy surf was breaking on the beach. Three hundred and fifteen men, with a twelve pound rifled gun, and twelve pound howitzer, were landed safely, but in attempting to land more, two gunboats were swamped in the surf, and a boat from the Pawnee, under Lieut. Crosby, was beached and could not be gotten off. Butler reported that he "was about landing with them at the time, when the boats were stove," but though many others did land before the conflict was over, he was not among them. All that was done was the work of the ships.

At ten o'clock in the forenoon, the Wabash opened the bombardment, by firing at Fort Clark an eleven inch shell from one of her huge guns. The shell struck the sand, near the outer embankment of the fort, and exploded with a prolonged roar, scattering with its fragments the loosened earth and flinging it high into the air. The Minnesota immediately followed with her fire, and the frigate Cumberland, which had been towed into position by the Wabash, opened with all her heavy guns that could be brought to bear. The Susquehanna steamed in, dropping her boats astern, and added her fire to that of

her three powerful consorts. The bombardment was tremendous; the roar of the guns was incessant and the shells were every moment in the air, or falling in and around the devoted fort. The resolute garrison returned the fire with great spirit, but were very soon mortified and depressed to discover that their thirty-two pounders were almost impotent against the ships. They fired solid shot, and at the distance of nearly two miles, a large proportion of the balls fell short, and the few which reached their object, hardly penetrated the outer timbers. When this disheartening fact was discovered, the fire from the fort became very deliberate and was only kept up to continue resistance. Meanwhile the ships, secure in their distance, and formidable by their long range guns, kept up a terrific fire, which rained nine and eleven inch shells upon the fort, at the rate of seven in a minute, shattering to pieces the wooden structures exposed, killing and wounding a few of the men, and cutting down the flag staff from which floated the Confederate ensign. Still, the fort slowly returned the fire, until half past one o'clock, when the officers, upon consultation, determined to abandon it, with their men, and retire to Fort Hatteras. The move was effected so quietly, that for some time it was not perceived by the enemy, but the firing from the fort having ceased, Commodore Stringham signalled to his fleet to suspend the bombardment. Before his order was obeyed, a body of seamen and a few of the land forces, discovering that the fort was abandoned, entered it in high triumph, led by Coxswain Swearer of the Pawnee, who hoisted the Federal flag. The fire of the ships was still so hot, that the Northerners dared not stay. They retreated precipitately, leaving the flag flying, which received a heavy discharge of shells from the bombardiers.

Elated by their success, and not fully informed of the position of Fort Hatteras, the ships now steamed nearer in, entering the broad channel from the ocean. The steamer Monticello had drawn close in

a Correspondence of N. Y. Herald Dispatch, September 6th. Official Report Examiner, September 27th.

with the land to cover the debarkation of the land troops, and came within point blank range of the guns of the Fort, which opened a vigorous fire upon her. In endeavoring to haul off, she ran on a sand shoal and stuck fast. Thirty-two pound solid shot were poured upon her incessantly for fifty minutes. She answered with shells, and the combat was furious. She floated off at last, pierced through and through by many balls, one of which passed out below her water line. Some of her men were wounded, but none were killed. She was so disabled that it was found necessary to withdraw her from the squadron for repairs. That she should have escaped destruction, was a marvel, and proves either that the marksmanship of the artillerists in the Fort was bad, or that thirty-two pound solid shot are not formidable even at favorable range, against modern ships.

The severe fire she received did, however, considerably discourage the assailants, and no farther attack was made that day. In the words of a Northerner present: "Things did not look cheerful at dark. We had men ashore who were probably in need of provisions, and in case of a night attack, no assistance could be sent them from the Harriet Lane." ^a

As the twilight deepened into darkness, the elements had a troubled aspect, which alarmed the Naval commanders, with the fear that a heavy blow might entrap them on this dangerous coast. They deemed it prudent therefore to make an offing, and ran well out to sea, leaving the troops ashore to take care of themselves as best they might. Butler went with the fleet, doubtless with the patriotic conviction that his personal presence could not add to the efficiency of his army. Had the Confederates attacked the small Northern force then on land, they would probably have overwhelmed them. But the Southern officers did not know the force of the enemy; they only knew that the fleet had brought several thousand men, and that they had succeeded in landing several pieces of artillery. To hazard a night at-

tack under such circumstances was deemed improper. ^a

The morning of Thursday, the 29th of August, was again clear and favorable to the Northern fleet. They steamed in from the ocean, and at half past 8 o'clock, approached within a mile and a quarter of Fort Hatteras and commenced a terrific bombardment. The Susquehanna, on the extreme left of the line, opened first, followed quickly by the Wabash, Minnesota and Cumberland. More than eighty heavy guns were brought to bear. The roar of this mighty armament was like ceaseless thunder; the atmosphere was burdened with dense columns of smoke; the shells passed in elliptic orbits from the guns and fell in and around the Fort, bursting with frightful violence, and rending everything asunder within their reach. The Pawnee and Harriet Lane, under orders from Stringham, took their positions laterally from the Fort, nearer than the heavy ships, but not so much exposed to direct fire, and from their ten inch rifle pivot guns, poured a storm of shells upon the bomb-proofs and batteries. In the midst of this tempest of fire, the garrison of Hatteras preserved their courage and returned the discharges from their mounted guns, but with little effect. Nothing could be more disheartening to brave men than their position. Assaulted by nearly a hundred heavy cannon, sending a hurricane of destructive missiles which were gradually but certainly dashing their defences to atoms, they were yet unable to return blow for blow, and to reach effectively the ships which lay at a safe distance and laughed the feeble thirty-two pounders to scorn. Finding that their fire was almost useless, and having lost several men killed and wounded, the Southern officers ordered their garrison to the shelter of the bomb-proofs. At about ten o'clock Lieut. Murdaugh, of the Confederate Navy, who had received a severe wound in the arm, with other wounded men, and a part of the garrison, were sent aboard the steamer Winslow in the Sound,

^a Compare Butler's Official Report, Dispatch, Sept. 4, with Winslow's, and with accounts in Examiner Sept. 10. Dispatch 6th, 7th.

^a Correspondence of N. Y. Herald, Ibid.

and were carried safely to Newbern. Others escaped on the small steamers Ellis and Hill, but the larger part of the garrison remained in the Fort.

At half past ten o'clock an eight inch shell from the Harriet Lane passed into the Fort, directly through the ramparts, traversed the curtain under which some of the men were sheltered, and exploded with fatal effect. About twenty minutes afterwards, an eleven inch shell descended directly on the ventilator of the bomb-proof, pierced through it and exploded within, killing and wounding several men. The Southern officers now held a consultation and concluded that to hold out longer would only expose the garrison to destruction, without any advantage to compensate for such loss of life. They then ordered a white flag to be hoisted, and at half past eleven o'clock the ships ceased their fire. By regular terms of capitulation, signed on the one side by Commodore Stringham and Gen. Butler, and on the other by Capt. Barron, Col. Martin and Major Andrews, the Confederate forces, and the Forts and munitions of war, were surrendered unconditionally to the Government of the United States, but with the express agreement on the part of the United States that the officers and men should receive the treatment due to prisoners of war. ^a The loss of the Confederates was ten killed, thirteen wounded, and six hundred and sixty-five prisoners. The Federals had five men wounded. The prisoners were carried to New York, and after some time, were regularly exchanged.

The capture of these Forts was wholly a Naval triumph, and was accomplished by the long range guns of the ships and their superior projectiles, which enabled them to succeed as easily as four men armed with Sharpe's rifles would overcome one man three hundred yards distant armed with a pocket pistol. One of the Northern participants in the attack wrote as follows: "Well! we have taken Hatteras Inlet—two batteries, some fifteen guns. It was done by the ten-inch guns of the Squadron which made the place too warm for them. Their guns were well served,

and they, it appears, behaved well. A few shot struck us, but did no harm. The admirable gunnery of the young officers who commanded the ten-inch pivot guns, soon finished the work. That and nothing else saved the Squadron and the soldiers from a disgraceful repulse. *Butler did not land until after the enemy showed a white flag upon their battery.*" ^a

Though a victory thus achieved would not have elated a generous and brave nation, it excited triumphant joy at the North. Their Navy forthwith became their favorite arm. They predicted for it, uninterrupted success, and Lincoln and his Cabinet pushed actively forward preparations for farther descents upon the Southern coast.

Upon the Southerners, the capture of Fort Hatteras produced a considerable effect. It proved to them that ordinary batteries, mounted with thirty-two pounders, would be no protection against the powerful armaments of the Federal Squadrons. This lesson was yet to be repeated. The Southern war authorities labored under great disadvantages in obtaining suitable cannon and projectiles, but by perseverance, enterprize and courage, they were finally enabled to oppose to the enemy's ships, Forts and guns competent to their repulse.

The only material advantage, beyond the captured men and property, gained by the Federals at Hatteras, was the command of the Inlet and neighboring channels. The Confederate Forts, Oregon and Ocracoke, South of Hatteras, were abandoned, being considered untenable by the Naval officers in command, although the State authorities would willingly have ventured a struggle to retain them. ^b The Northerners established a post at Hatteras, but soon found its occupation attended by distresses and disasters. Mosquitoes so abounded that the men's faces generally bore the appearance of persons suffering from measles; water was scarce, and food was brought with much trouble from Old

^a Letter in Boston Courier from U. S. Naval Officer. Examiner, Sept. 10.

^b Report of Engineer E. Morris to Warren Winslow, Mil. Sec'y, Sept. 5. Examiner 27th.

^a Terms of capit. Dispatch, Sept. 4.

Point. In addition to these discomforts, the prevalence of Westerly winds drove the waters of the ocean high upon the sands, and within a few weeks after their arrival the Northern soldiers found themselves up to their waists in water in the Fort. Four of their sentries were drowned, and the troops were driven out to seek a safe spot on the more elevated parts of the bank. *a*

To obtain more tenable quarters, and also to encroach gradually on the interior waters of the State, the Federals attempted to establish a military post on the Chickamaoмаque Bank, twenty-five miles above Hatteras light-house, and not far below Roanoke Island. The twentieth Indiana regiment was landed at the spot and encamped, and on the 2d of October the Federal steamer Fanny, with munitions and supplies, approached the shore. She grounded two miles off. Some of the provisions were landed in barges, but before she could be got afloat, two Confederate gunboats, the Curlew, Capt. Lynch, and the Raleigh, Lieut. Alexander, were in sight, bearing down upon her. When they were seven miles off, the Fanny opened her fire, but did not alarm them; they drew steadily near, firing from their four pivot guns as they advanced. Their shells passed close to her decks, and the Fanny hoisted a white flag. She was soon got afloat and carried off in triumph, the captured stores amounting in value to seventy-five thousand dollars. *b*

The Confederates at that time held Roanoke Island, and cruised with their little fleet in Pamlico Sound. They resolved to attack the enemy at Chickamaoмаque. On Friday, the 4th of October, the Curlew, Raleigh, Fanny and Junaluska, with two transports, the Empire and Cotton Plant, left Roanoke Island with the 3d Georgia regiment, about 700 strong, and about the same number from the 8th and 7th North Carolina volunteers, for the point of assault. The land forces were commanded by Col. Wright, of Georgia. Col. Shaw led the North Carolinians; Capt. Lynch commanded the gunboats. The plan was

to send part of the force to intercept the retreat of the enemy across the narrow neck of land at Hatteras light-house, and thus entrap them between two fires. When the vessels hove in sight, the Northern camp was greatly perturbed. The Cotton Plant, with the Georgia regiment, headed directly for them, and opened fire from a boat howitzer when a mile off. The Indiana men immediately took to flight, leaving tents, baggage, overcoats, blankets, knapsacks, and a quantity of ammunition, besides about two hundred packs of playing cards, one hundred packs whereof were in use, and had been dealt out in hands when the stampede commenced. *a* Col. Wright, with his Georgians, and one company of North Carolinians, landed and pursued them vigorously down the bank. A more severe and rapid march seldom took place; the sun was burning hot; the sands were scorching; water could not be obtained except from the supply in the canteens. One Georgian fell and died from fatigue. Many of the enemy fell exhausted and were captured. Coming up with a small number, Col. Wright pressed on them; a Sergeant-Major fired at him and killed his horse. The brave Colonel dismounted and captured his assailant. Seven of the enemy were killed and forty taken prisoners. Their larger number continued a disordered flight, eager to pass the neck of Hatteras light-house before the tide was high. Meanwhile, the North Carolina troops had been carried by the vessels within two miles of this point and attempted to land. Two flat boats were all that could be obtained, which could transport only a small number. The rest waded until stopped by deep water, when all were compelled to return. Thus they were unable to intercept the flying enemy. The larger part of the Indiana regiment arrived, nearly dead from exhaustion, and almost without arms, at Fort Hatteras.

The next morning the Federal steamer Monticello appeared off the Bank and shelled the Georgia troops and the boats of the Confederate expedition, but did no harm save inflicting a slight bruise on the

a Col. Hawkins' Statement in N. Y. Herald. Dispatch, Nov. 15.

b Norfolk Day Book, Examiner, Oct. 5. Letter in Indianapolis Journal, Dispatch. Oct. 20.

a Letter in Norfolk Day Book. Examiner, Oct. 10.

log of one man. ^a The vessels received the troops on board and returned in safety, bringing back their prisoners, with a number of muskets and other spoils of victory. The Northern accounts of this affair furnished a ridiculous example of their habitual falsehood and boasting, running thus: "*More Brilliant Victories on the North Carolina Coast—Attack by Six Rebel Steamers and Three Thousand Men—Two of the Steamers Sunk—Seven Hundred Rebels Supposed to be Drowned—A Large Number Killed and Wounded.*" ^b But the truth was sufficiently manifest to the Northerners on the coast to discourage further attempts, and many months passed before they renewed their efforts to obtain a foothold in North Carolina.

In one week after the rout of the enemy at Chickamacomaque, the Confederates essayed a deed of singular daring at the mouth of the Mississippi, which was attended with so much success as to diminish the fear of the Naval power against them, and to pioneer a revolution in sea warfare. A vessel had been prepared at New Orleans from the frame of a steamboat, greatly strengthened with heavy beams and sheathed entirely over with strong planking, and a casing of iron plates an inch thick. Her appearance above water was oval—something like a steamer bottom upwards. From this curved deck protruded her two smoke stacks. A single port in the bow admitted the muzzle of a seven-inch rifle, and was so arranged that after the gun was fired and recoiled, a heavy iron shutter fell and closed the port until the piece was again ready. Projecting from her bow, several feet under water, was a powerful pike or scythe of wrought iron, bolted to a wooden frame. From her shape, she was familiarly called the "Turtle," but her true name was "The Manassas," after the great battle field. ^c

To command the Confederate Naval force at New Orleans, Capt. George N. Hollins, already successful in the St. Nicholas captures, had been sent from Richmond. He exerted all energy to raise a

small fleet out of the scanty materials at his command. A few of the strongest steam tow-boats used on the lower Mississippi were razed and hastily converted into gunboats. By the 10th of October the Squadron was ready for action, consisting of the Manassas, under Lieut. Warley, of South Carolina, the Calhoun, flagship of Commodore Hollins, commanded by Lieut. J. H. Carter, and carrying two guns, the McRae, (formerly the Marquis de la Habana,) Capt. Huger, carrying one 60-pound rifle and two howitzers, the Joy, Lieut. Fry, armed with a Columbiad forward and a rifle ast, the Tuscarora, Lieut. Beverly Kennon, with a ten-inch gun forward and a 32 pound rifle ast, the Jackson, (formerly the tow-boat Yankee,) Capt. Stevenson, with two long range guns, and the cutter Pickens, Capt. Breshwood, with one eight-inch Columbiad and four 24 pound carronades, the whole flotilla carrying eighteen guns. In addition to the armed ships, five barges were prepared and filled with tar, resin, turpentine and pine wood, to be used as fire-ships, under the management of Lieut. Averett, with his steam-tug Watson. ^a

The Federal fleet, at the Head of the Passes in the Mississippi, seventy-eight miles below New Orleans, consisted of the steam-sloop Richmond, of twenty guns, the sailing-sloop Vincennes, of twenty-two guns, the Preble, of eighteen guns, and the Water Witch, carrying three ten-inch guns, sixty-three guns in all. Commodore Hollins determined to attack them.

On Wednesday, the 9th of October, the Confederate flotilla dropped down from New Orleans and Algiers to Forts Jackson and St. Philip, and made silent preparations for the assault. Friday night, the 11th, set in with a darkness thick and impenetrable, favoring their daring enterprise. At midnight the flotilla started; the Manassas led the way; her brave commander was aided by an equally brave officer, Mr. Austin, who was perfectly acquainted with the river, and took the place of the regular pilot, who had left her at the Fort. The other vessels followed, feeling their way through the gloom. The Manassas was to open the attack by run-

^a Capt. Carrsvill's Statement. Dispatch Oct. 9.

^b N. Y. Times, Oct. 10.

^c Memphis Avalanche. Dispatch, Oct. 21.

^a N. O. Delta. Examiner

ning with her formidable pike into one of the advance ships. The duty was novel and perilous, but her officers and men were full of courage and enthusiasm.

The darkness was intense. Down the current the iron-clad steamer glided at a rate little less than thirteen miles an hour. It was arranged that when she discovered the enemy she was to throw up a rocket as a signal to her associates. Suddenly Mr. Austin saw dimly before her bow the outlines of one of the Federal war-sloops; he instantly sang out to the engineer, "let her out, Hardy, let her out, now," and at the word a large quantity of tar, tallow and sulphur, prepared for the purpose, was thrown into her furnaces, and her steam gauge was run up to the highest point. She sprang forward with increased impetus, and ran with terrific violence into the sloop Richmond, plunging her pike fifteen feet through the thick copper and planking below the water line between the hog and main chains. The crash of the collision was fearful; shrieks and cries of pain and terror arose from the stricken ship; the assault was wholly unexpected; her crew rushed wildly upon deck; some leaped overboard. Amid the frenzy of excitement and alarm roused by her blow, the Manassas backed her engines and hauled off, tearing away sheets of metal and planking from the lacerated side of her enemy. ^a

The tremendous shock had thrown officers and men of the Manassas from their feet. Recovering themselves as rapidly as possible, they prepared to renew the attack. But now it was found that one of her condensers had been broken by the concussion, and the machinery was so much dislocated that Mr. Hardy, the engineer, sent up word that she had not power for offensive work, and could with difficulty escape. Warley's disappointment was great, but there was no remedy. She threw up the rocket signal, and then, with one engine, worked her way slowly round to head up the stream. The Federal ships having somewhat recovered from their surprise, brought their broadsides to bear on her, and a hurricane of round shot from the Richmond and Preble, and of shells

from the Water Witch, poured upon the iron-clad. Her flag-staff and smoke-stacks were cut away, and falling down in broken fragments, choked the exit for the smoke and threatened to suffocate the crew with the gases of sulphur and tallow. With heroic courage Hardy and Austin sprang upon the curved iron roof, and with rapid strokes of axes, cut away the guys of the smoke-stacks and cleared the wreck from the ship, opening the vent completely and returning in safety below. ^a Happily, the haste and excitement of the Federal gunners caused them to aim high and wildly, and though their shot rattled like a hail storm upon the roof, not one pierced to the interior.

Yet the condition of the Manassas was highly critical. Though severely injured, the Richmond was able to take the Vincennes in tow, and the Water Witch grappled the Preble, and together they steamed up the current in pursuit, firing with every gun they could bring to bear. They were closing around their prey when her associates drew near. The combustible material aboard the barges was fired, and with great gallantry and skill, Lieuts. Averett and Kennon towed them to the proper positions and sent them down upon the enemy. At the sight of these blazing piles floating down the rapid stream, and bringing conflagration upon them, the Federal ships turned their bows and fled down the river with all the speed they could command. ^b

At daylight the next morning the Federal vessels were discovered in the South-West Pass. The Richmond was aground, and almost on her beam ends. The Vincennes had also struck hard on the sand and was immovable. The Southern flotilla approached and opened fire; the Joy, McRae and Tuscarora being chiefly engaged. So severe and well directed was their fire that Commander Handy of the Vincennes at one time despaired of saving her; threw her guns overboard and made preparations to blow her up. He abandoned her, and his crew, leaving a lighted match to communicate with the magazine,

^a Ibid.

^b N. O. Commercial Bulletin. Examiner, Oct. 18.

^a New Orleans True Delta. Examiner, Oct. 19, 1861.

but by accident it was extinguished, and the catastrophe was averted.^a

The heavy firing drew other blockading ships in from the Gulf to the river, and finding that his flotilla might be overpowered, Commander Hollins gave the signal to draw them off. On his way up the river he captured the schooner *Joseph H. Tooke* loaded with coal, intended for the Federal steamers. She was near the Richmond when the attack was made, and in the tumult of the fight, she was left behind. A twelve-oared barge, belonging to the Richmond, was also captured, having a number of cutlasses aboard. A great quantity of lumber had been brought by the enemy, with much trouble and expense, to the Head of the Passes, to erect buildings. Capt. Hollins burned it all, and arrived with his whole fleet safely at New Orleans, where he and his brave officers and men were received with high enthusiasm. He had not a man killed or severely hurt. The loss of the enemy in property was considerable, but their chief chagrin was caused by their mortifying repulse and flight from an extemporized Naval force which they had theretofore held in contempt. By expert exertions they succeeded in rescuing their ships, but the Richmond needed docking and careful repairs before she was again sea-worthy.

The Lincoln Government had for months been preparing for a descent with naval and land forces, on a large scale, upon some point of the Southern coast. It is probable that their exertions were stung into renewed energy by the repulse they met in the Mississippi, and their desire to wipe out its disgrace by some decisive success. On Thursday, the 24th of October, the great fleet of war ships and transports began to arrive at Old Point, and in a few days they were ready for their departure. So formidable an armament had never before assembled in the waters of America. The naval force was under the command of Commodore S. F. Dupont, and consisted of the flag steamship *Wabash*, of 58 guns; the *Minnesota*, of 57, and the *Roanoke*, of 54; the frigate *St. Lawrence*,

of 50 guns; the sloops *Vandalia*, *Jamestown*, *Cumberland*, *Savannah* and *Dale*, together carrying 106 guns; twenty-six gun-boats, embracing the *Pawnee*, *Harriet Lane*, *Iroquois* and *Monticello*, and mounting at least a hundred guns. The land force were embarked in thirty steam vessels and six sailing ships, and were under the command of General Thomas W. Sherman. The whole number of officers and men fell very little below twenty-five thousand. Besides the war ships with their complete armaments, and the military force with their muskets and accoutrements, the expedition was furnished with five hundred surf boats, provisions and supplies for three months, live stock, horses, wagons, gun-carriages, hoes, picks, shovels, carts, brick, cement, grindstones, lumber, caissons, forges, grape, cannister, shot, shells; in short, every article that invention could conceive as desirable for such an enterprise, and that Northern contractors, under the stimulus of heavy profits, could furnish.^a On Monday, the 28th, the van of the fleet, consisting of twenty-five coal vessels, left Hampton Roads, and the next day, the remaining ships and transports put to sea, and after gaining offing, ran down the coast.

Profound secrecy had been preserved as to its destination. It was only known to the two commanders of the expedition, and the heads of the Washington Departments. In fact, a broad discretion had been entrusted to Commodore Dupont to make his descent upon such point as he might deem most advantageous to attack.^b The South had notice of the assembling and departure of the fleet, but was ignorant of its destination. Her people were kept for days in a state of suspense. Nothing can more vividly exhibit the advantage held by the enemy than this illustration of the fact, that they were able to threaten, with an enormous force, many different points, all of which could not, in the very nature of things, be prepared to repel them. Charleston, Mobile, New Or-

^a Gen. Duncan's Letter to Gen. Twiggs, Oct. 14. Dispatch, Oct. 21. Capt. Pope's Official Report, Nov. 5.

^a Intelligencer, Washington. Examiner, Nov. 4.

^b Dupont's Official Report to U. S. Navy Department, Nov. 6th, 1861.

jeans, all looked for the stroke, but it fell not on them.

Under orders issued by the commanders, the great armada, after getting well out to sea, kept together in three lines, the ships following as closely as possible in the wake of each other. By the morning of Thursday, the 31st of October, they had reached the latitude of Hatteras. But now came the war of the elements against them. The wind rose; the sea began to roughen; the waves broke in snow-white foam around the vessels; it was impossible for them to preserve their distances or order. From noon of Thursday the gale constantly increased. Friday brought no relief. The wind, which was at first from the South-West, shifted to the South, and then to the South-East, driving the scattered ships far apart and out of sight or sound of each other. By night the blow had become a hurricane, lashing the ocean into fury; the overburdened transports labored with fearful peril amid the monstrous waves. The soldiers suffered severely, pent up between the crowded decks, stifled with impure air, and tossed upon the billows which threatened hourly to engulf them.^a In this heavy storm the armed ship, Isaac Smith, was compelled to throw all her guns overboard to keep her afloat. She then went to the relief of the large transport, Governor, which had aboard a battalion of marines, under Major Reynolds, and was leaking from gaping seams in her bottom. By great exertions of the Isaac Smith and the frigate Sabine, most of the soldiers and crew were rescued, but at last the Governor went down in deep water, carrying seven of the marines with her, and the greater part of the battalion's outfit. The transport Peerless, was lost in like manner, after her crew had been taken off.^b The new ship Union went ashore twelve miles from Fort Maceo and bilged; with great difficulty her officers and crew were brought ashore in boats. They were all taken prisoners by the Confederates, and carried to Raleigh. They were seventy-one in number, and

were kindly treated.^a Some of the Quartermaster's and Commissary stores, with which the Union was laden, were saved, but most of them were lost when she went to pieces. The Oceola, carrying similar stores, the Belvidere, loaded with horses, and two ferry boats, all disappeared, and were heard of no more. The dead bodies of horses, floating amid the waves, were seen by the shipwrecked crew of the Union. How many vessels perished in the storm, no authentic report has stated. Certainly enough were lost to have seriously disabled the armada had it not been so large as to remain efficient after the tempest had done its worst.

By Saturday evening, the 2nd of November, the storm had spent its force, and the scattered ships began slowly to reappear. Sunday morning the fleet was approaching the Southern coast of South Carolina, and then, for the first time, it became apparent that the point they sought was Port Royal harbor.

The region of country they threatened by this descent, was generally known as Port Royal Island, and St. Helena, in the Beaufort District, in South Carolina. It was in the shape of an irregular triangle, approaching an equilateral with a base on the Atlantic, running from the entrance of the harbor about twenty miles Northeastward, and contained about two hundred square miles of area. Rivers and swamps intersected this triangle in many parts, forming islands, generally in a high state of culture for cotton and rice. The cotton staple here produced, was remarkable for its fine, soft texture, and its tensile power, and under the name of Sea Island cotton, was eagerly sought in every manufacturing district of the world, where the most costly and delicate cotton fabrics were made. Hence, the earnest desire of the North to possess this region, was stimulated not only by the importance of Port Royal harbor as a deep and safe anchorage for its navies, but by the hope of seizing great quantities of cotton for the looms of New England. Eighteen miles from the mouth of the harbor was the small

^a Northern accounts in the Examiner, Nov. 23rd.

^b Commodore Dupont's Official Report.

^a Raleigh Register, Nov. 6.

town of Beaufort, on Port Royal river and the island of the same name, and having a good harbor, but with a bar below it, impassable for ships drawing over eleven feet of water. Its white inhabitants numbered about nine hundred previous to the war. The Beaufort District was one of the richest and most thickly settled of the State. It contained about fifteen hundred square miles, and produced, annually, fifty millions of pounds of rice, fourteen thousand bales of cotton, five hundred thousand bushels of Indian corn, the same quantity of sweet potatoes, and held a population of nearly forty thousand, of whom more than thirty thousand were slaves. ^a Here was an inviting field for Northern cupidity.

The delta at the mouth of the harbor formed a long bar, more than two miles in width, having water enough, however, at high tide, to float the heaviest of the Federal ships, and leave about two feet between their keels and the bottom. To defend the harbor and the approaches to Beaufort, the Confederates had erected two sand forts—one at Hilton Head, on the South, called Fort Walker, and the other at Bay Point, on the North, called Fort Beauregard. Neither was a work of much size or strength. Fort Walker was the strongest, having sixteen guns mounted, nine of which bore on the harbor. Most of them were thirty-two pounders, one was a rifled twenty-four pounder, and one a ten inch columbiad. Fort Beauregard mounted eight guns, none of the heaviest calibre.

Commodore Tatnall, of the Confederate Navy, had made earnest efforts to prepare a small squadron to aid in the defence. His flotilla consisted of four river steamers, strengthened and converted into gunboats, each carrying two thirty-two pounders. They were the flag ship Savannah, the Resolute, Huntress, and Lady Davis. Monday, the 4th of November, he steamed out gallantly with his frail fleet, and engaged the Federal ships at long range, retiring slowly as they advanced. All the bouys had been removed, and the enemy were compelled to feel their way cau-

tiously, sounding as they moved, and marking the line of the channel. The Federal gunboats Ottawa, Seneca and Vixen led the van, followed by others of the slighter armed ships. On Tuesday morning, the 5th, a sharp naval battle took place between Commodore Tatnall's steamboats and the forward ships of the enemy. The firing, for forty minutes, was incessant and severe; the Federal vessels were repeatedly hulled, and lost several men; the Savannah received three shots, which injured her so much that she was compelled to withdraw to Savannah for repairs, after landing her ammunition and crew to aid the forts. The Resolute followed her safely; the Huntress and Lady Davis were cut off from the channel to Savannah, and made their way to Charleston. ^a

By Tuesday evening the whole Northern fleet had safely passed the bar and anchored at the mouth of the harbor. Having reconnoitered the position and relative strength of the forts, they prepared for the attack. Thursday, the 7th, was a clear and beautiful day. The Wabash led the van, followed by a powerful squadron, carrying, in all, more than four hundred guns. The garrison of Fort Walker consisted of about two hundred and twenty men, chiefly of the German Artillery of Charleston, under Colonel Werner, but additional troops of Georgia and South Carolina were around the fort and near the beach, to resist a land attack; Fort Beauregard was commanded by Captain Stephen Elliott, with a garrison of about a hundred men. The whole number of troops did not exceed three thousand, and were commanded by General Drayton.

The Federal fleet approached majestically, and were manœvered with admirable skill. The Confederates stood resolutely to their guns, and prepared to give the foe a warm reception. At twenty-six minutes after nine the Wabash was nearly abreast of Fort Walker, in full rango; the thirty-two pounder rifle was trained upon her and fired, the shell exploded long before it reached her; the other guns of the fort were aimed and opened their fire. The huge ship replied, and instantly was

^a New Am. Cyclop., III., 16. Mitchell's maps.

^a Charleston Courier. Dispatch, Nov. 11.

enveloped in clouds of smoke, from which her guns thundered a broadside. Soon the other ships reached a practicable distance, and the air was filled with a prolonged and deafening roar of heavy cannon, pouring a storm of shot and shells upon the fort. The garrison acted courageously, but fired without any skill or effect. Early in the action, their best gun, the ten inch columbiad, was disabled by some derangement of the eccentrics on which it turned, and became unmanageable. The Federal fleet steamed forward, delivering its broadsides with ceaseless violence, then turning in a sharp ellipse, it steamed back in the same order, so as to fire the other broadside at Fort Walker, and load in time to open on Fort Beauregard on getting within range. The effect of these manœuvres was greatly to disturb the aim of the artillerists in the forts, who could get no accurate range of a moving object. The wind, also helped the Federals, driving the smoke clear of their ships and packing it in dense masses upon the land battery, so that the men could with difficulty get occasional views of the enemy through the lifting cloud. Still the Southerners continued the conflict bravely for more than four hours. The Federal fire never ceased; the whirring sound of their shot and shells was like a storm in the rigging of a ship. At twelve o'clock several of their vessels had gained a position on the upper side of the fort, while others were below, and many immediately in front. An enflading fire of terrible power was thus kept up. Fifty shells and solid shot, every minute, fell within the fort; the havoc and ruin wrought were seen on every side. Every gun that would bear was dismounted except two; gun carriages were dashed to pieces; men were falling, burnt and wounded, each moment. It became plain to the officers that nothing but retreat would save their command from destruction. The troops outside suffered more than those in the fort. The order was given and the men retreated with all possible rapidity across the broad, open plain, separating the fort from the woods, followed by furious broadsides from the ships. At nearly the same time Fort Beauregard and Bay Point were

evacuated. At half-past two o'clock the Federal flag was flying over Fort Walker, and a few hours afterwards it was hoisted on the opposite shore. The Federals lost, according to their report, eight killed and twenty-three wounded. Several of their ships received considerable damage. The Confederates lost about one hundred in killed and wounded; among the latter was General Drayton. They lost, also, forty-three pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of small arms, with all the stores collected in and around the forts.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

REMEMBRANCE.

*Respectfully inscribed to Miss L. M. G., of
Montgomery County, Virginia.*

Always I think of thee,
When warbling nightingales,
Far through the forest trees,
In dulcet symphonies,
Declare how love prevails.
When do you think of me?

Always I think of thee,
When evening's curtain clings
Around the pearting streams,
Where play the pale moonbeams,
In grotesque glimmerings.
Where do you think of me?

Always I think of thee,
With pain so strangely sweet,
That Paradise imparts,
To longing mortals' hearts,
No bliss that's so complete.
How do you think of me?

Oh! ever think of me,
Till we, united find,
Beneath a better star—
Which brightly beams afar—
Our lives in love combined.
I always think of thee!

C.

DANVILLE, Sept. 14th, 1863.

a Commodore Dupont's Official Report.
b Despatch to Charleston Mercury, November 9.

Southern

Lowell Fund

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HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER VIII.

The Federals hastened to take possession of Beaufort, but they found it deserted by its white inhabitants. Some negroes remained, and many slaves from the cotton and rice plantations flocked to the Northern army. The brigand policy with which the war had been commenced, was carried out as far as power fell into their hands. In wars, among civilized nations, it had long been held, that private property would be respected, unless absolutely needed for emergencies beyond ordinary war supplies. But the Northerners openly announced their purpose to seize all the cotton, rice and tobacco in the South that they could find, and to give freedom to all slaves who would come into their lines.

The consequences of this scheme of robbery, were soon apparent. The resolute planters of the South, determined to burn their crops, rather than suffer them to fall into the hands of their enemies. In a few days, the smoke of conflagration was seen rising from nearly every plantation of the Sea Islands. J. J. Mickell, Mrs. Hopkinson, J. Legare, burned their entire crops, with their negro houses, barns and gins, and gathering all their slaves, who had not escaped, retired to the interior. Their example was followed by others, and soon this wealthy region was filled with smoking ruins. Crops, amount-

ing to twenty thousand bales, worth two and a half millions of dollars, were either carried into places of safety, in the interior, or burned, when they could not be moved. The rage and mortification of the Northerners were great, but produced no salutary reaction. Had they been capable of generous and just feeling, they would have seen in this stern and unpitiful self-sacrifice, a patriotism never to be subdued, and would have ceased their war upon a people ready to lose all except liberty and honor.

But the Northern people felt no emotion, except wrath, that this precious cotton had turned to ashes in their grasp! Their papers boasted of the great quantities they had secured, declaring that three thousand bales would soon arrive. But when these bales were received, they were found to be only bags of unginning cotton, which, when cleared of the seed, weighed only six pounds each!

Hilton Head speedily became the scene of Northern industry and thrift. Great efforts were made to re-establish plantations and induce the liberated slaves to work. But the past experience of all such efforts, was once more repeated. Instead of a population of healthy, industrious laborers, working faithfully for themselves, as well as their owners, the negroes quickly gave themselves up to idleness, drawing rations for their support, never working except when forced, and bringing on themselves, and all around them, disease and discomfort by their vicious habits. Such were the results almost immediately flow-

a Letter in Columbia Carolinian. Dispatch, November 26th.

ing from the mingled fanaticism and dishonesty that urged the North into this war. The result of a full year's labor and outlay in attempting to raise Sea Island cotton was, that every pound raised and brought into the Northern market, had cost the Federal government more than twenty dollars! a

The descent of the Northern armada, upon Port Royal, was soon followed by events which, for a time, agitated both America and Europe, with the apprehension of a war between England and the United States, and which projected their influence far forward into the vicissitudes of the coming year. The mission of the three Confederate commissioners, Messrs. Yancey, Rost and Mann, first sent to Europe, was temporary in its nature; their duties being chiefly to announce to England, France, Russia and Belgium, the formation of the Southern Confederacy, and to ask her recognition by them as one of the Powers of the Earth. Their return was soon expected, and it was deemed important by President Davis and his cabinet, that the Confederate States should be represented in Europe, by two ministers, with full diplomatic powers, one to reside near the government of Her Britannic Majesty, and the other at the court of the Emperor of the French. For the mission to England, James M. Mason, of Virginia, was selected. He was a statesman of the pure Southern school, of enlarged views and sound learning, in the solid, rather than the lighter accomplishments of the scholar. He had represented his State in the Federal Senate many years, and had always been true to the rights and interests of the South. For the post of ambassador to France, John Slidell, of Louisiana, was chosen. He was a native of New York, but had resided so long in the extreme South, that all his habits, feelings and principles were in unison with the Confederate cause. He was a man of versatile talents, elegant accomplishments and pleasant manners. He was well acquainted with the language and literature of the polished nation to which he was accredited, and

possessed of the happy tact by which successes in diplomacy are won. It was generally felt that the choice of these two gentlemen, for their important posts, was fortunate. Great care was taken to confine a knowledge of their intended mission to official minds, but it reached the public by those mysterious hints, which the imprudent initiated seldom fail to let fall, and which newspapers reproduce in forms still more mysterious. The result was, that the North gained information of their proposed departure for Europe, and the Lincoln Navy Department ordered their blockaders and cruisers to redouble their watchfulness, in order to arrest them.

The Steamer Nashville, a very rapid ship, once employed in the coasting transportation of passengers and freight, had been converted into a ship of war, and was lying in the port of Charleston, under command of Lieut. Commanding Robert B. Pegram. It was at first intended that Messrs. Mason and Slidell should be carried in her to England, and Capt. Pegram announced her readiness to receive them. But it was now ascertained that the Northern government knew their intention, and it was justly thought too hazardous that they should venture out in an armed ship, whose exit was expected and would be sedulously watched by the enemy.

Convinced that the blockade might be more certainly evaded in a private ship, the ambassadors selected the staunch steamer, Theodora, in the harbor of Charleston, and on the 11th of October, went aboard. Mr. Mason was accompanied by his secretary, Mr. Macfarland. Mr. Slidell had Mr. Eustis as his secretary, and was also accompanied by Mrs. Slidell and his daughters, Mathilde and Rosine, and by Mrs. Eustis, who was a daughter of Mr. Corcoran, a banker of Washington, then imprisoned in Fort Lafayette, under the tyranny of Lincoln, because of his sympathy with the South. The night was profoundly dark; rain began to fall about 12 o'clock. At one, all was ready; the Theodora cast off and steamed boldly down the harbor, ran out to sea, passed the blockaders without a shot or a sound, and safely reached Nassau, on the evening of Saturday, the 12th of October. Thence, she ran

a New York Tribune. Enquirer, April 19th, 1863.

for the coast of Cuba, and on the 16th, arrived at Cardenas, where the ministers, with their families, were safely landed. The *Theodora* continued her voyage to Havana, where she was received with enthusiasm. The ambassadors arrived and were most hospitably greeted by the public authorities and the Spanish population. The ladies of Havana presented a beautiful Confederate flag to the *Theodora*, and, after taking in a cargo of coffee, sugar, saltpetre, sulphur, acids, lead, shot and block tin, she left this friendly port and ran safely into a harbor of the South. ^a

On the 7th of November, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, with their retinue, took passage on the British mail steamer, *Trent*, having on board of her the mails for England, under the care of commander Williams, an officer of the English navy. Intelligence of their movements reached Capt. Charles Wilkes, of the Federal navy, commanding the steam frigate *San Jacinto*, and, eager to prove his zeal in suppressing what he termed a rebellion, he resolved to seize them. He had general instructions to arrest them if possible, but no special directions to seize them in a neutral ship. A superficial examination of a law book, aboard his ship, satisfied him that he was clothed with authority to take forcibly, from a neutral vessel, the persons of ambassadors, ^b and he determined to go beyond, rather than fall short of his duty.

On Friday, the 8th of November, about noon, the *San Jacinto*, with no colors hoisted, approached the *Trent*, in the Bahama Channel. Instead of showing the friendly courtesies used by a ship of war, when she wishes to speak an unarmed vessel, by displaying her flag and firing an unshot gun, the *San Jacinto* fired a round shot across the bows of the *Trent*. No notice was taken of it; the *Trent* kept on her course, when immediately a shell was fired, which exploded so near her bow, that farther progress would have been reckless imprudence. The *Trent* hove to—Wilkes sent his first Lieutenant, Fairfax, with two boats filled with armed marines aboard of her. Fairfax was from Virginia,

yet zealously performed the degrading service required of him. He was acquainted with the persons of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, and was connected, by marriage, with the family of Mr. Mason. Leaving his marines in the boats, he ascended to the deck of the *Trent* and demanded from her captain a list of his passengers. This was refused. He then stated that he was instructed to take from her the persons of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Macfarland and Eustis, and must do so by a search and by force, if they are not otherwise yielded. Mr. Slidell then came forward and said the persons he sought were before him. Lieut. Fairfax said he must require them to go aboard the *San Jacinto*. Mr. Mason stated that they had regularly taken passage, at Havana, in a British ship, and he had no right to remove them. Fairfax pointed to his marines and said, "you see I have the necessary force, and I will use it if compelled." Mr. Mason replied, "you must do so then." Whereupon Fairfax laid his hand upon Mr. Mason's shoulder, and urged him towards the gangway. A scene of excitement arose; the passengers and crew of the *Trent*, warmly opposed this proceeding, and were ready to resist it. Commander Williams announced his rank and authority, and forbade the act threatened. Mathilde Slidell, with great spirit and courage, repulsed the Federal officer, when he attempted to enter the apartment where her father was surrounded by his distressed and agitated family. But the Southern ambassadors knew that resistance was vain. The *Trent* lay under the guns of the *San Jacinto*, distant not more than two hundred yards. The outrage being complete, by the use of actual force, Messrs. Mason and Slidell made a formal protest against it, in which they were joined by the captain of the *Trent* and Commander Williams. The ambassadors and their secretaries, were then carried aboard the frigate, but no dispatches or important papers were found on their persons. The *Trent*, with the ladies of their families, was allowed to proceed. ^c

^a Charleston Mercury, October 31st.
^b Wilkes' Official Report.

^c N. Y. Herald, Nov. 18th. Philadelphia Press Dispatch, Nov. 29th. Speech of Lieut. Fairfax, Examiner, Dec. 4th. English accounts; Correspondence between

The San Jacinto brought her prisoners to Fortress Monroe, whence they were carried to New York. The North received the news of their capture with undisguised exultation. The most prominent public Journals were loud in praises of Captain Wilkes' conduct, and were filled with elaborate articles, justifying his act upon principles of international law. He and his first lieutenant, were pronounced heroes by the people of the North, who, having no real heroism in their service, were fain to be content with its counterfeit. They were invited to dinners and banquets, and called on for speeches, repeating the "thrice told tale" of their exploit. Gideon Welles, the Federal Navy Secretary, reported the facts to the Northern Congress, and stated that Wilkes' conduct merited and received the emphatic approval of his department, and moreover wrote a public letter to Wilkes, in which he said, "I congratulate you on your safe arrival, and especially do I congratulate you on the great public service you have rendered, in the capture of the Confederate emissaries." "Your conduct in seizing these public enemies, was marked by intelligence, ability, decision and firmness, and has the emphatic approval of this department." He added, that it was not necessary to express an opinion upon the omission of Wilkes to capture the Trent, farther than to say, that the forbearance exercised in that instance, must not be a precedent for the future. A resolution of thanks to Capt. Wilkes, was introduced into the House of Representatives, and only postponed because of his failure to seize the steamer. But the House very fully adopted his act, in seizing Messrs. Mason and Slidell, and showed its savage temper by passing a resolution requesting Mr. Lincoln to confine these gentlemen in cells of convicted felons.^b This was in alleged retaliation for the action of the Confederate Executive, who had confined Federal officers, in just rebuke to the cruelty of the North to Southern privateersmen. A few Northern pa-

pers ventured a faint expression of doubt as to the policy of the seizure, and uttered some timid prophesies of England's wrath. But the great body of the press, people, Congress and executive, united in approving Wilkes' act, and declaring their readiness to sustain it to extremity.

To this general committal, there was, however, one exception, in the person of William H. Seward, whose wily and disingenuous forecast was never more conspicuous, than in his management of this complication. He knew enough of British character, to be certain that the outrage of Wilkes, would excite a burst of indignation among their people. How the English government would act, became the subject of his thought, immediately upon his first knowledge of the seizure. He, therefore, wrote at once to Mr. Adams, the Federal minister, in London, stating the incidents that had occurred, and informing him, that "in the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, aboard a British vessel. Capt. Wilkes had acted without any instructions from the government." Hence, he said, the subject was free from the embarrassment, which might have resulted, if the act had been specially directed by them, and he considered it most prudent to enter upon no discussion of the subject, until the ground taken by the British government should be made known, and that the discussion, if there should be one, should take place in Washington. The object of this forewarning was plain. Mr. Seward was fixed in his purpose to have no war with England, and had resolved, before hand, to yield to her demands, however dishonorable and humiliating might be the position of the Northern people on the subject.

But, in the meantime, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, with their secretaries, were sent as prisoners to Fort Warren, in the harbor of Boston, and confined with other distinguished gentlemen, among whom was Charles James Faulkner, the former American Minister to France, who had been arrested by the Lincoln government, almost immediately upon his arrival from his late mission. The course pursued towards him, was so marked by perfidy and

Earl Russell, Lord Lyons and Mr. Seward. Whig, January 4th, 1862.

^a Secretary Welles' letter, Nov. 30, 1861.

^b Examiner, December 20.

^a Seward's Letters to Adams, November 30th, 1861.

oppression, that it must receive our special notice.

Mr. Faulkner, after closing his mission at Paris, arrived in New York, on the 5th of August, 1861, en route to his residence in Virginia. On the following day, he proceeded direct to the City of Washington, to settle his accounts, and to fulfil all those requirements, which etiquette and custom demand of ministers returning from the foreign service of the country. He was received with official courtesy at the Capitol, as he had been in New York, and, at his suggestion, was promptly furnished, through the Secretary of State, with the necessary passports to protect him from annoyance in passing through the Federal military lines. Whilst engaged in the settlement of his accounts, he was perfidiously arrested, and lodged in the common jail of the city, thence transferred to the quarters of the 8th U. S. Infantry, and kept in solitary confinement for one month. From there he was removed to Fort Lafayette, and, subsequently, to Fort Warren, in Boston Harbour. The arrest and detention of Mr. Faulkner, under these circumstances, produced a deep sense of indignation throughout the South, and plainly revealed to all men, the violent and arbitrary tendencies of the Federal administration. The act was strongly rebuked by the leading journals of Paris, where Mr. Faulkner's official conduct and standing, were well known, ^a and President Davis, in his Message to Congress, held it up to the condemnation of the civilized world, as a striking illustration of the unscrupulous and perfidious character of the Washington government. ^b A portion of the prostituted organs of the administration, sought to excuse or justify the outrage, by fabricating charges of complicity, on the part of Mr. Faulkner, with the Southern leaders, whilst yet acting as minister of the United States; but these charges were so feebly sustained, and so obviously false, that they were soon abandoned, and after five weeks imprisonment, Mr. Seward conceded, that the only grounds for these harsh proceedings were Mr. Faulkner's

Southern birth, and acknowledged Southern opinions, and the belief that, if at liberty, he would, upon reaching home, "employ his influence and services on behalf of the rebellion." ^a Upon these alleged apprehensions, as to what his future course might be, he was held in close confinement for four months, and, in all probability, would have been so held during the war, but that it suited President Lincoln to consent to his discharge, in exchange for Hon. Alfred Ely, a member of Congress from the State of New York, who, the previous July, had been captured on the battlefield of Manassas. The exchange was made, at Richmond, on the 20th of December. The return of Mr. Faulkner to the South, was signalized by marked exhibitions of popular feeling, as he passed through Norfolk, Petersburg, Richmond, and, particularly at the latter place. He was there met at the Rail Road Depot, by the Governor of the State, the Mayor of the City, and a large concourse of citizens, who, forming a procession, marched through the principal streets with music and flags, and, finally, conducted to the City Hall, where appropriate and patriotic addresses were made to the large assemblage. The opinion of Mr. Faulkner in opposition to the unconstitutional course of President Lincoln and his party, had been freely and frankly avowed, in his diplomatic correspondence with the U. S. Government, ^b and Mr. Seward exhibited no very remarkable sagacity, in predicting, that if at liberty, he would engage actively in defence of the invaded States. Accordingly, before reaching his home in the valley of Virginia, he tendered his services as a volunteer aid to Major General Jackson, who was then starting upon an expedition to drive the Federal forces from Hampshire and Morgan; and when General Jackson was subsequently promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General, and placed in command of a corps d' armée, he selected Mr. Faulkner as his Adjutant General and Chief of Staff.

^a A Letter of Mr. Seward to Col. Burke, Commandant of Fort Lafayette, September 11th, 1861.

^b Dispatches No. 90, 14th January, 1861. No. 117, April 5th, 1861.

^a La Presse, 30 Aout, 1861. F. Gaillardet.

^b Message of 18th of November, 1861.

We now return to Messrs. Mason and Slidell. They were held as captives for nearly two months, and both North and South hung with suspense upon their fate. They bore their lot firmly—indeed often expressed joy that they were called to suffer for their country, and hope that her cause would be aided by the result. In the South, the interval was a season of earnest expectation. It was believed that Divine Providence was about to interfere for her deliverance, and to bring a powerful ally to her side, by a war between England and the United States. It cannot be denied, that this delusive hope wrought injury to her cause, by exciting false confidence, checking enlistments in the army, and weakening her energies for war.

At length came the echo from across the Atlantic, not faint and broken as in nature, but loud, distinct, angry. The written reports of the Captain of the Trent and of Commander Williams, were soon in print and were received with indignation by the British public. Large meetings were held in the cities, and in many towns, and, while a few voices expressed doubt, the overwhelming majority demanded immediate reparation for the indignity offered to Britain's flag. The specious arguments founded on some doubtful authorities, which declared that dispatches and ambassadors were *contraband of war*, were swept away by the strong English common sense, which saw in this transaction, nothing except the facts that a British ship had received four passengers, in a neutral port, to be carried to England, and that this ship had been arrested by shots across her bow on the high seas, her decks invaded by armed men, from a Federal frigate, and these four passengers forcibly taken from her. This was enough. The English ministry promptly determined that the persons thus seized must be returned to their protection, and a suitable apology made for the aggression. Earl Russell communicated this decision to Lord Lyons, the British ambassador, in Washington. ^a And as it was by no means certain that a people who had shown the arrogant temper of the

North, would yield, England prepared for war, by sending additional regiments, with artillery, and military stores to Canada, and increasing her war fleets in the American Waters.

At the same time, France sympathised actively with England, upon the question. M. Thouvenel wrote to M. Mercier, the French minister, at Washington, stating that the arrest of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, aboard the English packet, had produced, in France, if not the same emotion as in England, at least extreme astonishment and sensation, and that the impression of the French public, as to its unlawfulness, had not been for an instant doubtful. He then argued the international question with ability, showing that by treaty and by express compact, the United States had agreed, with England and France, to treat persons and property aboard a neutral ship, as free from arrest, unless the persons could be brought under the treaty definition of "military people," or unless the property was *contraband of war*; that Messrs. Mason and Slidell could not be brought under either definition, and that there was no right to arrest them, as alleged bearers of dispatches from the enemies of the United States, because they were received on board the Trent, in a neutral port, to be carried by a neutral ship to another neutral port, and the principles of law as to dispatches, could not apply to such a case. M. Thouvenel therefore instructed M. Mercier to seize the first occasion of opening himself frankly to Mr. Seward, and if he asked it, to show him a copy of his dispatch. ^a The English and French ambassadors communicated the views of their governments to Mr. Seward at nearly the same time.

The decision of the Northern Secretary of State, was soon made known. It is impossible to doubt, that from the moment when he ascertained what England demanded, he had determined to yield to the demand. He addressed an elaborate letter to Lord Lyons, in which he argued the question at great length—seeking to maintain four propositions. 1st. That the per-

^a Earl Russell's Letters to Lord Lyons, Nov. 30th, 1861. Whig, January 4th, 1863.

^a M. Thouvenel's Letter to M. Mercier, December 3d, 1861.

sons of Messrs. Mason, Slidell, Macfarland and Eastis and their supposed dispatches, were contraband of war. 2nd. That Capt. Wilkes lawfully stopped and searched the Trent for these contraband persons and dispatches. 3d. That he exercised this right in a lawful and proper manner. 4th. That having found the contraband persons on board, and in presumed possession of the contraband dispatches, he had a right to capture the persons. Having established, to his own satisfaction, thus much, he proceeded to a fifth question, which was: Did Capt. Wilkes exercise the right of capture in the manner allowed and recognized by the law of nations? Upon this enquiry, Mr. Seward said, "It is just here that the difficulty of the case begins." As to the mode of proceeding when the unlawful burthen sought to be arrested, consisted of *contraband persons*, he said the law books were dumb. But he admitted that the principles of international law required that such a question should be submitted to judicial decision, that the captor must not be allowed to decide it on the neutral's decks, that the persons alleged to be contraband might not be so, that they might be entirely innocent, and had a right to have the question adjudicated, that there would be no fairness or equality in permitting the captor to be judge in the last resort, and also to execute his own judgment, without power of appeal, that "very grave objections arise against such a course. The captor is armed: the neutral is unarmed. The captor is interested, prejudiced and perhaps violent; the neutral, if truly neutral, is disinterested, subdued and helpless. The tribunal is irresponsible, while its judgment is carried into instant execution. The captured party is compelled to submit, though bound by no legal, moral or treaty obligation to acquiesce. Reparation is distant and problematical and depends at last on the justice, magnanimity or weakness of the state in whose behalf and by whose authority the capture was made." Hence, Mr. Seward concluded that Capt. Wilkes had not exercised his right of capture in the manner allowed and recognized by the law of nations, that he ought to have taken possession of the Trent and brought her to

the United States for adjudication in the admiralty courts, and that as he had not done so, his course was unlawful, and the demand of England for the restoration of the captured persons must be complied with. He added some explanations, which, by a favorable interpretation, might be considered an apology, and concluded by saying, "The four persons in question, are now held in military custody at Fort Warren, in the State of Massachusetts. They will be cheerfully liberated. Your Lordship will please indicate a time and place for receiving them." ^a

Lord Lyons briefly replied, that he would forward the important communication to his government, and would, without delay, confer personally with Mr. Seward on the arrangements to be made for delivering the four gentlemen to him, in order that they might be again placed under the protection of the British flag. In a short time, the British steam sloop of war, *Rinaldo*, received the Confederate ministers and secretaries in the harbor of Boston, and ran out to sea in a storm of snow and sleet. She carried them safely to the naval station of the fleet to which she belonged, and within a few weeks, they had reached their posts of duty in London and Paris.

Though Mr. Seward had, by his cautious and cunning policy, saved the consistency of his own department, he had not relieved the Northern people from the withering contempt and humiliation brought on them by their conduct in this matter. One week before the appearance of his letter, they were loud in defiance of England, and denounced all who advocated the surrender of the captives, yet when his decision was made, they sunk at once into silence and submission. National degradation was welcomed by them, if they could avert foreign interference and destroy the South. Seward, in his letter, again suggested the falsehood so often uttered by him, by promising a speedy end of the "rebellion." He said he would not surrender the captives, if the safety of the Union required their detention, but "the effectual check and waning proportions of the existing insur-

^a Mr. Seward's Letter to Lord Lyons. December 26th, 1861.

rection, as well as the comparative unimportance of the captured persons themselves," forbade him to resort to that defence. This outpouring of baffled malice, excited only ridicule in view of the defiant front of the South, and of the fact that Lincoln's government, had considered Messrs. Mason and Slidell as persons of *so much importance*, that they had set their whole blockading fleet, of a hundred and fifty war vessels, on the look out for them, had violently and unlawfully seized them, on a neutral's decks, had risked a war with a mighty power by the act, and had, by an official statement, declared their capture to be "a great public service!"

The Confederate steamer, *Nashville*, in which Messrs. Mason and Slidell had intended to embark, left Charleston, on the 26th of October, and ran out safely to sea, reaching the port of Nassau the night of the same day. Here she found the steamship, *Fingal*, from England, waiting a chance to run into a Southern port. Capt. Pegram obtained from her plentiful supplies of what his steamer needed. On the 5th of November, he left Nassau to cross the Atlantic. On the 19th, he fell in with, and captured the fine clipper ship, *Harvey Birch*, a packet owned by citizens of the United States, and plying between Havre and New York. After removing her crew and passengers, and some of the lighter articles of value, Capt. Pegram was compelled to burn her, as it was impossible for him to send her to any port for condemnation. This was one more illustration of the unfortunate policy which had shut neutral ports and their admiralty tribunals, against marine prizes, taken in this war. On the 21st of November, the *Nashville* arrived at Southampton, England. She needed repairs, and applied for permission from the government to have them made. After due consideration, leave was given, but, at the same time, Capt. Pegram was informed that the neutrality of England must be strictly observed, that only such repairs would be allowed as were necessary to make his ship sea worthy, and that no additional armament or arrangements to increase her efficiency, as a ship of war, would be allowed. On the 5th of December, the

Nashville was taken into dock for repairs. She was thus detained for nearly a month. In the mean time, the seizure of Messrs. Mason and Slidell had occurred. England and both sections of North America, were in a fever of excitement on the subject, and the probability of a war involving England with the United States, seemed so imminent, that Captain Pegram deemed it best to await the result.

After the Confederate ministers were released, and Mr. Mason reached London, Capt. Pegram was in frequent communication with him, and with the British admiralty. The repairs of the *Nashville* were nearly complete. Her presence at Southampton was well known, and excited much discussion, and many good humored and witty paragraphs in the English papers. The United States corvette, *Tuscarora*, Capt. Craven, carrying twenty guns, and of nearly triple the force of the *Nashville*, appeared off the harbor of Southampton, waiting for her intended prey. The *Nashville* being ready for sea, Capt. Pegram notified the British admiralty of the fact. Thereupon they gave notice to the commander of the *Tuscarora*, that she would not be allowed to leave for the period of twenty-four hours after the *Nashville*. To prevent any risk of a violation of this order, the British frigate, *Shannon*, steamed up, and with guns shotted and crew ready for action at a moment's warning, lay along side the *Tuscarora*. On the 3d of February, 1862, the *Nashville* got under way and steamed out to sea. Captain Pegram was treated, during his detention at Southampton, with much courtesy and kindness, both by the people and the government of England, and bore testimony to it in his report to his own government. a

After getting well out upon the ocean the great speed of the *Nashville* enabled her to laugh at any efforts of the enemy to overhaul her. On the 20th of February, she reached the port of St. George, in Bermuda. After a few days of preparation, she again ran out, and on the 26th, captur-

a Capt. Pegram's MS. Official Report. Secretary Mallory, of the Confederate Navy, has kindly permitted me to examine it.

ed and burned the brig *Gitfillan*, owned by Northerners. On the 28th, she was approaching the harbor of Beaufort, in North Carolina. One of the blockading war ships hove in sight. Capt. Pegram, with equal boldness and success, adopted a skilful manœuvre to escape her. He ran under full steam directly for her, with the United States flag flying; the Federal ship was satisfied and inactive; when broad of the channel and passing the blockader, the *Nashville* changed her course, hoisted the Confederate flag, at fore and peak, and sped like an arrow through the water. The blockader awoke, fired some wild shots, and made vain pursuit. The *Nashville* was soon beyond her reach and safely anchored in Beaufort harbor.

For the defence of James river, the steamers *Yorktown* and *Jamestown* had been converted into armed ships. The first received the name of the "Patrick Henry," was defended by an iron clad bulwark in front, and armed with six guns, two of them being pivots and all smooth bores. She was commanded by Commander John R. Tucker. She twice engaged the enemy during this year, once on the 14th of September, when she ran down near Newport's News, and, by a few well directed shots, drove back a large three masted propeller, which was making her way up the river. The other occasion, was on the 2nd of December, when she fought a flotilla of gun-boats and tugs, for two hours, at a point some miles above Newport's News, and drove them down the river with loss, her own damage being the splintering of her pilot house by a shell, and the slight wounding of two of her crew.^a

The *Jamestown* was wholly without armor, and carried but two guns—smooth bore pivots. She was commanded by Lieut. J. Nicholson Barney. These two steamers effectually guarded the James, from Mulberry Island upwards, and held themselves in readiness to take part in a naval conflict now approaching, which opened a new era in the history of the warfare of the sea.

Thus we have traced the naval events

^a MS. Reports of Commodore Tucker, in Navy Department. Dispatch.

of the year succeeding the opening of Mr Lincoln's ill-omened and most unhappy administration. They had fallen far below the expectations of the North. With powerful ships and unlimited supplies, they had succeeded in capturing only two points on the Southern coast, the one a sand bank, which they were themselves compelled to abandon, the other a harbor, defended by two feeble forts, and opening to the captors no city or town of importance. Their blockade had been inefficient, and while it had certainly diminished the quantity and increased the cost of needed supplies for the South, it had also developed her manufactures and helped her along the rugged path to independence. On the other hand, the Confederates, with the scantiest naval resources, had exhibited surprising vigor and success. Their privateers and cruisers had, for a time, almost driven Northern vessels from their wonted channels of trade, had increased the rate of marine insurance, and induced shippers to prefer the bottoms of every other nation to those of New England and New York. Their only serious assault had resulted in disaster and defeat to the enemy's squadron, and their authorities were encouraged to proceed with enterprizes, which were yet to result in some of the most daring, destructive and successful naval combats the world has ever known.

CHAPTER IX.

West Virginia—Confederate misfortunes in the North West—Importance of South Western Virginia—Mineral and agricultural wealth—Danger of invasion—Generals from civil life—Gen. Wise—Gen. Floyd—Course of George W. Summers—Greenbrier County—Patriotism—General Wise's call for volunteers—Marches to the Kanawha—Battle of Scary Creek—Major George S. Patton—Federals defeated—Danger of Wise's position—He retreats—General Cox enters Charleston—Camp Chase in Ohio—Inhuman treatment of Southern prisoners—General Floyd—Raises a Brigade—Advances from Lewisburg—Wise follows—Affair at Toney's—Floyd crosses the Gauley at Carnifax Ferry—Battle of Cross Lanes—Rout of the Northerners—Gen. Rosecrans marches down from the North West—Attacks Gap. Floyd—Battle of

Gauley River—Federals repulsed with heavy loss—Their official reports—Gen. Floyd re-crosses the Gauley—Rosecrans crosses and follows—Differences between Generals Floyd and Wise—Movements in the Alleghanies—General Lee reaches Valley Mountain with his army—Strategy to dislodge the enemy—Causes of its failure—Lee joins Floyd and Wise—Rosecrans retreats from Sewell's Mountain—Floyd marches to Cotton Hill—Annoys the enemy—Heavy force advances on him—His successful retreat—Gen. Henry R. Jackson—Battle of Greenbrier Mountain—Enemy repulsed—Capture of Guyandotte by the Confederates—Battle of Alleghany Mountain—Colonel Edward Johnson—Bloody conflict—Potomac lines—McClellan inactive—Evansport batteries—Washington blockaded—Affair at Lewinsville—Confederates form their front on Centreville—Battle of Leesburg—Slaughter of the Federals—Skirmish at Harper's Ferry—Affair at Dranesville—At Romney—General Thomas J. Jackson—Bath Expedition—Federals retreat from Romney—Winter closes the campaign—Review.

The great mineral and agricultural wealth of Western Virginia, combined with her political importance, induced earnest exertions on the part both of the North and South for military control of this region. We have seen, that early in the war, the State government and afterwards the Confederate authorities, sought to keep back invaders from the North West, but the Southern arms in that section of the State were unfortunate, partly because irresistible numbers bore upon them, but chiefly because traitors were numerous and ever ready to baffle their efforts, reveal their plans, and expose the weak points of their positions. After the capture of Col. Pegram's forces and the retreat of Gen. Garnett's army, the counties substantially composing the North West, were, for a time, left to the undisturbed control of the enemy.

But the South Western part of the State, was true to her duty, and excited the watchful solicitude of the Confederate government. This region was, in many respects, of vital value. The line of the Lynchburg and Tennessee Rail Road ran through it, by which Virginia, Tennessee and Mississippi, were connected, and along which not only troops, but supplies, provisions, arms and ammunition, were con-

stantly passing. Salt works of great extent and productiveness, had been long established on the Kanawha river, and in other parts of this section, which were becoming, every day, more valuable, as other supplies of this precious article grew doubtful. Lead mines were open in Wythe county; saltpetre caves had already been found on some of the mineral grounds, and men skilled in the work, were eagerly seeking others; splendid harvests of wheat and corn were yearly gathered from the fields, and fine horses and beef cattle were yielded in great numbers. The most sagacious public men of the South, felt that the loss of this section would inflict a heavy blow upon the prospects of the young Confederacy. Yet the danger of its hostile occupation was extreme. The State of Ohio, skirted the Western border of Virginia for two hundred and seventy miles, separated only by a river easily crossed and navigable in all this distance for steamboats. From the Ohio, the Kanawha river penetrated deeply into the State, and although not navigable by steam farther than to the falls, two miles below the mouth of the Gauley, and thirty miles above Charleston, yet it was all sufficient to give entrance to an invading army, and transport their supplies. From this line as a base, it was not difficult to project columns of invasion to the vulnerable points of the South West, and, unless successfully met, to seize the line of the rail road, cut off Eastern Virginia from Tennessee, and possess the treasures of salt, lead, nitre, cattle and wheat which were essential to the Southern cause.

The prominent men of Virginia, felt deep anxiety to prevent such a catastrophe. Two of her most conspicuous citizens were in a special manner earnest in efforts to avert it. They were not military men by education and profession, but in the day of danger, when the whole structure of the public life assumed, of necessity, martial forms, they sought the army as the means of serving their country. These men were Henry A. Wise, and John B. Floyd.

The policy of giving important military commands to civilians, was a subject of grave consideration with the Southern cabinet. It excited much debate in the

daily press, during the first year of the war. Many of the newspapers openly ridiculed the idea, that thoroughly trained soldiers, were the best men to lead the Southern armies. Superficial criticism and impatient ignorance, found fault with the strategy of West Point. They insisted that it led to fatal delays and ruinous caution, that its advocates instead of showing energy, and rushing at once upon the enemy, used the spade more than the musket; retreated when they ought to advance, evacuated positions which they ought to hold, and lost opportunities which would have led on to fortune. But the experience of severe and sanguinary campaigns, has led to different conclusions. The great military mind, who wielded the chief sword of the South, with the heroic and skilful generals, assembled around him, would not jeopard the life of their young country, by entrusting her gallant sons to untrained leaders. They knew that war was a science of two thousand years of development. The North gave full scope to the policy of appointing politicians to high commands in her armies, and certainly the result has not been such as to encourage the practice. President Davis early adopted a careful and discriminating course on the subject, and adhered to it with steadiness, amid all changes of public opinion. He selected as his chiefs of corps, divisions and even brigades, men whom he knew to be thoroughly educated as soldiers, and believed to be possessed of military genius. He did not, however, entirely exclude civilians. He appointed them with caution, and with a view, not merely to their political prominence, but to their martial aptitude and power to command men. The experience of the war compels the admission, that his whole view of this question was substantially sound.

Henry A. Wise, had never studied, professionally, tactics, or engineering, or gunnery, or the complicated art of using effectively great bodies of armed men. But he was brave, prompt, energetic, full of love for his country, and of zeal for her service. He was commissioned as Brigadier General by the Confederate War Department, early in June, 1861, and authorized to raise a brigade of volunteers, with

the forms of a legion, and to embrace infantry, artillery and cavalry, but the mounted men were not to exceed five hundred in number. ^a He immediately issued a call, urgent and patriotic. Its spirit appeared in its words: "I invite and implore volunteers to join me immediately, with such clothing as they have, bringing all the powder, lead, bullet-moulds, percussion caps, swords, pistols and bowie knives they can get. Come one, come all, at once to me at Richmond."

"I call upon all to enlist during the war; upon those who will not enlist for the war, to enlist for not less than twelve months; upon any who will not enlist for twelve months, to do service at least for three months."

"Come quickly and follow me to meet the invaders before they tread a step farther upon the soil of this commonwealth. They must be expelled or we are dishonored and destroyed!" ^b

Intending to meet the threatened advance of the Federals into Western Virginia, General Wise established recruiting offices in that region, and called for volunteers. But even before his appointment, movements had commenced in the counties lying between the North West proper, and the line of the Tennessee rail road, to organize their forces and prepare for the coming conflict.

George W. Summers was a prominent public man from Charleston, Kanawha County. He had been a devoted friend of the Union, and we have seen that he was one of the commissioners to the Peace Conference in Washington, by which Virginia sought to heal the rupture between North and South. He voted against the ordinance of secession, both in the Convention and at the polls. On returning home, he viewed with profound sorrow, the measures of Lincoln, by which war was inaugurated. Looking to the local connections and interests of the Kanawha district, in which was his home, he put forth an address to her people, in which he expressed the hope and belief, that

^a Adj. Gen. Cooper's order, June 3rd 1861.

^b Whig, June 6th.

Western Virginia would not become the theatre of military operations. He declared that the Virginia authorities were committed against the policy of waging a war of invasion, and would act only on the defensive. He stated, farther, that the Federal government professed its purpose to be, to hold the property it claimed, to execute its revenue laws, and to suppress combinations against those laws, and that it denied any intention to wage a general war, for the subjugation of States. He declared, therefore, that if there was any truth in these professions, the United States could have no temptation to invade Western Virginia, because she had no forts, arsenals, navy yards or other public property within her limits, to become subjects of controversy, and no custom-house, except at Wheeling, as to which there was "no likelihood of any difficulty." He denounced, with scorn and ridicule, the idea that any portion of the people of the Kanawha region, desired that Federal troops should be sent among them for their protection. He claimed that the people of this region, had recorded their votes at the polls, as freemen, and when called on to act, would act as became them. And as to the hypocritical and false offers of *protection*, made by the Federal powers, under pretence whereof they were preparing to send armies from Ohio into Virginia, he declared, with emphasis, "We neither ask nor need such protection, and any attempt to afford it, *would be regarded in the light of an invasion*, and would most likely unite all classes in its repulsion. All we ask is to be let alone. Let the military forces on either side of the Ohio, so far as there are any, remain on their own soil, and let their mission be to preserve the peace and quiet of the border, not to irritate or invite to violence."^a

Such were the views of this able and influential Western man. He was honest and patriotic, but, unhappily, his mind was yet filled with the lovely vision of the Union, as it had been in purer days, and as it was in the intent of its architects. He had not penetrated all the depths of

selfishness, fanaticism and duplicity of the Northern character, and learned that a union between such people and the South, was to her a constant degradation. But as soon as he saw clearly the intention of the Northern leaders to invade the valley of the Kanawha, his course became firm and decided.

He personally urged Col. C. Q. Tompkins, of Gauley Mount, an officer of military education and experience, to come to Charleston and organize the volunteer force of the region as rapidly as possible. Major George S. Patton, a graduate of the Virginia Military Academy, was a resident of Charleston, and embarked at once and with great zeal and success in the duty of forming the men into companies, battalions and regiments, and drilling them for service. When several hundred volunteers were assembled, Mr. Summers delivered an eloquent address to them, urging them to perfect their organization, and to resist, to the uttermost, the threatened invasion from Ohio.^a Col. Tompkins urged on the movement with skill and vigor, giving instructions to the recruiting officers, through the whole Kanawha and Greenbrier district, and very soon a considerable body of volunteers were ready for the field.

Although the people of this region were not so deeply interested in slavery, as the East and South, yet their conduct throughout the revolution, proved that they were united in heart and mind with their Southern brethren. The course of the people of Greenbrier, may be held as a fair indication of the prevalent sentiments of the district of which she was the centre. Previous to the war proclamation of Lincoln, and the secession of Virginia, she was warmly in favor of the Union, but from the moment when the ordinance which separated Virginia from the North, was passed by the Convention, she threw herself, with hearty zeal, into the Southern movement. Out of her voting population of eighteen hundred, only one hundred and ten voices were heard against the ordinance. In her town of Lewisburg, voting five hundred, not one vote was cast

^a Address to the voters of Kanawha, &c., May 27th, 1861. Whig, June 8th.

^a MS. narrative from Thomas Mathews, Esq., of Lewisburg,

against it. ^a At the May term, 1861, her County Court voted ten thousand dollars to equip her volunteers and provide for the families of such as needed it; at the June term, the sum was increased to \$22,000, making a tax of forty cents on each hundred dollars of taxable property, and no tax was ever more cheerfully paid. Her women were indefatigable in patriotic toil, using their needles for preparing knapsacks and clothing for her soldiers, and by regular organization, providing hospitals, medicines and tender nurses for the sick and wounded. Lewisburg was, for some time, the central point of rendezvous for the Wise Legion, and her hospitable people often fed whole regiments from their private stores, and on one occasion, when an unexpected march to the Gauley was ordered to reinforce Col. Tompkins, they cooked and sent into the commissary stores, a voluntary offering of fifteen hundred pounds of baked bread, besides a large supply of cooked meats—a stock so bountiful as to furnish all that the soldiers needed for their advance.

The personal courage and endurance of the volunteers of this region, were conspicuous not only in the battles and skirmishes of their own mountain country, but on nearly every field of the war. At Manassas, James Gilkeson, of Greenbrier, charged a battery, with his comrades of the 27th regiment, and when their flag-bearer fell, he seized the banner, and, declaring aloud his purpose to plant it on the enemy's guns, he rushed forward, amid a tempest of balls, sprang upon a cannon, waved his flag in triumph, and fell, mortally wounded, in the moment when the battery fell into the hands of his companions. Men of like stamp were found in numbers in the regiments under Jackson, Wise, Floyd, Loring and other leaders of the Confederate armies.

Nevertheless, it is true, that the number of volunteers from Western Virginia, was never so great, in the ratio of population; as from the valley and the Eastern parts of the State. Two causes worked this result: *first*, many of the people wished, if possible, to save their section from the

horrors of war, and hoped to do so by declining to take up arms: *second*, the number of slaves being small, the white men, to a great extent, were personal laborers in agriculture, and could not, without much inconvenience and loss, leave their farms. This deficiency in numbers, was severely felt by the Southern generals, who, in the early part of the war, were seldom able to meet the teeming masses of the North with a proportion of more than one to five.

Early in July, General Wise gathered his legion in and near Lewisburg, and assumed command of the Southern troops of Greenbrier and the surrounding counties. His whole number did not exceed two thousand, seven hundred infantry, eight hundred cavalry, and three companies of artillery. He had with him, Col. Henningson and Frank Anderson, who had been daring adventurers with General Walker in his expeditions to Central America, five companies of cavalry, under Jenkins of Kanawha, and Caskie of Richmond, Western troops under Tompkins and Patton, and an infantry company—the Richmond Blues, under his own gallant son, O. Jennings Wise.

Aware that the enemy's approach would be up the Kanawha, General Wise moved with his force to Gauley Bridge, and thence to Charleston, the principal town of that part of Virginia, situated on the Kanawha, at the mouth of the Elk, and thirty-two miles below the mouth of the Gauley. Part of his forces were advanced some miles down the Kanawha, and others were employed in scouting, driving off marauding parties of the enemy, arresting known traitors and gathering supplies for the army.

On the 8th of July, the Federal General, J. D. Cox, crossed the Ohio river, at Point Pleasant, with about four thousand infantry, four pieces of artillery and a body of cavalry, and advanced, without opposition, along the road skirting the Kanawha river, to Pocatalico Creek, (generally called *Poca*), which empties into the Kanawha, sixteen miles below Charleston. His march on the land, was accompanied by steamboats on the river, which not only transported his supplies with ease and advantage, but

^a MS. mem. of Thos. Mathews, Esq.

enabled him, at his pleasure, to throw bodies of his troops to either side of the Kanawha. *a* A detachment from the main force, made a detour to Ripely, in Jackson county, thirty miles from Charleston. Hearing of their outrages, and especially that they were requiring an oath of allegiance to Lincoln's government, from the people, Gen. Wise sent the Richmond Blues to the scene. After a hot pursuit, they got within long range of the enemy, and fired a single volley, which killed and wounded eight of their number. The rest retreated in haste to the main body. *b* A dashing cavalry scout was made by Wise's Aid de Camp, Col. Clarkson, who attacked the enemy's horse, on a mountain side, above the mouth of Poca Creek, killed one, wounded eight, and drove them in confusion almost to their camp, having himself only one man slightly wounded. *c*

These small affairs were immediately followed by an advance of the enemy and a sharp engagement.

TO BE CONTINUED.

ENGLAND'S NEUTRALITY.

A PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE.

With Notes: By a Confederate Reporter.

This poem was written originally for the Southern Illustrated News, by John R. Thompson, Esq. It was copied into the London Punch, from which it was transferred to the Wilmington Journal. Many errors had crept into it during its travels back and forth upon salt water. To correct these errors and to preserve an excellent good thing, it is republished here.—Ed. Mass.

All ye who with credulity the whispers
hear of Fancy,
Or yet pursue with eagerness Hope's wild
extravagancy,
Who dream that England soon will drop
her long mis-called Neutrality,
And give us, with a hearty shake, the hand
of Nationality.

a MS. narrative from Col. Geo. S. Patton.

b Letters in Enquirer, July 12th. Dispatch, July 13th.

c Letter of L. Dispatch, July 29th.

Read, as we give, with little fault of statement or omission,

The next debate in Parliament on Southern Recognition;

They're all so much alike, indeed, that one can write it off, I see,

As truly as the *Times* Report, without the gift of prophecy.

Not yet, not yet to interfere does England see occasion,

But treats our good Commissioner with coolness and evasion;

Such coolness in the premises that really 'tis refrigerant

To think that two long years ago she called us a belligerent.

But further Downing Street is dumb, the Premier deaf to reason,

As deaf as is the *Morning Post*, both in and out of season;

The working men of Lancashire are all reduced to beggary,

And yet they will not listen unto Roebuck or to Gregory.

"Or any other man," to-day, who counsels interfering,

While all who speak on t' other side obtain a ready hearing—

As *par exemple* Mr. Bright, that pink of all propriety,

That meek and mild disciple of the blessed Peace Society.

"Why, let 'em fight," says Mr. Bright, "these Southerners, I hate 'em,

And hope the Black Republicans will soon exterminate 'em;

If Freedom can't Rebellion crush, pray tell me what's the use of her?"

And so he chuckles o'er the fray as glee-fully as Lucifer.

Enough of him—an abler man demands our close attention—

The Maximus Apollo of strict *Non-Intervention*—

With pitiless severity, though decorous and calm his tone,

Thus speaks the "old man eloquent," the puissant Earl of Palmerston.

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[No. 1.

AGNES. A NOVEL.

BY FILIA.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Agnes was excessively annoyed, as Antonio had said, when she discovered that Count Serimia was to be so familiarly associated with them, in their future travels. Mrs. Elmsworth was scarcely less troubled than her niece, but they both knew it to be worse than useless to attempt any expostulation with Mr. Elmsworth, who never consulted any will save his own, and recently, Count Serimia's. Mrs. Elmsworth had grieved greatly at parting with the faithful Mrs. Lucy, and the substitution of Fanchon. It was a very serious discomfort to her, for Fanchon spoke very little English, so that she was of little use to the poor invalid, who became consequently more and more dependent upon her niece. Nobly did Agnes respond to the calls of duty. She herself had conceived a dislike and prejudice instinctively against the fawning, crafty, French maid, with her restless cat-like eyes. Fanchon was always bright, active, ready to do all and more than was demanded of her, but Mrs. Elmsworth seemed to shrink from having her about her so much that Agnes quietly assumed all the duties which had been performed for her aunt by Mrs. Lucy, and Fanchon's place was little better than a sinecure. Fanchon attempted on several occasions to intrude herself and her attentions upon the invalid, but Agnes, with all her womanliness, knew perfectly well how to keep people in their places, and Fanchon, after several essays, had no desire to risk encountering again one of those haugh-

ty, firm glances, and to hear the slow, distinct words which required her to remain in the adjoining apartments, and only to come when the bell summoned her attendance. Mr. Elmsworth himself had no fancy for meeting Agnes in what he called "her Davenant hoods," still less Fanchon. So Agnes's life became more and more restricted within her aunt's sick room. She could not but notice how many little offices of considerate kindness and thoughtfulness were shown to both her aunt and herself by the courier Frascati. He seemed to have a magical consciousness of their wants, and Agnes felt continually as if innumerable little annoyances and discomforts were warded off, contrary to her anticipations, by some strong unseen arm. She had a strange feeling of confidence in the unknown poor courier, and she really was most grateful to him for her aunt's sake. Frascati had suggested to Mr. Elmsworth that it would be far more convenient for him to occupy a carriage with Il Conte, and he (Frascati,) on the box, and to take another for madame, who was so ill, who was best with the Signorina and Fanchon, than to have one huge post-chaise. Mr. Elmsworth heartily concurred in this. Serimia dared not object to the arrangement, though it separated him almost entirely from Agnes, whom he scarcely ever saw. He consoled himself by thinking it would be better when they were stationary, as they travelled very slowly, stopping sometimes for a day or so, according as Mrs. Elmsworth's strength failed; but by some unaccountable means, he was balked even then, and yet in such ways that he could not suspect any design, and though dissatisfied, had nothing of which he could

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT E. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER IX.

Major Geo. S. Patton was in command of a body of about nine hundred men, at the mouth of Coal river, on the South Side of the Kanawha, twelve miles below Charleston. His troops were of the 22nd regiment, organised by Col. Tompkins, in the West. Another portion of Gen. Wise's command were at Gauley Bridge, and another at Tyler mountain and Two Mile Creek, on the North side of the river, about three miles below Charleston. Thus, Patton's small force was separated by a deep and rapid river, and by eight miles of distance from the nearest reinforcing power. He used incessant vigilance in scouting and watching the enemy. Learning that a heavy column were approaching, his flank from the Ohio, by the Guyandotte road, he detached a large portion of his troops to meet them.

In truth this body of Federals made no attempt to flank him, having joined the main force under Cox. But the movement had the effect to withdraw a part of Patton's troops, temporarily from the spot where they were most needed.

On Sunday, the 14th of July, a reconnoitering party of four companies of infantry from the 21st Ohio regiment, containing about three hundred men, were sent forward by Gen. Cox, by the Bills Creek road, to feel the Confederate position. They were met by three Virginia rifle companies—the "Border," Capt. Barbee; the "Kanawha," Lieut. Fitzhugh, and the "Fayetteville," Capt. Bailey, and two pieces of artillery, under Lieuts. Welch and Quarrier. The cannon were planted on a hill, over the mouth of Scarey creek, and when the enemy appeared on the opposite hill, the Southern artillery and riflemen opened vigorously. The Ohio men lost three killed and nine wounded; they fired a wild volley, and instantly faced about and went at double quick back to

their camp, a Major Patton came up at the firing, and being satisfied that the enemy would soon advance in greater force, he resolved here to make a stand as the position was favorable.

Scarey Creek was a small mountain stream, emptying into the Kanawha on its South side, fourteen miles below Charleston, and passing through a bold range of hills on each of its banks, which were rugged nearly to the river, and there spread out in a narrow bottom, on each side of which was a rolling knob of cleared land. The road from opposite the Poca to Charleston, crossed the mouth of Scarey on a good bridge. The banks of the creek were slightly wooded with small trees, affording some shelter, and at the lower end of the bridge were a few buildings, used as a cooper shop, store, dwelling and stable. By order of Major Patton, the bridge was burned to stop the enemy's artillery and cavalry. Their great superiority in numbers, enabled them to attempt a *ruse*, with the hope of scattering still farther the small force of the Confederates. On Tuesday, the 16th of July, they threw all their troops then South of the Kanawha, to the other side, and when the vigilant scouts of Patton reported this, he was compelled to detach another body of his men to guard against surprise. But, suspecting their design, he held firmly his position on Scarey Creek. Early on Thursday morning, the 17th, Cox *recrossed the river*, and sent a body of nearly two thousand men, consisting of the 12th Ohio, Col. Lowe; the 2nd, Col. Norton; two ten-pound rifled cannon, and a company of cavalry, with orders to advance upon the Confederate position, ascertain their force, and, if possible, overwhelm them. *b*

When Patton learned of their advance, he instantly sent couriers to call in all his detached bodies, and with the remains of his small command, prepared for a resolute and skilful resistance. His two six-pound smooth bores, under Welch and Quarrier, were planted on the cleared knob upon which he stationed himself, as

a Letter of Centreville in Whig, Sept. 5th. MS. from Confederate officer.

b Northern account in Cincinnati Commercial. Dispatch, July 27th.

it commanded the best view of the field. His whole force, at the opening of the action, was one hundred and ninety-four men. But they were brave and true. Sweeny's, Barbee's and Fitzhugh's riflemen, ran forward and deployed across the creek, part on each side, sheltered to some extent by the fringe of woods and the buildings. When the enemy in clustering numbers, appeared on the opposite knob at about one o'clock, the voice of Patton was heard, "*Ready, boys, aim, fire!*" and at the word, the six-pounders darted their deadly contents into the adverse ranks and the sharp reports of the mountain rifle, rung from the banks of Scarey. The Ohio men suffered some loss by the first volley; they came to a stand and sought the shelter of a few log houses, and of the wooded bluff on their right. Their two rifled cannon were planted and commenced a persevering fire upon the southern six pounders on the opposite hill.

For three hours and a half, this unequal conflict went on, without advantage to the overwhelming force of the enemy. Their Minie muskets kept up an incessant fusillade, but with very little effect. The rifles of the brave Western Virginians were busy and fatal. Every attempt of the Ohio men to advance, was met by cool, keen marksmanship, which brought down so many killed and wounded that the survivors refused to face this rain of lead. Reinforcements to the Southerners began to arrive. First came the cavalry, under Jenkins and Lewis, and dismounting, fought most effectively with double-barrelled guns, and a few carbines. The infantry under Bailey, Tyree and Swann followed, and deploying along the creek, aided the gallant men who had borne the brunt of the day. The Northerners made one determined effort to dislodge Capt. Sweeny from the line of log buildings across the creek, but were repulsed and fell back in disorder. But at this moment, an untoward event for the Southerners occurred and changed for a time the fortunes of the day.

The Federal artillery, after firing with little effect more than three hours, got the proper range, and sent a solid shot which struck full upon the carriage of one of the Southern cannon, dismounted the piece, and killed the brave Welch, who had com-

manded it. The other piece was withdrawn, the absence of their fire was instantly perceived; the enemy were encouraged, and with loud shouts again advanced their whole line. Capt. Swann, whose company had not been much engaged, saw from the upper side of the creek the great number advancing, and the danger of the small Southern force. He therefore ordered his bugle to sound a retreat. The riflemen reluctantly obeyed, crossing from the lower side and slowly falling back. Capt. Barbee, with obstinate courage, rallied his men, ordering them to fire obliquely, right and left, by which the spreading wings of the enemy received destructive volleys. The Southern officers used rifles in common with their men; Lieut. Col. Allen, a brave Federal officer—sword in hand—was urging his regiment to the advance; Barbee fixed his eye on him, and saying to his men, "If I miss him, do you bring him down," took deadly aim and sent a rifle bullet through Allen's forehead, just above the right eye. He fell dead; his men wavered, but, led on by their officers, they again advanced in resistless numbers.

The Southerners fell back, firing as they retreated. The enemy pressed hard, with loud shouts and cheers. Major Patton waved his hat and gallantly rallied his men with voice and example. At this critical moment, a musket ball pierced his shoulder, near the breast, inflicting a dangerous wound. Pale and bleeding, he sunk into Capt. Barbee's arms, who bore him a few rods to the rear. The danger of disorganization was imminent, but Barbee promptly declared the wound not mortal, and Patton, summoning all his strength, called out to his men "to stand up and fight to the last." He was greatly beloved by the Kanawha riflemen, whom he had drilled and trained with sedulous care. They rallied at his words, and turning upon the now confident enemy, they poured on them a hail of rifle balls, which struck down Col. Norton severely wounded, and made gaps in their ranks so severe that their advance was checked.

a Letter of Centreville, Whig, Sept. 5th.

At this moment the Confederates were reinforced by about a hundred men from Coal Mountain, under Major Frank Anderson, and by the companies of Captains Coons, Chandler and Watts, who had run from the Guyandotte road, nearly seven miles, at double quick. They instantly fell into line of battle, and with loud cheers for "Jeff Davis" and "Dixie," discharged a galling fire into the wavering ranks of the enemy. At nearly the same time, Lieut. Thomas Jackson thundered up with a ten pound iron gun, mounted on wagon wheels, and loaded half way to its muzzle, with grape shot and trace chains. He dashed almost up to the astonished Federal lines, unlimbered like lightning and fired into them with these terrible missiles, causing such havoc, that they broke and gave way in every direction. The South-infantry rushed forward with yells and cheers: Capt. Swann shouted, "Give it to them, men, reinforcements of five thousand are coming up." The Northerners broke and retreated, recrossing the creek and not stopping their flight until they were miles from the battle field.

This complete victory was won by the steady courage of about five hundred Western Virginians, against at least fifteen hundred Ohio men. For more than three hours, the fight was maintained against the whole Federal force by two hundred Southerners. The Confederate loss was five killed and seven wounded; ^a the enemy lost, by their own confession, not less than two hundred in killed and wounded. With unwonted candor, the Northern papers said, "we are afraid our troops met with a severe reverse." ^b Col. Norton was wounded and taken prisoner; Capt. Allen was killed, and Lieut. Pomeroy was mortally wounded, and died on his way back to Ohio. After the battle, the Federal Cols. Woodruff, DeVilliers and Neff, with two captains of Union Kentucky companies, believing the Northern troops held the field, incautiously rode up to the Confederate lines, and were captured. An attempt was made by the Ohio men to ex-

cuse their defeat by the plea that their ammunition was exhausted, but the Confederates gathered on the field, about two hundred and fifty muskets, and as many cartridge boxes, and each box had ten or fifteen cartridges remaining in it, thus furnishing a potent probability, that want of ammunition was not the cause of the rout of fifteen hundred men, with muskets and bayonets, by five hundred riflemen.

General Wise, with his legion, felt himself fully strong enough to resist the advance of Cox, although the Federal force outnumbered him by at least a thousand men. Five miles below Charleston, the Confederates threw up a fortification composed of timber, earth and salt barrels filled with sand, and extending nearly four hundred and fifty yards. Nearer the town, at the mouth of Tyler Creek, earth works, rifle pits and masonry had been prepared, capable of giving shelter to a thousand men, and ample to resist an assault. ^a After the experience of Scarey, it cannot be doubtful that the men under Gen. Wise, aided by these works, would have driven back the army of Cox in utter rout.

But a more formidable danger, from a different direction, menaced the Confederates. The disaster at Rich Mountain—the surrender of Pegram's force, and the retreat Northward of Garnett's army, had withdrawn all support from the right flank, and, indeed, from the rear of General Wise. It was now easy for the enemy to send heavy columns from Buckingham and Weston, down a good road to Summersville in Nicholas county—a distance not exceeding seventy-three miles, cross the Gauley, get in his rear, cut his communications, stop his supplies, and close in upon him, both above and below, by a force too great to be resisted. The war authorities, at Richmond, had no means of counteracting this movement, and therefore were forced to be satisfied with a warning notice to Wise of his danger. It seemed to him so pressing, that he fell back immediately with his legion, first to Gauley Bridge and then to Lewisburg. Unhappily he had very meager means of transportation, and as the risk of an advance of the enemy upon his rear, seemed to him too imminent

^a MS. narrative from Confederate officer.

^b Cincinnati Commercial. Dispatch, July 27th.

^a Letters in Cincinnati Gazette, July 26.

for delay, he was compelled to destroy the fine wire suspension bridge, spanning the Elk river at Charleston, and burn the steamer Kanawha Valley, which had been impressed into his service. He was obliged also to abandon an iron cannon, which had done good service at Scarey, about fifty tents, a hundred kegs of damaged powder, three hundred flint lock muskets, and a quantity of bacon and other commissary stores. He lost also the steamer Julia Maffitt, which was loaded with stores—and, with troops, attempted to pass the Kanawha at Tyler mountain. Arriving at the *chic* of water, opposite the mountain, she was fired upon by a rifled cannon from a Federal battery, and pierced through her upper works. Seeing that her destruction was inevitable, her commander grounded her near the South bank, and, landing his men, burned the steamer and her stores, and escaped with his command. ^a The discouraging effects of a hasty retreat were seen among the men of the legion, some of whom abandoned their companies and went home, but, within a few weeks, order was restored and the ranks were again filled with returning mountaineers, who were ashamed of being deserters.

When General Cox ascertained that Wise had retreated, he was filled with martial ardour to advance. Like the ass, clothed in the lion's skin, he believed that the flight of the enemy was caused by his own redoubtable presence, and triumphed accordingly. He speedily revealed his asinine identity, and proved that the disguise of the royal beast covered a much weaker animal. He declared his purpose to impress the simple hearted people of the West by a grand display. In the words of one of his admirers, "It is the purpose of General Cox to make an imposing display of his forces. His entrance into the town will be *similar to that of General Scott into the City of Mexico*. The whole army will be put in motion at once, and with flags flying and drums beating, he will proceed on his way towards Gauley bridge!" ^b The shattered and burnt wire

bridge, somewhat deranged his plan, but in due time he entered Charleston, and passed on towards the Gauley. He occupied three days in marching thirty-eight miles. The night of the first day, his exhausted men encamped in a morass, and without tents or covering, fell down on the swampy ground, discontented, confused, disorganized. In the words of an eyewitness, "I have no hesitation in saying, that five hundred men could, at any time in the darkness, have put the brigade to flight. The next morning insubordination was rank. Colonels threatened to march their regiments out of the division and return. Captains and lieutenants swore roundly that they would send in their resignations at once, and privates, taking their cue from those above them, protested that they would rather be shot than go farther under such a management." ^a

The region of Virginia, thus abandoned to the enemy, became the scene of cruelty and oppression towards the people, who proved true to the South. The armies of Cox on the Kanawha, and Rosecrans in the North-West, continued the marauding practices already commenced by the Lincoln troops in the South. Many unoffending citizens were seized, whose only crime was their faithfulness to the cause of their country. Prisoners of war were carried into Ohio, and captive citizens from Western Virginia and Kentucky, were mingled with them. Old and feeble men were dragged from their homes and exposed to indignities and barbarous insults, from which their grey hairs would have shielded them in a nation of savages. The chief prison for these unhappy captives, was at "Camp Chase," four miles south of Columbus, the Capital City of Ohio. The treatment of the prisoners there assembled, during the summer, fall and winter of the first year of the war, will forever disgrace, not merely the Lincoln administration, but the whole State of Ohio, in which it was permitted. The number of captives actually taken in battle, was small compared with those seized upon suspicion of disloyalty to the despotism of the North.

^a Compare Northern letters with Examiner, Aug. 5th, 12th 20th.

^b Letter in Cincinnati Gazette, July 26

^a Letter from Gauley Bridge, July 30th. Cincinnati Gazette.

Among these, were R. H. Staunton, Isaac Nelson and George W. Forrester of Kentucky, Col. Ferguson and Henry Martin of Western Virginia, Judge J. R. Curry, presiding justice of Harrison county, Perry Wherret the clerk, and W. B. Glave the sheriff of the same county. Judge Curry was an old man, of seventy years, whose only offence was his dissent from the measures of Lincoln. Yet he was compelled to travel, on foot, through rain and mud to the Hamilton Dept, without a blanket to shelter him, and when his strength failed him and he stopped, he was pushed and struck with brutal violence, by the guns and feet of the guard. ^a

At Camp Chase the prisoners were confined within a space of about half an acre, enclosed by a plank wall more than twenty feet high. Rude hovels or shanties of plank were built, with five rooms in each, sixteen by sixteen feet. In each room twenty-five persons were lodged, and here they were huddled together as felons, and compelled to cook, eat and sleep. The climate was cold, the weather often rainy and piercing; the huts admitted the rain at every seam, and their floors were generally floating in mud, yet the unhappy prisoners were often weeks without a single blanket—had no beds, and their scanty covering was often soaked in water. Their clothing fell into rags, and vermin infested them, but no comfortable changes were provided for them. The buildings were not heated, and only five sticks of wood per day was allowed to each mess of twenty-five men. Bread enough was allowed, but the pork was often unsound and always unwholesome. The effects of this barbarity are thus detailed by one of the sufferers who escaped: "Most of the prisoners were sick from affections of the lungs and throat, and a number died while I was there, while many were perishing by inches, coughing away their lungs, and many were suffering from pneumonia, measles and other diseases. It may seem incredible that this body of sick and suffering men, including a considerable number of prisoners of war, were left through

that damp, cold and horrible October, without fire, and half naked, in that wretched mud-hole of a prison, and without adequate medical attention; and yet, I assert it to be a fact, and defy the contradiction of the Lincoln jailors and authorities." ^a Such were the tender mercies of the hideous despotism, claiming to be the "best government in the world," and of the people upholding it. When, in future years, Ohio shall seek to fraternise with the South, Camp Chase will be remembered.

Within a few weeks after General Wise fell back to Lewisburg, the Southern cause, in West Virginia, received the aid of a very effective body of men, under an officer worthy to lead them. John B. Floyd was a resident of Tazewell county, and was well known and highly appreciated through the South West counties of the State, commonly called Little Tennessee. He had been Governor of Virginia, and afterwards Secretary of War, under Mr. Buchanan. He was bold and talented, prompt in decision and action—his experience in the War Department, had given him much insight into military movements, and had he, from his youth, devoted himself to the science of war, few would have excelled him. He was commissioned, in June, as a Brigadier General in the Confederate army, and issued a stirring address to the people of his section, urging them to volunteer. By the 8th of July, his brigade was ready for service, consisting of three regiments—twenty-seven companies of infantry, and three of cavalry, and he was soon afterwards joined by Captain John H. Guy's battery of Goochland artillery, consisting of four six-pounders, and Hart's and Jackson's batteries of three guns each. His troops were nearly all from South West Virginia, and bore titles which boded no good to their enemies,—such as the Mount Airy Rough and Ready's, the Floyd Guards, the Wythe Minute Men, the Bland Sharp Shooters, the Patrick Boys and the Wise County Yankee Catchers. ^b The regiments were commanded by Cols. Heth, Reynolds and McCausland.

^a Letter of A. J. Morey, Editor of *Cynthiana (Ky.) News*, December 11th, 1861, in *Meruphis Avalanche*.

^a Morey's Letter, December 11th, 1861. Dispatch, December 19th.

^b *Examiner*, July, 9th, 1861.

This brigade was intended for service in West Virginia, and Gen. Floyd soon decided, with the approval of the War Department, that the defence of the Kanawha valley was the object of first importance. He accordingly advanced to the White Sulphur Springs, nine miles East of Lewisburg, and held conferences with General Wise. An advance towards the Gauley was promptly determined on, but the two bodies, under their commanders, moved at different times, and with perfectly distinct organizations, though within supporting distance. Gen. Floyd moved first, advancing on the turnpike leading from Lewisburg to Charleston, which crosses Sewell's mountain and skirts along the South branch of the Kanawha, called New River, running through the county of Fayette. Cox's troops were in force at Gauley Bridge and in the neighbourhood of the "Hawk's Nest," a picturesque and majestic monument of wooded rocks, rising a thousand feet from the river road, at a point ten miles below the mouth of the Gauley. Detached bodies of Federals were thrown in advance, and Floyd skirmished vigorously with them on the Western descent of Sewell mountain, scattering and driving them before him, with a loss of thirty Federals, killed, wounded and prisoners, and three Virginians wounded. ^a Gen. Wise soon followed him and the armies, advanced to a point several miles West of the mountain, where the road from Summersville comes into the Lewisburg and Charleston turnpike. General Wise then advanced to the neighbourhood of the Hawk's Nest, on New River, and while there, a brilliant feat was performed by a part of his cavalry force.

On the 10th of September, about two hundred dragoons, under Lieut. Col. Clarkson, selected from the regiment of Col. J. Lucius Davis, left Hamilton, just above the Hawk's Nest, and rode eighty miles, most of the way through a violent storm of wind and rain—reaching the vicinity of Toney's on the Coal river, twelve miles above Charleston on the 12th. They had learned of a maraud by a body of mounted traitors and Yankees, who had seized the person of Mr. Park, a loyal Southron,

^a Letter in Examiner, Aug. 31st.

had robbed the neighbourhood of sixty head of cattle, and a number of fine horses, and were making their way back to Cox's lines. To reach Toney's, the Confederate cavalry were compelled to cross Coal river ninety-seven times in the night. They rode the last twenty miles in a gallop, cheered on by the country people, who told them the robbers would soon be within their reach. They overtook the enemy, numbering about two hundred, in an apple orchard and open field, near Toney's, and impetuously cheered them, led on by Capt. Rosser. The Southern onset was so violent and sudden, that the marauders were routed in fifteen minutes, and fled up the mountain with a loss of sixty killed, fifty wounded and forty-nine prisoners, besides the captives they had seized, and the horses, cattle, wagons and goods in their possession. The Southern cavalry were too much worn out to pursue them. They secured their prizes, and after a brief rest, returned in safety to Wise's camp. ^a

Floyd and Wise now approached still nearer to the enemy. They skirmished frequently with varying success. Had Cox's troops been their only opponents, they would soon have driven them from the valley. But another foe threatened their flank.

Col. Tyler commanding the seventh Ohio regiment, of nearly thirteen hundred men, was approaching the Gauley river, at Carnifax ferry, about five miles South of Summersville, in Nicholas county, and twenty four miles above Gauley bridge. His movement was therefore on the right flank of the Confederates, and could he have successfully crossed the river, he might have reached their rear, occupied Sewell's mountain, destroyed their communications with Lewisburg, and seriously endangered their safety. Tyler was jubilant and boastful; his regiment was the pride of its section, and he openly declared that he would march to Lewisburg, would catch Floyd and Wise and feed them on beans. ^b Learning of his approach, Gen. Floyd determined at once to cross the river at Carnifax

^a Letter of Justice, in Dispatch, October 15th.

^b Letter of R. H. G. Dispatch, Sept. 7.

ferry and attack him. A part of the cavalry of the Wise legion joined him, under Col. Jenkins. Gen. Wise remained with the larger body of his troops at Pickett's mills, in Fayette county, throwing out Lt. Col. Frank Anderson's battalion to Spots wood, and scouting vigilantly to guard against any aggressive move of Cox, which might have embarrassed the move upon Tyler.

Gen. Floyd reached Carnifax ferry about the 20th of August, and made instant preparations to cross. He had no boats, but set his men to work with great vigor to provide them. They raised some batteaus and a ferry boat, which had been sunk by the enemy, and built a small boat, by means of which they carried to the North side all the infantry and two pieces of artillery. In attempting to ferry over the cavalry, the flat boat was overturned and plunged into the rapid water below the ferry. Four men were drowned; the rest, with their horses, escaped. His command being thus divided, Gen. Floyd redoubled his energy to avert disaster. He was with his infantry on the North side of the river. In one day, another boat was built, by means of which he got safely over his remaining artillery, cavalry and wagons. But news of his supposed disaster had been promptly carried by traitors to Col. Tyler, and the Federals moved forward from Summersville, hoping to take him at disadvantage. Floyd advanced to meet him, throwing out cavalry scouts to ascertain his position. On Sunday, the 25th of August, Col. Jenkins, with a small body of troopers, engaged the enemy's cavalry, and advanced so far that several companies of their infantry, by a long detour, got in his rear. He was first apprized of his danger by the rattle of their musketry; his retreat was very daring and successful, running the gauntlet of their fire for a quarter of a mile, and escaping with a loss of one killed and five wounded.^a

The same day, the Federals advanced, driving in the Southern pickets, and apparently intent on battle. Gen. Floyd's line was promptly formed—his artillery planted on a hill commanding the road and his

infantry extended on the right and left, sheltered in some places by sail breast-works hastily thrown up. But Tyler did not advance. Halting his force a mile from the Confederates, he occupied the fields and woods around a point called Cross Lanes, and bivouacked for the night. Floyd's men slept on their arms, the cavalry in boots and spurs, and with their horses saddled by their sides. Having learned accurately the enemy's position, he issued orders to attack.

By daybreak of Monday, the 26th of August, the Southrons were in motion. Gen. Floyd's voice was remarkable for its strength and clearness, and as he uttered his orders, it rang out like a trumpet. Col. Heth was to advance upon the centre, Col. Reynolds was to attack on the right, while Col. McCausland was to make a considerable circuit to the left and fall upon the enemy if he sought to retreat.

A heavy fog hung over the hills and in the valleys, concealing the advance until the Virginians were close upon the Ohio pickets. A large number of the Federals were in the act of making a breakfast upon green corn and beef steaks, roasted at their fires, when their meal was suddenly interrupted. With the firing and running in of their pickets, they hurried to catch up their arms and formed a confused line of battle near a church, by the road side and behind a fence on its left. The moment Col. Heth's regiment emerged from the woods, they opened fire and pressed forward with shouts and cheers, at the same time that Reynolds' 50th regiment, on the right, vigorously dashed upon the enemy, firing as they advanced. Major Charles E. Thorburn, of this regiment, led the assault with conspicuous gallantry. Before this onset, the Federals broke and fled, retreating hastily across a corn field to the brow of a hill, where they again sought to form. General Floyd was in the hottest of the struggle, and ordered his men to tear down a fence near the foot of the hill and charge. The fence went down almost at a stroke; Heth and Reynolds pressed forward and drove the scattered enemy to another and higher hill commanding the first. Here they again formed, and maintained their fire with some steadiness for twenty-five minutes,

^a G. in Dispatch, Sept. 6th.

But the Southrons pressed on them with deadly volleys and fierce assaults, and again the Ohio men broke and fled. At this point in the battle, Capt. Jackson's artillery hurried to the front, and, unlimbering on the hill, completed the discomfiture of the enemy, by firing two rounds into their flying masses. On the right, they were broken and dispersed in utter rout. *a*

Meanwhile, Col. McCausland, with the 36th regiment, was moving to the left to occupy the road leading from Cross Lanes, down Gauley river, and cut off their retreat. Misled by his guides, the brave Colonel soon found himself marching at the head of his men, moving by the flank right down upon the enemy. His regiment was only three hundred in number, and opposite to him were at least six hundred Federals. But perceiving that the effects of the attack on the left, had already confused and disheartened them, he boldly threw his men into battle line and opened his fire. It was returned for almost forty minutes, when the pressure on the left became too severe to be borne, and the whole Federal force broke and fled to the rear in every line open to them, scattering through the woods, throwing away muskets and haversacks, and intent only on safety. *b* Gen. Floyd ordered a pursuit, and in every mile his troops picked up scores of prisoners and brought them to the rear.

Col. Tyler displayed neither courage nor generalship in this action. He was one of the first to fly from the field; his baggage and personal clothing were captured, and after all his men were routed and had disappeared, he joined himself disconsolately to his chaplain, Frederick T. Brown, who thus describes the interview: "The coldest heart would have been touched for Col. Tyler in that hour. His proud and pet regiment seemed to be annihilated; all who had come on the field with him, killed, wounded or captured. He turned to me, as I rode up, and quietly said: "all is lost. Is there no way by which we can escape?" I told him I thought there was,

and we rode off together." *a* By keeping in the woods they evaded pursuit and escaped.

In this action, the Federals lost twenty-five killed, forty wounded, and about one hundred and fifty prisoners, besides more than three hundred muskets, and a part of their baggage and camp stores, with thirty new four horse wagons, loaded with provisions. Their scattered stragglers in a few days began to appear in Charleston "without arms, hats or shoes, and many of them with their clothes torn into very tatters." The vaunted seventh Ohio regiment had evaporated—as an effective force it had ceased to exist. The Southern loss was four killed and twenty-one wounded.

After the battle of Cross Lanes, General Floyd, with his brigade, remained in his camp on the Gauley several weeks. He was far from his depot of provisions in Lewisburg, and being unprovided with adequate transportation, it would have been rash to have ventured forward on the North of the river. These reasons forbade him to attempt a movement against Cox, at Gauley Bridge. But news of his success against Tyler, and of his position, separated by a deep and rapid river from Wise on the South, reached General Rosecrans, commanding the Federal forces between Buckhannon and Cheat mountain, and incited him to a vigorous effort to overwhelm the Confederates on both sides of the Gauley.

He accordingly moved rapidly down the road leading from Weston to Summersville, with at least eleven thousand men, and thirteen pieces of artillery. As soon as his march became known to Gen. Lee, then commanding the central army in the mountains, he dispatched a courier to Wise and Floyd, instructing the latter to retire without delay to the South of Gauley, and unite the two forces. This message was not received by Gen. Floyd, until the day after the severe combat now at hand. *c*

a Cleveland Herald, 3d Sept. R. H. G.'s narrative, Aug. 25th.

b Frankfort (Ky.) Yeoman. Examiner, September 11th.

c Letter to Mrs. Floyd, Sept. 13th. Examiner, Sept. 21st.

a R. H. G.'s letter, Aug. 26th.

b Greenbrier Era, in Examiner, September 11th.

Active scouts and faithful friends informed the Southern general of the host approaching him, and though his plan of the campaign had not embraced a contest single handed with this new foe, he determined to meet him firmly. Capt. Guy's artillery had reached him a few days before, and a regiment from the Wise legion joined him on Tuesday, the 10th of September. He had sent Col. McCausland's regiment to Summersville with orders to retire on the main body upon the approach of the enemy.

His position was in a bend of Gauley river, very near Carnifax Ferry. His flanks were protected by cliffs heavily wooded; between these, he had thrown up entrenchments, consisting of a central earth-work thirty feet long, and log breastworks made by felling and piling trees. The only natural strength of the position, consisted in the precipices on each side; it had no elevation superior to the approaches in front, but the artificial defences, though hastily prepared, proved very effective. Captain Guy's battery was stationed at the central earth work, which he cut down to a proper height, to enable him to depress his muzzles, so as to sweep two hollows in his front up which the enemy would advance. Col. Heth's regiment was on the right, with its flank resting on the cliff, above Meadow river. On the left were the regiments of Wharton, Tompkins and Reynolds, and two six-pounders, under Jackson. McCausland's regiment, when brought in, was to fill the gap on the left of the Guy battery. The whole force, under Gen. Floyd, did not exceed seventeen hundred and fifty men.

Early on Tuesday morning, the 10th, the enemy appeared in force before Summersville, and Col. McCausland fell back steadily and without loss to the defensive line on the Gauley. Floyd now expected that the attack would take place the next day, but Rosecrans had determined to press forward with vigor and, if possible, crush the Southern force by a *coup de main*. Before two o'clock, on the 10th of September, General Floyd's pickets were driven in, and announced the rapid approach of

the enemy in immense force. The Confederate line of battle was instantly formed, and the men stood to their guns. At half past two, the woods in front were seen swarming with the foe, who advanced deliberately and with apparent firmness. When within full view, they quickened their pace, and a large regiment, under Col. Lyttle of Ohio, rushed forward upon the right wing of the Confederates. A sheet of fire flashed along the log piles, and a torrent of bullets poured into the Federal ranks. Col. Lyttle fell mortally wounded: his horse, a splendid black charger, galloped into the Southern ranks and was secured. The fire was too deadly to be borne; the regiment broke in disorder and took shelter in the woods to the rear.

At the same time, a heavy force advanced upon the centre and left, making strenuous efforts to flank the Southrons. Col. Reynolds received them with great gallantry and coolness. At first his men fired when the enemy were hardly within range, but under the direction of their officers, they afterwards held their fire until the advancing columns were within two hundred yards, and then, aiming with care, they cut them down in heaps. Major Thorburn passed along the whole line of the regiment, coolly instructing the men how to render their fire most deadly, and encouraging them by his words and presence. A Adjutant Cowardin conveyed the orders of the Colonel with promptness. Capt. Silyer, with his company, picked off the enemy's sharpshooters so rapidly, that they were compelled to leave their positions and run to the rear. Wharton and Tompkins, with their regiments, bravely repulsed every advance upon them, and Jackson's cannon were served with signal effect.

The attack on the centre, was met by steady rounds of solid shot and shrapnel from Guy's battery. Finding their infantry attack repulsed at every point, the enemy brought their artillery into position and opened a vigorous fire, but with so wild an aim, that their shot and shells passed far over the heads of the Southerners, and cut

a MS. narrative from Capt. Guy.

a Col. Reynold's official report, Sept. 25th. Dispatch, Oct. 4th.

down branches of trees in the rear. These discharges were continued during the whole action; the aim was somewhat corrected, and often their shot ploughed up the central earth work, and crashed into the log barricades, but with small harm to the men behind him. The fire of the Confederates was so fatal, that part of the enemy ran wholly beyond it, into the woods, and part took shelter in a large framed house and two log houses in a field of thick corn, nearly in front of Guy's battery, and behind a number of hay stacks to the right. Guy threw into the framed house a few solid shot, which passed through and through it, knocking down the chimney and shattering the building. The Yankees poured out in haste and ran at full speed to the woods, and never afterwards formed at the spot, though they kept up an incessant fire from the forest and every point of shelter they could find. Twice they had attempted a charge and twice had been driven back with carnage.

The sun was now sinking; the battle had continued three hours, the enemy had made no impression, and it seemed probable that their abortive attempt would end. But Rosecrans was bitterly mortified by the disastrous repulse he had sustained, and resolved on a final charge, so violent that he hoped to carry all before him. In the words of an eye witness, "the enemy seemed to be perfectly enraged at our obstinate resistance, and was determined to pour out the full vials of his wrath upon us." ^b Again his columns were organized for an assault; again they were seen advancing. General Floyd had received a severe flesh wound in the right arm, early in the action, but, after having it dressed, he returned to the lines, and now seeing the final advance, he cheered his men to meet it firmly. The Federals emerged from the woods and passed rapidly forward to short musket range; the Southern lines were wrapped in fire; a thousand bullets darted into the adverse ranks, hundreds of dead and wounded men fell before them; Guy's guns were loaded and

fired with a rapidity never before attained, and every stream of shrapnel from them, tore through the crowded lines of the enemy. To advance in the face of this deadly storm, was a deed beyond the manhood of these Northern troops. They broke and fled. A shot from one of Guy's guns, carried away the wheel of one of the Federal rifled cannon and silenced it. Infantry and artillery then retreated together in rout and disorder from the field, and returned no more to the assault.

Grave as must be the thoughts attendant on this field of blood, it is impossible to escape a sense of the ludicrous in reading the Northern accounts of its sequel. A very large number of the Federal troops had been held in reserve; among them, a German brigade, under Col. McCook. A witness of their deeds, describes the feeling of depression caused by the sights and sounds of dead and wounded, the fall of Cols. Lowe and Lytle, the retreat of hundreds who ran to the rear, and "were sneakingly attempting to evade the disgrace of their retreat," by enormous stories of the fearful slaughter and the conviction that the battle was going against them. But, behold! a message comes from Rosecrans, that these German heroes are now wanted in front, that they must prepare for an assault of the Southern lines. The scene that followed is thus described: "McCook dashing furiously along the lines, shouting as he went, that he had tried them before, and he knew what they would do, that he and the Adjutant General would lead them up, and that they would carry those works if the ditch had to be filled full of dead Dutchmen before they could get over, that the traitors would soon see what his Dutchmen could do; and thus working the enthusiastic fellows up, till, in the patriotic frenzy of the moment, they would have stormed anything; the Dutchmen yelling and waving their swords, and clashing their muskets, and flinging up their hats." ^a Unhappily, or, peradventure, happily for the reputation of this valorous brigade, it never went into the field. Gen. Rosecrans had lost as much blood as he

^a MS. narrative of Capt. Guy.

^b Letter of Col. Glass, September 11th, in Lynchburg Republican.

^a Letter in Cincinnati Gazette, September 1861.

could spare without fainting, and withdrew his beaten host to the rear.

In this battle, the Confederates lost not a man killed, and only ten wounded. The Federal loss was immense and was acknowledged by their prisoners afterwards taken, and by their own men and officers, to the people of the surrounding country. It was not less than six hundred, and was very probably a thousand in killed and wounded a

Yet, in his official report, General Rosecrans thus narrates this battle, in which he had fought his troops for four hours, had made three desperate and bloody assaults and had lost hundreds of his men. "The enemy's force was five regiments, besides the one driven in. *He had probably sixteen pieces of artillery.* At three o'clock we began a strong reconnoissance, which proceeded to such length that we were about to assault the position on the flank and front when, night coming on and our troops being completely exhausted, I drew them out of the woods and posted them in the order of battle behind ridges, immediately in front of the enemy's position, where they rested on their arms until the morning." "Our loss will probably amount to twenty killed and one hundred wounded. The enemy's loss is not ascertained, but from the report of the prisoners, must have been very considerable." *b* No lying bulletin of past wars had ever approached this in intentional concealment and falsehood, but it was quite respectable when compared with other specimens of Northern official mendacity.

After the battle, Gen. Floyd sent out scouts, who captured two of the enemy and brought them in. From them the heavy force of the enemy was learned and their strength in artillery. Floyd knew, that by crossing the river, they could get in his rear, cut him off from his supplies, and, perhaps, compel his surrender from starvation. He determined, therefore, to withdraw at once. His movement was made with silence and skill. In the dead of night it commenced. For want of suffi-

cient transportation, he was compelled to abandon a part of his camp equipage, ammunition, food and forage, and a part was lost by the overturning of wagons on the precipitous road which led in a single track down the mountain, on one side of the Gauley, and up the steep ascent on the other. Two ferry boats were all that could be obtained, and these, with a foot-bridge skilfully constructed by Capt. Frostburg, a Swedish engineer attached to Floyd's army, were the only means of passage. Yet in the front of an immense hostile force, the whole army crossed in safety, not losing a gun or a horse. Guy's battery was the last to cross, and he himself passed over the bridge after sunrise. The boats were then sunk, the bridge destroyed, and, in the evening of the same day, Floyd reached Wise's camp and united the two commands. Here he received the message from General Lee, directing the very movement he had just performed.

Shortly after daylight, a runaway negro carried to Rosecrans news of the retreat. He forthwith advanced and took possession of the earth work, the log entrenchments, the deserted camp and cast away stores, all of which were duly inserted in his official report. He likewise fired several shots from a rifled cannon at an enemy now six miles off, to produce what he called "a moral effect!"

In a few days Rosecrans crossed the Gauley with his army, and as the force opposing them was four times their own, Floyd and Wise fell back deliberately towards Sewell's mountain. It is to be regretted that differences now developed themselves between these two leaders, which disturbed the harmony of action so much needed. Both were Brigadiers, but Floyd's commission was senior and entitled him to precedence when the commands were united. But as their brigades were perfectly distinct, and as Gen. Floyd was not in command of the department, Wise, with some color of reason and military law, insisted that he had a right to separate his legion from the other, and to handle it as he deemed best for the public service. History declines to enter upon a tedious debate of the merits of a controversy which has no importance, except so far as it wrought discord between two

^a Letter of R. H. G. Dispatch, Sept. 25.

^b Rosecrans' official report to Col. Townsend, Sept. 12th.

brave and energetic men, and paralyzed their efforts to drive the invaders from their soil.

After reaching Sewell's mountain, Gen. Floyd held a council of his officers and determined to fall back still further to Meadow Bluff, eighteen miles West of Lewisburg, a point which he regarded as most advantageous to guard all the approaches to the town. Gen. Wise followed him as far as the eastern slope of the Big Sewell mountain. There he made a careful examination of the position, and became satisfied that it was the best possible for a stand. The road across the Sewell was the only practicable approach for the enemy, unless they made a long and circuitous detour fatal to their plans. The crest of the mountain was too open and fiat for military strength, but the eastern passage, near its foot, afforded an excellent basis for defence, and facilities for entrenched positions there were very great. ^a Therefore he encamped his legion here, threw up breastworks and prepared to resist the advance of Rosecrans, who had now united a large part of Cox's force with his own and was slowly coming eastward.

Leaving the Confederate and Federal forces thus situated on the line of the approach to Lewisburg, we must now review the events which had occurred farther North in this West region of Virginia.

We have seen that after the misfortune at Rich Mountain, and the death of General Garnett, the Southern troops had taken post at Monterey in Highland county, East of the Alleghany range. Gen. W. W. Loring was appointed to the command. He was a brave and efficient officer, with some experience in mountain warfare. He had lost an arm in the war with Mexico. Reinforcements were ordered forward, and as the importance of the defence of this Western frontier of Virginia became more and more apparent, the War Department deemed it best that General Lee should there assume command in person. He found the efficient operations of the army impeded by difficulties of the most serious nature, chief of which were the heavy mountain roads, difficult in any weather, and in rainy seasons perfectly impassable.

^a Mem. from Gen. Henningsen.

To move forward with a force of sixteen thousand men, while all his provisions and army supplies must be transported from the rear by wagons, over roads deep in mud and horrible with precipices, was a task requiring extreme caution.

Nevertheless, by patience and skill, General Lee advanced with his army across the Alleghany range and deliberately approached the enemy in Randolph county. The Federal General Reynolds, held the approaches to Beverly with about fourteen thousand troops. The larger part of these were strongly entrenched at a point at the junction of Tygart's valley river and Elk run, which post was called by the Federals "Elk Water."^a The remainder held the pass at the second summit of Cheat Mountain, on the best road from Staunton to Parkersburg. The mountain here has three well defined summits. The second presented the greatest advantages for fortification, and here the enemy had built a powerful fort or block house in the elbow of the road, flanked by entrenchments of earth and logs, protected by dense abattis on every side, and rendered inaccessible, in two directions, by the steep and rugged walls of the mountain. Here were stationed an Ohio and Indiana regiment and Burdsall's cavalry. This post, called "Cheat Summit," was seven miles from Elk Water by a bridle path, but eighteen miles by the wagon road leading through Hutonsville.

When General Lee reached Valley Mountain, where the highest springs of Tygart's river take their rise, he halted and directed careful reconnoissances of the enemy's positions. Part of the Confederate force, under Gen. Henry R. Jackson, were encamped on Greenbrier river, holding the approaches from the West, through Greenbrier mountain. Col. Rust of the 3d Arkansas, and Capt. Dawson of the 12th Georgia regiments, ventured near the post on Cheat Summit, examining it on the North and South, but not on the East and West. They reported to Gen. Jackson that it was perfectly practicable to turn the position and carry it by storm. This important opinion was immediately communicated to Gene-

^a Reynolds' official report, September 17th. Examiner, October 15th.

ral Lee, and was the basis of his subsequent plan of attack. ^a The examinations made by Gen. Loring being completed, and a map of the whole scene of operations having been prepared, General Lee issued his orders and programme for a united move upon the positions of the enemy, both at Elk Water and Cheat Summit. His plan was admirably conceived, and was arranged, even to its details, with great strategic skill. The combined attack was to take place on Thursday, the 12th of September.

On the morning of the 11th, a storm of wind and rain arose and raged nearly all day. Nevertheless, the various bodies of Southern troops moved as ordered, and overcoming formidable obstacles, gained the desired points. The march of twenty miles, through the mountains, was toilsome and dangerous in the extreme; the rugged bridle paths were now cut by the rains, and loose rocks and earth gave way under the feet of the soldiers. Yet, every movement contemplated was successfully accomplished. By the morning of the 12th, Gen. Loring had driven the enemy's pickets and advanced regiment from the Hutonsville road, and was in front of his first battery at Elk Water. Gen. Donelson's brigade had reached the top of the mountain, in rear of the position on Tygart's valley river. Gen. Anderson's brigade, after a most toilsome march, had gained the *third* ridge or top of Cheat, *West* of the Summit, and cut the telegraph wire connecting the fortified position with Hutonsville, and Gen. Jackson had taken possession of the *East* ridge. Col. Rust, with fifteen hundred troops, chiefly his Arkansas men, had turned the Cheat Summit fort, and was now in its rear.

To carry this position was all important, and was in truth the key movement of the whole plan. It was the most Eastward and advanced of all the enemy's strong holds in this region, and not only com-

manded the best practicable route from the valley, but, while held by the foe, gave him easy access East and West. It was accordingly arranged, that Col. Rust should carry this point by storm, and that this attack on it should be the signal for the movements of the other corps, now threatening the posts of the enemy.

The drenching rain of the previous day, had so dampened the powder in the cartridges of his men, that he found their arms almost unserviceable for a volley. To discharge them, would have been fatal to his hopes of a surprise. He was compelled, therefore, to submit to a delay of an hour, to get his muskets in proper state. This time he spent in cautious scrutiny of the enemy's position. He saw at once that his former reconnoissance had been deceptive. The fortified post was not merely impregnable in the common military sense of the word. It was literally *unapproachable*, by reason of thick abattis of felled trees, with branches and undergrowth densely interlaced, extending from the block house nearly half a mile down the rugged sides of the mountain. Could his men have gone up, he would have made the assault, but it was impossible. He therefore gave no signal for the advance, but informed his superiors in command of the necessary failure of this part of their plan. As the forces which had gained Cheat mountain, had carried only two days provisions, and most of these were spoiled by the rains, it was essential to their safety, that they should withdraw. On seeing this movement, the enemy sallied out and skirmished with them, giving Gen. Reynolds a pretext to claim that he "had engaged them with effect," and that they retired "in great haste and disorder, leaving large quantities of clothing and equipments on the ground." ^a In truth, all they left were some cast off clothing and cartridge boxes with their contents ruined by the rain.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

^a MS. official report of Gen. Lee, with reports from Gen. Loring and Col. Rust, and accompanying map. I have examined these papers in the War Department, in Richmond, by the courtesy of the officers there employed.

^a Reynolds' official report, Sept. 17th.

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HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER IX.

On the 13th, General Lee moved nearer to the enemy's position on Elk Water, to reconnoitre it more carefully. One of his aids, Col. John A. Washington, of the Engineer Corps, was very daring in his approaches—so much so as to draw an unheeded word of warning from other officers. He was a great nephew of George Washington, and had been the owner of the Mount Vernon estate, until it was purchased by an association of ladies. He was highly esteemed by his comrades, and being now in his first campaign, sought for success and renown with ardor. On Friday, the 13th, he was riding, with six companions, around the enemy's works, when they came suddenly upon a party of Federal scouts who had just advanced from their picket station. A volley was fired into them; his comrades retreated, but Washington, who was riding in advance, fell from his horse with four bullets through his body. When the scouts came up, he was lying in the moment of death, his hand attempting to grasp his pistol: he faintly smiled and said, "How are you boys, give me some water;" a canteen was placed to his lips, but he was dead.^a His body was

treated with respect and was soon returned to the Southern lines.

The careful reconnoissances of the enemy's position at Elk Water, discovered its great natural strength and its perfect fortification by all the arts of engineering applicable to mountain roads, forests and water courses. It could not have been carried except by regular approaches with siege lines and heavy guns. For this the Southern army was not prepared, and after full consideration, General Lee gave orders to his subordinates to draw their brigades and regiments back to their camps at Valley mountain and Greenbrier river.

This unfruitful advance, caused some disappointment in the Southern mind, and critics were not wanting who censured General Lee for not making an assault upon the enemy's works, and who insisted that he was too much averse to shedding the blood of his soldiers, and expected to win decisive positions and advantages by strategy, rather than by hard fighting. But, subsequent reflection and experience, have shown that this able leader was right in his course in this campaign. His broad military foresight forbade him to jeopard his troops in a bloody assault upon impregnable entrenchments, and the time came when, at the head of a splendid army, he proved himself capable of dealing the most terrible and bloody blows with matchless skill and energy.

Learning now by couriers of the union of Rosecrans and Cox, and of their advance upon Wise and Floyd, General Lee decided at once to reinforce the Southern armies on the line of Lewisburg, feeling assured that a strenuous effort would there be made to penetrate the valley of Virgi-

^a Letter in Cincinnati Commercial, Examiner, October 5th.

nia. He left General Henry R. Jackson, with about twenty-five hundred men, to hold his position on the Greenbrier river, and ordered the residue of his army to follow him to Lewisburg. He reached General Floyd's camp, at Meadow Bluff, on Friday, the 20th of September, and after conferring with him for two days, joined Gen. Wise, at Sewell Mountain, on Sunday the 22nd. Wise's position had been selected and judiciously entrenched by Gen. Henningsen, and the experienced eye of Lee saw at once that it was very strong and capable of arresting a very heavy hostile force. He accordingly ordered forward his troops to the spot and extended the defensive works already planned.

Meanwhile General Rosecrans, with fifteen thousand men, advanced and took possession of the top of Big Sewell Mountain, skirmishing with the forward troops of the Wise brigade. In one of these conflicts, Lieut. Col. J. W. Spalding, a brave Virginian, was killed. Gen. Lee daily expected an attack and was prepared for it. His force now assembled immediately confronting the enemy, was twelve thousand, and his entrenchments enabled him to defy an attack in front. His only danger was that his position might be turned by difficult and circuitous roads round the mountain. Against this he guarded by great vigilance and constant cavalry scouts, in which Col. J. Lucius Davis, of the Wise Legion was specially active and successful.

Rosecrans had been led by Cox to believe that he would meet very feeble opposition in his triumphant march to Lewisburg. He pushed forward his men over horrible roads and through drenching rains. Gen. Benham led his advance. On reaching the top of Big Sewell, great was his astonishment and chagrin to find a strong army marshalled in his front, and well constructed entrenchments stopping his path at every point. He was so much discouraged by the certainty of severe battle and probable defeat if he advanced, that wavering and indecision took the place of boldness and hope. His army

was already suffering heavily from sickness, caused by forced marches and exposure to the cold rains of the mountains. Not less than fifteen hundred patients were in his wretched hospitals, lying under worn and ragged canvas tents, in heaps of soaking straw, shivering with chills or burning with fevers and daily dying in scores. He felt that his expedition, commenced with so much of vaunting and triumph, was a failure. In the words of one of his own followers: "It was indeed one of the most foolish, as well as one of the most *flattened out* expeditions that could possibly happen, and it is no wonder that the men felt miserable." "The fact of the matter is: Carnifax Ferry, about which so much has been said and written, turns out more and more to our cost, a great blunder and a sad mistake; and instead of heaping opprobrious epithets on Floyd and calling him coward, we must in the end admit that he has turned out to be Rosecrans' superior as an officer and a general. He outmanœuvred him in every way, and in every sense of the word." The same writer thus describes the woe of the Yankees in seeing the front of Lee's army: "There stood the Southern troops on Little Sewell, giant like in form, while our troops stood looking on with amazement, full of chagrin and disappointment."

A stealthy reconnoissance in the darkness of night, around the Confederate position, revealed its strength. Rosecrans made no attempt to entrench, for he had no purpose of holding his camp on the Big Sewell. He gave orders for a silent retreat. On the night of the 6th of October, his troops moved to the rear in the dark, and the next morning, when the Confederates looked out from their camp, the whole of the threatening host that had confronted them for twelve days before, was gone. General Lee made no attempt to pursue them, the state of the roads, and his want of cavalry and artillery horses, rendering it impossible. The enemy fell back to Mountain Cove, thirteen miles below Gauley bridge, and in a few weeks the united force of Rosecrans and Cox at all effective, did

^a Letter from Camp Benham, Oct. 8th, in Cincinnati Times.

^a Letter of M. E. I. from Camp Benham, October 8th. Cincinnati Times.

not exceed six thousand men. ^a They were disappointed and disheartened; had been three times defeated with heavy loss, and had been scourged with sickness and disorder in their camps. They openly avowed that the campaign was over for the fall and winter, and that no forward move would be attempted by them.

The retreat of the army of invasion and the increasing heaviness of the roads, made it evident to the Confederate authorities, that no farther advance of a dangerous character could be undertaken by the enemy in the season at hand. General Lee left his forces on Sewell, under the command of Gen. Loring, and under instructions from the War Department, proceeded to Richmond, and thence to Savannah, where his consummate skill as an Engineer was exhibited in the preparation and arrangement of the defences of that city, and the approaches to Charleston now threatened by the naval and land forces under Commodore Dupont and General Hunter. By order, Gen. Wise reported himself in Richmond on the 28th of September, and after the retreat of Rosecrans, his Legion followed him and was assigned to important duty in North Carolina. General Floyd was still anxious to strike the enemy a parting blow before the frosts of winter closed the campaign in the mountains, and with the sanction of his superiors, prepared for an advance.

On Friday morning, the 10th of October, he struck his tents and took up the line of march to the Kanawha valley. It is hard to realize the fatigues and difficulties of the way. The road between Floyd's and Loring's camps, was impassable to any single team. It required six horses to move a load ordinarily requiring two, and even then, the progress was slow and painful. A mounted rider could not move out of a walk. In order to move at all, Gen. Floyd was compelled to cut a new road four miles long. ^b Yet against all obstacles, his resolute brigade made their way. Instead of advancing on the worn and heavy

roads over which the enemy had passed, he crossed New River and marched upon its Southern side, through Fayette county. Here he found firmer ground and made greater progress. On the 26th of October, he reached the foot of Corton Hill and encamped.

This hill is a wooded elevation, approaching the dignity of a mountain, lying in the elbow directly South of the junction of the Gauley and New River, which together form the Great Kanawha. That river is five hundred yards wide at the spot, and has a fall of twenty-two feet over a ledge of rocks extending nearly across its bed. The scene is wild and picturesque, rivalling the most majestic views of nature in this beautiful mountain district. Close along the river's brink, on the North side, ran the road on which all the supplies for the enemy's troops at Gauley bridge, two miles above, were obliged to pass.

Floyd's infantry soon began to skirmish with the troops on the North side of the river, and by their skill with the rifle, so annoyed them that they were compelled to withdraw their pickets, and their boats found it no longer safe to venture up with provisions. Wishing to bring artillery to bear on the road skirting the river, on the opposite side, the Confederate officers labored with great skill and perseverance. Major Thorburn, of Col. Reynold's regiment, had been a naval officer of the United States service, and by his nautical knowledge, put his men into the path of success. A rifled six pounder was parbuckled up the precipitous sides of the mountain, and put in position on the top, under the forest shelter. Here it was used with severe effect upon the wagon trains and their guards, seven hundred yards distant as they moved up to Gauley Bridge. Provoked by these annoyances, the enemy made repeated efforts to dislodge the Southern from their position by artillery, but finding this attempt vain, they threw bodies of infantry across the river, who were met by Floyd's Skirmishers in the woods, and so roughly handled that they recrossed in haste, after losing several men.

Thus did this small Southern force maintain their stand for twenty days, inflicting great annoyance and considerable loss on the Federals. By the 19th of November,

^a Cincinnati Enquirer. Examiner, Oct. 29th.

^b Letter from R. H. Glass, in Lynchburg Republican, Oct. 12th.

Gen Loring's troops had fallen back to Meadow Bluff. No support faced the enemy North of New River; Floyd's supplies reached him with great difficulty over the deep roads leading to Cotton Hill. He received an admonition from the East that it was time to withdraw, and made his dispositions for the purpose. Nor was his move at all too soon.

Enraged by his persevering attacks, the Federals had obtained heavy reinforcements by steam-boats on the Kanawha and two columns of troops together numbering at least ten thousand men, one under Schenck and the other under Benham were sent across the Kanawha to march by two roads converging and meeting at Fayette Court House, and thus gain General Floyd's rear, surround and overwhelm him. Warned of this movement, he commenced his retreat, abandoning to the enemy only a quantity of ragged tents and worn camp equipage, for which he had not transportation. Prompt as was his march, it is certain that Benham could have intercepted him, had he displayed courage and generalship. This Federal commander had the tenth, twelfth, thirteenth and more than half of the thirty-seventh and forty-fourth Ohio regiments, amounting to about four thousand, five hundred men. Gen. Floyd's force was greatly reduced by sickness, and did not number more than three thousand, two hundred effective men. But Benham and his Ohio troops were liable to panic. On the march they heard a rumor of a heavy body of Southern cavalry advancing on a by-road to gain their rear. They instantly fell back several miles, and thus the strange sight was presented of two armies retreating from each other! ^a

By this happy intervention, seconded by his own energy, Gen. Floyd succeeded in reaching Fayette Court House several hours before his enemy. He made instant dispositions to remove his sick, and continued his retreat, skirmishing vigorously with the advanced guard of the Federals. In these conflicts, Col. Croghan, a gallant Confederate officer—a son of the hero of Fort San-

^a Letter from Lewisburg, dated November 23rd. Dispatch, November 30th. Northern letter, Dec. 3rd. Gen. Benham was called to account by his government for his conduct in this march.

dusky was killed. But the progress of the enemy was successfully checked, and soon their pursuit ceased and they retreated to the Kanawha. Floyd removed eight hundred sick men of his command to Monroe county, and by the first of December, was encamped with his troops at Peterstown, having lost not a gun or caisson, no ammunition of importance, and not more than fourteen men in killed and wounded. The enemy's loss was larger, but its extent has never been made known.

The approaching rigors of winter in the Kanawha district, and the increasing pressure of the huge masses of the enemy assembling at Cairo and along the Mississippi, now induced the War Department to order Gen. Floyd, with his brigade, to Bowling Green, in Kentucky. But while his movements have been claiming our attention, severe battles had been fought in other parts of Western Virginia, resulting in signal successes for the Confederate arms.

We have seen that when General Lee ordered the larger part of his army to march to the Kanawha line, he left Gen. Henry R. Jackson, with two brigades, to hold the turnpike road at Greenbrier river, which ran from Hutonsville across Cheat Mountain, and after passing through the intervening valley, crossed first Greenbrier Mountain, and then the Alleghany ridge into the Valley. The position was not naturally of much strength, though it was flanked on each side by mountains of moderate height and rather gentle declivities. Jackson's camp here was called "Camp Bartow," from one of the heroes of Manassas. Entrenchments had been thrown up, under direction of Col. Barton, on the left, which was most open and exposed, but the right and rear had no protection save the mountain and river. The stream was not more than twenty yards wide, and easily fordable. The Southern camp was on its south bank, and held both sides of the turnpike. The fifty-third Virginia regiment, under Col. John B. Baldwin, by order of Gen. Jackson, had taken post on the Alleghany pass, in his rear.

Discovering early in October that the great body of Southern troops had been withdrawn, the Federal General Reynolds determined to make a vigorous attack

upon the small force at Camp Bartow, not doubting that his superior numbers would drive them before him, and that he would open the way for a triumphant march on Staunton. He organized a force of at least six thousand men, with twelve pieces of artillery, and marched from Huttonsville and his stronghold on Cheat Mountain summit, on Wednesday, the 2nd of October. His men carried four days' cooked provisions in their haversacks; and beside his infantry and artillery, he had a body of cavalry, doubtless intended for pursuit of a flying enemy. His whole movement indicated assurance of success.

Jackson's troops consisted, to a great extent, of the regiments who had made the severe but successful retreat from Laurel Hill, which we have already narrated. They consisted of two small brigades, one under Colonel Taliaferro, and the other under Col. Edward Johnson, a native of Chesterfield county, Virginia, but a resident of Georgia, and at first commanding a regiment from that State. The brigades embraced the 12th Georgia, which had been Johnson's command, the 1st Georgia, Col. Ramsay, 3rd Arkansas, Col. Rust, 44th Virginia, Col. Scott, 23rd Virginia, Lt. Col. Taliaferro, part of the 31st Virginia, Lt. Col. Wm. L. Jackson, and Hansborough's and Reger's battalions, with a small cavalry force under Capt. Starrett, and eight pieces of artillery under Captains Anderson and Shumaker. In consequence of sickness and the detachment of various parties to points needing guards, the whole effective force did not exceed seventeen hundred men. Cols. Hansborough and Reger were sick, and their troops were commanded by their senior Captains, Higginbotham and Robinson. A strong picket guard was kept constantly in front across the river, and on the wooded sides of the turnpike leading from Cheat Mountain.

On Thursday morning, the 3d of October, at a very early hour, the enemy came in sight and attempted to drive in the pickets. The first line, after delivering a sharp volley, fell back, but as the Federals advanced, the whole picket force was

rapidly organized by Col. Edward Johnson, and made a resolute stand. It numbered about a hundred men, from the first Georgia regiment, under Col. Ramsey, and 31st Virginia, under Lieut. Tothman. Taking shelter in the woods on each side of the turnpike, they resisted the approach of the enemy by a rapid and destructive fire, which threw them into disorder. Astonished at such obstinate fighting from pickets, the Yankees wavered; but, urged on by their officers, they closed in upon the small force before them, and compelled them to retire upon the main body, after having kept the foe at bay nearly an hour. Col. Johnson handled them with great gallantry and skill. They lost five killed and several wounded, which was the chief loss of the Confederates in the whole battle. Col. Ramsey, while doing his duty on the outer line, was cut off from his men, and, being lame, was compelled to lie concealed in the woods until subsequent events enabled him to join his comrades.

The enemy now brought their artillery into position, and opened fire from six guns on the south of the turnpike and two on the north. They fired solid shot, shell and spherical case, and occasionally varied their missiles by discharging a shower of cannister. This incessant cannonade continued from eight o'clock until two, and yet was almost harmless to the Confederates. Three field pieces were brought into action by the Southrons, one a rifle, under Capt. Shumaker, the other two six pounders, under Captains Rice and Deshler. The remaining pieces were held in position on the right flank, to meet an expected attack. The guns in action were handled with signal skill and effect. They were carefully aimed, and sent their deadly contents full among the Northern infantry whenever they attempted to advance, and after driving them back, they turned a stream of shot and shells on the Northern artillery, which consisted of the batteries of Home and Loomis. As fast as the enemy got their range, Shumaker shifted the position of his guns, and opened again with fresh and fatal rounds. The Southern infantry meanwhile were cool and deliberate, reserving their fire until

a Gen. Jackson's official report, Oct. 7th. Letter in Dispatch, Nov. 7.

the enemy ventured within range, and then pouring showers of bullets upon them, before which all who were not killed or wounded recoiled in confusion.

Instances of individual coolness and of the collected spirit of whole regiments often occurred during this conflict. Col. W. L. Jackson passed along his line encouraging his men; a shell was thrown into their trenches, and fell close to him; he instantly ordered one of his command to throw it out; he was obeyed; the shell exploded outside, and did no harm.^a When the enemy's fire was hottest, a young cat, which was the pet of one of the companies, was seen in the rear, running with frolic gambols after the spent balls, as they rolled in the leaves and dust, and the soldiers laughed and cheered her on.^b Capt. Rice used his field piece admirably for two hours, loading and firing by detail, amidst a storm of shells from the enemy, until a fragment of shell struck and carried away his foot. Even with the pain of such a wound, he did not lose his self-possession, but encouraged his men as he was borne to the rear, and his gun was effectively served to the close of the battle.

Finding this artillery fire very severe, the enemy, at about half-past nine o'clock, massed their infantry on their right, under the cover of the woods, and crossing the river, advanced in formidable numbers to turn the left flank of the Southrons. The 3rd Arkansas regiment received them with a terrible fire, which drove them back in haste and disorder across the run and into the forest shelter. Their flag, a handsome silk banner, fell into the hands of the Arkansians. Enraged at their repulse, they turned their cannon on the point, and discharged a flood of cannister, which tore through the woods and undergrowth without any injury to the Confederates, who were protected on their flank by entrenchments and a thick forest cover.

An hour later, the Federals made their final effort on the right flank and centre of the Southrons. Here no entrenchments protected the flank, but a mountain rose

^a Letter of W. P. C., Oct. 5, in Examiner, Oct. 19th.

^b Letter from Camp Bartow, October 8. Dispatch, Oct. 12.

from the river. Up the wooded sides of this an infantry force amounting to four thousand men were seen attempting to march to gain, if possible, the rear of Jackson's line. The location of the hill was such that they could not fire effectively until they crossed the river; and, as they attempted to form and deploy, in order to a charge, the 12th Georgia fired several rapid volleys of musketry into them, which instantly checked their advance. At the same time, Shumaker's guns were directed to the point in the woods in which they were known to be crowded, and completed their discomfiture by playing upon them with destructive effect. In the intervals of fire, the voices of Northern officers were heard in despairing colloquy with their men and with each other on this wise: *Brigadier* to *Colonel*. "Why in the hell don't you charge on them? Haven't you heard the order?" *Colonel*. "Yes, but the men won't do it, and I'll be damned if I can. I can't carry them on my shoulders!"^a

The Southern fire was too hot to be borne; the regiments on the hill-side retreated rapidly and in disorder to the turnpike, and at half-past two o'clock, the whole force of infantry, artillery and cavalry was moving in a confused mass to the rear, carrying their wounded in twenty ambulances, and leaving many of their killed, with a large number of knapsacks, canteens and muskets, scattered through the fields and along the forest road.

The loss of the Confederates in this action was six killed, thirty-one wounded, and twelve missing. The enemy's loss was not less than three hundred in killed and wounded. One of their 12-pounders was crippled, and with difficulty removed from the field. They retreated from the assault in rout and disorder. Under such circumstances, it would seem hard to treat this battle as resulting in anything but a decided Confederate victory. Nevertheless, it becomes our duty once more to look upon it through the mysterious lens of the Yankee mind, which had the strange power of inverting all objects and falsifying all truths. The Northern account thus

^a Letter in Dispatch, Oct. 8th; 12th.

summed up the results of their movement:

"The reconnoissance proved *entirely successful*, affording information relative to the enemy's strength which could not be ascertained from scouts." "Our loss is ten killed and eleven wounded." "It is impossible ~~to~~ ascertain the loss of the enemy; it will not, however, fall short of five hundred killed and wounded, as our artillery did terrible execution!"^a

Although winter was fast approaching, active military operations did not cease in West Virginia. Col. Jenkins, who had been left with his cavalry and a part of the Wise Legion in Fayette county, organized a force of about four hundred horse, under Col. Clarkson, and on Sunday, the 19th of November, suddenly descended upon the town of Guyandotte, in Cabell county, on the Ohio river, then held by a garrison of two hundred and fifty Federals. After a short resistance, the enemy gave way and took refuge in the houses, firing from the windows upon the Southern cavalry, who were enclosed in the streets. Col. Clarkson dismounted, and ordered his men to do the same and follow him. In a few moments they broke open the doors and drove the Yankees from house to house, killing and wounding many, and finally compelling the surrender of all surviving. The military property captured consisted of two hundred Enfield rifles, a large quantity of ammunition, saddles, clothing and commissary stores, and a number of cavalry horses—the whole valued at not less than twenty-five thousand dollars.^b

The object of the move being accomplished, and it being impossible, with so small a force, without supplies or support to hold the town, Col. Jenkins withdrew his troops in safety. His action had been perfectly legitimate, and according to the laws of war; he attacked a town held by a regular force of the enemy, overcame them, and took nothing but public military spoils. Nevertheless, the next day a body

of traitor troops and Ohio home guards, under a Col. Zeigler, came up to the place in the steamer Boston, and upon the pretext that the people of Guyandotte had invited the Southern attack, set fire to the town and reduced two-thirds of it to ashes, including many dwellings of unhappy Union men! Women and children were turned homeless into the streets, after seeing all that made their homes comfortable pillaged or burned before their eyes.^a This cowardly outrage added one more to the links of that chain which must at last bind the North to a fate of lasting infamy.

After the brave fight of Greenbrier Mountain, General Henry R. Jackson was detailed from his command, and sent on important duty to Georgia. The department of this region of Virginia was now under the military control of Gen. Loring, and movements were in progress which resulted in a campaign in the dead of winter, in the upper part of the Valley, under the lead of a renowned officer, whose advance was attended by decided success, but at a cost of great suffering to his army. This will be the subject of a narrative soon to be made. The brigade of Col. Taliaferro was withdrawn towards Staunton. Camp Bartow was only occupied by scouts and a picket force, and the Confederate line of defence was drawn back and established at the pass at Alleghany Mountain, fourteen miles from the Greenbrier river, and about the same distance from Monterey. Here Col. Edward Johnson was in command, with about twelve hundred men, consisting of the 12th Georgia, 31st Virginia, under Major Boykin, two companies of Col. Baldwin's 52nd Virginia, Hansborough's and Reger's battalions and eight six pounders, the Lee battery, under the veteran Anderson, and the Rockbridge battery, under Capt. Miller. Under the increasing cold of winter, rendered more intense by the keen air of the mountains, these brave and hardy men maintained their post, with all the hardships of a scanty supply of blankets and food, and the discouragement of isolation from comrades and homes.

^a Special dispatch to Cincinnati Commercial, Oct. 4. Whig, Oct. 14th.

^b Letter of N., Nov. 14. Examiner, Dec. 2nd.

^a Wheeling Intelligencer. Examiner, Nov. 22.

Learning that most of the Confederate forces had been withdrawn, the enemy at Cheat Mountain and Huttonsville once more essayed an advance. On Thursday, the 12th of December, they marched from their encampments in a column five thousand strong, under Gen. R. H. Mitroy, an officer now about to open his career in Virginia, and whose subsequent course was as inglorious as it was cruel and oppressive. Early on the morning of the 12th their advance came suddenly upon the Southern scouts at Slavin's Crossing, three miles in advance of Camp Bartow, and were received with a well aimed volley, which killed eighteen men. ^a This check halted the column. The scouts retired rapidly through the woods, and arrived in Col. Johnson's camp about dusk, where they reported the threatening advance. Preparations were instantly made to give the foe a hot reception. But that night they did not appear.

At four o'clock on the morning of Friday, the 13th of December, the long roll was sounded and the Southrons turned out for battle. The enemy came on, guided by a traitor named Slavin, and having in their ranks one company of Tories from West Virginia. ^b At eight o'clock they appeared, and immediately made a rush, with more than two thousand men, to seize, if possible, a commanding hill on the left flank of the Confederates, in rear of their tents. Here they were met by the 31st Virginia, the 12th Georgia, and Hansborough's and Reger's troops, and a severe and bloody struggle ensued, often with fighting hand to hand. The Southrons fired destructive volleys, and then charged with the bayonet, driving the foe down the declivity before them. In a skirt of woods near the road, they were rallied and heavily reinforced, and again advanced up the mountain. Again the small body of Confederates met them with heroic constancy; the men of the 31st Virginia, most of whom were from the North West, displayed a dashing and stubborn courage, which drew upon them the plau-

dit of their comrades. Major Boykin led them with dauntless spirit. Col. Johnson was seen everywhere along his lines, dressed in the plain clothing of a mountaineer, and fighting with a musket, which he loaded and fired with rapidity and skill. Finding his men hard pressed by numbers, he grasped his musket in his left hand, and seizing a heavy baton of wood in his right, he brandished it over his head, and encouraging his troops in a voice of thunder, rushed upon the foe. His men charged with fury—broke the Federal ranks, and drove them headlong down the mountain's side, killing many with the bayonet, capturing others who were not fleet enough to escape, and utterly routing them from that part of the field. In this severe encounter Captain Mayneham was shot through the heart and instantly killed; Capt. Thompson, after being surrounded by the enemy, gallantly extricated himself, but soon afterwards received two bullets, one through the arm and the other through the body, and fell mortally wounded; Col. Hansborough and Captains Deshler and Reger were severely wounded, and many brave men fell in the very moment of victory.

Meanwhile, on the right of the road the enemy pushed a heavy column forward through the woods, and gaining the shelter of a field in which a quantity of felled trees, stumps, brushwood and undergrowth formed a sort of breastwork, they opened a severe fire of musketry upon the Southern lines. This was answered with great spirit, but the small number of the Confederates were unable, with musket volleys, to drive out the swarming ranks who, from their hiding places among the timber, kept up an incessant and galling shower of bullets. Captain Anderson now brought his battery to bear on them, and threw into their midst a torrent of round shot and cannister, which dashed their timber defences to pieces and made the place too hot to hold them. They fled from the point on which his fire was directed. Seeing a number of men half concealed among the fallen logs not more than four hundred yards from his position, and believing them to be the Southern pickets, Captain Anderson exposed him-

^a Letter in Lynchburg Republican, dated Dec. 14.

^b Letters of T. S., Dispatch, Dec. 18th and 19th.

self beyond the south works, and called to them to come into the trenches. He had hardly spoken before they fired a full round of musketry, and the brave old officer fell dead from his horse. He had been in three wars, and is said to have taken part in *fifty-eight* battles and skirmishes, falling at last in defence of the land he loved. ^a His death caused deep sorrow among his comrades. Lt. W. W. Hardwicke, of Lynchburg, took his place in command of the battery, and his guns, with those of Capt. Miller, were worked so rapidly and well that the crowded ranks of the enemy in the timber were shattered at every shot. They could not stand the fire. At one o'clock they broke and ran, seeking the shelter of the woods in their rear, and half an hour afterwards they were flying in utter rout before the Confederates, who pursued them for nearly two miles down the mountain. In their flight they cast away knapsacks, canteens, blankets and hats. They returned to Cheat Mountain disheartened and almost disorganized. No army could have suffered a more marked and disgraceful defeat. They left eighty dead on the field, and as their ambulances had been running to the rear for hours, their loss in killed and wounded was probably not less than four hundred. The Southern loss was twenty-five killed and ninety-seven wounded. ^b

Having given the *facts* of this brilliant battle, we must now look at their inverted and deceptive image in the Northern mirror of falsehood. A special dispatch from Cheat Mountain to Cincinnati said: "Yesterday the hardest and best fought battle of the war was fought at Alleghany camp, Pocahontas county, Virginia. The Union loss is about thirty; the rebels lost over two hundred. The rebels set fire to their camp and retreated to Staunton. Our forces left the field in good order"!! ^c

The disappointment and rage of the routed Yankees found vent in a deed of malignity which must be noted. On the Greenbank road they went to the house of

an aged woman eighty-two years old, destroyed her furniture, carried off her provisions, and broke to pieces her cooking utensils. When Col. Johnson heard of her destitute condition, he sent her a sack of flour and a few other necessaries from his camp, which probably saved her from starving. ^a

Leaving now the mountain campaign of Virginia, we must return to the lines of the Potomac, where events were occurring which, although not decisive or far-reaching in their immediate influence, were of grave bearing upon the subsequent progress of the war. We have seen that, after the disastrous rout at Manassas, the Northern War Department had called General McClellan to the command of their army, and that, for reasons deemed sufficient, the Confederates did not attempt to cross the Potomac and capture Washington city. For many months after McClellan assumed command, his whole energies were devoted to the task of reorganizing his army. Recruits were found in sufficient numbers, but past experience and his sedulous care for his own reputation alike admonished him to undertake no hazardous enterprises. He drilled his troops with incessant diligence, hoping to convert them into soldiers, and to supply the want of true courage and enthusiasm by the habits of discipline. Having adopted the theory that the future of the war could be controlled, to a very great extent, by the use of artillery, he spared neither time nor money in providing field pieces of the most approved character and metal. Rifled guns, Napoleons, howitzers and smooth bores were mounted in numbers such as few armies had ever known before. He made also great efforts to bring his cavalry up to something like an approach to the Southern standard. His men were generally so awkward and unskilful in riding, that the ordinary evolutions of the trot and gallop unhorsed them. To guard against such disasters, a saddle of a peculiar form, very high before and behind, with straps to secure the rider in his seat, was introduced, but it was soon

^a Dispatch, Dec. 23rd.

^b Compare letters in Lynchburg.

^c Telegram, Dec. 14; copied in Examiner Dec. 18th.

^a Letter of T. S. from Camp Alleghany, Dec. 21.

found that this contrivance was worse than useless, because it cramped the movements of the horseman, prevented him from uniting the power of stirrups and sabre in a sweeping cut, and placed him almost at the mercy of a skilful antagonist. Against all obstacles and all impatient urgency, McClellan pursued his way with firmness. For four months after the battle of Manassas he scarcely ventured even to send out a foraging party or to make a reconnoissance of six miles from his camps. But whenever a move of any kind was made, it was generally in heavy force, and special care was taken to herald it in the papers of New York and Philadelphia as a brilliant success, though it had encountered no resistance, and never ventured within reach of a foe.

During this time the Confederate troops were not idle, although they did not undertake any infantry move promising broad influence upon the campaign. Their lines of defence extended from the batteries at Aquia Creek, on an inlet of the Potomac twelve miles from Fredericksburg, up through Stafford, Prince William, Fairfax and Loudon, to a point six miles beyond Leesburg, near the Shannondale Springs, in the last named county. Their numbers were, indeed, insufficient to make this a united line, but their infantry, artillery and cavalry were so posted as to be within reinforcing distance of each other and of each division upon a few hours' warning.

To blockade the Potomac became an object of much interest to the Confederates. Along this river most of the supplies for McClellan's army, as well as coal for the Federal war steamers, were conveyed. The batteries at Aquia did not command the channel. Steamers and sailing vessels were entirely beyond their reach in ordinary navigation. After careful reconnoissances for a suitable position, the Southern engineers selected a reach of the river near Evansport, between the Occoquan and Chapowamsic, and about twenty-eight miles below Alexandria. Here the Potomac is one and seven-eighths of a mile wide. Preparations for constructing the batteries were commenced about the middle of August. The utmost caution and secrecy were observed, as it

was essential to conceal the work as long as possible from the enemy, to avoid the fire of their war ships from the river. A thick belt of pines skirted the bank in front, and trees were planted on each side, to shut in the spot from the reaches of the river above and below. The work went on steadily, but in silence. It is a fact illustrative of the fidelity not only of the soldiers, but of the people inhabiting this region, that though many weeks were passed in building these batteries, their existence was never betrayed to the enemy. The Federal cruisers ran constantly up and down the river, peering with keen eyes into each suspicious thicket, and often throwing in shells to aid the search, yet they returned again and again to Washington with the report: "No batteries above Aquia." Often the Confederate officers lay under the shade of the trees, and through their thick trunks and foliage watched the approach and scrutiny of the hostile steamers, while, at a signal, the men working on the batteries laid down their spades and rested in profound silence until the enemy withdrew. *a*

To get the guns to these works was a task of immense labor and difficulty. They were nine inch columbiads, and were transported under the direction of Lieut. Simms, of the Confederate Navy, from Brooke's station on the railroad, to the batteries, a distance of twenty-one miles. They were slung between large wheels, and hauled by oxen and horses over the rough and sandy roads of Stafford. By the first of September a sufficient number had been brought up, and within a few weeks thereafter fourteen guns were mounted in three batteries about half a mile from each other. Gen. Trimble's brigade was assigned to man and defend them. Commander Frederick Chatard, of the Navy, aided by Lieut. McCorkle, had special command of the artillerists. The men were at first inexperienced and unskilful, but by the sedulous care of the naval officers, they were soon trained to the rapid and expert handling of these heavy guns. The suspicions of the enemy hav-

a MS. letters from Lt. D. P. McCorkle, April 3rd, 1863.

ing been excited, in order to draw their attention to another spot, Colonel Wade Hampton ordered the artillery of his Legion to go to Freestone Point, about four miles above, and present the appearance of throwing up a "masked battery." This stratagem was perfectly successful. The Federal flotilla forthwith repaired to the point, and a heavy fire was opened on both sides. Captain Lee had charge of "Long Tom," captured at Manassas, and fired some very effective shots, which cut up the steamers severely. They hauled off, and one of them, the Planet, ran down the river and was sunk at 40 minutes past 7 o'clock, ten-minutes after a collision between her and a steamer which was coming up. How far the rapid sinking of the Planet may have been caused by her previous injuries did not appear: a The Evansport works remained undiscovered.

On the night of the 14th of October, the guns were all mounted, the trees in front cut nearly through, and everything made ready for unmasking. On the morning of the 15th the Federal steamer Pocahontas passed down, followed very quickly by the Seminole. The trees fell, and the battery opened. The Pocahontas having nearly passed before the point was uncovered, escaped. But the Seminole was roughly handled. She was taken by surprise in front of the upper battery. She could not safely retreat, and therefore ran boldly down, exchanging broadsides with the shore guns. She was struck thirteen times—eight times by 9-inch shells, which shattered her severely; her crew could hardly have escaped less by such damage on her decks, but it was not made known. The batteries and their men were uninjured. ♪

These formidable works being now fully disclosed, caused great consternation among the Federal shipping in the river. A fleet of some hundreds of vessels were arrested and lay in a confused mass six miles below the batteries. At night some attempted to pass, but were received with

so destructive a fire that two were abandoned and fell into the hands of the Southrons, while the steam tugs which were towing them with difficulty escaped up the river. This abortive effort confirmed the blockade. The Pawnee ran by under full steam on the 17th, but received severe injury. A shell exploded in her quarter, bursting a hole through her bottom, which sent her men to the pumps to keep her above water. Some weeks later the steam sloop Pensacola passed down in a dark night, suffering but little injury, by reason of some neglect in the look-outs of the upper battery. But these were exceptions too few and hazardous to encourage Federal vessels generally to follow their example. For nearly five months from the middle of October, the blockade of the Potomac was complete and effective—far more effective than any that Mr. Lincoln's war fleets had been able to establish before any Southern port.

The results upon the Northern interests and war measures was serious and oppressive. It became necessary to unload the freight vessels on the Maryland shore, six miles below the mouth of the Choptank, and wagon their contents fifteen miles, over wretched roads, to a point several miles above the batteries, where they were again loaded into vessels for Washington. More than two hundred wagons were thus constantly employed. Yet the suffering in Washington for want of coal and other necessaries was very great. Hundreds of army horses died for want of forage. The loss in money inflicted on the North by the blockade was estimated at many millions of dollars. Mr. Chandler, a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, spoke bitterly of these losses, besides the disgrace of the government in being thus blockaded in its own Capital.

So stern was the pressure of this woe, that the Federal authorities held out the hopes of large rewards to vessels which would run the blockade. Gen. Hooker, who then commanded in the city limits, caused notices to be inserted in the papers that it was a very rare thing for a shot from the batteries to strike a vessel. These falsehoods were repeated in some South-

♪ Compare account in Baltimore Sun, Sept. 30, with letter of "Personne," Charleston Courier, in Dispatch Nov. 7.

♫ Fredericksburg Recorder, Oct. 18th. Charleston Courier, "Personne."

ern papers, and brought unmerited censure upon the artillerists. The facts sufficiently vindicate them. Vessels frequently made the attempt for three months, during which time seven were sunk and one hundred and twenty-three were injured. ^a The risk was found too great, and for two months before the middle of March, no vessels passed except a few schooners of the smallest size, which hugged the Maryland shore in the darkest nights, and thus escaped.

Notwithstanding the angry clamor of the Congress and the Northern papers, McClellan steadily refused to encounter the hazard of a land attack on the batteries. He sent twenty-five thousand men to the lines around Budd's Ferry, on the Maryland shore, opposite Evansport, and threw up an earth-work, on which guns of heavy calibre were mounted—some, of the renowned Whitworth pattern, from which much effect was hoped. They opened fire about the first of November, and continued it almost daily for four months, expending powder and ball at a cost of half a million of dollars, with no harm to the Confederates save the wounding of three men and the occasional displacement of some earth covering. The Southern batteries very seldom replied, reserving their ammunition for better objects. The Federal ships were equally impotent in their attacks. They never ventured a bombardment within effective range. Occasionally they assembled and opened fire, but at such a distance as to render their own guns and those in the batteries equally harmless. ^b

While these blockading measures were in progress on the river, the army under Johnston and Beauregard advanced nearer and nearer to Washington, and throwing forward strong picket forces, occupied in succession three hills—Munson's, Mason's, and Ball's—from which the dome of the Capital and the more elevated buildings of the city were plainly in sight. General Longstreet's brigade, with the 13th and 7th Virginia, and the Washington Artillery, were in advance until relieved by

other troops, and Stuart's cavalry was constantly engaged in scouting. The enemy had been driven from these hills after some skirmishing, in which they made but a feeble stand. Earthworks and entrenchments of very light character were thrown up, and mounted at some points with *mock guns*. The object of the Confederate commanders was not to make regular seige approaches to Washington, but, if possible, to draw out McClellan's army to a general engagement. For this purpose the Southern host beleaguered every avenue of egress, waved the flags of forty regiments in the face of the foe, and offered battle so defiantly that the Northern papers announced that a great struggle was at hand, as it seemed to them impossible that McClellan, with his more numerous army, should submit to such indignity. But he carefully avoided the encounter. His caution approached near to timidity. He had, indeed, much to fear, for in the few movements he permitted, his troops met with disasters which were not adapted to increase his confidence.

On Wednesday, the 11th of September, a body of two thousand three hundred Federals, consisting of Vermont, New York and Indiana infantry, a company of cavalry, and Griffin's United States battery, all under Col. Stevens of the New York 79th, started from the Chain bridge, near Washington, and advanced on the Leesburg road to Lewinsville, seven miles from the bridge. Here they took possession of all the roads, posted their troops so as to command each approach, planted their battery, and threw out skirmishers. Their intention was to erect field fortifications on a hill near the road-crossing. ^a Early in the day they drove in the Southern pickets. Col. Stuart made dispositions to attack them. His force consisted of only three hundred and five men, from the 13th Virginia, two-pieces of the Washington Artillery, under Capt. Rosser, and a company of cavalry—about four hundred and fifty men in all. The Southrons ad-

^a MS. letter from Confederate officer.

^b MS. mem. from Com. Chatard.

^a Statement of Lieut. Hancock, of Indiana, in G. M.'s letters, Sept. 17. Dispatch, Sept. 19, compare with Washington Star, Sept. 12.

vanced rapidly, but cautiously, in skirmishing order, and gaining the shelter of a corn field and skirt of woods near the enemy, opened a hot fire. Griffin's battery replied, but shot far over head. The two pieces of the Confederates were skillfully managed, shifting their positions rapidly, and firing from every point of advantage; their skirmishers were equally active, running from one side of the field to another, and darting among the trees, keeping up an incessant fire, which told with effect on the enemy. In two hours after the fight commenced the Federals were in retreat, which soon became a rapid flight, leaving two killed and two mortally wounded, besides a small harvest of muskets, hats and knapsacks on the field, carrying with them seven dead and nine wounded, and losing also six prisoners. The Confederates had not a man killed or wounded. But McClellan comforted Lincoln and the War Department by assuring them that Griffin's battery silenced the enemy's, and that the men behaved admirably under fire, concluding his report with the dismal words; "*We shall have no more Bull Run affairs.*" a

In an address to his men soon after this affair, Gen. McClellan sought to cheer them by saying: "We have made our last retreat; we have seen our last defeat." How far his truth as a military witness, or his inspiration as a prophet, have been vindicated, the subsequent course of our history will disclose.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

PRÆTERITA.

BY S. D. D.

I see through the shadows nightly
 The dream of a girlish face,
 That comes like a spirit lightly,
 With a form of most exquisite grace.
 And there's life in the orient glowing,
 That reeks from her crystalline cheek;
 There are lips with low music o'erflowing,
 There are looks that are loving and meek.

a Northern account, Dispatch, Sept. 16.

And I clasp a soft hand in my gladness,
 And wonder at meeting her there;
 For I knew of a heart-breaking madness,
 A parting once made in despair.
 But the night into spring-time is changing;
 The winds into symphonies sweet;
 And I see the bright butterfly ranging
 The garden of flowers at my feet.

Mellow voices of laughter and singing
 (It is long since I heard them before),
 Arise like the summer wind, bringing
 Sweet sounds from a far remote shore.
 And the voices are murmuring nearer,
 I know every one by its tone,
 O! sounds than all melody dearer,
 That come from the days that are gone.

But ah! 'tis a dream, a dream only:
 I wake, and the murmurs are hushed;
 I had slumbered, (my life is so lonely,)
 O'er a flower that was faded and crushed.

Long ago, as a love-pledge 'twas given,
 By a hand that I clasp no more,
 For a grave—but my heart is all riven
 By a wound to its innermost core.
In camp, Dec. 28, 1863.

EVELYN LOCHAVEL.

BY ANDERSON.

Author of "*Boarding an Engineer*," "*Passion and Principle*," &c.

CONCLUDED.

CHAPTER V.

OUR HERO HAS A RIVAL.

As Charles was driving out of the village, after the last visit of which I was telling you, he met Dr. Gilmer.

"Why, hallo, Charles!" cried the Dr., "where are you driving to at such Jehu speed?"

"Going out home," replied Charles, drawing in his horses. "I have just been down to the village."

"Anything of interest going on to take you down this time of the week," asked the Doctor.

"Nothing at all," he replied, laconically,

1867, Dec 23.

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RICHMOND, MARCH, 1864.

[No. 3.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT R. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

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CHAPTER IX.

After seeking in vain for a month to draw out the enemy for a general engagement, the Confederate officers were called to decide what position their armies on the line of the Potomac must take for the winter. It was obviously impossible, without a chain of strong fortifications, to hold the advanced line of Munson's and Mason's hills, or even the interior one of Fairfax Court House and its flanks. As it was not intended that the army should assault the entrenchments defending Washington, the occupation of that city and of Alexandria for the winter were not contemplated. It was essential to the health and safety of the troops that winter quarters should be occupied and prepared. And as it was well known that McClellan's army was increasing in size and strength, it was necessary that the Southern forces confronting him should be within supporting distance of each other. An examination of the map will show, that while their right and left wings rested respectively on Dumfries, near the Evansport batteries, and on Leesburg, at the same time that their centre held Fairfax Court House, the Confederate lines were on the convex arc of a circle, with the centre dangerously forward, exposing it to a concentrated attack, if the enemy should gather enterprise and courage.

Under these circumstances, after consultation, in which Generals Johnston, Beauregard and Gustavus W. Smith were the chiefs in council, it was determined that the advanced corps of the army should quietly fall back to Centreville. The movement commenced on Tuesday night, the 15th of October. An order was issued that the army should prepare to march at a moment's notice. At first an advance was expected, but when it was ascertained that the army was to fall back, many of the true-hearted people of Fairfax and of the region to be abandoned to the enemy were filled with sorrow. The evacuation was performed in a very skilful and orderly manner. Some of the scenes were thus described by an eye-witness: "Regiment after regiment filed through the streets; long trains of transport wagons, droves of toiling and lowing bees, cavalades of horses, batteries of artillery, companies and squads of men, and levies of stragglers, singing snatches of familiar songs, passed by in orderly march." "The country for miles around was blazing with lights, and far away on the distant hillsides, beyond the wood, across the valley, glimmered the camp fires through the dark." "In the observatory built upon the roof of the hotel, the signal men were telegraphing to the outposts, and the red glare of the torches waving to and fro, and falling upon the moving forms and faces, and upon the busy masses below, gave all the appearance of magicians moving under the spell of some mighty enchantment." "At twelve o'clock the army was put in motion, and in perfect silence, without the beat of a drum, or the note of a bugle, the men marched out of their forsaken ca-

campments, and took the road to Centreville. The Generals superintended the march in person, and were riding here and there, seemingly unconscious of fatigue. Whole families were seen walking by the wayside, carrying such articles as they could hastily gather in their arms. Old men, maidens and little children tramped through the weary night to a home of safety beyond the reach of a vandal foe." "With feelings of intense sorrow and pain, I rode by these unfortunate families, driven from their happy homes to seek shelter behind the line of our army. Leaning on the arm of an aged man, the form of a sick girl, whose patient, pensive face comes to me more often than any other, passed in the singular cortege. The sight was one that brought tears into eyes long unused to weeping." ^a

The withdrawal of the foe who had so daringly invited them to battle for two months, wrought a highly exhilarating effect on McClellan and his army. They advanced boldly to Munson and Mason's hills, finding no entrenchments that deserved the name, and only a line of mock cannon, which had long held them at bay. Pickets from the Confederate regiments were still kept at Fairfax Court House, and the Federals did not venture to occupy it in force. But the apparent retreat to Centreville encouraged General McClellan to undertake an advance on the extreme left wing of the Southern force, which brought on a conflict among the most sanguinary of the war, when estimated in view of the numbers engaged.

Colonel Evans, whose stubborn courage had been so conspicuous on the field of Manassas, had been made a Brigadier General, and commanded a force of about two thousand men in and around Leesburg. His command consisted of the 8th Virginia, the 13th, 17th and 18th Mississippi regiments, six guns of the Richmond Howitzer battalion, and a small body of cavalry.

Believing that he would be able, without any bloody resistance, to force back the small Southern commands holding their extreme left, and thus to occupy the coun-

^a Bohemian. Letter in Dispatch, October 21.

try covering the Northern belt of Fairfax and Loudon, McClellan ordered an advance by Gen. McCall, from Washington towards Dranesville. At the same time, he ordered Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone, commanding opposite to Edwards' Ferry, nearly opposite to Leesburg, to throw across the river a sufficient force to cooperate with the lower movement. ^a

Leesburg is three miles and a half from the Potomac. Between the town and the river came first open fields, and then a thick wooded strip running to a steep bank hanging over the water. Harrison's Island was opposite to the landing below this bank. It was about three miles long and one hundred and fifty yards wide, and two hundred yards from the Virginia, and nearly six hundred from the Maryland shore. Conrad's Ferry was three quarters of a mile above, and Edward's Ferry about seven miles below, just above the mouth of Goose Creek.

On Sunday, the 20th of October, the Federal guns opposite Edwards' Ferry commenced shelling the opposite bank with vigor, under the belief that a considerable Southern force was there. At the same time, plain demonstrations of their intent to cross at that point were made by the enemy. Gen. Evans sent to their front the 13th Mississippi regiment, under Col. Barksdale, the 17th, Col. Burt, and part of the 18th, Col. Fetherstone, and ordered the Richmond Howitzers, under Capt. Shields and Lieut. Palmer, to take a strong position commanding the road from Edwards' Ferry to Leesburg. The 8th Virginia, under Col. Hunton, made up of troops from Prince William and Loudon, with an additional force under Lt. Col. Jenifer, consisting of four companies of the 18th Mississippi, and about a hundred dragoons of the Loudon cavalry, were left in the neighborhood of Ball's Bluff, opposite Harrison's Island.

Before daylight on the morning of Monday, the 21st of October, Capt. Devons, of

^a See McClellan's order, No. 1. Oct. 20, 1861, by A. V. Colburn, Assis. Adj't. Gen. to Gen. Stone. After the battle, McClellan attempted to deny that he had ordered Stone to advance in force, or to make an attack. Examiner, Nov. 11, 1861.

the 15th Massachusetts regiment, with about three hundred men, crossed the river at Harrison's Island, and cautiously advanced through the skirt of woods beyond the bluff. They were met by two Southern picket companies, one from the 17th Mississippi, under Capt. Duff, and one from the 18th, under Capt. Welbourn, who challenged their advanced skirmishers with the usual query, "Who comes there?" "Friends," was the reply; but the advance continued. Capt. Duff received them with a volley, which threw them into confusion, and stopped the advance until other companies came up, who had crossed after the party under Devens. The Southern pickets slowly fell back, until met by a reinforcement under Lieut. Col. Jenifer, consisting of four infantry companies, and a body of Loudon cavalry, who dismounted and joined the infantry. Throwing themselves into the forest shelter, this small body then opened so galling a fire that the Northern force was checked and fell back for reinforcements. ^a

Hearing the firing, Col. Baker of the Federal army, under orders from General Stone, crossed with his brigade, consisting of the 15th and 20th Massachusetts, the Tammany regiment of New York, a corps called the California regiment, made up of some men from that State, and others recruited in the North, and three guns of a Rhode Island battery, two howitzers and a rifled piece. Col. Baker was the former Senator from Oregon, already prominent as a fierce advocate of the war in its most bloody form. He was an Englishman by birth, and a brave man. But on the eve of crossing, he expressed misgivings and fears as to the result, and a presentiment of his own death. ^b His means of transportation were two flat boats, each capable of carrying about fifty men. By the use of lines connected with the shore and Harrison's Island, the crossing was effected more rapidly than could have been expected. Gen. Stone had ordered seven thousand five hundred men to co-operate in the movement. ^c Baker's brigade, in-

cluding the advanced companies under Devens, was two thousand three hundred strong, and he was immediately followed over by the 19th Massachusetts and another New York regiment, with two full batteries of artillery, making up a total of at least four thousand men. ^a The whole Southern force opposed to them did not at any time exceed eighteen hundred.

By two o'clock the greater part of Baker's troops had gained the bluff, and formed on its ridge, with the three pieces of artillery in position. The guns had been dragged with immense labor up the steep from the landing; the rifled piece was dismounted and rolled up with levers, and afterwards again mounted for action. The Federals advanced towards the wooded plain between the river and Leesburg. Into this Col. Hunton had thrown his regiment, with the supporting companies of the 10th and 18th Mississippi, and the dismounted cavalry. He received the enemy with the greatest intrepidity and coolness. His men fired scorching volleys, under which the Northern troops were severely cut up. Their dead and wounded were borne rapidly to the rear, and carried over to the island in small boats. Col. Baker with difficulty kept his men in position under this destructive fire. The artilleryists all left their guns and fled, and for nearly an hour one of the howitzers was worked by Col. Baker, Lt. Col. Wistar, Col. Cogswell, and Adjutant Harve;, aided by a few men of the California regiment. ^b The Southerners had not a piece of artillery in the action, yet so accurate and deadly was their use of the musket and Mississippi rifle, that the enemy's superiority in numbers and weight of arms was more than matched.

Finding that no advance of the Federals from Edwards' Ferry was attempted, Gen. Evans ordered the 17th and 18th Mississippi to march rapidly to the left, to reinforce Hunton, retaining the 13th and the Howitzers on the approaches to Leesburg, to guard against the possibility of surprise.

^a Letter of Bohemian, Dispatch, Oct. 29.
^b Northern account in Examiner, Nov. 5.
^c Col. Colbourn's account, Examiner, Nov. 1st.

^a Official report of Col. Hinks, of 19th Mass., Oct. 23rd. Maryland News Sheet, Oct. 26th. Baltimore South, Oct. 25th.

^b New York World, Oct. 26th.

Cols. Burt and Fetherstone arrived with their gallant Mississippians at about four o'clock, bringing a timely aid to the heroic regiment and battalion which had thus far sustained the brunt of the battle. They formed rapidly in the woods on the right and left of Hunton, and with terrific yells poured a shower of rifle bullets into the Federal ranks. The Tammany regiment at first stood their ground firmly, and answered the cries of the Mississippians with counter yells. According to their own account: "Captain O'Meara often rallied his command, throwing defiance into the very teeth of the enemy, and showing the rebels that he could *scream* equal to the worst of them." ^a But under the fatal fire of the Southerners, the Federals gave way and fell back towards the bluff, notwithstanding all the efforts of Col. Baker to rally them,

At this moment Lt. Col. Jenifer rode out from the Confederate lines, and beckoned with his hand, as if to invite the enemy forward to close combat. Col. Baker thought he recognized in him Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, and urged his men to a rally, with the hope that the Southern leader might fall, and the day be retrieved. ^b This brought his disordered lines to a momentary stand. But it was a moment fatal to him and to his command. The ammunition of the 8th Virginia was nearly exhausted, and Col. Hunton called for a charge. Virginians and Mississippians together rushed forward, making a resistless onset upon the Federal lines. A powerful Southron, with red hair and beard, sprang to the front, and advancing within eight feet of Col. Baker, fired five chambers of his revolver at him, piercing his head at the first shot, and striking him with nearly every ball. He fell dead and bleeding to the ground; his body was with difficulty caught up and borne to the rear by a few of the California regiment, under Captain Bial. His terrified command gave way in utter rout, and fled towards the river, pursued by a line of bayonets and rifles, which pressed them with threat-

ened death behind. Hundreds threw down their arms and surrendered. The rest madly ran to the very verge of the bluff.

A scene of horror was now presented. Over the steep embankment the frenzied Northerners leaped, and were seen by their comrades on the island and Maryland shore, rolling, tumbling, falling in hundreds down the almost perpendicular wall. All who were able, plunged into the river and attempted to swim to the island. Among them was Capt. Devens, who escaped, but scores were shot in the water, or went down to rise no more. The shrieks of the wounded and drowning rose over the rapid current, and mingled with the shouts of the victors and the incessant reports of muskets and rifles. Two Massachusetts companies, finding escape hopeless, charged back up the hill, but on reaching its brow, raised a white handkerchief and surrendered. A flat boat loaded beyond its buoyant power with wounded and fugitive soldiers, was pushed out into the river, and sunk before the eyes of thousands of spectators, carrying down more than a hundred of the unhappy wretches upon it, or who were clinging to its sides.

Although the character and extent of this frightful disaster to their arms were necessarily known to the Federal authorities a few hours after it occurred, they made studious efforts to conceal the facts by falsehoods more glaring than any that had yet been put forth. They announced that their movement towards Leesburg was merely a "reconnaissance," and was in the main "gallant" and "successful," that they had only 1,800 men across the river, and were opposed by a force of from 5,000 to 10,000; and that their left wing retired in good order. ^b It was soon ascertained that their loss was not less than 500 killed and drowned, 800 wounded, and 720 prisoners, making a total of 2,020 which exceeded by 220 men their whole force in the action, according to their own account! ^a They lost also three field

^a Statement in N. Y. World.

^b Washington statement, quoted in Dispatch Oct. 29th.

^c Compare Hinks' report, Oct. 23rd, with Southern accounts, Dispatch, Nov. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9; Examiner, Nov. 8, 11.

^a N. Y. Times, Oct. 25th.

^b Narrative in N. Y. World. Dispatch, Nov. 1st.

pieces, and at least 2,000 small arms, most of which were found on the field or in the hands of prisoners, though many were thrown into the river. The Confederate loss in killed, wounded and missing amounted to one hundred and fifty-five men.

When the truth appeared, a storm of rage and disappointment arose at the North. Reproaches and abuse were freely poured out on the Government, McClellan, and especially on the unhappy General Stone. The stream of censure was all the more bitter because of the attempted concealment, and for a time so violent was the commotion that all the prominent Yankee officers concerned were making earnest efforts to shift the responsibility each from himself to another. ^a The gallant fighting and brilliant success of the Confederates greatly cheered them, and increased their confidence in their army of the Potomac. It has been sometimes declared that this battle had no material influence upon the result of the war. But such a view is hasty and delusive. It is certain that the bloody conflict at Leesburg determined McClellan to make no further attempts at a general advance, and was one of the most important in the chain of causes which finally led him to a disastrous campaign in the swamps of the Chickahominy.

Just before the battle of Leesburg, a spirited engagement occurred on the upper Potomac, between nine hundred Northern troops on Bolivar Heights, near Harper's Ferry, and about five hundred and fifty Confederates, under Col. Turner Ashby, consisting of two hundred and fifty cavalry, and three hundred militia of Loudon, Jefferson, and other counties. The Federals had log breastworks on Bolivar's Hill. On the 16th of October, the militia advanced to a hill about seven hundred yards distant, and planted on it a six pound rifle and a twenty-four pound smooth bore, from which they opened a fire on the enemy, which drove them from their entrenchments. The militia and cavalry pursued them; they retreated into Bolivar, and fired from the windows of the houses. Major Finter and Adjutant Grayson, of the

militia, acted with coolness and courage. At the moment when victory seemed certain, the enemy were heavily reinforced, and received several pieces of artillery, from which they threw a flight of shells into the first regiment of militia, which produced some confusion. By order of their officers, the militia retreated, and the axle tree of the twenty-four pounder having broken down, it was spiked and abandoned. Col. Ashby drew off his forces in good order, with a loss of one killed—private Timmer, of Shenandoah—and eight wounded. The enemy lost eighty in killed and wounded, and seven prisoners. The attack made such an impression of insecurity upon them, that they abandoned the works on Bolivar Hill, and withdrew their whole force to the Maryland side. ^a

Foraging expeditions, generally within a limited space and by a large force, were all that McClellan's army attempted. On the 27th of November, Capt. Bell, with two companies of the 3rd Pennsylvania cavalry, advanced towards Hunter's Mill, beyond Vienna. They were encountered by a body of Ransom's North Carolina cavalry, who fired buckshot upon them from double barrelled guns. The Pennsylvanians retreated, with a loss of about forty killed, wounded and prisoners. ^b The Confederate loss was small.

Within four weeks thereafter, another encounter occurred, much more creditable to the Federals. Early on the morning of Friday, the 20th of December, Brig. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart set out with a large foraging force, consisting of Col. Garland's 11th Virginia, Col. Secest's 6th South Carolina, Col. Forney's 10th Alabama, Col. Thomas Taylor's 1st Kentucky, with Cutts' Sumter flying artillery, and a small part of Ransom's and Radford's cavalry, the whole amounting to about twenty-five hundred men, and escorting nearly three hundred wagons. The only object of the expedition was forage. Gen. Stuart did not design to offer battle to the enemy, but knowing that they might be encountered

^a Narratives of "a Jefferson Lady," Dispatch, Oct. 23rd, and J. J. P. and J. W. T. S., Dispatch, 26th.

^b Northern account. Dispatch, Dec. 3rd.

^a Publications in Examiner, Nov. 11.

in large force, he took a sufficient guard for his wagon train, the safety of which was highly important to the army. He was successful in securing forage, and at about midday arrived near Dranesville. On the same day, a foraging force of the enemy had marched to the same neighborhood. It consisted of Gen. Ord's brigade—four full regiments of "Bucktail rifles," and Gaston's battery, two twenty-four and two twelve pounders—in all, at least thirty-five hundred men. These were closely followed by two more brigades in supporting distance. *a*

A rocket shot up by the enemy gave to the Confederates the first intimation of their presence. They were deployed in heavy clouds of skirmishers in the woods. To give his wagon train time to retreat in safety, Gen. Stuart instantly prepared for battle, throwing the Virginia and Alabama regiments to the right of the road, and the South Carolina and Kentucky to the left. The Virginians charged with a shout, and drove the enemy within sight of Dranesville; they were heavily reinforced, and advanced in line of battle; the 11th fell back in skirmishing order; the 10th Alabama came to their support; Col. Forney led them with great coolness and courage, until he was disabled by a shot through the right arm. Lt. Col. Martin was killed. Col. Garland steadily held his men under a very destructive fire from men in ambush in his front. Meanwhile, on the left, an unhappy event had discouraged the Confederates. The Kentucky regiment fired into the South Carolinians by mistake, and killed and wounded many. Discovering the error, Col. Taylor advanced until within sight of another regiment, when, wishing to avoid a similar disaster, he called out, "Who are you?" "The Colonel of the ninth," was the reply. "Of what ninth?" "Don't shoot," was the answer; "we are friends—South Carolinians." "On which side are you?" asked Taylor. By this time his regiment was in full range. The enemy dropped the mask: "For the Union," shouted the Colonel, and instantly a deadly fire was poured into the

Kentuckians. *a* Taken at disadvantage, these brave men nevertheless sustained themselves firmly against a superior force of the enemy, occupying a strong position, and sheltered by the woods. The nature of the ground was such that the Southern artillery could gain no position except by advancing right up the road. Capt. Cuts unlimbered three of his pieces, which were all that could be planted, and kept up a vigorous fire. He was exposed to a very severe cannonade from the enemy; his men stood bravely to their guns, scattering the advance regiments wherever they could reach them, until twenty-five of his horses were killed, one limber destroyed, a caisson exploded, and many of his artillerists killed and wounded. By this time the wagon train was safe, far in the rear, and Gen. Stuart finding his men contending at serious disadvantage with an enemy greatly outnumbering them, and almost concealed in ambush, drew off his forces and fell back about two miles, where he formed his line of battle again in a good position. The enemy did not attempt to pursue, but returned towards Washington. Col. Taylor was at one time enveloped in the Federal lines, and narrowly escaped capture by throwing himself down and escaping through the copse. The Confederate loss in this affair was fifty-four killed and one hundred and forty-three wounded. The Northern loss did not exceed a hundred in killed and wounded, and seven prisoners. *b*

This success was the first gained by the Northern army since Rich Mountain, and greatly encouraged them. Nevertheless, McClellan continued to avoid an advance in force. Though the weather was fine and the roads in the very best condition, he kept his large army within its camp lines, seldom venturing even upon a forage of more than ten miles in circuit.

The winter campaign on the upper Potomac closed with events of importance in the neighborhood of Romney, in Hamp-

a Bohemian's letters, in Dispatch, Dec. 23rd.

b Their official reports made it much less, but compare them with Baltimore papers cited in Bohemian's letters, Dispatch, Dec. 28.

a Gen. McCall's official report, Dec. 20. N. Y. World, Dec. 23rd.

shire county. Col. Angus MacDonald here commanded a small force, chiefly of militia, called out from that and the neighboring counties. Experience has shown that though such troops may sometimes fight bravely, they cannot be long relied upon for efficient service either in attack or defence.

On Wednesday, the 25th of September, Col. MacDonald, at the head of a militia force of about five hundred, with two hundred cavalry, advanced on the enemy, who had posted themselves near Romney, and with gallantry and firmness drove them from their threatening position, and relieved the town. ^a On the 26th of October, he was attacked by a heavy Federal force of infantry, cavalry and artillery, in all not less than three thousand men. He had only five hundred men, more than half of whom were militia, the rest cavalry, with a brass twelve pound mountain howitzer, and a small iron rifled three inch gun. He made the best dispositions possible for defence, and by a gallant stand at the gap near Mechanicksburg, two miles from Romney, with his cavalry, under Major Finston, the artillery under Lt. Lionberger, and part of the militia under Capts. Shands and Jordan, he kept the enemy at bay from 9 to half-past 1 o'clock. By this time his little force was flanked by overwhelming numbers, and to avoid capture, a rapid retreat took place. All their cannon, military stores and camp equipage fell into the enemy's hands. ^b The Federals took possession of Romney, and made every preparation to hold it permanently. They accumulated there very large stores of provisions, ammunition, and other supplies, and made it a depot for distribution to other points in the North West.

But they were not to remain undisturbed. On the 4th of October, General Thomas J. Jackson, who had been promoted, and ordered to the command of the North Western Confederate army, took leave of his Stonewall Brigade in an address which was the fit representative of

his own plain but heroic character. ^a He proceeded to Winchester, and entered without delay upon plans and duties instinct with his own energy and hardy courage.

In December a large part of General Loring's command, after a march of two hundred and sixty miles, joined General Jackson at Winchester. He was now at the head of about nine thousand men; and on the first day of January, 1862, he marched from Winchester; whither bound, or for what purpose, neither the enemy nor his own men had the slightest knowledge.

On the night of the 3rd of January, they reached Ungue's Crossroads, a point from which three roads led—one to Romney—one to Martinsburg, and one to Bath, the county town of Morgan county, not more than six miles from the Potomac. Curiosity in the army rose high. The word was given, and the head of the column turned into the road to Bath.

The weather now became wintry and severe. Penetrating the mountains on roads winding along their sides and through their rugged defiles, exposed to sleet, rain and hail, in mid winter and without adequate shelter, no army save that of Arnold in his march to Quebec, or of Napoleon in his retreat from Moscow, has ever survived greater sufferings. Their march is thus described by a Southern officer: "Hail, snow, rain, sleet, and every other discomfort attended us, and all this most of the time without tents, with only bivouac fires to comfort us. The roads were covered with ice two inches thick, and glazed over by the sleet until they were like glass. Neither man nor horse could keep his feet except by great care. Thousands fell flat every day. Many were seriously hurt. Horses had their knees and muzzles terribly injured, and streaming with blood. Many were permanently crippled, and the men were filled with bruises and pains. Wagon after wagon would slide off the road and turn bottom upward. On one occasion, I remember, it took our wagon train and artillery from daylight to 3 o'clock, P. M., to pass one hilly point, at

^a Winchester Republican, 27th Sept.

^b Letters of officers, Oct. 34, in Whig Nov. 6.

^a The whole scene is well described in a letter in the Dispatch, Nov. 8.

though large details of men from each regiment were employed in steadying the horses, and almost bodily lifting the vehicles along." a

Amid these sharp distresses the army toiled on with patient courage, stimulated by its commander, who shared all its sufferings, and excited silent enthusiasm by his unyielding tenacity of purpose. About six miles from Bath they first encountered the enemy. The vanguard, from the 48th Virginia were suddenly fired into. Two companies were immediately ordered forward as skirmishers; Lieutenant Colonel John M. Patton, with coolness and skill, posted them on the edge of a wood, from which they opened a fatal fire. Capt. Cunningham, with his company F, from Richmond, rendered most effective service. The enemy broke and fled after a few volleys: the Confederates pressed forward and with some sharp skirmishing, drove the Federals before them.

The resistance of the enemy at Bath was feeble and brief. They retreated to the river and waded the Potomac on one of the coldest days of winter. General Jackson took possession of the town, obtaining some stores of value. His troops were held ready for instant movement. The night was severely cold, and the pickets and sentinels were nearly frozen.

To deprive the enemy of the railroad line, Colonels Rust and Taliaferro advanced with their commands to Capon Bridge, and after a sharp contest routed the Federal force there stationed and destroyed the bridge. At nearly the same time the main body moved to the Potomac opposite the town of Hancock, in Maryland, which was held by a considerable Northern force under General Lander. A flag of truce, under Colonel Ashby, demanded the surrender of the town, which was refused. Thereupon notice was given to remove the women and children. After a proper interval, Jackson opened his batteries on Hancock. The enemy's fire was at first ineffective, but their range improved, and the next day their guns were numerous and well served. It became

evident that the town could not be captured except by a direct assault with infantry, which would have cost more lives than the highest success would have justified.

General Jackson was accompanied in this Bath expedition by Charles James Faulkner, who had volunteered as his aid and received the appointment, with the rank of Colonel. During the artillery fire, Jackson, with his distinguished aid, sat on horseback behind the Confederate guns, exposed to a fire of shot and shells, which became every hour more dangerous. The hardships and perils of this wintry campaign inspired mutual confidence. Colonel Faulkner, as chief of staff, continued with Jackson through the arduous movements of the coming year.

Finding that Hancock could not be shelled into submission, Jackson drew off his army and commenced a retrograde march over the line on which he had advanced. The fearful sufferings of the troops from cold and exposure, had impaired their health and greatly reduced their efficiency. Catahrrs, violent and inflammatory, prevailed. The coughing along the line was incessant and distressing. A feeling of disappointment was gaining ground. But in the moment of deepest gloom, Providence opened a path of triumph.

The Federal troops in and around Romney amounted to eleven thousand. So much were they alarmed by the successes of Jackson at Bath, and his movement towards them, that they evacuated in haste and withdrew to the North and West, leaving behind them an immense quantity of military stores. Jackson marched to Romney and took possession, and after removing the stores for which he could provide transportation, destroyed the rest. The whole amount of provisions, ammunition, medicines, and supplies thus taken from the enemy, was valued at not less than half a million of dollars. The country was relieved from the robberies and oppression of invaders. Leaving a small force in Romney, Jackson returned with his army to Winchester. The success of his expedition was complete, but it was purchased by the permanent or temporary loss of many hundred brave men, who

a MS. narrative from a Confederate officer.

either sunk under the exposure, or were long on the sick list from its effects.

With this movement closed the campaign of the winter in Virginia. The armies of Johnston and Beauregard, at Centreville and Manassas, of Huger at Norfolk, of Magruder on the Peninsula, of Jackson at Winchester, and the bodies of troops from Evansport to Acquia on the Potomac, in the Alleghany mountains and around Richmond, rested for a season in their winter quarters, which were made as comfortable as the ingenuity of the men and the means under their control would allow. Most of them built log cabins plastered with mud and furnished with chimneys; those who had tents were able also to have fires, by digging trenches lined with brick or stone, and carried under ground beyond the canvas covers. As we leave them for a time, it becomes our duty, briefly to present and remark upon three causes which gloomily affected the prospects of the South, notwithstanding her military successes, and which cast their sombre shadows forward upon the events of the coming campaign.

The first of these causes was the great prevalence of *disease* in the camps. It is true that much sickness might have been expected among the thousands of men who had left comfortable homes and hurried, unprepared, into the toils and exposure of the field. But, for the first ten months after the opening of the war, the ill health of the army went far beyond the ordinary percentage looked for in beginning a campaign. Measles, pneumonia, typhoid fever and that form of febrile disease called "camp fever," prostrated thousands of gallant men, and filled unnumbered graves on the plains of Prince William, among the mountains, and around Richmond. These sad scenes filled the hearts of the reflecting with sorrow; the women of the South especially mourned over the sufferings of brothers, friends and protectors, and patiently watched by the bedsides of the sick, the convalescent or the dying. Surgeons, hospital stewards, nurses, military officers, were all censured by the public prints for want of skill or attention, yet it is probable that none of them deserved the measure of blame heaped upon them. The morbid influences

at work were in many cases beyond human ken, and independent of all sanitary regulations affecting the camps, for it was a subject of remark, that those camps which were kept most scrupulously clean, were often most affected by disease.

It has since been a fixed conviction of many, that the *use of tents* was the cause of a great deal of the far-spread sickness. In bad weather it is impossible to raise and air them, and it is certain that the consumption of oxygen and the generation of poisonous gases, by eight or ten men under a close canvas cover over a space hardly twelve feet in diameter, must speedily work evil upon the lungs and circulation of those subject to such malaria. Napoleon, the great Master of War in all its branches, seldom furnished tents to his soldiers in the field. It is true he had military reasons for this, but beyond them, he declared that they acted injuriously on the health and vigor of the men. And it is certain, that after the winter of 1861-'62, the Confederate authorities, to a very great extent, dispensed with the use of tents by their armies, and the general health of the men has reached a high standard. Never since the depressing maladies of the first summer and fall of the war, has the Southern army known a time when disease in its ranks would really unfit it for battle.

The next cause of evil which we note was the habit of immoderate drinking among the officers and men. It had long been the belief of the world that the men of the Southern States were addicted to undue potations of alcoholic liquors, and though drunkenness was by no means so common a vice among them as in countries farther North, such as Scotland, Denmark and Russia, yet the habit of drinking juleps, toddies, punches and other mixtures of liquors, was certainly prevalent far and wide. The *causi* of the camp sought relief, and to some extent found it in hilarity and inebriation. It was noted that cases and packages of liquors were among the most abundant with which the railroad lines to the armies were laden. The effect of this was not only evil on the habits and efficiency of the men and officers, but on the general supply of food,

many millions of bushels of corn and barley being converted into spirits. The first movement for reform was by General Bragg, at Pensacola, who issued an order requiring total abstinence from liquor by his officers and men, except when prescribed by medical authority. The benefits of the movement were speedily seen. Finally, the Government found it necessary to interfere, and to permit no spirits to be manufactured or sold, except under rigid restrictions. It is impossible to doubt that this reform was most salutary, and without it, the South was threatened with impotency and disaster.

But the most potent cause of evil was the apathy and security of the people produced by the belief that the successes already gained had won their independence, that they would soon be recognized by foreign nations, and that the North would not be able to make any serious impression on their territory. This apathy was the fault of the *people* of the South, and not of their Government, except to the extent that individuals holding high official position may have shared in such false security and encouraged its prevalence. The Government knew that the North was making preparations to hurl an enormous body of men upon the western regions of the Confederacy, aided by gun-boats, mortar-ketches, and every appliance of war, and the Southern Executive officers called earnestly for volunteers. But volunteers could only be furnished by the *people*, and they did not furnish them in sufficient numbers. After the general uprising for defence, in which two hundred thousand men went to the field, volunteering almost ceased. This was not the result of indifference to the cause, or fear of their enemies, or disposition to submit. It was rather the reverse. They were too confident. It was found that the life of a soldier was hard and uninviting. The dangers of the battle-field were the *least* of all discouragements. Disease, langour, severe and painful marches, the inactivity of the camp, these were all now known and dreaded. Hence the response to the military calls for volunteers were not enthusiastic. Tennessee, and the Northern parts of Alabama and Mississippi, were

especially delinquent. Reflecting men in the South saw that her safety in a long war could not be secured if she trusted to volunteers, and urged a system of fair conscription, by which her men able to bear arms should be called out for her defence, and required by the stern demand of *duty* to serve in her armies. At first this plan met with very little favor from the Confederate Congress, who fondly hoped that the volunteer spirit would carry them in triumph through the war.

While the South was thus inactive, the North was sending into camp, from her great population, regiments numbered by hundreds; was drilling her men, heaping up ammunition and provisions, building gun-boats for the western rivers, and war ships for the coast; casting mortars and moulding cannon. She was preparing, with the opening of the next campaign, to strike those heavy blows in Tennessee and Louisiana under which the Confederate States reeled and staggered almost to fainting, and from which they only recovered by the exercise of a resolution and courage inspired and made efficient by the favor of an Almighty Deliverer.

[END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.]

THE COTTAGE IN THE WOOD.

BY ED. PORTER THOMPSON.

I.

By the laughing Tallapoosa,
Where it winds the hills among,
'Till it looses, with the Coosa,
Name which th' Indian maiden sung —
There, in pleasing solitude,
Stands a cottage in the wood.

II.

Once I rode, alone and musing—
Dreaming dreams of peace and love,—
Fancy's self her thoughts excusing—
Reason seeming to approve,—
By my path a beauty stood,
'Twas the cottage in the wood.

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WEDDERBURN & ALFRIEND,

Proprietors.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT E. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

VOLUME SECOND.

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CHAPTER I.

Kentucky—Her population—Slaves—Her attitude unfavorable to the South—Causes—Proposed Riverine League—Compromises—Henry Clay—Neutrality—Generals Buckner and McClellan—Insidious policy of the Federal Government—Legislature of Kentucky—Faithless—Federals occupy her soil—General Polk's offer—Oppression—Flight of Kentucky patriots—Ex-Governor Morehead seized—Escape of Judge Monroe—Breckenridge—Marshall—Breckenridge's address—Provisional Government—Kentucky admitted to the Southern Confederacy—General Albert Sidney Johnston—Comes Overland, from California—Confederate success in Mesilla Valley—Arizona Territory—Gen. Johnston takes Command of Department of Kentucky and Tennessee—Conflicts—Gen. Zollicoffer—Capt. John H. Morgan—Battle of Belmont—Federals at first Successful—Re-establishment of Confederate Lines—Defeat and Disasters of the Federals—Bridge Burning in East Tennessee—James Keelan, the hero of Strawberry Plains—Federals Advance against Picketon—Bull Nelson—Wild Cat Stampede—Fight at Woodsonville—Success of Gen. Marshall at Prestonsburg—Battle of Somerset—Confederates Defeated—Death of Gen. Zollicoffer—Insufficiency of Southern Forces under Gen. Johnston—Ignorance of the People on the Subject—Formidable Preparations of the Federals—Gun-Boats—Commodore Foote—

Armies—Buell—Grant—Fort Henry—Wretched Position—Fort Donelson—Gen. Tilghman—Attack on Fort Henry—Gallant Defence—Surrender—Gens. Floyd, Pillow, Buckner—Forces at Donelson—Approach of the Enemy—Their Overwhelming numbers—Battle of the Trenches—Federals Repulsed—Gun-Boat Attack—Severe fire of the Confederate Batteries—Fleet Repulsed—Consultation and Plan of Southern Generals—Battle of Dover—Bloody Conflict—Southern Success—Exhausted Condition of the Southern Troops—Surrender of Fort Donelson—Escape of Generals Floyd and Pillow—Col. Forrest—Confederates Evacuate Columbus—Gen. Johnston Retreats—Capture of Nashville—Gun-Boat Raid to Florence—Burnside Expedition—Roanoke Island—Captured—Edenton—Elizabeth City—Gloom and Despondency in the South—Permanent Constitution and Government of the Confederate States—President Davis' Inaugural Address—Hope Revived.

From the opening of the revolution, the State of Kentucky had assumed an attitude which, if not positively hostile, was certainly neither cordial nor supporting to her Southern sisters. Her agricultural products were nearly identical with those of her mother, Virginia. Her population, in 1860, was about one million, one hundred and sixty thousand, of whom two hundred and twenty-six thousand (fully one-fifth part) were slaves. It might reasonably have been expected that she would promptly array herself on the side of those who sought to protect the rights of the South against the lawless aggressions of Abolitionism. But various causes had brought a large part of her people into a state of mind unfavorable to any decisive

^a Am. Almanac, 1861. 243.

measures for seceding from the former Union and taking up arms against the Lincoln Government.

Her central and geographical position exposed her in a peculiar manner to assaults from the North. Separated only by the meanders of the Ohio river for a distance of five hundred and sixty miles from the populous Free States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, she was subject to invasion at any time, and at numerous points by hosts of armed pillagers. It cannot be doubted that this hazard wrought its effect in urging her authorities to seek neutrality and peace rather than war. Governor Magoffin had, with promptness and spirit, informed Mr. Lincoln that Kentucky would furnish no troops against the seceded States, and in many other acts had shewed his sympathy with the South. Yet he was anxious to save Kentucky from the horrors of war, and at one time sought to conduct to a successful issue, negotiations for a "Riverine League" with the States bordering on the Ohio, the object of which was to secure all the parties to it from molestation and bloodshed. It was natural that Kentucky should wish to avoid invasion and the wasting of war.

Yet Virginia had encountered the same risks, and when principle required it, had boldly faced the storm. Neither can we suppose that timidity and unmanly fear were the prevailing motives with the gallant race inhabiting Kentucky—a people who, for nearly a century, had been proverbial for daring and chivalry. We must seek explanation in other causes.

For many years the prevailing political views in Kentucky had inclined her to compromise as to every question affecting the stability of the Union. Her great and brilliant statesman, Henry Clay, was the father of the three compromises which had prevented dissolution at a time when it might perhaps have been effected without a bloody war. These were the Missouri Bill of 1821, the Compromise Tariff Bill of 1830, and the scheme of settlement after the Mexican war in 1850, to all of which we have already alluded. His in-

fluence in moulding opinion in his State was powerful. Kentucky was really divided upon the question of continuing the institution of slavery within her borders. A scheme of gradual emancipation under requirement of law, had been promulgated, and Mr. Clay spoke and wrote in its favor. It was indeed defeated when brought to the test of the popular vote. A large majority of the people of Kentucky shewed their good sense in wishing to keep an institution so conservative of all that is valuable in republican society, but it cannot be doubted that the influence of Mr. Clay, and of the large number of his people who thought with him on the subject, had weakened the arms of the advocates of slavery.

An enthusiastic and persistent love of the Union was one of the most prominent traits in the character of this highly intellectual man. He was national and American in all his feelings. While he denounced abolitionism on the one side, he was equally severe against nullification and secession on the other. Had he lived to see the dangerous progress of the Abolition party, and the measures by which they were seeking to annihilate the rights of the South, it can hardly be doubted that his chivalrous nature would have urged him to take the side of the threatened and the oppressed, and that, with John Bell, of Tennessee, he could have proclaimed himself a rebel against the Lincoln usurpation. But he died before the plans of the Black Republicans were developed, and unhappily he left no statesmen of his own school behind him in Kentucky, of stature high enough to see that the Union was no longer possible, when the most sacred pledges on which it was founded, were all violated by the North. We have seen that John J. Crittenden had fallen far below the exigencies of the crisis. After the battle of Manassas, he had introduced a resolution into the Northern Congress that the object of the war was to preserve the Union as it was, under the Constitution, and he voted for the bills appropriating five hundred millions, of dollars and calling out five hundred thousand men. Yet

^aThe details of this plan are in the Whig, April 29—May 2.

^aSketch of his speech at Columbus. Examiner, Aug. 16, 1861.

afterwards, when he saw the plainest provisions of the Constitution violated by Lincoln and his War Cabinet, the habeas corpus denied, freedom of speech suppressed, the press bound in chains, arbitrary arrests daily made, people's houses searched and robbed without law, and a military despotism established, he continued to uphold the war and prostitute his failing powers to the purposes of Northern usurpation. Others in his State were equally inconsistent and unpatriotic.

The position first taken by the public authorities of Kentucky, was that of *neutrality*. Her Legislature passed a resolution to the effect that she would remain neutral in the contest pending, and would not permit the troops of either party to pass over or occupy her soil for belligerent purposes.^a Far as this attitude fell below the hopes of the Confederate States, they would have acquiesced in and sacredly respected it, had the Kentucky authorities maintained it. But Abraham Lincoln openly denounced it, declaring that it "recognized no fidelity to the Constitution, and no obligation to maintain the Union."^b His purpose not to respect it was apparent, and was soon manifested by deeds.

Surrounded on all sides by the signs of approaching war, Governor Magoffin saw the importance of military preparation in his State, and accordingly, under the sanction of law, he authorized the enrolling of a volunteer corps, and assigned to their command Simon Bolivar Buckner, with the commission of Brigadier General. He was a gallant and accomplished officer—a graduate of West Point, and in the subsequent scenes of the war rose to just distinction. He sought to maintain in good faith the neutral attitude assumed by his State, and for this reason put himself in communication with the Federal General McClellan, whom he had long known. By the suggestion of McClellan, General Buckner visited him at his residence in Cincinnati, on or about the 5th day of June, 1861, and in the presence of a citizen of Kentucky, they held a conference as to her position and wishes. The result was,

a distinct verbal arrangement that Federal troops should not occupy the soil of Kentucky unless she was first invaded by Confederates, that if so invaded, General Buckner should use his forces to drive back the invaders, and if he failed, or was unable to do so, then Federal troops should be sent to aid him, but should be immediately withdrawn when the invaders were repelled. Such was the agreement made by McClellan, and afterwards acknowledged and confirmed by him in an interview with General Buckner, Judge Bigger, and Col. Bullock, held on the 13th of June, at Cairo, in Illinois.^a This arrangement, if faithfully observed, would have secured Kentucky's neutrality at least for a time.

But when McClellan reached Grafton, in Virginia, he found that his proposed policy would not be acceptable to the Lincoln Government, and therefore prepared to repudiate. In answer to a telegram from a Federal Navy officer at Louisville, he said: "My interview with Gen. Buckner was personal, not official. It was solicited by him more than once. I made no stipulation on the part of the General Government, and regarded his promise to drive out the Confederate troops as the only result of the interview. His letter gives his own views, not mine."^b The subterfuge involved in this letter is apparent. It is true that in his interview with Buckner, McClellan had declared that he could only state his own views, and purposes, as a military commander, and not those of his Government. But he knew that Buckner relied on them as a recognition of the neutrality of Kentucky, and would never have rested content with an agreement binding him to drive out Confederate forces while the Federal Government was at liberty to flood Kentucky with its own troops. A question of veracity was thus raised, which the world can easily decide. On the one side are *four* witnesses—men of truth and honor, whose word has never been impeached; on the other side is *one* witness, who, in his own official reports, has published deliberate falsehoods.

^a Nashville Union. Dispatch, July 11th, 1861.

^b Messago. July 4, 1861.

^a Read the statements of S. B. Buckner, Sam'l Gill, J. M. Bigger and E. J. Bullock. Dispatch, Sept. 19th.

^b Telegram. Whig, June 29th.

Anxious by every means in his power to secure the neutrality of Kentucky, Gen. Buckner obtained an interview with President Lincoln, in which he addressed that officer in respectful but earnest language, vindicated the rights of his State, reminded him that in his own message of the 4th of July he had confessed that in several particulars he had violated the Constitution, denied that he had any right to ask Kentucky to aid him in such violation, and insisted that if the President was justified for such acts by the plea of necessity, much more was his State justified by necessity in taking an attitude of neutrality *a*

Mr. Lincoln gave him no promise, and, indeed, no direct answer of any kind. But two days afterwards, on the 10th of July, he furnished to him, through Mr. Crittenden, a written paper, in which he said that he conceived it to be his duty to suppress an existing insurrection; that he wished to do so with the least possible disturbance or annoyance to well disposed people anywhere; that, so far, he had not sent an armed force into Kentucky, and had no present purpose to do so, but did not mean to say anything that might embarrass him thereafter in what might seem to be his duty. *b*

Yet, at the very time this assurance was made, Abraham Lincoln knew that one of his confidential officers, with his own full assent, was about to proceed to Kentucky, to recruit troops on her soil and from her people, to serve in his war against the South; and soon afterwards Union troops raised in East Tennessee were marched into her borders, by directions from the War Department in Washington. *c* No part of the system of fraud and falsehood practised by the Lincoln government was more dishonoring than that in relation to Kentucky.

A new election was about to be held for members of her Legislature. The platform of neutrality was that on which most of the candidates who sought the popular

favor stood. The people approved this platform, and in good faith voted for men who held out to them promises to sustain and strengthen it. But, in the meantime, the wily intriguers of Mr. Lincoln's government were at work; the war had fully opened; paper money in abundance was beginning to work; rich contracts for mules, hemp and lumber, were scattered with lavish, but discriminating hand, among the *Union patriots* of Kentucky; and when the election came, a large majority of men were returned who had professed before the people their fidelity to the neutral faith, but who, in reality, were prepared to throw the whole power of the State, as far as they could wield it, in favor of Lincoln and his bloody war against the South.

No stronger evidence of secret intervention, by agencies of the Washington government, in this Kentucky election, can be given than the subsequent course of Mr. Lincoln's minions. After the returns were made, they threw off the mask, and no longer attempted to conceal their purpose to occupy Kentucky with a military force, to recruit her people for their armies, and use her forests for building gun-boats, her rivers for transporting troops, her harvests and grass prairies for feeding their men and horses and her roads and mountains for marching invading columns upon the Confederate States. Before a single Southern company had occupied her soil, the town of Paducah, in Kentucky, was invaded by a force of Federal troops from Cairo, and a camp had been established near Lexington, called "Camp Dick Robinson," in which men were recruited—some from Kentucky, some from East Tennessee, and many from Ohio, who were afterwards thrown into the Northern brigades, and openly used against the Confederate cause. *a* The reason of this unmasking is obvious. Lincoln's agents *knew* that they had secured a subservient majority in the Kentucky Legislature, while the honest friends of the South, both in and out of the State, were looking for neutrality from men

a Gen. Buckner's statement, September 12, 1861.

b Mem. signed J. J. C., July 10, 1861.
G. A. Buckner's statement.

c Gen. Buckner's statement.

a Compare statements in Hickman (Ky.) Courier and Examiner, Sept. 6th, 7th, 9th, 20th.

elected by pledging themselves to observe it.

It soon became evident to the Confederate authorities that their enemies had no intention to respect the neutral rights of Kentucky, and intended to use her soil as the most convenient base of their invasion of the South. It was, moreover, evident that her own government either could not or would not prevent these movements. Hence it became necessary to anticipate them. Brig. Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer, of Tennessee, on the 14th of September, occupied the mountain passes at Cumberland, and the three long mountains in Harlan and Knox counties, Kentucky, through which an invading column of Federals had been threatening for weeks to march from Hoskins' cross-roads. And on the 3rd of September Gen. Leonidas Polk advanced with part of his forces, and took possession of Hickman, Chalk Banks, and the town of Columbus, in Kentucky. Columbus lies immediately on the Mississippi, just above Wolf Island, and not more than eighteen miles below Cairo, being, in fact, immediately on the direct road of penetration to the North Western region of Tennessee. His move was not a moment too soon. The Federal General, Ulysses S. Grant, left Cairo to seize Paducah before Gen. Polk occupied Columbus, and in taking possession of that town, the Confederates anticipated, by only one hour, an intended move of their enemies to seize the same point.^a

Nearly at the same time with this movement, the Legislature of Kentucky met in Frankfort. One of their first acts was the passage of resolutions, by the Senate, to ascertain the facts as to the occupation of the State by the Confederate and Federal forces. In answer to enquiries accompanying a copy of these resolutions, General Polk replied that the Confederate States would have been bound by their own principles to respect, and would have respected the neutrality of Kentucky, had her own government maintained it. But they had not done so. They had departed from it, to the injury of the Southern

cause, by permitting the seizure of the property of the citizens of the Confederacy at Paducah by the Federals; by voting men and money, through her members of the United States Congress, to carry on war against the South; by allowing the Federal government to cut timber from her forests, for the purpose of building armed boats to invade the Southern States; and by permitting not only her own people, but the people of other States, to be enlisted in her territory, and armed by the Federal government, for offensive warfare against the Confederates. These causes fully justified his movement. But, with the utmost fairness, Gen. Polk made a distinct offer, that he would withdraw the Confederate troops from Kentucky, and pledge the faith of his government that they would not again occupy her soil, provided that Kentucky would agree that the Federal troops should be withdrawn simultaneously, with a similar guaranty that they should not be allowed in the future to enter or occupy any part of the State.^a

This honest offer, like the touch of the spear of Ithuriel, unmasked the Kentucky Legislature. They had already, by a formal vote, sanctioned the entrance of Northern troops into Frankfort.^b These were commanded by Robert Anderson, the same Kentuckian who had surrendered Fort Sumter. He was now a Brigadier General. The Legislature, at the time that they invited an armed force to take possession of their capital, enacted the farce of declaring that no person should be touched in his life, liberty or property, on account of his political opinions. Yet, on the same day, Federal agents seized the presses, types and papers of the *Louisville Courier*, for no other offence than the brave advocacy of Southern rights by the editor.^c And within three days thereafter, many prominent citizens of Kentucky were arrested and hurried to Northern prisons, while others were compelled to leave their homes and fly to the friendly asylum of the Confederate States, to avoid the horrible tyranny now set up by the Northern government,

^a Address of Hon. J. C. Breckinridge to the people of Kentucky, October 8, 1861. Whig, Oct. 19.

^a General Polk's letter to John M. Johnson, Chairman, &c., Sept. 9, 1861.

^b Resolution of Sept. 8,

^c Breckinridge's address, Oct. 8.

aided by their own faithless representatives.

It is remarkable, that at the time that these scenes were passing in Kentucky, the Federal military were seizing all the members of the Legislature of Maryland who were suspected of sympathy for the Southern cause. No criminal acts were charged against them. Fear of what they might do was the pretext of the tyrant. They were seized as fast as they arrived in Baltimore, on their way to Frederick, and consigned to Fort Warren or Lafayette. Many were arrested after their arrival at the place of meeting. Simon Cameron, the Northern Secretary of War, issued the order for this despotic outrage in the following terms:

WAR DEPARTMENT, Sept. 11, 1861.

General—The passage of any act of secession by the Legislature of Maryland must be prevented. If necessary, all, or any part of the members, must be arrested. Exercise your own judgment as to the time and manner, but do the work effectively.

Very respectfully,

Your obd't serv't,

SIMON CAMERON,
Secretary of War.

To Major General N. P. BANKS.

Generals McClellan, Banks and Dix all zealously co-operated in urging forward their subordinates to this work. Thus a free Legislature in Maryland was broken up, while a slavish Legislature in Kentucky was kept organized to do the despot's bidding.

Many members of the Kentucky Senate and lower House, true to the South, left their homes, and became exiles with other patriots. But enough remained to make a quorum. They threw themselves and all of their State that they could influence into Lincoln's arms. They passed a resolution peremptorily requiring the Confederate troops to withdraw from their soil. They enacted a law of pains and penalties, denouncing death, imprisonment, forfeitures and fines against all who should oppose the Federal government. No

a Examiner, Sept. 23. The whole correspondence and proceedings appear in the Sentinel, Oct. 20, 1863.

longer deterred by policy, the Northern agents made daily arrests, and soon it was felt that no man who intended to act or speak for the South was safe. Prominent among those arrested was George W. Morehead, Ex-Governor of the State. Many of the noblest and best of her citizens, the venerable and the gifted, left Kentucky, and by circuitous routes reached the Confederacy, hunted at numerous points by the spies and agents of the Federals. Among these refugees was Judge Thomas B. Monroe, who for thirty years had been United States District Judge in Kentucky, venerated for his learning and purity, and who now left his office, his support and his home, because he loved liberty and right more than all other things. His sons were in the Southern armies. John C. Breckinridge, Humphrey Marshall, Geo. W. Johnson, Robert Moore, William F. Sims, H. C. Burnett, William Preston, and a host of others, left their State at the same period, but only to consult and band together in the resolve that they would neither lay down arms nor cease their efforts until Kentucky was disenthralled. Messrs. Breckinridge and Marshall came to Richmond—were appointed Brigadier Generals in the Confederate service, and speedily returned, to lead, in the armies of the South, men who were battling for independence.

On assuming his new position, General Breckinridge issued an address to the people of Kentucky, parts of which present the facts of the times so vividly, that History adopts them. He said: "The Federal government—the creature—has set itself above the creator. The atrocious doctrine is announced by the President, and acted upon, that the States derive their power from the Federal government, and may be suppressed on any pretence of military necessity." "Everywhere the civil has given way to the military power. The fortresses of the country are filled with victims seized without warrant of law, and ignorant of the cause of their imprisonment. The legislators of States and other public officers are seized while in the discharge of their official duties, taken beyond the limits of their respective States, and imprisoned in the forts of the Federal government. A subservient Con-

gress ratifies the usurpations of the President, and proceeds to complete the destruction of the Constitution. History will declare that the annals of legislation do not contain laws so infamous as those enacted at the last session. They sweep away every vestige of public and personal liberty, while they confiscate the property of a nation containing ten millions of people." "The great mass of the Northern people seem anxious to sunder every safeguard of freedom; they eagerly offer to the government what no European monarch would dare to demand. The President and his Generals are unable to pick up the liberties of the people as rapidly as they are thrown at their feet."

"General Anderson, the military Dictator of Kentucky, announces, in one of his proclamations, that he will arrest no one who does not act, write or speak in opposition to Mr. Lincoln's Government. It would have completed the idea if he had added, or think in opposition to it. Look at the condition of our State under the rule of our new protectors. They have suppressed the freedom of speech and of the press. They seize people by military force on mere suspicion, and impose on them oaths unknown to the laws. Other citizens they imprison without warrant, and carry them out of the State, so that the writ of habeas corpus cannot reach them. Every day foreign armed bands are making seizures among the people. Hundreds of citizens, old and young, venerable magistrates, whose lives have been distinguished by the love of the people, have been compelled to fly from their homes and families to escape imprisonment and exile at the hands of Northern and German soldiers under the orders of Mr. Lincoln and his military subordinates. While yet holding an important political trust, confided by Kentucky, I was compelled to leave my home and family or suffer imprisonment and exile. If it is asked why I did not meet the arrest and seek a trial, my answer is, that I would have welcomed an arrest to be followed by a Judge and Jury, but you well know that I could not have secured these constitutional rights. I would have been transported beyond the State to

languish in some Federal fortress during the pleasure of the oppressor."

"Witness the fate of Morehead and his Kentucky associates, in their distant and gloomy prison." "He is a citizen and native of Kentucky. As a member of the Legislature, Speaker of the House, Representative in Congress from the Ashland District, and Governor of the State, you have known, trusted and honored him, during a public service of a quarter of a century. He is eminent for his ability, his amiable character and his blameless life. Yet this man, without indictment, without warrant, without accusation, but by the orders of President Lincoln, was seized at midnight in his own house, and in the midst of his family was led through the streets of Louisville, as I am informed, with his hands crossed and pinioned before him; was carried out of the State and district, and now lies a prisoner in a fortress in New York harbor, a thousand miles away." "I would speak of these things with the simple solemnity, which their magnitude demands, yet it is difficult to restrain the expression of a just indignation while we smart under such enormities. Mr. Lincoln has thousands of soldiers on our soil, nearly all from the North and most of them foreigners, whom he employs as his instruments to do these things. But few Kentuckians have enlisted under his standard, for we are not yet accustomed to his peculiar form of liberty." a

Assured that the people of Kentucky were no longer now represented by her false and slavish Legislature at Frankfort, her patriot leaders took measures to call a Sovereignty Convention of Delegates from all counties who would elect or appoint them. This Convention met at Russellville, in Logan county, on the 19th of November, and on the 20th adopted a Provisional Government for the State, asserting the fraud and faithlessness of the State and Federal Legislature, declaring the State absolved from all allegiance to the former Union, and possessed of the right to establish any government which she might deem

a Address to the people of Kentucky, Oct. 8. Whig, Oct. 19.

best adapted to preserve the lives and liberty of her people, providing for a Governor and Legislature, and making Bowling Green the seat of Government. George W. Johnson was unanimously elected Governor, and Messrs. Burnett, Preston and Sims were appointed commissioners to negotiate with the Confederate States for the admission of Kentucky to their league. ^a These gentlemen came to Richmond, and on the tenth day of December, 1861, the Confederate Congress, by an act approved by the President, received their new sister, and her senators and representatives were immediately welcomed to their seats in her councils. ^b

While these events were in progress, a military chieftain was en route from the extreme West, who was deservedly high in the confidence of President Davis, and was soon to take command of the Confederate forces operating in Kentucky and Tennessee. Albert Sidney Johnston was born in Mason county, Kentucky, in 1803. He graduated at West Point in 1826; was commissioned as Lieutenant of infantry; served in the Black Hawk war with distinction; resigned and settled in Texas in 1836. He volunteered as a private in her armies soon after the battle of San Jacinto. His merit soon raised him from the ranks, and he was appointed Senior Brigadier General, and succeeded General Houston in the command of the Texan army. In 1838 he was appointed Texan Secretary of War, and in 1839 organized an expedition against the hostile Cherokees, in which he routed them completely in a battle on the river Neches. He warmly advocated the annexation of Texas to the United States, and after this union was effected, he took part in the Mexican War. His services at the siege of Monterey drew upon him the public favor and the thanks of General Butler. He continued in the army, and in 1857, was sent by President Buchanan as Commander-in-Chief of the United States army to subdue the Mormons. His successful advance to the Great Salt Lake

City, and the skill and address with which he conducted a difficult enterprize, largely increased his fame. ^a When the war commenced between the North and South he was in California, but when he learned the progress of the revolution, he resigned his commission and set out from San Francisco to penetrate by land to Richmond, a distance of two thousand three hundred miles. A cortege of faithful friends accompanied him. Such an expedition was in itself a high proof of his devotion to the South.

Even as he approached through the plains and mountain passes of the Arizona Territory, victory welcomed his advance.

Western Texas consists of a wide sweep of country, varied with some hilly ranges, though generally flat and covered with the rich grasses on which thousands of cattle are fed. This region is yet sparsely peopled by whites, and is subject to inroads of hostile Indians, which have rendered it necessary to dot it all over with forts, bearing the names of McIntosh, Duncan, Clark, Inge, Ewell, Merrill, Martin Scott, Territt, Mason, McKavett, Chadbourne, Belknap and others. Many of these were without garrisons, and others had been surrendered by the Federal troops and were held by Texans. The one nearest the Western boundary was Fort Bliss, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Baylor, and garrisoned by a small Confederate force. Just above the Northern boundary of Texas, in Arizona Territory, was Fort Fillmore, in Mesilla Valley, on the Rio Grande, opposite to the town of Mesilla, and not more than twenty miles North of the proposed route of the Southern Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. This fort was held by a Federal garrison of some six hundred men, under Major Lynde, who sought, by all the means in his power, to oppress the Southern sympathies plainly manifested by the people of the Mesilla Valley. Colonel Baylor determined to attack him.

On the 24th of July, 1861, he approached Fort Fillmore at the head of about three hundred men, consisting of Stafford's and Hardeman's mounted rifles, Bennett's mounted artillery, Coopwood's spy com-

^a Report of Convention; Whig, Nov. 30. See Whig, Nov. 22.

^b Acts and Resolutions, 4th Session Provisional Congress, page 7.

a New Am. Cyclop., Vol. 10, 37.

pany, and volunteers from Mesilla and El Paso. He had no cannon. He intended a surprise, and would have succeeded, but a deserter warned the garrison, and finding them on the alert, Baylor changed his plan. With great promptness he crossed the river at day-light and captured San Tornas, driving out two Federal companies, making eight prisoners and securing a considerable quantity of provision, ammunition and supplies. At ten o'clock the Confederates entered the town of Mesilla. The people received them with vivas and every sign of joy, and supplied them with forage. ^a An attack by the Federal troops was expected every hour. It was, indeed, the only course promising safety to Major Lynde, for his garrison was without provisions, and he could get none except from Mesilla.

At 5 o'clock in the evening of the 25th of July, the enemy crossed the river and advanced upon the Southern end of the town. Baylor here stationed all his force, some on the tops of the houses, others behind the "corrals," or stockade enclosures for cattle, common in that country, while Coopwood's men remained mounted. Major Lynde drew up his force in line of battle, with two howitzers in the centre, supported by infantry, and cavalry on each wing. He sent a flag of truce with a demand for the "unconditional surrender" of the town. Colonel Baylor replied, "if you want the town, come and take it." Without further notice, and in violation of the usages of war, Lynde immediately opened a fire of shells upon the houses. Many women and children were in Mesilla, but happily none were hurt. After firing several rounds, the enemy threw forward his cavalry to a charge on a corral held by Hardeman, but was received with a sharp fire, under which eight fell and the rest retreated in confusion. Major Waller, of the Southern force, displayed much coolness and energy. Coopwood manœuvred his men with skill, showing them sometimes mounted, sometimes on foot, now among the corrals, now between the houses, so as to produce the impression on the enemy that the Confederate force was large. Disheartened by their repulse, at

night-fall the Federals retreated to Fort Fillmore.

At one o'clock on the morning of the 27th, Major Linde evacuated the fort, after destroying a large quantity of hospital stores, medicines, furniture, ammunition and arms, leaving, however, unharmed, commissary stores and other property valued at several thousand dollars. The Federals retreated towards Fort Stanton. The whole Southern force followed them with vigor. The road lay over the table land and mountains to a pass in the Organos chain. Few water springs were on the line; the weather was warm. Soon evidences of disorder, guns, cartridge-boxes, clothing, were seen scattered along the way. Stragglers were overtaken. The two howitzers were captured. For six miles before reaching the St. Augustine Springs, the Confederates made a succession of charges upon the rear of the fatigued and discouraged foe, and captured nearly half his infantry before coming up with the main body. Near the Springs, Major Lynde formed his forces for battle, but when the Confederates advanced, he raised a flag of truce. Negotiations were commenced, and soon resulted in an unconditional surrender of the whole Federal force. Thus were six hundred regular troops, four pieces of artillery, two hundred cavalry horses, two hundred and seventy head of beef cattle, besides mules, wagons, arms and equipments, captured by a body of three hundred Southern troops, not one of whom was either killed or wounded.^a

On the 31st of July, General Albert Sidney Johnston arrived at Mesilla, accompanied by twenty-three citizens of California, and seven officers lately resigned from the Federal service. He was welcomed by the people, and conferred with Col. Baylor as to the proper measures to be adopted. The Federal authority in the Territory being now substantially destroyed, and nearly all the people being Southern in origin and sympathies, it was deemed best at once to declare Arizona to be a territory of the Confederate States. Accordingly, on the first day of August,

^a Mesilla Times Extra, July 29th.

^a Narrative from Mesilla Times. Whig, Aug. 28.

1861, Col. Baylor, as Military Commandant, issued his proclamation, erecting a territorial government, with executive and judicial officers, and declaring the territory, until otherwise decreed, to consist of all of New Mexico south of the 34th parallel of latitude, within which limits the local laws then in force should continue until changed by act of the Confederate Congress.^a Thus was this important territory secured for the South.

On the 5th of September, Gen. Johnston arrived in Richmond. He was visited by many who knew and admired him. His thoughtful and intellectual face, and commanding person, increased the respect with which public opinion already regarded him. He was promptly appointed, by President Davis, to the command of the department of Kentucky and Tennessee, and, without delay, repaired to the scene of his duties.

Every sign indicated that a collision of arms must soon occur in Kentucky. Gen. Polk, after taking possession of Columbus, proceeded to fortify it by erecting earth works and mounting heavy guns, which commanded the river and the opposite shore. Occasionally Federal gun-boats came within range, but after receiving one or two shots, retired up the river. On the 9th of Sept., Gen. Jeff. Thompson, with his Missouri brigade, crossed the river to the Missouri side with his whole force, and planted a battery of four guns in a good position, six miles above Columbus. The enemy attempted to dislodge him, but reinforcements were sent to him, and they desisted from their attack.^b

From his strong position at Cumberland Mountain, Gen. Zollicoffer prepared for cautious advances upon the enemy. On Thursday, the 19th of September, he sent forward eight hundred men, with three companies of cavalry, under Col. Battle, who approached Barbourville, in Knox county. Here a camp of about four hundred Lincoln troops were assembled. They fired upon the Confederates, killing Lieut. Powell, and mortally wounding private Bowder. Their fire was instantly re-

turned, and the cavalry charged them vigorously, putting them to flight, and routing them completely. Their loss was fifty killed and wounded, and three prisoners, besides their camp stores, ammunition and equipage.^a Zollicoffer pushed forward his men into Laurel and Clay counties, breaking up encampments of Federals at Laurel Bridge, and at the Salt Works on Goose Creek, and securing two hundred barrels of salt, which were then greatly needed in the South.^b

On the 22nd of September a hot skirmish occurred at Elliott's Mills, about twelve miles above Columbus, between two battalions of cavalry—one from Tennessee, under Col. Logwood, and one from Mississippi, under Lt. Col. Muller—and a considerable body of the enemy. The Confederates charged and drove them back nearly two miles, killing five. When near the mill, two regiments of infantry, with artillery, reinforced the Federals, and the Southern troops fell back slowly and in good order, without the loss of a man.^c

Gen. Zollicoffer continued his advance, and early in October reached the town of Loudon, in Laurel county. He was welcomed by many of the best inhabitants. In Madison county the feeling in favor of the South was almost universal. The people met together and subscribed four hundred beaves to feed Zollicoffer's army, and offered to maintain them ninety days.^d The Federal camps in that region were broken up and driven northward.

Meanwhile, Gen. Buckner had made important moves. Outraged by the subserviency of the Kentucky Legislature, and satisfied that Lincoln intended to bind his State in chains, he did not hesitate as to the course of duty. On the 12th of September, from Russellville, he issued an address to "the freemen of Kentucky," in which he presented, with force and elo-

^a Knoxville Register, Sept. 21. Dispatch, Sept. 25.

^b Nashville Union and American, Sept. 30. Whig, Oct. 8.

^c Columbus correspondence in Memphis Appeal, Sept. 23rd.

^d Bowling Green Courier, in Dispatch, Oct. 19.

^a Houston Telegraph, Aug. 17. Proclamation in Whig, Aug. 30th.

^b Memphis Appeal, Sept. 10.

quence, the alternative of freedom or oppression now before them. He declared that his own choice was made: "For one, I will enter the lists for freedom. I love the wild hills and beautiful valleys of my native land. Your sires and mine won them from the savage. It devolves on us to defend them from the invasions of a scarcely less merciless foe." "We recognize in none the right to oppress us. Neither the President of the United States nor the servile Congress which assembled to register his edicts, nor the Legislature of Kentucky, which has sold for gold and executive favor the birthright of our freedom, have the authority to snatch from us our God-given heritage of liberty."^a

He resigned his position as Inspector General of the State forces, and was commissioned as Brigadier General in the Confederate service. A large number of the brave and patriotic Kentuckians, who had previously been under his command, adhered to him now, and were mustered into the armies of the South. He advanced from the borders, and on Wednesday, the 18th of September, at half past 10 o'clock, entered the town of Bowling Green, in Warren county, eleven miles south of Green river, and immediately on the line of approach to Louisville. His advance guard were Kentuckians. On the day of his entry he issued a proclamation to the people of Kentucky, stating that their Legislature had been faithless to their will; that instead of enforcing neutrality, they had sought to make the State a fortress, in which the armed forces of the United States might securely prepare to subjugate alike the people of Kentucky and of the Southern States. He declared that the Confederate troops occupied Bowling Green as a defensive position, and that he renewed the pledge previously given by their commanders, to retire as soon as the Federal forces would in like manner withdraw.^b

On the 7th of October, an advance party of scouts, under Capt. John H. Morgan, about twenty-seven in number, had a sharp skirmish at Bacon Creek, beyond

^a Address, Russellville, Sept. 12, 1861.

^b Nashville American. Proclamation, Dispatch, Sept. 23rd.

Green river, with a Federal party numbering about eighty, from Col. Crittenden's regiment. The Confederates made the attack with so much vigor, that at the first shock fourteen of the Federals were killed, and the rest fled. In the fight, Morgan dismounted and shot dead the Indiana Captain who led the foe. The Southern loss was only two men.^a

Capt. Morgan was a native Kentuckian, from Lexington. His heart was devoted to the South. He now commenced his career of arms, which was afterwards to be developed in acts of heroism, address and vigor that have placed his name among the most brilliant of the Confederate leaders, and given him a rank above the Sumters and Marions of Revolutionary days.

On the 23d of October, Gen. Zollicoffer advanced to reconnoitre the position of a Federal force at Camp "Wild Cat," between the two branches of Rockcastle river. He found them strongly entrenched in the fork with log and earth works. He assaulted a part of their works, and carried one entrenchment, after a fight, in which the men, under Cols. Rains and Newman, shewed great steadiness and spirit. Finding the position too strong, and too full of men to be stormed, he withdrew his forces, with a loss of eleven killed and forty-two wounded. He brought off forty prisoners, and some captured arms and ammunition. The enemy's loss is said to have reached one hundred and thirty.^b

The movements of the Confederates along the whole Southern line, running through the interior of Kentucky, extending from Columbus, in the West, to Prestonsburg and Pikeville in the mountains, on the Virginia frontier, alarmed the Union powers and led them to inaugurate counter attacks. Gen. Anderson, though sufficiently zealous in seizing unarmed citizens, did not display the activity in the field called for by the Lincoln Govern-

^a Telegram, Oct. 11th. Northern letters in Louisville Journal, Oct. 16th.

^b Compare telegram. Knoxville Register, Oct. 25, with narrative in Nashville Banner, Oct. 27th, and Capt. Ewing's account, Oct. 26. Dispatch, November 4, 6, 11th.

ment. He was relieved from command ostensibly by his own request, and because of his feeble health, although he is said to have declared, that in addition to this reason, he preferred to die in retirement as "the Anderson of Sumter" rather than risk a disastrous battle with inadequate men and arms.^a Gen. McCook succeeded him in command, and prepared for offensive war.

On the 6th of November, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, commanding the Federal troops at Cairo, prepared for a move against the Confederate camp at Belmont, opposite to Columbus. His purpose, as declared some days after, was to prevent the Southerners from sending reinforcements to General Price, and also to prevent them from cutting off two columns of Federal troops whom he had sent from Cairo and Cape Girardeau to operate against Jeff Thompson.^b But when his movements, both before and after the impending battle, are logically considered, it is hardly to be doubted that he intended to take permanent hold of the position at Belmont, and to operate against Columbus from both sides of the river. By his direction, a considerable force was sent from Paducah to approach by way of Mayfield, and he sent another body on the Kentucky side by way of Elliott's Mills. Both of these columns were to threaten Columbus while the principal move was in progress under in his own direction.

Before daylight, on Thursday, the 7th of November, he embarked in steam-boats with an available force of three thousand five hundred men, consisting of Colonel Dougherty's 22d, Buford's 27th, Fouke's, 30th, and Logan's 31st Illinois regiments, Lanman's 7th Iowa, Taylor's Chicago battery, and two companies of Cavalry, under Captains Delano and Dollen. Grant commanded in person, aided by General John A. McClernand. They proceeded down the river to Lucas' bend, where they landed on the Missouri side, about three miles below Columbus, and entirely beyond the range of the cannon mounted

^a Bowling Green correspondent. Dispatch, Nov. 6.

^b Grant's official report, Nov. 10, 1861. Examiner, Nov. 30th.

there. They immediately formed, and at about 8 o'clock advanced on the Southern force at Belmont. These movements could be plainly seen from the Confederate camp, and dispositions were made to meet them.

The first shock of the conflict was borne by two Southern regiments, Col. Tappan's Arkansas and Wright's 13th Tennessee, with a battery which had been sent into the field chiefly by the private means and exertions of Col. Watson, of Louisiana, and therefore was called by his name, although commanded by Capt. Beltzhoover. Skirmishers of infantry were sent forward, with one field piece, and as the Federals advanced, they opened fire, checking the assault, and slowly falling back, as the enemy in numbers pressed forward to flank them. Rapid volleys were exchanged as the opposing forces neared each other. The enemy were, to a great extent, sheltered by the woods, in which the battle commenced, and although the unequal Southern force had the same shelter at first, yet, as they were pressed on every side, they were gradually forced back into the more open fields around their encampment.

Seeing that the small force on the other side were hard pressed, Gen. Pillow, of Tennessee, hastened over to their succor with Col. Mark's Louisiana and Col. Pickett's, Freeman's and Knox Walker's Tennessee regiments. General Polk could spare no more men, because he had received information of the advance of Federal troops from Paducah, and was hourly expecting their approach to assail Columbus. On reaching the Missouri shore, Gen. Pillow threw his men rapidly in line of battle. His whole force did not exceed twenty-five hundred men. Notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, and the disadvantage of his position in the open field, while the enemy were under forest cover, he presented a formidable front which the foe endeavored in vain to break. From half-past 10 to 12, the battle raged with continuous violence, the reports of musketry and the roar of cannon mingling with the shouts of the combatants. The Confederate left was somewhat protected by felled trees and an

abattis; on their right, the Federals made repeated charges, but were received with such deadly rounds from Beltzhoover's guns, and the muskets of Wright's Tennesseans, that they were driven back beyond the range of fire.

Again they advanced on the centre with such a pressure of numbers that for a time it wavered, and there was danger of the line of the Southern troops there being broken. General Pillow displayed the highest courage and address in cheering his troops and driving back the enemy. He was in full uniform, and rode a very beautiful animal, "the finest gray mare" in the army.^a He was seen everywhere along the lines forming his troops and urging them to the combat, yet he escaped unhurt. His staff were equally gallant, but not so fortunate. Every one had his horse shot under him, and one of his aids was shot through the hip at the same time that his horse fell riddled with balls. By their exertions, the Confederate centre was again formed, and again the enemy was driven back.

In this obstinate conflict, the Northwestern men, consisting of Illinois and Iowa troops, first came into collision with Southerners, and it was abundantly manifest that they fought with a resolution, vigor and skill far beyond that of the New England and middle States troops. Generals Grant and McClernand were often greatly exposed, and both had horses shot under them. Col. Lanman was severely wounded. The battle lines often swayed back and forth, as the contending regiments pressed upon each other.

THE ENRAGED MUSICIAN.—The famous Rameau, the composer, while making a call on a lady, suddenly sprang up, seized a little dog that was yelping at her feet, and threw him out of the window. "What is that for?" cried the lady. "Because he barks out of tune!" shouted Rameau, with the indignation of an enthusiastic musician whose ear had been cruelly wounded.

^a Memphis Avalanche. Columbus correspondent. Dispatch, Nov. 19.

THE TWO SNOWFLAKES.

BY IMLAC.

I.

Two snowflakes sailed through an April sky,

On the wing of a cloud that was floating high;

Their hearts seemed pure as their robes were white,

And, jewelled, they glittered in the morning light.

"I will go," said one, "to earth I'll go;"

"I'm too pure and too cold in this realm of snow."

Oh, too oft, too oft, pure hearts, I ween,
Are seduced by the far-off, deceitful sheen

That wraps, as a veil, the sunlit bowers,
Where vice reigns supreme among fountains and flowers!

She went, but while in the upper sky,

Met a gray, young Zephyr careering on high.

As a carpet-knight, he tossed his curls,
And turned her young head with his waltzes and whirls.

No wonder, dazed by his many charms,
She fell unresistingly into his arms.

Awhile he fondled the silly fay,

Then mockingly, laughingly, put her away.

Ah, swift then fell the sin-stricken sprite,
No more to return to the regions of light.

A stagnant stream caught the fallen flake

'Twixt a bloated toad and a venomous snake,

And they mocked her. Oh! what fall was there

For an angel form and a spirit of air!

The toad, too, had fallen in times gone by.

As young toads will fall from a cloud in the sky.

He croaked with joy when he saw the flake

At last in the power of himself and the snake.

They bore her down through sink and sewer
Among thousands who once, like herself,

were pure,

Her bright gems stealing, rifling her charms,

Till she struggled no more in a reptile's arms,

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[No. 5.

WEDDERBURN & ALFRIEND,

Proprietors.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT E. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

VOLUME SECOND.

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CHAPTER I.

A short time after twelve o'clock, the discouraging announcement was made to Gen'l Pillow that Beltzhoover's battery had expended nearly all its charges, and that the infantry ammunition would also soon be exhausted. Knowing that it was impossible to maintain his position without cartridges, he ordered a bayonet charge. The men advanced impetuously, but the Federals, instead of breaking their line, only fell back before them, and, reaching the wooded shelter, they fired so destructive rounds of musketry and artillery that the Southern troops were severely shattered, and were ordered to retire along the whole line. The Federals pressed hard upon them; the 27th, 30th and 31st Illinois regiments formed a serried column and charged through the straits and over the log entrenchments on the Southern left, delivering a deadly fire, and driving back the Confederates, who had previously held their works with stubborn courage, but who, being now without ammunition, could not meet musket balls and grape shot with bayonets.^a The Southern line

was broken and routed; Beltzhoover's guns were all captured; the enemy pressed exultingly forward, and the Confederates were driven beyond the banks of the river, and sought shelter under the bluffs and thick undergrowth close to the water's edge. The Federals seized upon Colonel Tappan's camp, took possession of all arms and accoutrements, broke open and robbed the trunks and valises, and consigned the tents and all other combustible property to the flames.^a

Up to this time the victory of the Northern troops seemed complete. They certainly so regarded it. They occupied the ground and shewed no intention to withdraw. At about half past 12 o'clock, one of the heavy batteries in Columbus opened upon them, and Smith's field guns came down to the river's edge, on the Kentucky side, and began to throw round shot and shells among them. Still they held their position, replying with their own batteries. But they were soon to have their manhood put to a more severe test. At a quarter past one o'clock, Gen. Polk, finding that no attack was threatened on the eastern side of the river, resolved to make a vigorous effort to recover the day on the Missouri side. He sent over Gen Cheat-ham, with Col. Smith's 154th Tennessee regiment and Blythe's Mississippians, and a full supply of musket and cannon cartridges. The steamboats bringing over these reinforcements were immediately seen by the enemy, and they opened fire on them, sending shot through three of them, and injuring some of the men, but they landed safely, and Gen. Pillow, to

^a Compare McClelland's official report, Nov. 12, with General Pillow's, and with narratives in Examiner, Nov. 15, 18, 30. Dispatch, Nov. 15th, 19th.

^a Otey's letter in Memphis Avalanche, Nov. 10.

his great joy, found himself now in position to re-establish the battle. General Polk crossed the river and directed the movements. Cheatham, with three regiments, pushed rapidly to the right, to flank the Federals and cut them off from their line of retreat, while Pillow, with the remaining force, advanced upon their main position. The means of fighting to advantage being once more in their hands, the Southerners instantly recovered their spirits, and rushed upon the enemy with great impetuosity.

The struggle for a time was sharp, but it was short and decisive. The Federal lines were broken, and by half-past two o'clock they were everywhere in full retreat. Beltzhoover's guns were recaptured and turned upon the flying foe. For a time the 7th Iowa regiment made a firm stand against Col. Knox Walker's Tennesseans, who charged on them. Two gallant privates, Vollmer and Lynch, in generous rivalry, sprang forward to seize the Federal colors. Vollmer pierced the color bearer with his bayonet, and grasping the staff, waved the flag round his head. He and Lynch both fell dead nearly at the same time. Capt. Welby Armstrong caught the colors as they dropped, but was himself shot down.^a The Tennesseans rushed on, the flag was secured, and the retreat of the enemy became general.

On the right, the road was kept open by incessant discharges of grape and round shot from Taylor's Chicago battery, which Gen. McClelland stationed for the purpose.^b But as the Southerners closed on them, the retreat of the Federals was quickened to confusion, and finally became a rout, in which they fled down towards their boats in disordered crowds, torn and shattered by incessant volleys in the rear, and leaving not only their wounded men, but cannon, muskets, ammunition and clothing scattered along their route. Arrived at the landing, the officers made all efforts to embark them without loss on the transports, but the Confederates were close behind, and poured upon them constant volleys of musketry and artillery, under

which they suffered terribly. To drive back this deadly assault, the Federal gunboats pushed out towards the centre of the stream, so as to get a range beyond their own men, and opened a furious fire of grape, musket bullets, bombs and ball. The Confederates took shelter from this hot torrent behind the ridge of the bank, and, lying down, kept up a fire of musketry until the last transport had hauled out from the landing, and the discomfited Federals were beyond their reach.

In this severe encounter the loss of the Confederates was six hundred and twenty in killed, wounded and missing. The Federal loss, as stated in their own accounts, was six hundred and seven; but this is far below the truth. According to this account, they had only sixty-four killed, while it is certain that more than two hundred of their dead were found on the battle field.^c According to the usual proportion, their total loss was probably not less than twelve hundred.

By all the rules of military criticism, the battle of Belmont was a victory for the South. It was as surely a triumph as the battle of Marengo was for the French, who were defeated and broken by the Austrians until four o'clock in the afternoon, when Desaix came up with reinforcements, and Napoleon re-established his lines and completely routed the enemy. It would, therefore, have been truthful and becoming in the North to admit their defeat. But General Grant, both in his private letters and public dispatches, made painful efforts to conceal the truth. In a letter to his father, after giving a narrative of his success in the early part of the battle, he thus spoke of the disastrous retreat of his army: "We burned everything possible, and started back, having accomplished all that we went for, and even more." "On our return, stragglers that had been left in our rear (now front,) fired into us, and more re-crossed the river and gave us battle for a full mile, and afterward at the boats, when we were embarking." And in his official

^a Memphis Appeal. Dispatch, Nov. 19.

^b McClelland's official report. Examiner, Nov. 30th.

^c Compare accounts N. Y. Herald, Examiner, Nov. 30, with Memphis Appeal, Nov. 10. Dispatch, 15th, 19th, 21st. Examiner, 15th, 18th, 21st.

report, he said: "Before getting fairly under way, the enemy made his appearance again, and attempted to surround us. Our troops were not in the least discouraged, but charged the enemy and again defeated him." Such is his account of his retreat. Having declared that the purpose of his expedition was to prevent the Confederates from sending reinforcements to aid Price, and intercept his troops detached against Jeff. Thompson, it is impossible to see how he accomplished this purpose by holding Belmont two hours, and then retreating with heavy loss. He certainly left the road into Missouri as open to the Confederates as it was before his expedition.

At nearly the same time that this battle took place, events occurred on the eastern borders of Kentucky and Tennessee, showing the alarm of the Federal authorities at the Southern advance, and the insidious measures used to check it. Availing themselves of the disaffection among some of the ignorant Union people of East Tennessee, they sent emissaries among them, who organized a plot to burn the railroad and other important bridges in the country, so as to cut off the communications of the Confederate army, impede their supplies, prevent their co-operation, and, finally, either entrap them in a wasted country, or drive them back beyond the Holston river. On Friday night, the 8th of November, five railroad bridges were burned, two on the Georgia State road, over Chickamauga creek, one over the Hiwassee river, and two on the Virginia and East Tennessee road, at Liek creek and the Holston river. An attempt was made on the same night to burn the railroad bridge over the Holston, at Strawberry Plains, in Jefferson county, and here was enacted a deed of individual fidelity and heroism which has made the name of James Keelan immortal in history.

He was the watchman, and the only guard of the bridge. At midnight he was attacked by sixteen incendiaries, on the platform in the line of trestle work. He fought them all with lion-like courage, defending the bridge, and killing the leader of the band in the act of setting fire to it. The planks and beams of the platform were bespattered with blood, and such was

his stern resolution, that the assailants at last fled in dismay, leaving him with three bullet wounds in his back, thigh and elbow, with his hand severed and hanging at the wrist, and with many cuts and gashes in other parts of his body. Bleeding and exhausted, he reached the house of Mr. Elmore, one of the railroad agents, and sinking down, he said: "They have killed me, but I have saved the bridge." Notwithstanding the severity of his wounds, he recovered, and the grateful hearts of thousands in the Confederate States have recognized him as one of the heroes of the South.

Great excitement among the patriots of East Tennessee and Kentucky was caused by these outrages. Gov. Harris issued an address calling on the people to furnish double barreled guns and all the private arms possible, and to organize for protecting their homes. Many persons suspected of being concerned in the bridge burning were arrested, and the evidence being conclusive in the cases of some, they were hung, after trial and conviction by the Confederate military authorities. Their fate was just. They were traitors of the deepest dye—men who had not merely plotted treason, but carried it out, by destroying property, actively aiding the enemy, and attempting murder upon those faithful to the South. The vigorous steps against them deterred others from crime, and stopped the bridge burning plans of the Northern emissaries.

Meanwhile, the Federals made military advances against Zollicoffer and his supporting forces, which brought more of ridicule than honor upon the Northern arms. To guard against an approach of the enemy through Cumberland Gap into Southeastern Virginia, a body of about fifteen hundred volunteers from Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia had assembled between Prestonburg and Pikeville, in Floyd and Pike counties, under Col. Williams. They held the mountain passes, and though very indifferently provided with arms, ammunition and clothing, they were hardy and experienced woodsmen, full of courage and love of adventure. To dis-

See Knoxville Register, in Dispatch, Nov. 19th.

lodge this force, a body of about thirty-five hundred Federals, consisting of the second, twenty-first, thirty-third and fifty-ninth Ohio regiments, and two battalions, marched from Lexington. They were commanded by one Brigadier General Nelson, commonly called "Bull Nelson." He was fat and flabby in person. He had once been in the United States Navy, and was notorious among his brother officers for an inveterate habit of boasting and lying, accomplishments which he cherished and improved in his military career.

As the enemy approached, Colonel Williams, with his small force, occupied the passes of Pound Gap, in the mountains between Kentucky and Virginia, but a daring party of ambuscaders, about three hundred in number, under Lieut. John May, kept in advance on the rugged steeps commencing ten miles from Piketow. The road wound up the mountain through thick forest cover, crossing Ivy Creek on a very substantial bridge. As the vanguard of Nelson approached on Friday, the 8th of November, May set fire to the bridge, after providing a temporary means of crossing, and then threw his men into ambush on each side of the road. The Federals pressed up in solid column, and seeing the bridge burning, believed that the Confederates had fled. When their dense masses were within short range, May's men opened with a rifle volley, which cut them down in scores. Loading with great rapidity, the Kentuckians gave them three more volleys in succession, which were very destructive. Their advance was halted, and their van was in utter confusion and terror, with their dead and wounded heaped among them. May then retreated, according to orders, across the temporary bridge, destroying it behind him, and losing only five men killed and eight wounded.^a He safely joined Col. Williams, who took a strong position at Pound Gap, and awaited the enemy's approach. But Nelson had received a lesson too bloody to encourage further progress.

^a Compare Federal narratives, *Examiner*, Nov. 26th, Dispatch, 25th, 26th, with accounts from the fight, *Examiner*, 27th, Dec. 7th, Dispatch, Nov. 18th, 21st, 25th, Dec. 5th.

He took possession of Pikeville, and sent back dispatches to the Federal General Thomas, at Lexington, the contents of which were thus announced:

"LEXINGTON, KY., Nov. 12.—A courier from Gen. Nelson's brigade, with dispatches for Gen. Thomas, reports that the fight at Pikeville lasted two days, and that the rebels lost four hundred killed and one thousand wounded."^a

When the truth came out, the old acquaintances of Gen. Bull Nelson, acknowledged his great progress in developing his early habit. Even the North felt the humiliation brought on her cause by such a falsehood. The loss of the Ohio regiments, who were, to a great extent, composed of Germans, was said by actual count to have been two hundred and nineteen killed and one hundred and fifty wounded.^b Nevertheless, on the 10th of November, at Camp Hopeless Chase Pike-ton, Nelson issued an address to his army, in which he said: "Soldiers, I thank you for what you have done. In a campaign of twenty days, you have driven the rebels from Eastern Kentucky, and given repose to that portion of the State." "The only place that the enemy made a stand, though ambushed and very strong, you drove him from it in the most brilliant style."^c He soon afterwards marched to co-operate with a force marching against Gen. Zollicoffer, on the Cumberland line. This force was under the command of the Federal Generals Thomas and Schœpf, and consisted of the 14th, 17th and 38th Ohio regiments, with the 3rd Kentucky, and a regiment of Union Tennesseans, who were eager to penetrate their own State and wreak their vengeance upon the secessionists. The column advanced to Camp Wild Cat, and was joined by the Federal troops there. The design was then to press forward on Gen. Zollicoffer, and drive him out of his strong position at Cumberland, and, if possible, overwhelm him by a greatly superior force. But after the vanguard reached a point ten miles beyond Rock Castle river, suddenly they

^a *Baltimore American*, 13th November.

^b *Louisville Courier*, Nov. 25th.

^c Address, Dispatch, Dec. 7th.

received order from Gen. Thomas to face to the right about and retreat with all possible speed to Crab Orchard, bringing back all the sick from Wild Cat Camp. The reason of this retrograde movement soon came to light. At Crab Orchard, Gen. Thomas had received information which he deemed reliable, that Gen. Buckner had detached a heavy column from Bowling Green, and was advancing rapidly towards Somerset, to fall on his right flank, cut him off from his rear communications, and crush his force between this advancing column and Zollicoffer's army. Hence his hasty orders, which were forwarded by express relays from Crab Orchard.^a

On Wednesday, November 13th, the retreat commenced, and soon assumed all the aspects of a rout. It has passed into history under the expressive title of the "Wild Cat Stampede." The Tennesseans were in despair. They had fondly hoped for a triumph in their own State, and now they found themselves carried back in headlong flight from the promised land. At first the object of the move was not known, but when the head of the straggling column turned into the road leading immediately back to Crab Orchard, the Tennesseans broke out in open mutiny. Some deserted, and ran madly to the rear; some threw themselves sullenly on the ground, and refused to march; others wept and sobbed; the road was filled with stragglers for miles. The Ohio regiments started back in better plight, but evidently dispirited and alarmed. The 14th Ohio had the right, and marched lugubriously by the camp of the 17th, with the band playing the dead march. When the 17th started, some of the men extemporized a dismal ditty, which ran somewhat thus:

Old Zollicoffer can't catch us
On a long summer's day;
Old Zollicoffer can't catch us,
'Cause we are running away.

For two days the retreat continued. On the 14th a heavy rain storm beat on them for hours. "The roads were already worked into a tough muck, and the path-

^a Cincinnati Commercial letters, Nov. 13, 14, 15.

way on the edges where the troops walked was slimy and slippery. Every step was laborious to the sturdy, agonizing to the feeble." The sick were jolted forward in two-wheeled ambulances and road wagons. The roads were lined with cast-off clothing, knapsacks and blankets; many, in despair, dropped their muskets, unable longer to bear their weight. On the 15th the van reached Crab Orchard, but for two days afterwards wearied stragglers were arriving nearly dead from exposure. The result of this retreat was hardly less disastrous than a rout in battle. The loss of property, in wagons and horses, was very great; twenty-six thousand rounds of ammunition were lost at Rock Castle Ferry. The effect on the lives and health of the men was frightful. It was thus described by a participant: "The amount of physical suffering caused by this march cannot be computed. None can tell how many sturdy frames will bend under disease contracted from this ruthless exposure. The mortality lists of the regiments will shortly begin to make a record." "Our march has temporarily disabled the entire brigade, and large numbers will be in hospital in a day or two. So ends the great Cumberland Gap expedition." The disappointment of the North was doubtless not diminished by the discovery that her troops had fled from an imaginary enemy. Gen. Buckner had made no attempt to flank them.

The failure of these military movements discouraged the Federals, and gave a season of rest to the Southern forces, which would have been precious had it been improved. Occasional cavalry encounters occurred. Col. Forrest, of the Confederate service, now first came forward into an arena in which he was afterwards one of the most brilliant actors. On the 29th of November, at the head of a scouting party of about six hundred cavalry, he attacked a body of Federals near Madisonville, in Hopkins county, and routed them, inflicting a loss of eighty men in killed and prisoners.^b

^a Letter in Cincinnati Commercial. Dispatch, Nov. 5. Whig, Nov. 30.

^b Nashville Telegram, Nov. 29. Examiner, Dec. 2nd.

On Thursday, the 19th of December, Brig. Gen. T. C. Hindman, with eleven hundred infantry and four pieces of artillery, moved forward from the advanced posts of the Bowling Green army, towards Woodsonville, in Hart county, for the purpose of breaking up the railroad from that point southward. When within two and a half miles of Madisonville, it was ascertained that the enemy were in front in heavy force. Dispositions were made to meet them, and the right of Hindman's column soon reached the railroad. A sharp skirmish ensued. Col. Terry, at the head of seventy-five Texas rangers, made a brilliant charge on three hundred Federals, routed, and drove them back. But in the moment of triumph, the gallant Terry fell mortally wounded. A body of Federals attacked Col. Terrell's rangers on the right of the turnpike, and were repulsed with heavy loss. The enemy, finding the resistance vigorous, began to throw his regiments upon the right and left flanks of Hindman's force. Three companies of Col. Marmaduke's first Arkansas battalion were deployed on the left as skirmishers, and drove the Federals to the river. Gen. Hindman now ordered forward Col. Swift's battery, supported by the 2nd Arkansas infantry. The artillery opened fire in the field near the railroad, and the enemy retreated to the river bank. The firing ceased on both sides, and Gen. Hindman, knowing that the force opposed to him was double his own, withdrew his command two miles and a half, and took a strong position, from which the Federals made no attempt to dislodge him. The Confederate loss was four killed and nine wounded. The enemy lost fifty in killed and wounded, and seven prisoners.^a

Other conflicts occurred near Sacramento and Prestonsburg, in which the Confederates were successful. The affair near Prestonsburg was sharp and brilliant. On the 14th January, 1862, Gen. Humphrey Marshall retired before the enemy, to draw them on to his chosen position, close to the town. But they pressed him so rapidly that he threw his force in line of battle

eight miles west of Prestonsburg. The Federal cavalry made a fierce onset, but were repulsed with loss. Their infantry then came up, and the battle raged for three hours. The Confederates charged repeatedly, and at last made so strenuous an attack that the enemy broke and retreated, throwing away in their flight guns, swords and knapsacks.^a The invasion of West Virginia at this point was effectually checked.

The winter had now set in, and with the opening of the new year, comparative quiet seemed for a time to prevail with the belligerents. But it was only apparent, and not real. The Federals were incessantly laboring in recruiting their already large armies on the line of the Ohio, preparing gun-boats and mortar-ketches, and making ready for an advance in crushing force as soon as the weather would permit. On the other hand, the recruiting of the Confederate armies was exceedingly slow. Their commanding Generals in the West felt the coming pressure, and by secret letters to the Governors urged them to send forward troops. But they did not volunteer in adequate numbers, and the result was a series of disasters, which threw a gloom over the South, threatened her independence, and exhilarated the North with the hope of speedy triumph.

After the retreat of the Federals from Wild Cat Camp, Gen. Zollicoffer had established his army at Mill Springs, in Wayne county, on the south bank of the Cumberland river, and had also thrown up entrenchments on the north bank opposite. Early in January Major General George B. Crittenden arrived and took command. He was the oldest son of John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, and was considered a brave and accomplished officer, though somewhat impulsive. His two younger brothers were in the Federal service. The Confederate force under his command embraced eight regiments, chiefly from Mississippi and Tennessee, with some from Alabama and Kentucky. They did not exceed four thousand five hundred in number, and had sixteen pieces of artillery. Their position was not favorable for

^a Gen. Hindman's official report, Dec. 19. Major Gen. Hardee's orders, December 21st.

^a Lynchburg Republican, Jan. 17, 1862.

obtaining supplies, and the men were often reduced to half rations, which they bore with cheerfulness and fortitude.

The Federal General Thomas was advancing, and had reached the neighborhood of Somerset, in Pulaski county, not more than twelve miles from the Cumberland river. General Schœpf was within supporting distance of him, on Fishing Creek, and the united forces of these two officers embraced twelve regiments, from Minnesota, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, numbering at least nine thousand men, with three batteries—eighteen cannon—under Whitmore, Standart and Kinney.^a They were entrenched near Somerset and along the line of Fishing Creek.

Learning of the approach of these heavy forces, the Southern Generals deemed it necessary either to attack and defeat them before their junction, or to retreat from Mill Spring, where they were in danger of being flanked and cut off from food. On Saturday, the 18th of January, a false and treacherous scout brought to Gen. Zollicoffer information that a part of Thomas' army had crossed Fishing Creek, and that by a rise in the water they were cut off from support.^b A consultation of the Southern officers resulted in the determination to attack without delay, with the hope of routing this body supposed to be isolated, and of crippling the main body.

The march began Saturday night. The weather was cold and gloomy; a drizzling rain fell, which made the roads deep with mud, and chilled the soldiers as they toiled forward towards the foe. At eight o'clock Sunday morning, the heavy vapors of the night dispersed sufficiently to enable them to see that instead of the small body expected, they were confronted by the whole division of Gen. Thomas, consisting of at least five thousand men, and that large reinforcing masses were moving in the rear. It was now too late to retreat, and the natural courage of officers and men forbade it, even if practicable.

^a Federal account, Cincinnati, Jan. 22. Examiner, 28th.

^b Compare accounts in Nashville Union and American. Dispatch, Feb. 6. Examiner, January 28.

The attack commenced by an impetuous rush of the Mississippi regiment, under Col. Statham, on the right, and of Battle's Tennesseans on the left. The tenth Indiana regiment, under Col. Manson, sustained the assault for a time, but were soon broken and driven to the rear. They were rallied when near the creek, and reinforced by three other Federal regiments—the fourth Kentucky, under Col. Fry, ninth Ohio and second Minnesota. These formed behind a fence in the shape of an inverted Δ , with the point towards the Southerners. Again and again the Confederates made daring assaults upon them, and attempted to drive them from their position, but were repulsed.^a The combat raged for five hours with indecisive results. The Southern troops displayed conspicuous courage, but were met by a stubborn resistance from a fresh army largely outnumbering them, and protected by fences and earth works. Yet the result might have been favorable to the South, but for the unhappy fall of one of her bravest officers.

At ten minutes past three o'clock, Gen. Zollicoffer, with his staff, rode out from a field of bushes, and found himself suddenly near the tenth Kentucky, deployed at the point. For a moment the opposing officers thought they had met their friends, but when the mistake was discovered, a conflict almost hand to hand occurred, and pistols and swords were freely used. One of Gen. Zollicoffer's aids fired at Col. Fry, and killed his horse; at nearly the same moment Fry drew his revolver and shot the Southern General through the breast. He fell from his saddle, and died almost instantly. His staff escaped. His body was borne into a Federal tent, where it was seen by Col. Connel and others who knew him. An eye-witness thus described him:

"A tall, rather slender man, with thin brown hair, high forehead, somewhat bald, Roman nose, firm wide mouth, and clean shaved face. A pistol ball had struck him in the breast a little above the heart, killing him instantly. His face bore no expression such as is usually found on

^a Northern account, Examiner, Jan. 31

those who fall in battle—no malice, no reckless hate, not even a shadow of physical pain. It was calm, placid, noble. But I have never looked on a countenance so marked with sadness. A deep dejection had settled on it."^a

When the news of his fall spread among the Southern troops, it caused dejection and dismay, especially with the Tennesseans, who loved him fondly. The battle continued, but a deadening power had settled on the Confederates. The German troops, under Col. McCook, were reinforced by the 14th Ohio, 12th Kentucky, and two East Tennessee regiments, and made an advance, threatening to flank the Southerners by overwhelming numbers. Gen. Crittenden ordered a retreat, and his wearied men fell back over the heavy roads to their entrenchments opposite Mill Spring. The Federals followed them, and commenced an attack on the works.

It became evident to Gen. Crittenden that he could not hold his position on the north side of the river, and that delay would jeopard the loss of his whole army. He therefore made silent preparations for crossing, and succeeded in passing over his whole force by means of a steamboat and a number of barges. So cautious was his move, that though the enemy were within two miles, they made no attack. He threw part of his artillery into the river, but was compelled to abandon eight six-pounders and two Parrot guns, more than a thousand horses, with tents, ammunition, baggage trains, clothing, commissary stores, and several hundred muskets, all of which fell into the hands of the enemy. The loss of the Confederates was stated at one hundred and fifteen killed, one hundred and sixteen wounded, and forty-five prisoners. The Federal loss was said to be thirty-nine killed and one hundred and twenty-seven wounded.^b

Heavy as were the losses of the Southern army in material, the successful retreat of the men in the face of an exultant foe outnumbering them as three to one must be held as creditable to them. The Federal Generals were greatly disappoint-

ed when they found the works at Mill Spring silent and deserted, and the prey they had hoped to seize escaped from their toils.

Gen. Crittenden's force marched to Monticello, over frightful roads, and with no food more inviting than parched corn. The weather continued cold and gloomy, and when the sad retinue of wearied and hungry men began to file into the town, their appearance and sufferings excited deep sorrow and sympathy among their compatriots.

This serious disaster caused no loss of important territory or position to the South, but it contained many elements to work depression. The death of General Zollicoffer was a heavy blow to the South. He was a patriot, and a man of weight and influence. He was warmly loved in Tennessee; few men could have fallen whose loss would be more severely felt in her war councils at that time. The defeat was the first that had been sustained by the Confederates for many months, and attended, as it was, by the loss of valuable munitions and stores, it threw a shadow of gloom over the land. But greater disasters were close at hand, under which the South was at length roused to the exertion of her utmost powers to prevent the ruin that threatened her.

We have seen that Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston was in chief command in the Department of Kentucky and Tennessee. He held Bowling Green and Columbus, and sought to establish a line of defence running from the Mississippi through the region covering Nashville to Cumberland Gap. For this purpose a force of adequate numbers was necessary, but was called for in vain. The whole number of men obtained by every call up to the last of January did not exceed twenty-six thousand. It would be hard to conceive a position more painful than that of this experienced and devoted officer, in his efforts to protect the territory entrusted to his care against the immense hosts of the enemy. By skilful and ingenious ma-

^a Cincinnati Gazette, Jan. 22. Examiner, 31st.

^b Gen. Thomas' official report, Jan. 22.

^c See unofficial letter from Gen. Johnston to President Davis, from Decatur, Alabama, March 18, 1862.

neuvres, he produced the impression upon the Federal officers that his force was much larger than its actual numbers, and thus, from the time of Buckner's advance to Bowling Green until the month of February, he kept back the threatened advance. This precious season of respite ought to have been improved by the rallying of large bodies of volunteers to his camps. For this end, he secretly but urgently represented the truth of the case to the Confederate War Department and the Governors of the surrounding States, and entreated that his army should be recruited as rapidly as possible. But a hapless apathy pervaded the people, flowing from the mingled sources of undue confidence in past successes, contempt for the enemy, and a shrinking from the fatigues and exposure of the soldier's life. The result was that Gen. Johnston was unable to oppose to the foe an army equal to the maintenance of any one of the vital points of his line of defence.

In January, General Beauregard was sent to the Western Department, to aid, by his military genius and skill, in the serious conflicts anticipated there. On reaching Bowling Green, he conferred with Gen. Johnston, and was surprised and concerned to discover the feebleness of his force, when compared with the known power of the enemy. These two accomplished officers had anxious consultations as to the best system of defence to be pursued, and none of their counsels were free from forebodings of evil. But they concurred entirely in the general line of military policy to be adopted.

The Federal force threatening them was sufficiently formidable. Gen. Don Carlos Buell was at Louisville, with an army of not less than forty thousand men. His advance held the country between Elizabethtown and Bowling Green, and threatened not only the latter place, but Nashville itself. At Cairo, General Grant had a land force of fifty thousand, and in addition to this, a great fleet of gun boats, mortar vessels, and armed transports, under Commodore Foote, of the Northern Navy. The design of this land and naval host was to advance along the line of the Cumberland river, and after sweeping all opposi-

tion before it, to capture Nashville, and secure the whole of Kentucky and West Tennessee.

This simple statement of the relative strength and position of the belligerents in the West will be sufficient to show that the Confederate Generals had a disheartening and almost hopeless task before them. The whole army under their command was not sufficient to meet either front of attack with reasonable prospect of success. Yet each line of the threatened advance called imperiously for defence. It was evident that if the force was withdrawn from Bowling Green, Buell would press directly upon Nashville and the centre of Tennessee, which would be wholly uncovered. It was equally evident that if the Cumberland river was not held against Grant and the naval force, Nashville must fall, and West Tennessee be overrun. In this dilemma, Gen. Johnston adopted the only course which held out a hope of success. He resolved to defend Nashville with the greater part of his army—sixteen thousand men—on the Cumberland river, and at the same time to confront Buell with fourteen thousand, and thus, if possible, keep both columns of attack at bay.^b

The Tennessee and Cumberland rivers opened to the enemy a very threatening and dangerous means of approach to the heart of the South. Flowing for many hundred miles in channels navigable during a large part of the year, these rivers finally approach within twelve miles of each other, as they pass out from Tennessee into Kentucky, and continue their course to the Ohio, coming at one point within less than three miles of one another, and at last emptying their waters only ten miles apart. The facility thus afforded to the Federal gunboats was apparent. The South had no adequate means of meeting them by floating defences. Yet the importance of having iron-clad boats to check the progress of the enemy and aid the land defences, was obvious. By an unhappy oversight, the Provisional

^a Gen. Johnston's letter to President Davis.

^b Ibid.

Congress of the Confederate States had made no appropriation for floating defences on the Tennessee and Cumberland until it was too late to prepare them. They had authorized the President to cause to be constructed thirteen steam gunboats *for sea coast defence,*^a and such floating defences for the protection of the Mississippi river against a descent of iron-plated steam gunboats as he might deem best adapted to the purpose;^b but no provision was made for armed steamers on the large Western interior rivers until the month of January, 1862, when an act was approved appropriating one million of dollars to be expended for this purpose at the discretion of the President, by the Secretary of War or of the Navy, as he might direct.^c This was less than *four weeks* before the actual advance of the Federal gunboats, and was, of course, too late for the needed armaments. The appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for equipment and repairs of vessels of the Confederate navy,^d hardly sufficed to enable the Secretary of that department to maintain a few frail steamers on the Tennessee, hastily prepared from commercial or passenger boats, and very imperfectly armed.

Being thus destitute of a navy, the Confederates depended upon forts, with surrounding works, for holding and defending the Tennessee and Cumberland. Soon after the secession of Tennessee, her military authorities had ordered a body of engineers to select two points—one on each river—and erect suitable works on each site. Accordingly, two forts were built—Fort Henry, on the east side of the Tennessee river, near the dividing line between the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, and Fort Donelson, on the south side of the Cumberland, near the village of Dover, in Stewart county. It would have been difficult to select a more unfortunate location than that of Fort Henry. It was on a flat, low and sunken, with higher grounds around it and on the opposite bank of the river. The entire fort,

with the entrenched work surrounding it, was subject to enfilading fire from at least three points on the opposite side, and the same number of points commanded it on the eastern bank, all at easy cannon range. It was not only liable to point blank fire from gunboats when the river rose, but was subject to overflow from the very floods which brought the enemy upon it! In the expressive words of a competent officer, "The history of military engineering records no parallel to this case." "Points within a few miles of it, possessing great advantages, and few disadvantages, were totally neglected, and a location fixed upon without one redeeming feature."^a The work itself was well built, and was surrounded by an outer cover of earth works and abattis, with rifle pits properly connected, and an additional field work, with sand bag embrasures, called Fort Heiman.

The location of Fort Donelson was much more judicious. It had the advantage of a considerable elevation, commanding a sweep of the river, and enabling its guns to deliver a plunging fire. Earth works and log entrenchments surrounded it, enclosing an area of nearly two miles in extent. Yet the whole position was by no means commanding, and the works were in many places unfortunately located and constructed, because of their distance from the brow of the hill on which was the chief fort.^b

On the 31st of January, 1862, Brig. Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, of the Confederate army, arrived at Fort Henry for the purpose of inspecting its defences. He was a native of Kentucky, and a very gallant and meritorious officer. He saw at a glance the wretched location of the fort, and was filled with regret and concern, because he knew that the enemy would have every advantage. But it was too late to change the location. The movements of Grant clearly indicated a purpose to attack it by land and water. Gen. Tilghman exerted him-

^a Acts March 15th and Aug. 29th, 1861.

^b Act August 30, 1861.

^c Act Provisional Congress, No. 344, p. 48.

^d Act May 21, 1861.

^a Official report of Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, Aug. 29, 1862, p. 11, in Reports of Battles published by order of Confederate Congress, 1862.

^b Gen. John B. Floyd's official report, Feb. 27, 1862.

self strenuously to complete the works. He was efficiently aided by Major Gilmer, of the Engineers, and under their indefatigable efforts, seventeen guns were mounted on the main work, twelve of which bore on the river, consisting of one ten inch Columbiad, one rifled cannon, throwing a ball weighing sixty-two pounds, two forty-twos and eight thirty-two pounders, all arranged to fire through embrasures formed with sand bags.^a At the same time a number of laborers were kept at work on the *epaulments*, and to endeavor to shut the water out of the fort. The rising of the river had already sent two feet of water into the lower magazine, and the ammunition was removed to a temporary magazine above ground.^b

While these works were in progress, Gen. Tilghman went to Fort Donelson, and passed a day in the thorough inspection of its works. On the 4th of February, heavy firing was heard from the direction of Fort Henry, and at four o'clock in the afternoon a courier arrived with the information that the enemy were landing in force at Bailey's Ferry, three miles below, on the east bank of the river. Gen. Tilghman immediately returned to Fort Henry with an escort of cavalry.

The preparations of the Federals for capturing the fort and its surrounding works, with their garrisons, were truly formidable. General Grant, with twelve thousand men, advanced from Bailey's Ferry up the east bank; Gen. Smith, with six thousand, marched up the west bank, while Commodore Foote, with seven gunboats, armed with fifty-four cannon, approached by the river. To meet this combined assault, Gen. Tilghman had but a total of two thousand six hundred and ten men, only one-third of whom were well armed and disciplined.^c Yet, had the location of Henry been fortunate, even this small force would have held it for an indefinite time. But it was impossible to overcome the disadvantages of its exposure. After some vigorous skirmishing

^a Col. Gilmer's official report, March 17, p. 80.

^b Col. Herman's official report, Feb'y 8, p. 557.

^c Official report, Feb. 12th, p. 11.

with the enemy's cavalry, the main force of the Confederates was withdrawn to a position near the Stewart road, leading to Fort Donelson. By reason of the flooding of the river grounds and the enemy's position, this was the only line of retreat open to them.

Upon a deliberate view of the whole position of the Southern military interests, Gen. Tilghman now reached a resolve high in soldierly self-devotion. He saw that the preservation of Fort Donelson was of paramount importance, and believed that it might be saved, if the main body of his forces, and other reinforcements expected, reached it in time. The capture of Donelson would not only insure that of Fort Henry, but also render necessary the abandonment of Bowling Green, Nashville and Columbus, while, on the other hand, the capture of Henry would be comparatively small in its results, and by the delay of resistance might save Donelson. He resolved, therefore, to devote himself, with a small garrison of sixty-one officers and men, to the defence of Fort Henry, while his main body, by the delay thus gained, was enabled to march in safety to Fort Donelson.

Ignorant of his plans, the enemy advanced their infantry on both sides of the river as far as could be done without coming under the fire of their own gunboats. They then halted their land forces and waited for the reduction of the fort by their flotilla, knowing that until this was done they could not move to the attack of the outworks.

At eleven o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, the 4th of February, Commodore Foote assumed a line of battle with his gunboats, about two miles below the fort. His first shot was fired at about 1 o'clock, without effect. The flotilla then drew slowly up the river, firing as they advanced, but generally with wild aim and little injury to the work. Gen. Tilghman had not yet arrived, but Col. Heiman was vigilant and full of courage. Knowing that their thirty-two pounders would do no execution at such a distance, he forbade all firing except from the Columbiad and the 24-pounder rifle.^d These were care-

^d Col. Herman's off. rep., July 8, p. 558.

fully trained on the approaching boats, and fired with accuracy and effect. By reason of its great recoil, the Columbiad broke the clamps which fastened the carriage to the *chassis*, and for fear that it would upset under another discharge, it was not fired again. But the rifle poured upon the boats a stream of archer shells, which struck them again and again, and as they came within range, all the eleven guns bearing on the river opened on them. The fire was continued for half an hour, when the flotilla withdrew. Their object was to feel the strength of the fort. They received several damaging shots, and did not renew the attack until the 6th. At daylight on the 5th Gen. Tilghman arrived, and completed all arrangements for making a resistance as protracted as the fort could offer, and thus gaining time for the retreat of his main force to Donelson.

On Thursday, the 6th of February, the Federal fleet again approached in line of battle. They fired their first shot at a quarter before twelve. They drew gradually nearer, firing incessantly, though for a long time with very inaccurate aim. The fire of the fort was perfectly cool and deliberate. The garrison was so small that the duty of working the twelve guns bearing on the river required all their efforts, and gave them no time for reserve. Hence Gen. Tilghman, with his efficient aids, Cols. Heiman and Haynes, Majors Gilmer and McCornice, enjoined upon the men to fire slowly, and always with good aim. The artillerymen were directed by Captains Miller, Haydon and Taylor, and Lieutenants Watts, Welles and Jones, and well performed their duty. They labored under the disadvantage of not being able to fire *plunging* shots. The high water brought the gunboats nearly level with the fort, and the line of fire on both sides was almost point blank. Nearly every shot from the fort took effect. In an hour and a half the gunboats were struck seventy-four times. Twenty-two balls struck the Essex, one of which passed directly through one of her boilers, taking off the head of Captain Porter's aid in its passage. The scalding steam injured many of her men. She was so disabled that she floated helplessly down the stream, and took no more part in the ac-

tion. The Cincinnati—the flag-ship of Com. Footh—was struck twenty-eight times, and so much injured that she was compelled to return to Cairo.^a Few of the gunboats escaped injury. Yet, by their number, and the unhappy position of the fort, they were able to continue the assault with destructive vigor.

When the flotilla reached a distance of twelve hundred yards from the fort, their fire was tremendous, and began to tell with serious effect upon the earth works and embrasures. Sad disasters occurred at the most effective guns of the garrison. At twenty-five minutes before one o'clock, the 24-pounder rifle burst with frightful violence, killing three men and wounding all the others employed in working it. This event discouraged the garrison, because it destroyed their best gun, and caused them to doubt the strength of the large pieces when fired with heavy charges. Yet the artillerymen stood bravely to their work, and continued the fire with the coolest courage. At one o'clock a heavy shell from a gunboat passed through an embrasure, breaking and upsetting the 32-pounder there, and disabling every man at the piece. Nearly at the same moment, a 42-pounder exploded prematurely, killing three men, and wounding the chief of the piece and several others. To add to the discouragement thus produced, the fire of the Columbiad ceased. Gen. Tilghman at once examined into the cause, and found that the priming wire had been jammed and broken in the vent. A brave blacksmith was sent for, and came immediately. He worked with perfect coolness for many minutes, exposed to the hottest fire of the enemy, endeavoring to open the vent, but without success.^b Thus the most efficient guns of the fort were silent.

Meanwhile the gunboats drew nearer and nearer, until the nearest was not over six hundred yards distant. Their fire, from more than forty guns, was terrific. The air was filled with a hurricane of shot and shells, which tore asunder the parapets of the fort, destroyed the embrasures, and dismounted many of the guns. The incessant labor of the few men in the

^a Gen. Tilghman's official report, 13, 15.

^b Lt. Col. Gilmer's official report, p. 83.

garrison had so exhausted them that they sunk with fatigue. In an hour and five minutes, only two guns continued to respond to the enemy's fire. The officers represented to Gen. Tilghman that all was lost unless fresh men could be obtained. He answered: "I shall not give up the work." He threw off his coat and sprang upon the chassie of the nearest gun, encouraging the men by his example and words to continue the combat. At the same time he directed Col. Heimar to send for fifty men from his regiment on the outposts, to relieve the exhausted garrison. Col. Heimar started for them himself, but before he could bring them, the fate of Fort Henry was decided. The gunboats poured in a fire under which it was apparent that the work would be soon in ruins, the guns all dismounted, and the garrison killed or disabled. At ten minutes before two o'clock a flag of truce was waved from the parapet by Gen. Tilghman in person. But the fire of the enemy continued, probably because the signal was not seen in the smoke. At ten minutes after two, the flag of the fort was lowered in token of surrender. The fire on both sides ceased, and the terms of capitulation were promptly arranged. The officers were to retain their side arms, and both officers and men were to be treated with the highest consideration due prisoners of war.^b

It was stated in Northern papers that when the surrender took place, Commodore Foote made to Gen. Tilghman the disparaging remark, that had he been in command of the fort, he would not have yielded it. This statement is wholly false. Officers present testify to the terms of military courtesy which passed between the adverse commanders, and Commodore Foote, in a letter to a relative, soon afterwards, said: "You will see quite enough, and perhaps more than you want to see, about our fight. Tilghman and I became quite sociable, if not warm friends, before I turned him over to our General as I was leaving, the evening of our action. He acted so bravely and gallantly in the

^a Report of Col. Heimar, 560; Gilmer, 83.

^b Gen. Tilghman's report.

fight, and is such a high-toned, brave man, that he won my heart."^a

The loss of the Confederates was twenty-one killed and wounded, and forty prisoners, with the fort and its armament, and a small quantity of quartermasters and commissary stores. The Federals lost seventy-four killed and wounded—more than the whole garrison opposed to them.

Although the fort was thus lost, yet Gen. Tilghman's skilful dispositions and obstinate defence gained the all-important time needed to save the main body of his command. They retreated by the Stewart road. Want of transportation compelled them to leave their artillery and most of their camp equipage. It was fortunate they did not attempt to take it, for the roads were impassable for wheels, by reason of heavy rains and the back water of the Tennessee. A body of the enemy's cavalry attacked the rear guard about three miles from Fort Henry, but were decisively repulsed by a regiment under Col. Gee and Major Garvey. On the night of the 6th the retreating column reached Fort Donelson, adding twenty-five hundred and fifty men to its effective force.

"LEAVE ME HERE."

(Inscribed to the memory of GEORGE WALTER ROGERS, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Stone River, January 2nd, 1863.)

BY ED. PORTER THOMPSON.

I.

Where the cannon, loudly roaring,
Hailed upon us shot and shell,
Where were myriad rifles pouring
Storms of missiles, there he fell.

II.

In the fore-front of the battle,
Eager in the dreadful fray,
'Mid the booming and the rattle,
Smiling like a child at play.

III.

There before him was the foeman,
There th' invading Infidel,

^a Letter in Chicago paper, March 7, furnished to me by Col. T. H. Ellis.

1867 Dec. 23.

Laurence J. ...
Dec. 23, 1867

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HISTORY OF THE WAR.

BY ROBERT B. HOWISON.

Author of a History of Virginia.

VOLUME SECOND.

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CHAPTER I.

To the capture of this important post, the Federal General Grant, now turned his undivided attention. He approached it with immense columns of infantry, and with a powerful fleet of gun boats under his efficient naval co-operator, Commodore Foote.

To its defence, General Albert Sidney Johnston, had devoted the larger part of his army. General Buckner's command marched thither, embracing most of the troops who had composed the central army of Kentucky. On the 10th of February, General Pillow arrived with a small body of Tennessee troops, and assumed command. He labored sedulously to increase the strength of the fortification and outworks. On the 12th, General Buckner reached the fort in person. At daybreak on the 13th, General Floyd arrived, preceded and accompanied by his brigade of Virginians, who had already gained merited honor by their courage and success at Cross Lanes, and in the battles of the Gauley and Kanawha. General Floyd was the senior Brigadier, and took command of the whole Confederate force here assembled. Although General Johnston had estimated the numbers ordered to the defence of Fort Donelson, at sixteen thousand,

and, yet by reason of sickness and the absence of many, with or without leave, the actual number assembled did not exceed thirteen thousand, and, of these, many were armed only with flint lock muskets and fowling pieces. The capture of Fort Henry and the gloomy retreat of part of their body, had spread a cloud of discouragement over the whole defensive force. But under the example and cheering words of their officers, and of the more hopeful men, they prepared for a resolute resistance.

The principal fortification was elevated, and commanded a stretch of the river for more than two miles. Its armament consisted of eight 32 pounders, three 32 pound coronades, one 8 inch Columbiad, and one 32 pounder rifled gun. Around this work, and extending for a distance of nearly two miles, was a space defended by earth works, rifle pits and abattis, continuous in many parts and detached in others, but so arranged as to afford good infantry cover in nearly all its extent. The small town of Dover in which were the commissary and quartermaster's stores of the Confederates, was enveloped by the lines of their extreme out works.

By the morning of February 12th, the enemy had approached in heavy numbers, and began a series of movements for investing the Southern lines. Col. Heiman commanded the brigade on the left of General Buckner's division, which covered the centre and right of the entrenchments. The left was not continuously defended either by log entrenchments, earth works or rifle pits—the men worked hard day

* Gen. Pillow's official report, 33.

and night, but could not complete them. It was soon evident that the enemy were approaching this weak point in the lines, with the hope to carry them by a vigorous assault. Capt. Maney's Confederate battery was on the summit of a hill without protection even by a parapet of earth. The Federals planted two batteries under cover of a wood on the left and front of Heiman's position, and threw a body of sharpshooters into the forest, who opened on the Southern artillerists with long range guns, at the same time that their two field batteries commenced their fire. Maney returned their fire steadily, and in a short time Graves' battery and the guns under Capt. Green, at Col. Drake's position in Heiman's lines, came into play, and made the woods too hot for the Federals. Though their guns were nearly all rifled, they did no execution, except to kill two artillery horses, while the Southern fire was very effective. At 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 12th, they withdrew their batteries and men from the point. The night was spent by the Confederates in strengthening their works. ^a

Early on the morning of the 13th, the Federal batteries were again advanced and opened fire. At eleven o'clock their infantry moved forward upon the Southern entrenchments, along the whole line. They were met by a scorching fire, which speedily drove them at every point, except upon the left, opposite Col. Heiman's position. Here their most vigorous assault was made. The 17th, 48th and 49th Illinois regiments pressed forward across an open field between the forest and the rifle pits. Maney and Graves received them with hot showers of grape and cannister, and the infantry under Cols. Brown, McGavock and Cook, met them at a distance of forty yards, with a galling fire of musketry. They retreated in confusion, with a loss of forty killed and two hundred wounded. The dry leaves on the ground were set on fire by the Southern batteries, and several of the Federal wounded perished in the flames. The Southern loss was small, but embraced some valuable lives, among

them Lieutenants Burns and Massey of the artillery. A fierce attack by the enemy on the position held by Col. Roger Hanson's 2d Kentucky regiment, was met by a firm stand and a deadly fire. The Federals were disastrously repulsed from the trenches at every point of assault. They withdrew their infantry, but kept up an incessant fire of artillery and sharpshooters, by which the Southern troops were harassed and deprived of rest and refreshment. They were compelled to guard the trenches every hour of day and night, without adequate relief either for sleep or food.

Finding their land attack unsuccessful, the Federals now advanced with their gun-boats. Their triumph at Fort Henry had, doubtless, made them sanguine. But they were destined to a fatal disappointment. The conditions of attack and defence were different and the result differed accordingly. Captains Ross, Shuster and Standewitz, with a full body of artillerists, held the upper and lower batteries of the fort, and coolly prepared to meet the foe. They were ordered to hold their fire until the gun-boats were in short range.

At half past two o'clock of Friday, the 14th of February, the Federal fleet drew near the fort. Commodore Foote had left the Cincinnati, which was disabled in the fight with Fort Henry, and had transferred his flag to the St. Louis. The fleet consisted of the St. Louis, Pittsburg, Louisville, Tyler, Carondelet and Conestoga, carrying in all forty-six guns. ^a

Five of these iron plated batteries approached in line of battle *en echelon*. The Tyler was in the rear. When a mile and a half from the fort, the fleet opened fire, but with no effect. They drew steadily nearer, pouring out a storm of shot and shells as they advanced. When the nearest had got within about eight hundred yards, the Confederate artillerists opened upon them, aiming with the greatest care and coolness, and firing heavy shot and bolts, which plunged upon the iron decks of the gun-boats with terrible power. Still they came on, until the nearest ap-

^a Col. Heiman's official report, 128. Gen. Pillow's official report, 34.

^a Northern account, Examiner, February 20th.

proached within one hundred and fifty yards of the upper battery. The combat raged furiously for an hour and ten minutes. Notwithstanding the massive strength of the beams and the iron plating protecting them, the impact of the heavy shot projected by fifteen pounds of powder, shattered the iron and burst asunder the timbers as if riven by a stroke of lightning. ^a The shot from the 32 pounders, generally rebounded from the plating, but by their stern concussion, loosened and weakened the frame work of the boats. The Columbiad and 32 pound rifle, did fearful work with their shot, shivering the iron to pieces and often passing through the decks and bursting out in a frightful chasm below the water line.

The St. Louis led the way, closely hugging the Western shore; the Louisville kept nearly abreast of her; the Pittsburg and Carondolet followed at an interval of a hundred yards. When the boats reached the point of the nearest approach, the fire on both sides was tremendous, but with very different effects. An eye witness on the Louisville, thus describes the scene: "Now, a new battery of one hundred and twenty-pound guns opened upon us from the left and rear of their first works. We were within point blank range, and the destruction to our fleet was really terrible. One huge solid shot struck our boat just at the angle of the upper deck and pilot house, perforated the iron plating, passed through the heavy timbers and buried itself in a pile of hammocks just in front and in a direct line with the boilers. Another, a shell, raked us from bow to stern, passed through the wheel house, emerged, dropped and exploded in the river just at our stern. Then a ten inch solid shot entered our starboard bowport, demolished a gun-carriage, killed three men and wounded four others, traversed the entire length of the boat and sunk into the river in our wake. Then a shell came shrieking through the air, striking fair into our forward starboard port, killing one man, wounding two, and then passed aft, sundering our rudder chains and rendering the boat unmanageable. We were com-

^a Gen. Pillow's official report, p. 36.

elled to drop astern and leave the scene of action, and so far as we were concerned, the battle was over."

"This last battery was the one which put the finishing stroke to the fleet. One of their shells entered and exploded directly in the pilot house of the St. Louis, killing the pilot and wounding flag officer Foote severely in the leg. Two of the shots entered the Pittsburg below the guards, causing her to leak badly, and it is probable she will sink before morning. Another entered the Carondolet, killing four men, and wounding eight others." "Commodore Foote tells me that he has commanded at the taking of six forts, and has been in several naval engagements, but he never was under so severe a fire before. Fifty-seven shots struck his vessel, his upper works were riddled, and his lower decks strewn with the dead and wounded."

"My curiosity is satisfied. I have no desire to be on board a man of war, when another battery is to be attacked, but, on the contrary, think I should prefer a land view. The fact is, our boats are proof against ordinary shot, even as large as a sixty-four, but this trial has demonstrated *that rifled thirty-two pounders even, will penetrate our iron sides, while one hundred and twenty pounders merely laugh at the obstruction.*"^a

The fire of the Southern batteries was too destructive to be borne. Fifty-seven shots struck the St. Louis, thirty-seven took effect on the Louisville, and more than a hundred in all, plunged upon the decks of the assaulting fleet. Every boat was disabled, except one which kept beyond the range of fire. ^b With great difficulty, the shattered iron clads were withdrawn from the storm of shot hailed from the fort. Fifty-four men were killed and wounded on the boats, while in the batteries not one man was killed or seriously hurt, and no injury was done to the works. ^c This surprising result was added

^a Northern account, Examiner, February 28th.

^b Compare Northern accounts, in Examiner, February 20th and 28th.

^c Col. Gilmer's official report, 56.

proof of the impotency of an attack by gun boats upon forts properly located and armed. The Federal accounts were filled with idle boasts of the destruction wrought by their fire, and even declared that "the enemy could be seen carrying the dead out of their trenches."^a All their conjectures on the subject were false. The absence of casualties in the batteries, was the more marvellous, because the artilleryists worked with the greatest deliberation and valor. Lieut. George S. Martin commanded a gun, and when his wadding was exhausted, he pulled off his coat, and rammed it down his piece, thus keeping up his fire at the crisis of the battle.^b The repulse of the flotilla was complete and disastrous, and, had the fate of Fort Donelson hung on the attack by water, the Confederates would have triumphed.

But, unhappily, other dangers menaced them of a character against which manhood and skill were unavailing. The season was wintry. Thursday night, the 13th, a cold wind and rain beat un pityingly upon the men exposed in the trenches. The rain soon turned to sleet and snow; the soldiers were, to a great extent, unprovided with blankets. Their sufferings were extreme and exhausting. By morning many of them were almost disabled, and some of the officers who remained faithfully with them, were attacked with acute rheumatism. Friday, the weather continued cold and gloomy. Many wounded men were brought in from the field almost senseless from cold. The soldiers were deprived of rest and food, by which their strength might have been renewed. The incessant fire of artillery annoyed them in the trenches and deprived them of sleep, while the threatening position of the enemy made it necessary for them to guard every point of the lines, day and night. Under all these sufferings, which were drawing on their powers of resistance, the men preserved their resolute front.

Meanwhile, the enemy were constantly receiving reinforcements. They closely invested the Confederate works on every

side, and while they kept up a constant menace of attack, it was obvious that their object was merely to give time to pass a column above the works, both on the right and left banks, and thus to cut the Southern communications and prevent the possibility of egress. By the evening of the 14th, their numbers amounted to at least thirty thousand, and transports were arriving nearly every hour from which dark streams of men could be seen, by means of glasses from the elevated works, pouring along the roads and completing the investment of the whole lines around Fort Donelson.

The Confederate generals met in council Friday morning, the 14th. It was apparent that if they remained, though they might be able for a time to repulse assaults, the garrison must soon yield from starvation or exhaustion. The only course which held out a rational hope of escape, was by a vigorous and persistent sortie upon the enemy, to drive them from the roads leading to Nashville, and thus open the way for the retreat of the Southern army. This plan was approved by all the officers in council, and orders were issued for carrying it into execution.

Two roads led towards Nashville from the Southern lines of the entrenchments. One was the Wynn's Ferry road, leading from the river and the village of Dover. It was held by the enemy, who had encampments of all arms on the right and left of the road for nearly two miles. The other was an obscure and very bad road, which crossed the flats of the Cumberland river, and was now so submerged by water that it was considered impassable by infantry and artillery.

The plan of attack arranged by the generals was, that the various brigades should be instructed to put on their knapsacks and haversacks, with three days provisions—that a sufficient detail should be left to guard the trenches, that Col. Helman should hold his position, which was almost untenable—that Gen. Pillow, aided by Brig. Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson, with three brigades—one of Mississippians and Tennesseans, under Col. Baldwin, and two of

^a Examiner, February 20th.

^b Gen. Pillow's report, 36.

^c Gen. Floyd's official report, 23.

Virginians, under Wharton and McCausland, should advance to the assault of the enemy on the right, that Gen. Buckner, with his force, chiefly of Kentucky and Tennessee troops, should at the same time advance upon the centre and left of the enemy along the Wynn's Ferry road. The effect of these movements, if successful, would be to dislodge the enemy, not only from that road, but from the whole line of approach to Nashville. It was then intended that the army should retreat with all expedition; General Buckner, with his troops, was to hold the road—to keep the enemy at bay should they attempt to follow, and to act as the rear guard of the army.^a

At five o'clock, on the morning of Saturday, the 15th of February, General Pillow marched out with his troops, and attacked the enemy on the right. The advance was led by the second brigade, under Col. Baldwin. Reynolds' 26th Mississippi headed the column, followed by the 26th Tennessee, under Lillard, and the 20th Mississippi, under Major Brown. They had not advanced more than a third of a mile, before they met a heavy fire. They had expected to encounter only the enemy's pickets at this point, but found them in force. This compelled the 26th Mississippi to deploy, by a flank movement, in which they were exposed to a rapid fire, which produced some confusion. But when the movement was changed from *flank* to *forward*, they advanced with great steadiness and vigor, and being rapidly supported by the other regiments, and by Col. McCausland's brigade of Virginians, they pressed close up to the Federals and poured upon them a destructive fire. The 20th Mississippi was, for a time, greatly exposed and its left wing suffered heavy loss. Many valuable lives were lost. Capt. Patterson was severely wounded. Lieut. Paine was killed. Lieutenant Eastland fell with a dangerous wound, but refused to be removed from the field, crying out "*never mind me, boys, fight on, fight on.*" By a steady movement across an

open field, this brave regiment gained the cover of an irregularity in the ground, and continued the combat with firmness. For nearly two hours the battle raged fiercely, with very little change in the position of the adverse forces. The Federals being composed, in large measure, of North Western men, fought with obstinate courage. But, at half past 8 o'clock, by order of Col. Baldwin, the left wing of his force was thrown forward, and advanced upon a hollow, firing terrible volleys into the enemy's right flank. They fell into confusion and gave way, thus enabling Col. Baldwin to change his whole front, and turn the right of the Federals completely. They retreated from one position to another, followed with vigor by the Southerners, who charged impetuously upon two sections of artillery and seized them before the muzzles could be turned on them.^a

Reinforcements now reached the enemy and again they made a desperate stand. The battle waxed hotter and hotter. The ground was covered with the dead and wounded. The ammunition of some of the Southern regiments began to fail; they supplied themselves in great measure from the cartridge boxes of the dead and disabled enemy. Col. Baldwin rode towards the trenches to urge forward reinforcements and supplies of ammunition, and mentioned the position of the enemy to Capt. Graves, who immediately moved his battery to a favorable point, and opened so deadly a fire of grape, that the Federals were thrown into confusion and abandoned their last stand. The Southern infantry again advanced; Col. Hanson, with the 2nd Kentucky, came up opportunely and joined in the pressure, pouring in a galling flank fire. Unable to bear this hot assault, the Federals fled to the left. The forces under Baldwin seized their late camping ground, and the Confederate success on the right was complete, after six hours of sanguinary contest.

Their triumph had been won by heavy loss, both of officers and men. Among them was Captain Dabney Carr Harrison, a minister of the Gospel, distinguished for

^a Compare official reports. Gen. Floyd, 23, 29. Pillow, 37, 38, 43, 44. Buckner, 71.

^a Col. Baldwin's official report, 94, 95. Major Brown's, 103.

accomplishments and devotion, who had felt compelled, by patriotic duty, to enter the field. He led his company with unwavering courage during the whole struggle, receiving a ball through his hat and two slight wounds as he pressed forward, and he fell at last mortally wounded almost in the moment of victory. While the Southern troops suffered much, their fire was strangely fatal to the enemy. Many were armed with double barrelled guns, and smooth bored muskets, with buck-shot cartridges, but to compensate for this disadvantage, they pressed up closely to the Federal lines and fired point blank volleys in which every piece discharged cut gaps in the opposing ranks.

Meanwhile, General Buckner's advance on the centre and left of the enemy, had been somewhat retarded by the necessity for waiting the arrival of Col. Head's regiment, who were to relieve the troops in the rifle pits. When the march commenced, the slippery state of the icy roads made it impossible to move fast, and it was nearly 9 o'clock before this part of the Confederate forces became fairly engaged with the enemy. The batteries of Graves, Maney, Porter and Green, opened a well directed fire upon the enemy's artillery, and crippled them so severely that they were withdrawn. The Southern guns then fired with great effect into the columns of infantry, who were opposing General Pillow's progress, and aided materially in throwing them into confusion and compelling their retreat. At half past 9, the 14th Mississippi, under Major Doss, were thrown forward as skirmishers, and being sustained by the 3d and 18th Tennessee, they succeeded in dislodging the enemy from their position in front.

To drive the Federal from the Wynn's Ferry road, General Pillow now organized an attack on their right, sending a column of infantry up a deep valley in front of Col. Heiman's position, and covering their advance by a steady fire from the artillery of Porter and Maney. The third brigade, under Col. John C. Brown, moved gallantly forward. Its leading regiments, the 14th Mississippi, and 3d and 18th Tennessee, under Gordon and Palmer, passed over the abattis and through an open field, to

the summit of a hill, where they were met by a destructive fire from both infantry and artillery. Recovering quickly from their momentary confusion, they returned the fire with bloody effect, and moved forward, driving the Federals from their position into a cover of dense timber and undergrowth. Being joined by Cook's 32nd Tennessee, the Confederates again pressed upon the enemy, who again retreated leaving a section of their battery in the hands of the Southern troops.

The hill where the Federals were now concentrated, was so thickly wooded with trees and bushes, that their force could only be conjectured. Col. Brown supposed it to be about a thousand, from the fact that only one battery was there supported, but in truth their number was at least seven thousand, and five other regiments were in supporting distance.

With the highest animation and spirit, the whole Confederate force, under Col. Brown, moved to the attack, charging up the hill. They were met by a tremendous fire of grape and musketry, discharged at a distance of not more than a hundred yards, but the guns were all aimed too high, and the storm of deadly missiles swept over head. The Southern column halted and delivered a fire of musket balls and buck shot, which, in less than ten minutes, cut down eight hundred of the enemy, killed and wounded. Dismayed by the frightful chasms opened in their ranks, the Federals wavered notwithstanding their immense numbers. They kept up a disordered fire, under which Lieut. Col. Moore was mortally and Lieut. Col. Gordon severely wounded. The 3d Tennessee fell back, but was quickly rallied under Col. Cheairs. The 14th Mississippi, now reinforced the Southerners, and the column once more rushed to the attack. Broken and discouraged, the Federals left the hill and retreated to the right, leaving their dead and wounded on the ground. Graves' battery came up at full speed and gave them a parting round, which completed their discomfiture. Along the whole line, from the extreme right to the encampments on and beyond the Wynn's Ferry

a Col. Brown's official report, 109.

road, the rout of the Federals was now complete. ^a

While the fire of musketry and artillery was hottest, Col. Forrest and his cavalry were held ready for a charge. To cover them from unnecessary exposure to the shells, which were constantly in the air, they were ordered to dismount in a ravine. The ground was all white with sleet and snow. Cold and hungry, these brave men lay on the freezing earth without a murmur. One of their number, Lewis K. Sanders, of Kentucky, took out a book to beguile the weary hours. "What are you doing, sir," said his commandant. "Sir," replied young Sanders, "there is nothing to do, and nothing to eat, and nothing to cook, and I thought I might as well read."^b

But soon their time came for action. When the Southern infantry penetrated the enemy's lines beyond the Wynn road, Col. Forrest, with his cavalry, made a rush upon their right and drove them in such confusion and dismay, that many of them did not cease their retreat until they reached Fort Henry.

The Wynn road was now not only open, but cleared of the enemy entirely on one side and for a mile and a half on the other. General Buckner advanced upon it with a piece of artillery from Graves' battery and a body of cannoniers, and by their fire cleared away all the straggling parties of the enemy in its vicinity. He now sent for Porter's and Jackson's batteries, and Farquharson's Tennessee regiment, and prepared to organize his force to hold the road and cover the retreat of the army. But, to his surprise, the artillery and infantry did not come, and he soon learned that they were retained in the trenches by Gen. Pillow, who sent to him reiterated orders to return with all his troops to the entrenchments on the extreme right. In the words of Gen. Buckner, "I was in the act of returning to the lines, when I met General Floyd, who seemed surprised at the order. At his request to know my opinion of the movement, I replied that nothing had occurred to change my views of the necessity of the evacuation of the post, that the

road was open, that the first part of our purpose was fully accomplished, and I thought we should at once avail ourselves of the existing opportunity to regain our communications." "These seemed to be his own views; for he directed me to halt my troops and remain in position until he should have conversed with Gen. Pillow, who was now within the entrenchments."^a

This was the crisis of the stern and almost desperate military movements, which, up to this point, had been so vigorously and successfully carried out by the address of the Confederate generals, and the heroism of their soldiers. Since the battle, and its gloomy sequel, it has often been a source of keen regret to the South, that the retreat was not attempted as proposed. So completely were the Federals driven from the road, and so heavy were their losses, that, in the opinion of some military minds, *viewing the facts from a distance*, they would not have attacked immediately the retreating column. But this opinion was not held by those whose position and responsibility best fitted them to judge.

The enemy, though defeated, were near at hand with fresh troops, outnumbering the Confederates as five to one. The Southerners were exhausted and weakened by four days of cold and exposure, and by seven and a half hours of bloody fighting, and had they attempted a retreat, they might have been overwhelmed. In addition to these reasons, a special cause operated on the minds of Generals Floyd and Pillow, and induced them to order all the troops rapidly back to the entrenchments.

The effect of the violent attack of the Confederates, on the enemy's right, followed up by Gen. Buckner's advance on their centre, had been to roll over their immense masses towards the right of the Southern works, immediately in front of their river batteries. ^b Perceiving that these works were now defended by a very inadequate force, the Federal General, C. F. Smith, organized a column to attack them. This threatening movement compelled Gen. Pillow to order Col. Hanson, with his regiment, quickly to the menaced point, but before the wearied Kentuckians

^a Gen. Buckner's official report, 72. Col. Brown's, 109.

^b Sentinel, December 18th, 1863.

^a Official report, page 73.

^b Gen. Pillow's report, 37, 38.

could arrive, the enemy had seized a considerable part of the works. A bloody struggle ensued; Brown's brigade hastened to reinforce Hanson. Porter and Graves brought up their artillery, and the battle raged at this point until dark. Captain Porter, while working a gun, fell dangerously wounded by a Minie ball through the thigh; nearly all his gunners were disabled. The command devolved on Lieut. Motton, a beardless youth, who displayed conspicuous courage and skill. The enemy were driven out of a part of the entrenchments, but notwithstanding every effort of the exhausted Southerners, they obstinately held the earth-works on the right, when the increasing darkness put an end to the struggle. Wearing and faint with cold, hunger, exposure and conflict, the Confederates were withdrawn to their lines.

Thus ended this day of mortal strife. The Southern loss was fifteen hundred in killed and wounded. The Federal loss was not less than five thousand. ^a The battle field offered to the eyes of spectators a ghastly sight. The ground was in many places red with frozen blood. The snow, which lay under the pine thickets, was marked with crimson streams. An eye witness thus describes the scene.

"I could imagine nothing more terrible than the silent indications of agony that marked the features of the pale corpses which lay at every step. Though dead and rigid in every muscle, they still writhed and seemed to turn to catch the passing breeze for a cooling breath. Staring eyes, gaping mouths, clenched hands, and strangely contracted limbs, seemingly drawn into the smallest compass, as if by a mighty effort to rend asunder some irresistible bond which held them down to the torture of which they died. One sat against a tree, and with mouth and eyes wide open, looked up into the sky as if to catch a glance at his fleeting spirit. Another clutched the branch of an overhanging tree and hung half suspended, as if in the death pang he had raised himself partly from the ground; the other had grasped his faithful musket, and the compression of

his mouth told of the determination which would have been fatal to a foe had life ebbed a minute later. A third clung with both hands to a bayonet, which was buried in the ground. Great numbers lay in heaps, just as the fire of the artillery mowed them down, mangling their forms into an almost undistinguishable mass." ^a

The condition of the Confederate army was now dangerous and gloomy to a point almost beyond hope. The men were worn down with fatigue, weakened by cold and exposure, and dispirited by the unhappy result of their daring and resolute effort to extricate themselves from the toils of the enemy. Many of them were wounded, and many frost bitten and unfit for service. Their ammunition was nearly exhausted. The heavy reinforcements of the Federals had already more than supplied their losses in the battle, and within an hour after dark, they had reconquered their former positions, completed their lines of investment, and even extended them far upon the left of the works, replacing with fresh troops those who had been beaten and driven off in the day. When these facts were ascertained, a council of war assembled at Gen. Pillow's head quarters, in Dover, consisting of the general and field officers of the Confederate army, to consider their position. Two reliable scouts from Col. Forrest's cavalry, were sent to ascertain the nearness of the enemy, and the state of the road across the flats of the river. They returned and reported that they saw no enemies, but saw the fires where they were Friday night, and that the water was up to the saddle skirts for a hundred yards, and the mud was half leg deep in the bottom for a quarter of a mile ^b They thought that cavalry could pass, but infantry could not.

A conference of grave interest occurred between the Southern generals. General Buckner said, "I am confident that the enemy will attack my lines by light, and I cannot hold them half an hour." Gen. Pillow replied quickly, "Why so, why so, general?" Gen. Buckner replied, "Because I can bring into action not over four

^a Compare official reports of Gen. Floyd, 25. Gen. Pillow, 47.

^a Northern account in Examiner, March 28th.

^b Col. Forrest's sworn statement, 53.

thousand men, and they, demoralized by long and uninterrupted exposure and fighting, while he can bring any number of fresh troops to the attack." Gen. Pillow replied, "I differ with you: I think you can hold your lines; I think you can, sir." Gen. Buckner answered, "I know my position, and I know that the lines cannot be held with my troops in their present condition."^a Gen. Buckner's views impressed General Floyd so strongly that he concurred with him. Gen. Pillow thought the army could cut its way out. Gen. Buckner replied, "to cut our way out, would cost three-fourths of our men, and I do not think any commander has a right to sacrifice three-fourths of his command to save one-fourth. Gen. Floyd remarked, "Certainly not." General Buckner further remarked, that he understood the principal object of the defence of Fort Donelson to be to cover the movement of Gen. A. S. Johnston's army from Bowling Green to Nashville, and if that movement was not completed, it was his opinion that they ought to continue their defence, even at the risk of the destruction of their entire force. General Floyd stated, that Johnston's army had already reached Nashville. ^b

Gen. Pillow continued to hold and express the opinion, that they ought to maintain their defence at least one day longer, with the hope, that by the arrival of steamers, they might transport the troops across the river. But the exhausted state of their army forbade delay. The bitter conclusion was reached that a capitulation was inevitable. Who should make the surrender? Gen. Pillow said, "as for myself, I will never surrender; I will die first." Gen. Floyd added, "nor will I. I cannot and will not surrender; but, I must confess, personal reasons control me." Gen. Buckner replied, "but such considerations should not control a general's actions." General Floyd said, "Certainly not: nor would I permit them to cause me to sacrifice the command." It was then arranged that the command should be passed. Gen. Buckner asked, "Am I to consider the command as turned over to me?" General

Floyd replied, "Certainly, I turn over the command." Gen. Pillow replied quickly, "I pass it, I will not surrender." General Buckner then called for pen, ink, paper and a bugler, and prepared to open communication with the Federal commander.

After he had yielded the command, Gen. Floyd asked if he might escape with his brigade if possible. Buckner replied that all might retreat who could, provided they did so before his offer of surrender was accepted. During the night, two steamers arrived from Nashville. General Floyd, with the larger part of his command, embarked on them. A scene of confusion occurred at the landing: hundreds of men were rushing towards the last boat to endeavour to get aboard. The 20th Mississippi regiment, under Major W. M. Brown, formed in a semicircle around the landing and steadily repressed the crowd who would otherwise have swamped the boat. This brave regiment, after aiding others to escape, was unable to get on board, and was included in the surrender. A Many from all of Gen. Floyd's regiments were left, and he specially deplored the captivity of his three artillery companies, who had rendered signal service in the Virginia campaign and the battles around the fort. Col. Forrest bitterly opposed the surrender, and offered to cut a way out with his cavalry at any designated point. When the surrender was determined, he received Gen. Pillow's sanction to retire with his command. He marched out at the head of most of his cavalry, with Capt. Porter's artillery horses, and about two hundred men of different regiments, passed along the river road and across the overflow, saddle skirt deep, successfully evaded the enemy and escaped without loss to Nashville. Gen. Pillow also retired in safety. The weather was intensely cold—the water freezing—the infantry could hardly have passed along this road and lived. ^b

A short time before daylight, on Sunday morning, the 16th of February, General Buckner sent a communication to the Federal commander, General Grant, proposing to him the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of capitulation, and,

^a Hunter Nicholson's sworn statement, 61.

^b Gen. Buckner's official report, 75.

^a Major Brown's official report, 104, 105.

^b Col. Forrest's statement, 53, 54.

in this view, suggesting an armistice till 12 o'clock that day. Gen. Grant replied, that no terms except unconditional and immediate surrender could be accepted, and added, "I propose to move immediately upon your works." General Buckner soon sent an agreement to surrender in the following words: "The distribution of the forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms yesterday, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms which you propose."

The surrender then took place; by order of Gen. Grant, the prisoners were collected in and near Dover, under their officers, or in such manner as might be approved by Gen. Buckner and received two day's rations preparatory to embarking for Cairo. They were allowed their clothing, blankets and such private property as could be carried about the person, and commissioned officers were allowed their side arms. ^a

In addition to the men who fell in battle, the wounded and sick who had been removed, and the troops under Floyd, Pillow and Forrest, who retired, a large number of men escaped during the night and previous to the final surrender. The result was, that the whole number of privates captured did not exceed five thousand, one hundred and seventy, ^b a number smaller by hundreds than the loss in killed and wounded actually inflicted upon the enemy in the battles of Fort Donelson.

But the fall of this important point, and the surrender of the Southern army, was the heaviest blow that had yet fallen on the Confederate cause. The triumph of the North was great in proportion. The people there abandoned themselves to a full belief that the war would be quickly ended, and that the abject submission of the South would soon follow. The prisoners were carried to Cairo, and most of the privates, with the regimental and company officers, were sent to Chicago. From some of the benevolent, and especially from some of the ladies of Illinois, they experi-

enced kindness, but generally a vulgar and unfeeling curiosity was the predominant sentiment expressed about them. Coarse and brutal criticisms upon their appearance, their dress and manners, were indulged in by spectators, and found their way into the Northern newspapers. The general officers were sent to Fort Warren, in Boston harbor, and, all along their journey, were greeted by the same prying inspection and offensive questioning which have made the name "Yankee" notorious through the world. A long time elapsed before these officers and privates were exchanged and returned to the South. When we reach the point for a review of the facts as to exchange of prisoners between the belligerents, we shall see proofs of Northern perfidy multiplied and glaring.

When the news of the surrender of Fort Donelson reached Nashville, panic and alarm prevailed. None of the previous accounts from the fort had prepared the people for such tidings. All they had learned had been Confederate success. The arrival of the steamers with General Floyd's men, dispelled their hopes and filled them with the terror of approaching invasion. The churches were open and filled with their usual congregations, when the sad shadow of the coming woe fell on them. The people hurried to their homes in consternation; every departing train of cars was filled with fugitives; every vehicle and horse that could be obtained, was employed to leave the city. Governor Harris hastened to remove the public archives. General Albert Sidney Johnston, saw at once that the defence of the city was impossible with his feeble force. He therefore gave notice to the authorities that he could not defend them, and was about to evacuate the city. He retreated with his army towards Murfreesboro, having already formed his plan to evade, if possible, the advancing column of Buell, and to unite with the forces under Gen. Bragg, and all that could be collected from the South and South West, and make a stand upon the Northern borders of the lower cotton States.

General Floyd being left with the rear guard of the army, in Nashville, exerted himself, with ceaseless industry, in saving the great accumulations of military stores,

^a Correspondence, pages 78, 79.

^b Northern statement See Gen. Pillow's official report, 48.

bacon, flour, corn, salt, cartridges and clothing, which had been heaped up in the city, as a centre of operations. He succeeded in saving a very large portion of them, but as the approach of the enemy was hourly heralded, he was compelled to abandon much that was valuable. Part of the stores were destroyed, but, with the wish to aid the poor people of the city hogsheads of bacon were knocked open and the inhabitants were invited to carry off the contents to their homes. Scenes of confusion and licence followed which were deplorable, and doubtless many of the stores found their way into the hands of the least needy and deserving parts of the population. The beautiful wire suspension bridge, and the costly rail road bridge, which spanned the Cumberland at Nashville, were destroyed. Some of the inhabitants would gladly have saved them, and sent a deputation to Gen. Floyd on the subject, but he replied that he could not, consistently with his duty, leave such facilities to the enemy. ^a Having saved all in his power, and destroyed all that would immediately serve the invaders, he retreated with his staff and the small rear guard, and arrived safely at Murfreesboro.

The reduction of Forts Henry and Donelson and the capture of the army defending them, opened the whole of West Tennessee to Federal occupation. It was obviously impossible for the Confederates to hold Columbus with an immense force in their rear, holding all their lines of inferior communication and with the river in possession of a fleet of hostile gun boats. Gen. Beauregard hastened the evacuation of the point, and succeeded in transferring the armament of heavy guns to an island on the Mississippi, forty-six miles below Columbus, known as Island Number Ten. Here he erected very strong works, and mounted his batteries, fortifying the place with every art of the best engineering skill, and preparing to resist in the most stubborn manner, the descent of the enemy's fleets. The island was just below the top of a narrow tongue of land, opposite New Madrid, in Missouri, formed by an elbow of the river, and generally known

as the Madrid Bend. The position presented many advantages for defence, and from the care and labor bestowed on the fortifications by General Beauregard, he evidently designed that it should present a formidable and lasting barrier to the armed progress of the enemy.

Immediately after the capture of Fort Henry, three Federal gun boats, the Taylor, Lexington and Conestoga, under Lieut. Com'g Phelps, ran up the Tennessee to the town of Florence, in Alabama. They inflicted heavy loss in property upon the South. At the rail road bridge, twenty-five miles above Henry, they were stopped for a time by the draw, and saw before them several Confederate steamers, escaping up the river. They landed and succeeded in opening the draw, and after a chase of five hours, compelled the Confederates to abandon the transports Samuel Orr, Lynn Boyd and Appleton Belle, after setting them on fire. They were loaded with powder, shot and shells, and burned so fiercely that the Federals kept at a distance. When the explosions took place, the river for half a mile was literally "beaten up" into froth by the falling shot and fragments, and the nearest gun boat, distant a thousand yards, was so heavily shocked that her skylights were broken, her upper deck raised, and her doors burst open. ^a Five other steamers, the Dunbar, Time, Julius Smith, Kirkman and Alfred Robb, escaped to Florence, and the Southern authorities there received an order from Gen. Johnston to break down the bridge spanning the river, and thus secure the passage of these boats above. But, unhappily, a public meeting was held, composed chiefly of stockholders in the bridge, and they resolved to delay its destruction and "see if the gun boats were coming." ^b At half past two o'clock, the Conestoga and Taylor hove in sight. To save the steamers from falling into their hands, the Southerners set fire to them, and they were all destroyed with their valuable cargoes. The enemy, after burning all the public stores they could find,

^a Official report. Lieut. Phelps, February 10th. Memphis Appeal.

^b Correspondence Memphis Appeal. Dispatch, February 17th.

^a Letters in Lynchburg Republican Examiner, March 5th.

retired down the river, towing with them an unfinished Confederate gun boat, the Eastport, and the transport Sallie Wood, together with about two hundred and fifty thousand feet of lumber, and a great quantity of iron, machinery, plating nails and spikes. This expedition and its results vividly showed the exposed condition of the South, wherever she was penetrated by navigable rivers.

While these heavy misfortunes were occurring in the West, events on the Atlantic coast bore gloomily upon the Southern cause.

It was known that a great land and naval force was in preparation at Annapolis, for descent upon some point on the long sea frontier of the Confederate States. On the 7th of January, this expedition assembled at Fortress Monroe. The fleet was under Commodore Goldsborough, and the land forces were under General Burnside. On the 12th of January, the Armada put to sea. It was truly formidable in numbers and equipments. One hundred and twenty-five vessels of all kinds, carried an army and navy of thirty thousand men, supplied with all that could give efficiency. But they were hardly beyond the capes before they encountered a heavy blow which increased to a fearful storm. With great labor and loss, they buffeted their way to Hatteras Inlet. Here the storm continued to beat on them, until General Burnside was almost in despair. Many of his vessels proved worthless—signals of distress surrounded him on all sides, and in the midst of tempest and shipwreck, he was heard to say, that the "contractors had ruined him." A number of the transports drew too much water to enter the inlet. They were pitilessly beaten by the ocean outside, and carried by resistless currents upon the beach. ^a The Grape Shot loaded with bombs, New Brunswick with a Maine regiment, Pocahontas with artillery, Louisiana, Zouave, Eastern Queen and many other vessels were lost. ^b How many, has never been officially made known, but it is

a fact evincing the great resources of the enemy and their persevering hatred of the South that notwithstanding his losses, General Burnside succeeded in entering Pamlico Sound with at least twenty-five thousand men, and a fleet of vessels ready for his purposes of invasion.

It now became apparent that Roanoke Island was the first object of their attack. This important island lies in the broad inlet, between Pamlico and Currituck Sounds, and about midway between the main land of Tyrrel county and the narrow strip of bank which dykes out the ocean. It was of great moment to the South to defend it, for its possession by the enemy would unlock to them Albemarle and Currituck Sounds, open to them eight rivers, give them access to the country chiefly supplying provisions to Norfolk, and enable them to menace that city, and the four canals and two rail roads running through the country, by which it was surrounded. ^a But important as this island was, its defence for any length of time, against the forces threatening it, was hardly possible, for reasons which will presently be given.

In December 1861, General Henry A. Wise was ordered to the command of the department, embracing Roanoke Island. On the 7th of January, 1862, he assumed command and made an examination of the defences. He found them inadequate, in his opinion, to resist even the force then at Hatteras, and as the Burnside expedition began already to point to the North Carolina coast, he called urgently for reinforcements. Being personally familiar with this region, and very popular with its inhabitants, he felt a keen sense of its importance and of the necessity for protecting it. He addressed a letter to Mr. Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of War, and followed it by a personal interview, in which he strenuously insisted that more troops should be sent to the island. He urged that a large part of General Huger's command, at Norfolk, might be safely detached and used for the defence of Roanoke. He argued that the fifteen thousand men under Huger, were idle, and were only

^a Associated Press Agent's Narrative. Northern papers. Dispatch, Feb'y 1st.

^b Dispatch from General Burnside, January 28th.

^a See Gen. Wise's Report to the War Department, January, 1862.

kept at Norfolk in view of a possible attack, and that they would much more advantageously defend the city, by guarding the approaches through the Sound, than by remaining inactive. But, after due consideration, the war authorities decided that it would be inexpedient to place a large military force on Roanoke island.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ET TU BRUTE!

BY HERMINE.

Oh, think what waves of desolation
Surged o'er Cæsar's dying soul
When 'mid the band of stern assassins
He saw his friend! Could death control
The bitter grief, the startled anguish
That sent the blood to heart and brow
And made his pale lips, trembling, question
"Ye Gods! Say, Brutus, is it thou?"

'Twas then he wrapped the royal mantle
Around his sad, yet haughty face;
And, bending down to earth, mourned sadly
The loss of life, of love, of place!—
Ah no! one bitter smile, one only
Had done the work of deadly hate,
'Twas not his friend's cold steel that slew
him,
False Brutus' look sealed Cæsar's fate.

Oh, Brutus! Say, did memory give thee
Back no thoughts of other days,
When thou did'st stand in pride beside
him,

To bind his brow with laurel'd bays?
How couldst thou, thus with mem'ry sing-
ing

Those lofty strains loud yet sweet,
Uplift thy hand to hurl thy Cæsar
A bleeding corpse at Pompey's feet?

O Gratitude, thy cheek grew crimson
When Cæsar's life-blood stained the shore,
And Friendship veiled her face in anguish
That such foul deeds her name should own.
Lov'd Southern Land! of deeds heroic,
No Cæsar 'mong thy sons is found,
And may no Brutus stain thy laurels
And dare to hurl thee to the ground!

A REVIEW OF "TANNHAEUSER."

BY ADJ'T SAMUEL D. DAVIS, A. N. V.

It is now about twelve months since Tannhäuser was first re-published in this country, and, as yet, so far as we know, it has elicited but little more than a passing notice from the public press.

This would be unaccountable, considering the extraordinary merits of the poem, but for the fact that formal criticism has hitherto formed so small a part of our literary labors, that we really had no reason to expect it in the present instance. The work does indeed come to us prefaced by an elegant criticism from the London Times, but this goes no further than to particularize a few of its most notable passages, and considerably abstains from giving any satisfactory insight into the plot and final issue of the story. This task we purpose briefly to perform, with the hope that those of our readers who have not yet perused the book, may be induced to seek the agreeable entertainment which is there provided for them.

The general similarity in thought and expression, between Tannhäuser and the Idylls of the King, is so obvious, that those who admire the Tennysonian epopeia, are already committed in favor of this kindred offering of the British muse. This, however, is a compliment which some will probably regard as no compliment after all. For we must confess, however reluctantly, that Mr. Tennyson has comparatively but few sincere admirers in this country: not that he is deficient in true poetic inspiration, nor because we are wanting in a due share of æsthetic susceptibility, but simply on account of his bold and original peculiarities. Perhaps no poet stands more completely isolated among his fellows, than the present Laureate of England. With the more modern poets of his country, excepting his imitators, he has scarcely anything in common, save the name, and people whose earliest impressions were received from the writings of Goldsmith, Thompson, Young, Byron, Moore and others, are unwilling to accept for poetry, that which is