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latitude for doctoring and, if necessary, falsifying the voting, is made plain in the following from the election order:

II. In order to secure as nearly as possible a full expression of the voice of the people, the election will be held at each precinct of every county of the state in the district and—as required by law—under the supervision of the county board of registration. The method of conducting the election in each county will be as follows. Immediately upon receipt of this order, each board of registrars will meet—divide the whole number of election precincts of their respective counties into three portions as nearly equal in number as possible, and assign one of the shares thus made, to each registrar, who will be responsible for the proper conduct of the election therein. Thereupon each registrar will appoint a judge and clerk of election, who, with himself, will constitute the “commissioners of election” for all the precincts of his district. Each registrar will provide himself with a ballot-box, with lock and key and of sufficient size to contain the votes of all the registered voters in his largest precinct. Each registrar will give full and timely notice throughout his district, of the day of election in each precinct, so that he, with his judge and clerk, can proceed from precinct to precinct of his district, and hold election on consecutive days—when the distance between precincts will permit.

III. Judges and clerks of election will be selected by registrars, preferably from among the residents of their respective districts, but if they cannot be obtained therein, competent and qualified under the law, then from among the residents of the county, and if not attainable in the county, then from the state at large.

The election, marking the negro's first exercise in political equality, was held generally Nov. 5th, though in some counties it was strung out the remainder of the week. It passed without serious disturbance, the more easily as the whites remained away from the polling places, except in a few white counties where the plan of the constitutional union party was rejected. As calculated, many negroes were prevailed upon to remain at home. The handling of the returns, the delay in announcing the result, gave rise to strong suspicion that the ballot boxes were tampered with. The official promulgation of the election figures was held back for a month. “We were informed by one of the registrars,” said the *Vicksburg Herald*, two days after

the election, "that the votes will not be published until it is seen whether a sufficient number of votes have been cast to accomplish their purpose." For such a scheme the manner of the election was favorable. On the 14th, the same paper asked for the result to be promulgated and said: "We strongly suspect that the contents of the ballot boxes are being kept secret, with a view, if necessary, to stuff them up to the proper number." On the 26th of November it leaked out that the convention had been defeated, the *Herald* announcing from a "very well informed source," that only 62,000 of 133,000 registered voters had voted, or over 4,000 less than half. "This," said the *Herald*, "seals the fate of the Mississippi state convention." Much rejoicing that was proved unwarranted was indulged in. By hook or crook, by fair means or foul, a convention was secured, and on December 8 general order 37 recited that "a majority of the registered voters having voted on the question of conventions, the convention will be held as provided by act of congress, March 23, 1867, at Jackson, January 7. 1868," and that "the list of delegates and the full vote will be published as soon as practicable after they are correctly ascertained. The article is quoted:

II. Irregularities in the conduct of the election in certain precincts of the states composing the district, having been reported to these headquarters, and the vote in those precincts having been suspended, to await official investigation, renders it impracticable to promulgate at the present time the list of delegates elected to the respective state conventions, as also "the total vote in each state for and against a convention."

The vague reference to "irregularities," the delay in a full and final promulgation of the election results, added to the suspicion of unfairness and juggling, that returns were held back to the end that there could be an inside ascertainment of the vote interchanged between the election officials. No one thought that the general in command, or any of the military in control were cognizant of any crooked work, if any there was. But throughout the registration and election, it was apparent that the officials conducting the same were re-



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ceiving directions and had effected an understanding from Washington quite independent of the military. The Reconstruction Committee was not trusting to Gen. Ord for details or results.

Immediately on the official announcement of the election, December 11th, 1867, a convention of the constitutional union party was called for January 15th, 1868. An address was issued reciting that great evils threatened the citizens of the state in all their governmental rights, that the states of the South were foredoomed to become African provinces, civil order was paralyzed by the sword and all industry was demoralized. For the purpose of thorough organization, consultation and action—to restore constitutional government and order, and for perpetuation of the union, the people of the various counties were urged to meet together and send delegates to a state convention. The gravity of the occasion was not overstated. This threatened a feeling of despair to allay which the call was well timed. It gave assurance that in a period of darkest portents, of doubt and danger, the ship of state was not going to be abandoned to the fury of the elements of evil without a struggle. The particular motive of organization was for defeat of the constitution when framed and submitted for ratification by the "black and tan" convention.

December 27th, or nearly two months after the election, the list of delegates chosen was officially promulgated. Of 139,327 registered votes in Mississippi, 76,016 were alleged to have been polled, or a majority of 6,253. Of the total vote cast 6,277 were against the convention. Had these voters remained away from the polls, according to the policy adopted, the convention would have been defeated.

The point of this dispute and all others proved to be of no consequence. Other states that had no black voting majorities to strive against—Arkansas, North Carolina and Georgia—failed to elect a majority of anti-radical delegates to their convention. White voters of Mississippi took the only way that offered a possibility of defeating the reconstruction scheme in a black state; that of having a majority of the voters remain

away from the polls. It was calculated that with the solid white vote following this plan, enough non-voting negroes might for individual reasons, or persuasion, be counted on to make it successful. The plan failed through its rejection by some six thousand white voters. But it was shown afterwards that such a plan of evading the net was fallacious. Alabama was successful in thus defeating her convention. But in the ensuing congress the law was retroactively amended; the provision of the reconstruction scheme requiring a poll of a majority of the registered voters to hold a convention, was changed to a majority of the vote cast. Then Alabama, which had defeated the reconstruction program according to the reconstruction law, was forced under the yoke with the other southern states.

The minority or conservative vote had the good effect of electing 19 delegates opposed to negro suffrage. The remainder of the hundred was divisible into three classes; the native white or scalawag, the Northern adventurer, or carpet bagger, and the negro. Of the latter there were only 17. At that early period of reconstruction, the black pupils were tractable to the wish and will of their white teachers, and were easily persuaded as a rule, to give place and precedence to their "benefactors." When friction arose, it was amicably adjusted—usually cheap for cash. A Bolivar county case will exemplify the rule. A negro nominee for delegate was traded or tricked out of his nomination by a carpet bagger, who blew into the county about the time the election was held. The name of him—the Rev. Jehiel Railsback—as well as the transaction, were suggestive of Puritan ancestry and training. The Rev. Jehiel's name was printed on the ticket, and the change was ratified at the polls without opposition. There were a few men, a very few, of this motley crew, of some honesty of purpose—possessed of an earnest, but sadly misguided faith, in the latent fitness of the negro for political equality. But by a large majority they were unscrupulous and venal, fit ushers in of the era of loot which the state was fated to pass through.

The effect of the triumph of the freedmen over their late owners, their object lesson in the power of the ballot, was marked and ominous. Work on the plantations had been largely given up for night meetings and discussions of their new prerogatives. Conceptions of the changed conditions grew into ideas of confiscation; that the whites were to be dispossessed of their lands and belongings, which would be bestowed upon their late slaves. This expectation received sustenance from the proposed confiscation bill. In some localities the evil seed germinated in a show of violence. In Lowndes county there was a mob demonstration upon Columbus, with the intent of pillage. The presence and attitude of the company of soldiers stationed in the town averted a race collision. General Ord acted promptly to check such symptoms of disorder. He conferred with Gov. Humphreys concerning the situation, and as a result of their conference, the Governor issued a proclamation December 9. He referred to communications received both by himself and General Ord and "referred to him for action by the department commander." "The communications," he said, "conveyed information of serious apprehension of combinations and conspiracies by the blacks to seize the land, expecting Congress to arrange a plan of division, but unless this is done by January 1, they will proceed to help themselves, and are determined to go to war." The proclamation assured the negroes that such expectations came from "gross deceptions, and if carried to the extent of outbreaks and insurrections there would follow the destruction of your hopes and the ruin of your race." The proclamation "to carry assurance," it said, embraced General Ord's instructions to General Gillem, which were peremptory and stringent. He was directed to send for and inform leading freedmen of their delusion and to arrest "all incendiaries falsely advising the freedmen" and that the "soldiers would put down violence by arms, that is, killing, if necessary." Governor Humphreys was assured that "the military will try to afford protection where civil authorities were defied and are too weak to protect." General Ord gave orders through General Gillem "for the arrest of all persons engaged in unlawful

enterprise, and of all white men who should advise negroes to unlawful acts." Governor Humphrey's proclamation especially referred the negroes to the order of the military commander, that "you may no longer be deceived by restless spirits, white or black, that lure you to your ruin. You will now know that the military authorities are not in sympathy with any emissary that urges you to violence." He closed with an earnest appeal to the right thought of both races. The whites were enjoined "as they prized constitutional liberty for themselves, so they must accord to the black race the full measure of their rights and liberties under the constitution and the laws of the land to deal justly and in no case undertake to redress wrongs except where authorized by law."

The manifestations of disorder on which the information leading to Gen. Ord's order and the Governor's proclamation was founded, were sufficient to warrant precaution, but they had not reached the stage of "combinations and conspiracies." The information came mainly through the military and bureau authorities, and was conveyed to Gen. Ord, who passed it up to Gov. Humphreys, whose proclamation was timely in nipping in the bud any contemplation of violence. The unrest was not altogether the effect of political delusions. The material conditions of the people, and especially of the black counties, contributed to the demoralization. The condition of destitution, it is true, was largely brought on by neglect of crops for politics. The situation was thus referred to by Gen. Ord, and quoted in the Governor's proclamation: "The reverses of the past two years, the want of confidence in the future, of money, credit and food to support a large and unoccupied population, threaten the coming year to produce discontent, perhaps outbreak and violence, among the distressed. All such dangers should be anticipated, and the true lover of the country use his stronger mind to meet and provide for the emergency." This well timed and patriotic admonition was supplemented, as shown above, by similar counsel from the civil Governor. The honorable co-operation of the two heads of Mississippi government, at such a time of sectional intolerance and mistrust.

forms one of the few pleasing features of reconstruction—one reflecting credit on both. On December 17th, in general order No. 27, the disorganized state of plantation labor received further notice from military headquarters. It gave notice that "all freedmen who are able will be required to go to work on the best terms that can be procured, if it furnish a support only. Otherwise they would lay themselves liable to arrest and punishment as vagrants." The civil authorities were urged to act in the matter, and were assured of being sustained by the military "in any just action." The effect of this order was wholesome upon a most depressing situation. The outlook was at this period particularly gloomy in the river counties. On the brink of ruin and collapse, though they were, the planters were forced to raise a fund for repair of the breaks in the levees from the overflow of the previous spring. A committee of citizens waited upon Gen. Ord to petition that their local tax for this purpose would not be interfered with. He assured them that there was nothing to fear of this sort, and that he only regretted that he was not empowered to render them assistance.

A year before the question was to secure money on which to grow a crop, and as far as possible, replace war's waste places. Now the supreme problem was to find the means of living. The debts representing the year's losses, piled on those existing at the close of the war, must wait. Fortunately, perhaps, debtors had not the least desire to foreclose—as an investment, nothing was less inviting than cotton lands. The following from the *Jackson Clarion* is a fair general reflection of Mississippi conditions:

Our planters of cotton are in the midst of another season of profound disappointment and depression. Commencing the year's business after the utter failure of the one which preceded it, with money obtained at the ruinous rate of twenty-five per cent to purchase supplies, they have so far approximated the closing of the year's operations as plainly to see that their imagined prospects of remunerating results have disappeared; and worse, that they have realized nothing whatever from their investments and labor, and worse still, in very many instances, that they are clos-

ing up heavily in arrears to the merchants and capitalists from whom their accommodations were obtained.

This is not an overdrawn picture, thousands of men who are reputed to be the most frugal, thrifty and successful planters, are in precisely the condition we have last described. Very few can say that they are so fortunate as to have escaped without actual loss; and none we presume upon a fair balance of profit and loss will ascertain that the preponderance is on the profit side.

We need say nothing about the inefficient labor. Not a great deal was expected of the freedmen, and therefore on this score expectations have not generally been disappointed.

But there was "disappointment." The 1866 failure of crops was wholly due to the unfavorable summer and the army worm. The negroes worked better than expected. But in 1867, while the season was unpropitious and the army worm was destructive, a calamity year was crowned by political excitement which reduced negro efficiency far below 1866. "In Wilkinson county," according to the Republican, "the cotton crop which had fallen from 40,000 bales in 1860 to 8,000 in 1866, would yield no more than 4,000 in 1867." And that "the average would not reach over a bale to the hand." But this does not tell the whole story. Cotton was several cents lower than the year before. The crop failure was worst in the black counties where political activity was greatest. The following further reflection of planting conditions is quoted from the Vicksburg *Herald* and Madison (La.) *Journal*, respectively:

"Previous to the war we had the control of sufficient labor to work the lands, but things are quite different now, every one, we believe, who has attempted to raise large crops of cotton with the present system of labor, have become fully satisfied that it will not pay, and now, we would ask what the landholder intends or expects to do with his surplus land, allow it to grow up in weeds and depreciate in value every day, as it certainly has done for the past few years? It is no use to offer it for sale, the country is so thinly settled that no purchasers can be found. Now the only remedy we see for these evils is to increase the white population of the country."—*Herald*. "From present indications, there will be very little cotton planted next year, and consequently very little demand for labor. How our people are to be subsisted God only knows. The subsistence is not in the country, nor the means

for obtaining it. Every bale of cotton must go to pay for the supplies of last year, and then a large balance will be left standing against the crop. We cannot expect merchants to make advances to us after having so signally failed for two years in succession, with our levees in no better condition than last year, and with no prospect of amelioration of any of the causes which have operated against successful planting."—*Madison Journal*.

The condition of the state materially was as deplorable as affairs political were forbidding. The crop failure had been quite as complete as the previous year. Inhabitants of the Delta, agriculturally a garden spot of the South, were in actual want for the necessities of life. A Vicksburg paper of December 14, published that "Washington and the Delta counties are in a more deplorable condition than any other portion of the state. The planters generally have utterly failed in corn and cotton crops, and are unable to provide labor for the coming year. Negroes are now offering to work for food and clothing, and in many instances for food alone." A story published from Noxubee county, in the eastern part of the state, read that "on twenty-three plantations where the ante-bellum crop averaged 7,500 bales, 2,500 have been raised this year. The clear loss in their cultivation, without counting land rent, is over \$200,000." But this was rather better than in the western part of the state. In Wilkinson, the lower river county, the situation was thus told in the county paper:

"It is estimated that there is not enough breadstuff in the county to last its inhabitants three months. This forces the reflection, what are people to do? The whites have not the money to buy food for the negroes; their capital has all been spent in the attempt to raise cotton the past two years. It looks as if the government, which forced freedom on the negroes, disorganizing them as laborers, and bringing on want and threatened suffering, does not come to their aid, many must starve. The land owners have been impoverished and they have nothing but their lands, and most of them are covered deep with mortgages. It is but right and proper that the government, which brought all this about, should come to their rescue."

While the season had been unfavorable, political absorption was very largely chargeable for the farming breakdown. On this point the same Woodville paper, of December 14, 1867, is quoted:

"One year ago relations between employers and freedmen were of the most amicable nature. Since then a most deplorable and ruinous change has been brought about by radical emissaries. The harm done can never be eradicated. Mutual distrust and ill-feeling have taken the place of helpfulness and good-will. The country is overrun with negroes seeking employment, which the planter, under the experience of last year, withholds. Stealing is of nightly occurrence, and the hunger fever has taken the place of political fever. It is useless to say the negro is getting no more than he deserves. The ax cuts both ways. In addition to disorganizing the labor of the South, the Government has crowned all the ills with the iniquitous cotton tax. Here relief could be joined with justice by refunding it. Such an amount distributed to the persons who paid the tax would go far towards removing want. In the year 1866 Wilkinson county, poor and impoverished as the planters were by war and, its results, paid internal revenue tax to the amount of \$180,000, and the most of it by far is this unconstitutional tax."

Like accounts of disaster and distress came from all over the state. Driven by hunger, the negroes so depredated on cattle and hogs as to threaten complete destruction to that kind of property. Public meetings were held to suppress such stealing.

The following report of General Gillem, as commissioner for Mississippi of the Freedmen's Bureau, is a faithful record of conditions prevailing:

CONDITION OF THE BLACKS IN MISSISSIPPI—OFFICIAL REPORT
OF MAJOR GENERAL GILLEM—BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREED-
MEN AND ABANDONED LANDS.

Office Assistant Commissioner for the State of Mississippi,

Vicksburg, Miss., Dec. 10, 1867.

Major-General E. O. C. Ord, Commanding Fourth Military
District:

General—I feel it incumbent upon me as Assistant Commissioner of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands for this

state to represent to you the present condition of the freedmen and planters, and their prospects for the future.

At the close of the war cotton, heretofore the great staple of the South, commanded what was regarded an enormous price, say from forty to sixty cents per pound, the result of which was to cause a large amount of capital from the North to be invested in the production of cotton. Labor, of course, commanded a price comparatively beyond what had hitherto been known in the planting and farming districts, ranging from \$15 to \$20 per month, with rations for first-class field hands.

The short crop of 1866 dispelled the illusion entertained by many capitalists of rapidly accumulating a fortune, and in many cases utterly ruined planters and adventurers, who had invested their all in a single crop. Yet there was a sufficient number who regarded their losses as the result of an exceptional season, added to the number of landlords who determined to risk the results of another year's planting to maintain the high rate of wages of the previous year, and the contracts, where wages were the consideration, ranged from fifteen to twenty dollars per month; and where land was tilled on shares the planters agreed to furnish the land, animals, utensils, and in many cases forage, the freedmen furnishing the labor. In most of these cases the laborer, having no subsistence and no credit, the planters agreed to become responsible for the supplies necessary for the laborer and his family, the amount to be deducted from the share of the laborer when the crops were gathered.

In consequence of the dry weather and worms the crop of 1867 has not exceeded half of what was reported as an average crop, and that has commanded but one-half of the price of the previous year, thus reducing the proceeds to one-fourth of what was anticipated by the planter and freedmen as the proceeds of the year's labor. The result is the financial ruin of the planter and the capitalist and discontent of the laborer.

In cases where laborers worked for stated wages there is but little complaint or discontent on the part of the freedmen, remuneration having generally been received by the laborer, either in money or supplies, or if not paid the claim can easily be adjusted and adjudicated, and if the planter has the means the claims can be collected. Where the laborer has worked for a share of the crop endless litigation has been the consequence.

The laborer, without means, has generally been furnished the necessary supplies by the planter or on his security. On gathering the crop it has in a majority of cases been ascertained that the share of the laborer does not pay his indebtedness for sup-

plies advanced, and instead of receiving a dividend he is in debt. This causes great discontent, and a conviction, perhaps well founded in some instances, of dishonesty and false accounts on the part of planters, but this cannot generally be the case. Instances have occurred where the planters have entirely abandoned the crop to the laborer, losing their time, the use of their animals and implements and the supplies advanced. Cases have been brought to my attention of planting where not only the entire crop has been turned over to the laborers to satisfy their claims, but also the mules and implements used in their production. The result of this condition of affairs, is the almost universal determination of planters to abandon the culture of cotton, and even if they wished to prosecute it another year it would, I apprehend, be impossible for them to procure further advance of the necessary supplies from any merchant, so prevalent is the conviction that cotton cannot be produced at the present prices.

The next year the land in cultivation will be almost entirely devoted to corn, which requires but about one-fifth of the labor demanded by cotton, therefore four-fifths of the laborers required last year will be thrown out of employment, and, of course, there will be a corresponding decrease of wages. This the freedmen do not appreciate, considering it the result of a combination to defraud them of what they consider just wages. The consequence is they almost universally decline entering into contracts for the year 1868 on the terms offered by the planters.

The crop of 1867 having been gathered, the freedmen are now idle, and without, in a great majority of instances, means of support. The result is great complaints from every section of the state of depredations being committed on live stock, hogs, sheep, and cattle. This is now the condition of affairs in the state of Mississippi.

Planters are without means, having little left them except their lands. Capitalists beyond the limits of the state refuse to make advances from the unsettled condition of affairs. The freedmen being to a great extent discontented refuse to enter into contracts for the coming years. The remedy to be applied demands most thorough and immediate consideration. For the military, either through the commanders of the troops or agents of the bureau, to reach all sections of the state, to see that all persons able to earn their support are compelled to do so, and that all those who do labor receive compensation for the same, is simply impossible. The care of the poor and the duty of seeing that contracts are faithfully executed properly devolves upon local magistrates and higher courts.

How far it is safe, under the peculiar condition of affairs existing in this state, to trust the civil authorities with this duty it is for you, to whom the act creating the district intrusts "the security of life and property," to judge. To empower the local magistrates to arrests as vagrants all persons without visible means of support would, no doubt, lead to acts of injustice; but the civil authorities being recognized and intrusted with the execution of the civil law, collection of taxes and the care of the poor, it would seem to be a necessary consequence that, as a protection to the country, they should have authority to compel all who are able to support themselves, and thus prevent them from being a burden on the country. To deny the civil authorities the exercise of their right is to place the freedmen above the recognized government of the state.

It is a matter of very grave doubt whether in the present condition of affairs, the civil authorities, unaided by the military, will be able to maintain order and execute the law. Civil process can only be served in the ordinary manner where offenders are the exception and the law is sustained by public opinion; but in the present ruined condition of labor in this state thousands are without labor and must subsist; consequently depredation is the rule and honesty the exception; while, on the other hand, to treat as vagrants four-fifths of the community is simply impracticable.

But these are matters for your consideration, and of the law-making power rather than for me, whose functions are entirely executive; and to you I submit the case merely with the surmise that it will be impossible to inaugurate any system for the relief of the blacks which is unanimously approved by the whites.

There is another subject worthy of attention in this connection. There seems to be a widespread belief which is daily increasing among the freedmen, that the land in this state is to be divided and distributed among them, and in some sections of the state this illusion is assuming a practical form by the freedmen refusing to contract for the next year or to leave the premises they have cultivated this year.

It is to be feared that this course, induced by evil-disposed advisers, may lead to collisions, the extent and result of which it is difficult to surmise.

I receive almost daily petitions and memorials asserting the existence of organized companies of freedmen, and asking the presence and protection of troops, and although I am satisfied that these representations are generally the result of fear and exaggerated rumors, yet the commanders of troops and agents of the bureau have been instructed to urge upon the freedmen the abso-

lute necessity of abstaining from armed demonstration; that they will be protected in their rights, but that they must not seek redress by force or violence.

In order to avoid, as far as possible, bringing the races in collision with each other, I have advised whenever practicable, the "posse" summoned to assist in an arrest shall be of the same race as the person arrested.

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

ALVAN C. GILLEM,

Brevet Major General, Commissioner.

This report throughout, bears testimony of the weakness and odium of the condition dictated by blind groping, and vindictiveness. It tells this further story: That the Southern people were honestly seeking to adjust themselves to it—to make bricks without straw. General Gillem makes and implies, no charge or statement of violent practices, of a spirit of hostility toward the negroes by the sorely tried whites. These things came after as fruits of the rapacity and frightful misrule to which they were subjected.

The destitution and dejection of the Southern people attracted scant sympathy at Washington, or in the North. Based upon a recommendation by Commissioner of Internal Revenue Welles for the repeal of the cotton tax, that question was the one of chief congressional consideration from the opening of the session until the adjournment for the holidays. The report of the commissioner is quoted from:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23.—Commissioner Welles' report shows that when cotton was taxed three cents the price was forty cents, and when taxed two and a half cents the price was twenty-five. The cotton tax was called for and only defended on the ground of necessity, and should be repealed when its continuance should prove a serious impediment to home production, or an undesirable stimulus to foreign cultivators. The contingencies are now imminent.

The whole amount of internal revenue derived from the tax on raw cotton for the fiscal year, is given at \$23,879,078.80; and although this sum comprises nearly all the revenue derived from the Southern section of the country and constitutes an amount that can ill be spared from the Treasury; yet, under all circum-

stances, the Commissioner has no hesitation in recommending the immediate passage by Congress of an act repealing the entire tax upon raw cotton and the corresponding existing duty on imported cotton—the same to take effect on its passage.”

The commissioner's recommendation was supported by petition and representations of eastern mills, exporting houses and several boards of trade. Appeals were made for repeal as a relief to the need and destitution of the negroes of the planting country. The tax bore with double severity through the low price to which cotton had fallen; the minimum price of the previous year's crop having been 32 cents, while that of 1867 was 15½. Asking for bread the South was given a stone—repeal was defeated by an amendment to take effect with the crop of 1868. This was accompanied by reproaches and revilings. “If the Southern people,” said Mr. Conkling of New York, “had sacrificed swaggering and talking about representation in congress, and gone to work to build up their impoverished section they would today have been much happier, and so would we. If this tax was taken off it would wipe out twenty millions of revenue, and we know not where to go to replace it.”

Radicalism was now supreme—the leaders united and determined to consummate and securely establish Southern reconstruction on the basis of negro suffrage and political ostracism of the “disloyal.” The entreaties of the vanquished and the remonstrances of Northern conservatism were vain. Congress was resolved upon a policy of vengeance. The President having appealed to the country and lost, and having fully tested his impotence in the previous session, could only protest in appeals to the constitution. While this duty was performed with dignity and ability, through his message there sounded a note of despair. Confident in their power to override his votes, the opposition of the chief executive met with contempt. This feeling was so little checked by respect for the presidential authority that the secretary of the senate and the clerk of the house were encouraged to give vent to their aversion, while reading the message, by derisive comments and gestures. Their unseemly conduct, tacitly approved by the leaders, sug-

gests a comparison with the horse play in which Cromwell and other members of parliament engaged while the life and death poll was being taken against Charles the first. The reply of congress to the message was a resolution of impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, based on report of the judiciary committee, which had been directed by resolution in the previous session to investigate charges preferred against the President. This was the second resolution of this character. But the time was not yet ripe. It failed, when brought to a vote December the 7th.

Before the assembly of the convention, whose creation he had under the law directed, General Ord was relieved of the command of the district. The duties of his position had been both difficult and disagreeable for him. There were occasions in the performance where he had incurred very severe censure and complaint from the people and the press of the state. In the prevailing state of feeling, and in the operation of so repugnant a policy, one that outraged sense and sentiment, this was inevitable. But fair and unprejudiced judgment will credit General Ord with having executed the law, and administered the affairs of the state, with as much consideration for the rights and the feelings of the white people as his measure of discretion permitted. That he desired to exercise a larger leniency was shown in a restrictive order upon the powers of the county registers, which was promptly overruled by General Grant. The spirit of General Ord's administration was reflected in the friendly relations between the military and the whites, during his command. The following is from the Woodville paper a few days after the election :

"Marching Orders: The troops stationed here for some months past have marching orders for Natchez where they will go into winter quarters. We are sorry to lose Lieutenants Haller and Taylor and their company, which is one of the best and most orderly in the service. We wish them well wherever they go. There is a probability that an agent of the freedmen's bureau will be retained here supported by a guard under Lieut. Taylor. Our citizens will be glad to have him remain with us."

Since the passing of the years of war hate and sectional persecution, no patriotic American has read their history with other feelings than humiliation and abhorrence of the leadership that shaped reconstruction. That the all powerful North should have dealt out such treatment to her prostrate Southern brother is cause of amazement as well. A confession of the cruel abuse of power that succeeded the Confederate collapse is quoted from a lecture a quarter of a century after, by an eminent citizen, who was a gallant soldier, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams; delivered before the great English University at Oxford, in 1890:

"Because, as the outcome of our War of Secession, and as a penalty for what was done by individuals in the course thereof, no blood flowed on the scaffold, and no confiscations of houses or lands marked the close of the struggle, it has always been assumed by us of the victorious party that extreme, indeed unprecedented, clemency was shown to the vanquished; and that, subsequently, they had no good ground of complaint or sufficient cause for restiveness.

"That history will accord assent to this somewhat self-complacent conviction is open to question. On the contrary, it may not unfairly be doubted whether a people prostrate after civil conflict has often received severer measure than was dealt out to the so-called reconstructed Confederate States during the years immediately succeeding the close of strife.

PENALTY IMPOSED ON CONFEDERATES.

"The Confederate, it is true, when he ceased to resist, escaped this visitation in its usual and time-approved form. Nevertheless, he was by no means exempt from it. In the matter of confiscation, it has been computed that the freeing of the slaves by act of war swept out of existence property valued at some four hundred millions sterling; while, over and above this, a system of simultaneous reconstruction subjected the disfranchised master to the rule of the enfranchised bondsman. For a community conspicuously masterful and notoriously quick to resent affront, to be thus placed by alien force under the civil rule of those of a different and distinctly inferior race, only lately their bondsmen and property, is not physical torment, it is true, but that it is mild or considerate treatment can hardly be contended. Yet this—slave confiscation and reconstruction under African rule, was the war penalty imposed on the states of the Confederacy."

The sketch is incomplete in omitting the carpet bag factor in the reconstruction policy—the basest of the Northern invaders, whose itching palms spoiled the prostrate states of millions. Though even as a famous Greek painter, while placing the death agonies of the slave of the rack on canvass, lamented that he could not paint a “dying groan,” it is not possible to convey in words the greater than “physical torment” of the rule of a proud people by their former slaves.

Apart from its brutality, “the penalty imposed on the states of the Confederacy” was so palpably vain and doomed to defeat itself, as to eternally condemn the foresight, the statesmanship of those who imposed it. None but men blinded by vindictive revenge, or a shallow and short-sighted partisanship, would have calculated on the staying quality of government of the Southern states that so wickedly disregarded feelings that were inseparably interwoven with the very life of the people. Hence they sinned against both nature and light. The underlying and everlasting principle they violated is eloquently presented by that great writer of the truths of political philosophy, Herbert Spencer. The following is quoted from a letter written to an American friend upon our government problems:

“Everywhere I have contended, and I contend still, that feelings not ideas determine social results—that everything depends, not upon intellect, but upon character. When men are under the influence of profound feelings no amount of reason changes their behavior. A true theory of social progress is not a cause of movement. The force producing movement is the aggregate of men’s instincts and sentiments. These are not to be changed by a theory. You think I have got some message that staves off impending events: I have but one message: Be honest.”

These reconstruction acts ran counter to every dictate and prompting of this wise and noble message—“feelings” were violated. “instincts” suppressed. “character” mocked and trampled on at the behest of a hate inspired “theory.” Honesty and truth were trodden under foot, in the fullness of time to turn like the worm upon the oppressors with resistless force. “On the use,” wrote Macaulay of England’s restoration of monarchy, “which

might be made of one auspicious moment depended the future destiny of the nation. Our ancestors used the moment well. They forgot past injuries, waived petty scruples, adjourned to a more convenient season, all disputes about the reforms which our institutions needed and stood together, Cavaliers and Round-heads, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, for the old laws of the land against military despotism." This is a tribute—that their "ancestors used the moment on which depended the national destiny well"—that posterity will never pay to the political architects and arbiters of 1866. Indeed before the last of them passed from the stage, they were made to realize that they had done evil in the land—the evil that lives after the evil doers are no more.

We need not go to Macaulay for a historic contrast with the baleful and hate inspired policy to which the nation was irrevocably committed in 1866, and that was written in the statutes and the organic law in the ensuing year. Tory hate was a fact that threaded the seven years of the war of independence. Many of the "renegades" served in the British army. Thousands of them fled the country, and were living abroad. Their property had been confiscated. And yet when peace descended on the land, "in one auspicious moment" in January, 1784, immediately upon the conclusion of terms with Great Britain, "our (revolutionary) ancestors used that moment well." Congress settled the Tory status by the following nobly inspired resolution:

"Resolved, unanimously, that it be and is hereby earnestly recommended to the legislatures of the respective states to provide for the restoration of all established rights and properties which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects. * * * And it is also hereby earnestly recommended to the several states to reconsider and revise all their acts and laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equality, but with that spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail."

At the time when emancipation was proclaimed Louis Agassiz, one of the world's foremost scientists, and then filling the chair of natural history at Harvard, wrote a letter of warning which was

published, of the negro's inefficiency and unfitness for social and political equality. Its close is quoted: "No man has a right to what he is unfit to use. * * * I deny that it is just or safe to grant at once to the negro all the privileges which the whites have acquired by long struggles. History teaches us what terrible reactions have followed too extreme and too rapid changes. Let us beware of granting too much to the negro race in the beginning lest it be necessary to deprive them of some of the privileges which they may use to their own and our detriment." Commenting on this letter, historian Rhodes said: "What the whole country has only learned through years of costly and bitter experience was known to this leader of scientific thought before we entered on the policy of trying to make negroes intelligent by legislative acts. And this knowledge was to be had for the asking by the men who were shaping the policy of the nation."

In the true historian, how appropriate would it have been to extend the range of the Agassiz testimony. All Southern men of intelligence knew of their own experience and observation the truth to which this "leader in scientific thought" bore witness. And so knowing, their uncompromising though despairing opposition to the grant of "a right to the negro he was unfit to use," and that, while granted by the nation, its misuse, and the "terrible reaction" was to be at the eternal injury of the states, is justified as patriotic and self-preservation duty. With all "this knowledge to be had for the asking," what a crime was its rejection!

The convention devised by the radical congress, given force and effect by the military power, and endowed with official form and substance through the suffrage of the late slave population, assembled as called January 8, 1868. The chain of the long forging links was finished and ready for shackling the prostrate state. The instruments of action were worthy of the architect, and the work proved worthy of both. The gathering of the evil contrived body formed a spectacle for abhorrence and dismay, which was well sustained by deeds whose ills will long outlive the last survivor of the Mississippi constitutional convention of 1868. The convention and its record is always to be remembered as con-

ceived and created by Northern radicals—upheld by a vindictive sectional hate. In their infliction of acute and cruel punishment of a people, there is nothing like, or comparable with, the plan of negro rule over the Southern states—nothing in ancient or modern history. In severity of moral torture, and as seeds of enduring ills, no exaction of blood atonement could have borne so heavily. That the agents of the cruel and cowardly policy finally transgressed beyond tolerance, furnishes no contradiction of the culpability of the North for every crime and curse that was loosed from the reconstruction Pandora's box. No lies of logic and no lapse of time can obliterate this. The evil done the South forms the secret of the survival of sectional hostility in the North. The South would outgrow the sense of injuries done her, but whenever a Northern conscience reflects upon the inexpiable baseness and outrage of reconstruction, remorse and shame will seek diversion in reviling the South.

The 1868 constitutional convention bore the first fruits of negro suffrage. Upon the Northern aliens were then applied the stigma of carpet baggers. While the convention journal included no classified list in a record so scandalous that the meanest of its architects did not view it with pride, the following is given from newspaper files: Nineteen conservative or Democratic whites, seventeen negroes, some from the North, thirty-three "scalawags," or resident white radicals, and thirty-one carpet baggers from a dozen or more of the Northern states. The first of the four divisions were futile obstructives. What a malicious mockery to delegate the making of the organic law of a state to the other three!

The chief descriptive of a memorable chapter of history, "carpet bagger," hit the bull's eye of popular fancy and spread over the land almost in a day. Even as the term is destined to long life, it should, as far as possible, be stripped of error. It had, in fact, little literal application. The office seeking Northerners who were so dubbed proved themselves a tough lot. But in truth and in fact they were almost entirely composed of officers and soldiers who were stationed in the Southern states at the close

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

of the war. Nine out of ten were far better acquainted with knapsacks than carpet bags.

Many of the tribe, in fact the most of them in the river sections, where the pickings were most lucrative, were discharged from the army late in 1865 or early in 1866. Through their control of negro labor they were sought as managers or became partners with the plantation owners. This was especially true of this state, Louisiana and Arkansas, where they were practically all engulfed in ruin in 1866, the most calamitous cotton growing year ever, if we except 1867. Up to this time it may in justice be assumed, they had no other thought than to cast their lot with the South, to become absorbed in her citizenship. Until the election of 1866, and the assembling of congress thereafter, negro suffrage and Southern loot were remote and uncalculated contingencies. But as the visions and dreams of quick wealth through high priced cotton floated from them on the closing tides of 1866, congress held out to the stranded Northern waifs with their negro and scalawag affiliates, a far more substantial and alluring cornucopia of the harvest of the future.

In words that were not without passages of sinister and portentous significance, the motley crew of many climes was called to order by Alson Mygatt, a Warren county delegate, who belonged to the scalawag contingent. "The last sand," he said, "has fallen from the glass of the old times dispensation, and they have gone to return no more forever. We meet then in this culminating hour under circumstances of great responsibility." The convention's central idea of responsibility was not slow of development. Among the first resolutions introduced was one for a committee to wait on the state treasurer and "learn what is proposed to be done in reference to the payment of the delegates of this convention, and report herewith." In the handful of conservatives were men of quick wit, wise thought and strong character. Appreciation of the weight of their responsibility did not extinguish a sense of humor that found plenty of food in the performance of a most grotesque gathering. A resolution of thanks being offered to the congressional committee for a manual of the constitutions of the different states, Delegate Townsend.

of Marshall county, moved to amend by a preamble reading that: "Whereas, in all the constitutions but six the word white is given as a qualification for electors, and in three of the remaining six both an educational and a property qualification is required, that this convention, in adopting a constitution for Mississippi will imitate the example of nine-tenths of the states of this union." The amendment was not adopted. Another Marshall county delegate, Dr. Compton, came near being expelled for a satiric minority report on the convention's fees and compensations.

Supersensitive delegates had their pride of race and state seriously wounded, by the joint proclamation of the military and civil governor—noted on a previous page. A resolution appointing a committee to air their grievance elicited the following explicit statement of the circumstances under which the proclamation to which they excepted was issued:

Executive Department,
State of Mississippi,
Jackson, Jan. 18, 1868.

Sir—Your note of the 17th instant informing me of the appointment of a committee by the convention, to investigate the truth of the rumor of combinations of evil disposed persons in the state to seize lands, etc., coming from persons of high social and official positions, upon which my (your) proclamation of December 9, 1867, was founded, and respectfully requesting me to furnish (us) the committee with whatever information I (you) may be in possession of touching the subject of said proclamation, and the names of the persons supplying me (you) with the information above referred to, was handed to me late yesterday evening by the assistant sergeant-at-arms, of the convention.

I presume you do not expect me to admit that the convention now in session in this city, by virtue of the "military bills, passed by congress, has any constitutional right to require me to account to it for my administration of the civil government of the state of Mississippi. I, however, acknowledge the constitutional right of all and any portion of the citizens of the state, in a peaceable manner, to assemble together for their common good, and apply to those vested with the powers of government for redress of grievances, or other proper purposes, by petition, address or remonstrance, and the correlative duty of all civil officers to furnish them all the information in their possession that pertains to their welfare and happiness, when respectfully requested to do so.

I have no secrets I desire to withhold from any class of our people, white or black. My proclamation of the 9th of December, 1867, was issued at the urgent request of Gen. Ord, commander of fourth military district, and all the information I have on the subject you desire to investigate, was received from and through him, except a few letters received from prominent citizens, which I referred to him as soon as received, and which I presume are now in his possession.

For obvious reasons then, I must refer the committee to him, and if in his judgment a revelation of the sources of information will not be an act of bad faith to the informers, white and black, or prejudicial to the public service, and will authorize a publication of all the communications, public and private, I will cheerfully comply with his instructions on the subject.

Very respectfully,

BENJ. G. HUMPHREYS,

Governor of Mississippi.

To A. Alderson, Chairman of Committee.

The committee then proceeded to interrogate the military commander with the following result:

Headquarters 4th Military District,
Mississippi and Arkansas,
Vicksburg, Miss., March 17, 1868.

Hon. A. Alderson, Chairman Committee Constitutional Convention of the State of Mississippi:

Sir—I am directed by the general commanding to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 24th ultimo., asking to be furnished with any information in his possession upon which the proclamation of his excellency, the governor, referred to by you was based, and in reply thereto, to inform you that the general commanding, upon due consideration of the character of the reports made to his predecessor, Gen. Ord, upon which the action was taken, finds that they partake of a confidential nature; also, with regard to the considerable evil and little good that would seem to result from their publication, he decides that it would be incompatible with his duty to comply with your request. At the same time, the commanding general desires to inform you that he never shared in the belief that insurrection was meditated by any class of the inhabitants of this state.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN TYLER,

First Lieut., 43d Inf., Brevet Major U.

Early in the session the convention considered a bill of rights, two sections of which signified the alien and irresponsible character of the delegates. One of these, Section 24, declared, that "No person elected to any office of honor, profit or trust shall be required to give bond." Section 31 gave to the employee a preferred lien on the property of the employer.

The convention initiated the discharge of its responsibility by providing for a small army of placemen. A per diem of ten dollars was fixed for the delegates. This was eked out by munificent investment in all of the various articles listed as stationery. Each member was voted five daily papers. On the basis of this provision, and the fees for publishing proceedings, several Republican papers were founded. The convention was afforded a tangible acquaintance with the "long looked for hour", whose arrival had been announced in the opening address, by a mileage fee of 40 cents each way. The common idea of jurisdiction went far beyond the making of the constitution. Immediately after organization a resolution, looking to a sale of all the state's public lands, was adopted. Had this proved practicable, it would have furnished great picking. By a vote of 59 to 29 the convention, on the fourth day of its service, adopted a resolution memorializing congress "to confer on this convention the power to declare vacant all civil offices in this state, and to invest the appointing power in this convention, in order that all said offices may be filled by men of known loyalty to the government of the United States."

The lengthy memorial recited that the "civil government, so-called, organized in 1865, was administered by rebels, not in name merely, but in heart, in head, in policy, indeed in all respects save open hostility." An amendment offered by Delegate Strickland of Tippah, proposed to change the preamble so it would read: "We, the carpet baggers and scalawags of Ohio, Vermont, Connecticut, Maine, Africa, etc., etc., do ordain and proclaim this to be the document on which we predicate all our hopes for the success of the radical party." But the memorial was not meant as a joke. A bill granting the power asked by the convention was introduced into congress by Congressman Benjamin F. Butler of Massachu-

setts. It was not adopted, for while the memorial only asked what congress intended and had legislated for, it went too fast. The plan of the policy provided for alien local government, through and after the adoption of the state constitution. For this the "carpet baggers and scalawags" comprising the convention, were too greedy to wait.

Attempted transgressions by the convention provoked frequent clashes with General Gillem. One arose over a scheme for robbing the state through the tax ordained for defraying the expenses of the convention. The tax schedule that it embraced would have yielded a sum vastly in excess of even the extravagant scale of the cost of the convention. Fortunately for the state, President Johnson had assigned them a military commander who steadily imposed his authority against the convention's schemes of spoliation. He being appealed to by a citizen committee against the tax ordinance of the committee, declined to interfere directly, but in declining suggested a resort to the courts. This course was adopted, and an injunction was granted on the ground that the ordinance was in excess of the authority conferred in the reconstruction acts. Against this injunction the convention appealed to General Gillem. He refused to overrule the court, but stated that an ordinance that did not violate the act would be supported, and such an one was substituted for the other. General Gillem furthermore instructed that the collection of the convention tax be delegated to the county sheriffs and tax collectors; the convention to make places for another swarm of locusts, having provided for special collectors. Before accepting the admonition of moderation, the convention adopted a noteworthy resolution appointing a committee of three "to proceed forthwith to Washington and confer with the general of the army, the secretary of war, and other heads of departments and represent to them the true state of affairs in Mississippi. And that the committee have full power and authority to request a loan of \$100,000 from the United States for the use of the convention, to be refunded from the state taxes, and to pledge the full faith and credit of the state of Mississippi for the same." By resolution a letter was addressed to General Grant February 13th, reciting that "the com-

mander of the district had postponed decision in enforcement of the tax ordinance, and as it was impossible to enforce the provision of said ordinance without assistance and concurrence of the commanding officer of the district, the constitutional convention of the state of Mississippi, in convention assembled, respectfully ask that you issue an order commanding him to prohibit the courts from interfering in the collection of taxes levied by said convention ordinance." This passage from the record sheds luminous light upon the convention's thirst for plunder, lack of conscience, or any right comprehension of the character of its duties. Another memorial was sent up to congress, asking it to extend the life of the freedmen's bureau, which was limited by law to July 1st, as the freedmen are yet subjected to much injustice and persecution at the hands of former rebels and slave holders, and the freedmen, with but few exceptions, fail to receive justice." It was asked that if the petition were granted that there should be inquiry into "the character and sympathies of many of the officers and agents." Showing that there were limits even to this convention's fantastic tricks, a resolution further asking for concurrent jurisdiction in the removal of political disabilities under the 14th amendment, was rejected.

Under pretense of relieving the hard times, there were a number of measures framed by the reconstruction convention to make the white people of the state parties to their own shame. The robbery of private debtors under the cover of laws repudiating or staying the collection of debts was sought. Such attempts at legislation received no countenance from Gen. Gillem. After appointment of the standing committees, the convention devoted its sittings to promiscuous debates and wranglings. On the 21st day of the session Delegate Johnson of Warren was inspired to introduce a resolution reminding the convention of what it was there for. That "its time had been wasted in idle discussion of topics very remotely, if at all, related to the subject of its call," and that a constitutional making committee be elected "to report in three days." Instead of adopting this direct, if summary, order of business, the convention proceeded to declare "null and void" all the laws passed, all the acts and supplemen-

taries which had been passed by the previous legislatures, and conventions of this state, except vested laws granted prior to the passage of the ordinance of secession and all laws relating to marriage contracts, and that an ordinance be reported accordingly. A resolution with a lengthy preamble appears in the journal denouncing the doctrine of states rights, and that the ordinance of secession is and always has been null and void. An ordinance was adopted concerning the names of Jeff Davis and Lee counties. Being named for "rebel leaders" they were "utterly abolished" and Jones and Lincoln substituted, and thus was fulfilled the fable of the sick lion kicked by the base donkey.

The ideas of government taught the newly enfranchised by this convention was calculated to produce confusion worse confounded. The journal it left behind it is streaked with buffoonery and turpitude. Delegate Gibbs, a Wilkinson carpet bagger, who afterward held the important office of auditor, introduced a resolution reciting that "whereas in many portions of the state employes were taking advantage of the destitute condition of the laboring class to make contracts abusing the rights and privileges of free men; and prohibiting the laborers from attending political meetings, resolved that the committee on general provisions be instructed to prepare an ordinance declaring all such contracts null and void, and that any one making them shall on conviction be fined not less than 100 or more than 500 dollars, and be disqualified from voting or holding office for five years. Another aspiring statesman, J. Aaron Moore of Lauderdale, offered a resolution "to divide the police of every incorporated town or city equally between loyal whites and colored citizens. It was significant that a resolution prohibiting intermarriage of the races under a heavy penalty was sustained—only ten votes being cast in favor of tabling it. Instinctive race proved stronger than politics.

Another looting device was to raise a fund for relief of the distressed. A committee appointed to investigate the situation submitted its report February 14. This told of an "alarming situation of destitution among the laboring classes," and "to some extent among other persons strangers to labor and

economy. * * * The number of suffering and destitute may be set down at 30,000." It was asked that "the poll tax collected or to be collected be held subject to the order of county commissioners, to be appointed by the convention, to be applied by them to the relief of the destitute." In declining to sanction the robbery of the state contemplated under the convention's plan of relief to the destitute, General Gillem stated that he had thoroughly investigated the subject, and while there was "destitution and perhaps some suffering * * * measures have been adopted which will relieve all actual suffering." The General's experience had taught him the danger of government relief—that unless applied with utmost care it would add to, instead of alleviate, the unhappy condition, and he informed the convention that the main feature of his plan of relief was that the demand for labor be fully met before making up a pauper list. No better method of relieving distress which was so largely a question of vagrancy could have been devised. Had the convention's plan been adopted, the state would have been converted into a vast poor-house. For one genuine case of suffering ten negroes would have been pauperized. Land owners would have been irretrievably bankrupted, while the convention vultures would have fattened on the offal of ruin. For its instructive light on the industrial situation, General Gillem's letter to the convention and the accompanying documents are given:

HEADQUARTERS, FOURTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
Mississippi and Arkansas.

Vicksburg, Miss., Feb. 1868.

Hon. B. B. Eggleston, President Mississippi Constitutional Convention, Jackson, Miss.:

Sir—I am directed by the general commanding to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of a report of the committee of the Mississippi Constitutional Convention on Destitution, adopted by your convention February 4, 1868, and also a copy of a resolution by your convention, requesting Brevet Major General Gillem to carry out the plan of relief recommended in said report, or "some other similar one," and in reply, to inform you that he is aware

that, by the failure of the crops and the reduced price of cotton—the principal staple cultivated in some sections of this State—many landholders will be compelled to plant on a more limited scale this year than was done last, and that there is much destitution, and perhaps some suffering among the laboring classes. But, after a careful investigation by competent and reliable officers and agents, the General Commanding is satisfied that the estimate of your committee, which places the number of those actually suffering at thirty thousand, is much too great.

The subject of destitution has received the most careful consideration of the commanding general, not only in his capacity as district commander, but also as assistant commissioner of the bureau of refugees, freedmen and abandoned lands, and measures, which, it is believed, will relieve all who are actually suffering, have been adopted. To this end the officers and agents of the bureau of refugees, freedmen and abandoned lands have been instructed to procure labor for all such as are able and willing to earn a support. The aged and decrepit and orphan children will be cared for in hospitals and asylums.

It will be seen from the accompanying reports that the demand for labor exceeds the supply. While this is the case, it is not believed that any great degree of suffering can exist among the laboring classes. It will be seen from the accompanying order that transportation is furnished to laborers unable to procure employment to points where their services are in demand. It may not be out of place to remark here that at this time letters are constantly received requesting aid in hiring laborers; and five hundred laborers and their families could this day secure employment at the office of the sub-assistant commissioner of the bureau in this city.

The general commanding desires further to assure the convention that he will take every precaution to prevent suffering, and that he believes that with the means at his disposal, he will be able to accomplish this.

With these convictions the commanding general deems it inexpedient to divert so large an amount of the revenue of this state as that derived from the poll tax, to the subject specified in your resolution.

The attention of the convention is called to the fact that there are no funds in the state treasury, and that the state prison and lunatic asylums are now supported at the expense of the United States.

The commanding general, therefore, declines to authorize the sheriffs to dispose of the funds derived from the poll tax, as recommended by the convention.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN TYLER,

First Lieut. 43d Infantry, Bvt. Maj. U. S. A., A. A. A. G.

On Board Steamer Kate Kinney,
Near Friar's Point, Miss., Jan. 13, 1868.

General—I write these few lines to inform you partially of the state of affairs at Greenville, as we found them.

The amount and generality of the destitution has been very much exaggerated, even in Washington county, and I have no doubt that is the poorest county in the state today, as far as their ability to provide for the destitute is concerned. There were from 12,000 to 13,000 freed people in that county during the past year, and it is estimated that not more than half can be employed during the coming season.

In the vicinity of Greenville, I have found several families, numbering in all some sixty or seventy persons, houseless, and with only sufficient food to keep them for two or three days at the farthest. They had been recently turned out of the cabins they occupied last year, without means of any description. There are a great many similar cases throughout the country. They state that they have endeavored to get work, but without success. In view of these facts, and knowing it to be your intention to provide, in some manner, for the absolutely destitute, I authorized Mr. Preuss, the agent, to make some purchases of corn and meat as may be necessary to prevent starvation, until he receives definite instructions from your office.

I would respectfully recommend that a detachment of twenty men be sent to Greenville (cavalry, if possible), in order to enforce the orders of the bureau, and for the general enforcement of order. I recommend this on account of the uncertainty of communicating with headquarters in case of difficulty.

I do not anticipate any trouble, although some of the people fear it on account of the generally expressed determination on the part of the planters to eject all freedmen from their lands, except those they employ for the coming year.

* * * * *

I would state that I believe there is a combination on the part of a great many planters to hold off in respect to hiring laborers, expecting the government to compel them to work, and

thereby be enabled to get them for their food and clothing alone.

The order upon the subject is frequently quoted, and I believe many of them are endeavoring to create a false impression as to their resources and their ability to cultivate their places.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

N. R. WILLIAMS,
Lieutenant and A. I. G.

Vicksburg, Miss., January 18, 1868.

LIEUTENANT M. BARBER, A. A. G., Bureau Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, State of Mississippi:

Lieutenant—I have the honor to report the condition of affairs in the counties bordering on the Yazoo river, as far as came under my observation, on a tour of investigation in that section during the past week.

The freedmen are in a destitute condition, mainly because they will not hire out to the farmers and planters—a great number of the latter requiring their services. The reasons assigned for this are that the wages offered are too low, being about one-third of the compensation given last year. Also they (the freedmen) insist that upon the adjournment of the convention at Jackson the lands in the State will be divided out amongst them, and they can live until then.

My belief is that if the freedmen will work they can find employment, food and clothing for the present year.

I saw no destitution among the planters or people generally, and believe that the many reports of such existing are greatly exaggerated. I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. W. SCULLY,
Brevet Colonel and A. Q. M., Inspector General.

MERITT BARBER,
First Lieutenant Thirty-Fourth Infantry, A. A. A. G.

Vicksburg Miss., February 12, 1868.

To the Assistant Commissioner Bureau R., F. and A. L.,
State of Mississippi:

Sir—In compliance with your orders of the 3d instant, I proceeded to Grenada, Miss., and investigated the condition of affairs in that sub-district. As a general thing, the freedmen have entered into contracts for the present season, although I found more idlers and dissatisfaction among the laborers there than at any other point on my route. This is not due, however, to any lack of employment, for I was informed of several persons from

Tennessee and points in Mississippi having visited Grenada for the purpose of procuring laborers, and offering excellent terms, without being able to secure a single hand.

From Grenada I proceeded to the sub-district of Panola, and found matters in that and the late sub-district, of Hernando in a very satisfactory condition indeed. That section of the state being exceedingly fertile, a good crop has been realized, and laborers have very satisfactory returns for the year's labor.

The vigorous action of the agent in charge during his short term of service at Panola, has procured a settlement of nearly every case in controversy, and I was pleased to find that he has gained the confidence and respect of whites and blacks equally; a very marked difference from the feeling entertained toward his predecessor, who was universally disliked by the one and suspected by the other, is perceptible.

The laborers have all entered into contracts for the present year, and the agent in charge has applications for a large number of hands, whom it is impracticable for him to furnish. There is no destitution or necessity for aid to be furnished to any, except perhaps to a few orphan children, whom I directed the agent to visit and make report and recommendation of such action as the circumstances of their condition might warrant.

From Panola I proceeded to Holly Springs, delaying at Memphis for a day and a half, being misinformed as to the connection of the train.

At Holly Springs, as at Panola, I found everything in a very satisfactory condition. The laborers are settled with for their past year's labor; they have made good crops, and having conversed with freedmen at every station through the sub-district, I could not hear of an instance of destitution. All have contracts for the opening season, and the sub-assistant commissioner has applications for several laborers that he cannot furnish. Two schools have been established recently, and several more are in contemplation.

I have the honor to be, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

MERRITT BARBER,

First Lieut. 34th U. S. Inf.

These reports checkmating the scheme to rob the state under the pretense of philanthropy, the convention turned its attention in other directions. On the 23d day the committees on the executive and judicial articles of the constitution presented their reports to the convention. Others soon followed, but

consideration was long delayed, by the taste of the convention for ordinances embracing all manner of schemes foreign to constitution making. One asked the commanding general to authorize a measure to send all negroes to their homes, or places of birth. It was refused by General Gillem, who stated that it would cost a million dollars to carry it out. An ordinance was adopted that "no contract should be valid which in any manner abridged or affected the right of franchise, and any person demanding such condition should be fined \$5. If he dismissed any one for having exercised the right of voting he should be disfranchised for five years, as well as fined." A resolution was adopted approving the impeachment of Andrew Johnson "acting president." The proceedings were diversified by the trial and final expulsion of one of the delegates for assaulting the doorkeeper, publishing false and libelous accusations against members of the convention, and acts of dissipation and disorders disgraceful to the convention. This is the only intimation in the journal that the convention entertained any respect for its dignity. The tax ordinance was a subject of long drawn out contention between the convention and General Gillem. Having finally been trimmed so that he could approve it, it was promulgated, March 6th. During the long delay the pecuniary straits of the delegates had grown quite acute. On the 67th day of the session Mr. Stricklin, of Tippah, presented the following:

Mr. President: I resign my seat as a member of this convention, and tender it to some abler man. I do this first, because I believe the acts of congress under which we are assembled, are unconstitutional, unjust, tyrannical, and oppressive. Next, because whether the acts of congress are unconstitutional or not, the members of this convention are transcending the limits of whatever power they may have derived by virtue of their constitutionality. Again, because this body is inflicting upon the people by taxation, a burden they are illy able to bear, and to which I do not desire to offer further contribution. Lastly, because I am totally disgusted with its nonsense.

Respectfully,

W. L. STRICKLIN,

Delegate from Tippah County.

Hon. B. B. Eggleston, President, Etc.

The other conservative delegates held on for twenty days longer. On April 16, they resigned in a body. This action was precipitated by the adoption of the following "additional section" to the franchise article:

"No person shall be eligible to any office of profit or trust, civil or military, in this state, who, as a member of the legislature, voted for the call of the convention that passed the ordinance of secession, or who, as a delegate to any convention, voted for or signed any ordinance of secession, or who gave voluntary aid, countenance, counsel, or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility to the United States, or who accepted or attempted to exercise the functions of any office, civil or military, under authority or pretended government authority, power, or constitution within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto, except all persons who aided reconstruction by voting for this convention; but the legislature may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability."

This restriction grossly exceeded the disqualifying provisions of the 14th amendment and the reconstruction act. It was bitterly resisted by the small band of conservatives, who were aided by the votes of quite a number of the more moderate radicals. Upon the adoption of the section, the distinguished Judge J. W. C. Watson, the conservative leader, thus addressed the chair: "Then, sir, I am to understand that 99-100ths of those who were citizens of Mississippi in 1860 are ineligible to office, and have no longer any interests in her government. We are out of place here. We can do no good by remaining, and I for one tender my resignation." The morning session then adjourning, the president of the convention was severely denounced for his partisan rulings by delegate Townsend—an ex-captain of the Union army. They came to blows, and other delegates and citizens were involved in the fray. The alarm was sounded that the radicals were about to be mobbed. The military garrison was called out, but under the appeals of those who foresaw the grave consequence of such a collision the disturbance was quieted. When the convention assembled in the evening, a formal and brief resignation of the conservative delegates was received and accepted.

They had abundantly signalized their devotion to the state, by intelligent and courageous opposition to placing the government under the control of a negro electorate. They neither carried nor defeated any measures. But the service they performed in making up the record, in arresting attention at home and abroad to the initiation of a nefarious scheme, was signal. It would have been well could they have kept up the fight to the end. But the struggle seemed too fruitless—the vain sacrifice too great. Thereafter, in the completion of their work, the carpet bag spoilers had full swing and sway.

The franchise scheme, as a whole, was adopted on the ninety-second day of the convention by a vote of 37 to 13. The minority was made up in the main of delegates who were white residents of the state. It is interesting to note that the last amendment offered was a bill of "general amnesty," to be submitted to the popular vote in 1875. It was not carried, though in that year the amnesty was effected in a far different way than that expected. Loath to turn loose its job, the convention sat on, tinkering over its work and finding ostensible and remunerative employment and earning their per diem in discussing general principles, ordinances, etc. It was provided that the election upon the adoption or the rejection of the constitution should be held by officers to be appointed by the committee of five, which had been constituted to remain in session after adjournment. The authority of this provision being questioned, the committee was directed to confer with General Gillem, and on the one hundredth day of the session the following report was made:

To the President and Members of the Constitutional Convention:

Your committee who were appointed to confer with the General Commanding the Fourth Military District beg leave to submit the following report:

It is his opinion that if the convention imposes any restrictions on electors other than those embraced in the Reconstruction Acts, it must provide for a separate election for State officers; he has no authority for ordering such an election; at the

same time he will not interfere if the convention sees proper to provide for a separate election.

The General will appoint registrars and order the election in strict accordance with the Reconstruction Acts.

If the convention sees proper or deems it necessary, it can appoint commissioners to attend the election and be present at the counting of the votes.

He also states that thirty-five days after the adjournment of the convention will give him time sufficient to order and hold the election. Thinks it would be advisable to have the time for holding the election so arranged as to begin on Monday.

W. H. GIBBS, *Chairman*,
A. S. DOWD.

The prolongation of the convention having become apparently a matter of per diem, on May 14 a resolution for sittings thereafter free of cost was adopted. But with the evening came reflection, and it was revoked. It had been ordered at the same time that the signing of the convention should be the special order for the next day. That, too, was rescinded in the evening. The convention devoted itself the ensuing days to a renewal of the effort to induce General Gillem to enforce the ordinance for adding to the revenues already provided, the collection of the railroad tax. In denying his sanction to that measure he had alleged that it was in violation of chartered laws and vested rights. A delegate was dispatched to discuss this question with the military commander, whose reply appears in the convention journal. After citing authorities, General Gillem's letter says:

"Delegate Orr informs me that the convention does not recognize any State laws or chartered rights, wherein real or movable property is exempted from taxation. The General Commanding conceives there must be some misunderstanding in this respect. * * * He regrets that his conviction prevents his compliance with the wish of the convention."

Thereupon the convention recouped itself through adopting an ordinance making the convention warrants receivable for all taxes and dues to the state. The last resolution introduced in this memorable body was characteristic. It proposed to

add 20 per cent. to the pay of all delegates and officials of the convention. It was beaten by a majority of one. As the per diem of delegates and officials had been at the rate of \$1,250 a day for 114 days, the one majority vote was quite a valuable asset to the taxpayers. The exact cost of the convention has never been stated, but it was little if at all below \$300,000. The largest item of expenditure, next to the per diem, was printing, which was indulged on a lavish scale, an official journal and a half dozen or so organs in Jackson, Vicksburg, Meridian and other towns being maintained.

January 15, 1868, the convention representing the white citizens of the state, met in pursuance to the call issued a month previously. Its purpose being simply preliminary or preparatory, the attendance did not represent a majority of the counties. But the announcement of the purpose of organization, for the defeat of the then incubating constitution, brought forth a response of earnest determination from every section of the state. The preamble "declared that the Republican majority now controlling the legislative power in congress has established a military despotism over ten states of the union, in violation of the federal constitution, in defiance of the executive and judicial power of the government, threatening the executive power with impeachment, and the supreme court with abrogation of its powers, and showing a bold and persistent design to maintain partisan power by the entire overthrow of constitutional liberty." It was "resolved that the nefarious design of the republican party in congress to place the white men of the Southern states under the governmental control of their late slaves and degrade the Caucasian race as the inferior of the African negro, is a crime against the civilization of the age, which needs only to be mentioned to be scorned. And we therefore call on the people of Mississippi to vindicate alike the superiority of their race over the negro and their political power to maintain constitutional liberty."

February 20th a democratic convention was held at Jackson. It was the first fully representative political gathering after the war, all of the counties being represented. Reso-

lutions were adopted sanctioning or approving the action of the previous convention of Jan. 15th. Radicalism was arraigned for holding ten sovereign states under military despotism for the purpose of their Africanization. The state constitutional convention was declared to be without constitutional authority, and the acts under which the delegates were elected were not within the delegated authority of congress. It was represented that the constituents of the convention were negroes, destitute alike of moral and intellectual qualifications, combined with a small minority of white adventurers, and that the projected acts of the convention demonstrated them to be products of the enemies of the people of Mississippi. The pretence of framing a constitution was in fact a wicked conspiracy to disfranchise and degrade the white people, and to rob them alike of their liberty and their property, and to finally place them under the yoke of negro government. The citizens of the state were called upon to organize for the defeat of the constitution, and a state central committee was named. Delegates to the national Democratic convention were appointed, but no nominations were made for candidates at the ensuing election. On this question opinion was divided. In the black counties there was a strong feeling for making defeat of the convention the sole issue. A provision in the supplemental act of congress for choosing officers under the constitution, at the same election it was submitted for adoption or rejection, was regarded as a device to weaken and divide the white vote. It was argued that in the white counties, where local government could be secured through election of white officials even if the constitution were adopted, efforts to beat that instrument would relax. That apprehension was removed to a very large extent by the adoption of the ordinance that caused the conservative delegates of the state convention to withdraw. Its disqualifications were so sweeping as to render all old citizens ineligible to office. The effect was to practically solidify the white people in opposition to the whole radical scheme. The issue as it was presented is explained in an article in the *Woodville Republican* of April 8th, which, speaking from the

black county viewpoint, expressed a "fervent hope that the convention would adopt a disfranchising clause as sweeping as that of Tennessee, to stimulate the uttermost degree of opposition to the constitution." And when "the fervent hope" had been realized, April 25th, the same paper welcomed the "additional ordinance" for the reason that it would "entirely neutralize the effect contemplated in the act of congress, of holding out offices of profit as a bait for the ratification of the constitution." It so proved in the carpet bag greed to exclude the native whites from official eligibility—the motive for defeating the constitution was made irresistible.

May 18th witnessed the final adjournment of the convention, after a session of one hundred and fourteen days. The last week or more appeared to be marking time, pending the outcome of the impeachment proceeding at Washington. The trial of the President terminated in failure on May 17, and the convention quit the next day. Had the impeachment plot succeeded, and Wade been made President, the convention would have perpetuated itself as the provisional government of the state. A congenial military commander would have succeeded General Gillen, and chaos and confiscation would have ruled. The speeches of radical leaders and the journals of the times show that this was the intended aftermath of impeachment.

The journal of the convention having been signed, the presiding officer, Beroth B. Eggleston, commonly and euphoni-ously called in the prints of the day "Buzzard" Eggleston, for his keen sense for offal, delivered an appropriate address, and the curtain dropped on the never-to-be-forgotten Mississippi black-and-tan constitutional convention. It had brought forth an abortion of government so perverted and putrid that it would not have survived birth pangs, but for the incubation and prop of a national congress and the bayonets of the army. In his parting remarks, with an appetite made keen by his \$20 per diem, Buzzard Eggleston announced that the "harvest is ripe." He appealed to the "honorable body to remember that the eyes of the people, not only of the United States, but the whole world, are upon us." He declared "the convention adjourned

to meet again under orders of the committee of five should our constitution fail to meet the approval of the people." And thus passed away, never to be reconvened, a body memorable only as a link in the chain of evil destiny which had been so long forging for the South. The collective quality of the majority of the Mississippi aggregation of alien adventurers and home scalawags was recorded in numberless contemporary individual sidelights, some of which are commemorated on the criminal dockets of the day. Jamison, the carpet-bag candidate for lieutenant-governor, was disturbed in his canvass by an indictment and arrest for stealing three bales of cotton. Delegate Combash, black, went before his Washington and Sunflower constituents as a candidate for the state senate under an indictment for stealing \$140 of convention warrants belonging to his colleague and roommate, Dr. Stites. Of Abel Alderson, scalawag from Jefferson county—afterward appointed to the circuit bench by Governor Alcorn—quite a curious and edifying story was published. Under the ante-bellum code of Mississippi free persons of color were forbidden to reside in the state. As public sentiment winked at its evasion, the harsh law was very rarely enforced. Alderson brought suit thereunder, in 1858, to compel Mary Garnet, colored, to leave. She was a popular and successful boarding housekeeper in Fayette, and Alderson owed her a considerable board bill, for which she sued him. Whereupon he sought to evade payment by driving his creditor out of the state. She met this move by selling herself to a citizen of the county rather than leave her old home. But as a slave she lost her right to sue, and Alderson beat his board bill.

Strife at Washington reached its climax Feb. 21, 1868, when the President attempted the removal of Secretary of War Stanton, in disregard of the tenure of office act. That unwarranted measure, providing that removals by the President should not operate without the sanction of the senate, had been passed the year before. The unprecedented restriction of executive prerogative was vetoed as unconstitutional. It was passed over the veto under such circumstances as even Mr. Blaine,

the apologist for reconstruction, felt constrained to condemn. The President had sought to rid his cabinet of councilors of a member with whom he was at inveterate feud Aug. 27, 1867. His request for Stanton's resignation being declined, an order of suspension was made, and General Grant was appointed to the vacancy. President Johnson communicated this action to the senate when it assembled in December, and asked its concurrence. The senate refusing to concur, General Grant vacated the office so that Mr. Stanton resumed charge. The President alleged that there was an agreement with General Grant to hold the office or to place his formal resignation in his hands, so that another appointee could be installed and the act tested through the courts. Mr. Johnson was bitterly disappointed when Stanton was allowed to repossess the office, and claimed that General Grant had acted in bad faith with him. A bitter controversy ensued. Beyond the personal bearing of the quarrel, the break in friendly relations between the two was most unfortunate for the South, and for the President. Until then, Grant, while veering toward the radicals, had been claimed and courted by both the President and congress. The quarrel carried him entirely over to the radicals.

Secretary Stanton resumed his place in the cabinet Jan. 13th, 1868. His presence became unbearable, as it was doubtless designed, and, as stated above, his removal was ordered. The act threw congress into a tempest of rage. The senate passed a resolution declaring the President had acted beyond his constitutional powers, and the house resorted to a resolution of impeachment. This was speedily adopted, and a committee appointed to draft the articles, Feb. 24th. The charges were presented to the senate March 5th. The President in the meanwhile submitted a nomination for the cabinet vacancy, of which the senate denied the existence. The trial before the senate wrought the country up to an unprecedented heat of factional and sectional fury. In no other political struggle were public men ever submitted to such pressure as was brought to bear upon the handful of Republicans who stood out against the fury of their constituents.

The trial was concluded May 15, in the failure of impeachment by a vote of 36 for to 19 against. A change of a single vote would have effected the President's impeachment with consequences too abhorrent to contemplate. Historic evidence quite warrants the statement that of those who voted for impeachment there were few who carried regret of its failure to their graves. Realization quickly came to the most radical, that such a triumph of partisanship would have severely shaken the foundation of republican government.

Indeed there were among those who voted for impeachment some who in their hearts shrank from it for another reason. The thought of succeeding even President Johnson by the president of the senate, the violent South hater, Ben Wade, was unpalatable to most of his colleagues. He took his measure as presidential timber in a campaign speech a few months later from which the following is quoted:

"You remember we put a tax upon cotton, the only thing under God's heaven by which we could get anything out of the rebels, they having rendered it necessary that we should incur this great debt in defense of the Government; and they howled about the tax on cotton, and the whole Democracy of the North, out of Congress and in Congress, made such an outcry against it, that they induced soft-headed Republicans to repeal it. The year before we got about twenty-eight millions out of that cotton tax, and it came out of the very men, of all others, that should give some of their substance to pay off that accursed debt that we were forced to incur. But we threw off that tax, and this year we did not get one cent of it. I would not agree to it. It was magnanimity that degenerated into weakness. We ought to have made them pay it and this year we might have got \$40,000,000, instead of \$28,000,000, and let the Democracy howl."

Wade's brutality and vindictiveness was commonly approved by Republicans as the patriotic zeal of a brave, blunt man. As full of South-hate as Stevens, he was by comparison a blustering, blatant demagogue. But this served him well and carried him far, in a day of sectional turmoil. In one of his reconstruction diatribes he was charged by a Republican senator with favoring a government of the South like Poland, which was then being made

to eat the bitter fruits of an unsuccessful revolt against Russian despotism. Replying to the objection that the North would revolt at the expense of a military occupation such as he proposed, the President-in-expectancy, as quoted by this congressman, said: "We will not tax the North to keep a standing army in the South. We will require each state to support an army within her own territory, and this will relieve our friends entirely." This is a true revelation of the fate the radical leaders intended for the South, and from which she was saved by the stubborn resistance of the President and the failure to remove him by impeachment. Northern conservatism was appalled by the breathings of threatenings and slaughter from Washington that ensued. The *New York Herald* of April 7, 1868, thus predicted a reign of proscription and bloodshed:

"The new indictment against Davis, with its numerous specifications of levying war against the United States, looks like business. It is framed to convict. The removal of Johnson will revive among the radicals a thirst for blood, as the execution of Charles I. inflamed the Roundheads to bloody settlement with other parties, and as the beheading of Louis XVI. gave a new impulse to the Reign of Terror. By May 2 Johnson will be out of the White House, and old Ben Wade will be in. From that hour radicalism will be rampant. It will be inquired, while Johnson is beheaded for these petty offenses, how is it that Jeff Davis goes unwhipped of justice? The removal of Johnson will require the hanging of Davis, and Ben Wade as President is the man to see it done. He will not stand upon technicalities. His first great card to strike terror among unreconstructed rebels and revive the old John Brown spirit in the North, will be the hanging of Jeff Davis."

In another article on the Southern situation, this same paper, so lately converted from radicalism, said:

"Here we have the full focus of negro efforts of civilization. In drawing the picture of Haiti we are only photographing on the American mind in advance the picture Congress is trying to impress on the United States by false and barbaric legislation. Radical rule means, down with the white, up with the black. Down with civilization, up with barbarism. Never in the most degraded days of Roman history, did they descend to force bar-

barism to the surface, that it might swamp intelligence. Never did statesmen before descend to the dregs of humanity to bathe their hands in its worst filth, that they might besmear with it such a civilization as we have now reached."

The Ohio Democratic platform of 1868 recites that "the practical effect of the reconstruction acts is to deliver over the Southern states to the political and social control of negroes, to place the lives, liberties and fortunes of the whites in the hands of a barbarous people." These are true statements of the design of the reconstruction acts—of what would have ensued had President Johnson been removed and full scope given to the Stevens-Wade policy. The following passage from a speech of Thaddeus Stevens expressed the plan of the Jacobins of reconstruction, a plan that only barely failed of a two-thirds vote in the impeachment trial:

"The laws of war authorize us to take their property by our sovereign power. You behold at your feet a conquered foe and an atrocious enemy. We have the right to impose confiscation of all their property, to impoverish them. This is strict law and good common sense. To this issue I devote the small remnant of my life."

Such was the fate, it cannot too often be repeated, from which defeat of impeachment of President Johnson saved the South.

Another exceedingly disturbing question outcropped at this period, one that added no little to the intemperance of congress. The most disquieting reports were spread abroad from the supreme court, in connection with the case of Colonel W. H. McCardle, whose arrest by General Ord has been mentioned in a preceding chapter. Application for his release under a writ of habeas corpus was before the supreme court on appeal from the Mississippi federal circuit court. This again raised the question of the constitutionality of the reconstruction act, under which Colonel McCardle was arrested and held. A Washington evening paper published that "one of the judges had declared that the majority of the judges held the reconstruction law to be unconstitutional, and would so decide, in the McCardle case." With the memory of the Milligan decision in mind the radical leaders were

both alarmed and enraged. The publication was made the subject of violent discussion in the house, and a resolution was adopted for the judiciary committee to "inquire" into the truth of the article, and to report whether it constituted impeachment matter. What added to the anxiety of the radicals was that the attorney general could not be relied upon to resist the appeal. That dilemma was met by the appearance of Senator Trumbull as counsel for the government. He was employed by General Grant, on the authority of Secretary Stanton, for a fee of ten thousand dollars. On a motion to dismiss the appeal for want of jurisdiction, Chief Justice Chase announced "there is ample law to take hold of the case, and on this ground the court declines to allow the motion to dismiss. With regard to the question of jurisdiction, the court is not now prepared to decide, and it is therefore reserved for consideration, and will be decided after argument is heard upon it, which will be on the first Monday in March." Argument being heard, the chief justice announced that the motion was dismissed—the court having jurisdiction. The decision was unanimous.

Affirmance of jurisdiction was extremely ominous for the radicals. To avert the apprehended collapse of the congressional plan, Senator Trumbull, going from the court room to the senate chamber, introduced a bill to take away the jurisdiction which the court claimed over the case. It proposed to bind all courts to accept acts of congress on political questions and to determine established state governments. The bill recited that "no civil state governments exist in the excluded Southern states, and none should be recognized by either executive or judicial power until congress shall so decide." The reconstruction acts were declared to be political in their character, "the validity of which no judicial tribunal is competent to question, and the supreme court is hereby prohibited from taking jurisdiction of any case growing out of the execution of said acts in either of said states, until such states shall be represented," et cetera. "And such cases now pending before that court shall be dismissed, and all acts authorizing an appeal, writ of error or habeas corpus, or other proceedings to bring

before said court for any case, civil or criminal, or rising out of the reconstruction acts are hereby repealed." A few of the Republicans manifesting an indisposition to support this extreme stretch of a despotic policy, it was decided to be unsafe to risk passing it over a veto. Only for this cause was it laid aside, for another and a devious way to the designed end. For its momentous consequence the further working of the plot is briefly narrated. On March 12, after argument in the case had been concluded, and a decision, which was confidently expected to be against the reconstruction act, was pending, a bill was called up in the house, to "amend the judiciary act of 1789." It was explained that it provided for extending to the supreme court certain appellate jurisdiction in cases of revenue offices. Unanimous consent was asked and given for the bill. But before being placed on its passage, the chairman of the judiciary committee, Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, asked to amend by adding a section he had prepared to repeal "so much of the act of 1789 as authorized an appeal from the judgment of the circuit court to the supreme court, or the exercise of any such jurisdiction by the supreme court on appeals, which may have been taken." This attracting no attention, being regarded as of no particular moment, the bill passed with the Wilson amendment.

Two days later, the bill having slipped through the senate as it did in the house, the character and purpose of the bill was detected and exposed. A lengthy debate ensued, but the trick was won. The only effect was to put in the record the achievement of an evil end through a covert way. There was quite an exhibition of pride by the radicals in their sharp practice—a pride, however, which can never be shared by honest readers of this sample of reconstruction methods. Mr. Blaine was one of those who had the hardihood to speak in its defense—taunting Democrats with not being "wide enough awake." But the link thus forged in the reconstruction scheme to prevent the chain from snapping is given no mention in this book.

President Johnson vetoed the bill, saying:

"I cannot give my assent to a measure which proposes to deprive any person restrained in his or her liberty, in violation to

the constitution, or any law of the United States from the right of appeal to the highest judicial authority of our government."

* * * The bill not only prohibits the adjudication by the supreme court of cases in which appeals may be taken hereafter, but interdicts its jurisdiction on appeals which have already been made to that high judicial body. If, therefore, it should become a law, it will, by its restrictive operation, wrest from the citizen a remedy which he enjoyed at the time of his appeal."

But judgment was dumb, and reason had fled to brutish beasts—the bill passed over the veto by a solid Republican vote. In debate on its passage Mr. Woodward of Pennsylvania, said:

"It was the first time I ever saw a lawyer, not to say a chairman of a judiciary committee, plume himself both upon the thing done and the mode of doing it, when both were so questionable.

* * * I cared nothing about this minor question as to the manner of doing it. I tried to fix the gentleman's eyes upon the real nature of the thing he was doing—the essential quality of the enactment. But he was so much occupied with self-admiration of the manner of doing the thing that I succeeded badly. I could not get him to contemplate the essence of the thing itself, so much enamored was he of that which honorable gentlemen did not hesitate to call a trick."

In the meanwhile the court complacently postponed its decision while its hands were being tied. The suspicion of a tacit and subservient acquiescence of the highest tribunal while being robbed of its lawful jurisdiction is not the least malodorous memory the event has left behind. This reflection caused the venerable Justice Grier to revolt. He had spread upon the minutes of the court the following protest recording the rebuke and the shame of "the highest judicial authority of our government":

"Ex parte William H. McArdle.—This case was fully argued in the beginning of the month. It is a case which involves not only the liberty and rights of the appellant, but of millions of our fellow citizens. The country had a right to expect it would immediately receive the solemn attention of the court. By the postponement of this case, the court will subject themselves whether justly or unjustly, to the imputation that we have evaded the performance of a duty imposed on us by the constitution, and waited for legislative interposition to supersede our action, and relieve

us from our responsibility. I can only say '*Pudet haec opprobria nobis et potuisse dici et non potuisse repelli.*'"

In nothing in all the history of the supreme court—which is entitled to its long record of probity and dispensations of even handed justice to the respect and confidence of the American people—did stain come so near to its ermine. The light has been turned on the inside history of this decision in "Some Reminiscences" by William L. Royal, prominent in law and politics in reconstruction days in Virginia. After his removal from Richmond to New York the author of this little volume enjoyed exceptional intimacy with the most noted members of the metropolitan bar and judiciary. He thus told the story of the decision in "Ex parte McCordle, of which he said, "I am not at liberty to say how I know these facts, but I know them absolutely to be facts and there are a number of other men now living who also know them to be facts.

As I have been reviewing the transactions of the supreme court of the United States so much at large, I think the following, for the truth of which I can vouch, though I am not at liberty to state my authority, should be recorded here. The case of Ex parte McCordle, from Mississippi, 7 Wallace, 506, an appeal in a habeas corpus case, brought before the supreme court in 1868 the constitutionality of the reconstruction acts of congress, those Pandora boxes from which such untold wretchedness and misery to the people of the Southern states issued. The case was argued and submitted, and the court decided by a vote of five justices to four that the laws were repugnant to the constitution of the United States. Amongst the justices voting to declare the laws unconstitutional was Mr. Justice David Davis, of Illinois. Mr. Justice Field was appointed to write the opinion of the court. He wrote it and brought it before the Saturday conference, and read it, where it was approved of by five justices. It was to have been delivered and handed down on the next Monday. Meanwhile, information had got out that the court was going to destroy all of the odious laws on the coming Monday, and the radical partisans in congress had introduced a bill to take from the supreme court jurisdiction to her appeals in habeas corpus cases. A motion was made by one of the four justices, after the opinion had been read, to postpone the delivery of the opinion from the following Monday to the next Monday afterward, and upon that motion Mr. Justice Davis quitted his four associates and voted

with his four adversaries, making five justices for the postponement, and that was accordingly ordered. In the meantime, the radicals rushed their bill through congress, and when the supreme court met on the Monday to which delivery of the opinion was postponed it found its authority to decide the case taken away from it. By this sort of juggling the Southern states were forced to undergo the awful tortures of reconstruction to which the solid South is by far more due than to the war.

Mr. Royal refers to Judge Grier as that "Noble old Roman." Though his action was vain, Judge Grier's revolt won him much praise. But this did not destroy the memory that some treasured of a year before, when these same acts were tested before the supreme court in the Mississippi injunction case; when its annulment was defeated by a tie vote which was only possible by Judge Grier's declining to vote. Had he then voted his convictions the whole abominable scheme would have been throttled at the threshold. As for Judge Davis, he repeated his performance as a "quitter" when he dodged the place of fifteenth man on the electoral commission which tried out the claims for the presidency of Hayes and Tilden.

The impeachment fiasco that so narrowly missed tragedy was closely followed by the national Republican convention, in Chicago, May 20th. There was no contest over the choice of a candidate for President. The nomination of Gen. Grant had become a foregone conclusion. The convention was at no little pains to dodge the negro suffrage imposed on the South. The following rotten plank was placed in the platform:

"The guaranty of congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude and of justice and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal states properly belongs in the people of those states."

In his "Twenty Years in Congress" Blaine calls this plank "an error of duty quite unworthy of the Republican party." It was in fact a mere stroke of campaign expediency for tiding over the prejudice in the Northern states to negro suffrage.

Alabama had been the first state to vote on ratification of her radical constitution, February 4. By remaining away from the

polls the opponents of the instrument defeated it, the vote falling short of the required majority of the whole by over 13,000. Immediately congress amended the act by a provision that "for the purpose of facilitating reconstruction of the Southern states to the Union, elections on the adoption or rejection of the new constitutions shall be decided by the majority of the votes actually cast. The amendatory act provided, further, that "any person duly registered might vote in any part of the state of his residence at the time of the election on presentation of his registration certificate under such regulations as the district commander should prescribe."

Arkansas was the next state to vote, in March, the states of North and South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Georgia following in April. In Virginia no election was held. Gen. Schofield, after vainly addressing the convention in a vigorous denunciation of the constitution adopted, took the responsibility of not ordering an election upon it and it lapsed. In Texas, where defeat was feared, no election was ordered by the military commander.

Upon adoption of the constitutions as above stated for the states named, acts had been passed over the President's veto June 25th, admitting their senators and representatives to congress. The list of new members included only two Democrats. Alabama had defeated her constitution. But in spite of the fact, to which Gov. Meade thus testified in his report—"I am satisfied the constitution was lost on its merits"—Alabama was dragooned into acceptance of the instrument her own people had voted down at the polls. Though the wrong was so flagrant it was first defeated, and only finally forced through the Senate by a majority of one. Admission was saddled with the following fundamental condition: "That the constitutions of neither of said states shall ever be so amended or changed as to deprive citizens or classes of citizens of the right to vote who are entitled to vote under the constitutions thereof herein recognized except as punishment of such crimes as are now felony at common law, whereof they shall have been duly convicted."

The day after the Mississippi convention adjourned Gen. Gillem had issued his order of election, for the ratification or rejection of the constitution, and for state and local officers and congressmen, to be held June 22nd. Each of the county registrars was allowed a certain number of precincts for which he was to hold an election. A concluding poll was to be held by the registration board at the county seat, when voters from any precinct could vote. It was ordered that bureau agents, and officers of the army should abstain from public speaking, or attempts of influencing voters. But that "this order is not to restrict either class of officials in their duty of instructing freedmen as to their rights as electors." May 13th the Democratic convention had been re-convened in Jackson and a full state ticket, headed by Gov. B. G. Humphreys, was named. The congressional candidates were nominated for the various districts and the counties called on to make nominations for members of the legislature and other offices. As no election for officials would be valid if the constitution was defeated, there was opposition to the plan of making nominations. But the convention decided that it would be best to put up an opponent for every radical candidate. Some contended that if nominations were made, persons eligible under the disfranchising ordinances should be nominated. While the logic of this view was apparent, it was outweighed by the advantage of securing the most popular leaders, who as a rule were ex-Confederates, and ineligible under the ordinances. Thus, too, half hearted opposition to the constitution was effectively guarded against. The convention issued a spirited address and adjourned. In the intervening weeks before the election, the people were aroused and organized for the vital issue. With the object lesson of the black and tan convention, there was little argument needed to enlist the whole white population for the defeat of the constitution, and the radical ticket, which was headed by "Buzzard" Eggleston. It is to the eternal credit of the state that an apparently hopeless struggle was faced unflinchingly. There was united and devoted response to the call of self-preservation and patriotic duty. With few exceptions the most prominent and influential

men of the state placed their services at the command of the state committee, to canvass for defeat of the designed prostitution of the state.

The unity of sentiment and counsels, and determined spirit of the people of Mississippi at this crisis was in singular contrast with the lethargy and divided opinions that prevailed in other states. In Georgia, particularly, with her wealth of leadership, a more effective resistance to the radical shackles was expected. One alleged cause of defeat was a private debt repudiation article in the constitution. This in a period of extreme distress and demoralization was artfully used as a bait for voters, especially in the mountain regions. But the main cause of radical success was Democratic defection, led by ex-Gov. Joe Brown. As war governor of Georgia he had been a fomenter of factious opposition to policies of the Confederate government that were vital to success. To the very close of the war he had been an embarrassment and a stumbling block. His defection to the radicals at this juncture was the main cause of the defeat of Gen. John B. Gordon, the Democratic nominee for Governor, and the adoption of the radical constitution.

June 4th Gen. Gillem was superseded in command of the 4th military district by Gen. McDowell. It had been charged by the radical press when Gen. Ord was assigned to California, that the president's plan was to hold Gen. Gillem in command until the election had been held. Gen. Ord's departure, it was asserted, would be delayed as long as possible. It would take him a month to go to San Francisco, and McDowell another month to reach Mississippi. In the interim Gen. Gillem, who was not of the rank requisite for district commander, would command as the ranking officer present. If there was any such design, it was defeated by the long convention of the Mississippi convention, which enabled McDowell to connect before the election. Gen. Gillem had been a stumbling block to that body, and his displacement was regarded by the white people with regret and foreboding. He had proved himself a just and firm ruler over the state.

The proof of a new judge in Israel soon came. On June 16th an order was published by Gen. McDowell appointing Gen. Adelbert Ames, provisional governor, vice Benjamin G. Humphreys relieved, and Jasper Myers, attorney general, vice C. E. Hooker. This action caused a feeling of profound, though suppressed, depression and indignation. It was looked upon as a wanton and a partisan outrage—a violation of the rights left to the people of the state even under the reconstruction acts; though the ruthless act was to have been expected in consequence of the nomination of those officers for re-election. Thus embarked in the campaign, they were adjudged as violators of the order prohibiting all civil officers from political activities. Indeed when Gov. Humphreys was placed in nomination before the Democratic state convention, one of the delegates, Roderic Seal, of Harrison county, had objected, grounding his objection upon the presumption that acceptance of the nomination would be inevitably followed by removal. Some days subsequently, a demand for surrender of the executive office was disputed by Gov. Humphreys as usurpatory and violative of the constitution. He stated futhermore, in reply, that he was authorized by the president to say that the executive head of the government disapproved the order of Gen. McDowell. The exhibition of such authority was, however, ignored by a military commander, subservient to and in sympathy with the Reconstruction purposes. The previous removal by Gen. Meade of Gov. Jenkins, of Georgia, furnished no precedent for McDowell's tyranny. In that case removal was for an act of specific and avowed resistance to the authority invested in Gen. Meade by the reconstruction act. The commandant of the post at Jackson, Col. Biddle, called personally and considerately, to notify Gov. Humphreys of the hour when he would present himself to take possession of the office for his successor, Adelbert Ames. He came at the hour with a file of soldiers. Gov. Humphreys in the presence of a number of citizens refused to vacate the office, saying that the force sustaining the demand was insufficient. Thereupon a company of soldiers was marched on the scene and took actual possession. On a subsequent day, the

governor and his family were dispossessed of the executive mansion. As the recorded facts of this proceeding have been subject to material misstatements, the correspondence of the governor with the military is quoted:

JACKSON, Miss., June 16, 1868.

HON. B. G. HUMPHREYS: Sir—I have the honor to inform you that I have arrived here in pursuance of an order from Major General McDowell, a copy of which is enclosed, and am prepared to assume the office of provisional governor of the state of Mississippi. Be pleased to inform me when it will be convenient to receive me for the purpose of making such arrangements as may be necessary to carry into effect the order. Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

A. AMES,

Brevet Maj. Gen. U. S. A.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
State of Mississippi.

JACKSON, Miss., June 22, 1868.

GENERAL—Your note of the 16th inst was handed me this morning upon my return to the capitol by my private secretary, Mr. Marion Smith, inclosing the printed copy of General Orders No. 23, from the headquarters of Brevet Major General McDowell, the general commanding the fourth military district, at Vicksburg. You request to be informed "when it would be convenient to receive me, (you,) for the purpose of making such arrangements as may be necessary to carry into effect the order." In reply, I must say, that I regard the attempt to remove me from the office of governor, as an usurpation of the civil government of Mississippi, unwarranted by, and in violation of, the constitution of the United States; and having telegraphed the President of the United States and commander-in-chief of the army, for instructions, I am authorized to say that he disapproves the order of my removal from office. I must, therefore, in view of my duty to the constitutional rights of the people of Mississippi, and this disapproval of the President of the United States, refuse to vacate the office of governor, or surrender the archives and public property of the state, until a legally qualified successor, under the constitution of the state of Mississippi, is appointed.

Very respectfully,

BENJ. G. HUMPHREYS,

Governor of Mississippi.

To Brevet Maj. Gen. A. Ames, U. S. A., Jackson, Miss.

There was a subsequent correspondence, which is here quoted:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
State of Mississippi.

JACKSON, Miss, July 6th, 1868.

HON. B. G. HUMPHREYS: Sir—Soon after my arrival here as provisional governor, I notified you that you might continue to occupy the governor's mansion. Since then I have had cause to change my mind in the matter. You will oblige me by vacating the mansion at as early a date as convenient. Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,.

A. AMES,
Provisional Governor.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
State of Mississippi.

JACKSON, Miss., July 7, 1868.

GENERAL A. AMES: Sir—Your letter of the 6th inst, informing me that I would oblige you by vacating the "mansion" at as early a day at convenient, was duly received through the postoffice of the city.

The governor's mansion was built by the tax payers of Mississippi, only for the use and occupancy of their constitutional governors, and their families. They elected me to that office in 1865, and I with my family have been in peaceable, quiet and legal possession ever since. At the recent election the qualified voters of the state, both white and colored, have by the largest popular vote ever cast in this state, unmistakeably expressed their desire for my continuance in the use and occupancy of the mansion, as their constitutional governor. In view of this expressed desire of the just and lawful owners that this property remain in the continuous possession of their own chosen custodian—and from the further fact that the mere occupancy of the mansion by my family cannot operate as an impediment to the just administration of the reconstruction laws of congress, I must respectfully decline to oblige yourself or others by vacating the mansion until a legally qualified governor is elected under the constitution of the state.

Very respectfully,

BENJAMIN G. HUMPHREYS.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
State of Mississippi.

JACKSON, Miss., July 9th, 1868.

HON. B. G. HUMPHREYS: Sir—I have been informed (it is possible that my information is incorrect) that you do not find it convenient to vacate the governor's "mansion."

I presume it is because of the difficulty in finding another fit residence. It is my wish to put you to as little personal inconvenience as possible. Under the above supposition, I have no objection to you occupying a part of the house. Next Monday, by which time you can make the necessary arrangements, I with others, will take possession of a part of the house. So long as we remain joint tenants, great care shall be taken not to inconvenience your family. Very respectfully, yours, etc.,

A. AMES,
Provisional Governor.

JACKSON, Miss., July 9th, 1868.

GENERAL A. AMES: Sir—Your letter of the 9th was duly received this morning. It will be disagreeable to myself and family to share the apartments of the governor's mansion with other permanent tenants. I hope my letter of the 8th will be satisfactory, and relieve us of such annoyance.

Very respectfully,

BENJ. G. HUMPHREYS.

JACKSON, Miss., July 10, 1868.

HON. B. G. HUMPHREYS: Sir—Yours of the 8th and 9th were received this morning.

You entirely ignore the reconstruction acts of congress and the action taken by those empowered to act under them. I recognize no other authority. Under such circumstances your statement by which you show yourself the lawful governor of this state, has little weight.

The feeling entertained not only by me, but by others, not to cause you any personal inconvenience, has, through your own action, ceased to exist.

The controversy about the "mansion" can only terminate as indicated in my letter of yesterday.

Very respectfully,

A. AMES,
Brevet Maj. Gen., U. S. A., Provisional Governor.

HEADQUARTERS POST JACKSON,

JACKSON, Miss., July 10, 1868.

HON. B. G. HUMPHREYS, Jackson, Miss.:

Sir—General Ames, the provisional governor of this state, has called upon me as the officer in command of this post, to gain possession of one-half of the mansion now occupied by you.

I send Lieut. Bache with a guard of men, to see that Governor Ames' request is carried out. Lieut. Bache will hand you this letter.

I do not desire to use force if I can help it, but he will be instructed to do so if necessary. I wish to avoid all unpleasantness to yourself and family, but if you desire for political purposes to have a military "pantomime," I have also instructed Lieut. Bache to carry it out, with all the appearances of a reality without actual indignity.

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

JAMES BIDDLE,

Capt. and Lieut. Col., U. S. A., Commanding Post.

Gov. Humphreys expressing the principle of his resistance to his ouster said—vide Lowry, and McCardle's Mississippi History—"I know it was futile to disobey these orders and I must succumb. But I had the honor, the dignity, the rights and the property of the state to guard, and I was determined to maintain them, and yield nothing except at the point of the bayonet, that the world should know that I yielded not to civil protest, but to stern unrelenting tyranny."

June 15, General Gillem, who continued in command of the subdistrict of Mississippi, ordered that post and station commanders would be held responsible for the maintenance of peace and order during the election, and that they should take the necessary measures to that effect. They would render assistance to registrars and the civil authorities generally when asked. Citizens were to be protected in the right of voting, and any offenders were to be brought to justice. But there was no contemplation of violence by the whites. It was clearly seen that the only hope was in conduct against which no charge could be sustained. Soldiers were stationed in a majority of the counties and this was well.

The negro voters were encouraged to thorough organization under the shadow of the military power, and through the Loyal League, a secret and oath-appointed order, in whom distrust of their old owners was instilled as a cardinal rule. Under inflammatory teachings, and assured of the support of the government, there was a disposition to turbulence which would often have precipitated race collisions but for the troops, whose officers and men were in decided sympathy with the whites. At Holly Springs a radical speaker brought on a fray in which he was badly beaten and a negro was stabbed. The platform collapsed in the struggle, and the Radical candidate for state superintendent of education had his leg broken. The garrison was called out and quiet restored. Through fears of removal, local civil authorities lost vigor. In Wilkinson county it proved so weak before negro turbulence that the Freedmen's Bureau officer was asked by the peace officers and others to call for troops. He declined on the ground that the civil authority had made no effort to repress disorder. In an article accepting the correctness of this position, the county paper stated that, "with no lawful protection, the citizens were relieved of any responsibility of consequences which may occur. And now that we know that we have no protection to our local rights but ourselves let us all prepare for whatever may come." Organization and preparation against violence was quietly effected among the whites accordingly. This had a decidedly quieting effect, and then, a few days before the election a company of troops arrived in Woodville. In a number of the black counties a like state of menace to the peace prevailed.

The tolerance and patience of the white voters was further taxed by an order of General McDowell, June 19, giving an additional day for holding the election. Ostensibly this was for the benefit of such voters as had lost their papers. As every negro voter had been taught to look upon his certificate as a title to his freedom, this order was looked upon as a subterfuge.

Its real motive was construed to give the election officials full time—to have six days instead of five, to learn of the vote throughout the state and thus know how much fabrication of

the returns was necessary. Except for small collisions in some counties, the election was attended by peace and quiet. Soldiers were called out in Vicksburg to disperse a mob of negroes who had overpowered and beaten a sergeant on duty at the polls. Soldiers were used in Jackson to stop a fight between Democrat and Radical negro voters.

In Woodville an attempt to count the vote in secret created a disturbance, in which one of the registrars was assaulted and badly beaten. The lieutenant in command of the garrison, a white line Irishman, ordered out his men and restored the peace. But he also forced the count of the vote with open doors. On the last day of the election, when it was confidently believed that the convention was beaten, Gen. McDowell again showed his partisanship. He ordered that the polls be kept open beyond the closing hours and day he had set. In Vicksburg the Democratic leaders protested, and insisted upon separate boxes for votes subsequently cast. In Jackson the polls were kept open two days beyond the limit prescribed. But all effort to overcome the majority against the constitution were vain. It being published that Gen. McDowell had reported to Gen. Grant that the constitution had been adopted, his denial of the report was asked and secured by the chairman of the Democratic central committee.

There was a sinister delay in giving out the returns. But the vote in every county on comparison with the election of the year previous, gave assurance of the defeat of the carpet bag constitution and candidates. They were overwhelmingly beaten in the white counties, and in the black belts their majorities of the previous year were largely reduced. It was to be observed that more negroes voted with the whites than at any subsequent election. Four out of the five congressmen elected were Democrats, and there was a Democratic majority in the legislature. While the radicals admitted their defeat, relying on congress, there was no thought of submitting to the result. The scene of activity shifted to Washington, where the leaders carried their own story of their overthrow and took counsel with the reconstruction committee as to their next move. Be-

fore carrying their case to Washington, it was discovered that the "committee of five" was secretly bringing negroes to Jackson from various parts of the state and taking testimony to base a contest on. The committee room was invaded by a number of prominent citizens, who demanded to know the purpose of the movement and claimed the right to cross-examine the witnesses. There was an angry colloquy in consequence, and the citizens were arrested and placed under bond by the military.

The official report of the election by Gen. Gillem, who, McDowell having been assigned elsewhere, was again in command, was not promulgated by Gen. Grant until July 21st. It was covered in the following press dispatch:

Washington, July 21.—Gen. Gillem has submitted to Gen. Grant the report of his action as regards the condition of Mississippi under the reconstruction acts. He states the result of the late election—for the constitution, 56,231; against it, 63,830; being a majority against the constitution of 7,629. Gen. Gillem says: "As is generally the case in elections, fraud is charged by both parties. All reports and complaints bearing on the subject are herewith transmitted for the consideration of the proper authorities, merely remarking that I am satisfied the election was as fair and free from intimidation or the influence of fraud as it would be possible to receive under existing circumstances, and that no undue influence was exercised at the polls. If intimidation was used at all it was beyond the military power to reach it. As the defeat of the constitution renders it possible that the state may for a time remain under military control, I consider it my duty to call attention to the almost impossibility of finding persons to fill vacancies in civil offices who possess the necessary attainments, and who can qualify under existing law. I would therefore recommend that section nine of the acts of July 19, 1867, be so modified as to render eligible to office, persons on the list of registered and qualified voters to fill vacancies which exist or may occur in civil offices, state or municipal."

Of all the campaigns ever waged in Mississippi none excelled if any ever equalled, the earnestness and the unanimity of purpose of the white people of the state in 1868; in defeating the constitution submitted for ratification by the piratical reconstruction crew. Certainly no other political victory was ever

won over greater obstacles and with greater credit to the victors. It was a victory, however, that bore no fruit—whose results were quickly annulled by radical power, fixed and sealed through Grant's election to the Presidency. Thus quickly over-clouded by relegation of the state to complete military rule, and then alien government, the courageous and patriotic uprising of 1868 was virtually effaced and crowded out of popular pride and memory. Nor was this all of the ill fate that attended the overthrow at the polls in Mississippi of the first onslaught of radicalism. It has suffered from the perversions and falsifications that has befallen all history of reconstruction events at the hands of Northern and partisan authors. Naturally so signal an event as this Mississippi election was treated to a full share of their sectional bias and misrepresentation. This is said prefatory to the following from the History of the United States by Rhodes, perhaps the least unfair and misleading of all, page 191, Vol. VI:

"Mississippi has had many exciting political contests, but that of 1868 has probably never been surpassed except by that which took place seven years later. The proscriptive clauses aroused the indignation of the Democrats, who bent their whole energies to defeat of the constitution. They used the ordinary means of political organization, a convention, an address, an open letter, newspaper articles, an enormous number of mass meetings and to these they added intimidation of the negroes to make them vote against ratification or stay away from the polls. The important agent in this work of intimidation was the Ku Klux Klan, a secret organization, which used threats and warnings to negroes designed to vote for the convention. * * * 'Fraud is charged by both parties,' wrote General Gillem, 'but I am satisfied the election was as fair and free from intimidation as possible under existing circumstances.' * * * Gillem was a good officer and enforced the harsh laws leniently, but his judgment was very probably warped by his sympathy for the oppressed Southern people. The evidence in the case, in the light of the future history of the state, shows conclusively enough that the majority against the constitution was obtained by the intimidation of negro voters."

Rhodes is exceedingly unfair to General Gillem, to whose just and firm administration of office the state of Mississippi is

eternally indebted. His services in the war, with his character and reputation for courage and candor, should have raised him above the slurring apology quoted. He scrupulously refrained from any show of sympathy or leaning with which he is charged for "the oppressed Southern people." In his testimony before the Congressional committee, replying to interrogatories seeking to convict him on this point, he denied unqualifiedly "indulging any opinion or taking any part for or against the constitution;" or that "he had ever discussed politics with any man white or black;" or that "his administration had ever been animated by a spirit of opposition to the reconstruction acts or the policy of Congress;" that he "had never seen the chairman of the Democratic committee, and had only two requests from him during the campaign, both of which he emphatically turned down." After completely refuting and foiling attempts of the radical committeemen, it looks a little more than hard that General Gillem should be historically charged with the things he denied. And then after most unjustly seeking to discredit him as a witness, the General, with Garner's "Reconstruction of Mississippi," was referred to by Rhodes in a note as his authorities for charging that "in the defeat of the constitution, the Klu Klux Klan was the important agent."

In fact witnesses supplying this testimony were a characterless, perjured lot of adventurers, of which the chairman of the committee of five, W. H. Gibbs—who wound up his public career by serving a penitentiary term for embezzlement of post-office funds—was a type. In accepting their false utterances, Rhodes rejects the testimony of General Gillem and such eminent citizens as Governor Sharkey, ex-Senator Brown, Judges J. W. C. Watson and A. G. Mayers, Dr. T. W. Catchings and President Wesson of the Wesson mills. In the mass of radical testimony there are a half a dozen vague references to the Ku Klux, one witness only professed knowledge of the fact. His evidence only as to the Ku Klux is mentioned in Garner's book, which Rhodes refers to as authority for his broad Ku Klux allegation. That evidence was supplied by the most active and efficient tool of the Gibbs committee. He worked Ran-

kin county and his name was D. S. Harriman. Garner unfortunately omits to notice, and Rhodes presumably did not inform himself of, the record proof, upon page 240 of the volume of testimony taken by the congressional committee, that this witness, who alone located an actual camp of the clan, had only recently finished a term in the penitentiary for "taking bribes from whites to defraud negroes while he, Harriman, was a bureau officer." It may be said further that in the recently published "Mississippi Reconstruction Facts," by the well known Mississippi negro ex-congressman, John R. Lynch, no mention is made of the Klu Klux Klan in the overthrow of the constitution of 1868; though intimidation is vaguely charged. The following is quoted from Lynch's statement of the cause of the defeat:

First. In consequence of the bitterness with which the ratification of the constitution had been fought, on account of the objectionable clause referred to, intimidating methods had been adopted in several counties in which there was a large colored vote, resulting in a loss of several thousand votes for the Constitution.

The impossibility of "intimidation" to any material extent is established by the fact that United States troops were posted at sixty-three points in the state during the election of 1868, and that no clash or collision occurred, no show of violence, at any precinct. And that during the campaign General Gillem sent troops to any county where fears or signs of disturbance were reported. The only considerable intimidation sought to be exercised by the whites were threats of non-employment of the negroes who quit their work to go to the polls to vote for the constitution. And with the knowledge that the demand for their labor would prevent such threats from being carried out, precious little effect they had. But the most conclusive proof of the merits of the testimony on which Rhodes based his indictment of the Mississippi election, was its rejection by the congressional committee; which would have been only too glad to give the committee of five a free hand in carrying out the reconstruction scheme. Influenced by the surface appearance

of the odds against the white men, the partial or sectionally biased chronicler might be excused for entertaining the intimidation Ku Klux theory of the Mississippi election of 1868. But no such excuse can be made for any professed conscientious writer of history. Reason and research should teach him that there could have been no "intimidation" such as was practiced in 1875. Had there been Georgia, North Carolina and Arkansas would never have ratified their negro suffrage constitutions. Not only was the intimidation of the negro voter in the presence of Federal troops impossible, the attempt would have been madness.

A chief witness to the fairness of the election was ex-Governor and ex-Senator A. G. Brown, who had been the leader in 1867 in urging the adoption of the congressional terms of reconstruction and negro suffrage. He testified before the reconstruction committee which investigated the election the winter following, to the "profound quiet in all parts of the state; that the people are willing to submit to the reconstruction acts, if fairly presented; the proposed constitution had been defeated not by fraud or intimidation as alleged, but because it was more vindictive in its spirit than the people would tolerate; it was more proscriptive than the acts of congress required." He said in conclusion that "if congress would so amend it as to conform to the 14th article of the act it would be accepted with unquestioned unanimity." Gov. Brown's evidence was corroborated and reiterated by ex-Governor Sharkey, Judges H. F. Simrall and Watson—all old Union men, and others of equally high standing and repute, who appeared in Washington before the committee.

The 1868 victory was less spectacular probably, than "that which took place seven years later;" in 1875, when the carpet bag-negro government was overthrown. But the defeat of the 1868 constitution was over greater obstacles; of the two, it furnished a more signal tribute to the constancy of the white people. Intimidation which was freely practiced in 1875, was simply impossible under the military election of 1868, with troops stationed at sixty-odd points in the state. While refused for

the polls in 1875, bayonets bristled in 1868 all over the state. The allegation of a Ku Klux force in 1868 is an absolute myth—nothing more than a scarecrow and in less than half a dozen counties. The order never had vital existence in Mississippi until 1871, and was then confined to a half dozen counties. To pursue the contrast of the two elections, in 1875 Democrats had representation on most of the county election boards; in 1868 none. In 1875 the white people were encouraged by the recent achievement by other Southern states of home rule re-establishment, and by the sweeping Democratic victory in the Northern states the year before when a Democratic house majority was elected.

In 1868 there was no gleam of encouragement or hope from without. The Mississippi campaign was entered upon after defeat had befallen all resistance of the yoke of the negro suffrage constitutions in every other Southern state; except Virginia and Texas, where for particular causes no elections had been held. Under the circumstances for Mississippi to make a fight against her big black majority after the white states of Georgia, North Carolina and Arkansas had failed, looked like a challenge of fate, the inspiration of desperation. Success was wholly due to, as it was only possible, through energizing and unifying the white voters upon appeals to their love of home, and spirit of resistance to wrongs that meant ruin if not defeated. Thus patriotically consecrated, the best and bravest of the state entered the political field in every Mississippi county. Seldom if ever was there a more perfect response of unselfish patriotism, to the call of duty. This testimony is borne from the vivid personal memory of a participant in the 1868 struggle as chairman of the Wilkinson county committee. In that county with a little over 600 white voters, near 650 votes were polled against the constitution. That is, every white man physically able to go to the polls voted, and with them near 100 negroes. The following from the radical organ, the *Jackson Pilot*, admitted the fact of Democratic negro voters, which was attested by a number of the Democratic witnesses;

"Hundreds of the colored men from the county of Amite, where for want of proper local organization they have long been in the dark, are going over into Wilkinson and joining there. They are terribly sick of having voted the Democratic ticket in that county in the last election, and if another election were to be held in that county now, the Republicans would carry it."

While the recommendations contained in Gen. Gillem's letter to Gen. Grant, above quoted, were eminently practical and patriotic, they did not appeal to the leaders of the congressional majority. They had no thought of permitting Mississippi to escape from the penitential yoke provided. In the meantime, however, there was much rejoicing over the defeat of the constitution. Mississippi alone of all the Southern states, had squarely resisted and beaten the congressional scheme of reconstruction. The new constitution had been forced upon all the rest except Virginia and Texas, where the test of the polls had been withheld. Nevertheless, the sense of relief in Mississippi was qualified. Very few were so sanguine as to expect that congress would permit the state to escape the degradation to which her neighbors had been subjected. The prevailing apprehension was thus voiced by the *Woodville Republican*: "We are constrained to caution our readers against being too sanguine. All know with whom we are dealing, and rejoicing over the election should be withheld until congress has been heard from. We may only say at this time, 'Hurrah, for Gen. Gillem.'" The warning was more than warranted. Measures were being considered in congress, to meet the unprovided for situation in Mississippi, that bespoke the rage of desperation. A bill passed the senate for supplying a thousand stands of arms and battery of artillery to the loyal men, that is, the negroes and carpet baggers, of each congressional district. Congressman Washburne, who was recognized as representing the Presidential nominee, Gen. Grant, demurred to this. He proposed a recess until September to avoid the issue. But there was bitter opposition to leaving President Johnson in untrammelled exercise of his prerogative. Congressman Garfield, afterward President, vehemently declaimed

against adjourning until a law providing for arming negroes was passed. And July 24th, three days after Gen. Gillem's report was given out, the ground was covered by the reconstruction committee, which reported to the house what was known as the Wilson bill. It was offered by Congressman B. F. Butler, on whose shoulders the leadership of the dying Thaddeus Stevens had fallen. He presented it from the committee, declaring it to be essential to the radical policy. It was entitled "A bill to provide for the more speedy organization of the states of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas," and read as follows:

Section 1. Be it enacted, That for the better security of persons and property in the states of Mississippi, Texas and Virginia, the constitutional convention of each of said states, thereafter elected under and in pursuance of an act of congress passed March 2nd, 1867, entitled an act for the more efficient government of the rebel states and the civil acts of congress supplementary thereto and amendatory thereof, shall have, and are hereby organized to exercise the following powers in addition to the powers now authorized by law, to wit: To make removals and appointments of all officers of said respective states, to remove and appoint registrars and judges of elections, under said act of congress, which registrars and judges of election shall not be eligible to any elective office under such provisional government, and shall observe the provision of congress to authorize and maintain a constabulary force in each of said states to preserve the peace, and aid in the execution of the laws; to provide by ordinance for the reassembling of said several conventions from time to time, and for holding all elections authorized by said acts of congress; and for ascertaining and declaring the result of any election which may be held for the ratification or rejection of any constitution which said several conventions may submit to the people of either of the said states, as they may deem necessary to protect persons therein in their lives, liberty and property.

Section 2. And be it further enacted, That the several ordinances which may be passed by the constitutional convention of either of the said states as herein provided, shall be enforced by the provisional government of such state until such state shall have adopted a constitution of state government, and the same shall have been approved by congress; provided, that nothing in this act shall deprive any person of trial by jury in the courts of said states for offences against the laws of said states.

Section 3. Be it further enacted, That the military commanders in each of said states shall assist in preserving the peace and enforcing the laws, and especially in suppressing unlawful obstructions and forcible resistance to the exercise of the laws.

Section 4. Be it further enacted, That on the fourth Wednesday after the passage of this act, the state convention of Mississippi and Virginia shall reassemble, and the said convention of Mississippi shall proceed to frame a constitution of government, and submit the same to the people, under and in pursuance of the provisions of the said act of congress and of this act.

Section 5. Be it further enacted, That if in any of said states any person shall during the year 1868, vote for any candidate for elector of President of the United States, or shall act as an officer at any election for such candidates, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of high misdemeanor, and shall be liable to indictment and on conviction thereof in any court of competent jurisdiction be fined not more than one thousand dollars and be imprisoned not less than one month nor more than a year.

Section 6. Be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to prohibit any person from voting or acting as an officer of any election contrary to the provisions of this act and for that purpose he shall employ the power of the army and the navy of the United States so far as may be necessary.

Section 7. Be it further enacted, That all acts or parts of acts, so far as the same may be in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

It is difficult to believe that this monstrous measure could have passed the representative body of congress. It is easy to understand why that body's approval of such diabolic malignancy escaped mention in Blaine's apologies for reconstruction. Placing these states, and especially Mississippi, under the government of the rapacious and vindictive conventions with "powers to maintain and organize a constabulary" was an act of atrocity and hate that in its contemplation parallels the worst of Russian and Turkish tyranny toward their conquered provinces. In comparison with the rapine and murder for which the ruffian led negro constabulary was designed, the ruthless raids of the Cossacks and Bashi Bazouks would have been mild. It was such a measure that passed the house by a

solid radical vote, save one, Jehu Baker, of Illinois. He had a brother who with his family lived in a Mississippi black county. It reached the senate and was called up on the last day of the session. There it was tabled on motion of Senator Conkling, because he said, "it was useless for lack of time to try and pass it." The true reason was the pending election—it was not deemed advisable to force Mississippi into a race war at that time. There was no compunction because of its infamy, the bloodshed and rapine that would have been precipitated. Not one of the Radicals gave voice to any such sentiment. Dealing with the state was simply postponed to a timelier season.

The passing of Thaddeus Stevens the scourge of the South, was another and powerful cause of the failure of the bill which designed the desolation of Mississippi. Broken with disease and the infirmities of age, that remarkable figure, the great Radical leader, was nearing his earthly end. From the overthrow of the Confederate armies, while others doubted and faltered amid the passions and perplexities that clouded counsel, he saw the reconstruction ends clearly and logically. He neither dissembled nor cloaked his purposes and plans. What others of his party shrank from as revolutionary and atrocious, he boldly faced and proceeded to the overthrow of all obstacles of constitution and law. He sought the destruction of the judiciary and executive, to make clear the way for a congressional despotism, to carry out to the full the reconstruction policy. His iron will, the lash of his bitter tongue, compelled party leadership, absolute and undisputed. He staked everything of personal dominance and party power on the removal of the president as a stumbling block in the way of the subjugation of the Southern whites to negro rule. And when impeachment was baffled, his imprecations upon the Republican senators that balked, were awful. Nothing daunted, however, he framed another impeachment indictment. But high tide had been marked, and his vital force broke under the strain. During the trial of the president, the strength of his venomous voice so failed that his speech was delivered by Ben Butler. His

breakdown at such a crisis seemed providential. It was a loss to radicalism that may have turned the scales. While Butler was his equal in ability, and as a hater of the South, he was despised and shunned as a dastard and a common plunderer of war and the most truculent of bullies in time of peace. His reputation was so universally odious that he prejudiced any cause in which he was enlisted. This was not true of Stevens. While not popular, he was feared and where he was not liked, respected. Toward the close of the session the "Lord Hate-Good" of the play grew feeble. A few days after the adjournment, he took to his bed, summoning two negro ministers to pray at his side, and on August 12th he breathed his last. His work was finished. As far as lay in human power, he had borne the fiery cross of revenge and hate. He had carried the cry of "woe to the vanquished" to the limit of sectional wrath.

While the defeat of the reconstruction constitution staved off the carpet bag-negro yoke, the removal of Governor Humphreys and the succession of Adelbert Ames marked the end of Mississippi's three stirring and eventful years of provisional government; which is the subject matter of this contribution to state history. The way was cleared for the rule of the carpet bagger, negro and scalawag combination. In conclusion, and for completing vindication of the struggle of Mississippi against the infliction, and as a righteous verdict upon the iniquity, of negro suffrage, a confession is quoted from an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* of April, 1901, by ex-Gov. Chamberlain of South Carolina. He was a leading actor in the reconstruction drama and at the same time a man of candor, conscience and character; who was curiously, even tragically, caught in the political drift of an evil era. Out of the fullness of his heart, constrained by the gall and wormwood of memories of years wasted in trying to grow figs from thistles, he thus testified against Stevens, Sumner, Morton and other architects of a system that was only less vain and stupid, than wicked:

"The vast preponderance of ignorance and incapacity in the Republican party of South Carolina, aside from downright dis-

honesty, made good government impossible. The real truth is, hard as it may be to accept it, the elements put in combination by the reconstruction scheme were irretrievably bad and could never result in government fit to be endured."

MISSISSIPPI.

(Song.)

BY MRS. DUNBAR ROWLAND.

There's a beautiful country,
Where southern waters flow;
'Tis where the white magnolia
And yellow jasmine blow,
And there a happy people
Work with glad heart and will,
To the faiths of their fathers,
They cling thru good or ill.

Chorus:

Mississippi, land of a true and loyal race,
Where hope's heavenly light is seen on every face;
Proud land whose story glows with deeds of heroes brave,
Dear land that hateful tyrant never shall enslave.

Land where blue skies are smiling
On stream and flow'ry sod,
From altars are ascending
Sweet prayer and praise to God;
There the oppressed and homeless
Refuge may always find,
There ties fraternal, ever
Men's friendly spirits bind.

Oh, fair and kindly country
Where peace and plenty reign,
Where the bright star of freedom
Will never, never wane;
For her pure hearths and temples
My heart shall ever yearn,
To her green hills and valleys
My feet shall ever turn.

MISSISSIPPI'S COLONIAL POPULATION AND LAND GRANTS.

BY MRS. DUNBAR ROWLAND.

To the Committee for the Preservation of Existing Colonial Records:—

As Archivist for the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Mississippi and as the representative of the Committee of the National Society for the Preservation of Existing Records, it gives me pleasure to present this report of the progress of the work of preserving existing colonial records in the State of Mississippi. The work was inaugurated June 1, 1913, and was continued up to March 31, 1914. We believe that it constitutes an important investigation, and that it will be regarded as a valuable contribution to the history of the lower South.

At the outset, let me say that my long and close association with the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History has made the work which I have undertaken for the Committee of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, very congenial and interesting, since the preservation of official and unofficial manuscript sources of history has for many years engaged the attention of this Department, the object sought being to provide the historian and investigator with a true basis for all future history. Tradition has its charm in the narration of a country's history, and verbal testimony has its place, but records are the materials out of which the historian must weave a trustworthy story of a nation and its people.

There is no work in which the Colonial Dames of America could engage which will bring better returns and prove to be of more permanent value than that which is being inaugurated by the Committee for the preservation of existing records. Funds expended for such a purpose is carrying out one of the highest aims of the organization,—that is, the preservation of

the recorded history made by our Colonial forefathers. These sources of our earliest history are of inestimable value and their value will increase as we get further and further from the events which they record.

NATURE OF THE WORK.

In undertaking a work of this nature of permanent value, all plans should be made so as to secure the best results from the effort and money expended. The very first object to attain is educational. People must be made to realize the value of historical records or the owners will destroy them, from the simple fact that they do not understand their value. The next important step is to collect and deposit all manuscript and other sources of history in well established Historical Departments that are charged with the care and preservation of such materials. This work should be gladly undertaken by all the Colonial States under the supervision of the Committee for the Preservation of Existing Records, the work of each state being under the control and direction of a State Archivist of the State Society. If all of the Corporate Societies have not created such a position they would find it greatly to their advantage to do so, since through this office the work of historic research and preservation could be conducted systematically. This is the Mississippi plan and it is found to be perfectly adapted to the needs of the situation.

PROGRESS OF WORK IN MISSISSIPPI.

After receiving the Commission of the Committee and being advised of its intelligent and well matured plans for the preservation of official records, I began my investigation June 1, 1913. My activities during that time have been along two lines of work: First, in securing information relative to the location and condition of Mississippi colonial records; and second in compiling a list of the inhabitants of the colony under the Spanish dominion, and a list of the land grants under the English dominion. It may very properly be stated here that the co-

lonial history of Mississippi is of unusual interest by reason of the fact that the colony from 1699, the date of its establishment, to 1798, the date of the American dominion, felt the impress of three dominant civilizations of Europe,—France, Spain and England. France controlled the destinies of the colony from 1699 to 1763; England from 1763 to 1781; and Spain from 1781 to 1798, though a slight Spanish influence was felt throughout the territory prior to that of France and England, brought about from the discoveries of DeSoto and other explorers. Each of these powerful nations impressed itself upon the history of Mississippi, and that impress is felt in the life and the customs of its people today, though the overwhelming influence is that of the Anglo-Saxon.

MISSISSIPPI COLONIAL RECORDS.

The largest collection of Mississippi colonial records are, of course, in the archives of France, England and Spain. These have been located by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History and transcripts of these invaluable sources of history are being secured by that Department, fifty volumes having already been transcribed. There are, also, on file in this Department large collections of original colonial records. In addition to these, are valuable and interesting official collections of original colonial records to be found in the cities of Natchez and Fayette, points in the old colonial section of the state and in the hands of old families.

The official records in European repositories consist of:

(a) Royal charters, proclamations, orders, permissions, decrees, etc., relating to the discovery, exploration and settlement of the Mississippi Valley, beginning in 1678.

(b) Ministerial correspondence, letters sent and letters received, including plans and instructions for the equipment of fleets on voyage of discovery, location of settlements, etc., etc.

(c) General correspondence of Colonial Governors, relating to the settlements and government of the country and the daily administration of affairs.

(d) Codes, regulations, lists of colonies, rosters of troops, officers and sailors.

(e) Civil acts, notarial, judicial and ministerial.

(f) Reports of explorers, traders, trappers and of military officers, relating to descriptions of the country and trade with the Indians.

(g) Papers relating to the organization of companies for the development of the country.

(h) Documents relating to land grants, trading and mining rights.

(i) Accounts showing the sums expended in the exploration of the country.

(j) Papers relating to the establishment of Christian missions by the Jesuits.

The papers in the hands of old colonial families consist mainly of land grants and letters. Many of these collections are in good condition, but are stored in garrets and other out-of-the-way places. These should be and will be, if persuasion can bring it about, placed in some safe fire proof repository.

LISTS OF INHABITANTS.

An extensive list of the inhabitants of what is now the State of Mississippi, gathered from documentary sources during the period of 1792, forms a portion of the present report. It must be remembered that the Colonial period of Mississippi extended from 1540, when DeSoto explored that region, to 1798 when it became a territory of the United States, which gives the State an historical colonial period of two hundred fifty years,—a much longer colonial period than that of the colonies to the North. The list of inhabitants above referred to has been carefully compiled from the best sources of information in the Archives of the Indies, in Seville, Spain. This list is invaluable for genealogical purposes.

A list of land grants under the English dominion from 1763 to 1781, is also submitted as a valuable complement to the list of inhabitants. This, like the latter, is useful, for purposes of

' family history. The list has been compiled from the best documentary sources of information on file in the Public Record Office of London. It has been secured by much painstaking research and, it is believed, will excite interest and attract attention throughout the country, especially in the lower South.

METHODS OF PRESERVATION.

As has already been intimated in the prosecution of the work of the Committee on the preservation of historical records, the most desirable end to attain is to secure the originals and place them in trustworthy repositories where they will be accessible to students and historians. In the event that this cannot be done the next best step is to secure accurate transcripts for preservation in historical departments. In the prosecution of such work, the Colonial Dames can give valuable assistance in the great historical movement for the preservation of history, so manifest throughout the country. The compilation of such lists as accompany this report should be the work of this Society everywhere. These should be made part of the records of the National Society and should be filed under the direction of the Committee on the preservation of Existing Records.

In conclusion, may I say again that the work of the Committee for the Preservation of Existing Records is most important? It should be fostered and vigorously pushed until all of the Colonial States and those possessing a valuable Indian history have taken it up.

Land Grants in British West Florida, from the King of England to the grantees named. The list contains the names of grantee, date of grant and number of acres in the grant, and includes the Natchez District which was a part of British West Florida. The list covers only the territory now included in the state of Mississippi.

Name	Date of Grant	No. of Acres
Thomas Hardy -----	July 8, 1768-----	300
Henry Fairchild -----	Nov. 23, 1768-----	2,000
Daniel Ward -----	Nov. 24, 1768-----	1,500

Name	Date of Grant	No. of Acres
John Ward -----	Nov. 24, 1768-----	600
Benjamin Ward -----	Nov. 24, 1768-----	2,000
Joshua Ward -----	Nov. 24, 1768-----	600
Daniel Clark -----	Dec. 6, 1768-----	500
William Burrows -----	Dec. 6, 1768-----	600
Charles Stewart, Esquire -----	Dec. 6, 1768-----	2,000
Joseph Smith -----	Nov. 30, 1768-----	1,200
Alexander Boyd -----	Dec. 15, 1768-----	250
Charles Strachan -----	Dec. 10, 1768-----	1,000
James Chambers -----	Dec. 15, 1768-----	1,000
William Carothers -----	Dec. 15, 1768-----	500
Jeremiah Terry, Esqr. -----	July 23, 1769-----	460
Thomas Taylor Byrd* -----	Feb. 1st, 1773-----	600
Thomas Taylor Byrd* -----	Feb. 2, 1773-----	600
William McPherson* -----	April 26, 1773-----	600
William McPherson* -----	April 27, 1773-----	600
Richard Carr* -----	Nov. 27, 1772-----	1,000
Thomas Hutchins, Esquire* -----	May 12, 1773-----	1,000
Thomas Hutchins* -----	May 13, 1773-----	1,000
James Donald -----	June 5, 1778-----	400
James Donald -----	June 5, 1778-----	622
Edmund Rush Wegg -----	July 18, 1778-----	2,000
Hugh Hamilton -----	Aug. 6, 1778-----	500
John Lum -----	Aug. 6, 1778-----	350
Walter Scott -----	Aug. 6, 1778-----	500
Richard Pearis -----	Aug. 6, 1778-----	600
Richard Pearis -----	Aug. 6, 1778-----	500
Robert Donald -----	Aug. 15, 1778-----	650
Richard Pearis -----	Aug. 15, 1778-----	800
Patrick Gallachan -----	Aug. 15, 1778-----	700
Patrick Gallachan -----	Aug. 15, 1778-----	500
William Collins -----	Sept. 12, 1778-----	100
Edmund Rush Wegg -----	Sept. 21, 1778-----	1,000
Farquhar Bethune -----	Sept. 21, 1778-----	650

* The asterisk indicates grants from original patentees to private individuals.

Name	Date of Grant	No. of Acres
William Collins -----	Sept. 23, 1778-----	300
William Collins -----	Sept. 23, 1778-----	50
Elihu Hall Bay and James Amoss -----	Sept. 23, 1778-----	1,000
John Mason -----	Oct. 13, 1778-----	500
John Miller -----	Oct. 13, 1778-----	100
James Peterkin -----	Dec. 29, 1778-----	500
William Clark -----	Dec. 29, 1778-----	500
John Mitchel, Junior -----	Dec. 22, 1779-----	500
John Clover -----	March 19, 1779-----	500
Hugh Crawford -----	March 19, 1779-----	200
John Wheeler -----	March 19, 1779-----	200
William Vousdan -----	March 19, 1779-----	500
John Herin -----	March 19, 1779-----	100
Thomas Scott -----	April 23, 1779-----	480
Alexander Graydon -----	May 4, 1779-----	300
Alexander McIntosh -----	May 25, 1779-----	4,659
John Gordon -----	June 16, 1779-----	850
William Eason -----	July 7, 1779-----	500
Robert Tait -----	Jan. 29, 1780-----	550
William Thompson -----	Jan. 29, 1780-----	450
Thomas Frey -----	July 4, 1769-----	200
Richard Barrey -----	July 4, 1769-----	50
James Lovell -----	July 22, 1769-----	1,000
Joseph Harrison -----	} July 22, 1769-----	1,525
George Harrison -----		
John Hayton -----		
Joseph Hayton -----		
George Petrie -----	July 22, 1769-----	1,000
William Fetherston -----	July 22, 1769-----	140
Thomas Coan -----	July 22, 1769-----	50
John Bradley -----	July 22, 1769-----	1,000
Mary Oliver -----	July 22, 1769-----	150
John Smith -----	July 22, 1769-----	600
Jacob Phillippi -----	July 22, 1769-----	600
James Watkins -----	July 22, 1769-----	500

Name	Date of Grant	No. of Acres
Richard Freeman Pearnse-----	July 22, 1769-----	50
William Fetherstone -----	July 22, 1769-----	1, 000
Simon McCormick -----	July 22, 1769-----	50
William Mill -----	July 22, 1769-----	50
Samuel Osbourn -----	July 22, 1769-----	300
Alexander McIntosh -----	March 6, 1770-----	500
Phillip Barbour -----	June 5, 1770-----	1, 500
John Murrey -----	Aug. 25, 1770-----	500
Richard Thompson -----	Aug. 25, 1770-----	500
Frederick Haldimand, Esqr -----	Aug. 1, 1772-----	1, 000
Frederick Haldimand, Esqr -----	Aug. 1, 1772-----	500
Alexander McIntosh -----	April 19, 1773-----	500
Andrew Rainsford -----	May 12, 1773-----	1, 250
Thomas Hutchins, Esquire-----	May 12, 1773-----	1, 000
Thomas Hutchins, Esquire-----	May 12, 1773-----	1, 000
Jacob Winfree -----	July 7, 1773-----	1, 000
John Southwell -----	Aug. 2, 1773-----	1, 900
John Summers -----	Aug. 2, 1773-----	2, 000
Anthony Hutchins, Esquire-----	Aug. 2, 1773-----	434
William Hay, Esquire-----	Aug. 25, 1773-----	2, 000
Major John Small-----	Aug. 25, 1773-----	1, 000
Captain William Hay-----	Aug. 25, 1773-----	1, 000
David Dickson, Esquire-----	Sept 27, 1773-----	2, 000
David Dickson, Esquire-----	Sept. 27, 1773-----	1, 000
John Small, Esquire-----	Sept. 27, 1773-----	1, 000
Major John Small-----	Sept. 27, 1773-----	1, 100
Elihu Hall Bay-----	Sept. 27, 1773-----	1, 100
John Dalling, Esquire-----	Nov. 4, 1773-----	5, 000
James Rumsey -----	March 26, 1774-----	1, 000
Amos Ogden, Esquire-----	May 6, 1774-----	3, 000
James Barbutt, Esquire-----	June 13, 1774-----	500
James Barbutt, Esquire-----	June 13, 1774-----	1, 000
Jacob Lantor -----	Oct. 8, 1774-----	300
William Wilton -----	Oct. 17, 1774-----	500
David Dickson, Esquire-----	Oct. 21, 1774-----	3, 000
Patrick Strachan -----	Oct. 21, 1774-----	1, 000

Name	Date of Grant	No. of Acres
Thomas Hutchins -----	Oct. 21, 1774-----	600
Mrs. Alice Blommart-----	Oct. 21, 1774-----	500
Mr. Luke Home-----	Oct. 21, 1774-----	600
Thomas Gamble, Esquire-----	June 13, 1774-----	1,000
William Johnstone -----	May 5, 1775-----	2,000
William Johnstone -----	May 5, 1775-----	1,000
Enoch Horton -----	May 4, 1775-----	200
John Hocombe -----	May 29, 1775-----	1,333
John Hocombe -----	May 29, 1775-----	667
John Robinson -----	July 15, 1775 -----	2,000
Clifton Ann Raincock-----	July 15, 1775-----	1,000
William Judd -----	July 15, 1775-----	1,000
William Judd -----	July 15, 1775-----	1,000
Thomas Hutchins, Esquire-----	July 15, 1775 -----	2,000
Jeremiah Germain -----	Aug. 31, 1775-----	300
William Johnstone -----	Sept. 12, 1775-----	1,000
William Gorman -----	Sept. 12, 1775-----	243
James Barbutt -----	Sept. 13, 1775-----	1,000
Major Robert Farmer -----	Sept. 22, 1775-----	3,000
Charles Stuart -----	July 31, 1775-----	1,000
Charles Stuart -----	July 31, 1775-----	1,000
Charles Stuart -----	July 31, 1775-----	1,000
Charles Stuart -----	July 31, 1775-----	1,000
Roger Enos -----	Oct. 13, 1775-----	2,000
William Wilton -----	Oct. 13, 1775-----	300
Joseph Blackwell -----	Oct. 18, 1775-----	1,000
James Bruce, Esquire-----	Nov. 2, 1775-----	167
Philip Barbour -----	Feb. 12, 1776-----	500
John Allen Martin-----	Feb. 12, 1776-----	1,000
William Hindson -----	Feb. 12, 1776-----	2,000
William Wilton -----	Feb. 12, 1776-----	1,000
John Cadwallader -----	} Feb. 20, 1776-----	1,000
William Williams -----		
Mary Williams -----		
Ann Williams -----		

Name	Date of Grant	No. of Acres
Sir George Bridges Rodney, Baronet -----	Oct. 13, 1776-----	5,000
Jacob Paul, Senior-----	March 27, 1776-----	100
Samuel Lewis -----	March 27, 1776-----	200
Sarah Lewis -----	March 27, 1776-----	100
William Grant -----	May 6, 1776-----	1,000
William Grant -----	May 6, 1776-----	1,000
William Grant -----	May 6, 1776-----	1,000
John Lorimer -----	May 6, 1776-----	2,000
Thomas Jones -----	May 6, 1776-----	200
Susanna Jacobs -----	May 6, 1776-----	200
Daniel Perry -----	May 6, 1776-----	250
Sir Basil Keith-----	July 8, 1776-----	3,000
Evan Cameron -----	July 22, 1776-----	150
Philip Barbour -----	Nov. 12, 1776-----	250
Philip Barbour -----	Nov. 12, 1776-----	250
Philip Barbour -----	Nov. 12, 1776-----	250
Robert Robinson -----	Nov. 14, 1776-----	100
William Hays -----	Nov. 14, 1776-----	400
Hannah Lum -----		
William Lum and Jesse Lum-----	Nov. 14, 1776-----	300
Robert Spears -----	Nov. 22, 1776-----	500
Peter Chester, Esquire-----	Nov. 22, 1776-----	1,000
Elizabeth Augusta Carrique-----	Nov. 22, 1776-----	500
Edward Tying -----	Nov. 29, 1776-----	2,000
George Cauld, Esquire-----	Dec. 12, 1776-----	2,000
John Payne -----	Dec. 12, 1776-----	2,000
Augustine Prevost, Esquire-----	Dec. 31, 1776-----	5,000
Daniel Vanderweid -----	Feb. 24, 1777-----	500
Cephas Kenard -----	March 4, 1777-----	250
David Waugh -----	March 11, 1777-----	1,000
William Marshall -----	March 24, 1777-----	1,000
William Ellis -----	March 24, 1777-----	200
Donald McPherson -----	April 5, 1777-----	300
Jacob Paul, Junior-----	April 5, 1777-----	100
Thomas Harmon -----	April 22, 1777-----	650

Name	Date of Grant	No. of Acres
John Blommart -----	April 29, 1777-----	2, 000
George Grant -----	May 1, 1777-----	2, 000
James Hutchinson -----	May 1, 1777-----	200
Benjamin Gower -----	May 5, 1777-----	500
Alexander McIntosh -----	May 5, 1777-----	400
John Smith -----	May 26, 1777-----	200
John Bolls -----	May 26, 1777-----	100
Parker Carradine -----	May 26, 1777-----	100
James Smith Yarborough-----	June 2, 1777-----	400
James Robertson -----	June 16, 1777-----	2, 000
John Alston -----	June 16, 1777-----	450
Mary Ogden -----	June 30, 1777-----	500
Patrick Stuart -----	July 11, 1777-----	1, 000
Philip Harmon -----	July 21, 1777-----	150
John Bentley -----	July 21, 1777-----	200
William Browne -----	July 21, 1777-----	150
Mary Dwyer -----	July 28, 1777-----	200
Angelique Brouaque Johnstone -----	Aug. 15, 1777-----	1, 000
Thomas James -----	Aug. 15, 1777-----	500
Thomas James -----	Aug. 15, 1777-----	100
Isaac Johnson -----	Sept. 1, 1777-----	1, 000
John Blommart, Esquire-----	Sept. 1, 1777-----	200
Margaret Stampley -----	Sept. 1, 1777-----	100
William Vousdan -----	Sept. 15, 1777-----	200
Alexander McIntosh -----	Oct. 9, 1777-----	200
Samuel Gibson -----	Oct. 9, 1777-----	100
James Perry -----	Oct. 9, 1777-----	100
Christopher Marr -----	Oct. 9, 1777-----	100
Luke Collins, Senior-----	Oct. 9, 1777-----	500
Luke Collins, Junior-----	-----	200
Thomas Collins -----	Oct. 9, 1777-----	200
Theophilus Collins -----	Oct. 9, 1777-----	200
Michael Golden -----	Oct. 9, 1777-----	100
John Tally -----	-----	300
Benjamin Roberts -----	-----	250
Athannasius Martin -----	Oct. 9, 1777-----	100

Name	Date of Grant	No. of Acres
William Case -----	Oct. 9, 1777-----	300
Christian Bingamon -----	Oct. 11, 1777-----	600
John Lusk -----		150
Jeremiah Routh -----	Oct. 13, 1777-----	500
Nathan Sweazey -----	Oct. 13, 1777-----	250
John Watkins -----	Oct. 23, 1777-----	250
David Odam -----	Oct. 23, 1777-----	200
William Stiell -----	Nov. 8, 1777-----	200
William Fricker -----	Nov. 8, 1777-----	2,000
Weston Varlo, Esquire-----	Nov. 13, 1777-----	2,000
Weston Varlo -----		2,000
Weston Varlo, Esquire-----		1,000
Alexander Ross -----	Nov. 19, 1777-----	2,000
James Robertson -----	Dec. 17, 1777-----	500
Peter Kennedy -----	Dec. 17, 1777-----	500
Peter Kennedy -----		500
Mrs. Sarah Stuart-----	Dec. 17, 1777-----	1,000
Richard Wells -----	Jan. 6, 1778-----	2,000
Peter Walsh -----	Jan. 6, 1778-----	924
Peter Rochat -----		2,000
James Hughes -----	Jan. 6, 1778-----	550
Augustin Prevost -----	Jan. 15, 1778-----	1,000
Peter Beeson -----	Feb. 14, 1778-----	100
Ebenezer Brown -----		100
Emanuel Madden -----		100
John Stephenson -----	Feb. 23, 1778-----	1,200
John Arnott -----	March 11, 1778-----	2,000
James Co'e -----	March 20, 1778-----	550
John Collins -----	March 20, 1778-----	200
William Collins -----		200
John Ross -----	March 20, 1778-----	300
Andrew Cypress -----	March 20, 1778-----	100
William Stiell -----	March 30, 1778-----	2,000
George Eberhard -----	March 30, 1778-----	500
Augustin Prevost -----	March 30, 1778-----	1,000
Augustin Prevost -----	March 30, 1778-----	1,000

Name	Date of Grant	No. of Acres
John Grant -----	April 9, 1778-----	2,000
Donald McDonald -----	April 29, 1778-----	2,000
Richard Hawford -----	May 14, 1778-----	2,000
Phillip Affleck, Esquire-----	May 15, 1778-----	5,000
John Bolls -----	Aug. 6, 1778-----	150
Thomas Comstock -----		150
William Stiell, Esquire-----	Aug. 15, 1778-----	2,000
John Chrystie, Esquire-----	Aug. 15, 1778-----	1,000
Archibald Dalziel -----	Aug. 15, 1778-----	800
Archibald Dalziel -----	Aug. 15, 1778-----	300
Archibald Dalziel -----		300
Archibald Dalziel -----		300
Archibald Dalziel -----	Aug. 15, 1778-----	300
Joseph Charleville -----	Aug. 15, 1778-----	200
Robert Tendall -----	Aug. 22, 1778-----	2,000
John Marr -----	Sept. 23, 1778-----	500
John Marr -----		500
James Sutherland -----	Sept. 23, 1778-----	1,500
James Sutherland -----	Sept. 23, 1778-----	1,500
Christopher Gise -----	Nov. 11, 1778-----	706
Ann Williams -----	Nov. 11, 1778-----	300
Ephraim Thornell -----	Nov. 12, 1778-----	100
John Hartley -----	Nov. 12, 1778-----	200
George Eberhard -----	Nov. 24, 1778-----	500
James Murray -----	Nov. 24, 1778-----	500
Jacob McCarty -----	Dec. 5, 1778-----	300
Francis Fisher -----		100
Stephen Jordon -----	Dec. 5, 1778-----	200
Thomas Carter -----	Dec. 5, 1778-----	150
Henry Bradley -----	Dec. 5, 1778-----	150
Augustine Moreau -----	Dec. 19, 1778-----	100
Thomas Pitt -----	Jan. 15, 1779-----	200
Benjamin James -----	Jan. 15, 1779-----	500
Alexander Campbell -----	March 15, 1779-----	1,000
Frederic George Mulcaster-----	March 24, 1779-----	1,000
Robert Ross -----	March 31, 1779-----	1,000

Name	Date of Grant	No. of Acres
Jahn Auchinleck -----	April 8, 1779-----	3,000
Peter Walsh -----	April 26, 1779-----	585
- James Hughes -----	April 26, 1779-----	1,000
Joseph Nunn, Esquire -----	May 10, 1779-----	3,000
John Ferguson, Esquire -----	-----	3,000
Daniel McGillivray -----	May 25, 1779-----	300
John Hostler -----	May 25, 1779-----	200
John Row -----	May 25, 1779-----	200
Jacob Schnell -----	May 25, 1779-----	300
Benjamin Stanley -----	-----	200
William Garnier, Esquire-----	May 28, 1779-----	5,000
Richard Ellis -----	June 16, 1779-----	850
Richard Ellis -----	June 16, 1779-----	1,000
Zaccheus Routh -----	-----	400
Charles Campbell -----	July 21, 1779-----	100
Jacob Paul -----	-----	200
Sarah Mayes -----	July 23, 1779-----	100
Andrew Carr -----	July 22, 1779-----	200
Lieut. Col. William Stiel-----	Aug. 27, 1779-----	1,000
Joseph Pinhorn -----	Aug. 21, 1779-----	200
James Christie -----	Sept. 8, 1779-----	565
Charles Percy -----	Sept. 23, 1779-----	600
John Firby -----	Sept. 23, 1779-----	100
Anthony Hutchins, Esquire-----	Oct. 4, 1779-----	419
Patrick Kelly -----	Sept. 2, 1779-----	200

Census of the inhabitants of the District of Natchez, under the dominion of Spain, in 1792.

District of Big Black.

Tobias Brashears. ,
 Guillermo Cheney.
 Juan Stowers.
 Frederico Gunnels.
 Jorge Novres.
 Roberto Camell.
 Federico Myer.

District of Big Black —Con.

Garet Rapalye.
 Isaac Rapalye.
 Santiago Repalye.

District of Buffalo Creek.

Daniel Clark.
 Carlos Percey.

District of Buffalo Creek—Con.

Guillermo Collins.
 David Leyeune.
 Zacarias Smith.
 Pedro Smith.
 Zarcarias Smith, Joven.
 Daniel Ogdon.
 Juan Lobellas.
 Thomas Lobellas.
 Edwardo Lobellas.
 Ebenezer Potter.
 David Johns.
 Antonio Daugherty.
 Guillermo Landerfield.
 Jeremias Lyons.
 Patricio Sullivan.
 Juan Bartley.
 Juan Alston.
 Enrique Roach.
 Guillermo Alston.
 Jaime Smith.
 Guillermo Willson.
 Lily White.
 Orange.
 Margarita Ross.
 Guillermo Coleman.
 Phelipe Luis Alston.

District of Bayou Sara.

Francisco Pausset.
 Juan Wall.
 Andres Here.
 Reuben Dunman.
 Guillermo Brown.
 Davis Ross.
 Jaime Ryan.
 Juan Green.

District of Bayou Sara—Con.

Juan Welton.
 Abram Hotton.
 Roberto Stark.
 Juan Oconer.

District of Bayou Pierre.

Guillermo Broccas.
 Gibson Clarke.
 Jaime Lobdal.
 Tomas Gobbard.
 Guillermo Young.
 Daniel Chambers.
 Jaime Finn.
 Tomas Farinton.
 Ephraim History.
 Reuben Proctor.
 Lucius Smith.
 Jere Smith.
 Ebenezer Smith.
 Juan Sluter.
 Ezekiel Hoskins.
 Seth Rundell.
 Moises Armstrong.
 Juan Wilkerson.
 Tormas Voice.
 Adwardo Trail.
 Elias Flowers.
 Jesus Randell.
 Samuel Gibson.
 Elias Smith.
 Reuben Price.
 Federico Stokman.
 Pedro Bruin.
 Benjamin Brashears.
 Edwardo Brashears.
 Watterman Crane.

District of Bayou Pierre—Con.

Daniel Miller.
 Guillermo Taybor.
 Isaac Five.
 Tomas Irvins.
 Carlos Hemell.
 Patricio Cogan.
 Juan Smith.
 Manuel Rice.
 Estavan Richards.
 Buker Pittman.
 Solomon Witley.
 Jacob Hartley.
 Juan Hartley.
 Jacabo Coyleman.
 Leonardo Price.
 David MacFarland.
 Tomas Smith.
 Pheby Goodwind.
 Ricardo Grims.
 Jacabo Piatte.
 Jaime Harman.
 Ezekiel Harman.
 Jese Dwet.
 Jaime Layton.
 Guillermo Howey.
 Jacaba Cobbun.
 Samuel Cobbun.
 Juan Burnet.
 Daniel Burnet.
 Tomas Beams.
 Jaime Deavenport.
 Guillermo Harkins.
 Ricardo Lord.
 Juan Routh.
 Paterico MacHeath.
 Estavan Cembrelly.

District of Bayou Pierre—Con.

Juan Carrel.
 Guillermo Miller.
 Elizabeth Dervin.
 Benjamin Fooy.
 Juan Frasher.
 Isaac Fooy.
 Jaime Mather.
 Ana Humphrey.
 Jorge Humphrey.
 Juan Naylor.
 Pedro Serlot.
 Francisco Naylor.
 Juan Ivers.
 Guillermo Basset.
 Melling Wooley.

District Second Sandy Creek.

Guillermo Alcheson.
 Pedro Surget.
 Pedro Presley.
 Jaime Sanders.
 Jese Carter.
 Jorge Aldrige.
 Abner Green.
 David Mitchell.
 Crestobal Gilbert.
 Jacobo Earheart.
 Juan Ellis el jovn.
 Juan Rapalye.
 Ricardo Ellis.
 David Gallermore.
 Anna Barket.
 Jonathan Masters.
 Nathaniel Tomlston.
 Juan Duesbery.
 Roberto Withers.

District Second Sandy Creek— | *District of Homochitto—Con.*

Con.

Juan Bodin.
Nehemiah Carter.
Tomas Landphier.
Samuel Phips.
Samuel Cooper.
David Kennedy.
Cataline Cunningham.
Nicolas Rob.
Nicolas Rob el joven.

District Second and Sandy Creek.

Darius Anderson.
Arche MacDuffe.
Antonio Hutchins.
Philander Smith.
Calvin Smith.
Jesse Greenfield.
Arturo Cobb.
Sara Holms.
Guillermo Glascok.
Estavan Minor.
Isac Johnson.
Juan McFee.
Guillermo Preston.
Miguel Minorby.
Juan Stout.
Guillermo Chambers.

Jaime Nicholson.
Landon Davis.
Donaldo McCoy.
Estavan Ambrose.
Augusto Rodey.
Enrique Nicholson.
Mateo MacCullock.
Enrique Phips.
Benjamin Carrell.
Jose Miller.
Tomas Murray.
Jose Dow.
Isac Gaillard.
David Swazay.
Abraham Ellis.
Nataniel Tomlston.
Ana Savage.
Jaime Kirk Gabriel Swezey.
Job Corry.
Ricardo Corry.
Jeremias Corry.
Nathan Swezy.
Juan Lusk.
Mordica Richards.
Roberto Miller.
Obediah Brown.
David Lambert.
Caleb King.
Juan Chambers.

District of Homochitto.

Archwaldo Palmer.
Ruffin Gray.
Barney Higgins.
Tomas Cummins.
Patricio Foley.

District of Villa Gayoso.

Parker Carradine.
Archwald Robinson.
Jaime Edward.
Elizabeth Young.
Abraam Green.

District of Villa Gayoso—Con.

Margarita Stampley.
Federico Manedo.
David Odam.
Guillermo Falconer.
Abraam Mays.
Tomas Master Green.
Guillermo Kirkland.
Samuel Kirkland.

District Second Sandy Creek.

Matee Jones Oja.
Estavan Stephenson.
Juan Newton.
Jacobo Adams.
Jaime Kelly.
Isac Alexander.
Joel Weed.
Samuel Heady.
Jacobo Miller.
Jorge Holland.
Tomas Martin.
Guillermo Ratliff.
Juan Paterson.
Guillermo MacDougle.
Tomas Nichols.
Ebenezer Barrows.
Juan Spires.
Jaime Oglerby.
Little Berry West.

District Sandy and Second Creek.

Guillermo West.
Tomas Morgan.
Guillermo Morgan.
Juan Armsreit.

District Sandy and Second Creek—Con.

Jaime Stewart.
Juan Holladay.
Josua Howard.
Bearly Pruet.
Juan Ratliff.
Jose Slater Bal.
Guillermo Lee.
Daniel Harrigal.
Tomas Martin.
Miguel Williams.
Jaime Richardson.
Jose Stockstill.
Margarita Hifler.
Pedro Nilson.
Juan Craven.
Juan Calvet.
Thomas Foard.
Jaime Cooper.
Nataniel Butler.
Guillermo Calvet.
Elias Bonill.
Guillermo Cooper.
Juan Foard.
Guillermo Fletcher.
Benjamin Fletcher.
Hugh Slater.
Juan Ervin.
Jaime Ervin.
Samuel Cooper.
Alexandro Farrow.
Enrique Cooper.
Jorge Bayly.
Ephain Bates.
Daniel MacGill.
Benjamin Bullock.

*District Sandy and Second
Creek—Con.*

Benjamin Laneer.
Benjamin Holmes.
Roberto Abranns.
Tomas Purling.
Mateo White.
Juan Cowel.
Juan Ellis.
Guillermo Dunbar.

District of Villa Gayoso.

Francisco Spain.
Jaime Spain.
Alexandro Callender.
Ephraim Coleman.
Guillermo Clark.
Redman Conely.
Samuel Davis.
Juan Stampley.
Ricardo Curtes.
Juan Smith.
Tomas Calvet.
Juan Andelton.
Tomas Splun.
Juan Rich.
Juan Young.
Jese Monson.
Juan Garet.
Narcisco Hunter.
Isac Taylor.
Juan Strabeker.
Jose Dyson.
Tomas Dyson.
Enrique Hunter.
Roberto Monson.
Enrique Milburn.

District of Villa Gayoso—Con.

Juan Credy.
Juan Cortney.
Pedro Hill.
Marcos Coil.
Tomas Smil.
Juan Jones.
David Smith.
Guillermo Farbanks.
Juan Greeffin.
Abel Easmin.
Earl Marbel.
Jorge Murray.
Gabriel Greeffin.
Juan Arden.
Daniel Douglass.
Archibald Douglass.
Favid Douglass.
Estavan Douglass.
Ezekiel Newman.
Isac Newman.
David Greenlief.
Prospero King.
Guillermo Bishop.
Recardo King.
Justo King.
Jese Hamelton.
Denis Collins.
Juan Clark.
Lucia Clark.
Jaime Clark.
Jaime Kenty.
Adam Lanhart.
David Hellbrand.
Jose Fowler.
Guillermo Boveard.
Maydelen Perry.

District of Villa Gayoso—Con.

Jonathan Ruker.
 Juan Crutheirs.
 Daniel Perry.
 Guillermo Beardman.
 Jacobo Shilling.
 Juan Martin.
 Nataniel Kennson.
 Miguel Guise.
 Jaime Hilonds.
 Benjamin Curtes.
 Ricardo Roddy.
 Adam Cloud.
 Mordica Frockmorton.
 Roberto Frockmorton.
 Guillermo Ferguson.
 Nataniel Brown.
 Guillermo Durch.
 Patricio McDermot.
 Juan Donaldson.
 Stewart Higginson.
 Juan Williams.
 Cato West.
 Josua Collins.
 Jaime Truly.
 Guillermo Burch.
 Guillermo Lum.
 Dibdal Holt.
 David Holt.

District of Santa Catalina.

Le Veude Mulhollon.
 Cristian Bingham.
 Jonatha Perkins.
 La Vieuda Oilor.
 Roberto Cochran.
 Juan Rodriguez.

District of Santa Catalina—Con.

Nataniel Tomlinton.
 Guillermo Smith.
 Philitus Smith.

District of Villa Gayoso.

Guillermo Murrah.
 Margarita Routh.
 Jeremias Routh.
 Elias Routh.
 Job Routh.
 Roberto Wathe.
 Juan Ferry.
 Alexandro Grant.
 Estavan Scriber.
 Jose Scopkil.
 Jorge Dewange.
 Jose Green.
 Nathan Green.
 Littleberry Hust.
 Juan Holt.
 Guillermo Mathews.
 Guillermo Curtis.
 Carlos Simmons.
 Juan King.
 Juan Garkins.
 Carlos Colins.
 Samuel Foster.
 Patricio Sullivan.
 Jorge Jones.
 Juan Roberts.
 Jacobo Cable.
 Jasper Sinclear.
 Juan Anderson.
 Jorge Bainer.
 Jorge Stampley.
 Guillermo Patterson.

District Villa Gayoso—Con.

Adam Beakly.
 Juan Hambeeling.
 Guillermo Hamberling.
 Estavan de Alva.
 Jorge Cleare.
 Enrique Platner.
 Jacobo Huffman.
 Clemente Dyson.
 Juan Dyson.
 Justo Humphreys.
 Andres Wadkins.
 Edmundo Johnson.
 Roberto Crayton.
 Tomas Daniels.
 Maria Shepman.
 Tomas Adams.
 Abraam Glason.
 Guillermo Adams.
 Enrique Green.
 Bernabe Isenhoot.
 Miguel Fake.
 Juan Fake.
 Jacobo Crumholf.
 Tomas Robeson.
 Roger Dixon.
 Jorge Forman.
 Guillermo Ervin.
 Jaime Johns.
 Juan Cole.
 Estavan Cole.
 Samuel Karr.
 Ismy Forman.
 Jaime Cole el viejo.
 Solomon Cole.
 Benjamin Still.
 Abner Marvill.

District Villa Gayoso—Con.

Juan Zeines.
 Guillermo Cole.
 Jacobo Stampely.
 Jaime Cole el joven.
 Ricardo Harrison.
 Benito Truly.
 Groves Muris.
 Hugh Bell.
 Guillermo Thomas.
 Tarpley Bayly.

District of Santa Catalina.

Guillermo Baker.
 Juan Odum.
 Jose Calvet.
 Maria Igdom.
 Benjamin Belk.
 Juan Willey.
 Estavan Haines.
 Juan Haines.
 Jephta Higdon.
 Juan Bols.
 Tomas Moore.
 Juan Dix.
 La Vuida Calvet.,
 Jeremais Coleman.
 Israel Coleman.
 McCurtis.
 Guillermo Daniels.
 Ricardo Dun.
 Isac Tabor.
 Roberto Dunbar.
 Ricardo Ellis.
 La Vuida Carpenter.
 Marta Foster.
 Jaime Foster.

District of Santa Catalina—Con.

Alexandro Henderson.
 Pedro Camus.
 Juan Lum.
 Hugh Coyle.
 Tomas Kelly.
 Miguel Doren.
 Andres Bell.
 Jese Withers.
 Jaime McIntire.
 Moises Bonner el Viejo.
 Will Bonner.
 Moises Bonner el joven.
 Jose Bonner.
 Enrique Manadue.
 Enrique Manadue el joven.
 Carlos Howard.
 Juan Vaucheret.
 Jose Vaucheret.
 Jose Vaucheret.
 Windsor Pips.
 Abner Pips.
 Juan Stowers.
 Juan Conarrodd Strong.
 Juan Baptests.
 Carlos Boardman
 Azael Lewis.
 Emanuel Madden.
 Roberto Cotton.
 Miguel Pamer.
 Juan Bisland.
 Jaime Wade.
 Guillermo Owens.
 Tomas Jordan.
 Jaime Bonner.
 Juan Kenrick.
 Juan Osberry.

District of Santa Catalina—Con.

Francisco Pourchous.
 Antonio Pourchous.
 Gabriel Benoit.
 Juan Carrel.
 Juan Scoggins.
 Juan Shonauer.
 Guillermo Henderson.
 Eliza Ophill.
 Francisco Anderson.
 Jose Bernard.
 Jorge Fitzgerald.
 Jaime Fitzgerald.
 Daniel Crafton.
 Polser Shilling.
 *Jaime Ferry.
 Guillermo Barland.
 Bernardo Lintot.
 David Williams.
 Benjamin Momanto.
 Sutton Banks.
 Antonio Grass.
 Estavan Mays.
 Tomas Rule.
 Alexandro Moore.
 Adam Bingman.
 Eunice MacIntoche.
 Guillermo MacIntoche.
 Guillermo Smith.
 Philetus Smith.
 Roberto Todd.
 Ricardo Adaams.
 Federico Man.
 Carlos King.
 Israel Leonard.

* More likely Terry

District of Santa Catalina—Con.

David Mulkey.
 Guillermo Gillaſpie.
 Carlos Kayson.
 Ishamer Andrews.
 Jacobo Percey.
 Margarita Mygatt.
 Guillermo Silkreg.
 Jaime Glascok.
 Archwald Sloan.
 Catalina Smith.
 La Vuide Urry.
 La Vuida Cobberston.
 Guillermo Vousdan.
 Solomon Leyenne.
 Tomas Huggs.
 Jaime Willey.
 Samuel Tanner.
 Daniel Sullivan.
 Jesus Beanden.
 Tomas Reed.
 Daniel Huilker.
 Ezekiel Dwet.
 Jose Duncan.
 Samuel Swezey.
 Solivester.
 Tomas Jackson.
 Luis Vilaret.
 Andres Scandiing.
 Ebenezer Dayton.
 Juan Tomas.
 Eduardo MacCable.
 Juan Wilson.
 Tomas Freman.
 Ricardo Swezy.
 Jacobo Stoop.
 Juan Conner.

District of Santa Catalina—Con.

Guillermo Weake.
 Ricardo Bell.
 Reuben Gibson.
 Gibbs Gibson.
 Samuel Flowers.
 Tomas Foster.
 Guillermo Foster.
 Guillermo Gilbert.
 Nataniel Iwey.
 Abram Horton.
 Ezekiel Forman.
 La Muger de Jeremias
 Bryan.
 Guillermo Elliott.
 Cornelio Shaw.
 Jose Harrison.
 Juan Bulling.
 Tomas Darrah.
 Carlos Johns.
 Jaime Forzith.
 Juan Ferguson.
 Gorge Troops.
 Guillermo Stock.
 La Vuida Smith.
 Juan Foster.
 Samuel Gilkson.
 Cristian Harman.
 Tomas Reilly.
 Juan De Bready.
 Jorge Rich
 Jorge Killian.
 Juan Perkins.
 Kedow Rabby.
 Ricardo Miller.
 Guillermo Ryan.
 Carlos Adams.

<i>District of Santa Catalina</i> —Con.	<i>District of Santa Clara</i> —Con.
Carlos Carter.	Roberto Carter.
Guillermo Morning.	Jose Perkins.
Job Richards.	Juan Elmore.

NOTE—The spelling of names is given as recorded in official records. However, it is well to note that many of the officials of that time were uneducated Spanish officers, and English names, as well as Spanish and French, were corrupted in the spelling.

The foregoing list of inhabitants of the Natchez District contains the names of heads of families only; women, children and slaves do not appear. The population, of the District in 1792 was 4690.

HISTORY OF COMPANY "C," SECOND MISSISSIPPI REGIMENT, SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

BY JAMES MALCOLM ROBERTSHAW.

It is now over seventeen years since the company disbanded. Time passes rapidly and memory is faulty, and, unless we preserve by record what heretofore has been in the custody of memory, a true knowledge of an event in which the youth of Washington county participated, may be found wanting and irrecoverable.

I will commence with a brief history of our local military company, the "Delta Guards," subsequently known after reorganization as Company "C." This company was organized April 1, 1895, and the object at the time was more or less a local necessity, aside from which its claims were attractive to the youth of the community for other reasons. In the first place, it assured the members of the company an annual summer vacation in the way of an encampment in the vicinity of some town or city of the state where arrangements were always made to entertain the soldiers in a festive manner. One of the principal features of such entertainments were dances each evening, in which a majority of the soldier boys would participate, and by them considered great successes; for, while their brass buttons were in evidence, the civilians had to take a second place, and so it was with everything else. The manual duties of the company were virtually nominal, except to insure proper training in drills for such occasions. In a few words, it was a company of good fellows, friends who enjoyed each other's society. However, this great round of pleasure did not last; the war clouds could be seen gathering on the horizon.

and it was then the boys first realized what it meant to be a soldier. When the battleship Maine was destroyed in the harbor of Havana in February, 1898, it was soon determined that war with Spain was inevitable, and the one topic discussed was the war.

When the United States had declared war and needed recruits, small crowds of soldier boys, belonging to the Delta Guards, would assemble on the streets and discuss the matter with their friends, and those who had enlisted in the state militia felt the importance of their commission; however, the governor in his proclamation of April 29, 1898, did not make it compulsory for the members of the National Guards to enlist and it was optional with the men who had already enlisted in the state service, whether or not they would answer their country's call; but feeling in honor bound, the Delta Guards, almost to a man, when called upon responded to the call, and like everything else Greenville does she furnished her quota of volunteers. At this time, Henry T. Ireys, Jr., volunteered his services to the Delta Guards, and he was immediately enrolled and chosen as captain of the company; this honor was bestowed upon him because of his early training at the Virginia Military Institute which had equipped him in every way to take charge of the company. He reorganized the company and arranged for regular drill practice to prepare the boys for the service ahead of them. On the streets of Greenville, crowds would gather in the evenings to watch the company drill, and enthusiasm waxed stronger and stronger as new members enlisted, until April 25th, when the company had enrolled a membership of seventy men awaiting orders. On April 26, 1898, a message was received, dated at Jackson, Mississippi, as follows:

"The president calls for two volunteer infantry regiments. How many of your company will volunteer? Regiments are to be formed and officers elected as now prescribed when troops are assembled at rendezvous."

(Signed) "WM. HENRY,
Adjutant General Mississippi."

When this message came, it produced a thrill of intense excitement through the whole town, and all felt that the time had come when the soldier boys would receive orders to proceed to Jackson, Mississippi. The company having been already organized, the adjutant general was immediately notified that the Delta Guards would furnish seventy men. Governor A. J. McLaurin's proclamation was issued April 29, 1898, but it was some days later when the company received orders to report at Camp Pat Henry, Jackson, Mississippi, on May 28, 1898.

A reception was given by the good people of Greenville on the eve of the company's departure, and the soldier boys assembled at the armory on that evening and marched in a body, seventy strong, to the assembly hall, where the reception was held. They were cheered by the crowd, and Sommer's band played patriotic airs which imbued all with the enthusiastic spirit of the occasion. Fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, sweethearts and friends, all had come to take part in the reception, and the following program was arranged for the occasion:

Prayer	-----	Rev. Quincy Ewing
Music, "Star Spangled Banner"	-----	Public School Children
Presentation Speech by	-----	Capt. W. G. Yerger
Song, "Dixie,"	School children accompanied by Sommer's band	
Patriotic Address by	-----	Judge J. H. Wynn
Response by	-----	Hon. Walton Shields

At the close of the program, the evening proved anything but joyful, for everybody was sad at the thought of parting, as the company was to leave on a seven o'clock special train over the Southern railway next morning.

It was arranged for the fire alarm to sound the tocsin at four o'clock, at which time the boys were to be aroused for their departure; and when it was sounded, the bells and whistles of the town all joined their voices to the alarm, making the early dawn of May 28, 1898, one long to be remembered by the population of Greenville, who, without exception, left their homes to see their boys off, bidding them farewell and asking

God's blessing on them while away, and hoping for their safe return. There were many tears to be seen on the faces of those left behind and the soldiers were not the liveliest of men as their train pulled out.

The special gathered companies along the line as they went, arriving at Jackson, Mississippi, at 4:30 p. m. the same day. The different companies reported at Camp Pat Henry and were immediately examined by the board of surgeons before being mustered into the service of the United States. In order to pass, the following examination was necessary:

"CIRCULAR"

"May 5, 1898."

"The physical requirements of volunteers are briefly as follows: The applicant must be sound, have good vision, weigh at least 125 pounds, not more than 195 pounds, to be at least 5 feet 4 inches tall, and have chest measure expiration of at least 32 inches and chest mobility of at least 2 inches, ages 18 to 45.

(Signed) "WM. HENRY,
Adjutant General."

It was necessary for those who joined under the age of twenty-one years to have a permit of consent from their parents. This examination recalls an instance of one of our ambitious young men who did not weigh quite enough to pass the examination, and in order to pass, he drank a bucket of lemonade, with which assistance he was able to tilt the scales to the weight required, which made him very happy. After having passed the examination, the following telegram will show that the "Swamp Angels" were healthy subjects:

"Special to the Democrat:

Jackson, Miss., May 28, 1898.

Seventy examined, sixty-four passed, two under age. Delta Guards passed best physical examination of any company so far examined."

Two of those rejected were so determined to go with the company that they volunteered as cooks and so stayed with us.

After passing the examination, the company was assigned to

one end of a large circus tent, and were given plenty of loose hay for bedding, and a good hard ground on which to rest their weary bones. This rapid change from the easy luxury of comfortable homes brought quick realization of the hardships ahead, but the boys accepted the situation with good cheer. In order to recruit the company up to eighty men, as required, Captain Ireys telegraphed home for twenty-odd recruits, and on June 1st, a reinforcement arrived at Jackson in charge of Captain W. K. Gildart, accompanied by Messrs. T. H. Hood and George Wheatley, from which squad, seventeen men were declared physically all right. As the various companies would report and pass examination, they would be assigned to the same large circus tent until there were about six hundred men under one canvas, and truly the tent served its purpose as a circus tent, for such a managerie was never gathered together in the world before. At night, the fun commenced. The officers found it impossible to control the men under the undisciplined conditions and advantage was taken of the situation, and the boys would have a potato shower nearly every night, when you could hear men from all parts of the tent saying everything but their prayers.

In the regular army, the boys found it quite different from their state encampments, as the enlisted men were given practically no recognition by society. However, our boys were perfectly satisfied with the good company of each other. Washing day was one of the chief attractions for the visitors at the big tent. The guy ropes of the tent had the washing strung out, which was done by the newly enlisted soldiers; frequently visitors from town would amuse themselves by walking around the camp. Occasionally some friends from home came and they were always welcome guests; sometimes they would mess with the boys, and bring them messages of good cheer from home folks.

The board of supervisors of Washington county, in order to assist Company C, in case of need, authorized \$250.00 placed at their disposal, of which only a small part was used. Upon return of the company there was a balance of \$197.07, and the

board was asked what disposition they wanted made of same, but the matter was left entirely with Company C, and upon vote being taken, the money was donated to King's Daughters Circle No. 2.

On June 2, 1898, the Delta Guards were mustered into the United States service as Company C, second regiment of volunteer infantry, with the following regimental officers: William A. Montgomery, colonel; Devereaux Shields, lieutenant colonel; George C. Hoskins, major; John P. Mayo, major; Joseph M. Jayne, Jr., adjutant; Hiram Cassedy Jr., quartermaster; Madden W. Hamilton, major and surgeon; Henry C. Kent, captain and surgeon; George W. Acker, first lieutenant and adjutant; E. D. Solomon, captain and chaplain; Sam Montgomery, sergeant major; James W. Nelson, regimental quartermaster sergeant.

Devereaux Shields commanded the first battalion of which Company C was a part.

On June 14, 1898, the second regiment was ordered to report to General Fitzhugh Lee at Jacksonville, Fla., and the date of departure was fixed for June 20th. The good ladies of Jackson supplied each soldier with a nice box of lunch to take on the train with them, which they thoroughly enjoyed. They were transported by special train to Jacksonville arriving there June 22, 1898, which will be shown by following telegram:

"Panama Park, Jacksonville, Fla.. June 22, 1898—(Special) Second Mississippi fortunate in selecting of camp. St. John river flows within one-half mile northeast of camp and a large creek called Trout creek, almost a river itself, empties into St. John river within one-fourth of a mile of Camp Cuba Libre, and were assigned to the Seventh Army Corps."

Camp Cuba Libre was located at Panama Park, Florida, six miles from Jacksonville on the Florida Central and Peninsular railway. Panama Park was only a small place with one or two houses and when the regiment first arrived they found it an uninviting wilderness and before pitching the tents, the troops had to make a place for camping grounds. Many small

trees and bushes had to be removed and as the government had not furnished the troops with any necessary implements for that sort of work, it was difficult to clear the place. The work started with a few hatchets, an ax or two and a thousand men. It was not long before the young pine trees, pulled out of the sand, began to disappear. Apparently the work was done without trouble, but it required as many as ten or fifteen men sometimes to uproot one small tree. Occasionally the monotony was broken by a rabbit jumping from the bushes when he was given a merry chase for his life, some escaping, but others were captured to fill the pots to be cooked for the supper of a bunch of hungry men. When the ground was finally cleared, and things shaped up, it was not long before our camp was considered one of the best the United States had for troops. Tall pine trees were left standing in some of the company streets, and in a forest of pine trees headquarters was located, while out in the campus not a tree was to be seen. In the evening small groups would gather and exchange many interesting happenings of the day in regard to their camp life.

Shortly after arrival at Panama Park instructions came to recruit the company up to 106 men and there were volunteers from Illinois, Tennessee and other points who found place in the ranks of Company C.

Roster of Company C, name, rank, residence and remarks:

Henry T. Ireys, Jr., captain, Greenville.

Henry W. Starling, first lieutenant, Greenville.

Richard D. Bedon, second lieutenant, Greenville.

Wm. D. Robertshaw, first sergeant, Greenville.

Mat C. Scurry, quartermaster sergeant, Greenville.

James M. Robertshaw, sergeant, Greenville.

Abram G. Yerger, sergeant, Greenville.

William Urquhart, sergeant, Greenville.

George B. Hunt, sergeant, Greenville.

Dabney H. Hood, sergeant, Greenville.¹

¹ Discharged July 14, 1898; was appointed First Lieutenant Fifth U. S. Volunteer Infantry by President McKinley.

Walton Shields, sergeant, Greenville.²
Maurice A. Bergman, corporal, Greenville.
Robert S. Gildart, corporal, Greenville.
William P. Montgomery, corporal, Greenville.
Elias W. Floyd, corporal, Greenville.
Walter G. Blake, corporal, Greenville.
William B. Meisner, corporal, Greenville.
Lyne Starling, Jr., corporal, Greenville.
William T. Freeman, corporal, Greenville.
Jacob Sarason, corporal, Greenville.
Richard T. Harbison, corporal, Greenville.
Elliott C. Wetherbee, corporal, Greenville.
John P. Archer, corporal, Greenville.³
Samuel M. Allen, musician, Greenville.
Lawrence H. Bass, musician, Greenville.
John O. Morton, artificer, Greenville.
James H. Laycock, wagoner, Greenville.
Howell C. Benning, private, Greenville.
Ivan Behymer, private, Chicago, Ill.
Archie C. Bell, private, Greenville.
Charlie Y. Burns, private, Greenville.
Otos A. Carnine, private, Greenville.
Samuel C. Caswell, private, Greenville.
James Clancy, private, Greenville.⁴
John R. Colmery, private, Greenville.
Charles C. Crane, private, Greenville.
Richard J. Crittenden, private, Greenville.
Harry Dillingham, private, Toronto, Canada.
Walter B. Dorwart, private, Memphis, Tenn.
Sidney S. Eckstone, private, Greenville.
Clarence A. Felts, private, Chrisman, Ill.
John A. Gary, private, Greenville.
Ustace A. Giesler, private, Greenville.

² Discharged July 14, 1898; was appointed captain of the Fifth U. S. Volunteer Infantry by President McKinley.

³ Discharged Nov. 30, 1898, on account of health.

⁴ Transferred to hospital Sept. 10, 1898.

Wilson P. Hall, private, Greenville.
Chas. W. Hammer, private, Maima, I. T.
Chas. E. Hartman, private, Greenville.
Ethel Harwell, private, Memphis, Tenn.
Robert S. Head, private, Greenville.
George B. Hebron, private, Leland.
Walter J. Hovis, private, Greenville.
William A. Ingram, private, Greenville.
Harry A. Jame, Chicago, Ill.
James Jones, private, Jackson, Tenn.
Glen N. Keith, private, Greenville.
Richard B. Kemp, private, Canton.
William L. Kirves, private, Greenville.
William J. Lawson, private, Greenville.
A. T. Linsey, private, New Orleans, La.
John Lang, private, Chicago, Ill.
Phillip C. Love, private, Arcola.
David G. Love, private, Arcola.
Pat F. Luter, private, Winona.
John E. Martin, private, New Orleans, La.
C. W. Macmurdo, private, Greenville.
Mortimer W. Mason, private, Benoit.
Chas. H. Meyer, private, Chicago, Ill.
Frank C. Miller, private, Chicago, Ill.
Charles L. Mitchell, private, Lake Charles, La.
Julius L. Moyse, private, Greenville.
David R. Munger, private, Houston, Texas.
Eugene D. Munger, private, Houston, Texas.
Harry J. Musser, private, Greenville.⁵
Thomas McGinnis, private, Chicago, Ill.
Charles W. McHale, private, Chicago, Ill.
Patrick J. O'Connor, private, Sheboygan, Wis.
Albert H. Osborn, private, Indianapolis, Ind.
Ellis Parker, private, Greenville.
Phillip B. Pierce, private, L'Argent, La.

⁵ Discharged Oct. 31, 1898, on account of health.

Eugene E. Pilgrim, private, Hollandale.
John Pilgrim, private, Ludlow, Ill.
Eugene T. Richards, private, Greenville.
Charles Reiter, private, Marietta, Ohio.
Isaac H. Rogers, private, Memphis, Tenn.
Eugene H. Sossman, private, Holly Springs.
Fred A. Sheehan, private, Chicago, Ill.
John S. Shorten, private, Greenville.
August Schlieff, private, Chicago, Ill.
Edward W. Shrader, private, Greenville.
George K. Smith, Jr., private, Greenville.
Albert W. Smith, private, Greenville.
A. C. Smith, private, Jonesboro, Ark.
Emmet C. Smythe, private, Greenville.⁶
William Starling, Jr., private, Greenville.
Phillip Stokes, private, Greenville.
Emory Stephens, private, Holly Springs.
Percy P. Sutherland, Rosedale.
William G. Sutter, private, Silver Creek, N. Y.⁷
John Tegen, private, Chicago, Ill.
Julius Tott, private, Chicago, Ill.
Edward D. Travis, private, Avon.
Byrd C. Trigg, private, Greenville.⁸
Arthur O. Trousdale, private, Greenville.⁹
Thomas D. Vaughan, private, Greenville.
Herman Voss, private, Chicago, Ill.
Charles W. Wade, private, Bolivar.
William S. Warner, private, Moorhead.
Stonewall J. Webster, private, Madison, N. C.
James B. White, private, Greenville.
Joseph B. White, private, Greenville.¹⁰

⁶ Appointed hospital steward August 1, 1898.

⁷ Committed suicide on September 30, 1898.

⁸ Discharged October 31, 1898, for position of stenographer at regimental headquarters.

⁹ Transferred to hospital July 21, 1898.

¹⁰ Discharged for governmental appointment, November 17, 1898.

Oscar J. Wilix, private, Chicago, Ill.

Herbert A. Wood, private, Sidney, Neb.

Spencer B. Yerger, private, Greenville.

Company C enjoyed exceptionally good health and were truly blessed, for during their time of enlistment it had the good fortune not to lose a single man by death, something that cannot be said of many companies in the entire volunteer army. The boys were patient; of course, amusing themselves first in one way and then another. One of the principal amusements was the "kangaroo court" which convened every evening at the mess hall. The judge was given a chair upon one of the long tables and the court would open. It was found necessary to have regular officers to carry on this court as it developed, and they had a sheriff elected to keep the peace, and lawyers were employed to try some important cases that came up. When a complaint was made against a man that could not be taken to the military officers, the "Kangaroo court" took care of the case and everything but justice was meted out.

The boys were restive under the restraint of camp life and anxious to go forward into active service, but on July 3, 1898, when Cervera's fleet was destroyed by the United States squadron, the war was presumably ended, and then our men were anxious to be mustered out so they could return home to their duties, as they felt they had responded to their country's call to arms to defend and fight for her, but not to do police or garrison duty in foreign lands when hostilities had ceased.

On September 1, 1898, the following message was received and brought joy to the hearts of the men as it meant a return to home and loved ones:

"Washington, D. C., Sept. 1, 1898.—War department issued orders to transport troops for the purpose of being mustered out at their destination, among others, second Mississippi regiment of Jacksonville, to Lauderdale Springs, then give them 30 days furlough and return then at expiration of that time and be mustered out of service."

After this notice was received the company was given orders to prepare to be mustered out, and a few days later the company started on its way to Lauderdale Springs, when it was learned that yellow fever was in the state of Mississippi, and the troops were given the privilege of proceeding without stop at Lauderdale Springs, for thirty-six hours, this was done in order that they might not be quarantined from their respective homes.

On September 14 the news spread rapidly through Greenville that Company C would return on the Southern Railway. The citizens hastily started preparation for a reception and everything was splendidly arranged. Sommers' band headed a crowd composed of Greenville's population who met the train with "three cheers for our soldier boys" and the joyful citizens shook the hands of each member of Company C.

Before dismissing the company, Captain Ireys said, "Mothers, I return your sons to you," after which the boys were allowed to break rank.

It was truly said by the *Greenville Times*, "The day of departure of the soldiers, May 28, was one of the saddest days Greenville ever experienced—the day of their return, Sept. 14th, the happiest."

On account of yellow fever restrictions, the secretary of war extended the furlough of the second Mississippi regiment from October 19th to November 13th, and again extended same on like authority to November 28th. Previous to their departure to Columbia, Tennessee, to be mustered out, Company C presented Captain Henry T. Ireys, Jr., with a handsome sword, and First Sergeant William D. Robertshaw with a handsome umbrella and walking stick, as marks of the high esteem in which they held these officers.

On November 27th Company C was instructed to leave on special train No. 4 at 2 p. m., which train would pick up additional coaches along the line:

CIRCULAR NO. 4.

Captain Henry T. Ireys, Jr., of Company C is authorized to assume the command of the train.

Headquarters, Camp Hamilton, Columbia, Tenn., Nov. 23, 1898.

"The boys all had a good time while at Columbia, Tenn., with not much to do and without exception the entire company was given honorable discharge, Dec. 1, 1898."

In conclusion, there is little to be said, as nothing particularly historic was performed by Company C for the reason that the sudden cessation of hostilities afforded no opportunity of performance. The spirit to do was there, however, and we must take the will for the deed.

Since the time of which I write, many listed in the company's roster, impelled by business necessities and other circumstances, are no longer with us, and quite a number in the flower of their youth have answered that last sad roll call from on high, notably among them, our noble captain, Henry T. Ireys, Jr., than whom no officer in the Seventh Army Corps was more highly esteemed, for gentlemanly conduct and military proficiency.

COLONEL GEORGE STROTHER GAINES AND OTHER PIONEERS IN MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.

BY GEORGE J. LEFTWICH.

I.

This article is devoted mainly to the career of George Strother Gaines, a notable pioneer in Mississippi Territory, whose bones rest in her soil, though the sketch could hardly be complete without bringing into view a distinguished officer in the regular army of the United States, his brother, General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, and other pioneers. More is to be said of George Strother Gaines, the younger brother, the less known, though really a greater man than the distinguished General. The Gaines family is closely connected with the Strothers, of Virginia, founded by William Strother of notable aristocratic and distinguished lineage and descended from English nobility.¹ Henry Gaines, the father, between 1765 and 1775, married Isabella Pendleton in Culpepper County, Virginia; Isabella Pendleton was the sister of Judge Edmund Pendleton, one of the notable compatriots of Washington and Jefferson, and belonging to that group of Virginia statesmen who were in the ascendant in the nation just preceding and following the Revolutionary War, and who are characterized by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts in his recent eulogy on Senator John W. Daniel of Virginia, as the ablest body of men since the days of the Greek Republic, as it existed long prior to the Christian era. Edmund Pendleton, after the termination of the Revolution, was long President of the Virginia Court of Appeals, the supreme judicial tribunal of

¹ See Vol. 2, Southern Historical Association, page 149, on William Strother and his descendants by Dr. James M. Owen, Director of Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

that State. The Gaines family were closely connected with the mother of General Zachary Taylor, and many of Virginia's most distinguished men and statesmen.²

Henry Gaines and Isabella Pendleton had born to them twelve children, three sons, Edmund Pendleton Gaines, George Strother Gaines, James Gaines, and nine daughters. Edmund Pendleton Gaines was born in Culpepper County, Virginia, but his distinguished brother George Strother was born in Slater County, North Carolina, and the family later moved to Gallatin, Tennessee. It seems, on good authority, that the Gaines family originally came from Wales, and of the three branches of it, one settled in New England, one in Virginia, and one in South Carolina.³

II.

Both brothers mostly grew up at or near Gallatin, Sumner County, Tennessee; and in 1804, A. D., before George Strother was twenty years of age, he was appointed Assistant Factor or Agent at St. Stevens, Alabama, a famous pioneer settlement on the Tombigbee River, and then near the dividing line between Mississippi Territory and Spanish West Florida. The Superintendent or Factor at this trading house was Joseph Chambers, who resigned in 1806, and George Strother Gaines was appointed in his place. No better testimonial to the capacity and reliability of Colonel Gaines could be adduced than this appointment at so early an age. The establishment of Indian trading houses at Ft. Stevens, Natchez and other places by the United States Government was to circumvent the wily machinations of the English and Spanish in their dealing with the Indians. Washington is supposed to have suggested this method of keeping on friendly terms with the savages. Trading houses were primarily set up by speculators who over-reached the Indians, sold them bad whiskey, and looked after every interest but that of the Indian

²Conversation of Col. Gaines with Mr. A. C. Coles, State Line, Mississippi, at one time his business associate and amanuensis.

³Information given Mr. A. C. Coles of State Line, Miss., by Col. Geo. S. Gaines.

himself, the settler and the United States. So the Government undertook the task of establishing trading houses and selling them goods that the Indians really needed at just sufficient profit to prevent loss. One of the most important qualifications of the Factor or Superintendent of the trading house was skill and diplomacy; he should be honest of course, but he must keep peace with the Indians and give welcome to the American settler. Near St. Stevens was Ft. Stoddard, where United States troops were stationed, then on the Spanish boundary; in charge of this garrison was Captain Edmund Pendleton Gaines, the brother of the Factor, who had married for his second wife the daughter of Judge Harry Toulmin of Kentucky, the first Federal Judge, and long prominent in Mississippi Territory; his first wife was a daughter of Governor Blount of Tennessee; and still a third wife was the famous Myra Clarke Gaines of New Orleans, where the General died about 1849. It was at this time while Captain Gaines as commandant at Ft. Stoddard, and George Strother was Assistant Factor, that Aaron Burr escaped from Washington, the territorial capital of Mississippi, and was captured by Captain Gaines near Ft. Stoddard where he was detained for several weeks, entertaining the ladies with cards, mesmerizing the men with his splendid manners and interesting conversation, and in the interval nursed George Strother Gaines while afflicted with fever at St. Stevens; it was from here that Colonel Burr was sent by Captain Gaines to Richmond to be tried by Judge John Marshall for treasonable practices, and acquitted, though unquestionably guilty of treasonable designs as later was more clearly developed. George Strother Gaines in his published letters and Reminiscences, makes much interesting comment on this region of the Tombigbee then inhabited by the Creek and Choctaw Indians and a few white cattle raisers along the river.

III.

The goods, arms, blankets and trinkets sold to the Indians mainly for pelts, at Ft. Stevens, had of course to be imported from the East. During the superintendency of Gaines' prede-

cessor and in the early part of his administration, these goods were brought by water through the port of Mobile, and the Spanish Government imposed heavy import duties; for instance, a barrel of flour brought from Kentucky by raft to the Natchez factory could be sold there at about four dollars per barrel, and when brought around through the port of Mobile, after Spanish imposts were collected, it cost the consumer about sixteen dollars at Fort Stevens. The Spanish were not too friendly, and English emissaries and traders were numerous among the Indians and plotting constantly prior to the War of 1812 against American supremacy in the Mississippi valley. Thus it was that George Strother Gaines, in consultation with the Secretary of War in 1810, established the northern route for the transportation of goods to St. Stevens. Let Colonel Gaines tell his own story in his own language of this exploit:—

"In October, 1810, I received instructions from the Secretary of War to proceed to the Chickasaw Nation and endeavor to obtain permission of the Indians to open a wagon road from Colbert's Ferry (on the Tennessee), to Cotton Gin Port on the Tombigbee, and make arrangements to transmit the goods thence to St. Stevens. I set out immediately in obedience to my instructions; had an interview with the leading chiefs of the Chickasaws, who objected to opening a wagon road but promised me facilities and safety for the transportation of the goods for the Choctaw trading house on pack horses at a very moderate expense. Lieut Gaines (Edmund Pendleton Gaines) by order of the War Department, had six or seven years before this time, surveyed and marked out the road I was instructed to open. I continued my journey to Smithland (Kentucky), at the mouth of the Cumberland, where I found supplies in charge of Wood Brothers, with the exception of lead which I was instructed to purchase. Hearing that a boatload of lead had been sunk in the Ohio below Ft. Massac. I proceeded to the place and aided by the commanding officer at Massac, I procured the quantity required, brought it up in public barge to Smithland, engaged a careful bargeman and crew with a good barge to transport the goods found there, and with the lead I had purchased, to Colbert's Ferry on the Tennessee. I then returned on horseback to Colbert's Ferry, made arrangements for moving and "packing" the goods to Major Pitchlyn's at the mouth

of the Oktibbeha below Cotton Gin Port.⁴ I proceeded to Major Pitchlyn's and with his aid arranged for transporting the goods down the Tombigbee to St. Stevens. It is a little remarkable that all my orders were carried out with precision and promptness and the goods received at St. Stevens in good order and without the loss of an article."⁵

Thus was established the famous Gaines Trace or Road from Colbert's Ferry to Cotton Gin Port. From Cotton Gin Port the road led south near the edge of the prairie, not far from the present site of Aberdeen,⁶ and terminated at the home of the famous interpreter Major John Pitchlyn, at the mouth of the Oktibbeha, then Old Plymouth and now Waverley. Colonel Gaines refers to the unfriendly attitude of the Indians at the time, and relates that his barges had to be planked up to ward off the bullets of the unfriendly natives during progress of the goods down the river to St. Stevens. Great credit is given by Colonel Gaines in this enterprise to Major John Pitchlyn, an Englishman born in the West Indies, already referred to, and who figured in almost every treaty with the Indians in Mississippi Territory, as official Interpreter, who had married two daughters of the famous Indian Folsam family, and who always remained friendly with the whites as well as the Indians, and whose services demand a separate article instead of a mere reference.⁷ The goods thus transported by packhorses from Colbert's Ferry at the lower end of the Mussel Shoals, were brought by barge from Pittsburg and other eastern markets down the Ohio to Smithland, Kentucky, near the mouths of the Cumberland and the Tennessee and thence up

⁴For a more extended notice of Cotton Gin Port, Gaines Trace, see article on that subject by the present writer in Vol. 7, *Publications Miss. Historical Society*, pp. 262 to 271.

⁵Original manuscript of Col. George Strother Gaines in the Alabama Department of Archives and History at Montgomery; consulted by the writer through the courtesy of Dr. J. M. Owen, the distinguished director. One volume of these manuscripts was published in the *Mobile Register* in 1872.

⁶Photograph of the original government survey of this territory shows that Gaines Road ran south from Cotton Gin Port through Monroe county nearer the Tombigbee than was formerly believed.

⁷See the extended and interesting reference to Major Pitchlyn in Volume 7, *publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, page 363; *Pioneer Settler of Lowndes County*, by Dr. William A. Love.

the Tennessee at a great saving in cost and without payment of impost duties to the Spanish at Mobile.

IV.

Among those trading at St. Stevens were the fierce Creeks and much less war-like Choctaws, and for that matter, Indians and pioneers all the way from the Mussel Shoals to St. Stevens, from up and down the Tombigbee, with all of whom Colonel Gaines had wide acquaintance and much influence. About 1811, Colonel Gaines began to note the unfriendliness of the Creeks who began to buy large amounts of goods on credit and refused to pay for them, with other marks of disfavor. The Indians had no ready money and the goods were often advanced to them and paid for in pelts after the hunting season was over. This unrest and unfriendliness among the Creeks was stirred up by the great Chief Tecumseh who visited them about 1811, supposedly at the instigation of the British who were stirring up the strife that culminated in the War of 1812. The Choctaws and Chickasaws, greatly through the influence of Pitchlyn, Gaines, Chief Pushmataha, and other patriots, withstood the alluring oratory of Tecumseh,⁸ but the Creeks went over to him. The Creeks' unfriendliness went from bad to worse until it culminated in the famous Ft. Mims massacre of August 30th, 1813, not far from St. Stevens, where over 500 men, women and children were killed by these cruel savages. Colonel Gaines at once heard by letter of the Ft. Mims massacre, but here let him tell his own story:

"It was late in the evening when I received the letter. I was in the citizens' fort at the time, and read the letter aloud for the information of those around me. I saw it created a panic, and remarked, if we could get Gen. Jackson down with his 'Brigade of Mountain Volunteers,' the Creek Indians could soon be quieted.

⁸ See Tecumseh's wonderful speech to the Creeks as heard and reported word for word by Sam Dale in the life of that notable scout and pioneer written by Claiborne. Says Dale at p. 56: "I have heard many great orators, but I never saw one with the vocal powers of Tecumseh, or the same command of the muscles of his face."

"A young man named Edmondson, who was a guest in my family, was standing near, and looking at him, I remarked: 'If I could induce a cheerful man to go as express to Nashville, Tenn., I have a fine horse ready and can manage by writing to persons I know on the path to have a fresh horse ready for him every day.' He said that he was willing to go. Mrs. Gaines said that she would prepare provisions for him. I immediately sat down and wrote letters to General Jackson and Governor Blount, communicating the massacre of Fort Mims and the defenseless condition of our frontier, appealing to Gen. Jackson to march down with his brigade of mounted men and save the Tombigbee settlement and property in my charge. I was personally acquainted with the General, also Governor Blount. I wrote a letter to Charles Juzon and William Starnes at Oknoxubee; John Pitchlyn, mouth of Oktibbeha; George James, residing at or near the present Egypt (M. & O. R. R.. Egypt is now a flourishing village on the line of Monroe and Chickasaw counties); Jim Brown, Natchez Road; George Colbert, chief of the Chickasaws, Colbert's Ferry, and others beyond the Tennessee River, requesting them on the arrival of Mr. Edmondson, to furnish him with their best horse and take care of the horse he would leave until his return from Nashville, then bring or send me their bills for payment. (Each of the persons named was in the habit of visiting the trading house for supplies of salt, coffee, sugar, etc.) This task occupied me nearly all night. In the morning Mr. Edmondson, with provisions, a well filled purse, etc., etc., set out for Nashville."

Pushmataha, the famous Choctaw Chief and orator, learned of Juzon, where Edmondson got a fresh horse, about the massacre at Fort Mims, and offered his services with those of his warriors. Gaines carried the Chief and introduced him to General Flournoy in command at Mobile, which city had then been captured from the Spanish by General Wilkinson; General Flournoy foolishly rejected the offers of Chief Pushmataha at first: but afterwards changed his mind and sent a messenger and overtook the Chief at St. Stevens, and accepted his services. Colonel Gaines went with the Chief to meet the natives and warriors, and aided him in bringing out as many as he could. Edmond-

*This quotation is likewise from the Gaines Manuscripts already referred to.

son reached Governor Blount and General Jackson in a wonderfully short time, and fell before them prostrated from exhaustion. Jackson immediately ordered his mounted brigade to assemble and sent Colonel McKee ahead to get as many Chickasaws and Choctaw warriors as possible to meet him and Colonel Gaines, at Major Pitchlyn's.¹⁰

Colonel Gaines returned to Chief Pushmataha's council grounds somewhere near the present site of Meridian, and found several thousand Indians there collected; the Chief and his wife rode up; he unsaddled and hobbled his horse and threw himself on a bear skin on the ground; the question at once arose as to who should make the first advances; Colonel Gaines said that he should not as he was a visitor, and finally Chief Pushmataha's Secretary of State announced that the Chief would speak; the crowd then gathered. Chief Pushmataha recounted his visit to General Washington, while the capitol was at Philadelphia, and the distinguished treatment he received; he denounced the British for poisoning the minds of the northern Indians "against our Virginia friends" (all the whites in the southern country were called Virginians); "Northern tribes," said the Chief, "have come among us, and have succeeded in persuading the Creeks to join the strangers in war upon our friends." Washington, he said, had advised him against war among the tribes; "but who that is a man and a warrior can remain quietly at home and hear of his friends being butchered around him," said the Chief. "I am a man and a warrior," drawing his sword, "and I will not advise you to act contrary to the advice of our good friend and father, General Washington, but I will go and help my friends.

¹⁰The authority of Gen. Jackson and Gov. Blount to send troops out of the State is explained by the historian, Professor H. S. Halbert, in a private letter to the author, quotation from which is as follows: "As to Tennessee sending troops into United States territory to quell Indians, this power has always been exercised by States, when needful. Within my personal knowledge and in my own experience, Texas sent troops into the western part of the Indian Territory, into the Territory of Colorado, and even into the territory of New Mexico, to fight Comanches and Kioways. So it seems the power exercised by Gov. Blount and Gen. Jackson in its relation to the United States Government was perfectly legitimate."

If any of you think proper to follow me, voluntarily, I will lead you to victory and glory."¹¹

Almost every man and boy sprang to his feet, recounts Colonel Gaines, shouting, "I, too, am a man and a warrior, and will follow the Chief." Chief Pushmataha then remarked, "I see our beloved Factor from St. Stevens present, he never deceived you in anything, he will speak to you." The Chief walked to a log and shook hands and invited Colonel Gaines to speak. On the return from this interview with the Choctaws, the joyful news from Tennessee had come. It is quite probable, says a reviewer, that no other man at that time could have controlled the facilities which enabled Edmondson to perform the journey to Nashville in so short a time. He found General Jackson and Governor Blount together in the State House; General Jackson's arm was in a sling but he agreed to go at once.¹² The result was, as all know, the complete overthrow of the Creeks, and peace and happiness for the settlers on the lower Tombigbee.

It might be remarked that General Jackson carried his army from Nashville by Huntsville, the shorter route; he returned to Nashville in 1814, leaving his army under General Coffee, near Mobile, and later that year was summoned to return. His army was then marched to New Orleans, and the great victory over the British, on January 8th, 1815, was the result.¹³

V.

Soon after the close of the Creek War and the War of 1812 with the British, Colonel Gaines made a visit to his aged parents at Gallatin, Tennessee; the route followed was that traveled by Edmondson, and Gaines recites that the wilderness commenced

¹¹ Gideon Lincecum in his life of Pushmataha, thinks him one of the greatest natural orators of the world. Vol. 14, Publications Miss. Historical Society.

¹² The hero of this ride, much more worthy of note than Paul Revere, was Samuel A. Edmondson, later a citizen of Lowndes County, Mississippi. See article of Dr. Love, *supra*.

¹³ Another famous ride is that of Sam Dale, from New Orleans to Georgia, to tell the story; see Claiborne's Life of General Sam Dale, p. 143 et seq.

one day's travel from St. Stevens and extended three hundred miles, to beyond the Tennessee River; he traversed nothing but a trading path, he says, yet his journey was rendered delightful by fine May weather and by the kind attentions of the Indians along the way who were all his warm friends. On his journey he fell in with General Jackson and his wife, traveling the Natchez Trace on the way from the battle with the British at New Orleans, he accompanied them to Nashville, and there was the guest of the General, who was his close friend. Soon after his return the Choctaw agency was moved from St. Stevens to Fort Tombecbee or Jones' Bluff, higher up the Bigbee River, and near where the Alabama-Great Southern Railway now crosses that river. Here was concluded the Choctaw Treaty of October 24th, 1816, when the United States Government purchased of the Choctaws all of their territory East of the Tombigbee River, and as far West as Gaines' Trace. Even before the survey of this rich territory, immigrants from Virginia, many coming from the half-way house at Huntsville, from Tennessee, from the Carolinas, and from Georgia, pressed in and occupied the rich fertile lands acquired by this Treaty.

VI.

Colonel Gaines soon after this married a daughter of Young Gaines, Esquire, a wealthy planter and relative belonging to the South Carolina branch of the family; he resigned his place as Factor, and about 1821, removed to Demopolis, Alabama, and built and owned the first store there. Up to this time he had received the pay and allowance of a Colonel in the regular army. His great prominence in the territory and wide acquaintance caused him to keep open house; he entertained almost every distinguished traveller and official who passed through the territory afterwards, and his salary was not sufficient to maintain himself and family. He later acquired great wealth both by his merchandise business and by his marriage, and Colonel Gaines told Mr. A. C. Coles of State Line, Mississippi, who knew him intimately, that when he retired from business in 1833, his in-

come was about Fifty Thousand Dollars a year; but he was a liberal endorser of his friends' paper, and after the panic of 1837, he was compelled to pay about Five Hundred Thousand Dollars of other people's debts, which, of course, greatly reduced his wealth.¹⁴ By reason of his popularity with the Indians, he was selected in 1829, to accompany twelve Indian chiefs, with an escort of cavalry, to select a home for them in the west; this was before the signing of the treaty at Dancing Rabbit, in which the Indians ceded their lands in Mississippi and Alabama to the United States Government. Colonel Gaines, as a sort of public necessity, accepted the appointment, and crossed the Mississippi River about the mouth of the Arkansas. On the journey they passed the home of the distinguished Chief Greenwood Leflore but he refused to go with them. They crossed the State of Arkansas, explored the present State of Oklahoma, formerly Indian Territory, and there it was that the Indians chose their home. They found plenty of game, plenty of water, much rich land, and "This is the place for us," said the Chiefs! After the Dancing Rabbit Treaty of September 27th, 1830, much dissatisfaction arose among the Indians; they began to drink and pout and complain that the women and children would be broken down on the way; they greatly regretted leaving their old homes and old hunting grounds; the situation became a very delicate one, and at the request of the Secretary of War and at the suggestion of Major Pitchlyn, Colonel Gaines, the good friend of the Indians and in whom they had unbounded confidence and trust, was asked to superintend their removal to their new home. As a patriotic duty he again consented to go, and the Indians under his immediate escort assembled at Vicksburg, others crossed the Mississippi at Memphis, and he went with them to their new abode in the far west where he parted with them with much sorrow, and returned in safety, thereby performing a great public service both to the Indians and to the white men. It will not be considered improper to insert here, we trust, the following melancholy, though eloquent description of the Indians' removal to

¹⁴ Letter to the writer from Mr. A. C. Coles, of State Line, Mississippi, the business associate and amanuensis of Colonel Gaines.

the West, taken from a celebrated centennial address of the Rev. Dr. Patton, a distinguished minister long familiar with Indian life and customs, delivered at the Court-House in Tupelo, Mississippi, July 4th, 1876, as recently republished by the *Tupelo Journal*:

"But the melancholy day of the Indian exodus came. Places of rendezvous were appointed in different localities where the people congregated. Some chief took charge of each group, and one solitary band after another moved off towards the setting sun. The mother called her children from their loved sports and play grounds beneath the forest trees and informed them they would be permitted to return to those dear scenes no more forever. She took a farewell look at her own sweet home, the trees, the garden and the graves she loved, and turned with her sad faced children to look upon these scenes no more. The hunter turned away from his hunting grounds and his deer and every loved object sacred to memory and dear to his heart, and silently stalked as the genius of sorrow, in advance of his little family circle.

"When all are assembled at any designated place and the day of departure came, they bid farewell to the graves of their fathers, their hunting grounds and homes, the noble domain they had inherited from a noble ancestry. They moved off in silence. No tear moistened any eye. No emotion was depicted on any countenance. The Indian never weeps. It belongs to his nature to conceal his emotions, but none feel more or are subject to more intense passions and affections than he. His emotions are like the hidden fires that burn with intense heat in the deep caverns of the volcano, but their existence is unknown until the fiery torrent ascends the sky and the devouring floods of lava roll over vineyards, gardens and villages. In all that moving host where stalwart forms sat silent and erect, with stern faces and tearless eyes, there was not a true Chickasaw that would not have considered it a privilege to suffer death in any form, or endure torture in any degree, if by such suffering or sacrifice he could have rescued the land of his birth and his love from the grasp of the white man, and made it a sure possession to his tribe. But he knew resistance was folly. He bowed to the fiat of Destiny, and turned from the land dearer to his heart than life, and sought a new home in a country he had never seen and could not love. They are here no more. The grand old forest as they left it, with its vernal robes of green and autumnal vesture of crimson and

gold, will charm and fascinate no more. The magnificent carpet of flowers and verdure that once covered the face of the earth as a fitting floor, to the leaf covered dome with many pillars that tower above, will be seen no more. The deer, the elk, and all the flocks that nature fed for the benefit of her children of the forest, have fled along with the Indian."

VII.

About 1853, Colonel Gaines removed his family to State Line, Wayne County, Mississippi, near the boundary between Mississippi and Alabama; he had large land holdings at St. Stevens and a cattle range in Perry County, and at State Line he was accessible by a day's ride to both. About 1856, he established the Peachwood nurseries at State Line, which are now owned by Mr. A. C. Coles. Here he became greatly interested in the building of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad connecting Mobile with the Ohio River at Columbus, Kentucky. It is sufficient to say that the railroad would not have been constructed at the time, certainly not until a much later date, but for the aid of Governor McRae who made the speeches, and Colonel Gaines who took subscriptions to the stock and secured the right of way to Columbus, Kentucky; he spent two whole sessions of the legislature at the State Capitol of Mississippi, in order to secure the charter and the rights desired.

His wide influence and great reputation for honesty and integrity were a powerful incentive to the initiation of this or any other enterprise, and his influence was felt in every event of any importance for many years.¹⁵ He was widely known among the leading men of the day, an intimate friend of General Jackson and Henry Clay. Years after he returned from the removal of the Indians to the Indian Territory, he visited Washington in order to persuade the Government to pay him for his services and expenses incurred in removing the Indians to the West, and he recites many interesting occurrences of this trip. To make the journey he

¹⁵ It is reported that the Great Northern Railroad has erected a statue of Mr. James J. Hill at the summit of the Rockies. The Mobile & Ohio should also erect a statue to George Strother Gaines in the middle of the prairies.

travelled to New Orleans by land, took steam-boat to Guyandotte, West Virginia, thence by stage to White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, and on to Washington. The course of his journey well illustrates the routes of travel in early times from this State east. Colonel Gaines was also largely influential in building the road now owned by the Southern Railway Company, from Meridian to Selma; in fact, he was a large factor in every public enterprise of his day. He reared a large family of six sons and two daughters; several of his sons acquired distinction as soldiers, and one daughter married Captain E. A. Bullock of the regular army, a daughter of whom is now Mrs. M. E. Punch, of Laurel, Mississippi. Fine paintings of himself and wife now hang in the Capitol of Alabama, at Montgomery, presented to the State by Dr. Vivian P. Gaines, a grandson, now a resident of Mobile, who also deposited with Dr. J. M. Owen, the State Archivist of Alabama, two volumes of manuscript in the hand-writing of Colonel Gaines, many times herein quoted, giving his reminiscences of pioneer days, all of which have been consulted by the courtesy of Dr. Owen before the preparation of this article; one series of these letters was published in the *Mobile Register* in 1872, the other series has not yet been published, and both series are of great historical value.

The wife of Colonel Gaines died at Peachwood in 1868, and he died at the same place in the winter of 1872, aged eighty-nine years. Colonel Gaines was tall in stature, commanding in appearance, very dignified, but a most courteous and elegant gentleman; a most generous entertainer and of unbounded hospitality, a fine judge of good dinners, an authority on fine wines, but a most temperate man in his own habits. It is said by Mr. A. C. Coles that he set the best table in Alabama for many years. A better encomium could perhaps hardly be passed upon him than the common saying current among the Indians in his day, which was that Colonel Gaines knew a good blanket and would not tell a lie. Colonel Gaines was a great pathfinder and pioneer, but of a different type from Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett, the rude frontiersmen. He was of distinguished and aristocratic birth, accustomed to ease and wealth. He was an accomplished states-

man fit to fill almost any delicate or diplomatic post in the gift of the Government; a brave patriot, at home with the savage in his hut or at a state dinner.

In the Panama-Pacific International Exposition there is a superb piece of equestrian sculpture entitled, "The American Pioneer," by Solon Hamilton Borglum, sculptor; the following description of the statue is an appropriate closing for this sketch:

"Erect, dignified, reflecting on the things that have been, the American Pioneer appears before us, reminding us that to him should be given the glory for the great achievements that have been made on the American Continent. He it was who blazed the trail that others might follow. He endured the hardships, carved the way across the continent, and made it possible for us of today to advance thru his lead. All hail to the white-headed, noble old pioneer who, with gun and axe, pushed his way thru the wilderness; whose gaze was always upward and onward, and whose courage was unfaltering."

Colonel Gaines served in the Alabama State Senate from Marengo and Clarke Counties. He was a pioneer banker at Mobile and long a familiar figure there.¹⁶ The town of Gainesville, Alabama, was named for him. In many treaties between the United States Government and the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians he was a most influential participant; the Indians had unbounded confidence in his integrity, as did the officials of the United States Government and the pioneer settlers. He was an accomplished patriot and statesman. After a long and successful business and official career, following the custom of his Virginian ancestors, he retired to his estates at Peachwood and passed a serene old age in modest and dignified simplicity.

¹⁶ See many interesting references to Colonel Gaines in that valuable historical contribution to the history of the South-West, "Colonial Mobile," published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., by Judge Peter J. Hamilton, now Federal Judge of the District of Porto Rico.

JAMES LOCKHART AUTRY.

BY JAMES M. GREER.

In the small village of Hayesborough in the outskirts of Nashville, and now a territorial part of that beautiful and historic city, on January 8th, 1830, there was born to Micajah and Martha Wyche Autry "a man child" subsequently christened in the Episcopal Church, James Lockhart Autry. In Nashville, Tenn., which was in hearing distance of the Hermitage, the home of Andrew Jackson, the seventh President of the United States, the cannon were booming, and the people rejoicing over the fifteenth anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, since called "Jackson's day."

After Col. Autry's death at Murfreesborough, or, Stone River, as one chooses to call the battle of the 31st of December, 1862, his mother said: "My poor boy! The first sound that ever came to him was the booming of cannon, and it was the last sound he ever heard." "Peace let him rest! God knoweth best!"

The object of this sketch is not to elaborate to weariness, or to eulogize to fulsomeness the story of a son of Mississippi, who once, in the long ago, won honor for himself and "Served The State." When but a baby, he was brought with the family to Jackson, Tennessee. A vivid story of that trip through the wilderness is told by Mrs. Mary Autry Greer in the sketch of their father who fell at the Alamo in 1836 for the freedom of Texas.

"Mother, sister, aunt, my baby brother, his nurse and myself travelled in the family coach, a handsome affair drawn by two large bays. Father rode a fine grey horse, and was an agile, graceful equestrian. The slaves were in two immense wagons, with hoops covered with cloth, not unlike in appearance to the large Prairie Schooner of a later day, and drawn by horses and

mules. Although so young, I remember several incidents of the route. The negroes in the wagons always camped out and cooked their own meals. * * * In a few days more we reached our destination, the flourishing little town of Jackson."

Very shortly after her husband's death, his widow moved with her two children to Holly Springs, Mississippi. It was in "this city of flowers" as it was called, that Autry grew to manhood and had his home at the time of his death. He attended school at Saint Thomas Hall, a school presided over by the famous teacher, Mr. Whitehorn. Among his schoolmates were, E. C. Walthall, J. R. Chalmers, C. H. Mott and many others who afterwards won great distinction. Very few of that generation became what we now call college men. Young Autry did not have a father's hand to guide him, but in his mother he had a woman of strong character, great tenderness and wise judgment. Possessed of small means, his was yet a happy childhood. Coming to maturity, young Autry entered upon the practice of law in his home town along with a bar which was among the strongest in the whole south. L. Q. C. Lamar, who afterwards entered the United States Senate and became a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was one of these practitioners, and Autry was his partner, the firm name being Lamar, Mott and Autry. J. W. C. Watson, who later became a Confederate State Senator, J. R. Chalmers, who afterwards became a Brigadier General in the Confederate army, E. C. Walthall, who attained the rank of Major General in the Confederate Army, and after the Civil war was a Senator of the United States, were all lawyers of Holly Springs. To these may be added, A. M. Clayton, who went on the Supreme bench of Mississippi, Henry Craft, the gentlest man and the most scholarly lawyer the writer ever knew, J. W. Clapp, one of the most earnest, energetic and logical of men, General Alexander Bradford, who ranked among the bravest of the brave, Colonel H. W. Walter, a very prince of chivalry, General W. S. Featherstone, who, also subsequently commanded a division in the Confederate army; his partners, Thomas W. Harris and R. L. Watson, the gallant and generous William M. Strickland, the

safe and sensible counsellor William Finley; Samuel Benton, J. M. Scruggs, and many others of great note. Young Autry, in winning distinction at such a bar, showed more than average merit. In 1853 he was elected to the legislature of Mississippi, re-elected several times. In 1858, he was chosen Speaker and, perhaps, was the youngest person who ever filled that place of distinction.

He was married in 1858 to Miss Jeanie Valiant, and in November, 1859, his only child, a son, was born at their home in Holly Springs, Mississippi. The boy was given his father's full name, and is now a lawyer residing in Houston, Texas. At the outbreak of the Civil war, Autry was a lieutenant in the Home guards, a volunteer company made up of the leading young men of Holly Springs. In March, 1861, the company reported for duty at Pensacola, Florida. There it was attached to the Ninth Mississippi regiment, which chose James R. Chalmers, as its colonel, and Autry as its lieutenant colonel. (At this time the volunteers selected their own officers.) After the year's service, for which they had enlisted, this regiment was reorganized. Autry was then detached and detailed for special service, being made military commandant, or governor of Vicksburg. New Orleans had fallen and the victorious Federals were steaming up the Mississippi river. Autry with a handful of men, at once, undertook the construction of defenses for what proved the doomed city of Vicksburg. Admiral Farragut, another Tennessean, in command of the Federal fleet, on the 18th day of May, 1861, demanded from Autry the surrender of the city. Autry's reply with his handful of men (which the Federals thought a powerful force) was notable: "Mississippians don't know, and refuse to learn, how to surrender." Some months after this Autry returned to his regiment, the 27th Mississippi Infantry. At the battle of Murfreesborough, or Stone River, as it is variously called, he was killed while in command of his regiment. The following is taken from General Patton Anderson's report as printed in the Mississippi Official and Statistical Register of 1908 at page 654:

"The ordeal to which they were subjected was a severe one, but the task was undertaken with that spirit and courage which always deserves success and seldom fails achieving it. As often as their ranks were shattered and broken by grape and canister did they rally, reform and renew the attack under the leadership of their gallant officers. They were ordered to take the batteries at all hazards and they obeyed the order, not, however, without heavy losses of officers and men. Not far from where the batteries were playing, and while cheering and encouraging his men forward, Lieut.-Col. James L. Autry, commanding the 27th Mississippi, fell, pierced through the head by a minnie ball."

As a public speaker, Colonel Autry had the physical advantage of a fine presence, an excellent voice and a handsome face. He possessed a keen wit which he never permitted to become a cruel sneer, a wholesome humor, which he did not allow to degenerate into coarse stories, a logical and orderly presentation of his reasons, joined to a keen perception of the sentiment of a situation. Leading a cleanly moral life, having earnest, Christian convictions, and withal that indefinable magnetism making for brotherhood among men, it is small wonder that he won the title of Orator. While not a student in the sense of giving all his time to books, he knew thoroughly the Bible, Shakespeare and the standard works and was well versed in history, ancient and modern. Born a slaveholder, he never sold one or permitted a personal chastisement of those he owned. Gentle in nature and charitable in judgment, he became a soldier from a sense of duty and gave up his life in devoted patriotism.

Colonel Autry was about six feet in height; was of a fair complexion, blue eyes and rather stout build. He had dark hair—not black, and at the time of his death weighed about one hundred and seventy-five pounds.

He was a staunch member of the Episcopal church, as his people for generations before him had been. In this membership he had no intolerance or narrowness, for, as to him, the message of the Nazarene to all mankind was "Love ye one another." In politics he was a democrat without the partisan-

ship which denied to others a difference of opinion, but, because of a belief that for the good of the whole country, the measures advocated by his party were best for its improvement.

When Colonel Autry's body was brought back from the field of Murfreesborough to Holly Springs for its final rest in the cemetery there, the Masonic fraternity, to which he belonged, conducted funeral services at his grave. Colonel H. W. Walter, his brother lawyer and brother Mason, said on that occasion:

"As a Christian, let us admire and imitate him. At a period in the war when the chaplet of fame had been freshly gathered from the fields of Vicksburg, he visited his home, and before the altar and at the font of Christ church, he bent his head in baptism, and surrendering to the Prince of Peace, vowed to live and die a christian. And ever afterward, in the midst of friends—listening to the plaudits of the crowd on the sanguinary field—everywhere—he remembered and kept that holy vow, and the chaplet of the christian faith crowned that christian gentleman."

"He has come back to us. What an awful return. A few moments since he was under his own roof, and a wail of agony went up from the hearthstone. The plaintive call of wife and mother fell on cold and listless ears.

"He is before us here. The eye that sparkled with affection is closed,—the hand that grasped hand with friendship is paralyzed,—the manly form that moved with vigor once, is still and cold now, and the body is sinking slowly, sadly to its final rest. No, thank God; not to its final rest; for we believe it will rise again, as we believe that his spirit has passed to that heaven where law is love,—where legislation is Jehovah,—where battles are never fought, and where happiness is un-mixed and eternal."

As a lawyer, he thought that the constitution of his country gave to his Sovereign state the right to secede from the United States, and, as a citizen, he felt it his duty to repel invasion by armed force. Hence he entered the volunteer army of the South, as his father before him had entered the cause of freedom and Texas. Like his father he gave his life to the cause! One does not know! We can have differences of opinion as

to the right or wrong of any political cause; but this is sure: that he who with malice to no man lays down his life in an honest conviction, and for what he believes was for the good of all men, demands a bowing of the head and reverential bending of the body.

SOME MAIN TRAVELED ROADS, INCLUDING CROSS-SECTIONS OF NATCHEZ TRACE.

BY GEORGE J. LEFTWICH.

I.

The north half of the American continent became permanently English, rather, permanently subservient to English influences, when Montcalm surrendered to Wolfe at Quebec, but France did not give over her ambition to have American colonies and renewed the conflict in the Southwest, at the mouth of the Mississippi and along the gulf coast where she had long had valuable possessions. The mouth of the Mississippi and the Mexican gulf coast, if successfully defended by her armies, promised France control of an enormous territory along the Father of Waters and in the Northwest which had been early explored by her bold pioneers. Her colonists, emissaries and soldiers cultivated the friendship of the Indian tribes in the Southwest, and made English colonization and English trade some times impossible, always difficult, in that whole region, but the English nation and those of English blood, the inhabitants of the original thirteen colonies, were not to be baffled in their determination to secure and settle the richest land on the continent by the closing of the main water routes of travel by a foreign nation and the consequent loss of the means of transportation to the Mississippi Territory and Southwest. So it was that our leaders of thought and statesmen determined to open up highways through the vast wilderness separating the Mississippi river from the Northeast. The result was the establishment of the Natchez Trace road and the building, by Jackson, of the military road by Columbus.

later, the ultimate effect of which was to neutralize the Spanish and French influences in Mississippi Territory, and to give English blood and the common law dominion to the gulf, and the command of the Mississippi and her tributaries.

Spain, in 1763, had ceded West Florida to England, Napoleon sold Louisiana to Jefferson in 1803, after which the Father of Waters no longer touched foreign shores, but for many years thereafter discontented colonists from Spain and France and other adventurers in the Southwest, such as the attempt by Aaron Burr to found a new empire, caused uneasiness as to the safety of the American settlements and the permanency of the American rule in all that region. How nearly our civilization came being Latinized, with all that term implies, would be an interesting subject for investigation within itself; how far the stern common law was influenced by the gentle equities of the civil, how far the proud formalities of the Spanish inhabitants softened the blunt aggressions of the English, how far our social, economic and statutory laws grew out of the composite influences of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin civilizations, is only discernible now by the investigations of the deep student. Certainly the Spanish and French settlers, the English officers with their love for the crown, the American colonists with their love for freedom, the hardy frontiersman with his love for the wild life on the border of the great river, the New England Puritan, the Virginia cavalier,—each brought their own peculiar views of life and society to this new seat of empire, and the result of it all was a notable, if not a complex, civilization. The Pennsylvania immigrant floated leisurely down the Ohio and the Mississippi, many miles from his mountain home,¹ the New Englander took sail for Pensacola and Mobile and New Orleans, and thence traced his way through the forests; the Virginian, the Carolinian, the Georgian, mainly crossed the mountains to the Tennessee, and thence over the Mussel Shoals, into the Ohio and down the

¹Influence of the Mississippi River upon the Early Settlement of the Valley,—Houghton, Vol. 4, p. 481, Publications, Mississippi Historical Society.

Mississippi, though some marched single file by long and weary Indian trails through the fierce Indian tribes near the gulf, and many perished by the way. But thus our fathers came, and the dreary journeys over land and sea and through hostile Indian tribes made many a heart fail and turned back many a timid soul from the wild life in the Southwest.

Congress had its attention turned to the great Southwest by rumors of new empires and insurrections among these spirited sons of all nations, re-inforced by adventurers who had congregated in the region of which Natchez was plainly and easily the center. Roads to make the country accessible to a marching army and to give easy and safe passage to immigrants came to be a necessity. General Wilkinson, the wily Commander in Chief of the United States army, concluded a treaty with the Chickasaws on the 24th day of October, 1801, at Chickasaw Bluffs or Fort Adams, the present site of Memphis, and another with the Choctaws on the 17th day of December of that same year, whereby the consent of these Indian tribes was obtained for the opening of a wagon road through their respective lands,² and by an Act of Congress of April 21, 1806, the President was authorized to cause to be opened a road from Nashville in the state of Tennessee, to Natchez in the Mississippi Territory, a distance of about five hundred miles, provided he should not expend more than six thousand dollars in opening the same. An additional appropriation of three thousand dollars was made February 17, 1809, and of the total sum of nine thousand dollars, the sum of three thousand dollars was expended during the years 1807, 1808, and 1811, and the balance was carried to the surplus fund. The amount appropriated was disbursed by the Postmaster General, the road being intended principally for the transportation of the mail into and through the wilderness. Thus the Natchez trail was widened and improved and became a national roadway over which wagons could be drawn; it followed mainly the divide

²The above named Indian Treaties may be found in *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 652 to 658.

where it had been no doubt an Indian trail for many centuries before, over which the Natchez, Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and other Indian tribes exchanged visits and led war parties, between Tennessee, Northern Alabama and the Southwest Mississippi Territory. All the Indian wanted was a foot-path, and as a rule he stubbornly resisted his foot-path being widened into a wagon road, and the concession was only made generally after long parleying and for a valuable consideration; and the right to establish houses of entertainment on the Natchez Trace and to control the ferries was reserved by the once thrifty red man. This Indian path no doubt afforded the white man access to the Natchez country long before the road was established as a public highway by the United States government, and over it many a foot-sore and weary traveler trudged his way decades before the treaty at Chickasaw Bluffs.

II.

So important grew the rich Natchez country in the great Southwest that in 1816 Congress took in hand the construction of General Jackson's military road from Nashville, across the Tennessee, through northern Alabama, and on southwest by Columbus to New Orleans. The government had been greatly taxed with the danger of wars and conflicts with the French and Spanish of the Southwest, and plainly saw the need of a more direct and better road thereto, not only for the immigrant, but over which to transport the armies of the nation. The erection of this road was entrusted by the Secretary of War to General Andrew Jackson, then in the nation's eye as a soldier, both because of his great victory over the Creek nation and over General Packingham at the battle of New Orleans. This road entered Mississippi in Lowndes county, north of Columbus, and passed southeast of Pearl river which it crossed near the Louisiana line. South of Columbus, about 1824 or 1825, the Robinson Road was constructed from Columbus to Jackson. It cost the government what was then considered a very great sum of money, and over it came a vast number of the settlers of northeast and central Mississippi;

many of course passed south over the Natchez trail proper, a longer journey, and some over Gaines' Trace which led into the Natchez Trail soon after it crossed the Tombigbee at Cotton Gin Port,³ before the completion of the Jackson Military Road, but the latter became the most complete and serviceable highway theretofore constructed in the Southwest.⁴

III.

Immigration over the Natchez Trail cannot be intelligently discussed and understood without taking into consideration the many forks of the road and the cross roads. About the time of the widening of the Natchez Trail into the national highway, General E. P. Gaines and his brother, George S. Gaines, blazed out the way for trade by pack-horses over what is known as Gaines' Trace, which led from the Mussel Shoals where the Natchez Trail crosses the Tennessee river, and then followed the back-bone of the country by a straight shoot to Cotton Gin Port in Monroe County, about eighty or ninety miles; at Cotton Gin Port this road crossed the Tombigbee river and thence southwest, uniting with the Natchez Trail near the present site of old Houlka, about the boundary line between Pontotoc and Chickasaw counties; another branch of the same Gaines' Trace road turned south through the prairies by Aberdeen to Waverley and St. Stevens on the Tombigbee.

On the attached map is plainly marked out also the Bolivar Indian trail, which ran from Memphis to Mobile, by way of the Chickasaw towns in Lee county, and down the Tombigbee river to St. Stevens and Mobile; from the Chickasaw towns near Tupelo, it passed northwest by Ripley, by Bolivar, Tennessee, on to the Chickasaw Bluffs.⁵ The Bolivar trail was the

³ See "Cotton Gin Port and Gaines' Trace," Vol. VII, p. 263, Publications of Mississippi Historical Society.

⁴ See Article on General Jackson's Military Road, by W. A. Love in Vol. XI, Mississippi Historical Publications, p. 403, illuminating this branch of the subject.

⁵ The letters of Capt. Guion, Commandant of Fort Adams, about 1797-8, show intimate relations between the Fort and the Chickasaws. For these letters, see 7th Annual Report of Directors of Mississippi Historical Society, by Dr. Dunbar Rowland.

route of travel followed by the Indians and pioneers, leading from the Tombigbee country by way of Bolivar to Fort Adams on the Mississippi, and afforded access for the Chickasaws and Choctaws to West Tennessee, which was known as the common hunting ground for the Indians who lived in Kentucky on the north, and the Chickasaws and Choctaws on the south.⁶ Williams, in his "Old Times in West Tennessee," says that this road was pursued circuitously in order to avoid the crossing of the streams so numerous in the country farther south, which largely trend westward toward the Holly Springs country, which were harder to cross; Indians always avoid as much as possible water courses.

IV.

When the ancestry and origin of the inhabitants of north-east Mississippi generally, including the towns of Columbus, Aberdeen, West Point and Tupelo, is consulted, it will be discovered to what extent their civilization is due to the roads mentioned. Many of the people of the prairie region first settled in North Alabama and along the Tennessee river, but always having a keen scent for good lands, they came in great numbers to the prairie and Tombigbee country, after the Dancing Rabbit Treaty. It should be remembered that at this time, the lands of southern and eastern Virginia and eastern North Carolina had been largely worn out and exhausted by centuries of unscientific tillage. The owners had a super-abundance of negroes and were land poor, so that about this period, this class of immigrants came in great numbers and in large caravans. The head of the house, after much preparation and doubtless after loss of his lands by mortgage or sale of it at a sacrifice, assembled his belongings, put his family in carriages, his servants in wagons and on foot to drive the cattle and other domestic animals, attended usually by the family doctor and often by the private teacher of his children,—he would cross by slow stages from east Virginia and North and South Caro-

⁶ Letter, C. A. Miller, Esq., Bolivar, Tenn., quoting authority.

lina, the Allegheny mountains, and thence into the great gulf water sheds and on to the banks of the Mississippi, there to establish a new home in the virgin forest; his easiest approach to the new country was through the low gaps of the Alleghenies such as the famous Cumberland Gap, thence either by raft on the Tennessee river, or over the well beaten roads of east Tennessee and north Alabama, and finally in to the Jackson road or the Natchez Trail by some of its branches, and on to his new home. He brought with him his work animals, cattle, horses, hogs, farm implements, his valuable household goods, in fact, everything necessary to set up a home in the wilderness; this was not so much immigration as it was civilization in transition, and these numerous accessions to Mississippi citizenship as a rule grew rapidly rich and prosperous.

The transmigration of the Southern planter with his caravan across the mountains was like that of Abraham of old, from Haran into Canaan; he came not only with his wealth, with all his household and children and servants and herds, but also with his political and social preconceptions and ideas already formed and crystallized, and all of this he transplanted into the wilderness. This was the dominating class of the early civilization of Mississippi Territory; that class of immigrants came at once into conflict with the ideas of the strict New Englander and with the thrifty commercial classes of New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania; sharp political controversies resulted, but still the heads of these caravans ruled the land. There were thousands from the hills of north Georgia, from the mountains of Virginia, from east and middle Tennessee, from northern Alabama, of the pure Anglo-Saxon working classes, who filled the trades and occupied the hills and valleys; but all of these as a rule followed in the lead of the wealthy, cultured slave-holders. In the gulf coast country and in the Natchez country they came in contact with the Latin civilization of the early settlers, but their social and political views finally predominated in the resultant forces that made Mississippi history and Mississippi society what it finally became, and what it is today.

V.

I append to these general observations maps numbered I, II, III, and IV, showing some cross sections of Natchez Trace, and other prominent Indian and pioneer roads, as taken from photographs of the original surveys of the lands ceded to the government by the Chickasaws. These maps omit minor details of those surveys, but show the roads and Indian settlements accurately. I add to each a few notes of explanation.

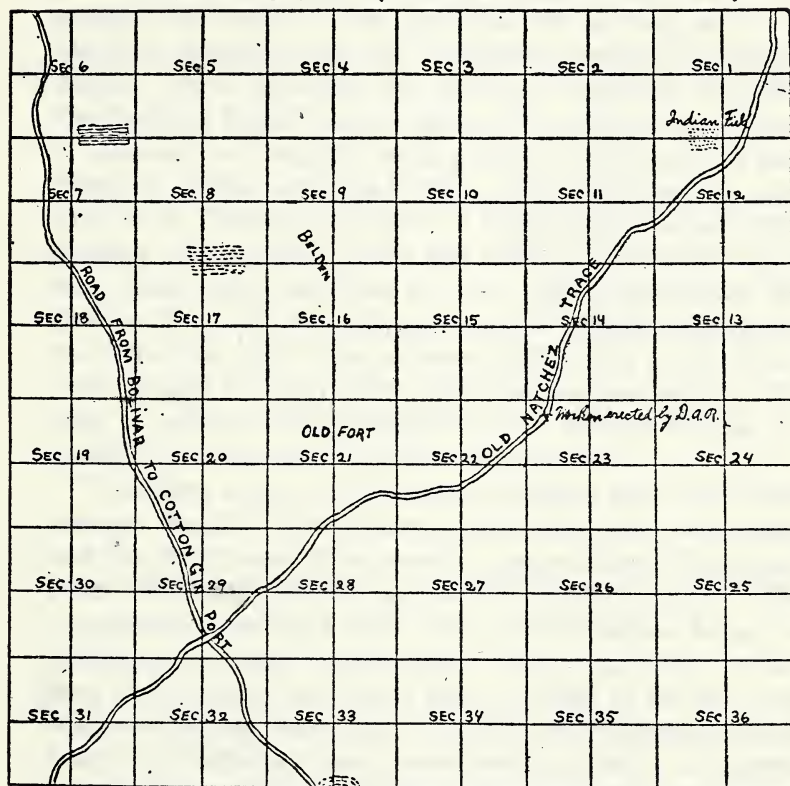
No. I.

Map No. I is a drawing from a blue print of the original plan or map of the route of Natchez Trace as projected by the United States government. It is perfectly plain that the map is inaccurate in the courses followed, or that the original plan was materially modified, when the road was actually located. The general direction of Natchez Trace from the Mussel Shoals on Tennessee River is south-west to Natchez. According to this map, the road ran almost half across the State, a little southeasterly from the Tennessee River, and then in an obtuse angle almost to Walnut Hills (Vicksburg). This plan was plainly not followed.

No. II.

The annexed map, No. II, is taken from a photographic copy of the Original Survey made by the United States Government in 1833 and 1834 showing the exact location of Natchez Trace, and the Bolivar Trail, in Township 9, Range 5, Lee County. The city of Tupelo is just east of Section 36, in the adjoining township. The location of the marker erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution, in November, 1914, is less than three miles north-east of Tupelo. The school histories, and other writers have always placed the town of Pontotoc on Natchez Trail. As this map and other investigations show, the old road at the nearest point ran several miles south-east of Pontotoc. With the aid of Capt. Dosier, a well known surveyor of Lee County, the deeply worn track of the famous road was located where it crossed the North half of southeast

T9 R. Y. E. (Chickasaw Cession Miss.)



Map II.

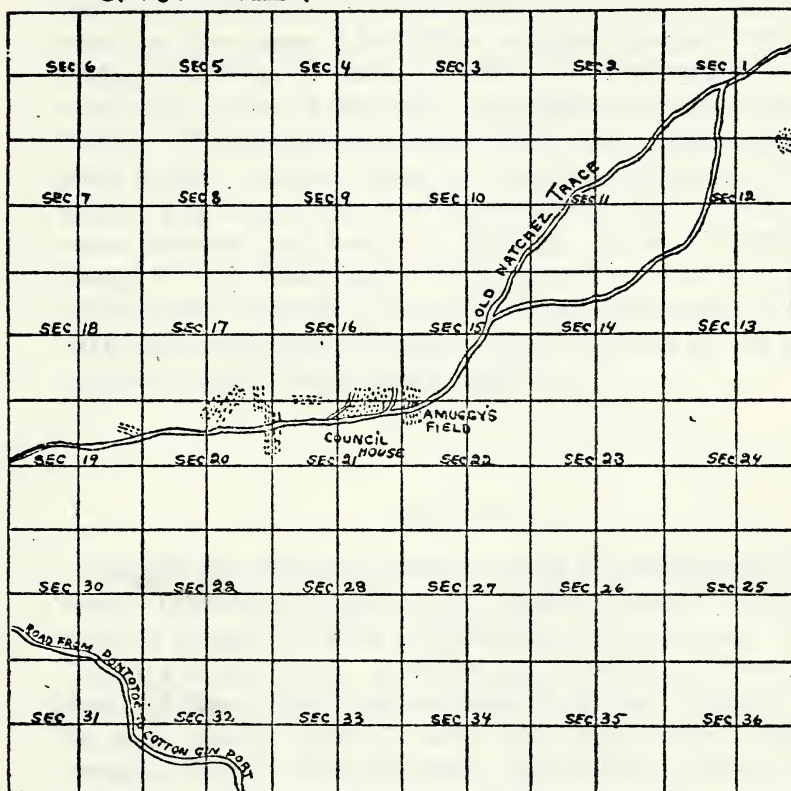
quarter of Section 21. The road has been long enough disused for large black-jack trees to grow out of its deep furrow on the hill-tops. Its course and location was pointed out by the Government Survey. It can be easily located in many places, especially where it crosses hill-tops. In cultivated fields and low grounds, the deposit of the years has left no trace of it. The old Fort constructed by the Chickasaws, under their English officers, which withstood the assaults of Bienville in 1736, at the Battle of Ackia,¹ was on Section 21, as shown by this map. It was built on a slightly rising plateau in the form of a parallelogram, longer north and south, covering about two acres. Col. W. L. Clayton, of Tupelo, a highly respected and distinguished retired lawyer, tells the writer he has seen the fort many times before and since the war. His mother-in-law, Mrs. Sharver, lived within a half mile of it; he says the country people before the Civil War gathered leaden balls at the Fort to "run" bullets for their rifles. Much silver was found on Sections 14 and 15. Col. Clayton's son, Mr. Stewart Clayton, now has silver spoons made from silver found there.

"Tradition from the Chickasaw Indians says the French charged the Fort three separate days before the final failure, and that the Chickasaws in pursuit captured many French prisoners, and among them a number of Catholic Priests. When the pursuit ceased and night came on, the Indians began torturing and burning the prisoners. They took them one at a time and tortured and burnt them in sight of all the others who were waiting their turn. It was so cruel and horrible, that finally the Catholic Priests persuaded the soldiers all together to rush into the fire and end the waiting. And so, at an agreed signal, they all, soldiers and Priests, rushed into the fire, chanting the Miserere, and perished in the flames."

This tradition reported to the writer by Col. Clayton, was obtained of Rev. Mr. Stuart, a Presbyterian minister and a missionary for many years among the Chickasaw Indians, having his headquarters at Pontotoc.

¹For a full account of this battle, see Hamilton's "Colonial Mobile," p. 128.

J. 10. R. IV. E. (chickasaw cession Miss.)



Map III.

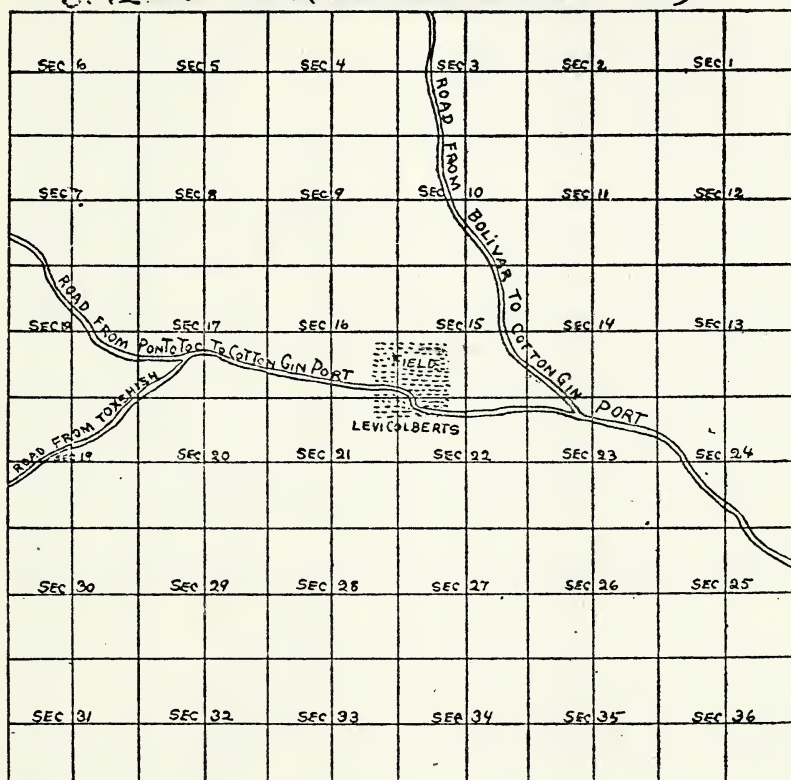
No. III.

Map No. III is six miles farther south and six miles farther west than No. II, and is likewise a copy of a photograph of the Original Government Survey, made in 1833-34, so far as roads and Indian settlements are concerned. A new road was laid out when the Government Land Office was established at Pontotoc, leading from there to Cotton Gin Port, which passes across the south-west corner of the map, some eight miles south-west of Tupelo. This map shows some of the many Indian villages along the Old Natchez Trace, and between Tupelo and Pontotoc. The larger and more numerous of these Chickasaw towns, however, are found on Map No. II, in Township 9, Range 5. Mr. Soule Kilpatrick, a prominent citizen of Lee County, now living at Verona, and about ninety years of age, says certain portions of Natchez Trace were used by the public, when he first saw the road in 1844.

No. IV.

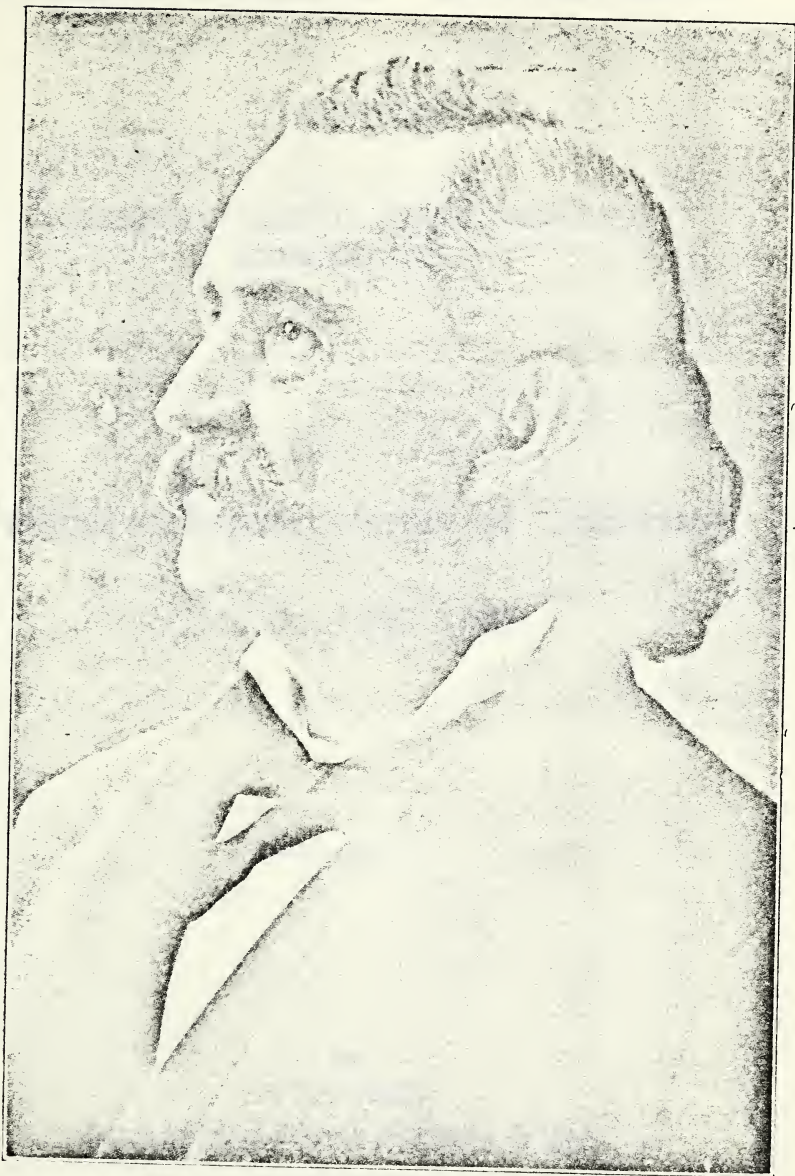
Map No. IV shows the highways used by Indians and pioneers in Township 12, Range 6, in Monroe County, within $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Cotton Gin Port to which they all converged. Levi Colbert's home, where he entertained travelers, is here laid down. Colbert's first home was near the Council Tree, just on the bluff one mile west of Cotton Gin Port, and near a good spring of water. It burned down, when Colbert rebuilt at the site noted on the map six miles west of Cotton Gin Port. Colbert was a chief, and with other members of his family was prominent in the Chickasaw Nation. The Pontotoc road again comes into view. Mr. Soule Kilpatrick of Verona, a gentleman of excellent memory and fine intelligence, tells the writer that this road was opened and laid off forty feet wide by the Government, when the Land Office at Pontotoc was established. This is doubt-

J. 12. Q. VI. E. (Chickasaw cession Miss)



Map IV.

less correct, but I have not been able to verify it by the records. This same gentleman went to school at Toxshish, to which another branch road shown on the map runs, in 1844. Toshkish was a church and school center about two or two and one half miles north of Red Lands, in Pontotoc County.



EDWARD C. WALTHALL

WALTHALL'S BRIGADE

A CURSORY SKETCH, WITH PERSONAL
EXPERIENCES

OF

Walthall's Brigade, Army of Tennessee

C. S. A., 1862-1865

BY

E. T. SYKES,

Late Adjutant-General Walthall's Brigade.

DEDICATION

To the soldiers of Walthall's Brigade, now living—and to the friends and relatives of such as have “passed over the river”—who so gallantly fought under their superb leader during the Civil War, and whose fittest eulogy is, that they always stood unawed before the enemy, and were worthy to be under command of their noble chieftain, this “sketch” is rememberingly and feelingly dedicated by the author, who counts it an honor to be called their “old adjutant general.”

PREFACE

By an act of the legislature of the State of Mississippi, approved March 4th, 1878 (Pam Acts of 1878, pg. 139), entitled "An Act to provide for carrying into effect the Joint Resolution of the Legislature of this State, of the 8th day of February, A. D. 1878, for the collection and preservation, amongst the archives of this State, in some permanent and enduring form, of a record of the part taken by Mississippians and others in the service of this State, during the late and unhappy struggle between the States," Colonel W. H. McCardle, a resident journalist of Vicksburg, Miss., was designated a special Commissioner to carry into effect the objects and purposes of said resolution. In the anticipated discharge of said objects and purposes, the Colonel on entering upon the duties of said commission, requested General Walthall and other ex-Confederate officers, to write for use in his contemplated "Record," a sketch of their respective commands during said war.

Knowing that I was the custodian of the order books of, as well as other valuable papers pertaining to, the Brigade, General Walthall requested me to write the asked for "sketch" of his brigade. To this request I promised compliance, and at once proceeded to the pleasant duty. On completing the "sketch", I placed it in Colonel McCardle's hands for use by him; but, the Colonel failing to discharge his duties under said act: and likewise failing to return to me my manuscript, I later on, at the request of General Walthall, prepared for a permanent memorial, a more extended "sketch" of his brigade; and since his death, have still further added to and elaborated the original "sketch." In doing so, I have made free use of certain valuable information

contained in papers committed by the General to my keeping, as far back as October the 15th, 1887.

The book containing the correspondence between General Walthall and Colonel Daniel R. Huntley, of the 31st Alabama Infantry, and letters of General Edward W. Pettus, of Alabama, and others, concerning the "battle of Lookout Mountain," and which along with the brigade order book, has been placed by me in the "Department of Archives and History" at Jackson, Mississippi, is deserving of being read by every survivor, as well as all others taking an interest in the war record of Walthall's brigade.

E. T. SYKES.

Columbus, Miss., 1905.

INTRODUCTION.

The publication of this little volume was authorized at the annual re-union of Walthall's Brigade held at Oxford, Mississippi, in September, 1906, under the supervision of the undersigned as a committee.

It has been a labor of love and of intense pride with us. We know that no command in the Confederate Army made a prouder record than the old brigade to which we belonged. No knight-lie soldier ever drew blade in defense of a righteous cause than our great commander, General Edward C. Walthall. No truer men ever followed the leadership of a more gallant officer than the rank and file composing his brigade. When Mississippians remember upon how many ensanguined fields our men poured out their blood, or gave up their lives for the cause they loved, they will look with indulgence upon our references to the heroic lives of our comrades. Hence, this record is to preserve in enduring form the heroism of their "old brigade," not merely for the benefit of the living, but because the tribute is justly due the memory of our departed comrades. In a few more years the last survivor will have "crossed over the river," but we will be happy in the consciousness that we have left behind us an unspotted record. From the princely General whose gleaming sword, like the "white plume of Navarre," was ever found in the front of the battle, to the humblest private, who, by his sublime courage, made victory possible, the name and fame of Walthall's Brigade will be a priceless legacy to Mississippi and Mississippians.

We here recognize the faithful service of our Adjutant General, Col. E. T. Sykes, for his patriotic work in the preparation

of this history and commend it to the survivors of the old brigade and to the descendants of those who "have gone before," and to every Mississippian who is proud of the name he bears.

THO. SPIGHT,
J. W. BUCHANAN,
T. C. CARTER.

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INTRODUCTORY SKETCH.

Edward Cary Walthall, commander of the brigade bearing his name, was born in Richmond, Va., April 4th, 1831. When he was quite a lad his parents—B. W. and Sally Walthall, *nee* Sally Wilkinson—removed to Holly Springs, Miss., where they resided until their demise—the mother many years prior, and the father several years subsequent, to the civil war.

The mother was a sister of the distinguished Judge Edward C. Wilkinson, who moved from Virginia in 1830, and after prospecting at Natchez and Vicksburg for a suitable location for a young lawyer, finally settled at Yazoo City, Miss. He soon took high rank in his profession, and in a few years thereafter became Judge of that judicial circuit.

Whilst the Judge was in Louisville, Ky., in December, 1838, and just on the eve of his approaching nuptials with a young beauty of that city, a violent assault was made on him and his two companions at the Gault House by a band of ruffians resulting in the death of two of the assailants, and the severe wounding of the Mississippians. On the occasion of the judge's trial at Harrodsburg, Ky., under a change of venue to that place, the peerless Sergeant S. Prentiss, then a member of congress from the State of Mississippi, and where in the spring previous he had won the plaudits of an admiring world by his incomparable "contested election speech,"¹ volunteered his services in defense of his friend; and making a masterpiece of forensic eloquence, gathered all Kentucky into the folds of his admirers, and promptly won a verdict of acquittal for his friend—thereby presenting the opportunity for the consummation of the nuptial engagements which had been so inauspi-

¹ For notes, see Appendix A, page 596.

ciously deferred, and permitting the doubly happy judge to transplant to his Mississippi home one of Kentucky's fairest human flowers.²

Edward Cary Walthall, the subject of this sketch, received an academic education at Holly Springs, Miss., was admitted to the bar in 1852, and commenced the practice of law the same year in Coffeeville, Mississippi. He was elected in 1856 district attorney for the 10th judicial district of Mississippi, and re-elected in 1859; resigned that office in the spring of 1861 and entered the Confederate service as a lieutenant in the 15th Mississippi regiment; was soon after elected lieutenant colonel of that regiment. In the spring of 1862 he was elected colonel of the 29th Mississippi regiment; was commissioned brigadier general April 23d, 1863, to rank from December 13th, 1862, and major-general on June 10th, 1864, to rank from June 6th, 1864. After the surrender, he practiced law at Coffeeville, Miss., until January, 1871, when he removed to Grenada, Miss., and continued the practice there until March, 1885. He was a delegate at large to the National-Democratic Conventions in 1868, '76, '80 and '84; in 1868 was one of the vice-presidents of the convention, and in 1876, '80 and '84, was chairman of the Mississippi delegations in the conventions of those years. In 1885 he was appointed by Gov. Robt. Lowry, of Mississippi, to the United States senate, as a democrat to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, appointed by President Cleveland, Secretary of the Interior, and took his seat March 12th, 1885. He was elected by the legislature of Mississippi in January, 1886, for the unexpired term aforesaid; and was re-elected in January, 1888, and again elected in January, 1892, for the terms which expired March 3d, 1895, and that to which last elected, expiring March 4th, 1901. On account of ill health he resigned in January, 1894, as Senator for the remainder of the then unexpired term ending March 4, 1895, but on the latter date re-entered the Senate by virtue of his said election for the term then beginning. Before the expiration of said last term, to-wit, on April 21st, 1893, after protracted illness, General Walthall died at his residence in Washington City. His remains were

brought under escort of a congressional committee to his old home town, Holly Springs, Mississippi, and interred with honors in the graveyard there.

In one of the most inspiring and magnificently eloquent eulogies ever delivered in the U. S. Senate, Senator Hoar, after speaking of the courtly and magnetic bearing of General Walthall as a senator, referred to the high estimate which he was credibly informed, was placed by the Confederate authorities on Gen. Walthall's military capacity for command. Among other reflections he recalled the comment of Justice and ex-Senator Lamar, once made in his presence, that he considered Walthall "the ablest military genius of the Confederacy, with the exception of Lee and, I think, Stonewall Jackson."

The author recalls a remark made him a few years after the war by Col. Jno. B. Sale, of Aberdeen, Miss.,—now deceased—who from January 1864, to the close of the war, was "military secretary" on the staff of General Bragg, on duty at Richmond, Va. It was, that "Walthall was recognized by the authorities at Richmond, as being the best division commander in the Army of Tennessee, and was slated for the first vacancy occurring in the grade of lieutenant generalship of that Army."

It is reported that General Johnston is said to have remarked that, "had the war continued two years longer, Walthall would have been in supreme command of the Army of Tennessee."

In a letter written in the '80s, by Senator Lamar to Col. W. H. Hardy, then of Meridian, Miss., appeared substantially, this exalted estimate: "Of all the great men Mississippi has produced, General Walthall stands out in boldest relief, in moral purity, strength of mind, heroism of soul, and commanding influence among men."

General Hood's estimate of Walthall's military capacity may be judged of by what he says on pages 306-307. of his "Advance and Retreat." Speaking of his retreat out of Tennessee, next following our disaster in front of Nashville, he says:

"Lieutenant General Lee displayed his usual energy and skill in handling his troops on the 17th, whilst protecting the rear of our army. Unfortunately, in the afternoon he was wounded and forced to leave the field. * * * Major General Walthall, one

of the most able division commanders in the South, was here ordered to form a rear guard with eight picked brigades together with Forrest's cavalry; the march was then resumed in the direction of Columbia, Stewart's corps moving in front, followed by those of Cheatham and Stevenson"—the latter being Lee's corps. * * * "I felt confident that Walthall, supported on his flanks by the gallant Forrest, would prove equal to any emergency which might arise. I therefore continued, although within sound of the guns of the rear guard, to march leisurely, and arrived at Bainbridge on the 25th of December."

Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama, himself a patriarch and one of the most distinguished members of the United States senate, stated in a recent interview, that if called upon to name the two greatest men with whom he had served in that branch of congress, he would assign the lamented Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, and Edward Cary Walthall, of Mississippi, to positions commanding the greatest distinction. He said they were the greatest men—with distinction unrivalled—who had served in the United States senate since—March the 5th, 1877—he (Morgan) donned the toga. After stating with emphasis, that Thurman was the biggest man intellectually of all with whom he had served, he added:

"Without detracting from the greatness of Thurman, I must say that the most perfect senator I ever met was Edward Cary Walthall of Mississippi. When I say perfect in speaking of Walthall I mean to say that his qualifications encompassed every essential that fit a senator for honorable and profitable public service. In the first place, Walthall was the most charming man personally I ever met. He was a Crichton in intellect and a Chesterfield in manner. He was a gentleman whose company was elevating and ennobling. He was a statesman whose example was at all times worthy of the sincerest imitation.

"Grand in physical appearance, his mental proportions were grand also. But he was not physically strong, and for that reason his mental activities were circumscribed accordingly. With a stronger constitution his mentality would have been equal to that of Thurman. He had the ambition, the energy and natural aptitude for the fullest measure of greatness, but not being of a robust constitution, his means of prosecution were restricted. I loved Walthall and esteemed his companionship above appraisalment.

An Incident.

"A colleague once told me of a conversation he accidentally overheard between Senator Hoar and Senator Walthall. The admiration of Senator Hoar for the distinguished Mississippian was well understood. The meeting between them was of the frankest nature. 'I have the greatest respect for your colleague, Senator George,' said Senator Hoar. 'He is in many respects a remarkable man, but frankly I rather eulogize you than him, for the plain reason that I never could approve of George's course as chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee.'"

"Senator Hoar," answered Senator Walthall, "I desire to say that I was a member of the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee when Senator George was chairman and the very thing which you say has caused you to criticise him as chairman met with my absolute approval."

That illustrated Walthall's true character. In truth he was as upright, unselfish, incorruptible and pure in life as Marcus Cato, and possessed what Burke characterized as the "chastity of honor that feels a stain like a wound," and whilst to a friend he was the vitalizing essence of loyalty, he was at the same time candid and outspoken in his advice or counsel.

To the day of his death General Walthall retained a deep and abiding interest in the "Old Confederate Soldiers," and sincerely cherished a manifest interest in the scene and memories of 1861-'65.

One of the most feeling, classical, and didactically historic addresses delivered by any one since the war, was delivered by General Walthall on June 3d, 1891, on the occasion of the unveiling of the Confederate monument in capitol square in Jackson, Mississippi, and in which stood and yet stands the life-size statue of ex-President Jefferson Davis, chiselled in Italy.

With the citizen soldiery, and the fair womanhood of Mississippi, gracing the occasion, as also, the presence of distinguished ex-confederates, who as officers and representatives of the federation of "United Confederate Veterans," had assembled in Jackson, for its second annual reunion, the scene was inspiring, whilst the immense audience, which only the canopied heavens could accommodate, stood transfixed

throughout the orator's magnificent address—an address that will ever remain a southern classic.

On October 15th, 1889—being prior to the organization of the federation of "United Confederate Veterans"—the "Grand Camp Confederate Veterans of Mississippi" was organized at Aberdeen, Miss., when and where General Walthall was elected grand commander; General W. S. Featherston, 1st lieutenant-grand commander; General S. D. Lee, 2nd lieutenant-grand commander; and General Will T. Martin, 3d lieutenant-grand commander.

Soon following the date of said election, the author was honored with a letter from his old chief, Gen. Walthall, requesting him in consideration of the official relationship existing between them in the war of the sixties, that he would again consent to serve him as adjutant-general; and conditioning his acceptance of the position to which he had just been elected, upon the author's acceptance of the tendered position of adjutant-general. The author promptly and cheerfully notified the grand commander of his acceptance; whereupon, the latter announced in orders the following named gentlemen and old army comrades, as composing his general and personal staff, viz.:

Captain E. T. Sykes, of Columbus, Mississippi, Adjutant-General.

Major L. W. Magruder, of Vicksburg, Mississippi, Aid-de-Camp.

Captain T. C. Carter, of Meridian, Mississippi, Aid-de-Camp.

Carter was a gallant soldier of Walthall's brigade. He has resided for many years past in Meridian, Miss., and is a leading business man of that city.

Magruder, noble fellow, was on the staff of Maj.-Gen. W. H. T. Walker up to the time (July 28, 1864) of the death of that gallant officer; after which he was assigned to duty on Brig.-Gen. Brantley's staff. For many years prior to his recent affliction, he was a leading politician and lawyer at Vicksburg, Mississippi. His many, many friends, who are legion, deplore his affliction.

Within a few days next after the death of General Walthall,

the "Mississippi Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy" held its second annual meeting in Columbus, Miss., when and where, on April 29th, 1898, there was adopted and promulgated the following resolutions expressive of the prevailing feeling of the women of the state:

"WHEREAS, On the 21st instant it pleased the All-Wise Head of Church to remove by death from the scenes of his great usefulness, Mississippi's superb warrior, statesman and patriot, the lamented General and U. S. Senator, E. C. Walthall; therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the Mississippi Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in annual convention assembled, sincerely lament his demise, and remembering his knightly gallantry on the battle-fields in the war between the States; and further recalling that he was the first commander of our state organization of Confederate Veterans, claim the privilege, as well as duty, of offering our spontaneous testimony to his pure and spotless character, his great soldierly qualities, and eminent statesmanship in the councils of the nation. Indeed, we feel that in the death of our General Walthall, we have lost the counsel and co-operation of one of earth's noblemen;

"*Resolved, second*, That we tender our deepest sympathies to the loving wife and surviving family of our departed hero and friend, and commend them to the care of Him who will give them solace and support;

"*Resolved third*, That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be furnished to the *Clarion-Ledger*, at Jackson, the *Commercial-Appeal*, at Memphis, to the New Orleans papers, and to the local papers for publication; and that the secretary of this convention be instructed to transmit to the family of the deceased hero and statesman, a copy of the same with the assurance of the heartfelt sympathy of our membership with them in their sore bereavement."

General Walthall was twice married. The maiden name of his first wife was Miss Sophy Bridges, a beautiful human nightingale. She died within a year after marriage, leaving no children.

His second wife, to whom he was married in 1860, was Miss Mary L. Jones, of Mecklenburg county Va. She survived him, and died childless.

CHAPTER 1

Organization of Walthall's Brigade, Army of Tennessee, C. S. A., together with some of the more important events and reminiscences of its War Record.

In November, 1862, whilst the "Army of Tennessee" was in camps at and near Tullahoma, Tenn., resting from the fatigue, and recuperating from the depletion of its ranks incident to its recent campaign through Kentucky, E. C. Walthall, then colonel commanding the 29th Mississippi Regiment of Chalmers' Brigade, Wither's Division, Polk's Corps, was informed by General Bragg of his recommendation for promotion to the rank of brigadier general; and the information was accompanied by an order for him to report the next morning to Brigadier General J. Patton Anderson, of Hardee's Corps, then in camp near Estill Springs, on the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad, about nine miles south of Tullahoma, for assignment to the command of a brigade.

At that time the author was captain of Co. "K," 10th Mississippi Regiment, in the same brigade, division, and corps with Colonel Walthall, and was induced by him to accompany him as his prospective assistant adjutant general.

Reporting as ordered, and being assigned a brigade, which in the course of a few weeks underwent several changes in organization, the Colonel was ordered to move with it first, to Shelbyville, then to a point near Eaglesville, and from thence to Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

The brigade, of which Walthall was first given command, was composed of the following regiments, viz.:

24th Mississippi, W. F. Dowd, Colonel.

27th Mississippi, T. M. Jones, Colonel.

30th Mississippi, G. F. Neill, Colonel.

41st Mississippi, W. F. Tucker, Colonel.

45th Alabama, Jas. G. Gilchrist, Colonel,

On December 26th, near Murfreesboro, the 41st Mississippi was transferred from Walthall's (3d) brigade, to Chalmers' (2d) brigade, in exchange for Walthall's old regiment—29th Mississippi—commanded by Colonel W. F. Brantley.

During said time the temporary brigade staff was, as announced in the following orders, viz.:

HEADQUARTERS WALTHALL'S BRIGADE, ANDERSON'S DIVISION,
HARDEE'S CORPS, ARMY OF TENNESSEE,
Near SHELBYVILLE, Tenn., December 4, 1862.

General Orders

No. 1.

The following Officers of the Staff of the Colonel Commanding are hereby announced:

Captain E. T. Sykes, 10th Mississippi Regiment, Actg. A. A. General.

Captain R. W. Williamson, 30th Mississippi Regiment, Vol. Aid-de-Camp.

Captain Addison Craft, 27th Mississippi Regiment, A. Qr.-Master.

Dr. K. C. Devine, 27th Mississippi Regiment, Surgeon.

(Sg) E. C. WALTHALL,

Colonel Commanding.

In a few days thereafter, the following addition to the temporary staff, was announced, viz.:

HEADQUARTERS WALTHALL'S BRIGADE, ANDERSON'S DIVISION,
HARDEE'S CORPS, ARMY OF TENNESSEE,

General Orders,

December 9th, 1862.

No. 3.

Captain J. A. Hooper, A. C. S., is hereby announced as acting Brigade Commissary on the staff of the Colonel Commanding.

He will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

By command of Colonel E. C. Walthall.

E. T. SYKES,

A. A. A. General.

And still later, the following announcement of brigade temporary staff officers was made, by Colonel T. M. Jones, 27th Mississippi Regiment, whilst in the temporary command of the brigade, viz.:

HEADQUARTERS 3D BRIGADE, WITHER'S DIVISION,
POLK'S CORPS, ARMY OF TENNESSEE,
Near MURFREESBORO, Tenn., Dec'r 27th, 1862.

General Orders,
No. 2.

New Series.

The following officers are announced on the staff of the Colonel Commanding, viz.:

1st Lieutenant D. M. Currie, 24th Mississippi Regiment, Acting Inspector-General.

2d Lieutenant J. H. Wood, 27th Mississippi Regiment, Acting Ordnance Officer.

They will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

By command of Colonel T. M. Jones.

E. T. SYKES,
A. A. A. General.

And yet later, Captain Addison Craft having been ordered to post duty at Chattanooga, Tenn., the following order filling the vacancy on the brigade staff occasioned thereby was made and issued, viz.:

HEADQUARTERS WALTHALL'S BRIGADE,
Near SHELBYVILLE, Tenn., Jan'y 28th, 1863.

Special Orders,
No. 12.

Captain W. G. Beanland, A. Q. M., 29th Mississippi Regiment, will relieve Captain Addison Craft as Brigade Quartermaster on the staff of the Brigadier General Commanding.

By command of Brig.-Gen'l Walthall.

E. T. SYKES,
A. A. A. General.

Captain Craft had been the efficient Quarter-Master of the brigade from its organization in December previous, and had rendered most valuable and appreciative service throughout, and especially during the Murfreesboro campaign and battle; and the author personally knows it to have been with supreme reluctance and regret, and only in obedience to the assignment by superior authority, of Captain Craft to post duty at Chattanooga, that General Walthall consented to the severance of their headquarters'

family relations; relations doubly dear to each by reason of the fact that they were reared in the same town (Holly Springs), had been boys together and intimates from childhood.

Immediately following the battle of Murfreesboro, the 34th Mississippi Regiment, Colonel Samuel Benton commanding, was transferred to Walthall's brigade to replace the 45th Alabama regiment, that had been transferred to Managault's brigade. By this exchange and transfer the brigade became wholly a Mississippi organization, and of which Walthall continued in command until the date of his promotion to the rank of Major General.

Thus organized the brigade was composed of the 24th, 27th, 29th, 30th, and 34th Mississippi Regiments, and Barrett's battery of artillery—the latter commanded by Captain O. W. Barrett, of Missouri.

Save as to a change of batteries (Lumsden's—commanded by Captain C. L. Lumsden, a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, and at the outbreak of the war, Military Instructor of the corps of cadets at the University of Alabama—being on July 16th, 1863, substituted for Barrett's, and later and just prior to the battle of Chickamauga, Fowler's battery—commanded by Captain W. H. Fowler—being exchanged for Lumsden's), the brigade organization continued throughout Walthall's service as Brigadier General; indeed to the close of the war. Both Lumsden's and Fowler's were Alabama batteries.

CHAPTER 2

Battle of Murfreesboro—Losses in—Captain Lambert May—
Capture of Artillery—Sketch of General J. Patton Anderson,
Commanding the Brigade during said Battle—Lieutenant
Colonel Jas. L. Autry—Death of.

Immediately following its organization, and just prior to the battle of Murfreesboro (Stone River, as called by the Federals), General Walthall was taken dangerously ill, and was advised by General Bragg to accept a leave of absence until his health could be restored. For a few days after his departure for Virginia to be nursed by his wife at the home of her parents, the brigade was in turn commanded by Colonels G. F. Neill of the 30th, and T. M. Jones of the 27th Mississippi regiments. But the sudden advance movement of Rosecran's entire army on Bragg's troops in and around Murfreesboro, making it plain that a battle was imminent, General Bragg on the evening of December 27th, assigned Brigadier General J. Patton Anderson to the temporary command of Walthall's brigade; and thus commanded, the brigade participated in and won imperishable renown in the engagement which followed.

For the conspicuous part taken by the brigade in the sanguinary battle of Murfreesboro, I refer particularly to the official reports of General Anderson, in "War of the Rebellion—Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," Serial No. 29, pages 762-767; and of General Bragg, on page 668 of said number.

But it is pertinent in this place to record the following special facts, viz.:

The brigade headquarters books show that, at the time General Anderson assumed command, the brigade numbered an effective total of 1,800; and that in the battle of Murfreesboro only a few days thereafter, it lost 766 officers and men, as follows: Killed, 119; wounded, 58½; missing, 63. During the morning of the first

day whilst swinging across a field—to the north and adjacent to the Wilkerson pike—in short range of grape, canister and shrapnel, 62 officers and men were killed, and 139 wounded of the 30th Mississippi regiment (commanded by Lieutenant Colonel J. J. Scales) alone: all within a very short space of time, and upon an area not greater than an acre of ground.³

The movements of the brigade immediately preceding the battle, were: About midnight on the 27th, orders were received by General Anderson to move at an early hour the next morning, and form in line of battle by 9 A. M. The brigade was accordingly marched from its cantonments on the outskirts of Murfreesboro, and with Chalmers' and Manigault's brigades of the same (Wither's) division, was drawn up in line of battle at right angles with the Nashville pike, and about 1,000 yards in front of the point where the pike crosses Stone river; Brigadier General Chalmers' right resting upon the pike very near the point where the railroad intersects it, and his left reaching up a slope in an open field, and resting about the crest of the hill, with an interval on the top of the hill of about 80 yards between General Chalmers' left and Anderson's right. The line of the latter was a prolongation of Chalmers', and extended across the Wilkerson pike some 300 yards into a dense cedar brake. Colonel Manigault (commanding Anderson's former brigade) was on the immediate left of Walthall's brigade, and was deflected to the rear at an angle of about 45 degrees. Walthall's brigade was posted from right to left as follows: Barrett's battery (four guns) on the crest of the hill, in open field; the 27th Mississippi, Colonel T. M. Jones commanding; 29th Mississippi, Colonel W. F. Brantley; 30th Mississippi, Lieutenant Colonel Junius J. Scales; 24th Mississippi, Lieutenant Colonel R. P. McKelvaine, and the 45th Alabama, Colonel James G. Gilchrist, commanding. The troops remained under arms during the afternoon and night of the 28th.

On the 29th, rifle pits were constructed along the line of the 27th Mississippi, which was in the open field. Slight earthworks were likewise thrown up to protect the cannoneers and horses of Barrett's battery against the enemy's sharpshooters. The other regiments, all of which were in the cedar forest, erected tem-

porary breastworks of stone, great quantities of which covered the ground about them. Ere then a line of skirmishers had been thrown out several hundred yards in front, connecting on the right with those of General Chalmers', and on the left with those of Manigault's brigade. Only light skirmishing occurred that day resulting in only a few casualties.

Commencing with the early morn of the 30th, the skirmishers became, and continued throughout the day, hotly engaged, the killed and wounded aggregating 35. About nine o'clock the same evening, the order for attack the next morning was received through division headquarters, and this order was promptly communicated to the several regimental commanders.

Soon after daylight the next (31st) morning, a few shots on our extreme left, quickly followed by the thick roll of musketry, and then by booming artillery, announced that the action had commenced. As in the order for the movement we were instructed to conform elbows to the left, the extreme left had necessarily to advance some distance, swinging around upon the right, before Walthall's brigade could move out of its position—particularly so, as Manigault's line on our left was deflected, and making it necessary for his left to describe an arc equal to the eighth of a circle, the length of his line being the radius, before reaching the point where it would be on a prolongation of Walthall's line.

About 9 A. M. the first movement forward of Walthall's line began. From thence to the close of the engagement, and until our retreat began on the early morn of January 4th, 1863, its splendid conduct is fully and best told in the reports of the general, corps, division and brigade commanders.

The most gallant of the many daring acts witnessed by the author during the war, was performed on this occasion by Captain Lambert May, a volunteer aid-de-camp on the staff of General Anderson. It was at this time and turn in our brigade line, and when so many of our men were falling, that General Anderson realizing that to the success of the movement, two federal batteries in position on the knoll skirting a cedar brake to our immediate left front and having an enfilade fire on our wheeling line, should be captured or silenced, ordered his staff to direct a part of

the line to that duty. Whereupon Captain May, a naturalized Frenchman, whose home was in Kentucky, a man possessing some artless peculiarities common to his race, but clever, companionable, and as courteous as Chesterfield, and as brave as a Homeric Achilles, rushed to that part of the line nearest the batteries and taking command thereof, ordered, and with pistol in one hand and saber in the other, led a charge upon and captured the batteries. 'Twas four guns of those batteries which shortly afterwards at Shelbyville, Tenn., were presented by General Bragg to the brigade in recognition of its splendid record made in the battle of Murfreesboro. May, gallant soldier, was dangerously wounded on the bloody field of Chickamauga (September 19th, 1863), by a minnie ball passing through his face. He died a few years ago at or near Meridian, Mississippi. One of his daughters is the wife of the cultivated gentleman, genial friend, and distinguished lawyer, the Hon. S. A. Witherspoon, of the Meridian bar.

Of the many noble sons of Mississippi whose lives were offered in the battle of Murfreesboro a willing sacrifice upon their country's altar, was the accomplished and peerless soldier, Lieutenant Colonel James L. Autry, commanding the 27th Mississippi regiment, and one-time speaker of the house of representatives of that state. He fell pierced through the head by a minnie ball, causing instant death, whilst gallantly leading his regiment in a charge on the enemy.

It is eminently appropriate in this connection, to record a cursory sketch of the military service of General Anderson up to and inclusive of the time he was in the temporary command of Walthall's brigade.

On the breaking out of the war, J. Patton Anderson, though reared in Mississippi, and from that state appointed by President Pierce territorial governor of Washington, was residing in Florida. He was a resident of Jefferson County when Florida passed her ordinance of secession, in 1861, and represented his county in the state convention which passed said ordinance. He likewise represented his state in the provisional congress at Montgomery, which framed the constitution of the Confederate States; but when the first call was made for troops to maintain the new gov-

ernment, he resigned his seat in congress to enter the military service. On so entering, he was appointed by its governor—John Milton—Colonel of the 1st Florida regiment, with orders to report to General Bragg, at Pensacola, Fla., and where he remained in the active command of his regiment until his appointment as brigadier general, February 10th, 1862. The brigade to the command of which he was first assigned, was composed of the 1st Florida, 17th Alabama and the 5th and 8th Mississippi regiments. At various times whilst brigadier general, General Anderson was in the active command of a division. On February 17th, 1864, he was promoted major general; and after some service as such in Florida, he was ordered to the Army of Tennessee, and assigned to the permanent command of Hindman's old division; and thus served until disabled by wounds received in the battle of Jonesboro, Ga., August 31st, 1864.

The first year of General Anderson's service was comparatively inactive. For, apart from the two several bombardments of Fort Pickens, Fla., by the masterly defensive, as well as offensive, cordon of fortifications extending from a point east of the navy yard, to and beyond Fort McRea, a distance of nearly five miles, the whole being almost equi-distant from Fort Pickens and its outlying batteries; and apart from the burning by the federals under cover of night, of the dry dock at the navy yard on September 13th, 1861, the only incident of special importance or note, occurring during General Bragg's command at Pensacola, was the night attack on "Billy Wilson's Zouaves," encamped just outside and to the east of Fort Pickens, on the early morn of October 8th, 1861.

The Confederate attacking force, consisting of two companies selected from each of the several regiments of the army, were ordered to assemble at the navy yard at a given hour that night, preliminary to being transported in scows across the bay to Santa Rosa Island. Landing on the island whilst it was yet night, the attacking force was organized into three separate columns, commanded respectively by Colonels J. Patton Anderson, 1st Florida; J. K. Jackson, 5th Georgia, and Jas. R. Chalmers, 9th Mississippi—the whole commanded by Brigadier General (afterwards lieu-

tenant general) Richard H. Anderson, and who was wounded in the retreat following the failure of the attacking column.⁴

In the battle of Shiloh, where he commanded the 2d brigade, Ruggles' division, 2d army corps, and in the battle of Perryville, where he commanded one of the two divisions constituting the "left wing" under Hardee, General Anderson won the commendation of his superiors and the confidence of his soldiers.

General Anderson was tall, shapely, erect of carriage, handsome, chivalric in bearing and in action, warm hearted and genial in manner and address; and when mounted on either of his two splendid war chargers—"Bragg" or "Yancey"—he looked the personification of the conquering hero. In every respect he was the accomplished and lovable gentleman, and at the same time, recognized as one of the best brigade and division commanders in the "Army of Tennessee."

General Bragg in a letter to the author, under date of February 8th, 1873, says of General Anderson, "He was as noble and true a soldier and gentleman as any age can boast."

General Anderson died in Memphis, Tenn., on September 19th, 1873, and among his last articulate words were: "And this is the anniversary of the battle of Chickamauga."

As illustrative of the honesty and purity of character of General Anderson, I feel justified in recording the substance of a unique and forceful "notice" which I recall as once having heard General Walthall say appeared in a newspaper published at the home town of General Anderson in North Mississippi, at the time of the general's return after the expiration of his term of office as governor of Washington territory. It appears that when the general left North Mississippi to enter upon his term of office as said territorial governor, he was indebted to individuals in amounts largely in excess of his pecuniary ability to pay, but that, whilst in said territory he made certain investments which proving successful, enabled him to meet all his outstanding obligations. Hence it was, that on his return to his old home in Mississippi, he, without intimating his purpose, or consulting with any one, had inserted in his home paper, a notice of which the following is the substance:

"Your Redeemer Liveth.

All creditors of J. Patton Anderson will, on presenting their claims to the undersigned, be paid in full of principal and interest of their several demands.

(Sg) J. PATTON ANDERSON."

As the adjutant general of the brigade which he temporarily, and in the absence of General Walthall, commanded, and on whose staff I served throughout the absence on sick leave of the latter, I became quite intimate with General Anderson. And for reasons personal to myself, I feel justified, yea, deem it pardonable to quote at length the substance of an incident narrated by me in "A Cursory Sketch of General Bragg's Campaigns," and contributed in 1883, to the Southern Historical Society Papers" (Vols. 11 and 12), published at Richmond, Va., viz.: On the evening of January 2d, 1863, Walthall's brigade, commanded by Brigadier General J. Patton Anderson, was ordered to move rapidly a distance of one and one-half miles, or thereabouts, to the support of General Breckenridge, who was being driven back in his attack on the enemy's left. Being put in motion to the indicated point, and having to pass through an open field immediately in rear of the troops to our right, besides having to ford the intervening river (Stone), the brigade reached the designated supporting position just as night set in and whilst Major (afterwards, brigadier general) Felix H. Robertson, a young but promising officer, who at the breaking out of the war resigned his cadetship and left the military academy at West Point, to unite his fate with his people, and at the time referred to, was chief of artillery on the staff of Lieut. Gen. Leonidas Polk, was holding in check with his well massed artillery the exultant enemy, who, till then, was in hot pursuit of Breckenridge's retreating troops. During the night and incident to the confusion on such occasions, General Anderson reported through me in writing to General Withers—his division commander—that he could find no line to support, that there were no Confederate forces, save his own picket line, in his immediate front.

From after developments, it was made plain that the communication aforesaid, was promptly forwarded by General Withers

through corps to army headquarters; for, within a reasonable space of time, and whilst General Anderson and myself were sitting astride a log with the capes of our overcoats thrown over our heads as a protection from the cold and drenching rainfall, a courier rode up and delivered an order, directing General Anderson, or his assistant adjutant general, to report at army headquarters without delay. Owing to the precarious condition of affairs, General Anderson did not deem it prudent to absent himself from the brigade, hence, directed me to accompany the courier. Following the courier for several miles, we finally drew up in front of one of the finest mansions in Murfreesboro, and on entering and making myself known, I was invited by an aid-de-camp and brother-in-law of General Bragg—1st Lieutenant Townson Ellis—into a large drawing room, elegantly furnished, and where sat the commander-in-chief, surrounded by his corps and division commanders. Besmeared with mud, and tired from exposure and loss of sleep, I felt decidedly out of place in this galaxy of generals; but, on entering the room I was in a measure relieved of my embarrassment by General Withers rising and introducing me as the officer who had penciled the dispatch about which the officers had been assembled, whereupon the commander-in-chief invited me to be seated. After a few words responsive to the pertinent and laconic questions propounded to me, I realized that General Bragg was satisfied and convinced of the accuracy of the statements contained in said written communication, and turning to and addressing General Breckenridge, he so stated. My impression was, that General Breckenridge, after first doubting and questioning, likewise recognized and acknowledged the correctness of the communication.

I did not then, nor do I now conceive that General Breckenridge was censurable for the mistake which produced conditions so much endangering the safety of our army. His troops under his gallant lead, had just made a glorious fight, and on being repulsed, and in falling back (darkness in the meantime coming on), did not rally and form on the line designated, but formed further to the rear than he was ordered, thereby leaving Walthall's brigade front and flanks uncovered and exposed to the enemy. The

darkness of the night and the density of the undergrowth having prevented General Breckenridge from accurately discerning and forming his troops on the line where directed, was sufficient palliation and excuse, as his boundless number of friends conceived, for his recognized blunder.

Before daylight the next morning, however, the brigades of Generals Pillow, Preston and Adams, of Breckenridge's division, had prolonged Anderson's right, and a few hours later the brigade of Brigadier General Jackson (J. K.) occupied most of the interval between Anderson's left and Hanson's right.

General Anderson reports: "In endeavoring to give a simple statement of the part taken by the troops (Walthall's brigade) under my command in this great engagement, the capture of several batteries has been mentioned in passing. I have abstained from making a statement of the number or kind of pieces taken, for the simple reason that I did not stop to count them or examine their caliber. The 27th, 29th and 30th Mississippi, all participating (but the 30th suffering more severely than the others), captured a battery, of from four to six guns, near a log cabin in the edge of the cedars, on the right of the Wilkerson pike, and not far from a well used by the enemy in procuring their water on the night previous to the battle. This battery included a small iron rifled piece, somewhat detached from, and a short distance to the right of the other pieces, and lay in front of the 29th Mississippi, which took it. In the log cabin, and strongly supporting the battery, was a company of sharpshooters, all captured by the 27th Mississippi.

Farther to the left was a battery, nearer the Wilkerson pike, from which the enemy were driven by the 24th Mississippi, supported by the 45th Alabama. Some 15 or 20 prisoners were here captured at the pieces.

Another battery was posted still farther to the left, and nearer the Wilkerson pike, close by which the left of the 45th Alabama (my left regiment) passed simultaneously with the right of Colonel Manigault. This battery, however, was silenced a few minutes before we reached it—I think by one of our batteries playing from a direction where I supposed Colonel Manigault's left to be

at the time his right reached the battery simultaneously with my left. As the batteries immediately in my front were being passed, I directed Captain May, of my staff, to have the pieces taken to the rear with as little delay as possible. He subsequently reported to me that he delivered to the chief of ordnance in Murfreesboro eight pieces of different caliber; and I afterward learned that there were two or three pieces taken from the same part of the field by other parties, whose names I could not learn."

Referring to the position of the brigade whilst supporting Breckenridge during the day and night of the 3d, General Anderson says in his report:

"The troops remained in line of battle during the day; many, however, were sent to the rear on account of sickness, caused by the fatigues and exposures of the six days and nights past. It rained nearly all day (3d), and at times so violently that fires could not be kept up and blankets and clothing were wet, and cooked rations were in a condition, from the same cause, not at all inviting, even to a half-famished soldier.

About sundown I received an order from Major General Withers to withdraw my command at 9 o'clock that night from its position and take up the line of march down the Shelbyville pike. At the moment the hour arrived, and just as the column was about to be put in motion, I was directed to suspend the execution of this until further notice.

At 11 o'clock the order was repeated, the movement to commence at 1 o'clock the next morning.

At 1 o'clock the morning of January 4, my command moved right in front, following the rear of Brigadier General Pillow's brigade, until we reached the public square in Murfreesboro, where I rejoined Major General Withers's division, to which I belonged, and marched with it to this place (Shelbyville) without the loss of a man or anything else."

CHAPTER 3

Walthall Assumes Command of His Permanent Brigade—Nomination of Permanent Staff—Permanent Staff Commissioned—Roster of—Battery of four (4) guns presented Brigade.

General Walthall having sufficiently regained his health, returned to the army then at Shelbyville, Tenn., on January 17th, 1863, when and where he found awaiting him his commission as brigadier general. He thereupon issued and had promulgated the following general order:

HEADQUARTERS WALTHALL'S BRIGADE, WITHER'S DIVISION,
POLK'S CORPS, ARMY OF TENNESSEE,
Near SHELBYVILLE, Tenn., January 18th, 1863.

General Orders,
No. 3.

Brigadier General Walthall has this day assumed command of this Brigade.

(Sg) E. C. WALTHALL,
Brigadier General.

Selecting his permanent staff, General Walthall addressed an application to the adjutant and inspector general, Richmond, Va., of which the following is a copy:

HEADQUARTERS WALTHALL'S BRIGADE, WITHER'S DIVISION,
POLK'S CORPS, ARMY OF TENNESSEE,
Camp AUTRY, near SHELBYVILLE, Tenn., February 12th, 1863.
General:

I have the honor to nominate the following staff officers, and ask that they be appointed.

E. T. Sykes, now a Captain in the 10th Mississippi Regiment, to be Captain and A. A. General.

W. A. Rayburn, now a Captain in the Army of Mississippi, to be Major and A. Q. Master.

John A. Hooper, now A. C. S. to the 34th Mississippi Regiment, to be Major and A. C. S.

B. A. Walthall, to be 1st Lieutenant and Aid-de-Camp.

I am, sir, your Ob't Serv't,

(Sg) E. C. WALTHALL,
Brigadier General.

Adj't & Inspt'r General,

S. COOPER,

Richmond, Va.

On the 20th of January previous, and only two days after assuming command, General Walthall issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS WALTHALL'S BRIGADE,
Near SHELBYVILLE, Tenn., Jan. 20, '63.

General Orders,

No. 5.

First (1st) Lieutenant George M. Govan, 9th Mississippi Regiment, is announced as Assistant Inspector General on the staff of the Brigadier General Commanding.

He will be obeyed and respected as such.

By command of
Brigadier General E. C. WALTHALL,
E. T. SYKES,
A. A. A. General.

In general orders No. 12, dated near Shelbyville, Tenn., January 20th, 1863, B. A. Walthall was announced as aid-de-camp to the general commanding the brigade; and in special orders No. 12, dated near Shelbyville, January 28th, 1863, Captain W. G. Beanland, A. Q. M., 29th Mississippi regiment, was ordered to relieve Captain Addison Craft, as acting brigade quartermaster.

The officers named and recommended in the application of General Walthall of February 12th, 1863, to General Cooper, adjutant and inspector general, Richmond, Va., having been favorably acted upon, and severally commissioned on April 30th, 1863, to rank from February 12th, 1863, the brigade staff (including Dr. Divine, surgeon, and Lieutenant Govan, the latter preferring not to resign his commission in the line) was fully organized. Surgeon Divine served on the staff until May 16th, '63, when, in spe-

cial orders No. 80, of that date issued at Camp Bragg near Lewisburg, Tenn., Dr. J. R. Griffith, 30th Mississippi regiment, was ordered to, and relieved him as brigade surgeon.

Lieutenant Govan served on the brigade staff as acting inspector general from January 20/63, to the date of General Walthall's promotion to a major generalship; and continued to serve as such under General Brantley, until appointed Major of the consolidated 24th Mississippi regiment on the 10th of April, 1865.

The permanent staff of the brigade and which (with the exceptions named) continuously served until a change of brigade commanders—consisted of the officers given on the following page.

Of this list of officers Captain Sykes was the sole and only one who had been acting as such consecutively from the date of the organization of the brigade—the other staff positions being from time to time temporarily filled by detailed officers, as shown by the preceding orders detaching and assigning them.

Later, in special orders No. 130, dated near Chattanooga, Tenn., October 10th, 1863, Lieutenant J. P. Carter, 27th Mississippi regiment, was announced as acting ordnance officer of the brigade.

And still later, to-wit, on November 1st, 1863, near Chattanooga, General Walthall had made and issued the following special order No. 139:

"Lieutenant D. M. Currie, ordnance officer of this brigade, having reported for duty, will relieve Lieutenant J. P. Carter, acting ordnance officer, under special orders No. 130 from these headquarters, under date of October 15th, 1863."

In addition to the foregoing regular, and acting brigade staff officers, the staff was, on two several, but short and distinctively unimportant, occasions, augmented by the services of gentlemen in the capacity of volunteers, to-wit: At Shelbyville, Tenn., in the spring of 1863, J. K. Clinton, the cultivated and brilliant conversationalist, noted political orator and quondam Baptist preacher, served for a short time as volunteer aid-de-camp to General Walthall. And for a short time just subsequent to the battle of Chickamauga, and whilst the brigade was on Missionary Ridge,

Names	Grade	Function	Date of commission	Date of rank	Remarks
E. T. Sykes.....	Captain.....	A. A. General.	April 30, '63.....	Feb. 12, '63....	In the early part of June, 1864, and just prior to General Walthall's promotion to a major-generalship, E. T. Sykes was transferred by the war department to the staff of Gen. W. H. Jackson, commanding a division of cavalry, as assistant adjutant general thereof, and continued thus to serve, to the close of the war.
Geo. M. Govan...	1st Lieut..... 9th Miss.	A. A. I-G.....	Not commissioned on the staff		
B. A. Walthall....	1st Lieut.....	Aid-de-Camp.	April 30, '63.....	Feb. 12, '63....	
K. C. Divinc.....		Surgeon.....			Relieved by Surgeon J. R. Griffith, 20th Mississippi regiment, May 16th, 1863.
W. A. Rayburn....	Major.....	A. Q. M.....	April 30, '63.....		
Jno. A. Hooper....	Major.....	A. C. S.....	April 30, '63.....		
D. M. Currie.....	Lieutenant.... 24th Miss.		Not commissioned a staff officer		Relieved Lieut. J. H. Wood, of the 27th Mississippi regiment.

Mr. Marshall Hairston, a young man, personal friend and neighbor of General Walthall, joined us and for a few weeks intervening that date and the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, served acceptably as volunteer aid-de-camp on the staff of the brigadier-general commanding. Neither of said gentlemen held commissions in the army, nor were they entitled to pay as officers. They were not announced in orders as brigade state officers.

Captain Sykes accompanied Colonel Walthall from near Tullahoma, when en route to report to General Anderson at Estill Springs for assignment to the command of a brigade. Afterwards, and whilst Walthall was absent from the brigade on sick leave, Captain Sykes served on the staff of General J. Patton Anderson, both during the battle of Murfreesboro, and so long as that accomplished officer was in the temporary command of Walthall's brigade.

In recognition of the distinguished services rendered by the brigade in the battle of Murfreesboro, and as a mark of General Bragg's appreciation thereof, he addressed through his adjutant-general, the following communication to its commander:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF TENNESSEE,

General: SHELBYVILLE, Tenn., March 22d, 1863.

I am directed by the General Commanding, to say that Colonel H. Oladowsky, his Chief of Ordnance, has received instructions to prepare a battery of four guns captured from the enemy at Murfreesboro, to be presented to your brigade as a compliment to the Mississippians who fought so bravely upon that bloody field.

You know how desperately and unwaveringly our troops fought on that occasion, and how many valuable sacrifices the capture of the guns cost. They are presented to your brigade with the hope and belief that the brave Mississippians to whose care they are entrusted, will nobly defend and protect them, and never allow them to be recaptured, if earnest fighting will prevent it.

The General wishes you to suggest the names of four officers—Mississippians—who fell at Murfreesboro, to be engraven upon the guns presented to the troops of your brigade.

I am, General, with high respect,

Your Ob't Serv't,

(Sg) KINLOCK FALCONER,

Brigadier General WALTHALL,

A. A. General.

Commanding Brigade.

To which communication, the following reply was made and returned.

HEADQUARTERS WALTHALL'S BRIGADE, WITHER'S DIVISION,
Camp AUTRY, near SHELBYVILLE, Tenn., 24th March, 1863.

Captain:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 22d inst., and submit the following as suitable names to be engraven upon the captured guns which the commanding general designs presenting to this brigade.

Lieutenant Colonel James L. Autry, 27th Mississippi Regiment.

Captain Henry Harper, 29th Mississippi Regiment.

Captain Kershaw Williams, 29th Mississippi Regiment.

Second Lieutenant Thomas W. Boone, 30th Mississippi Regiment.

I deem it not improper to say that the officers and men of this command feel deeply sensible of the endorsement of their conduct on the memorable battle field of Murfreesboro, which the commanding general's action implies. Proud of approval from so high a source, and grateful for the honor done the gallant dead of this command, they assure their commander that the guns which will bear the names of those whose memory they honor, shall never be recaptured by our oppressors, if earnest effort and the willing sacrifice of life will prevent it; and that in the next engagement, they will contribute no less to the victory which they feel confident will follow, than they did to that which crowned our army at Murfreesboro.

I am Cap't, very respectfully,

Your Ob't serv't,

(Sg) E. C. WALTHALL,
Brigadier General.

Capt. KINLOCK FALCONER,
A. A. General.

The guns thus presented were a part of the two captured batteries previously referred to—and I feel that I will be indulged by the soldiers of Walthall's brigade to give in the commendatory language of both their division and corps commanders, mention of said capture. General Withers, their division commander, says, in his report of that battle, on pages 755–756 of Serial No. 29, "War of the Rebellion":

"Anderson's (Walthall's Brigade) left, being now moved forward immediately after the right of Manigault, was quickly engaged with the strong force in front. No brigade occupied a

more critical position, nor were the movements of any invested with more important consequences. Opposite, there were three batteries strongly supported by infantry. The capture of the batteries and rout of the supports was a necessity. Anderson was, therefore, directed to take the batteries at every cost. Stewart's brigade had been moved up into the woods within close supporting distance. In rapid succession Anderson threw forward his regiments from left to right, and terrific was the fire to which they were subjected. Time and again checked, and almost recoiling before the tremendous fire, the regiments were as often rallied by their gallant and determined officers, and the brigade advanced by its cool, steadfast, and skilful commander. His right temporarily falling back in some confusion, caused by the fall of the gallant commanders of the two right regiments (Lieutenant Colonel James L. Autry, commanding Twenty-seventh Mississippi, killed, and Colonel W. F. Brantley, of the Twenty-ninth Mississippi, stricken down by the concussion from a shell exploding near him), Brigadier General Stewart was ordered forward to the support. * * * Anderson's right, quickly rallying and pressing forward, vigorously attacked and drove back the enemy. This completed the rout of his first line and the capture of the batteries. Our loss, however, was very heavy—the Thirtieth Mississippi alone having within the limits of an acre 62 officers and men killed and 139 wounded."

General Polk, their corps commander, in his report of said battle, pages 686-689, *Ib.*, says:

At 9 A. M. Brigadier General J. Patton Anderson, on Manigault's right, moved, in conjunction with its left brigade, forward upon the line in its front. That line rested with its right near the Wilkerson pike, and is understood to have been Negley's division of Thomas' corps, which constituted the center of the enemy's line of battle. It was posted in the edge of a dense cedar brake, with an open space in front and occupied a position of strength not inferior to that held by Sheridan's right. His batteries, which occupied commanding positions, enabled him to sweep the open field in his front, were served with admirable skill and vigor, and were strongly supported. Anderson moved forward his brigade with firmness and decision. The fire of the enemy of both artillery and infantry was terrific, and his left for a moment wavered. Such evidences of destructive firing as were left on the forest from which this brigade emerged have rarely, if ever, been seen. The timber was torn and crushed. Nothing

but a charge could meet the demands of the occasion. Orders were given to take the batteries at all hazards, and it was done. The batteries, two in number, were carried in gallant style. Artillerists were captured at their pieces, a large number of whom and of their infantry support were killed upon the spot, and one company entire, with its officers and colors, were captured. The number of field guns captured in this movement was eight, which, together with four others, from which the gunners had been driven by the heavy firing from Maney's long-range guns and Manigault's musketry on the left, made twelve taken on that part of the field. This was one of the points at which we encountered the most determined opposition, but the onward movement of the Mississippians and Alabamians was irresistible, and they swept the enemy before them, driving him into the dense cedar brake, to join the extending line of his fugitives. This work, however, was not done without a heavy loss of officers and men. The Thirtieth Mississippi, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Scales, in the act of charging, lost 62 officers and men killed and 139 wounded; others lost in proportion. Here the brave Lieutenant Colonel James L. Autry, of the Twenty-seventh Mississippi, fell while cheering and encouraging his troops."

CHAPTER 4

Brigade at Shelbyville—At Lewisburg—Walthall's discipline—Walthall as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 15th Mississippi Regiment at Fishing Creek—Colonel of the 29th Mississippi Regiment at Munfordville—Colonel Rob't A. Smith—Walthall's discipline continued—Private John Malone—Col. T. M. Jones—Walthall Presented by his officers with a horse &c.

On falling back from Murfreesboro, Polk's Corps, of which Walthall's Brigade was a part, went into winter-quarters near Shelbyville, Tenn. From then to the date of Bragg's retreat to Chattanooga the June following, the brigade rotated monthly with the other brigades of the Corps in performing outpost duty on the principal roads facing the enemy; and once, to-wit, on April 26th, 1863, whilst Gen'l Earl Van Dorn was operating with his cavalry in front of Columbia, on the left of our Army, the brigade was sent near Lewisburg, about 6 miles east of Columbia, as his infantry support, and was encamped there at the time—May 7th, 1862—of the untimely death of that incomparable cavalry leader by the assassin's (Dr. Peters of Columbia) bullet.

It can be safely said that no troops of that or any other Corps in the Confederate army, made so good use of a respite from active campaigning, as did Walthall's Brigade. Himself a perfect master of drill, as of every element which pertained to the art of war, Walthall, by the constant drilling of his brigade under his personal command or supervision, brought them to the perfection of veterans of the old service.

His soldiers were not only the pride and admiration of his own heart, but were the recipients of praise and compliment from their superiors in the army; especially of those of the "West-Point School," who delighted to be present at and witness their

maneuvers on the peaceful fields of drill, as they had before, and were so often afterwards, to view their aptitude and dexterous movements under their superb leader, upon the sterner and more dreadful fields of battle. As in the first, they had few equals, so in the latter, it was conceded, that they were without superiors.

Then, as now, the soldiers of Walthall's Brigade recognized the fact that their high standing in the Army, was due more to the acknowledged military accomplishments, and magnetic personal qualities of their commander, than to any special qualities of their own. And so great was their confidence in him, that they were prepared with cheerfulness, to overlook in him, apparent exactions of military discipline and ready compliance with orders, which, if emanating from another, would have received only reluctant obedience. They always felt that their welfare and best interest were uppermost in his thoughts; and confiding in his knowledge of their necessities, they implicitly obeyed his orders, and followed whatever his unerring judgment dictated, or his magnificent presence led the way.

Few volunteer officers rose superior to the interest of self, or hazarded their popularity at home by rigidly adhering to the demands of duty in camps, or on the field of battle. But, be the duty popular or unpopular in its tendencies, or the order apparently harsh and exacting, Walthall was sure to exact obedience or execute it, trusting his vindication always to the good sense of his soldiers, and which he felt sure, would in time, as it did, do him ample justice.

As evidence of his strict but just discipline, Gen'l Walthall conscientiously, yet rigidly enforced General Orders No. 39, from the War Department at Richmond, Va., under date of May 26th, 1862, authorizing and directing commanding generals in the field to organize—what Gen'l Bragg aptly styled "Dragnet"—Courts, to rid the army of incapable or inefficient officers, who by election or seniority, were entitled to promotion. After that date no soldier, be he officer, non-commissioned officer, or private—could reasonably hope to receive promotion in Walthall's Brigade, who was not, by reason of the requisite qualifi-

cations, entitled to it. As to this, I refer to General Orders No. 2, page 86, and General Orders No. 4, pages 87 and 88, of "Brigade Order Book," previously referred to in this sketch. Numerous instances of non-promotion for failure to pass the required examination are recorded within the lids of said Order Book.

The basic principle underlying Walthall's matchless command over his soldiers was the recognition by them of his unquestioned gallantry, his exact and equal justice, and his superb personality. Both officers and men knew of his conspicuous courage, dauntless and splendid handling of the 15th Mississippi Regiment, of which he was Lieutenant-Colonel in command (W. S. Statham, its Colonel, being absent on sick-leave), at "Fishing Creek," or "Mills-Springs" (as named by the Federals), in Jan'y, 1862, where Brigadier-General Zollicoffer was killed, and where Major-General George B. Crittenden was in supreme command of the Confederate forces engaged. They knew that it was Lieutenant-Colonel Walthall and his Mississippians who made imperishable fame in that small, yet bloody engagement; and that it was Walthall and the remnant of his gallant Mississippians that covered Crittenden's retreat out of Kentucky into East Tennessee, and saved his army from capture by the Federals under the command of General George H. Thomas. And they further knew that it was in recognition by President Davis of Walthall's exceptionally meritorious services on that occasion, that the President commissioned him a Colonel in the Provisional Army of the Confederacy, with authority to raise a regiment—and which on being raised, was numbered the 29th Mississippi, and joined the army under General Beauregard, at Corinth, soon following the battle of Shiloh.

They knew of his gallantry and the splendid handling of his regiment in the ill-fated and unauthorized attack by General Chalmers' unsupported brigade directed by him on the enemy in his fortified position at Munfordville, Ky., Sept'r 14th, 1862, and when under orders of Gen'l Chalmers, Col. Walthall, commanding the 29th Miss., Col. Bishop (W. H.), commanding the 7th Miss., and Col. White (T. W.), commanding the 9th Miss. Regi-

ments—but more prominently, and almost alone the 29th Miss. made the charge on Fort Craig, silenced its fire; and had it not been that a piece of artillery of Colonel Scott's (La.) battery, which had been unadvisedly brought up by him, and opening fire on the Fort around the ditch of which Walthall and his men were halted, and in the confusion incident thereto, necessitating the withdrawal of the 29th as best it could from the besieged fort—Walthall would have captured Ft. Craig. At the time of the withdrawal of his command the garrison in the fort was cowed and the men were afraid to show their heads above the parapets; in fact, at the time Walthall received and executed the order to withdraw, he was preparing to bridge the ditch and enter the fort. For the safety of his men in withdrawing, Walthall's wise foresight prompted him to temporarily leave at the ditch his senior Captain and brave old soldier—Robert Robeson (then nearing his sixtieth winter) with his company, under orders to keep up a fire, until the regiment, which he thought, as it proved true, would not in the meantime be missed, could reach the woods several hundred yards in the rear, after which the old Captain was to scatter his men and reach the regiment as best they could. On the capture of the place three days later, Gen'l Bragg directed that the flag which was floating over Ft. Craig on the 14th, previous, and which was riddled by the bullets of Walthall's men, be presented to the 29th Mississippi regiment.

This unauthorized and uncalled for attack by Gen'l Chalmers resulting in a most unfortunate engagement for our arms, will ever remain vividly impressed on the memory of the officers and men of Chalmers' Brigade as an instance of over weaning ambition of a Brigade commander, taking and assuming hazards in the hope of achieving success, and winning a Major-General's commission.

During said engagement, the troops of the brigade participating were a part of the 7th Miss.—Col. W. H. Bishop comd'g; the 9th Miss.—Col. Thos. W. White comd'g; the 10th Miss.—Col. Robert A. Smith comd'g; part of the 29th Miss.—Col. E. C. Walthall comd'g; the 44th Miss.—Lieut. Col. James Moore comd'g; the battalion of Sharpshooters, Major W. C. Richards

comd'g; and the brigade battery, commanded by Cap't James Garrity.

Of these commanders, Cols. Smith and Moore were killed, and Major Richards was severely wounded. Said engagement will remain especially and vividly engraven on memory's tablet of the officers and men of the 10th Miss. regiment—which being on the extreme left of the brigade, opened the fight shortly after sunrise by charging for a full quarter of a mile through an open field under a heavy fire from the enemy's strongly constructed fortifications. Among its killed was the knightly young soldier, with promise of few military equals, Col. Robert A. Smith, and the clever and brave old soldier—Lieut.-Col. James Bullard. In fact, the loss in this regiment was unduly heavy—being greater than the aggregate loss in all the other organizations of the brigade. Company "K" of said regiment, commanded by Cap't E. T. Sykes, lost six (6) killed, and twenty-five (25) wounded.

For full particulars of this engagement, as for the preliminaries leading up to, and the assigned reasons for making it, the reader is referred to the report of Gen'l Chalmers, made Sept'r 19th, 1862, and appearing in Serial No. 22, "War of the Rebellion," pages 973-980. In his preliminary report made on the 15th previous, *Ib.*, page 972—the general, among other things, thus confesses his mistake, but seeks to palliate it: "I fear that I have incurred censure at headquarters by my action in this matter, but with the information in my possession, I felt that it was my duty to make the attempt, and I could only believe that the result would be successful."

On the foregoing report, Gen'l Bragg, from his headquarters at Knoxville, Tenn., under date of November 3, 1862, (Serial No. 22, "War of the Rebellion," page 980), made the following indorsement:

"This attack was unauthorized and injudicious; but the conduct of the troops and commander in action reflects credit on both, and adds but another proof to the many of their distinguished gallantry. The loss of the gallant and admired Colonel Smith, with the other valuable officers and men of this distinguished brigade, will be mourned by their comrades and country."

General Bragg's estimate of Col. Smith may be best judged from the tone of the following letter of his written shortly after the close of the war to a friend in Jackson, Miss.

"Superintendent's Office,
Water Works Dep't, Commercial Bank,
New Orleans, Jan'y 22, 1868.

Dear Sir:—

It affords me great pleasure to receive your note of the 4th inst. enclosing the *carte de visite* of my late friend and fellow soldier, Colonel Robert A. Smith, tenth Mississippi Volunteers. Entering the service at an early age, without military experience or education, the Colonel fell in the gallant discharge of an almost desperate assault, in less than eighteen months, esteemed and honored for his acquirements and heroic deportment. To me his loss was severe, for I had looked to him for support, in a much higher and extended command.

Please convey my thanks to the Colonel's brother for this mark of kind remembrance, and believe me truly,

(Sg) BRAXTON BRAGG."

The correspondence between Gen'l Chalmers, and Cols. Wilder (J. T.) and Dunham (C. L.) commanding the federal forces at Munfordville, covering the 14th and 15th Sept'r, 1862, is given on pages 981-982, of Serial No. 22 "War of the Rebellion." Whilst the correspondence between Gen'l Bragg and the same federal officers two days thereafter, and culminating in the surrender of the federal garrison consisting of 4,148 officers and men, is fully set out on pages 968-979 of same serial No. of "War of the Rebellion."

Another element of recognized strength in Walthall's character was his uniform system of rewards and punishments. His administration of such was always tempered with conscientious impartiality and regulated and governed by an equable and discerning judgment. Bravery on the field of battle, or faithful discharge of duty in camp or on the march, was sure of its reward, whilst cowardice in battle, or shirking of duty in camp, was equally sure to be visited with condign punishment.

As evidence of the first, I will cite only a single instance—that of a boy soldier, whose bearing and conduct on many occasions had been observed by his Brigade Commander, and evoked from him prompt recognition, and direction to his Adj't-Gen'l to pre-

pare and transmit to the Colonel of the boy-soldier the following commendatory communication:

“HEADQUARTERS WALTHALL'S BRIGADE,
Near Dalton, Ga., May 2d, 1864.

Colonel:

The Brigadier General Commanding directs me to call your attention to the soldierly conduct of private John Malone, company I, twenty-ninth Miss. Regiment, as noticed by him on several occasions. His prompt and ready discharge of duty entitles him to the favor of his commanding officers; and as a mark of their appreciation, it is directed by the Brig.-General Commanding that he be excused from all guard or other duty for the space of one month.

It is hoped that the example of private Malone may excite a generous emulation in his companions, and that by their efforts they may merit distinctive indulgence, which, in this case, is so eminently due and freely accorded.

I am, Colonel,

Very respectfully, your ob't servant,

E. T. SYKES,
A. A. General.

To Lieut.-Colonel J. M. Johnson, Comd'g,
29th, 30th & 34th Miss. Regiments.”

That soldier-boy of the 60's now lives in Desoto County, Miss., and boasts of being the proud possessor of this commendatory communication of the long ago. He has been heard in recent years to say, that he “prized it beyond price,” and valued it as the French soldier under the first Napoleon, did his Certificate in, and Cross of the “Legion of Honor.” Many similar instances of commendatory mention can be seen scattered throughout the “brigade order book.”

As evidence of his impartial and disciplinary punishments, and of his inflexible rule to “let the chips fall where they may,” I will instance the single case of Col. Thomas M. Jones, 27th Miss. Reg't, who, though a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy, and at the commencement of hostilities held the rank of 1st Lieut. in the U. S. Army, resigned his commission, and was appointed a captain in the C. S. Army; and shortly afterwards was ap-

pointed by Gen'l Bragg, then commanding at Pensacola, Fla., Colonel of a newly formed regiment, numbered and called the 27th Mississippi—was thought to be devoid of physical courage, at least was subject to the open criticism of always feigning sickness, or some other excuse, when a battle appeared imminent. Conspicuous in this respect, was his abandonment of his Reg't on the eve of the battle of Murfreesboro, and leaving the command thereof to its only remaining field officer—the gallant Lieut.-Colonel Jas. L. Autry, who fell on that bloody field.⁵ So notorious was his conduct on that occasion, that on Gen'l Walthall's return to duty at Shelbyville, Tenn., intimation was given Col. Jones that his resignation would be acceptable. Accordingly, on March 26th, 1863, Colonel Jones' resignation was presented at Brigade headquarters, and was duly forwarded through the regular military channel to Army headquarters. Colonel Jones assigned ill health as incapacitating him for active field duties, and preferred to fall back on, and assume the duties incident to his commission as Captain of Ordnance in the regular (C. S. A.) Army. Walthall's indorsement on said resignation represented the utter incapacity of the applicant for command in the field, and stated without reservation, the reason why the resignation should be accepted. A similar indorsement was made by Gen'l J. Patton Anderson, comd'g the Division. It followed that the resignation was promptly accepted by the commanding general of the Army. Immediately after tendering his resignation Col. Jones left the brigade, never again to be honored with a command in the Army of Tennessee.

As evidencing the mutual confidence, esteem, and reciprocal good feeling existing between brigade commander and his regimental and company officers, I record in this connection a touching reminder never to be forgotten by the parties concerned. In the fall or winter of 1863, it was arranged by Gen'l Walthall's regimental and company officers to present him with the finest horse that could be purchased, together with equipments, consisting of saddle, bridle, and trappings to be made for the occasion. Ample means was subscribed for that purpose, and as soon as practicable thereafter, Maj. George W. Reynolds, 29th Miss.,

was granted leave of absence to execute this important and highly appreciated commission; and which served to cement anew the bond of affection and esteem which from the first had existed between the general and his officers. The presentation of the magnificent and deeply appreciated present, gave relief and coloring to the somber shadows of war.

Then, too, the love and esteem of those with whom we are in daily contact and pleasant association, like the love of fame or power,

"Howe'er concealed by Art,
Reigns more or less in every human heart."

and was naturally shared in by Gen'l Walthall in the retrospect of his army career.

CHAPTER 5

Retreat of Army to Chattanooga—Brigade at Atlanta—Impressment of horses for the artillery—Chickamauga Campaign—Alexander's Bridge—Battle of Chickamauga—Casualties of Brigade in—Hindman in McLemore's Cove—General Longstreet—General Polk—General W. H. T. Walker—General Liddell (St. John R.)—General Gordan Granger.

On the 24th day of June, 1863, General Rosecrans, commanding the Federal forces (Department of the Cumberland) at and near Murfreesboro, commenced a series of movements with a view of creating the impression of a main advance on Bragg's center and left in the direction of Shelbyville, where a part of Polk's Corps was encamped, whilst he would strike the decisive blow by a rapid march, in force, upon Bragg's right under Hardee; and after defeating or turning it, then to move on Tullahoma, and thereby seize upon Bragg's base and line of communications from that point.

In furtherance of that purpose, Rosecrans moved upon, and took possession of Liberty and Hoovers Gaps, and which gave him a commanding position. From thence he had only to advance—as he soon afterwards did—to Manchester and Winchester, to accomplish the flank movement on Bragg's right at Tullahoma, and thereby force him to retreat. This was at once begun via Decherd, Cowan, and thence across the mountain near Sewanee, to the Tennessee river—which was crossed on pontoons laid a short distance from and above Bridgeport—thence on to Chattanooga.

On the 26th day of July, 1863, whilst the main body of our Army was in and around Chattanooga, Walthall's Brigade was sent by rail to Atlanta, to protect that place from a threat-

ened raid by a portion of the enemy's cavalry. It there remained in camp ("Camp Cobb") until the 23d day of August, following, when it was ordered, and in pursuance thereof, returned to the Army near Chattanooga.

During its stay in Atlanta, the Brigade had a rather novel duty assigned it by the commander of the Army. Finding it necessary to have more and better horses for his artillery, and ascertaining that there were quite a number of serviceable ones in Atlanta, General Bragg gave orders to General Walthall to proceed to impress the requisite number of such.

The latter, appreciating the absolute necessity for secrecy in his preparations for successfully executing said order, quietly had printed the necessary information in the form of a notice to the citizens; and after placing early the next morning, guards at every road and by-path leading out of Atlanta, with instructions to permit no horse to be carried out, had the printed instructions distributed broadcast throughout the city, notifying the owners of horses to bring them by a given time to a given place in the city (under a penalty for non-compliance), where they would be inspected by a board of officers named in the notice, and such as were accepted, would be appraised and duly settled for.

For several days, and until the requisite number of horses had been accepted, consternation reigned among the owners of horses in Atlanta; and every conceivable device was resorted to by them to circumvent the terms of the notice, and evade compliance therewith. Some went so far as to secrete their horses in the cellars or basements of their residences; indeed, a pair of very fine horses was found by one of the details sent out in search, secreted by a certain general (D——), in one of the rooms of his comfortable home.

The aid of Gov. Joe Brown was finally invoked by the residents affected; and he, in their behalf, protested most vigorously, but unavailingly. He even resorted to a denunciatory, yet fruitless, correspondence with the general of the Army. Nevertheless, the order was enforced, the horses secured, and

Bragg's artillery thereby put in proper condition for the campaign culminating in the battle of Chickamauga.

Returning to, and rejoining the main body of the army, the Brigade remained in the vicinity of Chattanooga, until September the 8th, when Bragg began his movements preparatory to the battle of Chickamauga. For that engagement, Walthall's and Govan's Brigades were temporarily brigaded together and composed Liddell's⁶ Division, of Walker's (W. H. T.)⁷ "Reserved Corps," a decided misnomer, as the record of the opening, continuance, and closing of that great and memorable battle, attests. The tactical and strategical movements of the two opposing Armies preliminary to this great battle, were masterly. On reaching Chattanooga, Bragg strengthened the immediate position, and threw up defensive works at points along the Tennessee river as high up as Blythe's Ferry. Rosecrans however, with an effective aggregate force of 70,000 men divided into five corps under his immediate command—with Burnside advancing with a force of 25,000, from Kentucky toward Knoxville—having effected a passage of the river at various points, and seizing important mountain gaps, threatened Chattanooga by the pass over Lookout, and pressing forward through the lower passes of Lookout Mt., threatened Lafayette, and Rome and even Dalton, Ga. Thus Bragg was forced to take new position. In doing so, his movement was not, in military parlance, a retreat, but a maneuvering to meet the enemy in front, whenever and wheresoever he should emerge from the mountain gorges. Then, too, the enemy, by a direct route, was as near our main depot of supplies as we ourselves were, and our whole line of communication was exposed, whilst he was positively secured and protected by mountains and the river.

Thus it was that Bragg retired his army from Chattanooga, and put it in position from Lee & Gordan's Mills to Lafayette, on the road leading south from Chattanooga, and fronting the east slope of Lookout Mountain. In the meantime, Thomas' corps, about 8,000 strong, in the act of passing one of the gaps leading from McLemore's Cove—enclosed between Lookout and Pigeon mountains—to Alpine's in Broomtown valley, was

suddenly confronted by a portion of our forces under General Hindman, who had been sent there with positive orders to attack and rout, or capture Thomas' command. For this purpose, Hindman had been given an adequate force—a force composed of his own and Buckner's Divisions consisting of 10,000 men, and Martin's cavalry, about 500—besides a force of two divisions—Cleburn's and Walker's—at least 8,000 more immediately in the enemy's front, with orders to attack as soon as Hindman's guns were heard on the flank and rear.

Though Thomas was, by the blunders of Hindman, permitted to escape, this sudden show of Bragg's strength, excited uneasiness and doubt in the mind of Rosecrans. It appeared that he could not determine whether it evinced a purpose on the part of Bragg to give battle, or, whether it was a ruse to secure a safe retreat. But, in the caution of his nature, he gave the benefit of the doubt to the first contingency, and therefore commenced a backward movement, with orders to close on the center, and directed Crittenden, at Gordon's Mills, to securely entrench. This determination and precaution was the result of information that Longstreet had been ordered to Bragg, and the further advice that Meade had been ordered to attack General Lee—at least to threaten him so as to prevent him from further reinforcing Bragg.

The disappointment, incident to the conduct of Hindman in McLemore's Cove, necessitated a change of plans and further maneuvering on the part of Bragg. And so it was, that about 1 P. M. on Friday, the 18th of September, 1863, Walthall's Brigade which was leading the advance, was formed in line of battle and drove the enemy's outlying forces, consisting of Wilder's Lightning Brigade, back across Chickamauga Creek; but the bridge (Alexander's), over which the enemy retired, was so effectually destroyed by them as to render passage of the stream at that place impracticable for our men. This condition of affairs having been reported to Maj.-Gen. Walker, commanding the corps, he ordered Walthall to move by the right flank under direction of a guide furnished him, to "Byram's Ford," about one mile below Alexander's Bridge. Fol-

lowed by the other brigades of the corps, Walthall crossed the Creek at "Byram's Ford" without opposition, and then moving about a mile towards Lee & Gordon's Mills on the Vineyard road, halted and bivouacked for the night. In this preliminary engagement, the 29th Mississippi Regiment, Col. Brantley commanding, lost severely, whilst in the 34th Mississippi Regiment, Maj. Pegram commanding, the casualties were only 1 officer and 24 enlisted men, wounded. The 24th Mississippi sustained no loss, whilst the 27th and 30th Mississippi Regiments lost but slightly. The tablet now placed at Alexander's Bridge recites that Walthall's aggregate loss was something over 140 officers and men.

Moving soon after day-light next morning to a point about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile distant from the bivouac of the night preceding, the brigade was halted on the roadside, until about 11 o'clock A. M. Whilst resting there, some of the troops of Longstreet's Corps marched past, and feeling their supposed superior keeping as members of the "Army of Northern Va.," were disposed good naturedly to twit us, of the "Army of Tenn.," as not knowing what it was to fight and win battles, and that they had come all the way from Virginia to show us. After the battle of Chickamauga had been fought, those same troopers were free to admit their mistaken estimate of the fighting qualities of the soldiers of the "Army of Tennessee," and equally free to concede that the federal troops from the West, under Rosecrans, were more stubborn fighters than were the Eastern troops, with whom the "Army of Northern Va." had been, till then, fighting.

At or about 11 A. M. heavy firing was heard to our right, and Walthall was ordered to put his brigade in motion and advance in line of battle to the support of Ector's and Wilson's brigades, then engaged with the enemy, and being largely outnumbered, were sorely in need of reinforcements. Walthall's brigade, with Govan's brigade on its left, moved rapidly forward in line of battle and soon encountered the enemy in strong force. This advance was made under a heavy artillery and musketry fire; but, pushing rapidly forward with a shout, it broke the first,

and then a second line of the enemy, and passing over two full batteries, it captured 411 prisoners, of whom 23 were commissioned officers. The prisoners claimed to be of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th and 16th U. S. Infantry, and of Company "H", 5th U. S. Artillery. Among them was one 1st Lieutenant of the 4th Indiana Battery.

A large proportion of the horses of the batteries over which Walthall's brigade passed, having been either killed or disabled, it was impossible to remove the guns as they were captured.⁸ Accordingly, Lieut.-Colonel Reynolds, of the 30th Mississippi, and Field-Officer of the day was with a detail from the 34th Mississippi regiment, put in charge of the captured guns with orders to move them to the rear as rapidly as practicable; but unfortunately for us, it resulted that after we had passed over the enemy's second line, re-enforcements came up from his reserve, thereby enabling him to turn our brigade right flank, and forcing us to withdraw and take position under orders from the Division Commander, to the right of the position from which Maj.-Gen. Cheatham's Division was preparing to advance. As a result, only one of the captured guns was, or could be, removed.

In the daring dash last referred to, and which continued for at least an hour, the brigade suffered heavily. Lieutenant-Colonel R. P. McKelvaine, commanding the 24th, and Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Morgan, of the 29th Mississippi Regiments, were each severely wounded. The first named by a minnie ball penetrating the right cheek and passing out at the mouth; the last named, by a minnie ball passing through the thigh. As Col. Morgan was instantly felled from his horse, and the extent of his wound not then being known to me, I, who was on my horse near by and directing the litter-bearers as to his removal from the field, never dreamed that I would again see him alive; and yet, in the course of time, the gallant officer—like the equally gallant Colonel McKelvaine—was back at his post of duty. However, the Colonel never fully recovered from the effects of said wound, but ever after, and until the day of his death, limped in walking.

At different times during the two days fighting on the field of Chickamauga, Walthall's Brigade actively and effectively participated. Making its last advance about 5 p. m. of the evening of the second day (Sunday), it crossed the Chattanooga and Lafayette road, near the McDonald's house into an uncultivated field, when it was subjected to a terrific enfilade fire from a battery on a hill in the vicinity of Cloud's house to our right, from another concealed in a clump of bushes within 300 yards of our right, and from still another to the left of Govan, who was on the left prolongation of our brigade front.⁹ Our artillery was promptly turned upon these batteries, but without apparent effect; at least, neither was silenced, nor their fire abated. Consequently, the brigades of Walthall and Govan, after enduring in an exposed position a continuous musketry and cannonade fire for about twenty minutes, were forced to fall back across the road to the position from which we had just before advanced. Being thus forced to withdraw, the enemy cut off and captured most of the skirmishers that had covered our front in the advance, and had reached and taken shelter in the woods beyond and skirting the open field—among them Col. J. J. Scales of the 30th Mississippi, who, at the time was in command of the skirmishers. Falling back to a position near where General Breckinridge was in reserve, Walthall and Govan reformed their commands, and rectifying their alignments, soon moved back near the said road, where, with immaterial changes in position, they remained until the next morning, when about eight o'clock, Walthall, as did the other commands of the corps, moved towards Chattanooga, in pursuit of the fleeing enemy.

During said battle, the Regiments of Walthall's brigade were commanded as follows:

24th Mississippi by Lt.-Col. R. P. McKelvaine, until disabled from wounds; then by Maj. W. C. Staples, until disabled from wounds; then respectively, by Capts. B. F. Toomer, and J. D. Smith—both of whom were slightly wounded.

27th Mississippi by Colonel J. A. Campbell.

29th Mississippi by W. F. Brantley.

30th Mississippi by Col. J. J. Scales. He was captured about the close of the battle. Maj. J. M. Johnson promoted Lt.-Colonel.

34th Mississippi by Maj. W. G. Pegram, until disabled from wounds; then by Captain Bowen; then by Lt.-Col. H. A. Reynolds, of the 30th Mississippi—specially assigned to the regiment by the Brig.-Gen'l Comd'g. He was killed during the fighting on the morning of the second day—Sunday. The Brig.-General in his official report of that battle, says: "No braver man or better soldier fell upon the field of Chickamauga than this faithful and accomplished officer, whose loss is deplored throughout this command." After the fall of Col. Reynolds, Capt. J. H. Bowen of Co. "I", again succeeded to the command.

Fowler's (W. H.) battery, attached to Walthall's brigade, rendered signal service throughout the engagement. During a movement of our troops on the first day of the battle, four (4) guns of this battery were posted in rear of Liddell's division, and opening fire on a battery of the enemy that was shelling our troops on the left, silenced it in a few minutes.

One section of this battery, under the command of Lieutenant Phelan (John), in an attempt to follow the brigade in a movement to General Cheatham's right—by reason of another command being mistaken for Walthall's, passed beyond its right—and was put in position where the infantry supporting it was soon forced to fall back before a superior force of the enemy. All the horses of this section of the battery being killed, or disabled, one of its guns was in consequence thereof captured, but, by the gallantry of its men, it was soon recaptured. The killed and wounded of this section of the battery, was heavy.

Out of 10 field, 134 company officers, and 1,683 enlisted men, carried in the battle by this brigade, there was lost 705—of whom 81 were killed and 624 were wounded—as is shown by the reports of the brigade and the several regimental commanders.¹⁰

These patent, though imperfectly narrated incidents and facts are mentioned and emphasized, in order to sustain and make good my assertion, that the corps of which Walthall's brigade

was a part during the Chickamauga campaign and battle, was inappropriately termed the "reserved corps." It having opened, and actually taken part in the continuous fighting up to, and including the closing scenes of that bloody drama, entitles it to the designation of—if names imply anything—the "advanced corps."

As understood by knowing ones, the necessity for fighting the battle of Chickamauga would never have been forced upon General Bragg, had General Hindman done his duty in McLe-more's Cove, a few days previous. For, pursuant to an understanding between himself and General Hindman, the former moved with two divisions up the mountain near Lafayette, and there awaited the expected sound of Hindman's guns in the Cove in his front. But the guns of Hindman were not heard as hoped by Bragg; consequently, the "golden opportunity of bagging that portion of the enemy under Thomas," as tritely remarked by Governor Isham G. Harris, of Tennessee, (then a volunteer-aid on General Bragg's Staff) was lost to us; and the battle which soon followed, became a necessity. For this blunder, or failure of Hindman's, he was soon after relieved of command and "charges and specifications" were preferred against him by General Bragg.¹¹ Whereupon General Hindman requested a "court of inquiry," but before the request was finally acted upon General Bragg addressed a communication to the President, stating in substance that after the President's action in the case of Lieutenant-General Polk, who had likewise been suspended from command for "disobedience of the lawful command of his superior officer on the field of Chickamauga," with charges and specifications pending, he, Bragg, felt it a duty to request similar action towards Major-General Hindman. Accordingly, the President indorsed on said communication an order for Hindman to report for duty, and on reporting, he was assigned to the command of Wither's old division.¹² Later and during the Atlanta campaign, he was transferred to the Trans-Mississippi department, in which he served till the close of the war.

It may be proper to state here, that though most of Long-

street's soldiers from Virginia arrived on the field in time to participate in the battle of the first (19th) day, the General did not arrive until after nightfall of the first day; and it was then that General Bragg assembled his corps and division commanders at his headquarters, and when he divided his army into wings—the right under the command of General Polk, and the left wing under the command of General Longstreet.

The battle from its inception to its close, was furious; but, had the orders of General Bragg to General Polk given on the night of the 19th to move on the enemy at daylight the next morning—the remainder of the army to await his advance and to move forward when he (Polk) had become engaged—been obeyed, it is believed that the results of that battle, glorious and welcomed as they were, would have been more glorious; but as it resulted, the anxious anticipations of the morning's first gun had to be indulged until the humored delay reached long past the morning's sunrise. For this faltering, if not open disobedience of orders, General Polk was, a few days later, suspended from command of his corps, and "charges and specifications" were preferred by General Bragg against him.¹³ And though afterwards reinstated by the President, General Polk was assigned to a new field of duty, namely, to command the "Army of the Mississippi" with headquarters then in the State of Mississippi. During the "Atlanta campaign," that army was ordered to move to North Georgia, and unite with the "Army of Tennessee." It joined the latter army at Resacca. Later, on June 13th, 1864, during said campaign, General Polk was shot through and instantly killed by a cannon ball fired from the enemy's battery at a cluster of officers headed by Generals Johnston, Hardee and Polk, whilst in observation on "Pine Mountain," near Marietta, Ga.

General Bragg in referring to this delay in the movement of Polk's corps on the morning of the 20th, comments thus: "It was nine o'clock before I got him (Polk) into position, and about ten before the attack was made—*five precious hours* in which our independence might have been won."¹⁴

CHAPTER 6

Pursuit of enemy, and taking position on Lookout Mt. and Missionary Ridge.—Battle of Lookout Mt.—Battle of Missionary Ridge.—Hostile correspondence between Generals J. K. Jackson and E. C. Walthall.

Finding on the morning of the 21st, that failing, by reason of Polk's delay in renewing the attack—as ordered—on the morning of the day previous, to cut off the enemy's probable retreat into his stronghold at Chattanooga, General Bragg was left the only alternative of moving forward in pursuit. In this movement, he was preceded by General Forest and his troopers who sorely pressed and harrassed the retreating foe up to the time they reached shelter within the fortifications at Chattanooga.

General Bragg deeming it advisable to adopt a policy which would reduce the enemy by starvation, into a surrender, rather than hazard an open attack upon his fortified position; or, even pursue the plan suggested by General Beauregard, viz., to cross the Tennessee river and march direct to the Ohio river—which last would have exposed our rear, and placed our communications at the mercy of the enemy—took position on Missionary Ridge, Lookout Mountain, and the intervening ground, and commenced fortifying. By so doing, all the passes of Lookout Mountain which had been in possession of the enemy since our abandonment of Chattanooga during the month previous, and which covered the enemy's line of communication and supplies with, and from, Bridgeport, were regained by us.

For the purposes of the campaign adopted by General Bragg, viz., to starve the enemy, who had been, or was soon to be, effectually cut off from his base of supplies, and which came nigh

proving a brilliant success, the reader is referred to the report of General Bragg, in "War of the Rebellion," Serial No. 51, pgs. 21, 23, 25, and 26. Also to his letter in the Appendix "D."

To cut off the enemy's supplies and force him, if possible, to evacuate Chattanooga, Wheeler with his cavalry, was ordered to cross the Tennessee river and destroy a large wagon train known to be in the Sequahatchie Valley on its way to Rosecrans. This was accomplished by Wheeler, together with capturing McMinnville, and other places on the railroad, and then making his retreat out of Tennessee by fording the river at Decatur, Ala., and thus almost completely cutting off the supplies for Rosecrans' army.

As Bragg occupied the entire south side of the river from Lookout Mt. to Bridgeport; and further, as the latter place, with Stevenson, was supplied from depots at Nashville, and Louisville by a single railroad, and the wagon road on the north side of river being rendered unsafe by the unerring fire of our sharpshooters, Rosecrans was reduced to the necessity of hauling his supplies a distance of sixty miles over mountain roads, and thereby reducing him to an almost starving condition. And this condition would have resulted in the forced surrender of Rosecrans, had not General Grant with large reinforcements in the meantime arrived at Chattanooga and assumed command of the federal troops there—supplemented by the additional fact, that Longstreet with his corps had just before been detached by order of the President, to operate against Burnside at Knoxville.

Whilst this was happening, Bragg's infantry was disposed along the commanding heights in front of Chattanooga—Walthall being in position on Missionary Ridge.

On the 8th day of October, 1863, and whilst we were occupying the above designated position, a reorganization of the Army of the Tennessee was announced and effected. Whereupon, the Regiments of Walthall's brigade, by reason of reduced numbers resulting from its casualties in the battle of Chickamauga, were subjected to a temporary consolidation, as follows: The 24th and 27th, under command of Col. J. A. Camp-

bell; the 29th and 30th, under command of Col. W. F. Brantley; the 34th under command of its colonel (Samuel Benton) remained intact. Thus organized it constituted the 2nd brigade, of Hindman's division (Hindman being then in arrest for alleged misconduct in McLemore's Cove, the division was commanded by Brig. Gen. J. Patton Anderson). This temporary organization, as will be noted further on, lasted only a short time, and the regiments resumed their original autonomy prior to the battles on the 24th and 25th of November following. Fowler's battery, commanded by Captain W. H. Fowler, continued with the brigade during said time, in fact, it remained as a part of the brigade to the close of the war.

The uniform monotony of the next six weeks was occasionally relieved by night attacks as feelers of the enemy, and which feints now and then appeared as though they would prove precursors of a general engagement. Finally, Hooker with his corps of fresh troops from the "Army of the Potomac," having joined Grant, and by reason of Longstreet's alleged disobedience of orders, by interposing only one, instead of two brigades—as ordered by General Bragg to do¹⁵—effected the crossing of the Tennessee river opposite the north side of the ridge just below the mouth of Lookout creek, Walthall's brigade was hastened to Lookout Mountain to the support of the Confederate forces then there under Major-General Stevenson and occupying position on top of the Mountain. Walthall's brigade took position under orders on the west side of Lookout and near the northern slope, with his pickets in line extending along Lookout creek from the turnpike bridge near its mouth to the railroad bridge across it, and thence up the mountain side to the cliff.

But Hooker having gained a foothold and lodgment just across the creek at the base of the mountain side, early in the morning of November 24th, and whilst Grant was deploying a heavy force in Bragg's immediate front, made his successful attack on our troops on the mountain side; and after fighting during the entire evening of the 24th, and until a late hour that

night, succeeded in capturing Lookout Mountain, and thereby placing himself in direct communication with Thomas' right in Chattanooga. But, this was not accomplished, until Hooker had battled long and hotly, first with Walthall, and later with Walthall, reenforced by Pettus' and Moore's brigades—and strange to say, unaided by the other brigades on the mountain top under command of Major-General Stevenson, and whose duty it was to assist in repelling Hooker.

On withdrawing from the mountain side, Walthall moved under orders to McFarland Springs, where his brigade bivouacked for the remainder of the night, and from whence it moved the next morning and took position on Missionary Ridge.

Had it not been for the conduct of Brigadier-General J. K. Jackson, then in command of an improvised division composed for the emergency of Walthall's, Moore's and Pettus' brigades, Hooker in all probability, would have been unsuccessful.¹⁶

For the gallant and heroic defense made by Walthall's brigade whilst occupying the mountain side up which the enemy's infantry in overwhelming numbers came, assisted by batteries at Moccasin-bend, alike with batteries brought over with them and placed in position on a ridge beyond Lookout creek, is best told in General Walthall's graphically detailed report of that battle. The facts as shown, disprove the Northern war poet's (George H. Boker) colored statements, and dissipates into thin air the seeming Homeric beauties of sentiment claimed for his battle "Above the Clouds," and wherein he poetises with undue license, thus:¹⁷

"Give me but two brigades, said Hooker, frowning at fortified
Lookout,
And I'll engage to sweep yond mountain clear of that mock-
ing rebel rou't,
At early morning came an order that set the general's face
aglow:
"Now," said he to his staff, draw out my soldiers,
"Grant says that I may go!"

* * * * *

The lower works were carried at one onset, like a vast roaring
 sea
 Of steel and fire, our soldiers from the trenches swept out the
 enemy:
 And we could see the gray-coats swarming up from the moun-
 tain's leafy base,
 To join their comrades in the higher fastnesses—for life or death
 the race!"

* * * * *

The truth is, had General Walthall received the asked for re-enforcements of his division commander, there could be no question but that his, Moore's and Pettus' brigades, would have driven Hooker back, and have held the mountain side. The attacking force under Hooker consisted of Greary's division, and two brigades of another army corps, and were at first confronted by only a part of Walthall's brigade, and until late in the day when it was supported by Pettus' and Moore's brigades.

General Bragg says in his official report of this engagement:

"A very heavy force soon advanced to the assault and was met by one brigade—Walthall's—which made a desperate resistance, but was finally compelled to yield ground. Why this command was not sustained, is yet unexplained. The commander on that part of the field—Maj.-Gen'l Stevenson¹⁸—had six brigades at his disposal. Upon his urgent appeal another brigade was dispatched in the afternoon to his support, though it appeared his own forces had not been brought into action, and I proceeded to the scene."

General Walthall says in his official report of that engagement:

"At no time during this prolonged struggle, whose object was to prevent the occupation by the enemy, first of the important point near the Craven house, and afterwards, the only road down the mountain leading from Major-General Stevenson's Division to the main body of the army, did I have the benefit of my division commander's personal presence. After I was relieved and while awaiting orders to move, I saw him for the first time coming down the mountain on his way, as he told me, to see the general-in-chief."

The division commander referred to by Walthall, was Brigadier-General J. K. Jackson of Georgia, then in temporary command of a division, and dubbed "Mudwall,"¹⁹ in contradistinction to the great "Stonewall," of the army of Northern Virginia. It was to "Mudwall" that Walthall, during the engagement, vainly sent staff officer after staff officer, as likewise couriers, in search of, and of whom the report was in each instance made, that the division commander could not be found, nor his headquarters located.

Immediately after the engagement these facts were openly commented upon by officers and men cognizant of them. Generals Walthall, Pettus, and Moore, the last two commanding Alabama brigades, and who like Walthall vainly endeavored during the engagement to communicate with Jackson, severally called attention in their official reports of that engagement to the fact of their inability to thus communicate.²⁰

On the appearance of these reports, made in December following, and the return to duty of General Walthall from Atlanta, where he had been confined with the wound received in the fight of the 25th previous on Missionary Ridge, a bellicose correspondence, inaugurated by Jackson, began between the two generals—the same being conducted on the part of Jackson by Major-General W. H. T. Walker, and on the part of Walthall by Colonel John B. Sale.²¹ For a time, it was believed by those cognizant of the correspondence, and interested in the outcome, that the "code duello" would be appealed to; but, on investigation, the truth of the representations contained in the reports was recognized by the friends of Jackson to be susceptible of being established by convincing proof, and hence it was deemed advisable by Jackson's friends, especially by General Walker,—who at first demanded of Jackson, that he "Call them out, sir! Call them out!" meaning challenge the three generals in turn²²—to let the matter drop where it had been taken up.

In the battle of Lookout, the regiments of Walthall's brigade were commanded as follows:

The 24th Mississippi by Col. W. F. Dowd.

The 27th Mississippi by Col. J. A. Campbell. This officer hav-

ing been captured in the early part of the engagement, the command of the Regiment devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. Jones. Colonel Campbell died whilst a prisoner of war.

The 29th Mississippi, by Col. W. F. Brantley.

The 30th Mississippi, by Maj. J. M. Johnson.

The 34th Mississippi, by Col. Sam'l Benton.

The field officers of this brigade who were especially commended by their immediate commander in his report for their conspicuous bravery, zeal and co-operation were, Col. W. F. Brantley, of the 29th, and Lieutenant-Colonel R. P. McKelvaine, of the 24th Mississippi regiments.

But it was reserved for the day following—the 25th of November, 1863—for Walthall to display a mastery in the art of military tactics, and for which, be it said to the discredit of his incomparable corps commander Lieutenant-General Hardee—he did not get credit in official reports. Strange, and only to be accounted for as due to a weakness in Hardee's character, he was not content with his numerous, well earned, and brilliant laurels, but was ever grasping after others, even to the detriment or injury of deserving subordinates—unless those subordinates were in his permanent corps and under his immediate command.

It was not until long after the official report of General Bragg was prepared, that a copy of it accidentally fell into the hands of General Walthall, when he discovered the injustice, so stinging to military pride, that General Hardee had done him by claiming in his report to General Bragg, the credit of the Napoleonic move that saved a portion of Hardee's corps from capture in the battle of Missionary Ridge.²³ The movement alluded to is referred to in General Bragg's official report in these words, and evidently as reported to him by General Hardee:

"Lieutenant-General Hardee, leaving Major-General Cleburn in command of the extreme right, moved towards the left when he heard the heavy firing in that direction. He reached the right of Anderson's division²⁴ just in time to find that it had nearly all fallen back, commencing on its right where the enemy had first crowned the Ridge. By a prompt and judicious movement he threw a portion of Cheatham's division directly across the Ridge facing the enemy who was now moving in strong

force immediately on his left flank. By a decided stand here the enemy was entirely checked and that portion of our force to the right remained intact."

Now, the facts, as claimed by General Walthall, of that change of front under fire, were these—and will be seen to be in part true as reported above; but in their essential features, and just where the honor and credit is claimed by General Hardee, the report is lacking in the elements of correctness or fairness. That portion of Cheatham's division thrown "directly across the Ridge facing the enemy," and which "enabled the force on the right to remain intact," was Walthall's brigade; but General Hardee had nothing to do with throwing it in that position. He was merely a looker-on whilst the movement was being made, and doubtless approved, at the time as he afterwards, in his official report, commended it. General Walthall made the movement by General Cheatham's permission, and in his presence, and as he generously, but incorrectly says in his report, "by direction—'instead of by permission'—of General Cheatham, the major-general commanding."²⁵

Walthall feeling that to thus pluck victory from the jaws of defeat would be worth the cost of a supreme effort, conceived—as by inspiration—the idea, and in the presence, and with the approval of his division commander, executed the movement, and he alone is entitled to the credit of its success; though in his generosity, he was willing to share the credit with his division commander—Major-General B. F. Cheatham. In a correspondence with the latter some years subsequent to the close of the war, General Cheatham says, the inception and execution of said movement was due only to Walthall.

The movement was occasioned in this wise—as General Walthall always claimed, and was proud to repeat. When the troops to Cheatham's left were driven back, that officer took two of his three brigades and endeavored to regain the lost ground—leaving Walthall's, it being his right brigade—in the line. The two brigades thus taken and moved forward under orders of General Cheatham, were soon driven back and retired

down the Ridge in the direction of Chickamauga station.²⁶ It was then that Walthall realizing the desperate situation, as if by the inspiration of genius, threw his brigade "across the Ridge," and thereby checked the advancing enemy, and "preserving intact our force to the right." This change of front made under a heavy fire of the enemy advancing along the crest of the Ridge, was peculiarly brilliant and creditable to Walthall. The fire between him and the enemy was kept up until after dark, and the position was held by Walthall until after dark and until 8:45 o'clock p. m.—at which hour General Cheatham ordered the brigade to withdraw to Chickamauga Station, by way of the railroad bridge.

Leaving a line of skirmishers under command of Captain G. W. Reynolds of the 29th Mississippi, in front of the position just abandoned by the brigade and about midway between it and the position held by the enemy, the brigade was withdrawn in good order to the place indicated. During its withdrawal, Captain Reynolds, a brave, reliable, and in every respect an accomplished officer, and who commanded the absolute confidence and esteem of his brigade commander, covered and gallantly protected its rear.

In making the change of front referred to, General Walthall received a painful wound caused by a minnie-ball passing through his foot; but, like Colonel Jefferson Davis, at the battle of Buena Vista, he remained in the saddle during the entire action, and did not surrender the command of his brigade until after it reached the railroad station as ordered. Then and there, General Bragg came to Walthall's headquarters and advised that he go at once to Atlanta for treatment. Walthall remained in Atlanta under treatment for about eight weeks, and after his return to the brigade he was required to use crutches fully four weeks before entirely recovering from the effects of said wound.

As the brigade had suffered heavily at Lookout Mountain the day previous, Walthall, in speaking to his staff and others about this change of front on Missionary Ridge so gallantly accomplished under a galling fire of small arms, and under the spur, or

rather inspiration of the moment, rightly considered it one of, if not the most creditable performance of its acknowledged brilliant record. And certainly a performance so beneficial in its results, should be credited where it belongs; at least Mississippians should be advised of the fact, and see to it that it is so credited.

In substantiation of all I have said as to this "change of front," and of what General Walthall, in the *abandon* of camp life so frequently referred to, I have in my possession a letter from General Cheatham written to General Walthall since the war, wherein he says:

"My recollection of the affair of Missionary Ridge is nearly identical with the account detailed by you in your official report of that engagement, under date of December 15th, 1863." Further writing he says: "I don't recollect ever seeing Gen'l Bragg's or Gen'l Hardee's reports of that engagement."²⁷

Commenting on the capture of Missionary Ridge, it is conceded that the victory was as great for the enemy as the blow was severe to us. For days previous, and to the moment of the happening of this unlooked for and unaccountable disaster, it was surmised and confidently believed by General Bragg that the enemy was at the point of starvation, and ultimately would have to surrender, or retire northward in a disorganized condition. But, as it resulted, the enemy instead of surrendering or retreating, was largely reinforced, and by armies flush with recent victories, and giving us battle, won the day. It was a desperate alternative to Grant, and was by him with Spartan courage and "bull-dog" tenacity, equally desperately accepted.

Grant succeeded, and tested by the measure of military estimates, was justly entitled to wear the plume and enjoy the honors of victory. The aphorism of Tallyrand, "nothing succeeds like success," is as applicable to military results, as to the undertakings of individual enterprises.

Whether or not General Grant won by superior forces, or by superior military skill, it was none the less a victory that made for its conquering hero a name in the military annals of this

country—as elsewhere—second only to that of the immortal Robert E. Lee; and a victory which secured for him the high, and then exalted rank, first, of Lieutenant-General, next General of the Army, and finally, President, for two terms, of the United States.

CHAPTER 7

Army of Tennessee retreats to, and goes into winter quarters at Dalton, Ga.—Bragg asked to be relieved of command.—Sketch of General Bragg.—Generals Hardee and Johnston in command.—Hon. B. H. Hill.—Cleburn's repulse of Hooker at Ringold Gap.—Reflections as to General Cleburn's plan to arm and make soldiers of certain slaves.—Correspondence of Government Officials and military officers as to.—What the Confederate Congress finally did as to making soldiers of certain slaves.

"The Army of Tennessee" fell back and went into winter-quarters at Dalton, Ga.

General Bragg, realizing that some of his officers were dissatisfied with, and were disposed to criticise his military operations as also his fitness to command, soon after getting the army in position at Dalton, patriotically requested the President to relieve him of its command, and his consequent embarrassment—"an army whose fortunes he had followed, and whose fate he had shared through the trying vicissitudes of more than two years of active operations."²⁸

On General Bragg's retirement from the command of the Army of Tennessee—an event Lee deplored—the command of the army temporarily devolved upon Lieutenant-General Hardee, who was in a short time superseded by General Joseph E. Johnston, assigned as its permanent commander.²⁹

General Braxton Bragg was born in Warrenton, N. C., on the 21st day of March, 1817, and was the son of Thos. Bragg, a member of a very distinguished family of that state. He graduated from West Point (U. S. Military Academy) in 1837, and was among the distinguished five of his class. On gradu-

ating, he was appointed 2nd lieutenant in the 3rd artillery, United States army.

In December 1837 he was adjutant of his regiment; in July following (1838) was made 1st lieutenant.

He first saw military service in the Seminole War in Florida, serving under Colonel Zachary Taylor. At the close of that war he was stationed at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina.

On the breaking out of the War with Mexico, he was ordered to Corpus Christi to join his old commander, General Taylor. He distinguished himself in the defense of Fort Brown May 9, 1846, for which he was brevetted a captain, which rank he attained in full in June following; fought gallantly at Monterrey in September and was brevetted a major; and again at Buena Vista, where he won marked distinction, and was brevetted a lieutenant-colonel. In his report of the latter battle, General Taylor spoke of the skillful handling by Bragg of his artillery, and gave him the proud distinction and credit of saving the day on the field. "*A little more grape, Captain Bragg,*" became the slogan of the war.

March 3, 1855, he was appointed major of the 1st cavalry, but declined, and resigned from service, January 3rd, 1856. Thenceforth until the commencement of the Civil War, he and his wife—*nee* Miss Eliza B. Ellis, who intermarried June 7, 1849—resided on their extensive planting estate in Lafourach Parish, La.

On the organization of the Confederate States government he was appointed brigadier-general and assigned to duty at Pensacola. He remained in command there until February 1862—having been in the meantime promoted to be a major-general.

Moving his command of 17,500 troops (the finest and best disciplined body of troops the Confederacy ever had) from Pensacola by rail *via* Montgomery, Atlanta, Chattanooga and Huntsville, to the vicinity of Corinth, and from Mobile, *via* the M. & O. R. R. Co., to the vicinity of Jackson, Tenn., at which place he established his headquarters on March 6, 1862, he awaited the concentration by General Albert Sidney Johnston of

his troops preparatory to the battle of Shiloh. In that battle General Bragg bore an important and conspicuous part. He was promoted to the rank of general vice General A. S. Johnston killed in action on that field and on the withdrawal of General Beauregard from the command of the department in May following, succeeded him in that post. In July he moved his army by rail from Tupelo via Mobile, Montgomery and Atlanta to Chattanooga, and in August successfully turned General Buell's left flank, and passing through East Tennessee, entered Kentucky at the head of his own and Kirby Smith's forces—starting from the two distant points of Chattanooga moving via Glasgow, and from Knoxville via Cumberland Gap and Richmond. But Buell, leaving his posts in North Alabama and moving on a much shorter line, succeeded in reaching Louisville before Bragg, and the latter was compelled to retire after fighting the battle of Perryville, October 8, 1862. The only fruits of this campaign were abundant necessary supplies for the Confederacy.

In December-January ('62 and '63) following, Bragg fought the indecisive battle of Murfreesboro; and in September, (19 and 20) 1863, he fought and won the memorable battle of Chickamauga.

The battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge proving disastrous to our arms, and General Bragg realizing that his usefulness with the Army of Tennessee had been seriously impaired—if not destroyed—asked the President to relieve him from its command. This being done, he was forthwith appointed "military adviser" of President Davis and assigned to duty at the seat of government at Richmond.

After the surrender General Bragg returned to New Orleans—his fine plantation home having been confiscated by the U. S. Government—and subsequently went to Texas as inspector of railways. Parts of 1872 and '73 he was in charge of the engineering department of the harbor at Mobile, Ala.

He died at Galveston, Texas, September 27, 1876, of paralysis of the brain, at the age of 58 years and 8 months. He was buried at Mobile, Ala., where his older brother, Judge John Bragg, resided.

Thomas Bragg, the late ex-Governor of North Carolina, and who succeeded Judah P. Benjamin as attorney general of the Confederacy, was also his brother.

Mrs. Eliza B. Bragg, his widow, yet survives him in virtual retirement, save as to her manifest interest in all that pertains to the Confederate soldier and his dead cause.

Tall and stately, with the gracious, elegant manners of the old South, this distinguished lady is the living, breathing personification of a great and noble epoch that has passed away. And her presence as an honored guest at the recurring reunions of Confederates in New Orleans, give inspiration to the notable occasions. She resides, and has been living since the death of her distinguished husband, in New Orleans with her brother, Major W. C. Ellis. There was never issue of marriage of General and Mrs. Bragg.

In his matchless address before the Georgia Branch of the Southern Historical Society at Atlanta, Ga., February 18th, 1874, the late Hon. B. H. Hill of Georgia, rehearsed the substance of a conversation occurring in Richmond between himself and General Lee soon after General Bragg ceased to command the Army of Tennessee—"an event Lee deplored," the Senator said.

Referring to newspaper criticism of commanders in the field, and which greatly contributed to Bragg's retirement from active command, General Lee remarked that, "We made a great mistake, Mr. Hill, in the beginning of our struggle, and I fear, in spite of all we can do, it will prove to be a fatal mistake." On being asked by Mr. Hill what mistake he referred to, the general replied:

"Why, sir, in the beginning, we appointed all our worst generals to command the armies, and all our best generals to edit the newspapers. As you know, I have planned some campaigns and quite a number of battles. I have given the work all the care and thought I could, and sometimes when my plans were completed, as far as I could see, they seemed to be perfect. But, when I have fought them through, I have discovered defects, and occasionally wondered I did not see some of the defects in advance. When it was over I found by reading a newspaper,



that these best editor generals saw all the defects plainly from the start. Unfortunately, they did not communicate their knowledge to me until it was too late."

I am frank to acknowledge myself an admirer of the character, discipline and military genius of General Bragg; and I know that many of his old soldiers share in this admiration. I believe if we had had more officers like him, and they had been properly supported by their subordinates, the result of our cause would have been different.

General Bragg believed, and rightly, that officers of rank alike with subalterns and common soldiers, should be held to strict account for their conduct, and that retributive justice should be administered to each and all alike. The same policy always characterized the military discipline of the immortal Stonewall Jackson; and the latter's unparalleled success in arms, coupled with his Cromwellian character and ready promptness to punish insubordination, or resent interference on the part of superiors, alone saved him from being emasculated or removed at the insistence of disgruntled or carping officers who had suffered merited, or supposed rebuke at his hands; or by the hasty and inconsiderate encouragement of the insubordination of inferiors, and of interference with responsibilities of commanders in the field. Notably, in January, 1862, on the occasion of General Loring being ordered by the secretary of war—without consultation with Jackson—back from Romney to Winchester, because of complaint made by Loring and his officers. Whereupon Jackson promptly wrote out and forwarded his resignation, and only consented to its withdrawal upon due apology made him by the war department, and the explicit assurance that his military plans and operations were not to be interfered with by higher authority without consultation with him.

Returning to the retreat from Missionary Ridge to Dalton, it is appropriate for me to record an excerpt from the letter of General Bragg to the author, under date of February 8th, 1873, in words as follows:

"The enemy could make but a feeble pursuit, for want of artillery horses." In support of this assertion he refers to Gen-

eral Grant's report. Continuing his comments, he says: "At the mountain gorge near Ringold, I believed he could be successfully repulsed, and the army quickly withdrawn. General Cleburn, one of the best and truest soldiers in our cause, was placed at that point in command of the rear guard. Late at night, hours after all the army was at rest, my information being all in, I called for a reliable, confidential staff officer, and gave him verbal directions to ride immediately to Cleburn, about three (3) miles in my rear, at this mountain gorge, *and give him my positive orders to hold his position up to a named hour the next day*, and if attacked, to defend the pass at every hazard. The message was delivered at Cleburn's camp fire; he heard it with surprise and expressed his apprehension that it would result in the loss of his command, as his information differed from mine and he believed the enemy would turn his position and cut him off. 'But,' said he, true soldier as he was, 'I always obey orders, and only ask as a protection, in case of disaster, that you put the order in writing.' This was done as soon as materials could be found, and the staff officer returned and reported the result of his mission. He had not reached me, however, before the attack *in front*, as I expected was made. Cleburn gallantly met it, defeated the enemy under Hooker, drove him back, and then quietly followed the army without further molestation. Mark the difference (comparing him with certain officers named in his letter) in conduct and results. A good soldier, by obedience, without substituting his own crude notions, defeats the enemy and saves an army from disaster. And mark the credit he gets for it. The Confederate Congress passed a vote of thanks to the gallant Cleburn and his command for saving Bragg's army. Not to this day has it ever been known that he did it in obedience to orders and against his judgment—which, however, does not detract from, but rather adds to his fame. Captain Samuel A. Harris, assistant adjutant general, of Montgomery, Alabama, was the staff officer who delivered the order. He is now an Episcopal clergyman, with the largest congregation in New Orleans, and has recently repeated the whole matter to me as distinctly as if it had occurred yesterday."

The entire army recognized the gallantry, devotion, and military prowess of Cleburn, and for a year prior, and up to the day of his death, officers and men were anxiously expecting his promotion to the grade of lieutenant general, and few, very few knew why he was not so commissioned. But the record which I now give will explain.

On page 296 of "Advance and Retreats," General Hood, referring to General Cleburn's radical, or at least, advanced views, says; "He was a man of equally quick perception and strong character, and was, especially in one respect, in advance of our people. He possessed the boldness and the wisdom to earnestly advocate, at an early period of the war, the freedom of the negro and the enrollment of the young and able-bodied men of that race. This stroke of policy and additional source of strength to our armies, would, in my opinion, have given us our independence."

Now, whilst it is true as a part of the history of those trying yet, desperate times, that General Johnston, as also his corps and division commanders (two of the latter, with scorn and emphasis) repudiated and rejected the suggestion advocated by Cleburn in the secret counsel assembled at General Johnston's headquarters at Dalton, Ga., January 2d, 1864, as did also, the President and secretary of war, as soon as informed; yet, later on, and when too late, the Confederate congress, and officials—civic and military—notably, General Robert E. Lee, advocated in a modified form the enlistment of slaves, and ultimately passed a bill in congress, to fill the ranks by arming the negroes. Said bill was first passed by the lower house of the Confederate congress, but on its reaching the senate it was considered and defeated. However, upon a reconsideration brought about by the insistence of the Virginia legislature, as expressed in its resolutions of February 16th, 1865, her two U. S. senators (Hons. R. M. T. Hunter and Allen T. Carperston) were induced to change their votes, and thereupon the bill was passed and became a law. As passed, the bill made no change in the relation of owners of slaves, but authorized the general-in-chief (Robert E. Lee) to employ twenty-five (25) per cent of all able-bodied males between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five years, in military service, in whatsoever capacity he might direct. They were to receive the same pay, rations and clothing, as other troops. At this time (February–March, 1865) public opinion in favor of the measure had become almost unanimous both among civilians and soldiers.

Now, the chief difference contemplated in the organization and morale of the slaves was radically marked in the plan adopted

by congress, as compared to the suggestions made and ably advocated by General Cleburn, and embodied in a well considered and prepared written paper read by him at the council of officers heretofore mentioned. The act of congress contemplated organizations of negroes under command of white officers. Cleburn's plan contemplated the commingling of the races by placing them in alternate files, in the same companies—insisting that such would give the proper morale necessary to make good soldiers of the slaves, overlooking as he did the absolutely ruinous effect such would have upon their white comrades. Therein consisted the grave and insuperable objection to Cleburn's plan—a plan which cost him promotion, yea, ever after kept him from attaining his just and well merited deserts—a lieutenant generalship.

The correctness of the foregoing statement and reflections is reinforced by the following correspondence bearing upon the subject, and now on file in the war department at Washington. The correspondence explains how and on what occasion General Cleburn made the proposition referred to, and how it was received.

The Western Confederate army lay at Dalton, Ga., during the winter of 1863-4, which preceded the Atlanta campaign. From Dalton, General Patton Anderson wrote General Leonidas Polk, as follows:

(Confidential)

DALTON, Ga., Jan. 14, 1864.

TO LIEUTENANT GENERAL L. POLK,
Enterprise, Miss.

General: After you have read what I am about to disclose to you I hope you will not think I have assumed any unwarrantable intimacy in marking this communication as "confidential." My thoughts for ten days past have been so oppressed with the weight of the subject as to arouse in my mind the most painful apprehensions of future results, and have caused me to cast about for a friend of clear head, ripe judgment and pure patriotism with whom to confer and take counsel. My choice has fallen upon you, sir, and I proceed at once to lay the matter before you.

On January 2d I received a circular order from the headquarters of Hindman's corps informing me that the commanding general of the army desired division commanders to meet him at his quarters at seven o'clock that evening.

At the hour designated I was at the appointed place. I met in the room General Johnston, Lieutenant General Hardee, Major Generals Walker, Stewart and Stevenson, and in a few moments afterward Major Generals Hindman and Cleburn entered, Brigadier General Bate coming in a few minutes later. The whole, with the general commanding, embracing all the corps and division commanders (infantry) of this army, except Major General Cheatham, who was not present. In a few minutes General Johnston requested Lieutenant General Hardee to explain the object of the meeting, which he did by stating that Major General Cleburn had prepared with great care a paper on an important subject addressed to the officers of this army, and he proposed that it now be read.

General Cleburn proceeded to read an elaborate article on the subject of our past disasters, present condition and inevitable future ruin unless an entire change of policy might avert it.

That change he boldly and proudly proposed to effect by emancipating our slaves and putting muskets in the hands of all of them capable of bearing arms, thus securing them to us as allies and equals, and insuring a superiority of numbers over our enemies, &c.

Yes, sir, this plain, but in my view monstrous, proposition was calmly submitted to the generals of this army for their sanction and adoption, with the avowed purpose of carrying it to the rank and file.

I will not attempt to describe my feelings on being confronted by a project so startling in its character—may I say, so revolting to Southern sentiment, Southern pride and Southern honor?

And not the least painful of the emotions awakened by it was the consciousness which forced itself upon me that it met with favor from others besides the author in high station then present. You have a place, General, in the Southern heart perhaps not less exalted than that you occupy in her army. No one knows better than yourself all the hidden powers and secret springs which move the great moral machinery of the South. You know whence she derived that force which three years ago impelled her to the separation and has since that time to this present hour enabled her to lay all she has, even the blood of her best sons, upon the altar of independence, and do you believe that that South will now listen to the voices of those who would ask her to stultify herself by entertaining a proposition which heretofore our insolent foes themselves have not even dared to make in terms so bold and undisguised?

What are we to do? If this thing is once openly proposed to the army the total disintegration of that army will follow in a

fortnight, and yet to speak and work in opposition to it is an agitation of the question scarcely less to be dreaded at this time and brings down the universal indignation of the Southern people and the Southern soldiers upon the head of at least one of our bravest and most accomplished officers. Then, I repeat, what is to be done?

What relief it would afford me to talk to you about this matter, but as that may not be, do I go too far in asking you to write me?

I start in a few days to go to my home in Monticello, Fla., where I expect to spend twenty days with my family, and I assure you, General, it would add much to the enjoyment of my visit if you would favor me by mail with some of the many thoughts which this subject will arouse in your mind.

Believe me, General, very truly your friend,

(Sg) PATTON ANDERSON.

General Cleburn's proposition received such a rebuff that he destroyed his own copy of the paper he read in advocacy of it; and the copy of it sent to Richmond, has not been found among the captured Confederate records. However, its main features are to be seen in the following summary of its points preserved by Major Charles S. Hill, the accomplished statistician of the state department, who was with Cleburn's chief of artillery at the time the memorial was prepared. The memorial was lengthy, and each point was carefully elaborated. It urged on the Confederate congress the emancipation of all slaves and their conscription into the army. The reasons given therefor were:

First—Such a course would relieve the Southern people of a yearly tax, an unproductive consumption, because the slave consumed more than his profit, thus distinguishing the profit of the negro from the profit on cotton.

Second—It would animate the undying gratitude of that race.

Third—It would create in the negro a greater self-respect and ambition.

Fourth—With gratitude and ambition the service of the soldier would be both reliable and valuable.

Fifth—That the moral effect throughout the world, but especially Europe, would be generally strengthening and beneficial to the South.

Sixth—That the result would be the signal for immediate European recognition, and indeed, action. Germany and Italy would have been disarmed of their prejudice. Napoleon would have instantly been encouraged to become a Lafayette, and Great Britain would not have been afraid to back him in parliamentary declaration, no matter how the working classes would have felt.

Seventh—That it would raise the blockade and give us provisions and clothing.

As the officers assembled at the reading of said memorial were enjoined to secrecy, Cleburn's proposition was kept a profound secret, save at certain points where it accidentally leaked out, under a like band of secrecy. As was to be expected, the memorial alarmed the angered Confederate authorities, and they apprehended that if it should become known among the rank and file of the army it would cause trouble.

The following letters concerning it show how it was received:

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
War Department,
RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 24, 1864.

TO GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON,
Dalton, Ga.

General: Major General Walker has communicated directly to the President copies of a memorial prepared by Major General Cleburn, lately the subject of consultation among the generals of divisions in your command, as also of a letter subsequently addressed himself to the generals present, making the avowal of the opinion entertained by them in relation to such memorial, with their replies. I am instructed by the President to communicate with you on the subject. He is gratified to infer from your declination to forward officially General Walker's communication of the memorial that you neither approved the views advocated in it nor deemed it expedient that after meeting, as they happily did, the disapproval of the council, they should have further dissemination or publicity. The motives of zeal and patriotism which have prompted General Walker's action are, however, fully appreciated, and that action is probably fortunate, as it affords an appropriate occasion to express the earnest conviction of the President that the dissemination, or even promulgation of such opinions under the present circumstances of the Confederacy, whether in the army or among the people, can be productive only of discouragement, distraction, and dissension.

The agitation and controversy which must spring from the presentation of such views by officers high in public confidence are to be deeply deprecated, and while no doubt or mistrust is for a moment entertained of the patriotic intents of the gallant author of the memorial and such of his brother officers as may have favored his opinions, it is requested that you will communicate to them, as well as all others present on the occasion, the opinions as herein expressed of the President, and urge on them the suppression not only the memorial itself, but likewise of all discussion and controversy respecting or growing out of it.

I would add that the measures advocated in the memorial are considered little appropriate for consideration in military circles, and, indeed, in their scope pass beyond the bounds of Confederate action and would, under our constitutional system, neither be commended by the Executive or Congress, nor entertained by that body. Such views can only jeopardize among the States and people unity and harmony, when for successful co-operation and the achievement of independence, both are essential.

With much respect, very truly yours,
(Sg) JAMES A. SEDDEN,
Secretary of War.

On receipt of the foregoing, General Johnston communicated the views of President Davis thus expressed, to the officers present at the meeting aforesaid. His communication was in the form of a circular letter, and worded and addressed as follows:

DALTON, Jan. 31, 1864.
Lieutenant General Hardee, Major General Cheatham, Major General Hindman, Major General Cleburn, Major General Stewart, Major General Walker, Brigadier General Bate, Brigadier General J. P. Anderson:—

Generals: I have just received a letter from the Secretary of War in reference to Major General Cleburn's memorial read in my quarters about the 2d instant.

In this letter the Honorable Secretary expresses the earnest conviction of the President.

(Here follow extracts from said letter.)

Most respectfully, your obedient servant,
(Sg) J. E. JOHNSTON,
General.

P. S.—To Major General Cleburn:—Be so good as to communicate the views of the President expressed above to the officers of your division who signed the memorial.

(Sg) J. E. J.

General Johnston next wrote the Secretary of War as follows:

DALTON, Feb. 2d, 1864.

Hon. J. A. SEDDEN,
Secretary of War:

Sir:—I had the honor to receive the letter in which you express the views of the President in relation to the memorial of Major General Cleburn on the 31st ult., and immediately transmitted his instructions in your own language to the officers concerned.

None of the officers to whom the memorial was read favored the scheme, and Major General Cleburn, as soon as that appeared, voluntarily announced that he would be governed by the opinion of those officers and put away his paper. The manner of strengthening our armies by using negroes was discussed, and no other thought practicable than that which I immediately proposed to the President.

I regard the discussion as confidential, and understood it to be so agreed before the party separated. This and General Cleburn's voluntary promise prevented any apprehension in my mind of the agitation of the subject of the memorial. I have had no reason to suppose that it made any impression.

Most respectfully, your obedient servant,
(Sg) J. E. JOHNSTON,
General.

But, as previously said, before the war closed, General Cleburn's plan gained many adherents in the Confederacy, and prior to the act of the Confederate congress (February–March, 1865), to-wit, as early as the fall of 1864, Hon. Henry W. Allen, Governor of Louisiana, wrote:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
SHREVEPORT, La., Sept. 26, 1864.

TO HON. JAMES A. SEDDEN,
Secretary of War,
Richmond, Va.

My Dear Sir: The time has come for us to put into the army every able-bodied negro man as a soldier. This should be done immediately. Congress should, at the coming session, take action on this most important question.

The negro knows that he cannot escape conscription if he goes to the enemy. He must play an important part in the war. He caused the fight and he will have his portion of the burden to bear.

We have learned from dear-bought experience that negroes

can be taught to fight, and that all who leave us are made to fight against us. I would free all able to bear arms, and put them in the field at once. They will make much better soldiers with us than against us, and swell the now depleted ranks of our armies. I beg you to give this your earnest attention.

With assurances of my friendly regard and very high esteem, I remain,

Your obedient servant,

(Sg) HENRY W. ALLEN,
Governor of Louisiana.

For a more detailed and circumstantial account of the "Memorial" prepared by Major-General Pat R. Cleburn, addressed to and read by him to the commanding-general, corps and division commanders of the Army of Tennessee at a council summoned by General Johnston at his headquarters in Dalton, Ga., January 2, 1864, with resulting correspondence, and its ordered suppression by the authorities at Richmond the reader is referred to Serial No. 110, War of the Rebellion, pp. 586, 593, 594, 596, 598, 606, 608.

In so far as contemplating the enlistment of slaves as soldiers in the Confederate army, apart from the mode of their service. the "memorial" thus suppressed, only anticipated the Act of the Confederate Congress, Approved March 13, 1865, entitled, "An Act to increase the military force of the Confederate States." See Serial No. 129, pp. 1161-2, "War of the Rebellion."

As early as February 18, 1865, General R. E. Lee in a letter to Hon. E. Barksdale, house of representatives (from Mississippi), Richmond, favored, yea, advocated the policy, based upon necessity, of the employment of negroes as soldiers in the Confederate army. But, he based such service upon the promised freedom to the slave. Though the congress saw fit to enact the law for the service, it made no provision for the freedom of the slave. See McCabe's Jr., Life of General R. E. Lee, pp. 573-576.

Whether, in the light of subsequent events, the said "memorial" should have been treated and dignified as producing an

epoch in the war, or should have been dismissed, at least passed over as an episode, it is nevertheless recognized by knowing ones at the time, that it lost to its gallant author the well deserved promotion to the first thereafter occurring vacancy in the rank of lieutenant general, army of Tennessee, and to which Major-General Alexander P. Stewart was, on the death of General Leonidas Polk, promoted.

CHAPTER 8

The Army at Dalton, Ga., and its routine duties whilst there.—Reflections as to the suitability of General Johnston as its commanding officer.—Retreat begun.—Battle of Resaca.—Army at Cassville.—Battle Order read to the troops.—New Hope Church.

During the winter and spring (1863-4) months that the army was at Dalton the usual routine of camp-life was pursued, varied only by weekly inspections, and an occasional review, and the putting into execution the findings of court martials then and there constantly in session; and once, a "sham battle," participated in by the whole army. I make bold to say that during said time more men were shot at Dalton as the result of court martial findings, than were shot during the entire time of General Bragg's command; and yet, no adverse criticism, or charge of brutality, was, or is heard. Besides the numerous executions by shooting, men who had been found guilty of desertion under palliating circumstances, were weekly brought out, paraded before their brigades with barrels over their heads, then halted, stripped, and the letter D—meaning desertion—tattooed with India ink on their buttock. And yet, doubtless, by the evolution of events and the "irony of fate," yea, by the perversion of well meant and womanly goodness, some of these men are now the proud possessors and are unworthily wearing the "cross of honor," which in its inception and purpose, was designed and intended only to acknowledge and reward merit in the true, faithful, and valiant Confederate soldier.

Whilst at Dalton, several feints *en force*, were made on it by Sherman's army—particularly, during the month of April, '64. On those occasions the Army of Tennessee was marched

out to and manned the fortifications protecting Dalton. On those occasions Walthall's brigade was assigned position a few miles out from and due north of that place. Finally, on the 12th of May, 1864, the Confederate army evacuated Dalton, when commenced the celebrated "Atlanta campaign;" a retreat conducted in defiance of that axiom of the military art and which finds the logical end of defence, in surrender. It is a truthful reflection of the military critic, who says a country is not saved by retreats, however regular, or by skill, however great, when positions are chosen only to be abandoned. Particularly was it true that the Fabian policy, which seems to have been adopted by General Johnston, was not suited to the conditions confronting the Confederacy, and the illimitable resources of men and supplies, that the Federal army had at its "beck and nod;" and in fact, it is never advisable, though a Hannibal is opposing, unless the defensive army can maintain itself by ample recruits and supplies.

The truth is, General Johnston so demoralized his troops by constantly abandoning positions apparently impregnable, that it became a "by-saying" with them, that he had his "pontoons ready to retire on Cuba." As evidence of the uncertainty in the minds of the authorities at Richmond as to what General Johnston would next do, reference is made to the interview between the Hon. B. H. Hill, then Confederate States Senator from Georgia, and General Johnston at Marietta, Ga., just before the army fell back from there, and to the subsequent interview between Senator Hill and the President at Richmond.³⁰ Especial attention is directed to the masterful speech of Senator Hill, made before the Georgia branch of the Southern Historical Society at Atlanta, February 18, 1874, and in which he pronounced his matchless eulogy on General Robert E. Lee, which has become an American classic, and wherein, speaking of Jefferson Davis, he said:

"He was as great in the cabinet as was Lee in the field. He was more resentful in temper, and more aggressive in his nature than Lee. His position, too, more exposed him to assault from our own people. He had to make all appointments and though

often upon the recommendation of others, all the blame of mistake was charged to him, and mistakes were often charged by disappointed seekers and their friends which were not made. He also made recommendations for enactments, and through these measures, especially the military portion, invariably had the concurrence of, and often originated with Lee, the opposition of malcontents was directed at Davis. It is astonishing how men in high position, and supposed to be great, would make war on the whole administration for the most trivial personal disappointment. Failures to get places, for favorites of every ordinary character, has inspired long harangues against the most important measures, and they were continued and repeated even after those measures became laws. 'Can you believe,' he said to me once, 'that men—statesmen—in a struggle like this, would hazard an injury to the cause because of their personal grievances, even if they were well founded?' 'Certainly,' I replied, 'I not only believe it but know it. There are men who regard themselves with more devotion than they do the cause. If such men offer you counsel you do not take it, or ask appointments, you do not make, however you may be sustained in such action by Lee and all the cabinet, and even the congress, they accept your refusal as questioning their wisdom and as personal war on them.' 'I cannot conceive of such a feeling,' he said. 'I have but one enemy to fight, and that is our common enemy. I may make mistakes, and doubtless I do, but I do the best I can with all the lights at the time before me. God knows I would sacrifice most willingly my life, much more, my opinions, to defeat that enemy.'

As to the removal of General Johnston from command of the army of Tennessee, Senator Hill says:

"I have heard it said that I advised that removal. This is not true. I gave no advice on the subject, because I was not a military man. You have all heard it said that Mr. Davis was moved by personal hostility to General Johnston in making this removal. This is not only not true, but is exceedingly false. I do know much on the subject of this removal. I was the bearer of messages from General Johnston to the President, and was in Richmond and sometimes present, during the discussions on the subject. I never saw as much agony in Mr. Davis' face as actually distorted it when the possible necessity for his removal was at first suggested to him. I have never heard a eulogy pronounced upon General Johnston by his friends as a fighter, equal to that which I heard from Mr. Davis during these discussions. I know he consulted with General Lee fully, earnestly, and anxiously be-

fore this removal. I know that those who pressed the removal, first and most earnestly, in the cabinet, were those who had been most earnest for General Johnston's original appointment to that command. All these things I do personally know. I was not present when the order for removal was determined upon, but I received it immediately after from a member of the cabinet, and do not doubt its truth, that Mr. Davis was the very last man who gave his assent to that removal, and he only gave the order when fully satisfied it was necessary to prevent the surrender of Atlanta without a fight."

In substantiation of the foregoing characterization of General Johnston, I appeal to an unsent message of President Davis to Congress under date of February 18, 1865, published in "The War of the Rebellion," Series I, Vol. 47, page 1304, and reproduced in the August, 1906, "Confederate Veteran," pages 365-369. The President's reason for withdrawing said message appears in a letter of his to Colonel James Phelan, then a senator from Mississippi, published in the same volume of the "Record." I likewise refer to pp. 556-561 of Vol. 2 of the "Rise and Fall of the Confederate States," where is given an extract from a letter of Hon. Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia.

It may be not only pertinent, but instructive at this place, to refer to the military experience and capacity of General Johnston, as well as to his prejudices and moral weaknesses.

As quartermaster-general in the "old army," General Johnston was familiar with every detail of that department, as also, with the details of the commissary, and other leading army departments. General Dick Taylor, in his "Destruction and Reconstruction," writes of him thus:

"As a master of logistics, and skill in handling troops, he was great. Yet he cannot be said to have proven a fortunate commander." It is claimed by his admirers and admitted by his critics that, in all that books can teach or academies instill of military art, General Johnston excelled. It is conceded that he possessed talent of a very high order, as also endless energy vigorously applied. But, with it all, he seemed lacking in military genius or inspiration. In the creative genius which finally triumphs in war, and which books and academies can only initiate and record, but never teach—such elements as were possessed in

an eminent and unequalled degree by the first Napoleon, and by Marlborough; by Suvoroff, and by Skoboleff, of the Russian; by Von Molke, of the German; by Stonewall Jackson, and Bedford Forrest, of the Confederate armies, General Johnston is shown by the results, to have been signally wanting.

"Leaving out of view Bentonville and the closing scenes in North Carolina, which were rather the spasmodic efforts of despair than regular military movements, General Johnston's 'offensive' must be limited to Seven Pines or Fair Oaks."

In the spring of 1864, the war department, the President, and Generals Lee and Bragg, were anxious and urgent that General Johnston make an offensive campaign into Tennessee and Kentucky; and to that end the authorities offered to reenforce his army by Polk's troops from Mississippi, Longstreet's corps then in East Tennessee, and from Beauregard's command in South Carolina and Georgia—thereby assuring Johnston of an army of 75,000 men.³¹ But no. As when telegraphed to at Atlanta by the President, asking if it was his "purpose to hold that place," his laconic response was as evasive as the Delphine Oracles, viz., "It will depend upon circumstances."

"At a retreat," says General Taylor, "the precision and coolness of his movements during the Georgia campaign, would have enhanced the reputation of Moreau; but it never seemed to have occurred to him to assume the offensive during the turning movements of his flanks, movements involving time and distance. * * * I am persuaded that General Johnston's mind was so jaundiced by the unfortunate disagreement with President Davis, * * * as to seriously cloud his judgment and impair his usefulness. He sincerely believed himself the Esau of the government, grudgingly fed on bitter herbs, while a favored Jacob enjoyed the flesh pots. * * * Destiny willed that Davis and Johnston should be brought into collision, and the breach, once made, was never repaired. Each misjudged the other to the end."

The estrangement alluded to by General Taylor, originated in the difference of their views as to the proper construction of the resolution of the Confederate congress providing for the relative rank to be given officers of the "old army," joining the Confederate service, and is best told by General Taylor, in his prince of books, "Destruction and Reconstruction," thus:

"Immediately after the birth of the Confederacy, a resolution was adopted by the provisional congress, declaring that military and naval officers resigning the service of the United States government to enter that of the Confederacy would preserve their relative rank. Later on, the President was authorized to make five appointments to the grade of general. The appointments were announced after the battle of Manassas, and in the following order of seniority, namely: Samuel Cooper, Albert Sidney Johnston, Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, and G. T. Beauregard. Now, near the close of President Buchanan's administration, in 1860, General Jessup, quartermaster general of the United States army, died, and Joseph E. Johnston, then lieutenant colonel of the first United States cavalry, was appointed to the vacancy. Now, the quartermaster general had the rank and pay, and emoluments of a brigadier general; but the rank was staff, and by law this officer could not exercise command over troops unless by special assignment. When in the spring of 1861, the officers in question entered the service of the Confederacy, Cooper had been adjutant general of the United States army, with the rank of colonel; Albert Sidney Johnston, colonel and brigadier general by brevet, and on duty as such, Lee, lieutenant colonel of "the second" cavalry, and later colonel of the 1st cavalry vice Sumner, retired, and senior to Joseph E. Johnston in the line before the latter's appointment above mentioned; Beauregard, major of engineers. In arranging the order of seniority of generals, President Davis held to the seniority of line to staff rank, while Joseph E. Johnston took the opposite view, and sincerely believed that injustice was done him."

No impartial or reflecting student of public men and the times can question for a moment the correctness, wisdom, and unselfishness of President Davis' construction of the meaning and intent of the resolution of the provisional congress. It is but one of the innumerable evidences of his unselfish patriotism and unerring judgment, and justified the exalted estimate of him by Georgia's Confederate Senator—the Hon Ben. H. Hill—when subsequently eulogizing Mr. Davis, and his commander of the armies in the field, he spoke the following congratulatory words for the students of history:

"No people, ancient or modern, can look with more pride to the verdict which history will be compelled to render upon the merits and character of our two chief leaders—the one in the military

and the other in the civil service. Most other leaders are great because of fortunate results, and heroes because of success. Davis and Lee, because of qualities in themselves, are great in the face of misfortune and heroes in spite of defeat.

"When the future historian shall come to survey the character of Lee, he will find it rising like a huge mountain above the undulating plain of humanity, and he must lift his eyes high towards heaven to catch its summit. He possessed every virtue of other great commanders without their vices. He was a foe without hate; a friend without treachery; a soldier without cruelty; a victor without oppression, and a victim without murmuring. He was a public officer without vices; a private citizen without wrong; a neighbor without reproach; a Christian without hypocrisy, and a man without guile. He was Caesar without his ambition; Frederick without his tyranny; Napoleon without his selfishness, and Washington, without his reward. He was obedient to authority as a servant, and royal in authority as a true king. He was gentle as a woman in life; modest and pure as a virgin in thought; watchful as a Roman vestal in duty; submissive to law as Socrates, and grand in battle as Achilles."

As the engagements between the army of Tennessee under General Joseph E. Johnston, and the federals under General Sherman, ranging at intervals from May 13th at Resaca, to July 18th, near Atlanta, when and where General Johnston was superseded by General John B. Hood, did not assume the proportions of general engagements, it is only necessary to add that, Walthall's brigade participated in most of them—and in some, notably Resaca and New Hope Church. But, so far as the brigade and its division were concerned, these engagements were as momentous and sanguinary, as though they had assumed the full proportions of general engagements. Thus, at Resaca, where General Johnston made his first stand after leaving Dalton, a part of the army, consisting of Hood's corps, in which Walthall's brigade, of Hindman's division was, was for the greater part of two days engaged with McPherson's corps after it had debouched from Snake Creek Gap near the salient of Hood's line occupied by Walthall, and held its position against repeated assaults, until the army was withdrawn at midnight of the 14th, and with difficulty and great

hazard of life, crossed over the bridge to the south side of the Oustenaula river, en route to Cassville, via Adairsville.

It may be, and doubtless by the general reader will be considered, presumptuous in me—a subaltern without technical military education, to criticise any military movement of so great a commander as General Johnston; and yet, I feel constrained to comment—and I am sure that I am not alone in the commentary—and to say that, I cannot appreciate why General Johnston, instead of withdrawing his whole force directly south on the main road to Resaca, did not throw a sufficient force in Snake Creek Gap behind McPherson, and having the Army of the Mississippi under Polk, at the southern mouth of the Gap where it terminated at Resaca, “bottle up” McPherson. Certainly, the mind of General Johnston did not on that occasion run in the channel that Forrest’s did, when on a certain occasion General Abe Buford, one of his division commanders, and a West Point graduate, protested against a movement being made by Forrest, that it would expose his flanks to the enemy, the latter replied: “Well, God damn it, if the enemy gets on my flanks, won’t I be on his; so, what difference does it make?” However, General Johnston may have thought, that had he entered the Gap in rear of McPherson, the latter would turn about, and having Sherman with a force behind him, “bottle him—Johnston—up.” The difference between him and Forrest was, that the latter took chances, and won “by getting there first with the most men.” Johnston on the other hand, adopted his West Point strategy, and lost. That is the difference between boldness backed by common sense, and science conforming strictly to military rule, without rhyme or reason.

In the engagement at Resaca, Walthall’s brigade was gallantly supported by Tucker’s Mississippi (afterwards Sharp’s) brigade, which several times rushed up from its position in the ravine immediately in rear, tendering its support in each emergency.

The brigade’s loss in two days’ fighting was heavy, both in its killed and wounded. Among the killed was, Lieut.-Col.

A. J. Jones, commanding the 27th Mississippi regiment; and among the wounded were many officers and men, including General Walthall, who received only a slight abrasion on the forehead by a passing minnie-ball. Lieutenant Colonel Jones, and several men of his regiment were killed by the fragments of a shell, which had exploded immediately over them.

As the enemy from an eminence to our left front obtained an enfilade fire from its artillery on a part of our entrenched line, their shells would sometimes fall in, or explode just above our trenches. Once whilst this was occurring, a most gallant act was performed by a soldier of the brigade, whose name, I regret, has escaped me—for it deserves canonizing. The soldier seeing a shell fall in the trenches near him with smoking and burning fuse, timely seized it, and with nonchalant manner, accompanied with words of triumph, threw it over the works before it exploded. His words in substance were, "Return from whence you came."

During this engagement General Walthall was constantly exposing himself as an encouragement to his men, and giving attention to every part of his line. In one of these exposed positions and whilst the enemy was assaulting his line, his spirited and highly prized bay charger was shot from under him, at which he called upon his adjutant general for, and mounted his horse—thereby leaving the latter afoot which, under the dangerous conditions of the occasion, was entirely satisfactory and acceptable to him.

Hood's corps, of which Walthall's brigade of Hindman's division was a part, being in rear of the army on its withdrawal from Resaca, entered Cassville at about 12 M., on the 18th of May, 1864. We found there, Hardee's corps, and "The Army of Mississippi," the latter under General Polk, massed by brigades in front of the town. About 8 o'clock on the morning of the 19th, Hindman's division was moved out and took position on the prolongation of the contemplated line of battle. It was here and then that the "celebrated battle order" of General Johnston was read to the troops, announcing in substance, that our

retreat was ended, and that if the enemy appeared in his front, battle would then and there be given him; at least, from thence on, our movements would be forward. But, to the amazement of the troops—and imagine their surprise—they were soon faced about and marched back to a range of hills immediately in rear of Cassville (Walthall, being in rear of and near the city grave-yard), and there formed line of battle behind hastily constructed breast-works. The only recompense to the infantry for this disappointment, was the opportunity to witness a fight between the cavalry of the two armies in the plain below—and at which some laughed and said it was like child's play.

In this position on the range of hills, General Hardee's corps occupied the extreme left, the army of Mississippi the center, and Hood the extreme right, and we were momentarily expecting battle. During the night following, however, and to the surprise of us all—save to the commanding general and his corps commanders and their respective staff officers, the army was ordered to, and did cross the Etowah, via the Cartersville bridge, and proceeded in the direction of New Hope Church, where a few days later, Stewart's division signally repulsed the attack on our lines, made by General Logan. During the fighting at New Hope, Walthall's brigade was held in position at and near the church, as a support to Stewart in the event of need.

The name Cassville suggests a romance about which, were I "to tell tales out of school," or my honorable friend, Judge J. W. Buchanan, now the Mississippi solicitor of the Frisco system of railroads with headquarters in Memphis, Tenn., but in the sixties, a captain commanding the "Buena Vista Hornets," in the 24th Mississippi regiment, was disposed to indulge his reflective faculties, we could raise the curtain upon a most romantic war incident, in which he and a young "Kentucky belle" were the principal actors. However, I will tell just enough to recall the romance to those who were behind the scene at the time, and are in a reminiscent mood. The romance grew out of the following facts: As Bragg was retreating out of Ken-

tucky, October, 1862, and Walthall's brigade was passing "Camp Dick Roberson," a young and beautiful Kentucky woman imbued with the spirit of loyalty to the Southern cause, decided to share for the time, the fortunes and fate of our army; and placing herself under the protection of the gallant, and otherwise charming captain, was escorted to Knoxville, Tenn., from whence she journeyed to, and sought refuge with relatives at Cassville, Georgia. More than a year passed, and when our army was at Dalton, this "Kentucky belle" was informed in letters received, through the lines from friends at home, that her property was in process of being confiscated, and could be saved to her only by her return to Kentucky. This she decided on doing, and from her temporary home at Cassville, appealed to the gallant young captain to assist her in securing the necessary papers authorizing her to pass through our lines, which he did, and served as her friendly and courteous escort through ours to the federal lines. This information came to my knowledge by reason of my official functions; and I was too glad to aid my friend Joe, in his interested application for the necessary pass to that end.

Chivalric, and romantic Captain Joe would have doubtless, after the close of the war, renewed with the beautiful "Kentucky belle," their mutual attachment of '62-64, had it not been for the dangerous wound received by him at Jonesboro, Ga., August 31, 1864, and which kept him prostrate upon his back for the succeeding four years, during which time the romance faded, and he took unto himself a wife, and to whom, I dare say, this giving away of army secrets, will be news, and possibly, provoke comment.

The reason given by General Johnston for falling back from Cassville, instead of giving battle as announced in orders he would, is a matter of difference and dispute between him and two (Generals Polk and Hood) of his corps commanders. One interested in this feature of the campaign, is referred to "Johnston's Narrative," and "Advance and Retreat" by Hood, where will be found elaborated the respective and angered contentions of the officers concerned.

As it was the policy of Sherman to continue extending his left in the direction of the railroad, it was necessary every few days for our troops to take new position to keep in his front; and so it was, that from New Hope Church to Kenesaw Mountain, May 20, June 10, there was an almost continuous skirmish, at times resulting in fierce fighting.

CHAPTER 9

E. T. Sykes, adjutant general of the brigade, transferred to Jackson's Cavalry Division for duty as adjutant general thereof.—Walthall's promotion to a Major Generalship and his accomplishments as such.—Command of Infantry rear guard of General Hood's army out of Tennessee.—Colonel Samuel Benton as senior colonel in command of brigade.—Colonel W. F. Brantley, 29th Mississippi, commissioned Brigadier General and assigned first, to the temporary and after the death of General Benton, to the permanent command of the Brigade.—After which the name was changed to that of "Brantley's Brigade," and by which name it was afterwards, and until the close of the war, known and designated.—Sketch of General Stephen D. Lee.

The connection of the author of this sketch with Walthall's brigade ceased in the early part of June, 1864, by transference to Jackson's (W. H.) cavalry division, as assistant adjutant general thereof.³²

Soon thereafter, General Walthall was promoted to the command of a division, composed of the brigades of Canty, Reynolds and Quarles; and later, of the brigades of Quarles, Shelly and D. H. Reynolds of Stewart's corps, army of Tennessee. His commission as major general was dated June 10, 1864, to rank from June 6, 1864.

In this higher and more extended field of command, Walthall proved himself the equal, if not superior, of any division commander in the army of Tennessee.

From Marietta, to the close of the Georgia campaign; in Hood's advance into, and retreat out of Tennessee; at Bentonville, North Carolina, and up to the day (April 26, 1865), of Johnston's surrender at Greensboro, North Carolina, he did

noble service as a division commander, and won the unlimited confidence and unstinted praise of his superiors. This was particularly so in the battles of Franklin and Nashville, Tenn., and most notably in his joint command with Forrest, in covering the retreat of Hood's army out of Tennessee. Those who were behind the scenes and know best, say that Walthall was booked for promotion to the grade of lieutenant general on the first vacancy in that rank occurring in the army of Tennessee.

Of this retreat, Walthall, in his report dated Verona, Miss., January 14, 1865, War of the Rebellion, Serial No. 93, p. 724, modestly says:

"The night of the 17th (December, 1864,) we encamped near Spring Hill, and about 2 P. M. the next day the corps (Stewart's) took position north of Duck river, to cover the crossing of the army on pontoon bridge at Columbia. Here we intrenched—Major General Loring's division on the right and mine on the left, and remained till 11 o'clock on the night of the 19th, when we moved across the river and encamped a short distance from Columbia, and on the Pulaski pike.

Early the next morning reaching the quarters of the commanding general, in obedience to a message from him borne me by a member of his staff, he directed me, with a special command to be organized for the purpose, to report to Major General Forrest to aid in covering the retreat of the army, then in motion toward Pulaski, his purpose being to cross the Tennessee river near Bainbridge, if practicable. This organization was made up of the following brigades, viz.: Gen. W. S. Featherston, Colonel J. B. Palmer's, Strahl's brigade, commanded by Colonel C. W. Heiskell, Smith's brigade, commanded by Colonel Olmstead, of Georgia, Maney's, commanded by Colonel H. R. Field, with three of my own command, namely, Brigadier General D. H. Reynolds, Ector's, commanded by Colonel D. Coleman, and Quarles', commanded by Brigadier General George D. Johnston. When these brigades were collected I reported to Major General Forrest, as directed, and was not again under Lieutenant General Stewart's orders till the evening of the 27th, when I was directed by him, after crossing Shoal creek, two miles from Bainbridge, to take position at the ford and remain until further orders. * * *

The remnant of his command, after this campaign of unprecedented peril and hardships, reduced by its battles and exposure, worn and weary with its travel and its toil, numbered less when it

reached its rest near Tupelo, than one of its brigades had done eight months before."

The achievements of this infantry rear guard, in conjunction with the cavalry under Forrest, and which saved Hood's army from rout, if not annihilation, is thus modestly outlined by General Walthall. Its achievements if fully written, or if they had been accomplished and told by some others less deserving, would fill a volume. And yet, strange to relate, General Hood, in his book, "Advance and Retreat," and his official reports, fails to give properly, the brigades of infantry which constituted Walthall's rear guard. President Davis, in his work, "The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy," falls into the same error; and General Forrest in his report makes the same mistake.

On Walthall's promotion, the command of his old brigade devolved upon its senior colonels in turn and order of seniority, namely: On Colonel Samuel Benton of the 34th Mississippi, until his disability occasioned by wounds received in front of Atlanta, on July 22, 1864, and resulting in his death some eight or ten days thereafter in a hospital at Griffin, Georgia, to which place he had been carried for treatment; next upon Colonel W. F. Brantley of the 29th Mississippi regiment. These two officers were appointed brigadier generals on the same day, to-wit. July 26, 1864, and to rank from that date, Brantley's commission reaching him during the day of June 28th. Benton, however, was appointed the permanent, and Brantley the temporary brigadier of the old brigade, the latter to hold and exercise said rank only in the absence of, and conditioned upon the death or permanent disability of Benton. Benton having died before Brantley received his commission, the latter operated and was treated and recognized as a permanent commission from the date of its receipt by Brantley.

Benton was a man of marked intellectuality, fluent of speech, facile, and commanding in manner and action, and though never attaining the prominence at the bar which some of his associates reached, he was, nevertheless, recognized to be a good lawyer, with a bright future. Unlike his renowned uncle, the Hon. Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, he was a whig

in politics, and being well grounded in the philosophy of governmental polity, and likewise being a ready debater, he was once done the distinguished honor of being selected by the whigs of Holly Springs, to reply to Mr. (Honorable Jefferson) Davis, who had been advertised to, and did speak in that highly intellectual and cultured little city: and so well did Benton champion his side of the debate, that the great statesman and orator, took occasion to compliment his young opponent on his effort.

As a whig, Benton once (1852) represented the county of Marshall in the lower house of the state legislature. He likewise represented Marshall county in the "secession convention" of 1860, and voted for the ordinance which severed the political relations of Mississippi with the federal union.

True to his convictions, and proving his faith by his works, he organized a military company which responded to the first call of President Davis on Mississippi for troops. His company became a part of the original Ninth Mississippi infantry which, with the tenth, was organized at Pensacola, Fla., in April, 1861, with James R. Chalmers, colonel of the Ninth, and Moses Phillips, colonel of the Tenth, and brigaded together, first under General Ruggles, next General Gladden, and then under Chalmers. Those regiments being twelve months troops, Captain Benton, on the expiration of said term of service returned home and raised a regiment (the 34th Mississippi) of which he was elected colonel, and which after serving through Bragg's Kentucky campaign in a brigade commanded by Colonel T. M. Jones of the 27th Mississippi regiment, became one of the five famous regiments of Walthall's brigade.

Following the promotion of Walthall to a major-generalcy, Benton being the senior colonel in the brigade, succeeded to its command, and was in the command thereof when, in the battle of July 22, 1864, in front of Atlanta, he received the wounds resulting in his death a few days later. One of said wounds was made by a minnie-ball passing through the foot and necessitating the amputation of that limb; the other wound was

caused by a fragment of an exploded shell striking him over the heart. This last wound though at first not thought to be mortal was found to be on closer examination made in the hospital at Griffin, Ga., a fatal wound.

The remains of General Benton were temporarily buried by Captain Addison Craft and other personal friends, in a private burying plot of a friend of the captain's residing in Griffin. They remained thus interred for three years, when they were disinterred and removed to Holly Springs, Miss., where they were finally buried, and now rest beneath a somewhat pretentious monument with only the name, "Samuel Benton," inscribed thereon.

General Brantley—Benton's successor in command of the brigade—was a most successful business man, and a lawyer of marked attainment in his profession. He was admitted to the bar in 1852, at Greensboro, then the county seat of Choctaw, but now a small village in the county of Webster, Miss. He had a broad mental grasp, coupled with great personal courage, and the unyielding tenacity of purpose, which from the start brought him success in his chosen profession, and which assured him fame and fortune. So it was that at the commencement of hostilities between the states, he had attained rank among the members of the legal profession of Mississippi. He was a member of the secession convention of '60 and voted for the ordinance which severed Mississippi's political relations with the federal government. Soon after the establishment of the Confederate States government, he raised a company, which with other companies, formed the 15th, Mississippi infantry regiment. Later he was promoted its major, and commanded the regiment in the battle of Shiloh. On the organization of the 29th Mississippi regiment in the spring of 1862, he was elected its lieutenant colonel, and on the promotion of Walthall to a brigadier generalship, Brantley became colonel of said regiment.

As has been correctly said by another, Brantley "was a man of intense convictions, strong will, and some prejudices. Such men generally excite antagonism, but have strong friendships, and Brantley was no exception to the rule." Indeed, not a few of his men, and even officers, looked upon him as a martinet, unduly ex-

acting, and at times unnecessarily severe in his discipline. Certainly, it cannot be truthfully denied that he failed to secure and maintain the supreme confidence of the men and officers of his brigade—either in camps, on the march, or in action—and that he fell far short of Walthall in all the essentials of a perfect brigade commander, or in any sense a great commander of men in the field. The officers and men naturally contrasted the two, and always at the disadvantage of their last commander.

Coming safely through the war and resuming the practice of law with a most encouraging promise of the future, he was soon thereafter in an unguarded and unsuspecting moment foully assassinated by an unknown and never detected enemy. His remains were interred with Masonic and other civic honors, at Greensboro, Miss. 'Twas there that he achieved his first successes, and won honors in his profession; and there an appropriate monument commemorates his life work.

Brantley's brigade staff consisted of the following officers, viz.:

Captain John C. Harrison, assistant adjutant general.

Captain D. C. Sweatman, aid-de-camp.

Captain L. W. Magruder, ordnance officer.

Major Addison Craft, assistant quartermaster.

Major John Hooper, assistant commissary sergeant.

Shortly before the surrender of the "Army of Tennessee," then commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston, to-wit, on April 10th, 1865, at Smithfield, North Carolina, the five regiments that had composed Walthall's, and afterwards Brantley's brigade, were consolidated into one regiment, known and designated as the 24th Mississippi regiment. Thus consolidated it was officered by appointees for the purpose, viz.:

R. W. Williamson, formerly of the 30th Mississippi, colonel.

Clifton Dancy, formerly of the 34th Mississippi, lieutenant colonel.

George Govan, formerly of the 9th Mississippi, major.

This new 24th Mississippi regiment, with other consolidated regiments, constituted a new brigade under the command of General Brantley and thus continued until the surrender on the 26th

following—the army being then at and near Greensboro, North Carolina.³³

Though outside the specific scope of this sketch which was undertaken to record chiefly the history and service of the brigade whilst commanded by General Walthall, I nevertheless feel that I may with perfect propriety, yea, shall, add the reflection, that the same *esprit de corps* and chivalric bearing which characterized the brigade whilst under the immediate command of Walthall, continued to animate and inspire it under its succeeding commanders.

Thus, in the battles around Atlanta (July 22 and 28, 1864); at Jonesboro (Aug. 31–September 1st, 1864); and at Franklin Tenn. (Dec. 17, 1864), it, as Sharp's ("High-Pressure"), Adam's (John), Featherston's and Sear's brigades—all five Mississippi commands—was, throughout, markedly conspicuous. And whilst on the last named field, Sharp's captured and passed through the "locust grove," and Adams fell with many of his men on the enemy's breastworks, Brantley's brigade assaulted the works to their left front, capturing and occupying the ditch in front thereof, and whilst there, and unable to scale the works, received and withstood a galling and incessant fire from a portion of the enemy who had come out of their works on Brantley's left, and opened an enfilade fire on his line. The ordeal was trying; but, with Spartan bravery Brantley's men held their ground until the battle was over. With the coming of the morning, General Stephen D. Lee—their corps commander—rode up and viewing the scene with its dead and wounded of the night before, took off his hat, and with tears in his eyes, and in tremulous voice said: "Men! I have read of the deeds of the 'old guard,' I have witnessed the valor of the Army of Northern Virginia, but I have never read of, or witnessed anything comparable in valor to the scene before me, and your deeds of last night—where troops remained steady and unawed under an enfilade fire, and though being killed by the hundreds held their ground; and I now and here promise you that so long as my voice has influence with the commander of the army, Brantley's brigade shall never lose its identity." General Lee in so far as events, and the depleted condition of the army

justified, kept his word; and when the army of Tennessee was in North Carolina just prior to the final surrender, the then fragments of the old brigade were ordered to be consolidated with and absorbed by another and stronger brigade, General Lee went in person to General Johnston, and by his appeal and influence averted the consummation of the contemplated order of consolidation, as previously determined on. Thus, whilst many other old brigades were ultimately broken up and their fragments distributed among different commands, the regiments of Brantley's brigade, though finally consolidated—as previously stated—preserved their brigade identity to the end.³³

Owing to his prominence, and the fact of his having been the corps commander of the "old brigade" during his entire service as lieutenant general with the Army of Tennessee, I consider it appropriate to record an encyclopedic sketch of the military and civic life of General Stephen Dill Lee—the now second in rank of the surviving Confederate officers.

He was born in Charleston, South Carolina, September 22, 1833, his parents being Dr. Thomas and Caroline (Allison) Lee. He graduated at West Point in 1854; was 1st lieutenant 4th artillery United States army, 1854-61, and for three years regimental quartermaster of same.

On the formation of the Confederate government, Lieutenant Lee resigned from the United States army, and being commissioned a captain in the Confederate States army was assigned to duty on the staff of General Beauregard, at Charleston; in conjunction with Colonel Chestnut of the same staff, he bore General Beauregard's message to, and demand of Major Robert Anderson for the surrender of Fort Sumter; as also, the final notification of the opening of the Confederate batteries on the fort. His service in the Confederate army covered the grades of captain, major, lieutenant colonel, colonel, brigadier general, major general and lieutenant general. He took part in the battles around Richmond, in 1862; in 2d Manassas, Sharpsburg, Vicksburg campaign; commanded Confederates at Chickasaw Bayou, Miss., where he defeated the Federals under Sherman; and in the battles of Tupelo, Miss.; Atlanta and Jonesboro, Ga.; Franklin,

Nashville, and in North Carolina under Johnston—in all of which he rendered conspicuous service.

At 2d Manassas, and again at Sharpsburg, the artillery under his command saved the day, and crowned him victor. Thus when President Davis called on General R. E. Lee to name his best artillery officer for promotion and service at Vicksburg, Miss., under Pemberton, Colonel S. D. Lee's name was given, whereupon he was promptly commissioned a brigadier general and ordered to Mississippi. After being exchanged as a Vicksburg prisoner, he was appointed major general and placed in command of the military department of Alabama, Mississippi and East Louisiana, and was in command of the cavalry when in June, 1864, he was appointed lieutenant general. After fighting the battle of Harrisburg, Miss., was ordered to Atlanta to assume command of Hood's old corps.

Mr. Davis said of him after the war, that he was equally a success as a commander of artillery, infantry and cavalry.

February 9th, 1865, he was married to Regina L. Harrison, daughter of the distinguished lawyer, Hon. Jas. T. Harrison of Columbus, Miss. She was one of the most brilliant and accomplished ladies of the Southland. She departed this life, October 3d, 1903, leaving but one child, Hon. Blewett H. Lee of Chicago, Ill., who is assistant general counsel of the Illinois Central R. R. Co.

Immediately following the close of the war General Lee was a cotton planter; in 1870 was state senator; 1880-1899 was president of Mississippi agricultural and mechanical college; 1890, member of the Mississippi constitutional convention. Since 1899, has been one of the commissioners of the "Vicksburg military (U. S.) park"; and was elected by the U. C. V. reunion at its session at Nashville, Tenn., in 1904, to succeed the lamented General John B. Gordon, as its commander. The last two positions he is at present occupying, and most acceptably and enthusiastically filling.

Some years ago the degree of LL. D. was conferred on him by the Tulane University of Louisiana.

CHAPTER 10

Anecdotes of the War—Oliver Wilds, the Young Wounded Soldier at Shiloh—Charles Timberlake, or "Cub," the Colored Carrier of the Columbus Newspaper.

As it will accord with the experience of many old soldiers who actively participated in the trying scenes of the war, there were many pleasant incidents to grow out of its hardships and carnage; and I feel that I will be indulged the privilege of recording one of the many such coming within the range of my own experience, and only realized in its completeness long after the close of the war, namely: During a lull in the firing on the morning of the first day's (April 6th, 1862) fighting at Shiloh, the 10th Mississippi regiment (of which the author of this sketch was adjutant). of Chalmers' brigade, Wither's division, Bragg's corps—being the extreme right regiment in the front line and nearest the Tennessee river—was temporarily halted, and just before the advance movement was resumed, the colonel (Robert A. Smith) sent his adjutant to the left of the regiment with an order to one of the captains, and whilst on his way he was observed and spoken to by a young soldier who proved to be a private in the "Natchez Southern" of said regiment, seated by and resting against a tree, with his pantaloons rolled up above the knee and bleeding profusely from a wound just before received, at or near the knee. The adjutant responded to the appeal to try to stop the flow of blood. Taking out his handkerchief and using it as a tourniquet, he called upon the lieutenant colonel (Bullard) who was near by, to direct the litter-bearers to come and carry the young soldier to the rear. In course of time, the adjutant's connection with the regiment ceasing by reason of his promotion to brigade staff duty, he never again saw the young soldier during the war, and though not knowing of his subsequent fate, the old adjutant often during

the silent hours of repose, recalled the pallid features and bleeding wound of the young soldier boy from Natchez. Time rolled on without hearing from, or learning of the subsequent fate of the young soldier, until at the second reunion of the "Confederate Veterans of Mississippi," held at Natchez in the month of October, 1891; and then by the merest circumstance, the old adjutant was given a clue to the identity, whereabouts, and the nearby presence of the once young soldier boy. It occurred in this wise. Seated with Governor Stone—the then commander of the "Mississippi Veterans"—in the vestibule of the then new and elegant "Natchez" hostelry, soon after the adjournment of the day's session of the "grand camp," the old adjutant was presented by a resident veteran with a copy of a "memorial souvenir," being a pamphlet containing a "roll of the several military organizations which entered the service of the Confederate States of America from the city of Natchez, and Adams county, Mississippi."

Turning over and examining its interesting pages, the adjutant was reminded of the incident of the young soldier boy of the sixties; and desiring to learn his subsequent fate, so remarked to General Will T. Martin, and the other Natchez veterans then present. They promptly, and in unison replied: "Why, that was Oliver N. Wilds." Thereupon, we turned to the roll of the "Natchez Southerns" and there found the record: "Wilds, O. N., wounded, disabled, Shiloh, 6, 1862, discharged." Promptly, the old adjutant asked: "Is he dead or alive? If alive, where does he live, and what has been his subsequent career?" "Alive," was the response in unison, and further, "he was at the meeting this morning, and will attend the banquet tonight. He lives just across the river in Louisiana; is a prosperous business man, and in every respect happy and contented with his fortune and surroundings." The adjutant expressing his agreeable surprise and delight, and evidencing a desire to see his quondam young soldier, one of the company went out and soon returned accompanied by Mr. Wilds. Instantly, the picture photographed upon the memory of the adjutant more than twenty-nine years before, and until then remaining so vivid, vanished as he saw standing before him, not the young soldier of '62, pallid and bleeding, but a mid-

dle-aged, ruddy, and vigorous man with full beard, and without a feature to remind him of the former young and bleeding soldier boy. As he appeared on this latter occasion before the former adjutant, he was like him, a grandfather. Truly, there are resurrection days before, as well as after death; and that occasion proved its possibility.

Another incident, but of an altogether different character, is worthy of being perpetuated for its quaint humor, and surprising wit, viz.:

At the intersection of Main and Market streets in the city of Columbus, Miss., there has been for more than fifty years, a noble artesian well, from which a perpetual stream of cool and palatable water possessing rare chemical properties steadily flows, and which never fails to attract the eye of the passing stranger. At this well one morning about the close of the war, a town darkey, Charles Timberlake, familiarly called "Cub," then as now a "carrier" or, and general utility man of one of our city papers, and universally respected for his uniform politeness and innate kindness of heart, was standing with cup in hand, when a pompous and self-assertive United States colored soldier in full uniform, just arrived with his regiment to garrison this city, stopped in passing, and "shying his castor" with overbearing truculence, and intoxicated with verbosity of his own importance, demanded of "Cub" the use of his cup for a drink of water. After the colored soldier in uniform had sufficiently quaffed of the satiating stream, he smacked his lips and with elaborate fullness, and in a satisfied and self-assuming tone of voice, and whilst "Cub" was mentally sizing him up, said:

"I golly, darkey, that water's good, show's you bo'n."

"Cub," realizing that his interlocutor, though having on the federal uniform, was just out of his master's cotton field where he belonged, and entertaining a supreme contempt for him and his kind, threw himself back on his dignity and with an air of great importance, replied:

"In course hit's good; hit's boun'ter be good, for hit come 4,000 foot from der intrils of der yearth, and hit's been scanderlized by

der bes' gymnas from der State Onaversary, and w'atever think he say got in it?"

"I dunno," the bumptuous, but by this time nonplussed and somewhat subdued soldier darkey, after swallowing another cupful of water, and smacking his lips, replied:

Realizing that his time had come to show his importance, "Cub," with assumed superior learning, gravely said:

"Well, Nigger, I'll tell you. Dere is ten grains oxhide gas, ten grains cowbonic gas, ten grains foxforus acid and seventy grains hydrophobia in dat water, and you know hit boun'ter be good; dat' a tease yer well, you bet," and "Cub" walked away leaving the soldier darkey shaking his head and meditating. Finally, the latter remarked, "Hit do taste powful ob der raw-hide."

CHAPTER 11

Roster of Field and Staff of 34th Mississippi Regiment.—Major Mason.—Captain Falconer.—Correspondence of the Adjutant and Inspector General's office as to their rank.

It was the original purpose of the author to give in the appendix hereto, a roster of the field, staff and company officers of each regiment of the brigade, and noting the dates of the respective promotions. To this end, I had prepared from the brigade books a reasonably accurate roster, but being informed that in the "record and pension division" of the war department at Washington under the immediate charge of General F. C. Ainsworth, United States army, the original rosters captured at the fall of Richmond are on file, and will ultimately be published, as provided by act of congress, approved February 25, 1903,* I forego the otherwise pleasant duty as first designed and purposed by me, and will accordingly give only a roster of the field and staff of the 34th Mississippi regiment. This is given for the reason only, that upon a contest for the majority of said regiment made whilst the brigade was at Shelbyville, Tenn., in the spring of 1863, the war department made an all important, controlling and decisive ruling, affecting and vacating hundreds, if not thousands of official positions that had, from time to time, been filled by appointment of military commanders in the field, without warrant or authority of law.

*The Act of Congress referred to, enacted as follows: "That under the direction of the secretary of war the chief of the record and pension office shall compile, from such official records as are in the possession of the United States and from such other authentic records as may be obtained by loan from the various states and other official sources, a complete roster of the officers and enlisted men of the Union and Confederate armies."

ROSTER OF FIELD AND STAFF OF THE 34TH
MISSISSIPPI REGIMENT.

Organized at Holly Springs, Miss., April 19, 1862, and Numbering 779 Officers and Enlisted Men.

Samuel Benton of Marshall county, colonel. By original election, was promoted brigadier-general, July 26, 1864, and died of wounds received in battle in front of Atlanta, July 28, 1864, whilst in command of the brigade and before receiving commission as brigadier. His death occurred in hospital at Griffin, Ga.

Daniel B. Wright, of Tippah county, lieutenant colonel. By original election. Wounded at Perryville. Resigned in May, 1863.

A. T. Mason, major. Appointed by General Bragg and filled the office until March, 1863, when the war department vacated the office and ordered an election to fill it. He was wounded at Perryville and was permitted to retire from the service. (See note to this roster.)

W. G. Pegram, of Tippah county, major. By promotion to fill vacancy, vice A. T. Mason, retired. Wounded at Chickamauga. Resigned in 1864.

Thomas A. Falconer of Marshall county, major captain of Company F, would have succeeded to the majority on the retirement of A. T. Mason, had it not been that the captain just before said retirement, had resigned his commission as captain. He, however, made application for reinstatement, and promotion to the majority. The application was disapproved; whereupon Captain W. G. Pegram of Company A, was promoted major. (See note to this roster.)

Thomas W. Miller of Tippah county, adjutant. Was captured in battle of Lookout Mountain, and made his escape whilst en route to Rock Island prison, by leaping from the car window whilst the train was under full speed in northern

Ohio. He was killed near Atlanta, Ga., August 3, 1864, in a brush with the enemy. His body was found inside the enemy's works.

A. T. Scruggs, of Marshall county, surgeon. Was soon detailed for hospital duty.

John Y. Murry, of Tippah county, surgeon. Was captain of company A. At his request was assigned to duty as surgeon, vice Scruggs, detailed. He soon (in 1862) resigned.

W. M. Compton, of Marshall county, assistant surgeon. Commissioned in 1862, at Tupelo, Miss., and soon after transferred to the 2d Texas cavalry as surgeon thereof.

— Groves, of Alabama. Assigned to regiment, vice Murry, resigned.

Frank Ferrell, of Tippah county. Was of Company K, and passing the examining board, was assigned as assistant surgeon, vice Compton, resigned.

John A. Hooper, of Marshall county, A. C. S. Promoted in 1863, to brigade A. C. S.

L. Rogan, lieutenant and A. C. S.

H. A. Stubbs, of Tippah county, A. Q. M. Remained such to the close of the war.

Clifton Dancy, of Marshall county, sergeant major. He was promoted by regular gradations through the commissioned offices of company H, of which he was a member. Only a few days preceding the surrender, and when the regiments of Brantley's brigade were consolidated into one regiment, numbered 24, he was appointed lieutenant colonel of it.

This regiment was in the various skirmishes and fights around Corinth just subsequent to the battle of Shiloh and prior to its evacuation by General Beauregard. It was at that time in the brigade of General Patton Anderson. Together with the 24th, 27th and 30th Mississippi regiments it was conspicuous for its gallantry in the battle of Perryville, Ky., October 8, 1862. It went into that battle as a part of Anderson's division, and in a brigade temporarily commended by Col. T. M.

Jones of the 27th Mississippi regiment with 310 rank and file. It came out with 170, its losses being 140 officers and men. Every field officer was wounded.

Though this regiment was not organized until the spring of 1862, many of its officers had previously served a twelve months term with the old 9th Mississippi regiment, and had been discharged at the end of their said term of service. Its colonel, Samuel Benton, was captain of Company D in the old 9th Mississippi regiment.

Captain Thomas A. Falconer, father of Major Kinlock Falconer, Assistant Adjutant General Army of Tennessee, was a private, as were also his sons, Kinlock and Howard, in company B of said regiment. The father had been discharged at Pensacola, Fla., in the fall of 1861, on account of old age, and was complimented in general orders from army headquarters for his patriotism and self sacrifice.

Clifton Dancy, respectively sergeant major 34th, lieutenant and captain of Company H of said regiment, and lieutenant colonel of the consolidated 24th Mississippi regiment, had been a private in Company D of the old 9th Mississippi regiment. And Captains Rogers and Wilkins, and many others of this, the 34th Mississippi regiment, had belonged to the old 9th during its first twelve months term of enlistment.

Referring to the office of major of this regiment when supposed to be filled by A. T. Mason, and after his retirement, claimed by Captain Falconer, the adjutant and inspector general's department, Richmond, Va., refused to commission either, or in any manner recognize their, or either of their, claims to the office, for the reason given that the first named claimant was merely an appointee of General Bragg; whilst the other had, previous to his claim of right to the majority, resigned his captaincy. As shown by the following communications from the adjutant and inspector general's department addressed to Colonel Samuel Benton, commanding 34th Mississippi regiment, and to General Walthall, neither of said applicants was ever major by any rightful authority.

“CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
War Department,
Adj't and Inspector Gen'l's Office,
RICHMOND, Va., May 12th, 1863.

Colonel:

Paragraph 111 general orders No. 38 and I. G. office, current series, is simply declaratory. There has never been any law or custom, which vested the power of appointment in military commanders. The offices to which you allude are therefore vacant, the department itself being without authority to confirm appointments, where elections should have been held. The vacancy in the majority of your regiment is an original one, to be filled in the same manner as the colonel and lieutenant colonel. The order did not make the law, which has existed alike in the old and new service.

The incumbents cannot properly receive pay therefore for services which were not legally rendered by them.

By command of the Secretary of War.

Very respectfully, colonel,

Your obedient servant,

(Sg) SAM'L W. MELTON,
Major and A. A. General.

To
Col. Sam'l Benton,
Comd'g 34th Miss. Reg't,
Wither's Division, A. of Tenn.

So depleted from casualties in battle and other causes incident to the service had this regiment become before the close of the war, that at the date of its surrender with the army of Tennessee at Greensboro, N. C., it was commanded by a captain: that captain being the gallant and efficient Thomas Spight, the present able representative in congress from the 2d congressional district of Mississippi.

CHAPTER 12

Mrs. Gen. E. C. Walthall.—Mrs. Gen. J. Patton Anderson.—
Brigadier General W. H. Lytle.

But this incomplete sketch would be more imperfect, were it to close without introducing another important member of the brigade. It would be like the artist leaving his unfinished picture in his studio for other hands to complete, and who perhaps were not aware of his particular conception of genius that was to crown it a masterpiece. Hence, I know in advance, that I will be pardoned for introducing Mrs. Walthall to the readers of this sketch.

From the day she made her first visit to the General ("My Edward," as she familiarly called him), at Camp Autry, near Shelbyville, Tenn., in February, 1863, she was a constant and indispensable integral part of her husband's brigade, and shared with him his honors.

Having no children to claim her attention or time at home, she was left free to, and did reign in her husband's camp with the cheerful vivacity which threw a charm over the surroundings of the soldier, and gave tone, character, and an atmosphere of orderly refinement, not only to her husband's immediate military family, but also, by her native graces and kindness of heart, so endeared herself to the officers and men of the brigade, as to cause them to vie in meriting the approving smiles of their second in command. Indeed, the gentle, queenly graces of her intercourse with, and womanly bearing towards all, impressed her personality upon them, whilst her affable disposition and captivating manners, won for her universal respect and esteem.

No one did, or could have taken greater interest in the welfare of soldiers, or exulted more in their fame and chivalric deeds,

than did Mrs. Walthall. Indeed, she considered their camp her home, and each member of the brigade as a part of her household.

It was only when an engagement was imminent, that she would yield reluctant consent to be separated from the brigade. At such times she would retire to the quiet home of her *quondam* friend of girlhood days, Mrs. Dudley M. DuBose, a married daughter of General Robert Toombs, at Washington, Ga.,³⁴ but to remain there only until word reached her that it was safe for her to return to the army.

On the retreat of our army to Chattanooga in the latter part of June, 1863, Mrs. Walthall came near being cut off from the command and captured. Two of her companions, Mrs. General J. Patton Anderson and her mother, were intercepted and fell into the hands of the federals, and were detained at Bridgeport, Ala.: but, during their short detention it was ascertained who they were, and why detained, and as it resulted, were most courteously treated by the officer in command at that place, and as soon as practicable were sent into our lines under an escort furnished by that gentlemanly, courtly and gallant Federal soldier, Brigadier General William H. Lytle (author of the beautiful verses on the dead Egyptian queen, captioned in the words of Shakespeare, "I am dying, Egypt, dying"), and who, unfortunately for American literature, and exemplar of refined and chivalric bearing, was prematurely killed in the battle of Chickamauga.

Remembering the kindness and the many and chivalric courtesies extended by General Lytle to General Anderson's wife and mother when detained by the Federals at Bridgeport, the latter, in front of whose division lines General Lytle was killed on September 19th, 1863, learning that his body had been rifled by some of our men, took it upon himself to make personal investigation of the rumored facts. Finding them to be true, he apprehended the guilty parties, and securing most of the valuables taken from the body, sent them with the body of the dead general, under a flag of truce, to General Rosecrans at Chattanooga.

With the exception named above, Mrs. Walthall, by the prudent foresight of her husband, was spared the inconveniences in-

cident to being in the least danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Yet, her experiences with the brigade—both in camp and on the march—might be expanded by the romancer into a volume full of picturesque and interesting incidents.

Mrs. Walthall, *nee* Mary L. Jones, was born and reared in Mecklinburg county, Va. As a young lady, she spent much of her time in the fashionable society of Washington City, and at the then famous summer resorts of that state; and whenever and wherever she made her appearance, she was recognized as a belle of the place and occasion.

In 1860 she was married to General Walthall, then a rising young lawyer at the Mississippi bar, and a most successful district attorney for the tenth judicial district in said state. She died at the home of her niece and adopted daughter, Mrs. John B. Ross, in Memphis, Tenn., December 11th, 1898, and was buried by the side of her illustrious husband, in the graveyard at Holly Springs, Mississippi.

I cannot gain my consent to close this imperfect "sketch" without making special, but brief mention of a few of my comrades. And while conscious of freedom from even seeming invidiousness, yet I feel embarrassed in singling out any of my comrades, when every man of the brigade, from the highest line officer to the youngest private, inspired by the presence of their brigade chief, discharged their every duty on all occasions.

There was Charles B. Howry, 1st lieutenant of company "A," 29th Mississippi regiment, Walthall's old regiment, now and continuously since the commencement of the second term of Cleveland's administration, an associate justice United States court of claims, Washington, D. C., as knightly a soldier as ever drew blade. In the bloody battle of Franklin, Tenn., he was dangerously wounded and had to be taken from the field. I refrain from giving free expression to my admiration for this gallant old comrade. He is my personal friend, and I rarely meet him that my heart does not go out to him in memory of our army comradeship. Lest I appear tedious in characterizing him, I will only add, that never a duty involving courage and bold enterprise

confronted him that Charles B. Howry did not nobly undertake and gallantly surmount it.

His company ("A," 29th Mississippi) associate and lifelong friend, now the Rev. E. A. Smith, chaplain of Walthall's (U. C. V.) post bellum brigade, is a noble, self-sacrificing comrade and devoted to every interest of the brigade. Indeed, his soldierly, yea, Christian fellowship with each and every member of the "old command," induced him lately to place in pamphlet form a substantial, though necessarily imperfect "record of Walthall's brigade." He was, though quite young, a gallant soldier of "the lost cause," as was attested by the dangerous wound he received on the ensanguined field of Chickamauga. The ball which wounded him tore through his right lung, passed through his body, and injured him for life. God bless and preserve him to a ripe old age of usefulness.

Captain Thomas Spight, company "B," 34th Mississippi regiment, was another of those brave, chivalric comrades of the "old brigade," who lives to be honored by all who know him. He is now, and has been since his election for the unexpired term in the fifty-fifth congress, a member of that body in the "lower house," representing the 2d congressional district of Mississippi. He was the youngest captain in the brigade. He participated in nearly all the battles fought by the Army of Tennessee following that of Shiloh. He was severely wounded on the 22d of July, 1864, near Atlanta, Ga., but recovering, reported for duty with his company at the earliest practicable day, and was in command of the remnant of his regiment, when on April 26th, 1865, the Army of the Tennessee, under command of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, surrendered at Greensboro, North Carolina. God spare this gallant soldier for a prolonged term of usefulness in the body he is now so ably representing.

And what can I, without feeling, say of my dear departed friend, comrade and associate on the brigade staff—first lieutenant George M. Govan? Indeed, nothing that I could write would appear extravagant to those who knew him. Not only have our families been intimately associated since the war of the 60's, but our mothers—both long since dead—were not only

schoolmates, but class-mates, yea, closer—they were roommates at the then noted female college in Warrenton, North Carolina, presided over by —— Mordecai, the Jewish scholar and instructor, and who later moved to and died in Mobile, Ala. In the days of the war, when George's mother with her family were refugees from their home in Holly Springs, and she a welcomed guest at the home of my mother, it was refreshing to hear the two old ladies talk of their schoolmate days—when as recognized by all they were maiden beauties, and admired for their intelligence. Yea! it was beautiful, indeed charming, to hear them address each other in their familiar way of old, as "Mary" and "Martha."

Reared in the same town—Holly Springs, Walthall and George were—as were their families—bosom friends from early boyhood. Not to be too explicit (but I know whereof I speak), they came near being brothers-in-law; and had they, the name of Miss Bettie Govan would have become only a cherished memory.

George was a military man from taste as shown by his fondness for commanding and drilling men even in the piping times of peace. During the Spanish-American war, he was appointed by Governor McLaurin, colonel of the 1st Mississippi regiment enlisted for that service, and his regiment was ordered to rendezvous at Chickamauga, near Chattanooga—the field where thirty-five years previous he had distinguished himself as an officer on the staff of the brilliant Walthall. It is painful to record that during his said duties he contracted a deep-seated cold, which soon after the declaration of peace—to-wit, on the 14th day of April, 1899, and whilst under treatment in New Orleans, terminated in death.

In 1876 he was elected and served as clerk of the Mississippi house of representatives; was a member of the house of representatives from Amite county during the legislative session of 1884, and from January 14th, 1886, to January 20th, 1896, was secretary of state of Mississippi.

Peace to your ashes, my gallant comrade and friend.

CONCLUSION

And now having, in an imperfect manner, recorded the brilliant achievements of the "old brigade," let me, in concluding, record a reflection as to the present and future duties of that gallant body of men and their associate soldiery of the Confederacy. Its true sentiment is embodied in the language of the patriotic and eloquent Bishop Charles B. Galloway of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, who has aptly said: "In some things, I believe in the 'policy of the sponge'. The highest spirituality has a genius for forgetting, as well as forgiving. We may cherish the love of principles, but the memories of passion and conflict ought to die forever. If the late honored President (McKinley), of this great nation, himself a gallant Federal soldier, who had braved the storm of war, and felt the wild shock of battle, could so magnanimously suggest that the government should tenderly care for the graves of the Confederate dead, surely we * * * as 'gallant Confederate soldiers,' ought not stir afresh the divine embers of strife. * * *" To which I will add that, really and in truth, when reduced to its final analysis it will be found that this needless crimination and recrimination among opposing soldiers of the civil war, is confined to a few military anachronisms, post-bellum and blatant heroes, whose "courage manifests itself in crowing after all danger has passed and the smoke of battle has cleared away."

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A.

Notes to the Foregoing Sketch.

- Note 1, p. 486: See Memoir of S. S. Prentiss, edited by his brother, vol. 2, pp. 71-113, where the speech in defense of Judge Wilkinson appears.
- Note 2, p. 487: See *Ib.*, vol. 1, pp. 265-316, where the speech in the "contested election case," appears.
- Note 3, p. 498: See the report of Brigadier-General J. Patton Anderson, in Serial No. 29, p. 762, "War of the Rebellion."
- Note 4, p. 502: See Brigadier-General H. R. Anderson's report, in Serial No. 6, p. 460, *Ib.*
- Note 5, p. 522: See report of General J. Patton Anderson, referred to in Note 3; wherein the following mention of Colonel T. M. Jones appears on p. 764 in brackets thus: "(The evening before—referring to the battle of Murfreesboro—the colonel of the regiment, Colonel Thomas M. Jones, had gone to the rear complaining of being unwell, and had not returned during the action)." At the opening of the battle of Perryville, Ky. (October 8th, 1862), Colonel Jones as senior colonel, was in command of a brigade composed of his (27th Mississippi), and other Mississippi regiments. His conduct on that field is said to have been absolutely shameful. In fact, it was the common talk among the officers and men of his brigade, that when the firing be-

came severe, he sought protection in a ditch, and left his brigade to take care of itself as best it could. And that when all danger had passed, he rejoined and resumed command of the brigade. This was the first and only instance of a Mississippi brigade being deserted by its commander under fire during the entire four years of war. But, be it said to the credit of Mississippi, Colonel Jones was not a Mississippian, nor was he elected by Mississippians to command them. Colonel Jones was a "West Pointer," and as such was presumed, until "his mettle was tried," that he would act the Mississippian in time of trial; but he did not, and hence his removal from command of Mississippians.

Note 6, p. 526: Though graduated from West Point, Liddell was an officer illy-fitted, by reason of undue excitability, to personally command troops in time of action. He resided in Arkansas, and at his own request made whilst the army was at Dalton, Ga., he was transferred to the Trans-Mississippi department. After which, Colonel Daniel C. Govan, senior colonel of Liddell's brigade, on February 5, 1864, to rank from December 29, 1863, was promoted Brigadier-General to command it. The latter was, in every respect, capable, and competent, indeed, proved himself one of the most superb brigade commanders in Hardee's corps; which is equivalent to saying, one of the best in the army. He is yet living in Memphis, Tenn. Liddell died in New Orleans, La., several years subsequent to the close of the war.

Note 7, p. 526: General Walker treated his staff officers with the utmost consideration and deferential cour-

tesy. Looking upon himself as superior to the ordinary commander, his vanity was such as to prompt him to treat his staff, because of their personal association with him, as likewise superior to the ordinary subaltern. Though an irritable dyspeptic, he was brave as Julius Caesar. He was killed at the head of his division whilst bravely leading it into battle near Atlanta, Ga., on July 22d, 1864, and a fine monumental shaft, inclosed with an iron rail fence, marks the spot where he fell.

At the breaking out of the war, he was lieutenant-colonel in the United States Army, and resigned his commission to accept service in the army of his native (Ga.) state. He and Lieutenant-Colonel Hardee (W. H.), were appointed by Governor Joe Brown, colonels respectively, of the first two regiments raised in Georgia for the Civil War. He was frequently mentioned with favorable comment by General Winfield Scott in his reports of his campaigns in Mexico, 1847-8, and once characterized by him, "as the bravest of the brave."

Note 8, p. 529: See report of Brigadier-General Walthall, in Serial No. 51, pp. 271-276, "War of the Rebellion."

Note 9, p. 530: See *Ibid*, p. 275.

Note 10, p. 531: *Ibid*, pp. 277-287.

Note 11, p. 532: See charges and specifications set out in Serial No. 51, p. 310, "War of the Rebellion."

Note 12, p. 532: See correspondence covering charges and specifications appearing in *Ibid*, pp. 292-313.

Note 13, p. 533: See charges and specifications with explanatory correspondence appearing in *Ibid*, pp. 55-70.

Note 14, p. 533: See General Bragg's letter—Appendix "C" hereto—to the author of this "sketch," under date of February 8th, 1873, written with lead pencil on legal cap paper,—the original of which is on file in the archives of the "Southern Historical Society" at Richmond, Va. It was filed there with other letters of General Bragg to the author, and along with other valuable war papers, solicited by Rev. J. Wm. Jones, the then secretary of said society. A copy of said letter is filed as an appendix to this "sketch." Dr. Polk, of New York, a son and staff officer of the lamented general, a short while after the appearance in the "Southern Historical Society Papers" of the "Cursory Sketch of General Bragg's Campaign," contributed by the author, wrote for a copy of said letter. He was informed where the letter was, and given permission to write for, and obtain a copy thereof. Said letter appears *in extenso* on pp. 308 to 313, both inclusive, with comments of Doctor Polk on pp. 306–7, of his work on "Leonidas Polk"—Bishop and General, Vol. 2.

Note 15, p. 536: See General Bragg's letter, Appendix D.

Note 16, p. 537: General J. K. Jackson was an accomplished and highly educated gentleman, and of commanding personal appearance. He was a splendid officer in camps, but was deficient in the necessary element of a good commander in time of action. He died February 22, 1866.

Note 17, p. 537: And for which Boker received the doubtful honor of United States Minister to Turkey, during the administration of President Grant.

Note 18, p. 538: Major-General Stevenson was on top of Look-out Mountain with six (6) brigades at his disposal. See Bragg's report in Serial No. 55, p. 664, "War of the Rebellion." Though a West Pointer, and an officer (Major, I believe,) in the "old service" at the breaking out of the war, he never impressed me with possessing any superior military qualifications. Physically he was small of stature, unprepossessing in appearance, and as far as my observation extended, was correspondingly indifferent as a commander of troops in action. He died August 15, 1888.

Note 19, p. 539: Brigadier-General (now United States Senator from Alabama) E. W. Pettus, in a letter dated Selma, Ala., January 3d, 1888, addressed to General Walthall, United States Senator, Washington City, and attached to page 59, of the book containing the correspondence between General Walthall and Colonel Daniel R. Hundley, 31st Alabama Infantry, and which book has been placed by me in the department of archives and history, at Jackson, Mississippi. In the letter referred to, General Pettus applies to General J. K. Jackson, the name, or sobriquet—so familiar in the army—of "*Mudwall*" and which became his recognized pseudonym.

Note 20, p. 539: For General Walthall's report, see "War of the Rebellion," Serial No. 55, p. 692. For General Moore's report, see "War of the Rebellion," Serial No. 55, p. 704. For General Pettus' report, see "War of the Rebellion," Serial No. 55, p. 731.

Note 21, p. 539: Sale was the first captain of Company "K," 27th Mississippi regiment; later, he was de-

tailed to serve as assistant judge advocate-general on the staff of General Bragg, commanding the Army of Tennessee; and still later at the time referred to, was a member of the "military court" for Hardee's corps; and yet later, and until the close of the war, was "military secretary" on the personal staff of General Bragg with headquarters at Richmond, whilst that general was acting in the capacity of "military advisor" to the president. Sale was a distinguished lawyer at the Aberdeen (Mississippi) bar, before and after the war—being the senior member of the firm of "Sale & Phelan." Colonel Sale died at his home in Aberdeen, Miss., January 24, 1876, whilst in the full vigor of a noble manhood.

General Bragg, referring to Colonel Sale in his letter to me of February 8th, 1873, writes: "He was the most reliable and valuable staff officer I had, and is remembered with affection and gratitude."

Note 22, p. 539: See letter of General Pettus referred to in the next two preceding notes.

Note 23, p. 540: A portion of Hardee's corps, at that time commanded by Major-General Cleburne, was far in advance on our extreme right, and steadily driving the enemy's left flank under the command of Sherman.

Note 24, p. 540: See "War of the Rebellion," Serial No. 55, p. 665. Though General Bragg was first impressed that the break in our lines occurred on the right of Anderson's division, he later became satisfied that it was General Alexander W. Reynolds brigade, just arrived from service in East Tennessee, which first gave way and could not be rallied. See Gen-

eral Bragg's letter to me; also, the correspondence between ex-Governor James D. Porter, of Tennessee, and myself (November, 1883) filed as appendix "B", to this sketch.

Note 25, p. 541: See, "War of the Rebellion," Serial No. 55, p. 697.

Note 26, p. 542: Same reference as next preceding.

Note 27, p. 543: Said letter is with my file of army papers. Though the adjutant-general, the writer was not present for duty during the battles of Lookout Mt. and Missionary Ridge. At the time he was on "leave of absence," enjoying his "honeymoon" with his young, beautiful and accomplished bride, to whom, on the 16th day of the month (November), 1863, he was at Columbus, Miss., united in wedlock. During the author's absence on said leave, Lieutenant John C. Harrison was acting assistant adjutant-general of the brigade, and on duty as such.

Note 28, p. 545: Hon. B. H. Hill's address before the Georgia branch of the Southern Historical Society, at its meeting at Atlanta, February 18, 1874.

Note 29, p. 545: First, by resignation of General Bragg, and the temporary assignment of General Hardee, December 2d, 1863. Second, by the assignment of General Joseph E. Johnston to the command on December 27th, 1863. See, "War of the Rebellion," Serial No. 56, p. 873.

Note 30, p. 561: See letter of Hon. B. H. Hill, of Georgia, written at Atlanta, October 12, 1878, and appearing in vol. 2, "Rise and Fall of Confederate States," pp. 557-561.

Note 31, p. 564: See "Advance and Retreat," by General John B. Hood, pp. 89-95.

Note 32, p. 572: The application of General W. H. Jackson, commanding cavalry division, for my trans-

fer to his staff as adjutant-general, hung fire for some days, and until I could secure for General Walthall the services of an officer that would be acceptable to him as his assistant adjutant-general. This I finally did in the person of Captain Wm. R. Barksdale, then adjutant-general of Featherstone's brigade.

Note 33, p. 578, 579: At the time and place of the official announcement of said consolidations, there were present Lieutenant-General S. D. Lee, commanding the corps, Major-General D. H. Hill, commanding the division, and the commanders of the several brigades concerned, viz.: Sharp's, Brantley's, Manigault's and Johnston's (Geo. D.). In making announcement of the consolidated regiments, brigades and brigade commanders as then arranged, General Lee stated that the consolidated regiments of Sharp's and Brantley's would constitute one brigade to be commanded by Brigadier-General Sharp.

At this announcement, Sharp exclaimed, "I have the finest brigade in the Confederate Army."

Proceeding, General Lee announced that Manigault's and Johnston's brigades would constitute one brigade to be commanded by Brigadier-General Brantley. During this time Brantley remained as dumb as an oyster, and appearing deeply mortified, General Lee said to him: "General Brantley! General Sharp has expressed himself, what say you?" "I am not satisfied," replied General Brantley; and then proceeded to remind General Lee of his promise made him at Franklin. At which, Lee rejoined, "Do you

hold me to that promise?" "I do," replied Brantley. Thereupon, General Lee said: "I will stand to my promise," and then proceeded to make and announce the necessary changes in the reorganization to that end. In doing so, the brigades of Sharp and Manigault were placed together under the command of Brigadier-General Sharp; and the brigades of Brantley and Johnston, placed together, under the command of Brigadier-General Brantley.

The consolidated regiments of Sharp's old brigade retained the number, 9th Mississippi, and was officered as follows: W. C. Richards, colonel; S. S. Calhoon, lieutenant-colonel; J. M. Hicks, major.

Note 34, p. 591: Mrs. DuBose resided in Washington, Ga., the home town of her distinguished father—General Robert Toombs—during the war. Her husband—Mr. Dudley M. DuBose—was then living and did not die until after the close of the war. Mrs. DuBose and Mrs. Walthall were intimates, and each a reigning belle in Washington City (D. C.) prior to their respective marriages.

APPENDIX B.

*Correspondence Between Ex-Governor James D. Porter and
Major E. T. Sykes.*

See "Southern Historical Papers," Vol. 12, pages 45-48.

A VINDICATION OF TENNESSEE TROOPS.

Major Sykes, of Columbus, has been furnishing a series of interesting articles on Bragg's campaign in Kentucky, Tennessee and Georgia to the Southern Historical papers. In the last of these he quoted a statement from General Bragg which was to the effect that he, Bragg, always believed the disaster at Mission Ridge was due to the giving way of a brigade of troops from East Tennessee. The statement attracted much attention and led to the correspondence which we publish below, and which we copy from the Nashville *American* of last week:

The following interesting correspondence has been handed the *American* for publication:

NASHVILLE, Nov. 12, 1883.—Maj. E. T. Sykes—Dear Sir: In your sketch of General Bragg's campaigns, published in the November number of the Southern Historical papers, it is stated in note on page 496, in regard to the battle of Mission Ridge, that "Brig. Gen. Alexander W. Reynolds' brigade of East Tennesseans were the first to give way and could not be rallied."

I claim some familiarity with the distribution of the troops from this State, and I am positive that there was not a Tennessean in Reynolds' brigade. Will you please furnish me with your authority for the statement referred to?

Very respectfully,

JAS. D. PORTER.

COLUMBUS, MISS., Nov. 14, 1883.—Gov. James D. Porter, Nashville, Tenn.—Dear Sir: Yours of the 12th inst. reached me today, and I hasten to reply, saying that my authority for the statement in the note on page 496, of the November number, 1883, of the Southern Historical Society Papers, that Brig. Gen. Alexander W. Reynolds' brigade of East Tennesseans were the

first to give way at Mission Ridge and could not be rallied, is the late General Bragg. In the preparation of the sketch, General Bragg furnished me many of his private papers, "preserved from the general wreck," and wrote me several letters in answer to certain questions at different times asked of him. The statement to which you called my attention was furnished in answer to one of these questions, but did not reach me until the sketch had been published in our city paper, the *Columbus Index*, then edited by our mutual friend General J. H. Sharp. I appended the statement and other information furnished me by General Bragg in the form of notes, intending at some future time to elaborate more at length, but on the visit here last winter of General George D. Johnston, agent of the Southern Historical Papers, he heard of the papers in my possession and asked to read them, and then made the request that I furnish them to the society at Richmond. In the following (last) February I received from Rev. J. William Jones, secretary of the society, a very urgent letter requesting copies of my papers. Not having the time to make copies, I sent him the original papers by express on the 13th of February, last, and heard no more from them until I saw the first installment of the "sketch" published in the "Papers."

The original autograph letter of General Bragg, dated February 8, 1873, containing the statement of which you complain, is quite lengthy and written entirely with pencil, and, along with the other letters, is in the possession of the Southern Historical Society, where you can, I presume, by writing to the Secretary, obtain a copy. It was in a good state of preservation when forwarded by me.

In his report of the battle of Mission Ridge you will observe that General Bragg charges Anderson's division with first giving way and permitting the enemy to pierce our center; but you can see by reading the letter of February 8, 1873, a copy of which is now before me, he makes the following unqualified declaration:

"I have always believed our disasters at Mission Ridge were due immediately to misconduct of a brigade of Buckner's troops from East Tennessee, commanded by Brig. Gen. Alex. W. Reynolds, which first gave way and could not be rallied."

You will find in said letter many startling revelations which I would not, for obvious reasons, allude to in the "sketch."

So far as I personally know, this brigade may or may not have been composed of Tennesseans. It may not have had a single Tennessee regiment, or company, in it. I only state what was given to me as a fact by one who was presumed to know. I trust that you will consider me as desiring only to chronicle the truths

of history as furnished by what I considered the most reliable source of information, and certainly the general of the army should be presumed to be the best repository of all important information touching the army under his command. At least I feel that you will relieve me of any motive or disposition to misstate important facts, when it is seen that the statements I make are backed by the authority of the general commanding. I wished only to speak of the facts as they were represented to me, "nothing extenuate, or set down alight in malice."

Very respectfully,

E. T. SYKES.

NASHVILLE, Nov. 20, 1883.—Maj. E. T. Sykes—Dear Sir: I enclose a communication from General M. J. Wright, of the war records office, Washington, D. C., in which he gives the organization of Reynolds' brigade from the records of the Confederate States war department. You will see from this that there were no Tennessee troops in Reynolds' brigade. I also enclose a letter from General Frank Cheatham to the same effect, and to-day I was informed by ex-Governor John C. Brown that he had personal knowledge of the fact that Reynolds' brigade was formed of regiments from North Carolina, and Virginia. My own opinion is that Reynolds' brigade was in no wise responsible for the disaster at Mission Ridge; but you will understand that my object just now is to ask you to examine the evidence I furnish and to make the correction due to Tennessee.

Very respectfully,

JAS. D. PORTER.

COLUMBUS, MISS., Nov. 22, 1883.—Governor James D. Porter, Nashville, Tenn.—Dear Sir: Your letter of the 20th inst., with inclosures, reached me to-day, and as requested therein, I hasten to reply. From your statement, fully indorsed and supported by the statements of Generals Cheatham and Wright and ex-Governor John C. Brown, all of whom commanded Tennessee troops under General Bragg, I am convinced that there was no Tennessee organization in the brigade of General Alexander W. Reynolds during the Mission Ridge fight, or at any time. The evidence furnished by you and them make it certain that Reynolds' brigade was composed of the fifty-fourth and sixty-third Virginia, fifty-eighth and sixtieth North Carolina infantry regiments; hence, the statement in the note on page 496, of the November number, 1883, of the Southern Historical Society Papers, that "Brig. Gen. Alexander W. Reynolds' brigade of East

Tennesseeans were the first to give way and could not be rallied," does injustice to the gallant troops from your State.

The authority for the statement in the note referred to is given in my letter to you of the 14th inst., which in justice to us both should be published along with this. It may be that General Bragg intended to convey the idea that Reynolds' brigade had just been serving in East Tennessee under Buckner, and had recently joined him; but I submit that his language, quoted in mine of the 14th instant, conveys the impression that was made use of by me.

Not wishing to do injustice, or be guilty of a seeming wrong to any one, I take pleasure in authorizing you to make such use of our correspondence as will put the question in its true light.

Yours truly,

E. T. SYKES.

Copies of communications referred to in foregoing letter of Governor Porter, of November 20th, 1883.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Publication Office, War Records, 1861-65.
WASHINGTON, Nov. 14, 1883.

GOV. JAS. D. PORTER,

Dear Governor: Your letter received. I send memo' of composition of Reynolds' brigade. He never had a Tennessee organization in his command.

The one marked "2" is his last command at Missionary Ridge, I think. I am sure, however, he never had any Tennessee troops. If you want anything more, let me know.

Your friend,

(Sg) MARCUS J. WRIGHT.

Memo: A. W. Reynolds' Brigade composed of,
54 & 63d Virginia Regts Infantry,
58th & 60th North Carolina Regt's Infantry, Stevenson's brigade (division.)

Afterwards composed of,

##58th North Carolina.

60th North Carolina.

54th Virginia.

63d Virginia.

Darden's Battery; Jeffres' Battery; Kolb's Battery, Buckner's Division.

Buck Grove, Nov. 16th, (1883.)

I suppose you mean Missionary Ridge. There were no Tennessee troops in Reynolds' Brigade. You are right, it was Dea's Brigade that broke first. Vaughn's Brigade was in General Patton Anderson's Division and was on his right, and joined my left. I will possibly be down Sunday or Monday, and will call and see you.

(Sg) B. F. C.

APPENDIX C.

Letter from Major E. T. Sykes to General Bragg.

COLUMBUS, Miss., January 25th, 1873.

GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG,

Mobile, Ala.

Dear Sir: At the solicitation of some of your numerous friends and admirers here, I am preparing a cursory sketch of yourself and campaigns, for publication in our tri-weekly city paper, "The Columbus Index." I have hastily followed you from the beginning of your service—commencing at Pensacola, sketched your participation in the battle of Shiloh, the Kentucky campaign, the battle of Murfreesboro, etc., and have now reached the point where I wish to describe the battles of Chickamauga, and Mission Ridge, before concluding the sketch. To do this satisfactorily, it is necessary that I be enlightened on two or three points, and as I wish accuracy to characterize my narrative, I will presume to ask of you the wished for information at the disagreeable hazard of being considered impertinent.

1st. Did not General Polk delay moving on the morning of the second day at Chickamauga an hour or more after the appointed time, although the order for his movement was issued the night previous, thereby jeopardizing your plans, and for that reason was subsequently placed in arrest?

2nd. What Federal command was it that General Hindman was ordered to cut off in McLemore's Cove near Lafayette, Ga., a few days preceding the battle of Chickamauga? And did Hindman have more than his own division? And was he not suspended from command for his failure? Would not his success on that occasion have given you great advantage over the remainder of the enemy?

3rd. Was not General D. H. Hill's critical, captious and dictatorial manner one of the prime causes of the failure of the army to defeat General Grant at Mission Ridge? Or, was it as reported by you to the department at Richmond, in substance, attributable to the unaccountable and inexplicable conduct of a portion of our troops? And if attributable to the latter, what troops?

I would be glad, dear General, to have an early response to these inquiries—if deemed prudent by you to furnish them—in order that I may complete the pleasant task before me.

The narrative is being published by installments—the weekly which I will send you, to contain a consolidation of the tri-weekly installments. I will continue to send you the papers until the “sketch,” for which I claim some merit for a fair recital of facts, etc., although necessarily imperfect, is completed. I am whom you once knew, but have now most probably forgotten, the assistant adjutant general on the staff of the gallant Walthall.

With sentiments of the highest esteem, I am one of your old officers and admirers,

(Sg) E. T. SYKES.

P. S.—I occasionally see our mutual friend, and my relative, Col. John B. Sale, and frequently hear from him by letter or through friends. He is in perfect health and doing, as always, a large and lucrative practice. The last time I was in Aberdeen, I took tea at his home and saw his little pet, “Braxton Bragg.” He is in every sense worthy of the name, and I know that you would, could you see him, feel proud of your namesake.

APPENDIX D.

Letter from General Bragg to Major E. T. Sykes.

Mobile, 8th February, '73.

MAJOR E. T. SYKES,
Columbus, Miss.

My dear Sir: I received yours of the 25th. ult. and not only comply with your request cheerfully but thank you for the opportunity.

It is due to the gallant army of which you were a member, that its history should not be left entirely to the ignorant and the prejudiced; and I rejoice to see so worthy a soldier—a represen-

tative young man, who cannot be suspected of partiality, coming to the task. It will afford me pleasure to aid you, not only with facts within my knowledge, but with documentary evidence, of which I have a large quantity, preserved from the general wreck.

I reply to your questions.

1st. "Did not General Polk delay moving on the morning of the second day at Chickamauga an hour or more after the appointed time, although the order for his movement was issued the night previous, thereby jeopardizing your plans, and for that reason was subsequently placed in arrest?"

This question is best answered by my official report—and I send you by this day's mail a written copy, which I must beg you to preserve and return, as it is invaluable to me. In addition to what is there said, I can now add—that the staff officer sent to General Polk, Major Lee, assistant adjutant general, to urge his compliance with orders of the previous night, reported to me that he found him at a farm house three miles from the line of his troops, about one hour after sunrise, sitting on the gallery, reading a newspaper, and waiting as he (the general) said, for his breakfast. It was nine o'clock before I got him into position, and about ten before the attack was made. *Five precious hours*—in which our independence might have been won.

As soon as time would allow, General Polk was called on for an explanation. The order given him the night before in the presence of several generals was plain and emphatic, and before he left me he was asked if he fully understood the order and replied in the affirmative. His explanation in writing, was entirely unsatisfactory, as it placed the responsibility on a subordinate—Lieutenant General Hill—when he (General Polk) was himself absent from the field, and had not even attempted to execute his orders, nor informed me of their having been disobeyed. Breckenridge and Cheatham say in their reports, Polk told them during the night he had orders to attack at day light. I have the correspondence, but cannot now lay my hands on it.

2nd question. As to Hindman and McLemore's Cove. My report gives a full answer to this question, but not a complete history of the whole affair, as it was too bad to put before the country. General Hill having failed, in a querrulous, insubordinate spirit, to send Cleburn's division to join Hindman, on the pretext that Cleburn was sick, I ordered Buckner with his division to the duty, and went myself to Hill's headquarters, riding half the night. There I found Cleburn, who expressed surprise that Hill should have reported him sick, and he moved with his division next morning.

After Buckner joined Hindman, it will be seen, the latter became doubtful and dilatory, and finally asked a change of orders. This produced loss of valuable time—and common sense teaches the importance in every moment of striking at a divided enemy. I was so greatly vexed that my deportment towards General Hill and Major Nocquet during the conference was observed by my staff and intimation given me of some harshness.

Every effort failed, however, and the correspondence and late letters from Patton Anderson, as noble and true a soldier and gentleman as any age can boast, and General W. T. Martin, will show the cause.

3rd question. As to General D. H. Hill's critical, captious and dictatorial manner, etc., etc.

This manner of Hill, and his general deportment united to the fact, *which came to my knowledge after Polk's suspension from command*, that Polk did order two of his division commanders, in writing, soon after sun-rise to attack, and that Hill, being present in person countermanded the order, without notifying either Polk or myself, induced me to ask his suspension from command. And he was removed by the President *before* the battle of Missionary Ridge. He had, however, greatly demoralized the troops he commanded, and sacrificed thousands at Chickamauga.

See Report of Major General W. H. T. Walker.

I have always believed our disasters at Missionary Ridge were due immediately to misconduct of a brigade of Buckner's troops from East Tennessee, commanded by Brigadier General Alex. W. Reynolds which first gave way and could not be rallied. But the other troops would have saved the day and repaired the small disaster, but for the effect which had been produced by the treasonable act of Longstreet, Hill and Buckner in sacrificing the army in their effort to degrade and remove me for personal ends. Had I known at the time Polk and Hindman were suspended, of the conduct of Hill, especially of his suspending Polk's orders to attack at Chickamauga; and of Buckner's influencing Hindman to disobey me in McLemore's Cove, and of his mutinous conduct in getting up meetings in the army to ask my removal, I certainly should have arrested both of them. Still, I am satisfied no good could have resulted. Our country was not prepared to sustain a military commander who acted on military principles, and no man could do his duty and sustain himself against the combined power of imbeciles, traitors, rogues and intriguing politicians.

Longstreet's disobedience of orders enabled the enemy under

Hooker from Virginia, to pass Lookout Mountain, and join Grant in Chattanooga. That was the first step in our disaster, after the army had been practically purged. Thus I yielded my convictions to the President's policy and sent Longstreet instead of Breckinridge (my choice) to capture Burnside at Knoxville. This could have been long before Sherman reached Grant with his twenty-five thousand (25,000) men, by due diligence, and my information was perfect and daily. Had it been done, and those fifteen thousand (15,000) troops been returned and in place at Missionary Ridge, Grant would not have attacked us, and if he had, would certainly have been defeated unless aided by *treason*. Indeed, he *must* have recrossed the mountains, for his troops could not be fed, and the animals were already starved. He could not move twenty (20) pieces of artillery. No man* was ever under greater obligations to a traitor;† no traitor has ever been more faithfully rewarded.

* * * * *

In our retreat from Missionary Ridge the enemy could make but feeble pursuit for want of artillery horses. (Grant's report.)

At the Mountain gorge, near Ringgold, I believed he could be successfully repulsed; and the army quietly withdrawn. General Cleburn, one of the best and truest officers in our cause, was placed at that point in command of the rear guard. Late at night, hours after all the army was at rest, my information being all in, I called for a reliable, confidential staff officer, and gave him verbal directions to ride immediately to Cleburn, about three (3) miles in my rear, at this mountain gorge, *and give him my positive orders to hold his position up to a named hour the next day*, and, if attacked, to defend the pass at every hazard. The message was delivered at Cleburn's camp fire. He heard it with surprise and expressed his apprehension that it would result in the loss of his command, as his information differed from mine, and he believed the enemy would turn his position and cut him off. "But," said he, true soldier as he was, "I always obey orders, and only ask as protection in case of disaster, that you put the order in writing." This was done as soon as material could be found, and the staff officer returned and reported the result of his mission. He had not reached me, however, before the attack *in front*, as I expected, was made. Cleburn gallantly met it, defeated the enemy under Hooker, drove him back, and then quietly followed the army without further

* Grant.

† Longstreet. Note by E. T. S.: This must refer to General Longstreet's *post bellum* political views and rewards.

molestation. Mark the difference—in conduct and results. A good soldier, by obedience, without substituting his own crude notions, defeats the enemy and saves an army from disaster. And mark the credit he gets for it. The Confederate congress passed a vote of thanks to the gallant Cleburn and his command for saving Bragg's army. Not to this day has it ever been known that he did it in obedience to orders and against his judgment, which does not detract from, but adds to his fame.

Captain Samuel A. Harris, assistant adjutant general, of Montgomery, Ala., was the officer who delivered the order. He is now an Episcopal clergyman with the largest congregation in New Orleans, and has recently repeated the whole matter to me as distinctly as if it had occurred yesterday.

I would add much more, but should exhaust your patience. *Whiskey* was a great element in our disasters. In the battle of Murfreesboro, ———— was so drunk on the field all the first day, that a staff officer had to hold him on his horse. After the army reached Tullahoma, I directed General Polk, his corps commander, to notify him that I knew of his conduct, and only overlooked it in consideration of other meritorious services. Polk reported to me that he had done so; that ———— acknowledged the charge, expressed deep contrition and pledged himself never to repeat the offence.

Imagine my surprise at reading General Polk's report of that battle some weeks after, to find that he commended ———— conduct on that field above all others in his corps.

At Missionary Ridge, ————, as gallant and true a man as ever lived, was overcome in the same way whilst in the active command of a corps, and was really unfit for duty, one of the many causes of our disaster. At night he came into my office, a little depot hut at Chickamauga station, where I sat up all night giving orders, soon sank down on the floor, *dead drunk*, and was so in the morning. I sent for the commander of the rear guard, Brigadier General Guist of South Carolina, and told him not to leave General ———— and, if necessary, to put him in a wagon and haul him off, but, under no circumstances to allow him to give an order. At Dalton, I relieved General ———— of his command and he acknowledged the justice of it, but said it was the deepest mortification of his life. In France or Germany either of the men I have named, would have been shot in *six hours*. With us they pass for great heroes.

I enclose you some papers for reference, and regret that you are not with me, as a mine of worth would be opened to you, which I cannot light up, though I often explore it in the dark recess of my closet.

Could some young man, like yourself, spare the time, a valuable book could be made up in a few months, and I should delight to aid in the labor.

I am delighted to hear my friend Sale is doing well. He was the most reliable and valuable staff officer I had, and is remembered with affection and gratitude, and I hope my young soldiers in Mississippi will cherish his boy, whose fate it is—it may be his misfortune—to bear my name.

I shall ever be pleased to hear from you, and hope you will not fail to recall me to Colonel and Mrs. Sale, and the bright boy when you see them. And if you ever meet your noble chief, Walthall, give him my love.

In the midst of other business, rather than keep you waiting longer I conclude to send this without waiting to copy. Please continue to send me the paper, as your numbers appear.

Very truly your friend,

(Sg) BRAXTON BRAGG.

NOTE McLEMORE'S COVE.

The enemy consisted of one division and one brigade of Thomas' corps about eight thousand (8,000) men. Hindman's force was composed of his own and Buckner's division, ten thousand nine hundred twenty-two (10,922) men, and Martin's cavalry about five hundred (500), besides a force of two divisions, Cleburn's and Walker's—at least eight thousand (8,000) more immediately in the enemy's front with orders to attack as soon as Hindman's guns were heard in the flank and rear.

APPENDIX E.

Letter from Major E. T. Sykes to General Bragg, Acknowledging War Papers.

COLUMBUS, Miss., February 19, 1873.

GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG,
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Sir: Your very kind and most valuable letter of the 8th inst., with accompanying official documents, came duly to hand by this morning's mail, for which I sincerely thank you. You do indeed furnish me with more than I had expected, or

"even dreamed of." I am astonished at some of the developments, although from what I had unofficially heard in the army, and had seen with my own eyes, I was prepared to hear a great deal.

I now regret that I had finished my "sketch" before the receipt of the valuable information furnished by you, and which dissipates the cloud, and makes clear much that has to me and others, been heretofore strange and mysterious. But I am determined to rectify the inaccuracies appearing in my former writings, and either as a supplement thereto, or by rewriting the whole, furnish it for publication in some of our prominent Southern Magazines—most probably the one published in Baltimore, Md., in which General Dabney H. Maury, not long since had published his report of the battle of Corinth. Would you make a suggestion as to the periodical? I cannot, however, on account of pressing legal business, do this for a month or so; in the meantime I have to visit Mobile on business, and will make it my business, as well as pleasure, to call on you and obtain such additional data as we may mutually deem advisable for publication in furtherance and elucidation of my general design.

I am daily receiving letters from one or another of my old army friends and acquaintances, thanking me for my contributions to the history of that portion of the army with which we were connected, and you commanded.

I will endeavor tonight or tomorrow, at least soon, to abstract the documents you sent me, and will immediately thereafter, return the originals to you by express. In the meantime, I will converse freely with my friends, who like myself feel an interest in you—always observing, however, your injunction, to use your "facts, but not your comments."

Very truly your friend and admirer,

E. T. SYKES.

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Very truly your friend and admirer,

E. T. SYKES.

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