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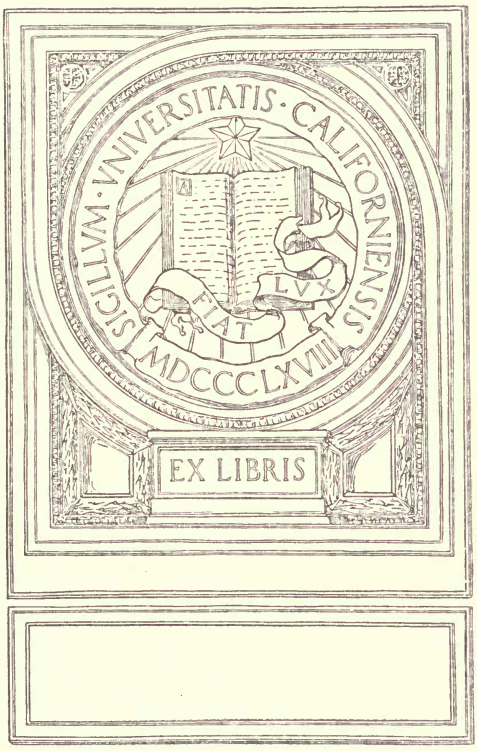
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W. J. McMurray, M. D.

See page 417

HISTORY

OF THE

TWENTIETH

Tennessee Regiment Volunteer Infantry,

C. S. A.

BY

W. J. McMURRAY, M.D.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

PUBLISHED BY

THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE,

CONSISTING OF

W. J. McMurray, M.D., Deering J. Roberts, M.D., and Ralph J. Neal.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

1904.

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UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

To the

WOMEN OF THE SOUTH,

who were the devoted allies of the Confederate Soldiers, whose patriotism never tired or flagged, and whose sacrifices had no limit; to them;

and the

PRIVATE SOLDIERS OF THE ARMIES OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES,

who cheerfully lived and faithfully served on his meager rations, and defiantly, bravely, and nobly, in the trenches or on the battle line in the open field, in their well-worn, threadbare, and tattered gray, were ever ready to do or die for the rights bequeathed to them by their sires, when they signed the compact of 1787, this volume, portraying events that occurred during the period from 1861 to 1865, is most respectfully and sincerely inscribed.

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SURGEON DEERING J. ROBERTS, M. D.

See page 442.

PREFACE.

Since the year 1878, the survivors of "The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment Volunteer Infantry" have met in annual Reunion somewhere in the vicinity of Nashville on the Friday nearest to the 19th of September, that day being the anniversary of the Battle of Chickamauga. At the meeting in September, 1900, at Antioch, it was determined that the history of this command was worthy of perpetuation; and by unanimous vote, I was appointed to write this history, and was made Chairman of the Publication Committee, with Dr. Deering, J. Roberts and Ralph J. Neal, members of the Committee, the latter acting as Secretary and Treasurer.

By devoting all the spare moments of a somewhat busy professional life, complicated with superadded duties, I have been able to compile this volume. A greater part of it was submitted to survivors of the various companies who were at the Reunion held at Old Jefferson, in Rutherford County, in 1902, and at the meeting held in this city at the State Capitol in September, 1903, when there were present sixty-five of the survivors, all the companies being represented by one or more members of the rank and file except Company G, to whom it was all submitted for revision, correction, or alteration, the data for Company G having been furnished by Captain Robert Anderson. With these corrections and alterations, it is most respectfully submitted to a discriminating public, with the statement, that, if the author is incorrect in his views, the same is chargeable to the sixty-five survivors of the Regiment who rejoiced together in their hours of brilliant achievements, and who mourned in unison in those times of joint trial, tribulation, and trouble.

I have endeavored to give a plain statement of facts as they were presented to me from day to day; and while my memory and recollection as to these memorable events may to some extent be defective, it is sustained by that of the rank and file who participated therein, and were a part and parcel of that magnificent array of Southern Chivalry who served under the dashing George B. Crittenden, the irreproachable Albert Sidney Johnson, the correct disciplinarian Braxton Bragg, the heroic John B. Hood, or the

peerless and immaculate Joseph E. Johnston. The few of those left may be likened unto a field of corn that was swept and broken down by some devastating storm, until only a few stalks are left to ripen and produce evidence of their class, showing the character of the men of those trying and eventful days.

Much has been written of those memorable years from 1861 to 1865, and much that we cannot accept. Yet,

"Truth when crushed to earth will rise again,
For the eternal years of God are hers!"

This history, sanctioned and indorsed by those who helped to make it, we ask an indulgent public to carefully consider as our part of the story, which we are willing to submit to the future.

To Mr. Ralph J. Neal, of Company E, I am indebted for the very full history of that Company, which is his version of the History of the Regiment; and although going over the same ground as that covered by Part III of this volume, is submitted as giving his views and observations.

To Dr. Deering J. Roberts I am under obligations for his revision of the entire work, correcting the proofs, supervising the printing, and other material assistance.

Credit is given to those who have furnished "Biographical Sketches;" and while the History of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment is but a part of the History of the War between the States, my extracts from the various sources have been made with all possible care and caution. My aim has been throughout, to be correct in every detail, *falsus in uno, falsus in omne*, being a principle that should never be lost sight of by any historian, from the greatest and most renowned to the humblest.

Yours very respectfully and sincerely,

W. J. McMURRAY, M.D.

922 S. Summer St., Nashville, Tenn., January 19, 1904.

PART I.

CAUSES OF THE WAR.

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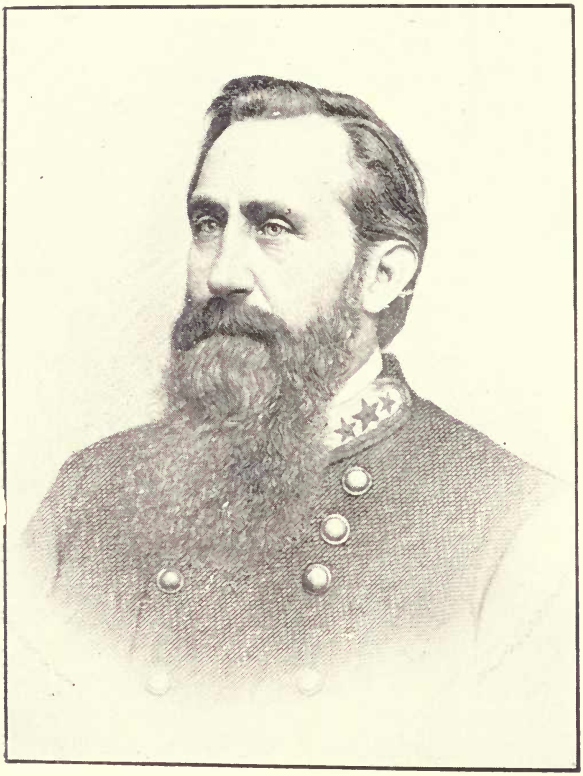
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PART I.

CAUSES OF THE WAR.



MAJ.-GEN WM. B. BATE.

See page 375.

CAUSES OF THE GREAT CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

We of the South believe that there were three great primary causes that brought on the war:—viz—1st—African Slavery. 2nd—Constant encroachment by the Federal or Northern party upon the reserved rights of the Southern States. 3rd—The right to secede from the Federal Union.

The Southern States claimed that the reserved rights of the States that had never been delegated to the Federal Government gave them this right; which the Federal Government denied.

So it will be seen that when the Southern States believed that their reserved rights had been invaded, their property was about to be destroyed, and their social fabric upturned by the Northern party, the South did attempt to bring into force these reserved rights, which caused the Federal party to bring on a war of invasion and destruction, that has scarcely been equaled in the annals of civilized or barbarous warfare.

Who can deny any State either North or South these rights, when you read the second and third articles of confederation which say:—"Article 2nd—Each State retains its sovereignty—Freedom and Independence—and every power jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress." "Article 3rd—The said States hereby severally entered into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all forces offered to or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of their religion, sovereignty, trade or any other pretence whatever."

The compact of 1787 which finally completed the American Union would never have been signed without the 2nd and 3rd articles, which we will show further on; the New England States were great sticklers for the preservation of these reserved

rights; afterwards they were for these rights when it was to their interest—and against them when not; so the war was brought on and the South failed, yet, we have not escaped the humiliation of others who have fought and failed. The victors write the history of the vanquished and control public sentiment whether it be true or false, until it finds a lodgement in the public mind and becomes settled as historical facts. Such is the course that our enemies at the close of the war, and since, have attempted to pursue.

We know that we have been the objects of misrepresentation and bitter calumny, emerging as we did from a four years struggle against an enemy nearly five times our numbers and ten times our resources; we had nothing to write and print history with, while we were rich in historical facts.

No nation or people is worthy of a recorded history that is not willing to shed its blood and make sacrifices to sustain established convictions, and surely the South has done this.

Now it behooves us who are living, thirty-eight years after the war, and who participated in it, to write its history as we know it. Let us be an exception to the rule, and write our history as it was made, be it good or bad.

Did the South have sufficient cause to take up arms in defense of her interests as written in the Federal Constitution from its foundation in 1787, and held as law, and respected as law, by the supreme court of the United States until 1860? is one of the principal questions that will be asked by the future historian.

We claim that the South lived faithfully under this compact during that period.

Our independence was declared on July 4th 1776, but the Federal Constitution was not ratified and signed by the States in convention until 1787, eleven years after the declaration of independence.

Our first chief magistrate was George Washington, who was elected from a list of twelve candidates, and during his term of office, the people of the young nation, dividing themselves into two opposing parties, each striving for office advocating diverse principles.

The New England States were led by John Adams of Massachusetts, who believed in and advocated the concentration of power

in the Federal Government, and this was called the Federal party.

The Southern States were led by Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, and maintained State's rights as against Federal encroachment, this was the Democratic party. (See *Articles of Confederation, Sec, 2.*)

The States' rights party believed that all the powers of the individual States that had not been delegated by their authorized delegates, still remained with each State to do with, in her sovereign capacity as she might see fit. The Federal party denied these rights.

These principles advocated by these two parties, were the first stumbling blocks of the then young nation.

After George Washington's term of office was completed, John Adams of Massachusetts, the leader of the Federal party was elected to the presidency in 1797, and it was during his term that the "Alien and Sedition Laws" were passed by the Federal Congress, which action was opposed by the statesmen of the South, because in their opinion, these laws invested in the Executive, powers not conferred by the Constitution.

These Alien and Sedition acts were not the only rocks upon which the two parties split during Mr. Adams' term.

The creation of a National Bank was a subject of bitter controversy, the men of the North sustained this measure with great energy, while those of the South opposed it as unconstitutional and of doubtful expediency.

In 1801, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, the leader of the Democratic party, was elected to the presidency, and it was during his first term of office that the New England States showed such bitter feeling towards the South, on account of the Southern States refusing to encourage the New England States in their traffic in the slave trade from the African coast.

When President Jefferson proposed the Purchase of Louisiana these same New England States violently opposed it, fearing it would give more slave territory, but still they were willing to bring more slaves from the coast of Africa, pay for them in rum and sell them to the Southerners. How can these religious fanatics who have shown that they loved the God of Mammon more than the God of humanity, reconcile these facts?

Thomas Jefferson was re-elected in 1805. During this term

war existed between England and France, and the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, also orders from the British Government interfered with American commerce.

Our vessels were often captured on the high seas and confiscated. This left Jefferson one of two things to do, Viz; abandon our trade, or go to war to defend it; so he recommended the Embargo Act, which was to put a stop to our foreign trade rather than plunge the nation into war with France or England, or probably both.

This act was passed in Dec. 1807, and was strongly opposed by the Northern men, because they said it would interfere with their shipping and damage them materially, and they would not stand it.

So the Eastern States threatened to secede from the American Union and form a Northern Confederacy. Now if the New England States had a right to secede in 1807, to protect their shipping or plunge the whole nation into war to save their commerce, why did not the South have the right to secede in 1861 to protect the slave property that New England had sold to the South for gold, and which they paid for in rum made from molasses?

In 1809 James Madison of Virginia, was elected president, and the Embargo Act was repealed to satisfy the New England people, and another law was passed in May 1809, known as the Non-intercourse law. This law prohibited the American people from trading with England or France.

But New England, true to her love for the dollar, in violation of the law, carried on an indirect trade with Europe through Canada. These wildcat vessels were often overtaken and the American flag hauled down, until the people compelled Congress to declare war against Great Britian in May 1812.

In 1813, James Madison was re-elected, the second war with Great Britian came on, and the expenses of the war had to be met by a direct tax upon the States; but the New England States, for the most part, refused to contribute, after they had virtually brought on the war.

At the close of the war in January 1815, the Federal treasury was much depleted, and a new financial policy was adopted, viz; —A high tariff. This suited the New Englander because he had transferred his capital in negroes to commerce and manufac-

tories, and he wanted it protected. They had also sold most of their negro slaves to the southern people and put their money into machinery.

Although the South thought this high tariff would not benefit her section, many of her representatives supported the measure in order to appease their threatening secession brethren in the North.

It was at this time that John Calhoun of South Carolina introduced the "Minimum Rate Bill," which was, not to allow duties to fall below a certain rate.

Mr. Monroe of Virginia, was elected president in 1817, and the country was at peace until 1820, when Missouri applied to be admitted into the Federal union as a slave state, which New England opposed, almost to a man, on account of extending slave territory, having by this time sold her slaves to the South and put her money into factories, therefore she had no further interest in the negro as property.

They did not want the South to carry negro property, that had been bought from New England into this territory, although the South had expended as much, if not more, in its acquisition than the North.

The Louisiana Purchase was brought about by Thomas Jefferson and his party, while the Eastern men violently opposed it.

Missouri was finally admitted as a slave state, with a compromise, viz; that hereafter no slave state should be created north of the parallel of latitude, 36.30.

After James Monroe's re-election in 1821, among the first things demanded by New England was more protection for her manufactories; the South opposed this action, as she thought the tariff was high enough, and a further increase would be detrimental to her section which was agricultural.

In 1825, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, was elected president, and during his term the bitter tariff fight was again revived between the two sections, and in 1828 a new tariff act was passed which was so high it was almost prohibitory. The average on imports was 40 per cent.

This act in the eyes of the Southern men was so outrageous, that they called it the Black Tariff.

In 1829, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, the old war horse of

the Hermitage, was elected president, and it was during his first term, in March, 1833, that the high tariff act, so obnoxious to the South was modified, and it was during this controversy that the South Carolina representatives grew so bitter, saying it was unjust and unconstitutional for the government to pass laws that would enrich one section of the country, and impoverish the other; so they followed the example set by the New England States in 1807, and threatened to secede.

In 1833, Andrew Jackson entered upon his second term as president, and it was during this term that the National Bank issue came to the front again.

The Northern men said it was necessary for their trade and commerce, as they had now ceased trading in negroes and had invested in factories and shipping.

The South denied this necessity and its constitutionality, believing that it would become a political machine in the hands of unscrupulous men and politicians, and would do much harm.

The charter of the United States Bank expired in 1836. During the latter part of Jackson's term another trouble sprang up, upon which the two sections could not agree, this was the internal improvement policy. The South opposed it because it favored one section at the cost of the other. The North said that it did not.

Martin Van Buren a Jackson man, who was elected to succeed "Old Hickory" in 1837. During his term a great financial distress came upon the country, and the Northern politicians proposed as a remedy, three things, viz:—A new National Bank, as the charter of the old National Bank had expired in 1836. 2nd —A higher tariff. 3rd—A bankrupt law.

To all three of these measures the South was opposed, and alleged that they were not necessary, and had a sectional tendency.

The fight went on until 1841, when William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, was elected president and who soon died, when Vice-President John Tyler, of Virginia, succeeded to the presidency.

Although Tyler was a Southern man, Northern policies mostly prevailed; the tariff was raised in 1841, and again in August, 1842.

A bankrupt law was passed in 1841. A law was also passed in July, 1841, dividing the public domain among the respective

States according to population; all of these were Northern measures.

The New England people looked at the public domain action this way: by passing it, it would cut off from the Federal treasury the receipts from the public lands, thereby making a higher tariff necessary to insure sufficient revenue for the support of the government.

The new bank act failed, and in eighteen months the bankrupt law was repealed, as was also the public domain act in January, 1842, as it was found necessary to retain these public lands as security for federal loans.

We have now come to the year 1845, when James K. Polk, another son of the old Volunteer State, was promoted to the chief magistracy of the Federal Union.

It was during the early part of his term in July, 1846, that the tarriff so sorely oppressive to the South, was modified.

The president in a special message to Congress in May, 1846, stated that the Government of Mexico had committed some bellicose acts against the United States Government.

At the reading of this message all sections and all men stopped their internal bickering, and declared war against Mexico, which war lasted until February, 1848, when at the treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo, Mexico ceded to the United States, New Mexico and California.

After the war with Mexico had been fought and won, and General Zachary Taylor of Mississippi, who was one of our most successful Generals, was elected in 1849 to the presidency, the country returned to peace, the old issues between the North and the South were abandoned, viz:—A tariff policy, a National Bank, a system of internal improvements, and the division of public lands.

It looked as if we were going to have a millennium, but not so. The recently acquired land offered the politicians of both sections a bone of contention.

They remind the student of history of the John and Simon factions of Jerusalem, that were always at war with each other, but but when a common enemy would approach they would stop their diversions, unite their forces, drive off the enemy; then return to the city and again begin their internecine war. In

this way they had so weakened and consumed their strength, when Titus, of Rome, A. D. 72, invaded them, they fell victims to him on account of their own folly.

The North said that no part of this newly ceded territory, viz: —California and New Mexico, should be admitted as slave territory; but the South said their joint right of occupancy was incontestable in law and equity; as their blood, valor and money, had done as much as that of the North to win these lands. They proposed as a remedy that Congress extend the old Missouri Compromise line of 36.30 west to the Pacific coast, and let the portion North of this line be free territory, and that South of it, slave territory.

But the Northern men would not agree to this, they wanted it all, and got it. The feeling was so high then that separation was imminent.

In 1853 Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, became president, and during his term the old slavery question was renewed. A portion of our Western territory, that was called Nebraska, was divided into two portions, one was called Kansas and the other Nebraska. The old Missouri Compromise line of 36.30 ran to the South of this territory.

If this line had been in force the South would not have had any right to ask Congress to allow slavery to enter this territory. But on a proposition from Stephen A. Douglas, a Senator from Illinois, this line was repealed.

So it seems as if this teritory was open for slavery or not, to be settled by the people both North and South, then be organized into a State, and be admitted into the Union, according to the vote of the people. This being especially the state of affairs in Kansas, the territory that lay nearest and adjoining slave territory.

The Anti-slavery people in the New England States lost no time in organizing emigrant societies to settle in Kansas, and they poured men of their faith into Kansas by the thousands.

Armed men from the North paraded the territory, while a number of men from Missouri and other Southern States had moved into it, with equally strong convictions on the other side.

These factions brought on contentions and bloodshed to such an extent that this territory was called "Bleeding Kansas."

These disturbances were so great that the Federal Government had to interfere, the Anti-slavery party had gone so far as to elect a Governor, form a constitution, and set up a State Government, all in violation of Federal authority, which came along and indicted them for treason and they were compelled to take flight, to keep from being prosecuted by the laws of the land.

In 1857 James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was inaugurated president, and his whole term of office was disturbed by heated discussions between the politicians of the two sections on the subject of slavery, and the extension of slave territory.

Towards the latter part of his term the contest grew so bitter, that the people of the two sections took it up.

At the presidential election in 1860, the Northern States being in the majority elected Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, a known Abolitionist, to the presidency.

Although born on Southern soil, in the State of Kentucky, he afterward moved to the State of Illinois, and imbibed those principles that were so much at variance with the feelings and interests of his native Southland.

Many of his own, and his wife's relatives, were subsequently in the Confederate State army.

The Southern people after having been in co-partnership with the North for 72 years, and viewing their constant encroachment upon their constitutional rights, thought it was time to separate.

The New Englander had by this time carried the slavery question into his pulpit and religion; many of them had become fanatics. They had saturated their church and society meetings with papers, lectures, sermons, resolutions, memorials and protests, attacking and condemning slavery, until their whole body politic believed that way.

The spirit and methods of the New Englander in and out of his church have been that of agitation.

Listen to what doctrines the Rev. Henry Wright, of Massachusetts taught from his pulpit, he said:—"The God of humanity is not the God of slavery, if so, shame upon such a God. I will never bow at his shrine, my head shall go off with my hat when I take it off to such a God as that. If the Bible sanctions slavery, the Bible is a self-evident falsehood, and if God should declare

it to be right, I would fasten the chains upon the heels of such a God and let the men go free,—such a God is a phantom."

Now, was not this horrible language of Rev. Henry Wright, taught by him from the pulpit, when his State, the State of Massachusetts had bought more negroes on the African coast, paid for them in rum made from molasses, and sold them into slavery, aye, more than all of the United States put together. I say, this was as double, refined quintessance of gall, cheek, and religious fanatitism as could be found in any day.

No language ever threw out more defiance of civil authority and true religion than this politico-religious harangue.

It is a very common error that has been taught, that the Puritans persecuted themselves for opinion's sake, and sought liberty of conscience in the wilds of America, and there erected their altars.

To Sir George Calvert belongs this glory, of first establishing a Government of Universal tolerance of religious freedom in America, and this was done too, on the shores of Maryland,—and strange as it may seem, on the shores of Maryland, in the city of Baltimore, in 1861, the first blood was shed for the extinction of political liberty and against our constitutional compact.

The Puritan said he fled from England on account of violent opposition, which amounted to persecution. The English at that time had an insight to his fanaticisms and tendencies.

Although the Puritans claimed that they were run out of the mother country on account of conscience sake, yet one of the first acts of their new colony was to establish a spiritual despotism and religious intolerance, that would put to shame the cruel and relentless Spanish Inquisition.

They said they were religious refugees, yet they pronounced banishment against all who did not conform to their religious faith.

Every student of American history is familiar with the sad story of Roger Williams.

He too was a fugitive from the Old World, but how different were his teachings from the laws enacted by the Puritans.

He taught that the civil magistrates should restrain crime but never control opinion; should punish guilt but never violate the freedom of the soul.

He contended for the repeal of all laws that punished the nonconformist; he believed in the equal protection of all religious creeds.

He also believed that the peace and dignity of the State was like the vital fluid we breathe, that it should be disseminated alike over Mosque, Synagogue, Cathedral and the humble house of the Protestant, securing to its worshiper unmolested freedom of conscience.

For having this belief and teaching this doctrine, this gifted young minister was cruelly persecuted by the Puritans, forced to leave his home and often compelled to hide himself in the recesses of the wilderness.

See what Bancroft says of him, "Often in the stormy nights he had neither fire nor food, nor company, and wandered about without a guide and had no house but a hollow tree."

This Christian Martyr suffered all this because he would not conform to the religious ideas of men, who they said, left England for conscience sake. Why the savage of the forest, who knew not his God, was more tolerant than these narrow bigots, for they rescued Roger Williams from impending death, when he afterwards found a new home on the banks of the clear waters of the beautiful Narragansett.

A Mrs. Hutchison, a most excellent and pure woman, was treated in the manner as Roger Williams, and she too, was driven from home because she would not conform to some rites of public worship.

Did these narrow fanatics stop here? No; they hung Mary Dyer simply because she was a Quaker, and she died upon the gallows because she held a faith different from a people who they said, had devoted themselves a sacrifice on the altar of religious liberty.

When we see men exiling and hanging good, pure women because they will not conform to their ideas of religion, we do not believe that the guiding star of returning light of midieval ages has ever shone in their self-sanctified hearts. We know that in all nations where men respect women, you find gentlemen; and where gentlemen inhabit, woman rules and lifts him above his groveling nature. He in return is her slave, and with life and limb, fortune and honor, he is devoted to her wishes.

Oh, how different when you see a horde of whining New Englanders pelting and driving out a shivering and helpless woman into exile, and another one swung up by the neck until dead, all because they differed in religious faith from men and women who were run out of England for conscience sake.

We have already alluded to the Catholics having settled in Maryland and establishing perfect freedom of speech, but in 1676 some few Puritans emigrated there and were soon elected to office, and among the first of their edicts was one prohibiting public worship to Papists and Prelates.

Many of the men who signed the Constitution soon discovered that the people were not inclined to dwell together in national harmony.

George Washington sincerely desired a perpetuation of the Union, but he died in the belief that in the course of time his tomb would be the property of the South.

John Adams, next to Alexander Hamilton, was perhaps the most influential man in the Federal party. He early had a clear vision of the great rupture that would some day come.

The following from Thomas Jefferson's diary, Dec. 30, 1801, when he was president in 1801, presenting the views of Mr. John Adams, shows what the sectional feeling was at that time: "The Rev. Mr. Coffin of New England, who is now here soliciting donations for a college in Greene County, Tennessee, tells me, that when he first determined to engage in this enterprise, he wrote a paper recommending the enterprise, which he meant to get signed by clergymen, and a similar one by persons in a civil character, at the head of which he wished Mr. Adams to put his name, he then being president."

"The application asking only for his name and not for a donation, Mr. Adams reading the paper and considering it, said: — 'He saw no possibility of continuing the union of the states, that their dissolution must necessarily take place, that he therefore saw no propriety in recommending to New England men to promote a literary institution in the South, that it was in fact, giving strength to those who were to be their enemies, and therefore he would have nothing to do with it.'"

The above according to the diary, was the language of a man

who had taken a solemn oath to be the president of *all* the people.

Now as Mr. Adams had proven himself not the president of the whole people, let us go into some historical facts. At the time of the first confederation, 1778, the amount of territory that the Southern States owned was 647,202 square miles, and the amount owned by the Northern States 164,081 square miles. In 1783, Virginia ceded to the United States for the common benefit, all of her immense territory north of the Ohio River; and in 1787, the Northern States appropriated it to their exclusive use, whereby Virginia and her sister Southern States were excluded from using any part of this magnificent gift in the interest of the negro property they had bought from the New Englander.

When the Louisiana purchase was consummated in 1803, 1,189,112 square miles of territory was added to our domain, every foot of which was, at that time, slave holding territory, but by the passage of the Missouri Compromise Bill in 1821, 964,667 square miles of this purchase was converted into free territory.

Although the Northern States opposed bitterly the Louisiana purchase, they came in and gobbled all of it for free territory except 224,445 square miles.

Again, with the treaty with Spain in Feb. 1819, Florida, with a territory of 59,268 square miles, and Oregon with an area of 341,463 square miles was added to the American Union. Of this vast amount of new territory, Florida alone was allowed to be slave territory, about one seventh.

Again, by the Mexican Cession the United States acquired 526,078 square miles of territory, and the North tried to appropriate the whole of it under the pretense of the Mexican laws, which was prevented by the compromise of 1850, and this cut off from Texas 44,662 square miles of slave territory.

Now of all this territory that has been added, which amounts to 2,402,602 square miles, the South was only permitted to enjoy 283,713 square miles of this immense tract of country, when every foot of it was brought into the American Union while Southern men were presidents.

Can any fair minded man witness the constant encroachments upon the Southern people in violation of a signed and solemn

compact before God and man, and say the Southern Soldier had no cause to fight?

There are other facts that we propose to rely upon for the justification of our cause. As far back as 1750, New England ships made regular voyages to England with tobacco, rice, rum, and cured fish, two of which were southern products, and there took on English goods for the Gold Coast. Here they would exchange these commodities with the English Governors of her coast colonies for negroes, and return by way of the West Indies, and trade their cured fish for molasses, and bring the molasses and negroes to the American Colonies, sell the negroes to the South, and make the molasses into Yankee rum. They would then prepare for another trip.

This barter of the Yankee began to interfere so with English coast trade that Lord Sheffield in his report to Parliament in 1777, said, "that out of the slavers which periodically left Boston, thirteen of them were loaded with rum only, which was exchanged for 2,888 negroes with the governors of the Gold Coast Colonies, and these negroes were carried to the Southern States and sold.

This same report says that during the three years ending 1770, New England had sent to the Gold Coast 270,147 gallons of rum.

To show that certain Southern States were anxious to stop the slave trade, Thomas Jefferson in 1777, introduced in the Virginia Legislature a bill which became a law, to prevent the importation of slaves; but every law passed by any Southern State, looking to this end, exasperated the Eastern Yankee, for it interfered with his lucrative slave trade.

Mr. Jefferson at the same time introduced another bill which became a law, for the gradual emancipation of the Blacks. He also in 1784, in Congress, prepared a clause for the prevention of slaves being carried into the ceded territory north of the Ohio River, this was a part of the Southern scheme of emancipation which was meant as a check on the slave trade carried on by Massachusetts. This clause did not pass, but a clause was passed enjoining the restitution of fugitive slaves, and without this the compact of 1787 would never have been signed, and up to this time it never entered the minds of the people of the United States, but that the negroes were property, and that the master had

a legal right to carry them unmolested to any part of the United States. (See constitution. Art. IV, Sec. 1.)

The Duke de Rochefoucault Lioncourt in his work on the United States in 1795, said, that "twenty vessels from the North were engaged in importing negro slaves into Georgia." They would ship one negro for every ton burden, so we see while Virginia was trying to emancipate the Negro, New England was all the while enslaving him.

In 1793 President Washington recommended to Congress an act compelling the restitution of the fugitive slaves, and the same act provided that they should be taxed as property. In 1783 the treaty of peace with Great Britain contained a provision to pay for slaves and other property carried off during the war, and in the treaty of peace at Ghent in 1814, the British Government paid one and a half million dollars for slaves that had been carried away.

Mr. Andrew Stephenson conducted a negotiation with Great Britain, for slaves that were lost ashore by wrecked American vessels on the shores of Bermuda and set free by her authorities, and had England pay £23,500 indemnity.

In regard to the fugitive slave law, there was no trial by jury and no writ of haebus corpus proceedings, which would have been indispensable had the negro not been considered property.

It will naturally be asked: Where did the American colonies get their right to own slaves? It does not appear that any laws were ever enacted in Great Britain for the owning or trading in slaves as property. Nevertheless they were so regarded by the opinion of eleven crown judges sitting in council, which extended this privilege to the Navigation Act to the exclusion of Aliens, and this act extended to Great Britain's North American colonies. This is where the Southerner got his authority to own slaves, and this legal right like other common laws of Britain survived our revolution.

If we will take up the histories of our French and Spanish territory, we will find that they as colonies derived the right to own and hold slaves from their church as well as from their State.

The records will show that up to the time of Jefferson's administration, the ownership of the negro was not profitable, but

during his term the invention of the cotton gin took place, which greatly enhanced the value of the cotton staple and gave a broader field for the employment of the negro, and as the Louisiana purchase took place about this time, these things very much embittered the New England people.

At the same time Governor General Craig of Canada knew this, and in February 1809 sent one John Henry as an agent to Boston to treat with the leading Federalists there, to arrange for a secession convention, when Massachusetts was to declare herself independent and invite a congress of the other New England States, and set up a separate government

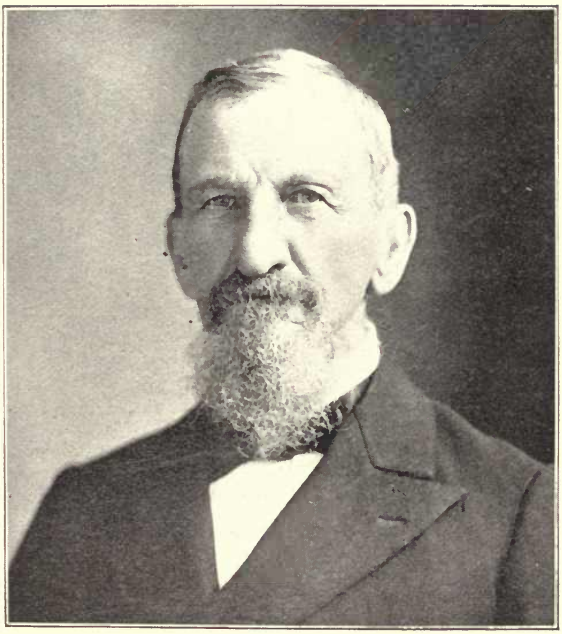
Mr. John Adams, in a letter to Mr. Otis in 1828 said, "that the plan had been so far matured as to ask a certain individual to put himself at the head of the military organization."

These schemes went on with these men who were rebels at heart, until this resulted in the Hartford Convention in 1814, which discussed secession in all its bearings, and raised the battle cry "The Potomac as a boundary line and the Negro states to themselves."

Peace with Great Britain soon came and business was good, the Yankee got to making money and this diverted him for a while, and prevented him from breaking up the American Union.

The Hartford secession Convention was held in 1814, and in 1818 a bill was introduced in Congress authorizing the people of Missouri to organize and form their state constitution preparatory to being admitted into the great sisterhood of states.

This Missouri territory was a part of the Louisiana purchase, and when owned by Spain, and by her ceded to France, and by France to the United States, all of this time it was slave territory, and the moment that Missouri applied to be admitted as a slave state, the New Englanders, the very men who enslaved the negro, went into convulsions at the mere idea of any more slave territory, and the only antitoxine that could be administered, which was only temporary, was, that there should not be any more slave territory admitted north of 36.30 parallel of latitude. This was the famous Missouri Compromise Bill. New York did not abolish slavery until 1826. About this time Delaware, Maryland and Virginia were all moving in that direction. Also about this time, New Jersey, Ohio and Delaware passed resolu-



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tions asking Congress to appropriate the proceeds of the public lands to the gradual emancipation of the negro. Up to this time it was not thought of emancipating the negro without paying for him.

About this period of our history nearly all of the Southern States had a leaning that way. Societies in various parts of the South were formed to cooperate with the colonization society, whose duty was to free the Blacks and transport them to Liberia.

Now to sustain the good faith of the Southerners in this emancipation movement, Virginia in March, 1825, passed an act to furnish the colonies in Liberia with implements of husbandry, clothing etc.

Alabama, Louisiana and Missouri passed laws about this time prohibiting slaves being brought within their borders for sale, and those that were brought in, should not be sold for two years.

While the good feelings were manifesting themselves strongly in the South; Ohio, Illinois and other Northern States passed acts prohibiting free blacks under any pretense from entering these states; any white person who brought a negro into their territory was required to give a $500 bond. Did not these Yankees love the negro? They did not regard them as citizens of the United States, and said on account of their idle habits they were a nuisance.

To show still further that the South was in earnest about emancipating her slaves, Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, in 1825 introduced a bill in Congress to set aside the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, as a colony for free blacks, but it failed.

About 1825, the seeds of abolition had begun to be sown in New England. Not gradual emancipation and moderate renumeration, but straight abolition.

This could not have been from any love the Yankee had for the negro, for it had been but a few years since Massachusetts was forced to give up her slave trade. The idea of the Yankee falling so desperately in love with the negroes of the South in so short a time is one of those inconsistencies of his that has followed him ever since he set foot on Plymouth Rock.

The seeds of abolition that were sown in 1825, begun to be

cultivated in 1828, when Mr. Arthur Tappan, of Boston, a city that bought and sold more slaves than all the rest of the country, subscribed, with the aid of some friends, enough money to establish a newspaper in New York, called the *Journal of Commerce*, and the avowed purpose of the paper was to promote abolition views. The editor was another importation from the self sanctified city of Boston, by the name of David Hale. He was an auctioneer by profession, and a Presbyterian Sunday School Teacher by pretense.

Soon after this, a paper in Baltimore fell into the hands of William Lloyd Garrison and was called the "*Genius of Emancipation*." Now, who was Wm. Lloyd Garrison? He was the grandson of a tory during our revolutionary war, who, when peace was declared was compelled to flee the country to Nova Scotia, where this grandson was brought up, and in after years came back to Boston to seek a livelihood. The virus of abolitionism took deep in this foreigner who was a young enthusiast. On assuming the editorship of his paper he attacked all of the colonization and emancipation societies as being in the way of the great move of abolitionism, and farther said; "that the union of the States was also an obstacle."

Some people though these sentiments were treason, and others thought they were in accord with the tory sentiments of his grandfather, who had done all he could to prevent our independence.

In the year 1830 this same Garrison founded a new journal in Boston, and called it the *Liberator*. It was in this bitter sheet that he spread broadcast his most extreme views.

In 1831 the New England Anti-slavery society was formed, and in a short time the American Anti-slavery society was brought into existence under the management of that great triumvirate, Viz, Garrison, Tappan, and Berney.

The Sunday schools of New England now took up the abolition question, and sent out by the thousands their inflamatory appeals and highly colored engravings of blacks, undergoing all kinds of punishments inflicted by the Southern people.

All such stuff as this was sent through the Federal mails, and disciples of these men became so obnoxious in New York in 1832, that the dwelling of Arthur Tappan and the church of Dr.

Cox were both demolished by a mob, and this action was approved by Mr. Jas. Watson Webb, in his great paper, *The Courier and Enquirer.*

Garrison was sent by the Anti-slavery Societies to England in 1834, to obtain money for their cause and he soon returned, bringing home with him one Geo. Thompson, who was a member of parliament and a lecturer on abolitionism. This led to such an outcry that Thompson became alarmed for his safety and soon returned to England.

South Carolina had a law to detain all free blacks who came into her ports. Massachusetts claimed that all those that were detained were her citizens and as such South Carolina had no right to detain them.

While Massachusetts objected to South Carolina detaining her free blacks, she did not say a word about Ohio, Illinois and other Northern States for keeping them out of their territory, or giving a $500 bond for bringing a negro into these States.

All of this is in perfect keeping with Puritanical inconsistency.

Mr. Hoar was sent by Massachusetts to Charleston to lay in formal complaints, but was at once dismissed. On his return he expressed great indignation and appealed to the Massachusetts legislature, and in revenge it passed the "Personal Liberty Bill" which was done to obstruct the "Fugitive Slave Law," which was then in force.

Up to this time abolitionism was only discussed as a moral question, but now it had gained such a headway that its leaders had determined to carry it into politics, where they expected to make it a stepping stone to power and emolument.

In 1838 they reckoned their strength and found that they were to weak to form a political ticket of their own in the state of New York for Governor, so they began dickering with leading politicians. At this time Mr. Marcy and Mr. Seward were the candidates for Governor of the opposing parties in the state. Now the proper thing for the abolitionist to do at that time, would be to see which one of these candidates would commit himself to their doctrine. This, W. H. Seward readily did, and was elected Governor. It so happened that at that time in the State of New York there was a law called the "Sojournment Act"

which allowed a slave holder to bring his black servants with him and remain in the State of New York for nine months, without prejudice to his rights.

When Mr. Seward was interrogated about this law in 1838, he sustained it; but in 1840, after he was elected Governor, he changed his mind, and refused to honor a requisition for a fugitive slave from the state of Virginia.

As late as 1840 the state of Ohio passed a resolution by its legislature, to the effect that slavery was an institution recognized by the Constitution, and the unlawful, unwise and unconstitutional interference by the fanatical abolitionists of the North with the institutions of the South were highly criminal.

What could have been plainer, more truthful and more manly, than that resolution, yet twenty years later Ohio sent 317,133 soldiers to overthrow it.

The abolition party of New England was becoming so imbittered toward the South, that it forced some of the Southern States to change their sentiments toward emancipation; for instance Alabama had so changed as to pass an act in 1840 enslaving all free blacks who remained in the State after Aug. 1 1840.

In 1838, when the abolitionists met, they concluded that they were two weak to put out a State ticket in New York, but the next year they met at Warsaw, N. Y., and set on foot a political party with a candidate of their own for president of the United States, and this candidate was Mr. Berney, who received in the presidential election in Nov. 1840, as its first abolition candidate 7,000 votes.

The discussion of the slavery question in the campaign in 1840 also received a new stimulus from the Texas revolt.

In 1836 an insurrection headed by Americans broke out and the independence of Texas soon followed, and a scheme was set on foot to annex it to the United States.

At first Daniel Webster favored this scheme, but he was afterwards induced to change his mind, just as Mr. Seward, when Governor of New York changed his mind about the "Sojournment Act," when it was to the interest of his party to do so.

The New Englanders opposed the annexation of Texas as they

did the Louisiana case in 1805, more on the ground of jealousy of the South than any thing else.

At this time the leading politicians did not know whether to support annexation or not. Henry Clay who opposed it lost the presidency in 1844. Martin Van Buren who opposed it failed to be renominated by the Democratic party in 1844.

Texas was admitted March 3, 1845, but with the agreement that four States should be formed out of the territory besides the one already in existence, and that the States so formed should be admitted with or without slavery, as their inhabitants might decide, but slavery should not exist north of latitude 36. 30.

President Van Buren was defeated for a renomination for president, in the Democratic convention of 1844, which irritated him very much, so he raised a new party in New York that was called the Free Soil party, which meant no more slave states anywhere. Now this was directly opposed to the agreement that was made with the Southerners on the admission of Texas, which the Democratic party never forgot, but this Free Soil party that Van Buren begot answered its purpose, it divided the Democratic party in the state of New York and elected the opposition.

This alarmed the people of the South who were not pacified until the compromise act of 1850, which act Mr. Seward violently opposed.

One of the prominent measures of this compromise act of 1850, was the Fugitive Slave Act, yet the anti-slavery people kept up such an agitation that several of the Northern States were induced to pass Personal Liberty Bills, in imitation of the example set by Massachusetts.

In 1852, the abolitionists dropped Mr. Berney and selected David Hale the Boston Auctioneer and Sunday-school teacher as their candidate for the presidency. He received 157,000 votes as against their former candidate Mr. Berney of 7,000 in 1840, and in 1856 Jno. C. Freemont the abolition candidate for president received 1,334,553 votes.

These questions were kept alive at the North by discussion as to citizenship of the free blacks; several States had bestowed upon them suffrage as a practical proof of their right to

rank as citizens. This controversy was settled by the United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case.

Dred Scott was a negro who lived in Missouri, his master being a surgeon in the United States Army from the above state, who moved from Missouri to the state of Illinois, then later to Minnesota, taking the negro with him. While in Minnesota, this negro man married a negro woman owned by the same master and had born to them two children.

Dred was afterwards taken to St Louis and sold, he then brought suit for his freedom. This case went through the channel of the courts until it reached the United States Supreme Court, which rendered its decision in December 1857, which said ;—"That the negroes were not citizens of the United States and could not become so under our constitution, they could not sue or be sued and therefore this court has no jurisdiction in the case."

A slave was simply personal property that could be taken from state to state, the same as other property without his master losing ownership in him.

This decision of the highest court in the land was rendered by its Chief Justice Taney with six other members of the court, making a total of seven of the nine judges of a full bench, while only two dissented. This almost unanimous opinion ought to have been conclusive, and was entirely in accord with the fundamental principles of our constitution.

This decision was received by the South with its hearty approval, while at the North it created bitter dissatisfaction, and that high tribunal of justice and learning was scathingly denounced.

The abolitionists of the North said that the "Constitution of the United States was a league with death and a covenant with hell."

It did look as if these people had no respect for law, order or God when any of these came in contact with their hatred to the Southern people.

The Dred Scott decision was rendered in 1857, and during the winter of 1857 – 58 John Brown, who had been a leader and promoter of the troubles in Kansas, put himself at the head of a party (this he acknowledged), for the purpose of inflaming the public mind on the subject of slavery, and effected an orginization to bring about servile insurrection in the slave States.

To accomplish this, he colleted a number of young men including two of his own sons, and with the funds and arms that had been furnished for his Kansas lawlessness, after he had been run out of there by the Federal officers, he placed these young men under military discipline at Springdale, Iowa. In the spring of 1858 he took them to Chatham, Canada, where on May 8, 1858, he called a convention of his followers and adopted a Provisional Constitution for the people of the United States, the preamble of which began by saying: — "Whereas,— Slavery throughout its entire existence in the United States, is none other than a most barbarous, unprovoked and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens upon another portion, Therefore, we citizens of the United States and the oppressed people, who are declared to have no rights, which the white man is bound to respect, do ordain and establish for ourselves the following Provisional Constitution, to better protect our person, property, lives and liberties."

Two days afterwards, after appointing a committee with power to fill all vacancies in their Constitution that the convention had adopted when assembled in a foreign land, they adjourned "sine-die," and Brown then took his party to Ohio and disbanded them subject to his call. However one of them, a Capt. Cook of Connecticut, he sent to Harper's Ferry, Va. to make himself familiar with the surrounding country and its citizens, especially the negroes, in order that he might inform his leader. John Brown, under the assumed name of Isaac Smith went to the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry about July 1, 1858 and spied out the country for future military operations, going as far up the valley as the little city of Staunton.

He led the people to believe that he was a farmer from New York. He had with him two of his sons and a son-in-law, all under the pretense of renting or buying a farm. He soon rented a small farm four and a half miles from Harper's Ferry on the Maryland side of the Potomac. This was known as the Kennedy farm, where he did some work in the farming line to cover his secret, lawless intentions. He also claimed to be an expert in mineralogy, and expected to find valuable deposits in the mountain regions about Harper's Ferry.

In the mean time he kept two of his party at Chambersburg,

Pa., who received arms, ammunition and military stores that had been collected for warfare on southern sympathizers in Kansas, to be sent to him at Harper's Ferry when ordered..

On Oct. 10, 1859 he issued his general order No. 1, which was to organize his provisional army into companies, regiments, brigades, and divisions, and signed his name John Brown, Commander in Chief.

This order was issued while at the Kennedy farm, but he soon after moved to an empty schoolhouse near Harper's Ferry, where he stored hundreds of carbines, pistols, spears, sabres, cartridges, caps, powder, and military supplies with which he intended to arm the negroes when they rose in insurrection in response to his call.

Everything was now ready, and the unsuspecting Virginians were to receive a thunderbolt from a clear sky.

On Sunday night Oct. 16, 1859, about eleven oclock, John Brown, the assumed Commander in Chief, at the head of fourteen white men from Connecticut, New York, Ohio, Iowa, Pa, Maine, Indiana, and Canada, with five free negroes from Ohio, Pa., and New York, in all twenty insurgents fully armed, crossed the Potomac into Virginia at Harper's Ferry; they overpowered the guard at the Baltimore and Ohio R. R. Bridge and also captured the armory and arsenal in the town and the rifle factory on the Shenandoah above the town, and placed guards on the corners of certain streets.

Brown established himself in a thick walled brick house at the armory gate, one room of this house was used for a fire engine. He then sent out six men under Capt. Stephens in the dead hours of the night, to seize a number of leading citizens in the neighborhood, and incite the negroes to rise and murder their owners.

This party broke into the house of Col. L. W. Washington, five miles out from Harper's Ferry at 1.30 A. M., and forced him and four of his servants to go with them, they also took a farm wagon of the Colonel's.

On their way back at 3 A. M. they captured Mr. Allstadt and six of his negro men, and armed the latter on the spot.

When they arrived at Harper's Ferry, Cook, the spy, was sent with five of the captured negroes and Col. Washington's four

horse wagon over to the schoolhouse on the Maryland side, to bring up the ordinance stores that Brown had deposited there.

Brown then halted a railroad train on the Baltimore and Ohio Road, one of his men killing the guard at the bridge.

His men captured the citizens of Harper's Ferry as they appeared upon the streets in the early morn, to the extent of about forty.

He placed Col. Washington and Mr. Allstadt, two of the most prominent citizens, in the engine house room which he had selected to make his point of defense. By this time it was daylight, and the news spread rapidly and the citizens of the surrounding country began to flock in, armed as best they could to resist this high handed invasion of their homes. By 11 A. M. of the 17th, The Jefferson Guards of Charlestown, Va. arrived.

They were soon followed by other companies, two from Shepardstown and one from Martinsburg, all under the command of Col. R. A. Baylor.

These troops soon forced the invaders within the armory enclosure and had them surrounded. Brown then withdrew his forces to his principal point of defense and carried ten of the most prominent citizens that he had captured with him.

He called them his hostages, in order to insure the safety of his band.

From the opening that they made in the building they fired on all the whites who came in sight.

This state of affairs continued during the 17th; but after sunset Capt. B. B. Washington from Winchester arrived and three companies from Frederick City, Maryland, under Col. Shriver, and later came companies from Baltimore under Gen. C. C. Edgerton, and a detachment of U. S. Marines under Lieut. Green and Major Russell, accompanied by Lieut. Col. R. E. Lee of the 2nd U. S. Cavalry, with his Aide, Lieut. J. E. B. Stewart of the 1st U. S. Cavalry.

Col. Lee happened to be at his home at Arlington, Va., when he was ordered to proceed to Harper's Ferry, and take charge of the situation, recapture the U. S. Armory and Arsenal and restore order. This he proceeded to do by crossing the Marines over the Potomac during the night and disposed them on the Armory ground, and then invested the whole

situation with the Volunteer troops. He waited for daylight instead of making a midnight attack on Brown's stronghold, to keep from sacrificing the lives of the ten citizens that Brown had forced to remain in there with himself and his band.

By daylight of the 18th, everything was ready for the attack on Brown's stronghold.

Col. Lee under flag of truce sent Lieut. J. E. B. Stewart to John Brown, with a written demand to surrender himself, his associates and the prisoners he had taken, and restore the pillaged property; if he would do this, he and his associates would be kept in safety to await the order of the president of the United States; but if he was compelled to take them by force, he could not answer for their safety.

This offer was spurned by Brown, and in a few minutes Col. Lee ordered twelve Marines under Lieut. Green to attack Brown's stronghold, batter down the doors and bayonet his party, being careful not to injure the citizens or slaves that Brown had as prisoners, unless they should resist.

The attack was made at once, but Brown had so barricaded the doors from the inside with the fire engine ropes etc., that the sledge hammers were of no avail; so Col. Lee ordered up a portion of the reserve with a ladder as a battering ram, and this knocked a hole in the door by which the assaulting party gained admission.

Up to this time Brown's fire was harmless, but as the Marines dashed through the door, one of their number was killed, but the others in a few minutes ended the contest by bayoneting the insurgents that resisted.

Lieut. Green cut down Brown with his sword, and the entire party was captured except Cook.

A party of marines under Lieut. Stewart was sent to the schoolhouse and the Kennedy farm to take charge of the munitions of war that Brown had stored there, and they were enough for a respectable campaign.

Col. Lee made an official report of the entire affair to Col. Cooper, then Adjutant General of the U. S. Army, in which he reported Brown as having said, that he intended to liberate the slaves of Virginia and the whole South, but he had been disap-

pointed in the expected aid from the blacks and also from the whites in the North as well as the whites in the South.

Not even the negro men he had captured and armed, and had in his stronghold at the engine house, took any part in the battle, and returned home as soon as released. The defeat of his whole purpose showed the result of a fanatic and a madman.

Col. Lee, by order of the Secretary of war, John B. Floyd, turned over to the U. S. Marshal and sheriff of Jefferson Co., Va., Brown, two white men and two negroes. Ten white men and two negroes in Brown's band were killed during the battle. One negro was never accounted for, and Cook, the spy, escaped, but was afterwards captured and executed.

The insurgents killed in the battle, three white men: Mr. F. Beckham, the mayor of Harper's Ferry, Mr. G. W. Turner, and private Quinn of the Marines; also a R. R. porter, and wounded eight white citizens and one marine.

Col. Lee in his report thanked Lieuts. Stewart and Green and Maj. Russell for their efficient service, and enclosed a copy of the Provisional Constitution that Brown and his party had prepared for the people of the United States, while they were in Canada.

During the afternoon of the 18th, Gov. Henry A. Wise of Virginia, arrived at Harper's Ferry, and took such precautionary measures as he thought best for the protection of Virginia and the enforcement of the laws.

Brown having been turned over to the civil authorities of Jefferson County, and the regular fall session of the circuit court meeting on the 20th of October, only two days after Brown's capture, he was indicted by the grand jury for treason and murder.

He was prosecuted by Hon. Andrew Hunter of Va., who made a national reputation by the able manner in which he conducted the case.

Brown was defended by able counsel from Virginia and other States, including the Hon. Dan W. Voorhees, of Indiana. He was convicted and condemned; his trial lasted nearly a month; and Brown himself, admitted that it was fair and impartial.

He was condemned to be executed on Dec. 2nd, 1859. His counsel asked the Court of Appeals for a stay of execution, but this was refused.

After Brown was convicted and waiting his execution, Madam Rumor had it that Northern sympathizers would make an effort to release him, but Gov. Wise had about 1,000 State troops in and about Charleston, and among these were cadets from the Virginia Military Institute under command of Col. F. M. Smith; Maj. T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson was present in command of the cadet artillery.

After the execution on Dec. 2nd, Jackson wrote to his wife and said, that his command was in front of the cadets, all facing South. He also said, "I put a portion of the artillery under Mr. Trueheart, on the left, and I remained with the other on the right, and other troops were in different positions about the scaffold."

"It was a solemn scene, to think that a man in the vigor of health must in a few moments enter eternity."

"I sent up a petition that he might be saved. I hope he was prepared to die, but I am doubtful."

On the day of Brown's execution, bells were tolled and guns were fired in many places in the North, and public meetings were held for the purpose of glorifying his bloody deeds, and midnight assassin assaults, recognizing him as a martyr to their works and teachings. His name became a slogan to the men who afterwards overran the South.

It is interesting to note the men who were more or less connected with the investigation, capture and execution of John Brown and his comrades, and who figured greatly in our civil war as Confederate generals. They were S. Cooper, R. E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, J. E. B. Stewart, John B. Floyd and Henry A. Wise, also Colonels J. C. Faulkner and A. R. Boteler. In a committee appointed by the U. S. Senate to inquire into the facts concerning the invasion, were Jefferson Davis and J. M. Mason, and they had before them as witnesses Hon. W. H. Seward, J. R. Geddings, Henry Wilson and Andrew Hunter. John A. Andrews, Governor of Massachusetts secured the funds to pay Brown's counsel.

About this time appeared one of the most remarkable and dastardly publications that was ever written, in its hatred and malignity towards the Southern people. This was "Uncle Tom's Cabin," written by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. She was a sis-

ter of Henry Ward Beecher, the man of God, who, when the Kansas trouble was going on, got up in his church in Brooklyn and subscribed twenty-five Sharpe's rifles to murder the border ruffians, as he called the Southern sympathizers in Kansas, and said "that he would raise the money to pay for them in his church the next Sunday," which he did.

What an unholy aspect it was to behold a pretended follower of the meek and lowly Jesus, whose teachings have always been "peace on earth, good will towards men," aiding, abetting and advising the shedding of blood, murder, arson and lawlessness, instead of praying to God, the ruler of the affairs of men, to pour oil on the troubled waters.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" contained overdrawn and highly colored pictures of the punishment of the negroes by their masters. This was intended to inflame the minds of the Northern people. It also irritated the Southern people, for they knew its falsity, and this helped to widen the breach between the two sections.

Now, this invasion of Virginia, by John Brown, for the purpose of setting free her slaves, and those of the other slave States, as he himself said, did it not justify Virginia in enforcing her laws and protecting her property? Let us see. Of the sixteen States and territories holding slaves in 1860, Virginia held a commanding position. Of the 384,884 slave-holders in the United States, 52,128 lived in Virginia—about one-seventh. Georgia came next with 41,084; Kentucky, third with 38,654; Tennessee, fourth, with 36,844; now, these four States contained nearly half of all the slave-holders.

Of the 3,953,743 slaves in all the Southern States and territories, Virginia owned 490,865, or about one-eighth of the whole; Georgia held second place with 462,198; Mississippi third, 436,-631; South Carolina fourth, 402,406. These four States owned nearly one-half of all the slaves at the beginning of the war.

The Southern States to a great extent, had bought this enormous property from the Northern people, and the money that they paid for these negroes had been invested in the North, and as the compact of 1787 would never have been signed had it not guaranteed the protection of negro slavery, Virginia would have been nothing ess than a traitor to her people if she had done less

than she did, viz: wipe John Brown and his band from the face of the earth.

If there had been an invasion of the North to destroy factories built by money that southern people paid for northern negroes, a howl of distress would have gone up, that would have been greater than the rebel yell that went up at Chickamauga on the Sunday evening after Snodgrass Hill was taken.

While John Brown was carrying on his bloody work in Virginia in 1859, which was approved by the abolitionists of the North, a book was written to be circulated in the campaign of 1860 called the "Impending Crisis." This book was to show that the free labor of the North was more profitable than the black labor of the South, therefore, the black labor ought to be abolished.

This book referred to slavery and the Southern people in very unbecoming terms. I will make a few quotations from it, in order that the reader may form his own opinion as to its feelings towards the South.

Page 149. "We are determined to abolish slavery at all hazards, in defiance of all opposition, of whatever nature, it is possible for the slavo-crats to bring against us; of this they may take due notice and govern themselves accordingly."

Page 156. "On our banner is inscribed, No cooperation with slave holders in politics, no fellowship with them in religion, no affiliation with them in society. In fact no recognition of pro-slavery men except as ruffians, outlaws, and criminals."

Page 158. "It is our honest conviction that all the pro-slavery slave-holders deserve to be at once reduced to a paralell with the basest criminals that lie fettered within our public prisons."

Page 162. "Three quarters of a century hence, if the South retains slavery, which God forbid, she will be to the North what Poland is to Russia, Cuba to Spain, and Ireland to England."

Page 163. "The black God of slavery which the South has worshipped for 237 years."

On page 168 it said, "Slavery is a great moral, social, civil, and political evil, to be rid of at the earliest practical period."

Page 180. "In any event, come what will, transpire what may, the institution of slavery must be abolished."

Page 187. "Our purpose is as firmly fixed as the eternal pillars of heaven, we have determined to abolish slavery, and so help us God, abolish it we will."

Page 234. "We believe it is as it ought to be, the desire, the determination, and the destiny of the Republican party to give the death blow to slavery."

Page 329. "Shall we pat the blood-hound of slavery, shall we fee the curs of slavery, shall we pay the whelps of slavery? No! Never."

Now these dark and bitter teachings must have been conceived in the brains of iniquity, written with a pen that had been dipped in the blackest and most poisonous of gall, driven by a hand of an infuriated and bloodthirsty demon, who was a stranger to God and justice, spreading its vile sentiments upon sheets soaked in wormwood for its unholy purpose.

The contents of this book, "The Impending Crisis", was endorsed by sixty-eight republican members of Congress. Now what was the South to do, when this was the sentiment that had elected a president in Nov. 1860? Must she sit still and see her property taken from her without remuneration, or should she secede and try to protect it according to the compact of 1787?

When the British Government emancipated the Blacks in her colonies she acted with the strictest commercial equity, but the Republican party denied any compensation for the negroes that they sold to the "curs and whelps" of the South, and threatened to secede from the Union because they were not allowed to continue in the slave trade.

Before we close this article, let us give to some extent a review, First, In forming the Government the thirteen States conferred upon the Federal Government the power to tax slave property, to protect it from foreigners on land and sea, and also from domestic escape, and conferred no other powers.

Second. The Abolitionists of the North clung to the profits of the slave trade as long as they were permitted, and then attacked the slave system when they were deprived of its profits.

Third, At the beginning of our government, all of our territory was slave territory, a large portion of it became free territory by the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slaves north of the Ohio

river, and by right of the Northern States abolishing slavery.

Fourth, By the Missouri Compromise of 1820, prohibiting slavery north of 36.30.

Fifth, By the act admitting Texas, re-enacting the Missouri Compromise line of 1820; the above acts show that the North had driven slavery out of half of the territory of the United States.

Sixth, The Constitution of the United States made it the duty of the Federal Government to protect slavery wherever found, until the people could by vote decide whether or not they wanted it in that particular territory.

Seventh, The agitation of the slave question grew out of the chagrin of New England being deprived of the slave trade and its profits; and the Louisiana purchase.

Eighth, The emancipation idea made steady progress in the Southern States until the abolitionists forced the slave holders on the defensive.

Ninth, The cry of the free soiler was raised by Martin Van Buren in 1848 to revenge his failure of renomination by the South at Baltimore.

Tenth. The compromise of 1850 was carried by the influence of Henry Clay.

Eleventh. The violation of the different compromises by the Northern States, and by the passage of the Personal Liberty Bill Acts, which was a direct blow at the Fugitive Slave Act.

Twelfth. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise act in 1854 by the influence of Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois.

Thirteenth. An attempt by the abolitionists to make Kansas a free state without any regard to the teachings of the constitution.

Fourteenth. The violent agitation of the slavery question at the North was soon followed by John Brown's raid into Virginia.

Fifteenth. The people in the North to justify their over-riding the Constitution and the laws of Congress in violation of the compact of 1787, called it a higher law.

Sixteenth. In 1787, the South entered into a civil compact with the North on certain conditions and guarantees, which the



MAJ.-GEN. JNO. C. BRECKINRIDGE.

See page 373.

North violated time and again, and when the South was forced to secede she only returned to her original sovereignty.

Seventeenth. The South asserted her independence in 1861, as the thirteen colonies did in 1776, and it is an undeniable practice of the European nations to repudiate a government who assails their rights, and sacrifices their best interests.

Eighteenth. The above were the causes of our great civil war, and the writer, as a Confederate soldier, from start to finish, believes it was far better to have fought and lost, than never to have fought at all.

We have now arrived at the year 1860, the year to elect a President and Vice-President to succeed James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge. This year found the political horison much clouded. Upon the different issues, the people had divided and sub-divided until four parties, instead of two, had candidates in the field for these high offices.

The first of the great parties to step into the arena and shy its castor, by holding its National Convention at Charleston, S. C., on the 23rd day of April, 1860, was the Democratic party.

After much dissension and bitterness it split into two wings, one of said wings met in convention in Baltimore on the 23rd day of June and nominated Stephen A. Douglass of Illinois, for President, and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, for Vice-President. This convention also declared in favor of leaving the slavery question to the voters of each territory, or to Congress. This convention was composed mostly of Northern Democrats.

The Southern wing of the Democratic Party met in Charleston, S. C., on June 28, and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice-President, and they declared that neither Congress nor a territorial legislature had the right to prohibit slavery in a territory, and it was the duty of the Federal Government to protect slavery in a territory when necessary, or until its people could take a vote thereon.

The third party who called themselves the Constitutional party met in Baltimore, on May 9, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice-President, their platform was the "Union, the Constitution and the Enforcement of the Law."

The Republican or Abolition party met in National Convention in Chicago, on May 18, and nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for President, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for Vice-President, and they declared in favor of the abolition of slavery in the territories by congressional action.

Now the candidates of the four parties having been nominated and their platforms defined, a hot political contest followed.

The election was held on November 6, 1860, which elected Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamblin, who received 180 electoral votes out of a total of 313, and every one of these 180 votes were cast by states north of the Mason and Dixon line. Breckinridge and Lane received 72 votes, all from the Southern states, including Maryland and Delaware.

Bell and Everett received 39 votes from Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia; while Stephen A. Douglas and Herschel V. Johnson received only 12 votes and these from the state of Missouri.

So you will see that Lincoln and Hamlin received more votes in the electoral college than all three of the other candidates combined.

We will now investigate the popular vote. There was cast in this election 4,662,170 votes. Of this number Lincoln and Hamlin received only 1,857,610 votes against 2,804,560 cast for the other three candidates, which showed that Lincoln did not get the popular vote by 946,950 votes, this also showed the manifest injustice of the electoral college.

Now the election of a sectional candidate by a purely sectional vote greatly alarmed the Southern people.

A number of Southern states soon called conventions to consult and determine what course they would pursue.

Here is what Mr. Lincoln said after he was elected. "I believe this Government can not endure permanently, half slave and half free."

"I do not expect the union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall, but *I do* expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other, either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it

shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Mr. Lincoln farther said, "I have always hated slavery as much as any abolitionist, I have always been an old time Whig. I have always hated it and I always believed it in a course of ultimate extinction. If I was in Congress and a vote should come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision I would vote that it should."

Now with the election of a president who entertained such sentiments as the above, by a party whose mission in life was to abolish slavery, I again ask the question, If the South intended to protect and maintain her self-respect, could she have done otherwise than what she did?

As the minds of the Southern people were pretty well made up, the different states began to hold secession conventions and to exercise their rights, according to the compact of 1787, of withdrawing from the Union.

The first State to secede was South Carolina, her ordinance of secession was passed on December 20, 1860.

Mississippi, on January 9, 1861. Florida, January 10, 1861. Alabama, January 11, 1861. Georgia January 19, 1861. Louisiana, January 26, 1861. Texas, February 1, 1861. Virginia, April 17, 1861. Arkansas, May 6, 1861. North Carolina, May 26, 1861. Tennessee, June 8, 1861. Missouri, October 31, 1861, Kentucky, November 20, 1861.

On the 4th day of February, 1861, the representatives of seven of these seceded States, that now belonged to no government, but were independent republics, met in Montgomery, Alabama, for the purpose of forming themselves into an allied power, or Confederate Government, for the mutual protection of themselves and their property. The states represented here were the states that had seceded before February 4, 1861.

The following were the seven states and the names of the delegates who represented them.

South Corolina, R. B. Rhett, James Chesnut, Jr. W. P. Miles, T. J. Withers, R. J. Barnwell, C. G. Memminger, L. M. Keith and W. W. Boyce.

Mississippi, W. P. Harris, Walter Brooks, A. M. Clayton, W.

L. Barry, T. J. Harrison, J. A. P. Campbell, and W. S. Wilson.

Florida, Jackson Morton, James Powers, and J. P. Anderson.

Alabama, Richard W. Walker, J. L. M. Curry, Robert H. Smith, C. J. McRae, John Gill Shorter, T. T. Hale, David P. Lewis, Thomas Fearn, and W. P. Chilton.

Georgia, Robert Toombs, Howell Cobb, Benjamin J. Hill, A. H. Stephens, Francis Bartow, M. J. Crawford, E. A. Nisbett, A. R. Wright, T. R. R. Cobb, and A. H. Kenan.

Louisana, John Perkins, Jr., D. F. Kenner, C. M. Conrad, Edward Sparrow, Henry Marshall, and A. De Clouet.

Texas, L. T. Wigfall, J. H. Ragan, J. Hemphill, T. N. Waul, John Gregg W. S. Oldham, and W. H. Ochiltree.

These fifty delegates representing seven sovereign States organized themselves into a convention by electing Howell Cobb of Georgia, Chairman, and J. J. Hooper of Alabama, Secretary.

Mr. Cobb was a leading advocate of the compromise of 1850. He was elected by the Union party Governor of Georgia in 1851, and he was later Secretary of the United States Treasury

Mr. Hooper, the secretary of the convention, was an Alabama editor and author of considerable note.

While the convention was being organized, hanging on the walls of the hall, were the portraits of Andrew Jackson, Marion, Washington and Henry Clay.

This first convention of the young Confederacy now being organized proceeded on February 9, 1861, to elect a President and Vice-President. The votes were taken by States separately, which resulted in the unanimous choice of Jefferson Davis of Mississippi for President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia as Vice-President. When this honor was conferred on Mr. Davis, he was at home on his plantation in Mississippi. He did not prefer to be the civil head of the young nation, but offering himself if needed, to its military service. Mr. Davis was one among the last to give up the hope of a reconciliation of the two sections.

He only withdrew from the United State Senate in obedience to the will of the state. He followed secession instead of leading it.

At the same time he was educated in the school of state sovereignity, and when the time came Jefferson Davis was no traitor

to his people, as were some who lived in the South. Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President elect, was a thorough devotee to the Union under the constitution. He stood to the last moment in Georgia against the secession act, but he was a firm believer in the legal principles of States' rights, and upon the withdrawal of his State from the Federal Union, let it be said to his credit, that he did not hesitate to whom he owed his allegiance.

A committee was appointed to notify these gentlemen of their election, and they were inaugurated on February 18, 1861, as President and Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy.

The president was at once directed to appoint committees on Foreign affairs, Finance, Judiciary, Military and Naval Affairs, Commerce, Postal, Patents and Printing; and all laws that were in force in the United States in November 1860, that were not in conflict with the Provisional Constitution of the Confederacy, were continued in operation.

The following Cabinet Officers were now appointed by President Davis: Department of State, Robert Toombs, of Georgia. Department of war, Leroy P. Walker, of Alabama. Treasury, Charles G. Memminger of South Carolina. Post Office, John H. Ragan, of Texas. Navy Department, Stephen R. Mallory, of Florida. Department of Justice, Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana.

The world could now see from the National reputation of these men, that the young nation would be led by intellect and patriotism.

President Davis at once appointed a commission of three, viz.— Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, Mr. John Forsythe, of Alabama, and Mr. A. R. Roman, of Louisiana, to go to Washington and confer with President Buchanan, in regard to the settlement of all matters of joint ownership of property of any kind within the limits of the Confederate States upon principles of right, justice, equity and good faith.

Up to this time it was said that President Buchanan was willing to receive such a commission, but before this commission reached Washington, President Buchanan had changed his mind, and said: that he had only three days more of official life left,

and he could not incur any further dangers of reproach from the people of the North.

President Davis next by the authority of the Confederate Congress, appointed three commissioners to represent the Confederate States in England and France. This commission was composed of W. L. Yancy of Alabama, A. Dudley Mann of Virginia, and Mr. Rost of Louisiana.

A number of measures were enacted during the months of February and March 1861. Three of the most notable were, first, "to punish persons convicted of being engaged in the slave trade;" second, by order of the President to borrow $15,000,000 at 8 per cent interest; the third was to authorize the President to ask for and accept 100,000 volunteers to serve for twelve months." (Confederate Military History, Vol. 1 page, 368.) The constitution by which the permanent government of the Confederate States of America was formed, was reported by the committee, and adopted by the Provisional Congress on the 11 of March 1861, to be submitted to the States for ratification, which was promptly done.

This Constitution varied in very few particulars from the Constitution of the United States, preserving carefully the fundamental principles of popular representation, democracy and confederation of co-equal states. The changes which were thought to substantially improve the United States document were the following: (we will refer our readers to Vol. 1, pages 369-370 Confederate Military History, for these improvements,) Viz. the official term of the President and Vice-President was fixed at six years, and the President was ineligible for re-election. In all cases of removals, except those of Cabinet officers and diplomatic agents, the cause was required to be reported to the Senate by the President. Congress was authorized to admit Cabinet officers to seats in either house with the privilege of debate, but without a vote on any measure affecting their department.

The President was given power to disapprove any appropriation in a bill, and to approve others in the same bill. The states as such were empowered to join in improving navigable rivers flowing between or through them. New States were ad-

missible into the Confederation by a vote of two thirds of both houses, the Senate being required to vote by States.

A Confederate official exercising his function within any State was subject to impeachment by its legislature as well as by the House of Representatives of the Confederate States, but in all cases the trial was to be by the Confederate Senate.

No act of bankruptcy would be permitted to discharge the debtor from contracts made before the passage of the act.

General appropriations of money must be estimated for by one of the heads of the departments, and when this was not done, the appropriation could not be made except by a two thirds vote in both houses.

Internal improvements by Congress and protection to foster special branches of industry were forbidden. Citizens of the several states could not sue each other in the general Confederate courts, but were confined in such suits to the courts of the States.

The power of Congress over the territories and the right of citizens of one State to enter any other State with his slaves or other property were settled according to the views of the South under the United States Constitution.

Except in a few minor respects the Confederate Constitution was modeled upon that great instrument that Thomas Jefferson wrote, viz: The Constitution of the United States.

Now, here is what Mr. President Davis said about it: "While he had no part in framing the Confederate Constitution, he believed that it was a model of wise and deliberate statesmanship," and referring to the question of slavery, that was so prominent in the discussion between the North and the South, he said: "With regard to slavery and the slave trade the provisions of the Confederate Constitution made an effective answer to the assertion so often made, that the Confederacy was founded on slavery and intended to perpetuate and extend it, that property in slaves already existing was recognized and guaranteed just as it was by the Constitution of the United States, and the rights of such property in the common territories were protected against any such hostile discriminations as had been attempted in the Union. But the extension of slavery was more distinctly and effectually precluded by the Confederate than by the Federal Constitution."

The Confederate Constitution forbade the importation of ne-

groes from any country other than the slave-holding states and territories.

Mr. Alexander Stephens, the Vice-President, said, concerning the Confederate Constitution, "This whole document relegates the idea which so many have been active in endeavoring to put in the enduring form of history, that the convention at Montgomery was nothing but a set of conspirators whose object was the overthrow of the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and the creation of a great slave oligarchy, instead of the free institution, thereby secured and guaranteed."

Now as the Confederate Government was fully organized and put in full operation, with good prospects for peace, this first Congress adjourned on March 16th, 1861.

While the Confederate Government was being organized at Montgomery, Ala., Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, was on March 4th, 1861, sworn in as President of the United States, Chief Justice Taney, who had pronounced the Dred Scott decicion, administered to him the oath of office.

The new cabinet was now formed by the appointment of W. H. Seward of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron of Penn., Secretary of War; Gideon Wells of Connecticutt, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb Smith of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Montgomery Blair of Maryland, Postmaster General; and Edward Bates of Missouri, Attorney General.

Now, as we have two full-fledged governments, and the Confederate troops had caused the surrender of Fort Sumter, Saturday, April 13th, 1861; and its evacuation on Sunday April 14th, which was the day President Lincoln issued his call on the different states for 75,000 troops, but dated his call on April 15th, to make it appear that the call was not made until after Fort Sumter was taken by the Confederates.

This first call for troops was signed on the 15th day of April, and on Wednesday, the 17th, troops were put in motion towards Washington, the extraordinary celerity of mobilizing troops by the Federal government showed conclusively that it had been preparing for war on her sister Southern States.

Up to this time only seven States had seceded, although Virginia seceded on the 17th, only two days later. All of the South-

ern States that had not withdrawn from the Union were included in his call for troops to serve for ninety days.

Here are the different replies of the Governors of the Southern States that had as yet not seceded. The Governor of Kentucky said, "Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister States."

The Governor of Virginia's response was, "the Militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view."

The Governor of Tennessee replied: "Not a man for coercion, but 50,000 for the defense of our rights and those of our Southern brothers."

The Governor of North Carolina tartly replied: "I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina."

Missouri's Governor answered: "The requisition is illegal, inhuman, diabolical, and can not be complied with;" and the Governor of Maryland replied by simply stating the condition of his State.

This call of President Lincoln dispelled all doubt of the purpose of the administration at Washington to enforce actual war by land or sea, upon the Southern States.

Viewing this bristling array of hostilities, the Southern States at once made preparations to defend themselves against invasion, and Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee soon seceded and joined the young Confederacy, while Kentucky and Missouri announced the purpose of remaining neutral.

Gov. Hicks of Maryland, asked the administration at Washington to respect the wishes of Maryland, and send no troops across her territory to invade Virginia.

L. Thomas, who was at that time, Adjutant General of the Federal Army, wired Gov. Hicks, that he, Hicks, as Govenor of Maryland had neither right nor authority to stop troops coming to Washington. So Adjutant General Thomas said, "send them on prepared to fight their way through if necessary."

This message was sent by Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, and at once Gen. Winfield Scott, a son of Virginia, who was in command of all the Federal forces, issued an order forming the

three states of Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania into a Military Department, paying no respect to the wishes of Maryland, viz: that no troops pass over her territory to invade Virginia.

Citizens of Baltimore, in addition to the request of Gov. Hicks, sent telegrams to Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, not to send troops through her city; but in spite of all these requests by the citizens of Maryland, a body of Federal troops from Massachusetts was thrown into the city of Baltimore, the citizens resented this invasion and the soldiers fired upon them, and thus the first blood was shed in the great war of the states.

Now, is not this a strange fact, that these soldiers from Massachusetts—the State that bought and sold more negroes into slavery than all the other states combined, that now, after this trading in human flesh was no longer profitable to her; her soldiers should shed the first blood for the emancipation of the very negroes that she had brought from Africa and enslaved? This is in keeping all along the line with the Puritan character. "The Leopard will never change his spots."

Massachusetts and New Hampshire were two of the bitterest of the Northern States in prosecuting the war against the South. Both of these states learned their interpretation of the Constitution from Daniel Webster and Joseph Story, one a Senator and the other a Justice of the Supreme Court.

Their sole effort was to make the people believe that the Constitution of the United States was not a compact. If it was, each State would have the right to withdraw from the Federal Union when she saw fit to do so.

Now, let us see what these two States said? The State of Massachusetts, in convention assembled, before signing the compact, is of the opinion that certain amendments and alterations be made to remove the fears of this commonwealth. 1st, That it be explicitly declared that all powers not delegated by the aforesaid Constitution, are reserved to the several States, to be by them exercised. Now, what did rabid New Hampshire do? She had adopted in her State Constitution the following: "That the people of this commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free sovereign and independent state and do, and forever hereafter shall exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction and right which is not, or may not, hereafter be by

them expressly delegated to the United States ;" and now she becomes rabid against the Southern States for asserting their rights.

When these reserved rights were so plainly taken care of by the different States, North, as well as in the South, no Webster or Story had come to the surface to proclaim the new doctrine, viz : that the Constitution of the United States had been formed by the people of the United States in contra-distinction to the people of the States, and it was this teaching of these two men, in my opinion, that caused the North *not* to let the South withdraw from the Federal Union in peace.

Massachusetts sent the first soldiers, and shed the first blood, to deny to the Southern States the same rights that she so explicitly reserved before she would sign the compact.

Would not a Southerner rather have been a Confederate soldier and died a hundred times than to have been a Massachusetts soldier, and have lived to draw a pension ?

At this time the Congress of neither government was in session. President Davis issued his proclamation for the Confederate Congress to meet at Montgomery, Ala., on April 29th, 1861; and a little later President Lincoln issued his proclamation for the Federal Congress to meet in Washington on July 4th, 1861. Now war between the States was fully on, and the resources of the two sections were beginning to be heavily drawn upon.

President Lincoln in his message to this Congress recommended that it give the legal means to make the contest short and decisive, by the placing at the control of the government 400,000 men, and $400,000,000; this call startled the world.

The Federal government was in the complete control of sixteen states, and they had an understanding this early in the war, that no party was to take political advantage to gain party success while crushing the rebellion. Hence, it was understood and agreed to by resolution that the war was not waged to emancipate the slaves. (Vol. 1, page 40, "Confederate Military History.") This was done to deceive the border States of Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland.

Did an intelligent world ever witness so base a falsehood as this scheme carried with it? It was puritanical, every word of it, and all for conscience sake.

The line that separated the two sections of the country was

known as Mason and Dixon's line. Those who lived South of the line were the Pro-slavery, and those who lived North of it were the Anti-slavery people. The original Mason and Dixon's line ran along the Southern border of Pennsylvania and separated that State from the two slave states, of Virginia and Maryland. It was run, with the exception of about twenty-two miles, by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two English surveyors, between Nov. 15th, 1763 and Dec. 26th, 1767, and during the debate in Congress in 1820 on admitting Missouri as a slave State, John Randolph, of Roanoke, Va., made such frequent use of this phraze, viz: Mason and Dixon's line, that the newspapers all over the country took it up, so that it gained such a celebrity that it holds it to this day.

This line was supposed by imagination to continue along the Northern border of Delaware east to the Atlantic ocean, and west along the Northern border of Kentucky, Missouri and Texas. The population that lived north of this line, preparing to wage war upon the South, was about 18,000,000; and the population south of this line was about 8,500,000; nearly 4,000,000 of whom were negroes, leaving a white population of about 4,500,000 that was to fight the war against 18,000,000.

But this was not the fight. There was Missouri, who was untrue to her sister Southern states, and sent into the Federal army 107,773 and less than 40,000 to the South. There was Kentucky, another Southern state, who by a vacillating and attempted neutral policy allowed 78,540 of her sons to take up arms to coerce her Southern sisters, as against 42,000 who followed the cross of St. Andrew. And Maryland, the state that shed the first blood, and was shown no respect by the government at Washington, for her wishes, sent 49,730 soldiers to destroy her Southern sisters, for trying to protect reserved rights, such as Maryland herself was so jealous of, before she would sign the compact of 1787.

The District of Columbia, which was south of Mason and Dixon's line, sent 16,872 soldiers to invade the State that gave birth to the men that secured the independence of the American people; and here was West Virginia, who furnished to the Northern army 30,000 men who ought to have stood side by side

with Lee, Jackson, and Stewart as dutiful sons defending a loving and kindly mother, who had done more for the American Union than any State that had signed the Compact of 1787. Our own Tennessee also furnished to the Federal army 31,500 men, among whom were some few good soldiers, but the bulk of the soldiers she gave to the North were but little force at home and less on the field of battle. There were also some 4,000 traitors to their States from Western North Carolina and North Georgia, making about 318,400 white men from the South who ought to have been in the Confederate army. Now add to this about 146,000 negroes from the South in the Federal army, and this will give the grand total of soldiers south of Mason's and Dixon's line who in a strict sectional war ought to have been in the Southern armies. This number amounted to 464,400 men, while the South only had in all of her armies from start to finish about 615,000 men.

The Federal Government brought into the field from all calls from President Lincoln from 1861 to 1865, 2,759,049 soldiers; about 400,000 of this number were foreigners, and 183,000 of whom were Germans. A large number of these are drawing a pension from the Federal Government to-day, and are living and spending this money in Germany. About 165,000 were Irish.

I have often wondered if the 3,000 ancestors of these Germans who surrendered with Cornwallis at Yorktown, on October 19, 1781, to the ragged rebels of our revolution, while here as hirelings of the British Government to keep your fathers and mine from getting from under the British yoke, ever received a pension from the English Government for such services.

At the beginning of the war the Northern sections were a manufacturing people, and the Southern section an agricultural people.

The North had her organized army, and her navy was supplied with the best arms and munitions of war known at the time; her factories, her currency already established, with unlimited credit. Her ports were all open to the world, with her government already organized and well in hand.

But not so with the South. Her government had to be formed, her cabinet officers appointed, her army mobilized and armed when she had no arms, no navy, no currency, no credit,

and no factories. She had to put her government machinery in motion, and try to establish her relations with the outside world. But there was one thing she did know, and that was, she had a full knowledge of her perpetual grievances and wrongs that she had received at the hands of the North from the foundation of the United States Government.

Now, let us see who were the people who fought the war between the States, or as the Yankee would have it, "the war of the rebellion."

The people who lived north of Mason and Dixon's line were the descendants of the Puritans, and were against slavery after they abandoned trading in it.

And the people who lived south of this line were the descendants of the cavaliers, and were in favor of slavery as guaranteed by the compact of 1787. Now as the foreigners would arrive on the shores of America, they, having an antipathy to slavery, would naturally drift to the north of the line, until the Northern people had married and intermarried until their's was a mongrel nation, and in the veins of some of their families their blood represented half a dozen nationalities. Not so with the South. We were left alone to marry and intermarry until we had produced the pure Anglo-American, that high type of American manhood and civilization that has always stood for honor, courage, and patriotism.

And we are to-day, 38 years after the war, the great conservative element of the country, and will sacrifice more than any other section, according to white population, to sustain and defend a decent form of Republican Government.

As near as we can learn, there were engaged from first to last, of all armies in the Confederate States, about 615,000 men.

We have shown that the number of troops, white and colored, that the South furnished to the Union cause, was 464,400.

The Northern States that furnished the troops for the Union armies in the great war were: —

New York	455,568	Connecticut	52,270
Pennsylvania	366,326	Maryland	49,730
Ohio	317,133	Vermont	35,256
Illinois	258,217	New Hampshire	34,605
Indiana	195,147	West Virginia	30,003



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Massachusetts	151,785	Minnesota	25,034
Missouri	107,773	Rhode Island	23,711
Wisconsin	96,118	Kansas	20,097
Michigan	90,119	Dist. of Columbia	16,872
New Jersey	79,511	Delaware	13,655
Kentucky	78,540	Tennessee	31,500
Iowa	75,860		
Maine	71,745	Making	2,676,575

Add to the above the negro soldiers from the South, and you have a grand total of 2,759,049, making nearly five to one.

This unequal contest lasted for four long and bloody years. Although President Lincoln, in his message to the United States Congress that met at Washington, July 4, 1861, asked that the Government be voted 400,000 men and $400,000,000 of money that the contest might be short and decisive.

The contest was neither short nor decisive, as at first thought by Mr. Lincoln, for he had to bring into the field more than six times 400,000 men.

When this fierce and bloody drama was over, what did we find? That the Federal Government was compelled to establish 79 national cemeteries, in which 279,376 of those who wore the blue were deposited; 61,362 of this number were killed in battle, 34,727 died of wounds received in battle, and 183,287 died of disease.

As the Confederate records (as stated before), were mostly destroyed, from the best information that we can get, the South lost during that struggle, in killed and deaths from wounds and disease, 133,821.

There were desertions from the Northern army amounting to 199,105, and from the Southern army, 104,128.

The number of United States troops who were confined in Southern prisons was 270,000, and the number of Confederates that were confined in Northern prisons was 220,000, and of these there were 4,000 more Confederates who died in Northern prisons than there were Federals who died in Southern prisons, thus showing who received the most humane treatment.

Now let us compare the three different wars that the United States has engaged in with the foreign powers, the number of men engaged in each, and the cost of each war, then see how in-

significant they were when compared with President Lincoln's short and decisive war.

During our Revolutionary war, which lasted from April 19, 1775, to April 11, 1783, there were engaged 309,791 troops, at a cost of $135,193,703. There were killed about 8,000 men.

Our second war with Great Britain began on June 18, 1812, and lasted to February 17, 1815. The number of troops engaged was 577,622; killed, 1,877; wounded, 3,737; total, 5,614. Cost of the war was $107,159,003.

The war with Mexico began April 24, 1848. In this war were engaged 112,230 men, of whom 1,049 were killed, and 904 died of wounds; total loss, 3,420, at a cost of $100,000,000. We will say nothing of our little wars with France, Tripoli, and our Indian wars.

But the great war between the States cost the United States, including her responsibilities growing out of the war, $6,189,929,909, besides her yearly footing of a pension bill of $142,000,000 that goes to satisfy a pension roll of 996,000 soldiers—ONE-HALF MORE THAN THE ENTIRE CONFEDERATE ARMIES ALL TOLD.

We are a firm believer in pensioning the worthy soldiers of either army, but when we see, 38 years after the war, one-third of the boys who wore the blue drawing pensions, I as a soldier who wore the gray must tell them (in common slang) that "they laid down on their job," and it is no credit to American soldiery.

Now, as best we could, we have given our readers the number of States engaged on each side in this great struggle, and the number of troops furnished by each. We will now attempt to tell where the dead of the Federal armies were buried. Nearly 300,000 have been accounted for, but there are hundreds whose destination has never been recorded.

Of the 79 national cemeteries that the Federal Government established at the close of the war, twelve of these were located in the Northern States. We will mention a few of the principal ones.

Cyprus Hill, at Brooklyn, N. Y., with its 3,786 dead; Finn's Point, N. J., which contains 2,644; Gettysburg, Penn., 3,575; Mound City, Ill., 5,226; Philadelphia, Penn., 1,909; Elmira, N. Y., 3,090, and others of less magnitude.

But in the South, near the scenes of the terrible conflicts, are deposited the bulk of the Federal dead.

At Arlington, Va., are buried 16,264 ; Beaufort, S. C., 9,241 ; Chalmette, La., 12,511 ; Chattanooga, Tenn., 12,962 ; Fredericksburg, Va., 15,257 ; Jefferson Barracks, Mo., 11,490 ; Little Rock, Ark., 5,602 ; City Point, Va., 5,122 ; Marietta, Ga,, 10,151 ; Memphis, Tenn., 13,997 ; Nashville, Tenn., 16,526 ; Poplar Grove, Va., 6,199 ; Richmond, Va., 6,542 ; Saulsbury, N. C., 12,126 ; Murfreesboro, Tenn., 5,602 ; Vicksburg, Miss., 16,600 ; Antietam, Va., 4,671 ; Winchester, Va., 4,559 ; Andersonville, Ga., 13,714.

Besides those that died in the prisons at Andersonville, Ga., and Saulsbury, N. C., there are some 5,000 that died in other Southern prisons, making the sum total of Federal soldiers who died in Southern prisons during the war between the States, 29,725.

The above number of Federal dead have been gathered from over the different fields of conflict and decently buried, and their graves are patriotically guarded by the Federal authorities, which is right and proper.

But where are the dead of the South? Their bones have bleached on every field between the Potomac and the Rio Grande. We had no time after a battle to gather our gallant dead, and hide them from the elements and vultures, except in the quickest and crudest manner. We would dig a trench six feet wide, from one to two feet deep, and lay them on their backs, side by side, then cover the faces of these gallant men with some well worn blanket (for we had to keep the best blankets for the living), and then in this hurried way we would leave our comrades and kindred, to be never again resurrected ; for when the contest closed, the boys who wore the gray and fell in defense of home, mother, and Southland, had no rich government to search the woods and fields and gather together their sacred dust into national cemeteries, in order that the sod and beautiful magnolias might remain fresh and green over them as a token of a grateful people for the heroic deeds and great sacrifices that they had made for principle, manhood, and patriotism. But, instead, the bushes and briars have hidden them away until, except in memory, these knights of the South have nearly lost their iden-

tity with a gallant people. Are they lost? No! Old Mother Earth has opened her arms six feet wide and welcomed them to her bosom, and said to them, "You will have no armed guard to watch by night over your hidden place, no electric light, that your white headstone may not be hid by the going down of the sun. Instead, however, you will have the God of justice to watch over your silent and shallow graves by night; and instead of an electric light, you will have the evening star to come first on duty, then the seven stars and the Pleiades will take the place of the evening star, to shed their brilliant lights over your hidden mounds. In the middle of the night time, and towards the coming day, these two will retire from duty, and the morning star will be seen coming from the east in all its glory, to remind the gallant dead that a Christ had risen, and that he, at the appointed time, will gather you into his sacred realm as a reward for duty faithfully done." And as the grand sentinel of day will come on duty, and the light of the morning star is completely obliterated by the effulgence of his rays, he will say to the boys in gray, "You have slept here unsought and unseen for years beneath the briars, the bushes, and the fennel, and as my light is in comparison to the light of the starry sentinels that preceded me, so are your records and deeds of glory as soldiers in comparison to all soldiers that have gone before."

We wish to say, when we buried these brave boys in the sixties in this hurried manner, and then hastily turned our backs on them to fight another battle, we would often repeat one of the verses of Charles Wolfe on the burial of Sir Thomas Moore, with a little change: —

"No useless coffin encloses your breast,
Nor with sheet nor shroud we bind you,
You will lay, like soldiers taking your rest,
With your gray jackets around you.

Quickly and sadly we have laid you down,
From the field of your fame, fresh and gory,
We carve not a line, we raise not a stone,
But leave you alone, in your glory."

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION JUSTIFIED BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR BY NORTHERN TESTIMONY.

We think we have shown conclusively from a Southern standpoint that any state, according to the compact, had a perfect right to secede when her people in their sovereign capacity, believed that their constitutional rights were disregarded. Even rabid Massachusetts and Rhode Island held to their reserved rights to the fullest degree.

The reasons that we are actuated to write such a paper, are, that the perversions of the truth are sown broadcast in the literature and oratory of the North and have even penetrated some sections of the South and are being taught to our children, when their Fathers know absolutely that it is false, and these falsehoods go to make up the periodicals, newspapers and even find their way into the permanent histories that are published in the North. Some of their best public speakers dare not tell the truth of the causes of the war for fear it will not meet with the approval of their constituency.

We know there were many brave men in the Federal Army because we have met them time and again in deadly conflict; yet, at their annual reunions, these brave men will sit and hear resolutions read and passed concerning the war, that they know are far from the truth. Viz,—such as, "The South began the war," which we of the South deny.

There were three leading questions upon which the war was fought. One was slavery; and the others were the right to secede, and the constant encroachment on their vested and retained rights under the original compact between the States. We have disposed of the former. Now where did the doctrine of secession first originate, and where was this doctrine most religiously taught? It was in New England, and no fair minded man can read the articles of agreement upon which the American Government was formed (and without this agreement, it could never have been formed), and not come to the conclusion, that the doctrine as then taught by New England, was just and right; and if it was just and right when taught by New England in 1803, it was surely as just and right when put into

effect by the South in 1860, when we had no change in the constitution.

Here is what an English writer said: "that he believed the right of secession was so clear that if the South had wished to do so from no better reason than it could not bear to be beaten in an election, and had submitted the question of its right to withdraw from the Union, to the decision of any court of law in Europe, she would have carried her point."

Can any one read the resolutions adopted by Virginia and Kentucky in 1798–99 (the Virginia resolutions were written by James Madison, the Father of the Constitution; and those of Kentucky by Thomas Jefferson, the Father of the Declaration of Independence), and deny what these Masters have said about the reserved rights of the States?

Mr Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts tells us that the North was controlled in these matters by expedience and not by principle. Mr Lodge also says, in his life of Webster. "When these resolutions of Virginia and Kentucky were adopted by these States and sent to the Northern Legislatures for their concurrence, they were disapproved, not on Constitutional grounds, but only on the grounds of expediency, and they could find no Constitutional grounds for opposing them, but it would not pay the New England States to endorse these principles."

A few years later when the New England States thought they were oppressed, they not only endorsed the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, but actually threatened to secede.

Here is what a distinguished Northern writer says: "that at the time the Constitution was accepted by the States, there was not a man in the country who doubted the right of each and every state to peacably withdraw from the American Union." In fact the right of secession was an underlying principle of the Constitution, and was accepted by all parties and that this doctrine was first advocated and threatened to be put into effect by the New England States.

So this same Northern writer tells us that a popular notion existed, that the secession doctrine originated with John C. Calhoun, and was therefore a South Carolina heresy; but this was wrong, and the States Rights doctrine or secession theory

originated with Josiah Quincy and was a Massachusetts heresy.

This secession doctrine was first enunciated by Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, in his opposition to the Louisiana purchase in 1803, when he said that if the bill passed, and the territory was admitted, the act would be a subversion of the Union, and the several States would be free from their Federal bonds and obligations, and that as it will be the right of all the States, so it will be the duty of some to prepare definitely for a separation, peaceably if they can, violently if they must.

Also in 1803, Col. Timothy Pickering, a senator from Massachusetts, complained of what he called "Oppression from Southern Democrats," and said: "I will not despair; I will rather anticipate a new Confederacy; this can be accomplished without spilling one drop of blood. I have but little doubt it must begin with Massachusetts. The proposition would be welcomed by Connecticut, and could we doubt of New Hampshire? But New York must be associated, and how is her concurrence to be obtained? She must be made the center of the Confederacy. Vermont and New Jersey would of course follow, and Rhode Island of necessity."

In 1839, John Quincy Adams, in a speech delivered in New York, said: "Far better will it be for the people of these disunited States to part in friendship with each other than to be held together by restraint."

This same ex-president from Massachusetts presented to Congress the first petition that was ever presented to that body for the dissolution of the American Union.

Mr. Wm. Rawls, a distinguished lawyer and jurist of Pennsylvania, said, in his work on the Constitution: "It depends on the State itself to retain or abolish the principle of representation, because it depends on itself whether it will continue a member of the Union. To deny this right would be inconsistent with the principles on which all our political systems are founded, which is that the people, in all cases, have a right to determine how they will be governed."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of the Bank of Augusta against Earle, 13 Peters, pp. 590, 592, declared that the States were sovereign.

As late as 1844 the Legislature of Massachusetts attempted to coerce the President and Congress by the use of this language: "The project of the annexation of Texas, unless arrested on the threshold, may tend to drive these States (naming the New England States) into a dissolution of the Union."

A short time after the nomination of Gen. Zachary Taylor for the Presidency, a petition was presented to the United States Senate, asking Congress to devise means for the dissolution of the Union, and the votes of Seward, Chase, and Hale were received in its favor.

There was a conservative element in the North who believed that the agitation against slavery was an invasion of the constitutional rights of the South, and among this number was Daniel Webster, the greatest Constitutional lawyer of his day, but they would not listen to him. See what he said in his great speech delivered at Buffalo, N. Y., May 22, 1851, from which we quote:—

"Then there was the fugitive slave law. Let me say a word about that. Under the provisions of the Constitution, during Washington's administration in the year 1793, there was passed by general consent a law for the restitution of fugitive slaves. Hardly any one opposed it at that period. It was thought to be necessary in order to carry the Constitution into effect. The great men of New England and New York all concurred in it. It passed and answered all the purposes expected from it until about the year 1841 or 1842, when the States interfered to make enactments in opposition to it. Now, I understand as a lawyer, and on my professional character do say to you, and to all, that the law of 1850 is decidedly more favorable to the fugitive slave than General Washington's law of 1793.

"Such is the present law, and, much opposed and maligned as it is, it is more favorable to the fugitive slave than the law enacted during Washington's administration in 1793, which was sanctioned by the North as well as by the South. The present violent opposition has sprung up in modern times. From whom does this clamor come? Why, look at the proceedings of the anti-slavery conventions. Look at their resolutions. Do you find among those persons who oppose this fugitive slave law any admission whatever that any law ought to be passed to carry into effect the solemn stipulations of the Constitution? Tell me any

such case. Tell me if any resolution was adopted by the convention at Syracuse favorable to the carrying out of the Constitution? Not one. The fact is, gentlemen, they oppose the consti tutional provision. They oppose the whole. Not a man of them admits that there ought to be any law on the subject. They deny altogether that the provisions of the Constitution ought to be carried into effect. Look at the proceedings of the anti-slavery conventions in Ohio, Massachusetts, and at Syracuse, in the State of New York. What do they say? 'That so help them God, no colored man shall be sent from the State of New York back to his master in Virginia.' Do they not say that? And to the fulfilment of that they pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. Their *sacred honor!* They pledge their sacred honor to violate the Constitution; they pledge their sacred honor to commit treason against the laws of their country."

Now also read what Mr. Webster said in another speech delivered at Capron Springs, Va., a short time after his Buffalo speech: —

"The leading sentiment in the toast from the chair, is the union of the States. What mind can comprehend the consequences of that Union, past, present, and to come. The Union of these States is the all absorbing topic of the day. On it all men write, speak, think, and dilate from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof. And yet, gentlemen, I fear its importance has been but insufficiently appreciated."

Again Mr. Webster says: —

"How absurd it is to suppose that when different parties enter into a compact for certain purposes, either can disregard any one provision, and expect, nevertheless, the other to observe the rest. I intend for one to regard, and maintain, and carry out to the fullest extent, the Constitution of the United States, which I have sworn to support in all its parts and all its provisions. It is written in the Constitution, 'No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up upon claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'"

"This is as much a part of the Constitution as any other, and as equally binding and obligatory as any other on all men, public or private. And who denies this? None but the abolitionists of the North. And pray what is it they will not deny? They have but one idea, and it would seem that these fanatics and the Secessionists at the South are putting their heads together to devise means to defeat the good designs of honest, patriotic men. They act to the same end and the same object, and the Constitution has to take the fire from both sides.

"I have not hesitated to say, and I repeat, that if the Northern States refuse, wilfully and deliberately, to carry into effect that part of the Constitution which respects the restoration of fugitive slaves, and Congress provides no remedy, the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact. A bargain can not be broken on one side and still bind the other. I say to you, gentlemen in Virginia, as I said on the shores of Lake Erie and in the city of Boston, as I may say in that city or elsewhere in the North, that you of the South have as much right to receive your fugitive slaves as the North has to any of its rights or privileges of navigation or commerce."

Mr. Webster also said: —

"I am as ready to fight and to fall for the Constitutional rights of Virginia as I am for those of Massachusetts."

Horace Greely, the noted abolitionist, one of the foster-fathers, if not the parent, of free soilism, perhaps the most widely popular and best informed of the Northern journalists, who must be regarded as an able exponent of the sentiments of the people, was outspoken even to rashness in upholding the doctrine of the right of secession. Indeed, his course would seem to prove that he did all in his power to hasten the Southern States into secession. We will give some extracts from the "New York Tribune," Mr. Greely's paper, beginning with the date when it was first known that Mr. Lincoln was certainly elected: —

"If the Cotton States shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless."—*N. Y. Tribune*, Jan. 9th 1860.

And again in the same issue of his widely circulated and influential paper, Mr. Greeley said:

"We must ever resist the asserted right of any State to remain in the Union and nullify or defy the laws thereof. To withdraw from the Union is quite another matter, and whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope to never live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets. Let them have both sides of the question presented. Let them reflect, deliberate, then vote, and let the action of secession be the echo of an unmistakable popular fiat. A judgment thus rendered, a separation thus backed, would either be acquiesced in without the effusion of blood, or those who rushed upon carnage to defy and defeat it would place themselves clearly in the wrong."

In the *New York Tribune*, Nov., 16th 1860, we find the following:

"Still we say in all earnestness and good faith, whenever a whole section of this republic, whether a half, a third or only a fourth, shall truly desire and demand a separation from the residue, we shall earnestly favor such a separation. If the fifteen slave states, or even the eight Cotton States alone, shall quietly, decisively, say to the rest, 'we prefer to henceforth be separated from you,' we shall insist they be permitted to go in peace. War is a hideous necessity at best, and a civil conflict, a war of estranged and embittered countrymen, is the most hideous of all wars. Whenever the people of the Cotton States shall have definitely and decisively made up their minds to separate from the rest of us, we shall urge that the proper steps be taken to give full effect to their decision.

"Now we believe and maintain that the Union is to be preserved only so long as it is beneficial and satisfactory to all parties concerned. We do not believe that any man, any neighborhood, town, county, or even state, may break up the Union in any transient freak of passion, we fully comprehend that secession is an extreme, an ultimate resort—not a constitutional, but a revolutionary measure. But we insist that this Union shall not be held together by force whenever it shall have ceased to cohere by the mutual attraction of its parts, and whenever the Slave States or the Cotton States only shall unitedly and coolly say to the rest, 'we want to get out of the Union,' we shall urge that

their request be acceded to." *N. Y. Tribune*, Nov. 19th, 1860.

"Some of the Washington correspondents telegraphed that Mr. Buchanan is attempting to map out a middle course to steer his bark during the tempest which now howls about him. He is to condemn the asserted right of secession, but to assert in the same breath that he is opposed to keeping a State in the Union by what he calls Federal Coercion. Now we have no desire to prevent secession by coercion, but we hold this position to be utterly unsupported by law or reason.—*N. Y. Tribune*, Nov. 24th, 1860.

"Are we going to fight?—But if the Cotton States generally unite in seceding, we insist that they can not be prevented, and that the attempt must not be made. Five millions of people, more than half of them of the dominant race of whom at least half a million are able and willing to shoulder muskets, can never be subdued while fighting around and over their own hearthstones. If they could be, they would no longer be equal members of the Union, but conquered dependencies."

"We propose to rest this potent engine from the disunionists by saying frankly to the Slave States, 'If you choose to leave the Union, leave it, but let us have no quarrel about it. If you think it a curse to you, and an unfair advantage to us, repudiate it, and see if you are not mistaken. If you are better by yourselves, go and God speed you. For our part, we have done very well with you, and are quite willing to keep along with you, but if the association is irksome to you, we have too much self respect to insist on its continuance. We have lived by our industry thus far and hope to do so still, even though you leave us.'

"We repeat that only the sheen of the Northern bayonets can bind the South wholly to the evils of secession, but that may do it. Let us be patient, neither speaking daggers nor using them, standing to our principles but not to our arms, and all will yet be well."—*N. Y. Tribune*, Nov. 30th, 1860.

"We again avow our deliberate convictions that whenever six or eight contiguous states shall have formally seceded from the Union, and avowed the pretty unanimous and earnest resolve of their people to stay out, it will not be found practicable to coerce them into subjection, and we doubt that any Congress can be found to direct and provide for such coercion. One or two States may be coerced, but not the entire section or quarter of

a Union. If you do not believe this, wait and see."—*N. Y. Tribune*, Dec., 1st, 1860.

"But if even seven or eight states send agents to Washington to say, 'We want to get out of the Union,' we shall feel constrained by our devotion to human liberty, to say, 'Let them go.' And we do not see how we could take the other side without coming in direct conflict with those rights of man which we hold paramount to all political arrangements, however convenient or advantageous."—*N. Y. Tribune*, Dec. 17th, 1860.

"Most certainly we believe that governments are made for the people, not people for the governments; that the latter derive their just power from the consent of the governed, and whenever a portion of this Union large enough to form an independent, self-subsisting nation shall show that and say authentically to the residue, 'We want to get away from you,' I shall say, and we trust self respect, if not regard for the principles of self government, will restrain the residue of the American people to say, 'Go.'"—*N. Y. Tribune*, Dec. 24th, 1860.

"Nor is it treason for the States to hate the Union and seek its disruption. A State, a whole section, may come to regard the Union as a blight upon its prosperity, an obstacle to its progress, and be fully justified in seeking its dissolution. And in spite of the adverse clamor, we insist that if ever a third or even a fourth of these States shall have deliberately concluded that the Union is injurious to them, and that their vital interests require their separation from it, they will have a perfect right to seek separation, and should they do so with reasonable patience and due regard for the rights and interests of those they leave behind, we shall feel bound to urge and insist that their wishes be gratified —their demand conceded."—*N. Y. Tribune*, Dec. 28, 1860.

In 1855, Benjamin F. Wade, a Senator from Ohio, said in a speech in the United States Senate: "Who is the "judge" in the last resort of the violation of the Constitution of the United States by the enactment of a law? Who is the arbiter, the General Government or the States in their sovereignty? Why, sir, to yield that point is to yield up all the rights of the States to protect their own citizens, and to consolidate this government into a miserable despotism." He was afterwards one of the most venemous of Southern haters. In 1860, Mr. Wade also

said: "I do not so much blame the people of the South, because I think they have been led to believe that we, to-day the dominant party (the Republican party), who are about to take the reins of government, are their mortal foes, and stand ready to trample their institution under foot."

President James Buchanan and his Attorney General, Jeremiah Black, of Pennsylvania, decided that there was no power under the Constitution to coerce a seceding State.

This Massachusetts heresy of secession was held in the North before the war, and in no uncertain tones since the war. In an article written by Benjamin J. Williams, a distinguished writer of Massachusetts, and published in the Lowell Sun of 1886, in which he said: "Died for their State. When the original thirteen colonies threw off their allegiance to Great Britain, they became independent States, independent of her and of each other. The recognition was of the States separately, each by name, in the treaty of peace which ended the war of the Revolution."

And that this separate recognition was deliberate and intentional, with the distinct object of recognizing the States as separate sovereignties, and not as one nation, will sufficiently appear in the sixth volume of Bancroft's History of the United States.

The articles of Confederation between the States declared that each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence; and the Constitution of the United States, which immediately followed, was first adopted by the States in convention, each State acting for itself in its sovereign and independent capacity, through a convention of its people. And it was by this ratification that the Constitution was established between the States so ratifying the same. It is a compact between the States as sovereigns, and the Union created by this Federal partnership is their common agent for the transaction of Federal business within the limits of the delegated powers.

This able writer also said, "Now if a partnership between persons is purely voluntary, and subject to the will of its members severally, how much more so is one between sovereign States, and it follows, that just as each, separately, in the exercise of its sovereign will entered the Union, so it may, separately in the exercise of that same will, *withdraw therefrom*.

And further, the Constitution being a compact to which the States are parties having no common judge, each party has a right to judge for itself, as well, infractions, as of the mode and measures of redress, as declared by Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison in the celebrated resolution of 1798–99, *and the right of secession irresistibly follows.*

But aside from the doctrine of either partnership or compact, upon the grounds of State sovereignty, pure and simple does the right of State secession impregnably rest, this is what Mr. Benjamin J. Williams, a Massachusetts man, declared, 21 years after the close of the war.

Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts also said, "that when the compact was signed there was not a man in the country, with Washington and Hamilton on the one side and Clinton and Mason on the other, but who believed that the new system was anything more than an experiment entered into by the States, and from which each and every State had a right to peaceably withdraw, a right which was very likely to be exercised.

Mr. Jas. A. Carter, an eminent lawyer of New York, but a native of New England made a speech at the University of Virginia in 1898, in which he said, — "I may hazard the opinion that if the question had been made, not in 1860, but in 1788, immediately after the adoption of the Constitution, whether the Union formed by that instrument, could lawfully treat the secession of a State as rebellion, and suppress it by force, few of those who participated in forming that instrument would have answered in the affirmative."

As a clincher to the right of secession, when the war was over, Mr. Davis was arrested and indicted three times in the Federal Courts, and kept in prison for three years, when Mr. Davis' counsel appeared before the bar that his enemies had selected and demanded a speedy trial which was refused time and again, until at last they consented to try the case. This court then declined to meet the real issues involved, before its own tribunal, because they were advised by the best lawyers and statesmen of the North, that the decision must go against the North and in favor of the South. So in order to evade the real issue, the Chief Justice, himself, suggested a technical bar to the prosecution, which was adopted by the court and the case was dismissed.

This mock trial of President Jefferson Davis ought to satisfy any thinking mind of the Constitutional right of secession. If Mr. Davis had not had that right he would have been hung.

When our reader shall have corralled the facts set forth in this little volume, do you wonder that the Grand Army people would have the South keep silent about the facts of the war, and not teach the Southern Youth the truths for which their Father's fought?

We, of the South, deny that we began the war: it is true that we did fire the first gun, but did we not have more than sufficient provocation for doing so, when a hostile fleet was already on its way to attack us?

Now let us see what Mr. Hallum, the great Constitutional historian of England says, — "It is not the party who fires the first gun who begins a war, but it is the party who makes the firing of the first gun necessary." And we, of the South, say that the firing of the first gun at Sumpter was absolutely necessary.

When the Confederate Government was first organized, it sent three Commissioners to Washington to treat with Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, upon all questions growing out of the political situation and separation upon terms of amity and good will as the respective interests and future welfare of the two nations might render necessary. Although Mr. Seward refused to treat with the Confederate Commissioners directly, he did so through the medium of Justices Campbell and Nelson of the Supreme Court of the United States, and through them the Confederate Commissioners were given to understand, that Fort Sumpter would be evacuated within a few days, and they were kept under that impression from March 15, to April 7, 1861, by repeated assurances from Mr. Seward through Judges Campbell and Nelson, to the commissioners. Yet during these 23 days, a relief squadron was being fitted out to reinforce Fort Sumpter, and even on the last day when the squadron had received orders to sail, Mr. Seward wrote to Judge Campbell these words, "Faith as to Sumpter fully kept, wait and see." When he wrote this he knew at the time that he was misleading Justices Campbell and Nelson and deceiving the Confederate Commissioners and writing as un-

qualified a falsehood as the Devil would have him write. This is all in keeping with the easterner, he will look you in the face and tell you of agreements, and when you turn your back he will chuckle in his sleeve to think you was such a fool as to believe him worthy of confidence.

Justice Campbell wrote two letters to Mr. Seward setting out all of the details of the deception and falsehood he had practiced on the Confederate Commissioners through himself and Judge Nelson, and asked an explanation of the matter; but no explanation ever came. He, W. H. Seward Secretary of State, had simply lied and that was all there was to it. Mr. Seward's memorandum made at the time showed that he was acting with the knowledge and approval of Mr. Lincoln all through this matter.

On February 6, 1861, before the peace Congress, Justice Chase, of the Supreme Court of the United States, said,—"The Northern States will never fulfill their part of their constitutional obligation." (meaning the slavery question.) This was said in defiance of decision after decision of the United States Supreme Court, and in knowing violation of the Constitution.



CAPT. ALBERT ROBERTS, CO. A.
"JOHN HAPPY."
See page 408.

PART II.

COMPANY HISTORIES.

COMPANY "A"

Company "A" of the 20th Tenn. Infantry, C. S. A., was raised in Nashville early in the spring of 1861, and known as the "Hickory Guards" in honor of the hero of the Hermitage.

W. L. Foster was elected Captain. Bailey Peyton, 1st Lieut., Albert Roberts, 2nd Lieut., and W. E. Demors, 3rd Lieut.

Orville Ewing, Orderly Sergeant. W. G. Ewin, 2nd Sergeant, W. W. Shute, 3rd Sergeant, L. E. Cato, 4th Sergeant.

W. J. Robertson, 1st Corporal. J. W. Spencer, 2nd Corporal, J. C. Pentecost, 3rd Corporal, and Wm. Kennedy, 4th Corporal.

This company was mustered into the State service May 15th, 1861, and sent to Camp Trousdale for instruction at once. Here they put in a great deal of time drilling and it was justly called the best drilled company in the Regiment, and at the organization of the Regiment, the Hickory Guards were given the place of honor, which was Compay A., the extreme right and head of the Regiment.

The members of this Company were nearly all mature men, and well did they learn the art of war.

Capt. Foster resigned during the winter of 1861, and Lieut. Peyton succeeded him in command. This Company having been made up of men from in and around Nashville, had in it some first class disciples of Bacchus, and when they could obtain the "Spiritus Frumenti," they would give their officers trouble, but this did not seem to impair their fighting qualities.

Company A went with the Regiment when it was ordered to Virginia early in July 1861, when it went by way of Nashville, Chattanooga, and Knoxville, and on to Bristol, but then were ordered back to Knoxville, then to Jacksboro, Cumberland Gap, and Cumberland Ford, Ky., then to Wild-Cat again, back to the Gap and around by Jamestown to Mill Springs, Ky. When the battle of Fishing Creek came off, Jan. 19th, 1862, Company A was commanded by that knightly young officer, Lieut. Bailey Peyton, who laid down his life on that day as

one of the first and brightest sacrifices that had as yet been laid on the altar of our Southland. A more gallant knight ne'er drew blade. When this young patriot espoused the cause of his Southland, his father, Hon. Bailey Peyton, was in the Federal Congress as a Union man, and remained so throughout the war.

At the death of the gallant Peyton and the resignation of Capt. Foster, Lieut. Albert Roberts was promoted to the command of Company A. Capt. Roberts was known throughout the land as a versatile and entertaining writer, under the "nom de plume" of "John Happy."

Capt. Roberts commanded his Company in the Battle of Shiloh and resigned after his first year's service, and was afterwards one of the Editors of that tart little sheet published at Chattanooga, called the "Chattanooga Rebel." When this publication succumbed to the influences of war, he accepted a position on the staff of the "*Atlanta Confederacy*," and later on the "*Montgomery Mail*."

At the re-organization of the Confederate army at Corinth, Company A made no mistake when it elected that gentle, gallant, manly, and moral young soldier, W. G. Ewin as their Captain. They had been with him on several fields, and knew the stuff from which he was made, and well and nobly did he command his Company through all the battles the regiment engaged in until the 27th of June, 1864, at Kennesaw Mt., when he lost a leg which ended his military career in the field, although he desired to remain with the army and asked to be put on post duty.

After the war he was elected Clerk of the Davidson County Court, one of the best offices then in the gift of the people, thus showing how popular he was at home.

W. W. Shute became 1st Lieut. of this splendid body of soldiers at its re-organization in 1862, and had the honor of being the last officer who commanded the remnant of the 20th Tennessee Regiment at the surrender in North Carolina, and on the return home.

Company A and Company B, the two wing Companies, did almost all of the skirmishing for the Regiment, and as an officer in Company B, we felt, when on the skirmish line, that

it would take three times our number of the enemy to force us back, for such men as Wallace Evans, Thos. H. Sneed, John Bradford, W. T. Porch, J. E. Patterson, J. O. Newsom, Henry Wolf, and a host of others, led by the gallant W. G. Ewin were almost invincible.

The roster of Company A from May 15th, 1861, to April 1865 at Greensboro, N. C., was as follows.

Captain, W. L. Foster, resigned during the winter of 1861. Dead.

1st Lieut., Bailey Peyton, killed at battle of Fishing Creek, Ky., Jan. 19th, 1862.

Lieut. Albert Roberts, was promoted to Captain and resigned May, 1862. Died in Nashville, Tenn. July 15, 1895.

Lieut. W. E. De Moss, resigned in the spring of 1862, helped to raise 10th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment and was elected its Colonel, and died a few years after the war, at his home in Davidson County, Tenn.

Orville Ewing, Orderly Sergeant, promoted to Asst. Adjutant General on W. H. Walker's Staff. Killed at Murfreesboro, 1862.

Anglen, Dave, died at Mill Springs, Ky.

Alloway, O. L. Dead. (Date and place unknown.)

Allen, J. R. Now at Soldier's Home.

Alford, C. H. Dead. (Date and place unknown.)

Berry, Rann. Living near Gallatin.

Baker, W. T. City Judge of Nashville.

Baker, F. M. Killed with General Morgan.

Brady, Jas. Dead.

Bradford, John. Living at Belleview.

Bradford, Edward. Dead.

Burt, W. H. Living at Lavergne.

Cannady, Madison J. Wounded at Baton Rouge, died after the war.

Cathey, Sam, Dead.

Cathey, John. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Cato, John. Died while at Knoxville.

Cato, L. E. Promoted Sergeant Major at re-organization. Killed at Murfreesboro, Friday, Jan. 2nd, 1863.

Crutcher, L. W. Dead.

Chilcote, A. B. Living at Chesla, Indian Ty.

Cheek, Hardy. Died at Rome, Ga.

Craighead, W. R.

Clardy, T. R. Dead.

Corley, Seth. Dead.

Dawson, J. R. Died at Soldier's Home.

Davidson, J. T. Dead.

Dix, Robt. Dead.

Ewin, W. G. Promoted to Captain, lost his leg at Kennesaw Mt., June 27, 1864. Died July 30, 1882.

Elliot, L. T.

Evans, W. W. Almost mortally wounded at Chickamauga, now living at Fairfield.

Frazier, J. H. Died at Murfreesboro.

Frazier, Thos. Dead.

Frazier, W. B. Member of the Nashville Police Force.

Graves, Henry, Wounded at Fishing Creek, now living at Nashville.

Greer, J. S. Living at Bellview.

Greer, John, Living at Bellview.

Harland, Joseph, Dead.

Harrison, B. O. Dead.

Hanly, Timothy, Dead.

Ham, A. Living at Narrows of Harpeth, Tenn.

Hawkins, Henry, Dead.

Hite, Jas. H. Dead.

Hill, W. H. Dead.

Higgins, Valentine, Dead.

Hogan, J. W. Dead.

Hobbs, Henry, Killed at Shiloh.

Hull, Robert, Killed at Chickamauga, Sept. 19th, 1863.

Jacobs, W. T.

Kahn, Julius, Killed at Chickamauga.

Kennedy, Wm. 4th Corporal, elected Lieutenant at re-organization, wounded several times, losing his thumb by fragment of the bomb shell that caused Capt. Ewin to lose his leg. Died after close of the war.

King, Anthony, Dead.

Lowery, Jas. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Lewis, Jno. Dead.
Moss, Chas. Dead.
Morris, A. J.
McCross, Tom. Dead.
McQuerry, G. W. Dead.
McAllister, W. Dead.
McNicholas, Jas. Dead.
Newsom, Jno. Dead.
Newsom, J. D. Dead.
Owen, B. T. Dead.
Patterson, J. E. Color Bearer, badly wounded at Fishing Creek. Dead.
Pentecost, J. C. Dead.
Porch, W. T. Living at Bakerville, Tenn. +
Porch, J. H. Dead.
Nicholson, N. J. Dead.
Robertson, H. Dead.
Robertson, W. J. Appointed Corporal at organization in 1861; transferred to Cavalry in 1862, and promoted to a Captaincy in the Tenth Tennessee Cavalry Regiment. Wounded severly with Forrest at Murfreesboro; died recently.
Richardson, T. G. Killed by negro soldier in Miss. while on furlough.
Russell, J. H. Dead.
Rutland, J. A. Dead.
Schlesinger, H.
Shute, Abe, Dead.
Shute, W. W. Promoted to 1st Lieut., now living in Nashville.
Sneed, Thos. H. Living in Nashville, badly wounded.
Stevens, W. H. Dead.
Stevens, Henry, Living in Nashville.
Stevenson, J. R. Dead.
Swift, Ed, Killed at Kennesaw Mtn.
Stewart, F. M. Dead.
Turner, A. G. Living in Texas.
Tigue, A. Dead.
Waldren, Patrick, Dead.
Williams, W. A. Dead.

+ Served with Co C. 10 Tenn Cavalry during latter part of War. Q.C.S.

Williams, Philip, Dead.

Wiles, W. A. Severely wounded at battle of Shiloh from which he never recovered, died in 1901.

Work, J. W. Dead.

Wolfe, Henry F. Died several years after the war.

Wynn, A. J.

Total rank and file, 94 men.



TIMOTHY JOHNSON, CO. B.

See page 422.



CAPT. CHAS. S. JOHNSON, CO. B.

See page 416.

COMPANY "B"

Company B of the 20th Tennessee Infantry was raised at and near Nolensville, Williamson County, Tennessee. The members of this company came from Williamson, Rutherford and Davidson Counties, as these three county lines all ran near the little village.

Joel Allen Battle of Davidson County was elected Captain, Dr. Wm. M. Clark of Davidson, was elected First Lieutenant; Thos. Benton Smith, Second Lieutenant, and W. H. Matthews, Third Lieutenant, the two last from Williamson County. M. M. Hinkle, Orderly Sergeant; B. F. Holland, 2nd Sergeant; John F. Guthrie, 3rd Sergeant; and W. H. Doyle, 4th Sergeant; First Corporal, E. L. Jordan; 2nd Corporal, W. S. Battle; 3rd Corporal, Harden Bostick; and 4th Corporal, Jas. Gambrill.

These were the Commissioned and Non-Commissioned officers of the Company. This company was called the Zollicoffer Guards in honer of Gen'l Felix K. Zollicoffer, as Battle and Zollicoffer were great friends and were both old line whigs.

After we had drilled in the country for several weeks, we were mustered into the service of the State of Tennessee at Nashville for one year, on the 17th day of May, 1861.

The Company was then ordered to return to their homes for ten days, preparatory to going into camp, and on the 27th of May we were put on board the L. & N train at Nashville and carried to Camp Trousdale, near the Tennessee and Kentucky state line, where we received our first camp instructions. A few companies had preceded us to this camp and others soon followed, and when suffient number had come, a regiment was formed and the Captain of the Zollicoffer Guards, Joel A. Battle, was almost unanimously elected Colonel of the 20th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry. First Lieut. Wm. M. Clark was promoted to Captain, Thos. Benton Smith to First Lieutenant and W. H. Matthews to Second Lieutenant. A hot contest was made over the vacancy for Third Lieutenant. The candidates were E. L. Jordan and

William McKinley, the latter had some reputation in the Mexican war and also had the support of Corporal W. S. Battle, a son of the Colonel's, and was elected Third Lieutenant.

After drilling in camp for about six weeks, Company B with the balance of the regiment was ordered to Virginia by way of Nashville, Chattanooga and Knoxville, and when we arrived at Bristol, we were halted and returned to Knoxville. A more detailed account of the trip will be given in our Regimental History. As we passed Chattanooga, a member of Company B, an Irishman by the name of Timothy Falvy, was taken sick and was left there in the hospital. He was stricken down with typhoid fever and when he recovered and returned to camp, the boys asked him how he liked the hospital. He said he did not like it at all, "for he laid there spacheless for six long weeks in the month of August, crying, wather, wather, wather, and he couldn't get a dhrop."

After the regiment broke camp at Knoxville, we went to Jacksboro, and thence to Cumberland Gap, and from Cumberland Gap to Cumberland Ford, in Knox County, Ky. Here we were encamped for several weeks, and while here a vacancy occurred for Corporal, and W. J. McMurray was elected. About this time the raid on Barboursville was made, but Company B did not participate in it. Soon after the Barboursville raid, General Zollicoffer moved on Wild-Cat with his full force, and on the march near London, a little village in Kentucky, we ran on a party of Federals, and one of the boys who had been in the advance came back and excitedly said, "Captain, they are in about a mile of us." The Captain replied, "Well, are we not in a mile of them? I guess they are as badly frightened as we are."

The next day we reached Laurel bridge. Just beyond the creek was a flat skirt of undergrowth, and we were told that the enemy was located in these woods; so Company B, commanded by Captain Clark, was ordered across the bridge and deployed as skirmishers, for the first time in the presence of the enemy, as we thought. We had scarcely gotten our skirmish line formed, when one of Company B saw some one in front of him and fired, and we at once had an order from our Captain to rally on the left group, which was a quarter of a mile from the right group, and your writer was in the right group. One can imagine how

those of us on the right felt trying to double quick through the thick undergrowth and fallen timber to reach our comrades on the left ; and when we did reach them, such confusion of both officers and men we never witnessed before or since. There were not a half dozen men of the entire company of 80 who had presence of mind enough to form a line of battle, and the whole thing was brought about by one of Company B firing on one of the 19th Tennessee Regiment that had preceded us across the creek, and we did not know it.

Order was restored, and we rejoined our regiment and proceeded on towards Wild-Cat, which we reached the next evening, with Battle's Regiment in front of Zollicoffer's brigade. It was here, that evening, that Company B saw the first dead Federal. The regiment waded Rock Castle River three times in less than two hours on a cold, frosty evening, and then went into camp about two miles from the enemy's fortification. Next morning early we began a slow approach on the enemy, up a deep ravine, with the 20th Regiment left in front, Company B being in the advance. We proceeded cautiously to the head of the ravine, and Company B was ordered to deploy as skirmishers, but was soon recalled and ordered off about a mile from the ravine road to guard the top of a high mountain. When we reached the top and found everything quiet, we threw out videttes, stacked our arms, and lay down, as we thought, in security, when all at once one of our videttes, by the name of W. H. Doyle, fired at a bushwhacker who was trying to slip upon us. About one-third of Company B were asleep, and as soon as Vidette Doyle fired, Captain Clark gave the command to fall in, fire, and fall back. The men, being aroused in such a surprised manner, hastily fell in line, fired, and began a hasty retreat as ordered, and if it had not been for Lieut. Thos. Benton Smith, the whole company of about 80 men would have run off the mountain, when they had not seen a single Yankee.

The company was finally rallied and carried back to our firing line, and we sent out a detail to see what had become of Doyle. He was found still at his post, and had never moved. He told the detail what he had seen and done, and went with them to the spot, and there they found a tall mountaineer dressed in blue jeans, with a squirrel rifle, and with a bullet hole in the back of

his neck, that wounded him so that he could not get away. That magnificent body of men that afterwards made such fine soldiers were getting in a fair way to have been ruined. After the battle we joined our regiment and bivouacked near the spot we did the night before, and began to retreat before day next morning back to Cumberland Gap over the same road that we had advanced.

About this time a vacancy of Sergeant occurred, for the Second Sergeant of Company B had to act as Orderly Sergeant in place of Sergeant John F. Guthrie, who had been sent home with an attack of typhoid fever, and Corporal W. J. McMurray was elected to the position. The brigade then went westward down the mountain by Jimtown, over by Monticello, on to Mill Springs, on the south bank of the Cumberland River. We crossed over and camped on the north bank of the river, remaining here until the night of Jan. 18, 1862, when our regiment was ordered to the battle field of Fishing Creek. In this engagement several members of Company B distinguished themselves, and especially Lieut. T. B. Smith, who was in command of the company. Our company lost several killed and wounded. On the night of Jan. 19, we recrossed the river, and retreated through the mountains to Gainesboro, in Jackson County, Tenn., on the bank of the Cumberland River, and from here to Murfreesboro, where we met the forces of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnson, on their way to the field of Shiloh. We were encamped a while at Iuka, and Burnsville, Miss. While at Burnsville our entire regiment received new Enfield rifles in exchange for our old flint-lock muskets that we had packed around for nearly a year. We were ordered out to test our new guns, distance 200 yards off hand. As there were thirty-three pairs of sewed boots found among the cartridge boxes, belts, and bayonet scabbards, the Colonel ordered that three pairs be given to each company, and the three best shots in each company be given the boots. In Company B, Tom Hall got first choice, W. J. McMurray second choice, and Jas. T. Mathews third choice.

The battle of Shiloh soon followed, in which Company B suffered severely, and while in the hottest of the fight, your writer saw Gen. John C. Breckinridge ride up to Lieut. T. B. Smith,

who was in command of Company B, and say: "Captain Smith, charge; charge, and they will run." At the receipt of this order, Captain Smith put his cap on the point of his sword and raised it high in the air, and with a rebel yell led the charge. After this battle the regiment returned to Corinth, and on the 8th of May, 1862, the Confederate Army was reorganized. The officers elected by Company B were: John F. Guthrie, Captain; Chas. Johnson, First Lieutenant; W. J. McMurray, Second Lieutenant; Thos. G. Williams, Third Lieutenant; Sylvester Williams, Orderly Sergeant. Captain Clark, who had been acting as Surgeon of the regiment after the battle of Shiloh, resigned that position, and came into Middle Tennessee to raise a battalion of cavalry.

Lieut. W. H. Matthews, who had served Company B well, was not re-elected. Under its new organization Company B began its first service with Gen. Beauregard, around Corinth, and accompanied the army on its retreat to Tupelo, Miss., and from here was sent over to Davis' Mill, on the Mississippi Central Railroad, and from there to Vicksburg, Miss., where we participated in the first seige of that place.

It was here that our regiment was ordered into an old warehouse, when the Federal fleet began to shell the town, and Captain Guthrie and Lieutenant McMurray were laying on a blanket in the warehouse, when a large shell from the Federal Mortars burst over the building, and a piece that would weigh about 100 pounds crashed through the roof and fell on the blanket between them, harming neither. We had a great deal of sickness here, and we were not sorry when orders came to go with Gen. Breckinridge to fight the battle of Baton Rouge, in which engagement Company B lost one of its most popular members, Wm. Hay.

Breckinridge's Division went into camp at Jackson, Miss., and from there we were ordered to Knoxville, Tenn., from there to Murfreesboro, and from there to Stewart's Creek, near Lavergne, which was then our advance outpost, where a number of recruits were received by Company B. We remained here until a short time before the battle of Murfreesboro, when we, with our regiment, were ordered back to this town, where we participated in that terrible struggle in front of the Cowan House, where John Smith and Robert Peel were killed, and a large number of Com-

pany B were wounded; and again, on Friday evening, Company B was in the Breckinridge charge from start to finish. After the battle was over our regiment retreated to Tullahoma, and went into winter quarters, and in April, 1863, were ordered to Fairfield, about eight miles from Tullahoma, and while there we fought in the battle of Hoover's Gap. The Breckinridge flag presentation will be described in our Regimental History. At the battle of Hoover's Gap Maj. Fred Claybrook was killed, and Capt. Guthrie of Company B, being senior officer, was promoted to Major. This made C. S. Johnson, Captain; W. J. McMurray, First Lieutenant, and T. G. Williams, Second Lieutenant. Company B had been reduced so much that we did not fill the vacancy of Third Lieutenant.

The next engagement that Company B engaged in was that ever memorable battle of Chickamauga. We went into that battle 26 strong, the largest company in the regiment, and had four killed, viz., Eugene Street, Jas. Nevins, Milton Johnson, and David King; and 15 were wounded, making a total of 19 killed and wounded out of 26.

The battle of Missionary Ridge was next fought, and the 20th Regiment still maintained its reputation for courage and discipline. After this battle we went into winter quarters at Dalton, Ga., and in the spring of 1864, full of pluck and grit, we began that long and memorable campaign from Dalton to Atlanta, fighting at Dalton, Resaca, Calhoun, New Hope, Dallas, Pine Mountain, Kenesaw Mountain, and Peachtree Creek, July 22, where the Federal general, McPherson, was killed, the battle on the 6th of August, and at Jonesboro, Ga., Aug. 31, where our former captain, now Major Guthrie, was killed. After this battle we followed Hood north into Tennessee. One of Company B, H. C. Peay, was killed from a block house at Dalton, Ga., in this march.

Company B came with the regiment into Middle Tennessee and fought in the battles of Franklin, Murfreesboro, and Nashville. (For a more detailed account of this command in Tennessee I will refer our readers to the history of Company E, by Ralph Neal, who was with the regiment all through this campaign).

As I had been wounded in Breckinridge's charge at Murfrees-

boro, also at Chickamauga and Resaca, Ga., and had lost my left arm at Atlanta, and nearly my life from gangrene in the stump, I was practically out of the fight for a while. I met Hood's army in North Mississippi, as it retreated out of Tennessee, and reported for duty, but was sent off on post duty, and the army went into the Carolinas under that prince of soldiers, Gen. Jos. E. Johnston, and was with him in the battle of Bentonville, the last battle of the war of any note, and it was here that George Peay, a faithful soldier of Company B, was appointed a Lieutenant, and well did he deserve it. The remnant of this magnificent company, that had in its ranks from first to last 159 men, but when they were surrendered by Gen. Jos. E. Johnston to Gen. W. T. Sherman, at Greensboro, N. C., April 20, 1865, and marched out to stack their arms, Lieutenant Peay, in command of six men, were all that remained.

Oh, war! where are your victims? Oh, Southland! how great have been your sacrifices?

The remnant of this little band that followed Gen. Jos. E. Johnston to the end made their way through the mountains back to their homes and loved ones in Middle Tennessee, and attached is the name and roll of each and every one of the 159 men, in which we will attempt to tell what has become of each, whether dead or alive.

List of Company "B," 20th Tennessee Voluntary Infantry, from April, 1861, to April, 1865: —

Joel A. Battle was elected captain; promoted to colonel; captured at the battle of Shiloh, April 7, 1862; remained in prison until the fall of that year. After his release he was appointed Treasurer of the State of Tennessee, by Gov. Isham G. Harris; was appointed by Gov. John C. Brown, Superintendent of State Prison in 1872. Died Aug. 23, 1872, of dysentery; buried at his old home in the Sixth District of Davidson County.

Lieut. Wm. Martin Clark. Promoted to captain, afterwards Acting Surgeon of the regiment; resigned in the spring of 1862; died in the Eighth District of Davidson County, in the year 1895.

Lieut. Thos. Benton Smith. Promoted to First Lieutenant, then to Captain; elected Colonel May 8, 1862; promoted to Brigadier General in 1864; now in the Middle Tennessee Insane

Asylum from the effects of a sabre wound on the head by a Federal Major when a half mile inside of the Federal lines, and an hour after he had surrendered.

Lieutenant W. H. Matthews. Promoted to Second Lieutenant, then to First Lieutenant, and was not elected at the reorganization of the army at Corinth ; accompanied Gen. John H. Morgan on his Ohio raid, and now lives in Nashville.

Joel A. Battle, Jr. Promoted to Adjutant ; wounded at Fishing Creek ; killed April 7, 1862, at the battle of Shiloh.

Orderly Sergeant M. M. Hinkle was promoted to Commissary of the Regiment, with rank of Captain. Died during the war.

Second Sergeant B. F. Holland died at Nolensville after the war.

Third Sergeant John F. Guthrie. Promoted to Orderly Sergeant, then to Captain, then to Major, and was killed Aug. 31, 1864, at the battle of Jonesboro, Ga.

Fourth Sergeant W. H. Doyle. Was badly wounded at the battle of Shiloh ; died after the war, in West Tennessee, from the effects of the wound received at Shiloh.

First Corporal Harding Bostick. Died near Triune, Tenn., after the war.

Second Corporal W. S. Battle. Killed April 6, at the battle of Shiloh.

Third Corporal James Gambrill, afterwards made Lieutenant ; now lives at Lebanon, Tenn.

Fourth Corporal E. L. Jordan, afterwards promoted to Regimental A. Q. M., now lives in Nashville, Tenn.

Andrews, Wm. Died since the war.

Baker, Frank. Died after the war.

Baldridge, Wm. Living in Nashville.

Barnes, Bolen Dead.

Barnes, T. H. Living near Allisonia.

Barnes, Geo. Dead.

Battle, I. J. Now living near Nolensville, and a farmer.

Battle, John. A farmer living near Nolensville, Tenn.

Battle, Robert I. A practicing physician near Cartersville, Ga.

Battle, Frank. Was promoted to Captain. After the war was appointed superintendent of the capitol by Gov. Turney ; now lives near Clarkesville.



LIEUT. THOS G. WILLIAMS, CO. B.

See page 421.

Battle, Wm. Captured and held in prison until the close of the war, where he contracted chronic diarrhea, from which he died a few days after his return home.

Britton, Jack. Died near Rock Springs, Rutherford County, about the close of the war.

Burke, Sam. Died near Nolensville after the war.

Buttery, John. Dead.

Crocker, J. M. Badly wounded in battle of Murfreesboro. Now dead.

Crocker, T. W. Dead.

Chadwell, George. Living near Clover Croft, Williamson County.

Castleman, John F. Dead.

Castleman, Geo. W. Living at Cairo, Crockett County, Tenn.

Cunningham, Wm. Dead.

Clay, Jack. Dead.

Carmack, Robert. Dead.

Edmundson, John. Promoted to Chaplain of the Regiment; after the first year of the war disowned his cause, and now living in the North.

Ezelle, Lafayette. Living in Knoxville, Tenn.

Ezelle, James. Dead.

Eaton, Joe. Living in Rutherford County, near Sumner's Knob.

Fly, John. Promoted to Color Bearer; badly wounded at Chickamauga; died since the war.

Falvy, Timothy. Dead.

Gooch, Robert. Dead.

Guthrie, James. Living in Nashville. Surrendered at Greensboro.

Guthrie, Henry. Living near Nolensville.

Guthrie, Wm. Living in Nashville.

Griggs, Thos. K. Dead.

Griggs, Meredith. Dead.

Griggs, John. Dead.

Gaunt, Wm. Living in Texas.

Gaunt, James. Dead.

Green, Ed. Appointed Commissary Sergeant. Dead since close of the war.

Green, Sherwood. Killed in front of Atlanta, in 1864.

Hamlet, Wm. Dead.

Hamlet, Jack. Surrendered at Greensboro. Dead since the war.

Hay, W. A. Killed at battle of Baton Rouge, La.

Hay, Jas. L. Promoted to Assistant Surgeon C. S. A.; assigned to hospital duty, and died later in the war, while on duty.

Hall, Thomas. Living near Nashville, Tenn. Surrendered at Greensboro.

Herbert, John O. Dead.

Herbert, R. N. Practicing medicine at Campbell Station, Maury County, Tenn.

Hamer, Lee. Dead.

Hamer, Robert. Dead.

Irwin, A. J. Dead.

Jones, A. J. Living near Lavergne.

Jordan, John A. Dead.

Jordan, Thomas. Living at Thurber, Texas.

Jordan, Wm. Dead.

Jordan, John H. Dead.

Johnson, Milton. Killed September 19, 1863, at battle of Chickamauga.

Johnson, Timothy. Surrendered at Greensboro; elected Sheriff of Davidson County; living near Cain Ridge, Davidson County.

Johnson, C. S. Promoted to First Lieutenant, then Captain; now living in Nashville.

Johnson, Wm., Sr. Dead.

Johnson, Wm., Jr. Living near Rocky Fork, Rutherford County.

Johnson, Ben. Dead.

Jenkins, Lewis. Dead.

Jenkins, Green. Died at Tullahoma, March, 1863.

Keith, John. Killed at Fishing Creek.

King, Wm. Living at Smyrna, Tenn.

King, John. Killed in front of Atlanta, 1864.

King, Thomas. Living in the Eighth District of Davidson County.

King, David. Killed September 19, at Chickamauga.

Kellow, Nat. Living near Nolensville.

Kellow, Wm. Killed Dec. 31, 1862, at Murfreesboro.

Lane, Alford. Dead.

Lane, G. W. Dead.

Little, W. D. Living near Concord, Williamson County.

Safley, Lewis. Unknown.

Moss, H. C. Living at Lewisburg, Marshall County.

Moss, John. Dead.

McDowell, David. Dead.

Matthews, James F. Detailed for duty with Engineer Corps in 1865, and paroled at Charlotte, N. C., May 5, 1865; living in Nashville.

Matthews, Wm. Living in West Tennessee.

McClure, W. H. One of the best of soldiers. Died since the war.

Martin, Wm. Dead.

McKinley, Wm. Living in Nashville.

McGahey, G. W. Dead.

McLean, Wm. Died Sept. 1, 1861.

Mitchell, Monroe. Living in Nashville.

Mitchell, Wyatt. Dead.

McMurray, W. J. Promoted to First Lieutenant; lost left arm near shoulder August 5, 1864, in front of Atlanta; practicing physician in Nashville.

Nevins, James. Killed Sept. 19, 1863, at Chickamauga.

Nevins, W. R. Lost a leg in Breckinridge's charge at Murfreesboro; now living near Nolensville.

O'Neal, Dan. Living in Soldier's Home, Missouri.

Pogue, J. J. Dead.

Pogue, Bunk. Died June, 1861.

Pogue, J. N. Dead.

Page, S. W. Dead.

Peebles, James. Living in Nashville.

Peebles, Uriah. Died since the war.

Peebles, H. C. Living in Dickson, Dickson County.

Peay, Geo. Promoted to Lieutenant; surrendered at Greensboro, N. C. Dead.

Peay, H. Cannon. Killed at Dalton, Ga., in 1864.

Peay, John. Living near Triune.

Patterson, E. M. Living in Nashville.

Potts, J. H. Died June 25, 1861.

Potts, J. N. Died July 20, 1863.

Parsley, Jordan. Unknown.

Peel, Robert. Killed Dec. 31, 1862, at Murfreesboro.

Roach, S. H. Living near Lavergne.

Roach, T. B. Living near Lavergne. Severely wounded at Chickamauga.

Rains, B. R. Dead.

Rains, W. R. Living near Paragon Mills.

Russell, Berry. Severely wounded in elbow at Murfreesboro. Living in West Tennessee.

Stewart, James. Dead.

Street, Eugene. Killed Sept. 20, at Chickamauga.

Smith, John. Color Bearer, killed Dec. 31, 1862, at Murfreesboro.

Scales, D. C. Living in Nashville.

Stanfield, Edward. Dead.

Sanders, Wm. Died at Tullahoma, 1863.

Sanders, Alford. Dead.

Saferly, Thomas.

Sloan, R. D. Dead.

Sneed, John R. Living in Nashville.

Sneed, A. E. Badly wounded at Chickamauga; died 1902.

Stanfield, Henry. Dead.

Stewart, Jordan. Dead.

Sanford, Marion. Dead.

Taylor, Wm. G. Dead.

Taylor, Thos. L. Dead.

Vaughn, Richard. Dead.

Williams, T. G. Promoted to Third Lieutenant, then Second Lieutenant; lives near Nolensville.

Williams, Thos. G. Sr. Dead.

Williams, Sylvester. Promoted to Orderly Sergeant. Living near Nashville.

Williams, Powell. Living in West Tennessee.

Waller, James. Dead.

Waller, Richard. Dead.

Waldron, Henry. Dead.

Watson, Jas. Living near Nolensville.

Walton, Sam. Living in Nashville.
Walton, Edward. Killed at Nashville, 1864.
Wright, Gus. Living in Williamson County, Tenn.
Wright, Andrew. Living in Williamson County, Tenn.
Ware, J. P. Living.
Ware, W. W. Dead.
Warren, Andrew. Dead.
Warren, Henry. Dead.
Waldron, Robert. Dead.
Warren, William. Dead.
Zachery, John. Dead.
Total Rank and File, 159.

Bill King was a negro man owned by Mr. Jack King, of Williamson County, and was sent by him to wait on his sons, John, Thomas, and William, who were members of Company B. "Bill" accompanied them throughout all their campaigns, making a faithful servant and cook, rendering many invaluable services to the members of the company until the surrender in North Carolina.

Reuben and Bob, negro men owned by the Battle boys, members of Co. B., are equally deserving of mention in this History for faithful services from 1861 to 1865. They were regular attendants at the annual regimental re-unions until the death of Reuben in 1901.

COMPANY "C"

Company C of the 20th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment was raised in and south of Nashville in the spring of 1861: some thought this Company to be a Nashville Company but as a matter of fact, the greater part of this Company came from the Mill Creek Valley about Antioch and south of Nashville on the Murfreesboro Pike, in what is known as the Nubbin ridge Country as far south as Lavergne. James L. Rice, was elected Captain. Jas. A. McMurray, 1st Lieutenant. J. C. Thompson, 2nd Lieutenant. M. H. Cox, 3rd Lieutenant. E. E. Gray, Orderly Sergeant. A. E. McLaughlin, 2nd Sergeant. James W. Thomas, 3rd Sergeant. J. E. Ellis, 4th Sergeant. Thomas W. Shumate, 1st Corporal. Aaron V. Brown, 2nd Corporal. J. T. Bland, 3rd Corporal. E. B. Johnson, 4th Corporal.

This Company was named the Sewanee Rifles, and had by far the handsomest uniform of any Company in the Regiment, but when they got tired of packing this heavy uniform around, they ordered the regular Confederate grey jackets like the rest of us.

Company C was reckoned the third best drilled Company in the Regiment and was given the third post of honor which was the color Company, and well and nobly did they carry and defend the colors of this gallant Regiment for four long and bloody years.

The Color Guard was attached to and formed a part of this Company, it was composed of eight select men from the different Companies of the Regiment. Viz: —

Jas. E. Patterson, Company A, Color Bearer.
R. W. Calhoun, Company C.
Sam. M. Cowan, Company E.
Thomas Duncan, Company K.
Geo. Greenfield, Company C.
J. B. Jones, Company I.
Wm. M. Shy, Company H.
Joel A. Battle, Jr. Company B.

In every battle one or more members of this Color Guard was

either killed or wounded and their place had to be taken by other select men from the Regiment at large. At the battle of Murfreesboro there were six of the Color Guard present for duty, and five of the six were either killed or wounded, and the Color Staff was twice shot in two. At Fishing Creek, the brave Jas. Patterson was among the first to go down almost fatally wounded.

This Company was with the Regiment in all of its meandering around to Shiloh, where it lost heavily in killed and wounded and at the re-organization an entirely new set of officers were elected, Viz: —

H. C. Lucas, Captain. Jas. W. Rawley, 1st Lieutenant. Alfred Gregory, 2nd Lieutenant. J. Woods Greenfield, 3rd Lieutenant.

Lieutenant Greenfield soon resigned and T. W. Shumate was promoted to 3rd Lieutenant.

In and around Corinth was the first service this Company saw under their new officers. They were not disappointed, for the gallant and knightly Lucas was not acquainted with the word "Fear," and the balance of the Regiment was perfectly willing to trust their colors in the hands of Captain Lucas and his Company.

After we had been through the first siege of Vicksburg and Battle of Baton Rouge, and had gotten around to Murfreesboro, the 20th Tennessee Regiment was brigaded with the 60th North Carolina Regiment and three Florida Regiments. The 60th North Carolina Regiment was fresh from home and had never seen any service, and was encamped next to the 20th Tennessee. The 20th Tennessee Regiment thought whatever the North Carolina boys had was legitimate prey as they had their homes behind them, and the homes of a great many of the 20th's was inside of the yankee lines. One night after the boys of Company C. had cooked and eaten their supper and were squatting around their camp fires, they heard a rooster crow over in the North Carolina camp. Jas. Stevens said to John Savage, his messmate, "did you hear that rooster crow?" Savage said "Yes, and M. T. Smith has gone after him;" and in a few minutes Smith came in with one hand on the rooster's throat and the other holding his wings to keep him from fluttering, and then Jim Stevens made John

Savage go over into the North Carolina camp and steal a piece of bacon and a sack of flour to make dumplings with the rooster for the next day. It was a good thing for the 60th North Carolina, that the battle of Murfreesboro came off as soon as it did, if it had been two weeks off the North Carolina boys would have had nothing left.

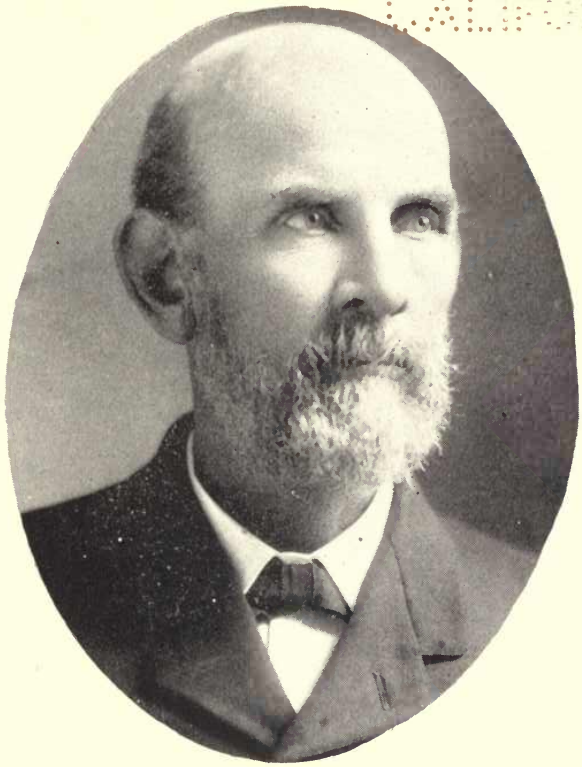
The 20th Regiment made such an impression on the members of the 60th North Carolina that 33 years afterward, at the great re-union at Richmond, Virginia, Tennessee had a battalion of old Confederates dressed in full Confederate Regulation uniform, with their State Colors flying, and when the Tennessee boys marched out and lined up on one side of the street and a North Carolina Command took position on the opposite side of the street, the officer who commanded the North Carolina Command rode over and saluted the Tennessee Command, and said; "I see from your colors that you are Tennesseans." He was answered by half a dozen voices at once. "Yes." "Well," said the North Carolina officer, "I would like to know if there are any of the 20th Tennessee Regiment in your command?" He was told that there were about eight of the old 20th there. "Well," he said again, "I was brigaded with that regiment a part of the war and I want to say, that they could out fight and out steal any set I ever saw."

Company C. went the rounds with the Regiment and at Tullahoma in the spring of 1863, the Breckinridge Flag was presented to the Regiment and Company C. took charge of it; a detailed account of which will be given in our Regimental history.

At Hoover's Gap and Chickamauga, Company C. as usual lost heavily. During the first day's fight at Missionary Ridge, the Regiment was laying down while it was being heavily shelled from a fort in the outskirts of Chattanooga. A 24-pound shell came bouncing along through the underbrush and struck Jas. Mitchell, a member of Company C in the head, scattering his brains over a good portion of his Company, and that night after the firing had ceased, his Company dug a shallow grave in an orchard near a house and buried him in the darkness of the night without any light, for they were too close to the yankee sharp shooters to have a light. and as the boys were covering the body of the soldier boy with old mother earth, Captain



JAS. L. COOPER, CO. C.
(While in the army.)
See page 425.



JAS. L. COOPER, CO. C.
See page 425.

Lucas stood by the grave and there in the darkness of the night repeated the Burial of "Sir John Moore," and a more fitting tribute could not have been given.

When the Georgia Campaign opened in 1864, the remnant of Company C. was on hand with the colors, and the deeds of daring of this Company in that long Campaign would make a book of itself.

At the battle of Resaca, the 20th Regiment was crowded in behind some little earthworks, every one trying to protect himself as best he could. John Savage and Lieut. Jas. Rawley, who had previously had some differences and had not spoken to each other for six months were piled in together. John Savage's head was laying on Lieut. Rawley's hip, when a shell exploded right at them and took John Savage's head off and drove his old white hat into a black gum log, and tore about three pounds of flesh from Lieut. Rawley's hip from which he never recovered, so just before death they made friends, only to be separated forever. Such is war!

There was another unique character in Company C. Dave Montgomery was a tall, beardless, gangling young fellow, about six feet four inches high. Every man in the regiment knew Dave Montgomery, and his fame had even gotten into the Yankee lines, for at times when in close quarters on the picket line, some Yankee sharpshooter would hollow out, "Where is Dave Montgomery? look out Dave." Dave took great delight in cursing and abusing the Yankees when on the skirmish line. He was chuck full of wit and would always press himself forward to "sass" someone. He was the wit of the regiment and the life of his company. Dave was not only quick with his wit, but he was quick with his gun. On the 6th of August, 1864, Smith's brigade was sent out about three miles west of Atlanta on detached service. The enemy found out that we were there, and a heavy force was sent after us and made three assaults on our little brigade of about eight hundred men, and they were driven back each time, and when the last charge was repulsed their main force fell back and a lot of sharpshooters remained in the woods behind them to annoy us. The 20th Regiment was ordered forward to clean out the woods, and as the regiment advanced you could see the Yankee sharpshooters running from

tree to tree falling back, and it was here that Dave Montgomery killed two of them in less than two minutes.

After the Georgia Compaign, Company C. came with Hood into Middle Tennessee and fought at Franklin, Murfreesboro, and Nashville, and then followed Joe Johnston into the Carolina's. I would like to say this of Company C, while I did not belong to it, that I believe that it had more talent in it than any other Company in the Regiment.

As I was not with this Company, I will not attempt to trace up every member, only those that I can. The roster is as follows, as taken from an old Company book by Jas. Cooper, who was at one time Sergeant of the Company.

Jas. L. Rice, Captain, not re-elected at the re-organization and never returned to service, he was a lawyer of note. Died in Nashville, in 1898.

Jas. A. McMurray, elected 1st Lieutenant, resigned in June 1861 at Camp Trousdale, and raising a Company, was elected its Captain and went into Churchhill's Regiment, which was the 4th Confederate, and was elected Lieutenant Colonel, and at the death of Col. Churchhill was promoted to Colonel, then to Brigadier General while on the field of Chickamauga only a few hours before he received his death wound. He was also a lawyer.

J. C. Thompson, elected 2nd Lieutenant, after the first years service was attached to the staff of Major General A. P. Stewart, and died in Nashville after the war. He was a lawyer of more than ordinary ability.

M. N. Cox, 3rd Lieutenant, not re-elected at the re-organization, joined Gen. Jno. H. Morgan's command, was taken prisoner and died at Camp Chase. He was a lawyer.

At Lieut. McMurray's resignation in 1861, Duval McNairy was elected Lieutenant of Company C, and after the re-organization he raised a battalion of Cavalry and operated in the counties of Cheatham, Hickman, Perry, and Wayne, to the great terror of the Federal Scouts.

E. E. Grey, Orderly Sergeant, badly wounded at the battle of Fishing Creek, and afterwards died.

A. C. McLaughlin, 2nd Sergeant, severely wounded at battle of Shiloh, died near Nashville after the war.

Jas. W. Thomas, 3rd Sergeant, promoted to Adjutant and received a compliment from Adjutant General Cooper at Richmond as sending in as good Regimental reports as any that came to his office. Adjutant Thomas was almost mortally wounded at the battle of Hoover's Gap and never returned to the service, and after the war was elected Treasurer of the State of Tennessee, and died an accomplished soldier and Christian gentleman at his home in Nashville, in 1889.

J. E. Ellis, 4th Sergeant. Living near Nashville, but blind.

T. W. Shumate, 1st Corporal, promoted to Lieutenant and afterwards acted as Adjutant of the Regiment, and yet lives in the Nubbin Ridge Country.

A. V. Brown, 2nd Corporal, was a son of Ex. Gov. A. V. Brown. Dead.

J. T. Bland, 3rd Corporal.

E. B. Johnson, 4th Corporal.

Allison, R. V. Killed Aug. 31st, 1864, at Jonesboro, Ga.

Andrews, Jno. Living near Antioch.

Austin, J. E.

Anderson, J. W.

Baker, J. W.

Bigly, Thos.

Baxter, J. S. It is said, he was the only married man in the Company, never missed a battle, never severely wounded and was never heard to complain, and fought from Wild-cat to Bentonville.

Barnes, J. W. Living near Antioch.

Barnes, C. W. Killed at Murfreesboro.

Barnes, P. Dead.

Burnett, Jas. H. Living in Nashville.

Burnett, A. G.

Brown, A. S.

Brown, J. F.

Blair, G. M.

Blair, H. C.

Bugg, Sam. Dead.

Bundy, J. H. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Bostick, Lytton, Transferred and killed at Atlanta.

Cooper, Jas. L. Promoted to Sergeant, then to staff of Gen. Tyler, lives near Nashville.

Curde, Samuel, Killed at Murfreesboro.

Callender, Jas. T. Killed at Hoover's Gap.

Cross, Jas. Dead.

Collins, Tom, Dead.

Collins, J. C. Dead.

Carter, J. D.

Campbell, J. H. Dead.

Caldwell, J. D.

Dennison, John. Living in the Nubbin Ridge Country.

Dennison, W. Dead.

Daily, J.

Dunn, W. L. Living in Nashville.

Davis, G. W. Dead.

Elkin, Milton S. Developed into a fine lawyer after the war. Surrendered in N. C., in 1865. Dead.

Ewin, H. Promoted to staff duty, killed at Murfreesboro.

Fitzhue, J. A. Dead.

Fox, Thos. Dead.

Felts, J. M. Dead.

Felts, Julien.

Greenfield, J. Woods. Promoted to Lieutenant at re-organization and soon resigned. Dead.

Gregory, Alfred. Promoted to 3rd Lieutenant at reorganization and survived the war. Died July, 1903, in Tennessee Soldier's Home.

Greenfield, George. Promoted to Color Guard, was the best Banjo picker in the Regiment. Dead.

Goss, A. C. Living in Nashville.

Goss, T. J. Living in Indian Territory.

Goodrich, Jno. A. Killed at Shiloh.

Hood, G. W. Killed at Shiloh.

Hollister, T. B. Killed at Chickamauga.

Huggins, J. W. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Huggins, Jas. In Soldier's Home.

Harrison, W. R. Dead.

Horton, L. Killed at Atlanta, July 22nd, 1864.

Horton, Benj. Dead.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

Hunt, J.
Jones, W. A.
Jones, J. W.
Jones, T. W.
Jones, Henry. Living near Nashville.
Johnson, C. G.
Johnson, A. H. Dead.
James, Benj. Dead.
Knight, R. B. Dead.
Lucas, H. C. Promoted to Commisary Sergeant, then to Captain, then to Major, died near Donaldson, Tenn. in 1874.
Mitchell, J. W. Killed at Missionary Ridge.
McLaughlin, W. M. Killed at Shiloh.
Mize, W. T. Dead.
Matlock, W. G. Dead.
Mason, L. H.
Montgomery, Dave. Died after the war.
McInturff, John.
Manier, Frank G. Living in Nashville, totally blind.
Meadows, L. G.
Park, W. H. Dead.
Perry, Robt.
Pritchett, J. B.
Peel, L. D. Dead.
Rawley, J. W. Promoted to Lieutenant, died in Nashville, 1896.
Roberts, W. H.
Roberts, Geo. W.
Russell, Hardin. Dead.
Stephens, Henry. Dead.
Stephens, J. R. Living near Brentwood.
Stone, M. Dead.
Stone, S. M. Dead.
Smith, M. T. Dead.
Savage, John. Killed at Resaca, Ga.
Swain, L. P. Dead.
Simpson, W. D. At Soldier's Home.
Shields, Evan B. Killed at Fishing Creek, one of the most talented men in the Regiment.

Shumate, J. C. Living at Donaldson, Tenn.

Spain, W. H. Dead.

Sanders, E. A.

Wright, J. A.

Watson, E. E. Died in Nashville, 1896.

Watson, George. Killed in Breckinridge charge at Murfreesboro. Your writer saw him after he was shot in the root of the neck, just before he died.

Watson, Rufus, Living in Nashville.

Watson, A. L. Living in Nashville.

Young, Wm.

Total Rank and File, 112.

COMPANY "D"

Company D of the 20th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, C. S. A., was raised in the east end of Williamson County, in and around the four little villages of College Grove, Bethesda, Peytonsville, and Triune, in the spring of the year 1861. These four hamlets are located in one of the best sections of this rich Middle Tennessee basin, and were inhabited by a people that was a credit to such a country, for they were intelligent, educated, wealthy, and patriotic. It was near the little town of College Grove, where lived that eloquent orator and statesman, Meredith P. Gentry, who was in the Federal Congress at the beginning of the war, and who afterwards became a member of the Confederate Congress.

Company D was made up mostly of college boys right out of the school room, their professor, A. R. Winn, going with them. At its organization this Company was named the "Webb Guards" and elected the following officers: —

W. P. Rucker, Captain. Fred Claybrook, 1st Lieutenant. A. R. Pinkston, M. D., 2nd Lieutenant, John Jordan, 3rd Lieutenant, Alexander Winn, Orderly Sergeant, W. R. Hazelwood, 2nd Sergeant, E. A. Austin, 3rd Sergeant, H. H. Haynes, 4th Sergeant, John G. Crutcher, 1st Corporal, P. G. Smithson, 2nd Corporal, A. D. A. Rucker, 3rd Corporal, Geo. D. Hughes, 4th Corporal.

This Company was sent to Camp Trousdale, and went into Camp of Instruction, and had more baggage and more negroes to wait on them than any other two Companies in the Regiment. At the organization of the Regiment this Company took position in the right wing, letter D. Capt. Rucker, at the re-organization of the Army in May, 1862, at Corinth, Miss., was not re-elected, but like a true patriot and soldier, he re-enlisted as a private in the Cavalry Service, and was killed in Gen. Forrest's attack on Fort Donaldson in January, 1863. Lieut. Fred Claybrook at the re-organization was elected Captain, and was after-

+ Q. C. S. was there. After dar
helped & wounded off field, an

wards promoted to Major. A sketch of the life of this gallant officer will be found in the "Biographies." Also at the reorganization another worthy soldier was promoted from 2nd Corporal to 1st Lieutenant, viz., P. G. Smithson, who after the promotion of Claybrook to Major, became Captian of Company D, and well and faithfully did he command it until the battle of Chickamauga, when he was severely wounded in the knee and took gangrene in his wound. I was also wounded at Chickamauga in the right groin, and with Capt. Smithson, who never fully recovered from his wound, was sent to the Fair Grounds Hospital at Atlanta, Ga., for treatment. While lying in the hospstal side by side, with Capt. Smithson on my right, a Lieutenant who belonged to the 15th Arkansas, was lying to my left, badly wounded in the thigh, who also took gangrene in his wound; how I escaped, the good Lord only knows, but I attribute it to the prayers of a Christian mother. This young Lieutenant from Arkansas was doubly interesting, because he was born and raised in Ohio, but happened to be down in Arkansas at the outbreak of the war, and so joined the Southern Army. When gangrene attacked the wound it destroyed the femoral artery, and the surgeons ligated the artery above; the gangrene then attacked the wound made by the surgeon's knife; the vessel was tied again and the dread disease attacked this poor fellow for the third time. The surgeons then advised him that if it attacked the artery again the diseased section would be so high up that they could do nothing more for him; so if he had anything to say or do it would be well for him to do it. I lay by his side and saw the surgeon write his will, in which he gave his sword, his blanket, and what money he had to different members of his Company, and with a calm look, as if to say, "Now I am ready." He and I lay there that night waiting for the bursting of the blood vessel, which took place about 2 o'clock in the morning, and I saw the blood of that gallant boy gradually ooze away until life was no more. Before the morning stars had made their appearance, I believe his soul was in heaven. Such is war! The brave and gentle Capt. P. G. Smithson survived the war, and was made Commander of the Soldier's Home at the Hermitage, where he died in 1897. He was one of nature's noblemen.



LIEUT. PHILIP N. MATLOCK.

See page 426.

Company D had some magnificent soldiers in it, and acquitted itself well on every field. At the beginning of the war this Company had so much baggage, that in addition to the two wagons they were allowed, they purchased another out of their private means for their accomodation.

The roster of this Company was as follows : —

Rucker, W. P., Captain. Not re-elected at re-organization, May 8th, 1862 ; joined Forrest's Cavalry and killed in an attack on Fort Donaldson, January, 1863.

Claybrook, Fred, 1st Lieutenant. Elected Captain at re-organization ; promoted to Major July 1st, 1862 ; killed at battle of Hoover's Gap, June 24th, 1863.

Pinkston, A.R., 2nd Lieutenant. Assigned to duty as Acting Assistant Surgeon, Sept. 9th, 1861 ; captured at the battle of Fishing Creek and never returned.

Jordan, John, 3rd Lieutenant. Promoted to 2nd Lieutenant Sept. 9th, 1861 ; was not re-elected at re-organization ; health failed and died before the close of the war.

Winn, Alexander, Orderly Sergeant. Appointed Adjutant of 20th Tenn. Vol. Infantry Regiment, June 6th, 1861 ; afterwards promoted to Quartermaster, and killed near Cassville, Ga., in 1864.

Hazelwood, W. R., 2nd Sergeant. Promoted to 1st Sergeant, June 6th, 1861 ; not re-elected ; wounded at battle of Nashville, 1864 ; P. O., Verona, Texas.

Austin, E. A., 3rd Sergeant. Promoted to 2nd Sergeant, June 6th, 1861 ; died at home, December, 1861.

Haynes, H. H., 4th Sergeant. Wounded and captured at battle of Fishing Creek, and not re-elected, May 8th, 1862.

Crutcher, J. G., 1st Corporal. Promoted to 3rd Sergeant, June 6th, 1861 ; killed at the battle of Shiloh, April 6th, 1862.

Smithson, P. G., 2nd Corporal. Promoted to 1st Lieutenant at re-organization, May 8th, 1862 ; promoted to Captain, July 1st, 1862 ; badly wounded at the battle of Chickamauga ; after the war was elected Commander of Tennessee Confederate Soldier's Home, and died there in 1897.

Rucker, A. D. A., 3rd Corporal. Elected 3rd Lieutenant, Sept. 9th, 1861 ; wounded at the battle of Shiloh, April 6th, 1862 ; not re-elected ; dead.

Hughes, Geo. D., 4th Corporal. Not re-elected at re-organization; dead.

Andrews, W. M. Promoted to Corporal, Nov. 3rd, 1863; lives in Kentucky.

Andrews, J. G. Captured at battle of Missionary Ridge; died in Rock Island Prison.

Allen, W. D. Elected 3rd Corporal, May 8th, 1862.

Alston, J. J. P. O. Culleoka, Tenn.

Alston, R. T. Paroled at close of war; dead.

Beech, J. T. Wounded at battle of Murfreesboro; lives in Texas.

Beech, R. T. P. O. Arrington, Tenn.

Buchanan, J. P. Killed at battle of Hoover's Gap, June 24th, 1863.

Buchanan, C. Wounded at the battle of Murfreesboro; captured at Missionary Ridge; P. O., Arrington, Tenn.

Bugg, J. V. Furnished substitute; dead.

Crutcher, H. L. Discharged, August, 1861.

Crutcher, W. A. P. Wounded at Hoover's Gap.

Crenshaw, C. A. Wounded at Fishing Creek; discharged, August, 1862.

Couch, T. P. Died at Mill Springs, Ky., December, 1861.

Caruthers, ———.

Corbett, W. J. Died February, 1863.

Chapman, W. P. Wounded at Shiloh.

Covington, W. D. Discharged on surgeon's "Certificate of Disability" in 1862, then joined Cavalry, serving until the close of the war.

Covington, M. L. Killed at Hoover's Gap, June 22nd, 1863.

Christman, G. W. L. Killed at Franklin, Nov. 30th, 1864.

Cook, W. A. Wounded at Shiloh, April 7th, 1862; P. O., Callender, Tenn.

Demonbreun, J. T. Discharged, Sept., 1861.

Edwards, P. D. Elected 3rd Lieutenant, May, 1862; promoted to 2nd Lieutenant, August, 1862.

Edwards, S. F. Wounded at the battle of Murfreesboro.

Freeman, J. W. Elected 3rd Lieutenant, August, 1862; dead.

Freeman, J. T. Dead.

Flemming, R. J. Elected 2nd Sergeant, June, 1863; lost leg at Resaca, 1864; dead.

Gee, J. L. Elected 1st Sergeant, May, 1862; wounded at the battles of Murfreesboro and Shiloh.

Gee, A. B. Mortally wounded at Chickamauga, Sept. 19th, 1863, and died Oct. 17, 1863.

Gray, R. D. Captured at Missionary Ridge.

Hatcher, W. E. Discharged, July, 1862.

Hatcher, J. W. Discharged, July, 1862.

Hill, W. W. Died, July, 1861.

Hill, A. G. Captured at Fishing Creek; promoted to Sharpshooter; P. O., Murfreesboro, Tenn.

Holland, J. J. Discharged, July, 1862; P. O., Armo, Tenn.

Hampton, Cary. Discharged, Nov., 1861.

Hyde, Isaac W. Wounded at Fishing Creek; promoted to Color Bearer; wounded again at Chickamauga; paroled at surrender; dead.

Hyde, H. H. Dead.

Haley, J. W. Living at Okalona, Miss.

Heathcock, J. W. Captured at Missionary Ridge; P. O. Triune, Tenn.

Heathcock, L. L. Captured at Missionary Ridge; died in Rock Island Prison.

Heathcock. M. L. Dead.

Hinson, J. H.

Henley, A. C.

Hull, L. J. Promoted to Sergeant; killed at Chickamauga.

Jordan, J. W. Killed at Murfreesboro.

Jordan, M. C. Wounded at Kennesaw Mountain; lives in Missouri.

Jordan, R. A. Wounded and captured at the battle of Fishing Creek; promoted to 3rd Sergeant, 1863; captured at Missionary Ridge; dead.

Jordan, J. M. Discharged; P. O., Nashville, Tenn.

Jones, G. L. Killed by Yankees while at home.

Jones, Wm. Transferred.

Jones, D. J. Transferred.

Jones, J. C. Died in Hospital at Lagrange, Ga.

Jacobs, J. Discharged, 1861.

Jobe, D. S. Transferred to Coleman's Scouts; captured near Nolensville, 1863, and murdered in most brutal manner by Federals.

Knott, J. W. P. Killed at battle of Murfreesboro.

Knott, J. W. Discharged, July, 1863; P. O., Harpeth, Tenn.

Kennard, N. C. Discharged, 1861; P. O., Triune, Tenn.

Kennard, G. G.

Lynch, A. J.

Lanier, W. O. P. O., Lebanon, Tenn.

Lanier, Robt. Wounded at Shiloh; discharged.

Levine, Mike. Transferred to 10th Tennessee Regiment; killed at Raymond, Miss., 1863.

Merritt, Wm. Died at Knoxville, 1861.

Moody, Jonas.

McDougal, W. H. Captured at Fishing Creek; wounded at Murfreesboro and captured; P. O., Louisville, Ky.

Mason, J. G.

Martin, J. Captured at Fishing Creek; transferred.

Mathews, R. M.

Marshall, J. R. Captured at Missionary Ridge.

Murrey, G. H. Missing; supposed to have been killed at Shiloh.

Moxley, Chesly. Died in Hospital at Holly Springs, 1862.

Moss, H. K. Transferred to Company B, 20th Tennessee Regiment; P. O., Lewisburg, Tenn.

Marks, J. H. Promoted to Hospital Steward; subsequently assigned to duty as Acting Assistant Surgeon.

May, Wm. Promoted to Commissary Sergeant.

McCall, J. B. P. O., Waxahatchie, Texas.

McCall, R. F. P. O., Lynnville, Tenn.

Neal, R. D. Discharged.

Oglevie, W. H. Wounded at Shiloh; transferred to 45th Tennessee Regiment; P. O., Allisonia, Tenn.

Owen, W. G. Transferred to Surgical Department.

Pettus, J. A. Wounded at Fishing Creek, Murfreesboro and Franklin; P. O., Nolensville, Tenn.

Pettus, A. J. P. O., Kirkland, Tenn.

Pettus, W. G. P. O., Nashville, Tenn.

Pinkston, W. J. Wounded at Murfreesboro; lives in Texas.

Pinkston, J. W. Wounded at Murfreesboro; lives in Arkansas.

Pinkston, B. B. Wounded and captured at Nashville; dead.

Pinkston, E. T. Mortally wounded at Shiloh, and died in Hospital.

Pate, F. G. Wounded at Murfreesboro; lives in Texas.

Parks, B. F.

Parks, W. V. Paroled at close of war.

Pritchett, J.

Pennington, C. Discharged, 1861.

Rucker, John. Discharged; dead.

Rea, C. S. At the battle of Murfreesboro on Friday, 1863, Rea, single handed, captured a sink hole full of Yankees.

Redmond, T. J. Captured at Fishing Creek; promoted to Sergeant Major, May, 1863; died since the war.

Robinson, R. A. Paroled at close of war.

Robertson, B. P. P. O., Antioch, Tenn.

Rogers, W. W.

Russell, Champ.

Smithson, J. H. P. O, Bethpage, Tenn.

Smithson, John. Discharged.

Smithson, J. P. Discharged, 1861.

Smithson, B. F. Elected Sergeant; wounded at Murfreesboro; lives at Peytonville, Tenn.

Stanfield, M. G. Paroled at close of war; P. O., Franklin, Tenn.

Simmons, J. E. Dead.

Scruggs, T. S. Dead.

Smith, J. M. Promoted to Color Bearer: killed at battle of Murfreesboro.

Tucker, J. H. Killed at Murfreesboro.

Tippett, J. W. P. Captured at Fishing Creek: P. O., Greeneville, Texas.

Taylor, B. H. Transferred to 24th Tennessee Regiment; killed at battle of Franklin.

Tisdale, D. M. Elected 2nd Lieutenant at re-organization; promoted to 1st Lieutenant, July, 1862; wounded at Murfreesboro, and captured at the battle of Nashville; dead.

Walton, J. P. P. O., New Boston, Texas.

Walton, J. L. Captured at Fishing Creek; P. O., Nolensville, Tenn.

Woods, D. T. J. Captured at Fishing Creek; died at Johnson's Island.

White, Tom. Discharged.

White, Robt. Discharged.

Wall, S. V. Transferred; P. O., Honey Grove, Texas.

Watson, J. P. P. O., College Grove, Tenn.

Wilson, T. J. Captured at Missionary Ridge; P. O., Allisonia, Tenn.

Yeargin, B. A. Killed at the battle of Hoover's Gap, June 24th, 1863.

COMPANY "E"

By Ralph J. Neal.

Company E, of the twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, was raised in the spring of 1861, in the vicinity of Smyrna, Rutherford County, and was considred a Rutherford County Company, although it had several members from the adjoining counties of Williamson and Davidson. This Company came from one of the best sections of the country and its members from some of the best families in the State.

Company E at its organization elected that young and courtly gentleman, John S. Gooch, as their Captain and at once boarded the cars at Smyrna, the nearest depot, and was taken to Camp Trousdale before they were sworn into service.

Its organization was as follows :—

Captain J. S. Gooch, who was severely wounded at Fishing Creek, Kentucky, made Lieutenant Colonel at re-organization, resigned at Vicksburg; lives now on his farm near Smyrna, Rutherford County Tennessee.

First Lieutenant S. M. Weekley, served one year and then retired; living on his farm near Smyrna, Rutherford County, Tennessee.

Second Lieutenant Dr. A. A. East served one year, then transfered to Cavalry, wounded at Shiloh, died since the war.

Third Lieutenant Harvey Ralston, made Captain at re-organization and resigned at Vicksburg, Mississippi, died since the war.

First Sergeant Lucian Weakley, wounded at Chickamauga and died from effects of same.

Second Sergeant M. M. Sanders, wounded in many battles, was made Second Lieutenant at re-organization, afterwards promoted to First Lieutenant and served as such to the close of the war, and now lives in Texas.

Third Seargent Buck Hunter, served for a time, then hired a substitute and returned home. Died of cholera soon afterwards.

Fourth Sergeant Gid. Smart, served faithfully one year and was honorably discharged.

First Corporal, Geo. Edmondson, died in early part of the war.

Second Corporal J. W. Peyton, was made Third Lieutenant at re-organization, afterwards promoted to Second Lieutenant and was killed at Chickamauga.

Third Corporal S. J. Buchanan, served one year and was discharged under age, lives at present in Nashville.

Fourth Corporal W. T. Ridley, was made First Lieutenant at the re-organization, promoted to Captain at Vicksburg, Miss and served as such to close of the war. Was wounded at Shiloh, Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge, died at Franklin, Tennessee September 21, 1902.

Adcock, Tom. was killed since the war by falling tree.

Batey, W. W. was wounded at Chickamauga and Nashville, was made Sergeant soon after Shiloh battle. Captured at Nashville and remained prisoner till last of February 1865, was exchanged and sent to Richmond March 11th, 1865. Remained in hospital there until evacuation, then went to Danville Virginia, and was furloughed from there April 9th, 1865 and was paroled at Kingston, Georgia, May 12th, 1865. Lives at Tunnel Hill, Georgia.

Brothers, W. E. was made Sergeant at re-organization, Third Lieutenant at Murfreesboro, 1862, afterward promoted to Second Lieutensnt, and served as such to close of the war, was wounded at Shiloh and Nashville. Lives at Wichita Falls, Texas.

Brewer, Elisha. Lives in Davidson County, Tennessee.

Bond, Nathaniel. Was discharged over age at the expiration of one year. Died since the war.

Crosthwaite, Frank. Was made First Lieutenant at Vicksburg and was killed at Murfreesboro.

Crosthwaite, Sheldon. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Cowan, S. M. Color Guard. Dead.

Collins, Tom. Died since the war.

Collins, Eb. Lives in Davidson County, Tennessee.

Carter, W. J. Was discharged under age, afterwards joined Cavalry and served to end of war. Dead.

Covington, T. L. Lives in Wilson County, Tennessee.

Covington, Jos. Lives in Arkansas.

Crutcher, J. W. Was killed at Shiloh.

Corder, J. A. Died since the war.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA



LT.-COL. JNO. S. GOOCH.

(While in the army.)

See page 399.



LT.-COL. JNO. S. GOOCH.

See page 399.

Davis, Geo. W. Captured at Missionary Ridge and died in prison.

Davis, Marion. Killed at Hoover's Gap.

Davis, Henry. Killed at Murfreesboro.

Edwards, I. K. P. Was discharged under age.

Espey, J. C. Was wounded at Shiloh, died since the war.

Eaks, G. D. Became demented and died since the war.

Elden, B. F. Lives in Arkansas.

Elden, Geo. Wounded at Murfreesboro and died.

Ferris, Jos. Lives at Mount View, Tennessee.

Fergus, Archer. Died early in the war from effects of measles.

Griggs, Tom. Was killed at Fishing Creek.

Griggs, Wiley. Was killed at Kennesaw Mountains.

Hartman, Wm. Lives near Cane Ridge, Tennessee.

Hartman, Jack. Lives near Lavergne.

Holland, O. C. Was captured at Missionary Ridge. Died since the war in Texas.

Harris, Newt. Lives in Nashville, Tennessee.

Hamilton, W. A. Was transfered to Cavalry service at Dalton, Georgia, and served to end of war, lives near Lavergne Tennessee.

Hill, J. R. Dead.

Hunter, Tom. Dead.

Hedgepath, Elisha. Liviug in Wilson County.

Humfelt, Geo. Was killed at Murfreesboro.

Irvin, A. J. Was made First Sergeant, afterwards Third Lieutenant, and killed on 22nd of July 1864, near Atlanta, Ga.

Ingle, James. Was wounded at Hoover's Gap, afterwards lost sight of.

Jones, Tom. Died since the war.

Jones, Dick. Died since the war.

Jamison, S. M. Died since the war.

Jamison, Tom. Dead.

Latimer, P. S. Wounded at Murfreesboro and Chikamauga, was made Sergeant while we were in Mississippi, lives in Sheffield, Alabama.

Lintner, Jno. Served through the war, after several years residence in Tennessee, returned to his home in Pennsylvania.

Lewis, Tom. Lives in Williamson County, Tennessee.

Martin, W. D. Was made Corporal, wounded at Shiloh and Franklin, died in 1902 at his residence in Rutherford County.

Mason, M. S. Wounded severely at Chickamauga, died in a few days.

Montgomery, J. B. Lives near Lavergne, Tennessee

McLaughlin, Wm. Was not an enlisted man, but served with Company E until killed at Shiloh.

Mullins, J. V. Lives near Lavergne, Tennessee.

Mullins, James. Sickened and died early in war.

McMennamy, Luke. Was killed by cars early in 1861.

Mason, Jno. B. Whereabouts unknown.

Neal, G. A. Was wounded severely at Chickamauga and afterwards retired from service on account of disability from wounds, lives in Tresevant Tennessee.

Neal, W. P. Wounded at Murfreesboro, lives near Lavergne, Tennessee.

Neal, Ralph J. Was wounded at Fishing Creek, Kennesaw Mountain, Atlanta, and three times slightly at Franklin, now lives near Couchville, Tennessee, surrendered at Greensboro, North Carolina.

Noe, Acquilla. Died since war of cancer.

Neblett, Jno. In Confederate Soldiers Home, Tennessee.

Perry, Henry. At last account was in West Tennessee.

Robertson, Jack. Died in 1903.

Robertson, James. Lives in Nashville, Tennessee.

Robertson, Andrew. Lives in Meridian, California.

Ridley J. K. P. Was left in Tennessee in Hoods raid and got with cavalry and served till surrender at Gainsville, Alabama.

Ridley, Geo. Sickened and died early in the war.

Sloan, R. D. Dead.

Swain, B. F. Was made Corporal at Murfreesboro, committed suicide by taking ground glass since the war.

Stanfield, S. W. Wounded at Fishing Creek and made prisoner, exchanged at Vicksburg, Mississippi in 1862, dead.

Shelton, J. P. Severely wounded at Shiloh, transfered to Cavalry service afterwards, and was made Lieutenant, lives in Indian Territory near Durant.

Sanders, L. N. Was made Corporal early in the war, served as acting assistant Surgeon until discharged in 1862.

Sanders, Jno. A. Was wounded at Murfreesboro and died from effects of wound.

Sanders, Jno. P. Was severely wounded at Fishing Creek and was retired from service.

Sanders, Mortimer. Sickened and died early in the war.

Sanders, W. B. Was made First Sergeant while in Mississippi, lives in Nashville, Tennessee.

Sanders, Garrett. Died early in the war.

Sparrow, Alfred. Was transferred to Artillery early in the war.

Tucker, W. G. Killed at Shiloh.

Tucker, Jack. Discharged under age.

Tune, Henry. Sickened and died early in the war.

Towns, Hubbard. Died at Mill Springs, Kentucky 1862.

Vardell W. A. Wounded and left for dead at Shiloh, but was exchanged at Vicksburg, Mississippi, was transferred to Cavalry, and still lives somewhere in Robertson County Tennessee.

Vinson, Bud. Killed at Murfreesbo.

Ware, Henry. Killed by citizens in Wilson County.

White, R. H. Discharged under age. Lives in Rtherford County.

White, J. A. Died since the war.

Whitfield. T. H. Lives in Williamson County, Tennessee.

Walden, G. W. Wounded at Murfreesboro and Chickamauga, and died.

Walden, Sam. A. Wounded at Kennesaw Mountain and lives at Rockvale, Rutherford County Tennessee.

Walden, Pat. Thought to have been murdered.

Warren, Jos. Discharged over age. Died since the war.

Warren, Henry. Dead.

Worrell, Silas. Lives in West Tennessee.

Williams, Sam. Died early in the war.

Woods, Jack. Lives at Fruitland in West Tennessee.

Holloway, Hugh. Died early in the war of measles.

Total Rank and File 108.

Company E, as stated, was organized at Smyrna, Rutherford County, Tennessee in the spring of 1861, (the exact date not recalled.) An effort was being made at both Smyrna and La-

vergne to organize a Company. Finally their partial enlistments were united and the organization was completed at Smyrna.

After the organization we drilled nearly every day, sometimes at Smyrna and sometimes at Lavergne, but generally in Mrs. Dr. Gooch's lot on the Jefferson Pike near Smyrna, until June, 1861, when we took the cars for Camp Trousdale. There were either 48 or 49 of us that got on at Smyrna and Lavergne; others following on later. We left the cars at the Chattanooga Depot, marched through the city, crossed the river on the suspension bridge, then had dinner under the trees, the first military dinner we ever ate. We were near the L. & N. tracks, and after a while we boarded the cars and reached Camp Trousdale late in the night. We slept any way we could, for most of us were boys and were very tired and sleepy, and we slept as only tired boys could, and that was with all our might.

Next morning we were in camp near Capt. Joel A. Battle's Company, afterwards Company B, and Capt. Moscow Carter's Company, afterwards Company H. We were mustered in by Col. Pickett, and having only 49 men the Company was too small, so Capt. Battle lent us a few of his men to stand up with us so that the Company could be received. After we had been mustered in, Battle's men returned to their own quarters and we were in for it.

In a few days we were organized into the 20th Tennessee Infantry. Capt. Joel A. Battle of Company B was chosen Colonel. Capt. Moscow Carter of Company H was chosen Lieutenant Colonel, and Patrick Duffy of Company K was chosen Major.

We were now given our Company letter "E," and for four long years we suffered, fought, and made history as such. Our position in the regimental line was the center of the left wing.

On the 8th of June, 1861, the state voted on "separation or no separation," and the soldiers in camp were allowed to vote. The men were formed and marched by companies to the polls and there they voted. The officers of election were citizens of that precinct and we were voting right along, when it came Jack Tucker's time to vote (he was only 14 years old), when one of the officers of election, an elderly man who perhaps thought there ought to be a limit somewhere between the age of twenty-

one and the cradle, asked Jack "How old are you young man?" Jack promptly replied "Twenty-one years old, sir." We all laughed heartily, and the balloting proceeded.

We remained at Camp Trousdale for a number of weeks, drilling and having measles, many of us had the measles while there. The hospital was full and we were beginning to realize some of the inconveniences of a soldier's life. Many were furloughed home as soon as convalescent; quite a number of whom were never able to do much service after the disease had left its mark on them.

Henry Tune and Archer Fergus never recovered from the effects of the measles and died early in the war.

We at first stood guard duty with sticks for guns, later on we procured a few antiquated muskets, some of which had not likely been fired since the Revolution; but they had bayonets, and when we proudly walked our beats with real guns on our shoulders, we felt that we were indeed "heroes," but fancy the disgust of one of our young heroes when he drew rammer and dropped it into the barrel to hear it ring — instead of a ring it was a dull thud, the barrel being nearly half full of home-made soap.

We were finally armed with flint lock muskets that would actually shoot (if it was not raining), and they always notified you when they did shoot. Thus armed, equipped, and fairly well drilled, we were put aboard the cars and ordered to Virginia. We passed through Nashville, and were halted long enough to enjoy a splendid dinner, furnished by the citizens and served at the Nashville Female Academy on Church Street near the Chattanooga Depot. We then proceeded on our way, stopping at Chattanooga to change cars, then on to Knoxville where we were laid over for some reasons for quite a while, during which time several of the boys got out in town and imbibed most too freely, and got into the guard house.

After everything was arranged we proceeded to Bristol, on the State line of Tennessee and Virginia, and there we received the tidings from the first battle of Manassas, which was a complete victory for the South. We remained a few days at Bristol, during which time we received our first regimental flag, presented

by the ladies of Nashville, Capt. A. S. Marks of the 17th Tennessee making the presentation speech.

We then boarded the cars and returned to Knoxville and camped near the Fair Grounds, and drilled energetically for several weeks.

The right wing of the Regiment was then ordered to Jacksboro under Col. Battle and Lieut. Col. Moscow Carter; the left wing remained for a short time at Knoxville, and then started on our first march to join the right wing at Jacksboro, and such a march as we made of it; as we were going to Jacksboro, we seemed to have the idea that to "get there" was the proper thing to do, and every fellow started out his own way, regardless of others. The result was that we were soon strung out along the road in squads of any small number; company formations were lost sight of entirely.

We started out in command of Major Pat Duffy, as gallant an Irishman as ever drew blade. It was on this march that the "grand old man" got a little too much of the "how come you so?" and was lost from the battalion — and also from his sword. Finally he came dashing up on "old roan" exclaiming: — "where in the h--l is the battalion?"

We all reached Jacksboro however, though it was several days between first and last arrivals.

At this point we remained a short time, drilling, and detachments were sent out to blockade the mountain passes leading north into Kentucky, and nearly every day we marched through Jacksboro back and forth, our field band playing the "Bob Tail Hoss." Who that was along fails to recollect it?

We were then ordered to Cumberland Gap, where we arrived one afternoon about five oclock, and were ordered to prepare three days rations, and be ready to move at nine oclock that evening. We marched promptly at the hour, most of us very tired and sleepy. We were starting on our first campaign. We passed through the Gap over Big and Little Log Mountains, and about ten oclock next morning reached Cumberland Ford, the most completely exhausted set of men imaginable. W. E. Brothers was several times prevented from walking off bluffs on the lower side of the road by myself. W. E. Brothers was sound alseep, walking along the road.

When within a few miles of our destination, Col. Battle ordered a halt for a few moments saying: — "We *must* rest a little." We dropped down on the upper side of the road under the shade of some trees. A low ledge of rocks cropped out under a sugar tree, and Brothers sat down on the ledge and leaned back on his knapsack, determined not to sleep, saying: — "twould be too bad to be roused up in a moment." This was about eight oclock in the morning. The next thing he was conscious of was the rear guard of our wagon train passing by at five oclock in the afternoon. He had slept not changing his position for about nine hours. He bestirred himself quickly and with all dilligence pursued his line of march, expecting to be court-martialed for sleeping in the face ofthe enemy. But when he reached camp he found all as sound asleep as he had been, and when they awoke, by making cautious inquiry, he learned he had not been missed. We remained here at Cumberland Ford (Camp Buncker), for some time, drilling, doing guard work, fortifying and picketing the surrounding mountains. We had a false alarm here that excited us very much, and after it was over and we were back in camp, the boys commenced to tell ludicrous yarns on each other which resulted in a number of fisticuffs.

Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer being in command, sent a detachment to Barboursville, Ky. under command of Col. Battle. Several hundred of the enemy were reported stationed there. He had little trouble in dispersing them, killing — an old sow — and losing one man, Lieut. Powell of the 19th Tennessee. We were doing outpost duty now, and made other similar expeditions into the enemy's country; one to Goose Creek Salt Works. We got the salt, but had no fight.

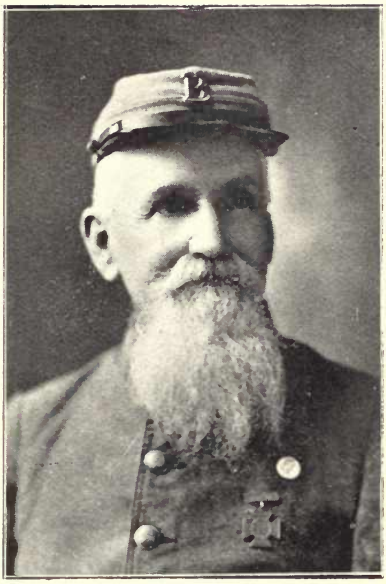
While stationed here we had quite a number of boys to join us from home as recruits, and our small company was now quite a large one, and had more men for duty than ever before or afterwards. Zollicoffer made the campaign from here against Wild Cat. We passad through Barboursville and London, and after passing London, our advance guard commenced firing, our regiment double-quicked to the right, formed and moved forward, but in the timber we made some little confusion in our line, which caused Col. Battle to scold at us. He said we were

"excited." This proved to be a false alarm. Next morning we continued to move along cautiously and after a while our skirmishers struck the enemy's pickets and fired into them, killing one man and driving the rest. It was here we saw our first victim of the batte field, and of all who saw him and are yet living, I suppose not one has forgotten him. He was dressed in citizen's clothes, apparently about twenty-five or twenty-eight years old. He was laid out beside the road, and the boys all showed a disposition to take the other side.

The next morning we moved forward early and were soon within hearing distance of the firing. Company B, under Capt. Wm. Clark was placed on the mountain top and opened up with a heavy volley. Col. Battle now changed his front to meet the expected danger, placing his line near and parallel with the road. The skirmishing continued in our front for a while, but while we were under the skirmish fire and heard many bullets, none of our regiment saw a Yankee, with the exception of Company B, except the dead one the day before ; nor did we lose a man.

Some of the regiments met with some casualities, the 11th Tennessee Regiment having some losses. We dropped back to our encampment of the previous night, gave up the job as a failure and made our way, undisturbed, back to our position at Cumberland Ford.

A laughable incident occured just before the Yankee picket was killed. The country abounded in summer grapes, which were very palatable. The vines extended from the ground very high before reaching the limbs, and every man that could get hold of the vine would do so, and by a united pull would bring down the grapes. Now just before the picket was killed we were marching through a lane ; a cedar tree grew in the fence corner with low limbs, and they were loaded with grapes, but the suspense of the battle was on us, and yet we wondered that no one had plucked a grape. Just as Company E was passing, Segt. Mark Sanders, who could always be depended on to break the record, darted in, saying that was his opportunity, and in he went and out he came instanter, with a swarm of hornets around his head. He darted in and out the files swapping his hornets off, causing quite a disturbance in the ranks. We all now understood why the grapes had been unmolested.



RALPH J. NEAL, CO. E.

See page 436.



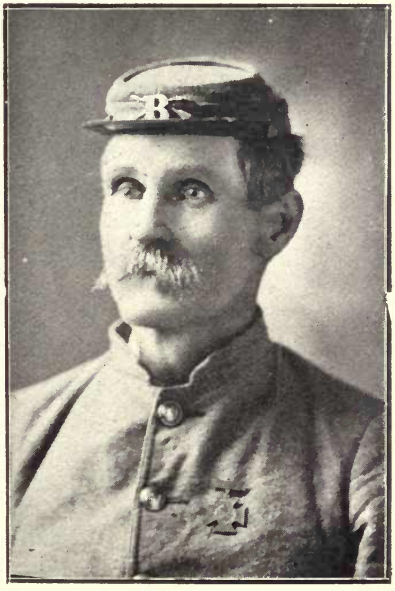
SERGT. W. W. BATEY, CO. E.

See page 437.



W. A. HAMILTON, CO. E.

See page 438.



J. K. P. RIDLEY, CO. E.

See page 438.

We remained at Cumberland Ford only a short time, when we came south through Cumberland Gap, turning westward along the south side of the mountains, passed through Wartburg, Montgomery and other small places to Jimtown in Fentress Co., Tennessee. We remained here only one night, but it was a memorable one. Some of the boys had met with the opportunity of getting their canteens filled with "Pine Top" — a liquid beverage peculiar to that section that was never known to contribute to the discipline of the Military; they made night hideous, some of their utterances are historical with Company B yet. Wild Cat Wild Cat. Some of the best boys (W. B. Sanders and myself, for instance) got forty-eight hours extra duty for their jubilee. I did not mind the extra duty at all, but the lecture that Col. Battle gave me was the worst whipping I ever had.

We continued our march through Monticello, Ky., when one of Company E stole an old negro's hound pup. The negro followed us up, found his pup, but the soldier refused to give it up, claiming that "he found it." The negro appealed to Col. Battle, who restored the pup and had the soldier put under guard. The soldier, who was full of "Pine Top," crawled under the back of the tent and escaped to his mess. He was quite wrathy, and said "that he stole a hound pup and that Col. Battle had treated him worse than a dog." We continued our march until we reached Mill Springs, Ky., where we camped on the south side of Cumberland River until flat boats could be built, on which we crossed.

One morning we were formed early, thirty men were to be picked from each company to cross the river, as we supposed, to do some desperate fighting; we had not time to get breakfast, but marched to the river, crossed over, and were put to work on the road. Imagine our disgust, — the idea was foreign to us, — picked men to work the road, when we considered ourselves the flower of our company and regiment. However, we soon found the Yankees were not near, and then a spectator would have thought we were "picked" to "play off" which we did all the day long. We left camp without breakfast; no dinner came, and the growling grew louder; night came on and no supper, and we were getting desperate — being picked men.

The officers reported the Yanks coming and tried to make us build breast-works, but we declined to work. Lieut. Albert Roberts did his best, the boys would drop down and go to sleep and declined to be waked up. Roberts and some other officer drew their swords and charged down the line; the boys hopped over the trenches and went to sleep on the other side. About this time Henry Ware came to W. E. Brothers and W. W. Batey and informed them that he had bought a bee stand, and that it was back a couple of hundred yards and was already open. The trio went back together, and not having eaten anything in thirty hours, eat honey as long as they wanted it, and then went a quarter of a mile to a spring and drank all the water they wanted, — and then they needed a doctor.

Next morning about two oclock our long-looked-for breakfast arrived, — the one we should have had the morning before. After despaching the breakfast, we scattered around outside of general view and slept till daylight; our minds fully made up against volunteering as "picked" men again.

After the army crossed the river we went into camp near by, and built works, and drilled and stood guard, etc. Every few days, a detachment would go out with wagons towards Somerset for forage; occasionally the cavalry would report a little fight with the enemy's cavalry. In the meantime we built winter quarters, but never occupied them. It was a severe winter, mostly rainy weather.

On the 18th of January, 1862, we marched out of camp in the direction of Fishing Creek, on a dark night and a very muddy road. About daylight we formed our line of battle, our regiment and the 15th Mississippi forming the front line, the latter on the right and to the right of the road. As we advanced in this manner and when our regiment was about middle of a stalk field the 15th Mississippi was brought under a heavy fire, which they immediately returned and then charged. Col. Battle moved us by the right flank and then moved close up to the left of the 15th Mississippi, and we were in the battle under a terrific fire. We found the enemy in our front in an open field. We opened on them from a low ridge covered with scattering timber and under-growth; the enemy retired under our fire from the field to a heavy woods. Both regiments (15th Mississippi and 20th

Tennessee) now charged; we went to within perhaps twenty or thirty feet of the fence bordering the wood, some of our men reached the fence and the slaughter was simply terrible. Col. Battle, seeing it was useless, ordered us to retire, the 15th Mississippi retiring with us.

When we had re-crossed the field over which we had charged, the enemy was already in our rear on the road, having come around our flank. We marched past them on a parellel road concealed by underbrush, regaining the road near where we first formed our line in the morning. There was little order or discipline from there back to camp.

Many of our regiment and company failing to reach the road, kept down Fishing Creek to its mouth, and then down the Cumberland River to camp. So close was the pursuit that many of our number passed inside of our works under the enemy's artillery fire. This was our first regular battle, and our company and regiment had suffered dreadfully; it was reported afterwards that in killed, wounded, and captured we had lost forty per cent of the number engaged.

Of the casualities of Company E, Shelton Crosthwaite and Tom Griggs were killed. Capt. Gooch, J. P. Sanders, and R. J. Neal were severely wounded. S. W. Stanfield was wonnded and made prisoner. Our loss was much heavier but the lapse of forty years has so dimmed the memory of the surviving members as to render them incapable of recalling more. Capt. Gooch was borne from the field to camp by W. T. Ridley and others. R. J. Neal was picked up by Frank C. Manier of Company E (who is now blind) ,and Jim Polk Edwards of Company E after having been rendered helpless by the loss of blood and carried out to the road, when Lieut. Mark S. Cockrell had him placed on a caisson and hauled to camp. Sanders fell into the hands of the enemy.

When we first received the enemy's fire they were overshooting the Mississippi Regiment, and it was here Maj. Duffy lost his horse, "Old Roan," the bullet passing through his saddle bags and through the horse; in passing, the ball cut to pieces a pair of new socks some good lady had sent him from home, rendering them useless. When his horse fell he took off the saddle bags and trudged along with them with the rest of

us; he was buttoning his over coat while the bullets were rattling amongst the corn-stalks, and together with the roar of guns and artillery some of the boys seemed a little nervous. The Major said, "Boys 'tis pretty rough but that is what we are here for." After reaching camp, the Major proceeded to examine the contents of his saddle-bags, and on finding his socks demolished, he said, "he didn't mind losing his horse so much, but hated like the d---l to lose his new socks."

The supposition has always been, that had the day been fair, or had we been armed with precussion guns, the result of that battle would have been far different. It rained nearly all the time and our "Flint Locks" would not fire. Our men lost much time in drawing loads from their guns, the powder having gotten wet in the rain. Many of them never fired a dozen shots. But to their credit, let it be said, — no set of men ever showed more courage on a battle field than the 20th showed at Fishing Cresk; and the Yankees never forgot the lesson we taught them that day.

That night we abandoned our camp and crossed the river on the steam boat, Noble Ellis, all getting safely across by daylight, the boat was burned and we commenced our dismal retreat. Our wagons, ambulances, and artillery were all abandoned. It was in the month of January, and raining nearly all the time. Without rations or shelter, we were forced to march to Gainsboro, Tenn., before we could hope for relief. We often afterwards met with disasters and privations, but never with anything equal to the retreat from Mill Springs to Gainsboro. Here we were met by steam boats from Nashville that brought us the much needed relief, and after having rested for a while we continued our retreat, passing through Lebanon and joining Gen. Albert Sydney Johnson's Army at Murfreesboro.

It was hard to convince Company E that it was right and best to abandon their homes and State to the enemy without a fight. After it was known the retreat would be continued South and the State left to the enemy, Col. Battle got Gov. Harris and Secretary of State, Gen. Whitthorne, to come around and make speeches, encouraging us all they could; but the speeches were unnecessary, the men had not even hesitated, but they were sad indeed- At the conclusion of the speeches some one proposed

"three cheers," but only a few tried to cheer, they were too sad.

The next morning, however, notwithstanding the sadness and gloom which hung thickly over the army, we formed, and to a man marched out, leaving home and all its endearments in the hands of the enemy. We passed through Shelbyville and Fayetteville, Tenn., Athens and Decatur, Ala., and stopped a short while at Iuka, Miss., and then on to Burnsville, Miss., where we drew new Enfield Rifles, recently brought from England. This was indeed a proud day for the 20th Tennessee Regiment.

We were now as well armed as any troops in the army and felt like we could do as good fighting as the best. From Burnsville we went to the front at Shiloh. We were now in Breckinridge's division, our brigade being in command of Col. W. S. Statham of the 15th Mississippi. On Sunday morning, April 6th, 1862, the battle was begun, Breckinridge in reserve. As we moved along, our advance driving the enemy rapidly before them, capturing their encampment and stores of every description, we (the reserve) came to the place where the battle opened; here we found our own men, the killed, wounded, and their attendants. A little further on, we came to where the enemy's line stood and received the Confederate charge. This showed where their lines had been, many of their wounded not yet cared for; but sad as it all was we must proceed, for the battle was now raging. With our men steadily driving them, we passed through their camps, and found them just as they had left them to form their line of battle; we moved to the right and started forward in the line of battle. We first came in contact with a mule lot, double staked with riders. We could not take time to tear down the fence, and had to climb it on both sides of the lot, and as we went over the second fence the enemy's skirmishers opened fire on us.

I don't think they hurt a man, but the climbing of the fence caused some confusion. We now charged, and in about one hundred yards we met the enemy on a thinly wooded ridge. After the first volley they dropped back to a deep ravine parallel with our line, and right here was the slaughter for both sides. We halted, and it seemed a question of who could shoot quickest and best. We charged and they broke, and as they ran up the steep sides of the ravine, our men, at

close range poured the fire into their backs and their loss was terrible; many of them laid down in the ravine and did not attempt to escape.

We pursued them through the woods perhaps half a mile when they disappeared from our front; then being short of ammunition, Col. Battle moved us back a short distance, we being at the time ahead of the line of battle, and re-formed his line; this was an open woods fight. We now had Enfield rifles and the fight was quickly over, but our loss was terrible. Bob Peyton, Bunk Ridley, and McLaughlin, who did not belong really to our company but went into the fight with us, were killed. J. W. Crutcher was also killed. Wm. Vardell, John Neblett, J. T. Shelton, John Espey, Dan. Miller, and Lieut. East were amongst the wounded; other casualties are not recalled. Wm. Vardell was shot through the head and left on the field for dead, but survived and was exchanged, and returned to the company at Vicksburg in the summer of 1862. But if our loss was heavy, that of the enemy was much more so. In the ravine from which we drove them, not one-half of them could possibly have escaped. The bottom of the ravine seemed to be literally piled with their dead. As we came into line and charged, the 45th Tennessee Regiment, coming up on our left, fired by mistake into the left wing of our regiment, and the loss to our left wing was considerably heavier than that of the right.

While the firing was at its heaviest, and the two lines about one hundred yards apart, a small herd of goats, led by a sedate old "billy" showed up about midway between. They did not last long, for when we charged the ravine there were only one or two of them left. The wonder is, why a soldier would shoot at a goat when so many of the enemy were present to shoot. We now moved a little to the left and forward again, reaching the top of another low wooded ridge, when Col. Statham rode in front, waved his sword and dashed forward. The line gave the yell and dashed forward wildly. The enemy had another camp in plain view where they had stacked their arms and surrendered, we never knew how many. They waved their caps and cheered us as we dashed through.

We were successful, and the elation of victory filled us for the

time to overflowing, we thought the battle over. We passed through their tents a short distance, halted, re-formed our line and moved forward again, and when we saw them again they were re-forming their lines, and for some unaccountable reason to us, we stood there and watched them rally and re-form their lines, instead of dashing right into them while partially panicked, and making short work of it. We waited until they were ready, then an artilery duel began, the gun-boats on the river taking a hand. The roar of the cannon on both land and water, together with the screaming and explosions of the shells was simply terrible, the counterpart of which we never witnessed again. But here we remained until after dark, and withdrew a short distance to pass a miserable night in line, for in addition to the sadness caused by the loss of so many comrades, bravest of the brave, and others were missing that we could not account for, either dead, wounded, or simply lost from the command in the confusion of battle, or the darkness of the night, it rained one big, hard, thunder storm after another the entire night, the gunboats throwing their shells steadily all the while. Next morning Apr. 7th, we were moved about several times, finally going forward to support a battery, and laid down, Company E, just on the edge of a woods, the left wing of the Company in the woods the right wing in the field. Here we had an artillery duel at close range, the enemy entirely in the woods with dense underbrush. At length we were ordered to charge through, and on we went like a storm, but we met with a warm reception. Our line was badly confused in struggling through the underbrush, briars and grapevines, and the enemy held their fire until we were close on them before they opened on us.

The smoke from their guns was blinding, and while we were right at them, we could not see one of them. Human nature could stand no more. Our men broke nor could we re-form at the battery; we did re-form, however, about a quarter of a mile back in the woods, not by regiments or companies, but promiscuously, and as we were ready to move again, two regiments of re-enforcements came up, and we advanced to re-take our battery. We would run from tree to tree and fire, getting nearer all the time, until the enemy broke, and we held the line we had occupied early in the

morning, having re-taken our battery and capturing several pieces from the enemy, which they had brought up. So far as we are aware the hard fighting at Shiloh was over, there was more fighting through the day but it was desultory.

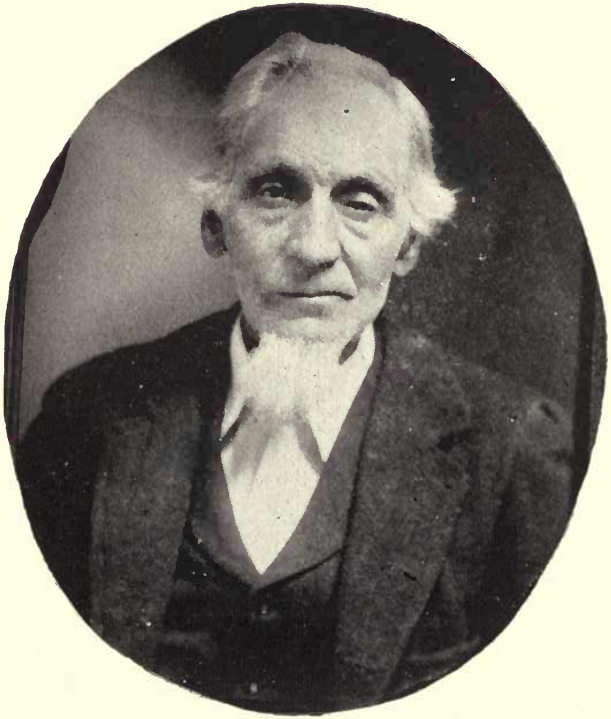
Our loss in this day's (Monday's) fight was heavy again; and of Company E, Bailey Tucker was killed, and W. E. Brothers wounded.

We have a vivid recollection of both day's fighting as far as could be seen and understood by men fighting in the ranks. We observed on both days acts of courage and individual heroism, that could they be shown just as they occurred, would cause the actors names to be handed down in the pages of history for generations to come.

On Sunday afternoon Frank Crosthwait who was Color Bearer at the time, was lying down watching the enemy reform. He had his chin resting on the spur of an elm tree when he saw a cannon ball coming straight towards him, bouncing and bumping along. He dropped back and moved his head just before the ball struck where his chin rested. The gay little fellow looked back and laughed and remarked that "his head was not there."

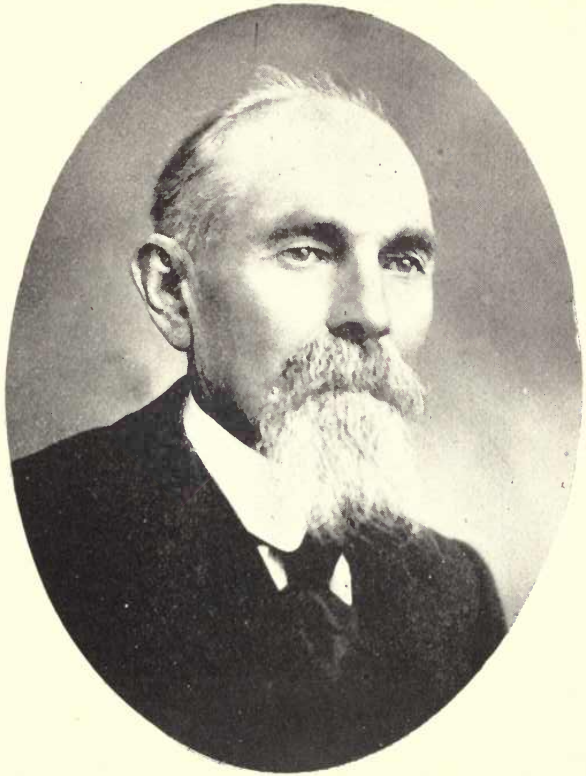
Bunk Ridley who was killed was a member of the second Tennessee, and was furloughed from Virginia, and volunteered to go into this fight with his brother, W. T. Ridley of Company E, was as big hearted and brave a man as ever battled for the Confederate's cause.

Late in the afternoon the retreat back to Corinth commenced; the spare wagons and ambulances filled with the worst wounded, those who were unable to walk. W. E. Brothers, John Neblett and J. T. Shelton casually dropped in together. All were wounded, Brothers in the head, Neblett in the arm and Shelton in the shoulder. Shelton being weakest from loss of blood took position in the center, thus they marched through mud and water, wading swollen streams, until they met the wagons, one of the teamsters was Buck Hamilton of Company E, who said "he was ordered to the general hospital, but he'd be d—d if he didn't take this squad back to camp." Soon he had sixteen men of the 20th. in his wagon, when he came to a fellow lying by the road side with a bayonet hole through his thigh, who pleaded piteously to be ta-



J. Hartman, Co. E.

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A. J. Robinson, Co. E.

ken up. Buck said, "you see what I've got, if my boys say so I will take you if it pulls the necks off my mules." The boys said so, and Buck's little mules pulled seventeen men through the mud to Corinth.

The army went into camp at Corinth, Miss., and were drilled incessantly. Our brigade did the provost work for the town, and the pranks and jokes were just such as to make memory pleasant yet to recall. The duty we were on prevented us from engaging in the almost daily skirmishes with the enemy in our front.

While stationed here our army was re-organized. Thomas B. Smith of Company B was made Colonel; J. S. Gooch of Company E, Lieutenant Colonel; F. M. Lavender of Company H, Major; Lieutenant Harvey Ralston was made Captain of Company E; W. T. Ridley was made first Lieutenant; M. M. Sanders, Second Lieutenant; and Jo. W. Peyton, Third Lieutenant; Frank B. Crosthwait was made First Sergeant; P. Latimer, Second Sergeant; W. E. Brothers, Third Sergeant; and W. W. Batey, Fourth Sergeant; W. D. Martin, and others not recalled were made Corporals.

Genl. Beauregard determined on changing his base, now dropped back to Tupelo, Miss., and from Tupelo, Breckinridge's Division was ordered to Vicksburg, Miss. We moved west through Potontoc to Abbeville where we took the cars to Jackson, thence to Vicksburg, where we did picket work for about six weeks, and drank bad water until only a few of us were able to answer at "roll call."

We met with no casualities at Vicksburg, notwithstanding we were constantly shelled by the lower federal fleet.

One day we were ordered on board the cars, but only four of Company E were able to go; other companies being just as bad off as ours. We went to Tangipaho, La. Here we left the cars, and Company E left one of her four men and started to Baton Rouge, La., with three men, but when we reached Amite River we left another member of Company E sick, the two remaining, W. E. Brothers and W. W. Batey, went on.

We halted at Comite Bridge and started at two o'clock next morning to surprise the enemy. We moved rapidly until within three miles of the enemy, a swamp on one side and a cane field

on the other, when suddenly a dreadful roar was heard just ahead. Brothers was left file next the field when everything pressed his way. Just then some one yelled "Yankee Cavalry!" Brothers tripped and fell, the boys jumped over him as he made it on "all fours" to the fence. He tried to climb it, but the rails were rotten and would break and he would drop back. The boys on the other side had commenced to shoot, and Brothers was afraid they would hit him, and at the same time he was expecting some Yankee to chop his head off with a sabre. He dropped back close up in a corner of the fence, and as he saw a man passing on a horse he shot at him. Just then Col. Smith commanded the men to cease firing, as they were our own men, and he hoped no man in the 20th had fired a gun. Brothers hopped out of his corner, his gun still smoking, and promptly replied that he did not think any man in the 20th had fired. Smith reported this to Breckinridge and was complimented for the good behavior of the 20th Tennessee. But we soon moved on and a little after daylight we formed our line and marched straight ahead through the cane field into the edge of Baton Rouge, then we moved to the left, then forward again through the enemy's abandoned camp.

Here we halted, and then charged driving the enemy, and when we had re-arranged our line we were not ordered forward again, as the enemy now had the protection of their fleet, and the "Arkansas Ram" which was to have assisted us had been destroyed. The battle of Baton Rouge was a brilliant engagement, but was useless as our gunboat failed to show up. W. W. Batey commanded Company E in the latter part of the engagement, as W. E. Brothers had retired from the field with a chill on his hands, the first one he ever had, (perhaps in keeping cool in action, he had over done it, and got too cool).

We then retired to our camp, and in a few days went to Port Hudson, La. Lieut. M. M. Sanders with other convalescents had now rejoined us. Our company had no casualties on this campaign. In a short while we were ordered to Jackson, Miss., and after resting and taking quinine for a few weeks, were ordered on the cars to Holly Springs, or near there. Here we remained only a few days, when we started to re-enforce Bragg in Kentucky. While at Jackson, Miss., they were exchanging

prisoners at Vicksburg. Spivey Stanfield† who was captured at Fishing Creek came in, and to our great joy and surprise, W. A. Vardell came in too; he had been left for dead at Shiloh and his name had been dropped from the roll.

We left Holly Springs on the cars and returned through Jackson, then to Mobile, Montgomery, Atlanta, and Knoxville. Here we learned of the battle of Perryville, Ky., and that Bragg was on his way back to Tennessee. We then proceeded to Murfreesboro, where we remained until joined by Bragg's main army from Kentucky. Our regiment being near their homes, most of them were allowed, a few at a time, to visit their homes for a few days. The 20th and 45th Tennessee Regiments were sent to Stewart's Creek on the Nashville Pike to support our cavalry who were at Lavergne.

Many of Company E lived near here, and it was impossible to keep them in camp, but they would not stay away long at a time, and could hardly be missed. One day we were double quicked down to Lavergne, the enemy had driven our cavalry out, and when we formed and went in the enemy were going out on the other side, but they had fired the village as they went out, the greater portion of it being in flames as we went in. We returned to Stewart's Creek and in a few days went back to Murfreesboro where the great battle was soon to be fought. The boys had all been home, after an absence of about twenty-two months.

The enemy came up in our front on Dec. 29th, 1862, and on the 30th there was a good deal of skirmishing and cannonading. We were still in Breckinridge's division, on the extreme right of the army, and on the east side of Stone's River. The battle opened proper on the extreme left, on the morning of the 31st. We were not engaged until in the after-noon of that day, when we were double-quicked to the ford of the river, waded it, and moved to the left, crossed both turn-pike and railroad and started directly forward at the enemy. On account of the railroad our regiment moved in line behind the one that should have been next on our left, until we came under fire, then we moved to the right and came into our place between the river and railroad at Cowan's Pond. (Cowan's house had been burned.) We now charged the bluff, and after a sharp fight held it, but we could

† He served with us – 10th Tenn Cavalry – longtime. Q.C.S.

not cross the field, and were forced back under the bluff on account of a portion of our brigade giving way on our left and letting the enemy in behind us. But our regiment killed, wounded, and captured a great many of the enemy. Our loss was also quite heavy. Lieut. F. B. Crostwaite was killed. Lieut. M. M. Sanders and W. P. Neal were wounded, with others not recalled.

That night we were withdrawn further to the left into the cedars, where we remained during the day of January 1st, 1863 and the morning of January 2nd. Early in the afternoon of the 2nd, we were hastily withdrawn from the advanced line and rapidly marched across the river at the same ford we waded before, and down to the Mitchell House, where we, being on the extreme right, were the last to get into line of battle. But we immediately moved forward, crossed a high fence, then straight across a field to the crest of a low wooded ridge; this crest had a few trees that were mixed with bushes and briars, and was not more than one hundred yards in width. The enemy was drawn up with this in their front, and just as we came to the timber they fired. We dropped down, returned the fire and then charged. The enemy broke and fled across the open field towards the river. They had a second line mid-way of the field. We broke this too, and still pursuing, we struck a third line near the river, and they all went down under the bluff together, as we again dashed forward. As we pursued them across the field, we had left a line of Federals behind that now over-lapped us, but some of our Cavalry dismounted and chased them across the field. They were to our right, but really we were in advance of them, and they took shelter behind Ross' Gin. It was here that Frank Battle, carrying the colors, found them so badly shot and torn as to be hard to handle, and having gone some fifty yards in advance, dropped down, the colors falling on him. We thought he was killed, and Capt. W. T. Ridley rushed out to get the colors but Frank jumped up and commenced to wave them. He had only been tieing the fragments together.

But now the enemy had his time. We had only a few pieces of artillery, while the Federals had fifty-eight pieces on the bluff opposite us. They opened on us furiously, and we could do nothing more than go back across the field, through the timber

and rally at the Mitchell House. The battle of Murfreesboro was over and our loss was heavy. Bud Vinson and Geo. Elder were killed. Jno. Allen Sanders was also killed. Geo. W. Walden was wounded; other casualties are not recalled.

On the night of January 3rd, we started on the retreat, our command taking the Manchester Pike. We went back to Tullahoma, where we spent the remainder of the winter without any unusual incidents. We did lots of drilling while here, and got in good shape for another campaign. It was here we received the "Breckinridge Flag," presented to us by the General's wife. The fact should have been stated previously that while at Vicksburg, Miss., Capt. Harvey Ralston resigned and First Lieutenant W. T. Ridley became Captain of Company E by promotion. M. M. Sanders 1st Lieutenant, J. W. Peyton 2nd Lieutenant, and Frank B. Crostwaite was made 3rd Lieutenant. W. B. Sanders was made 1st Sergeant. While at Tullahoma, W. E. Brothers was made 3rd Lieutenant to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lieut. Crosthwaite. In the spring we came back to Wartrace and camped near Fairfield. We were now in Stewart's Division, Bates' Brigade. While here the enemy advanced from Murfreesboro and drove our cavalry from Hoover's Gap.

A part of our brigade, the 4th Georgia Battalion Sharp Shooters and our regiment was gotten in line immediately and proceeded to meet them, with the 4th Georgia in front, our regiment following close behind. We moved steadily up a steep hill to the edge of a heavy woods. Just here the 4th Georgia wavered, and Col. Smith ordered them to move up, or get out of the way. We pressed right into the woods, the 4th Georgia falling in with us. Right here we met the biggest odds we had ever met on any field; they were reported forty thousand strong. We were repulsed with heavy loss. Henry Davis of Company E was killed, and James Ingle was wounded; other casualties not recalled.

After skirmishing along for several days, Bragg retreated towards Chattanooga, stopped and skirmished a little at Tullahoma. Our regiment was stopped at Bethpage Bridge across Elk River, to burn the bridge after our army had crossed. With the hot weather and the assistance of the Yankees, we had

Bob Starnes, was killed at Tullahoma, and I was told to hear him off the field.

a warm time, but lost no men. We were ordered to remain there until relieved by Genl. Bragg's orders, but after burning the bridge, Genl. Wharton, who was commanding our cavalry there, told Col. Smith that he was going to retire from there, as the enemy were fording the river both above and below, and would soon have him and us cut off, and advised Smith to move us out, which he did.

We had gone some distance South when we were met by a Courier from Genl. Bragg, ordering us back to the river, with instructions to stay there until he (Bragg) ordered us away. So we marched back and deployed along the bank of the river and staid there until quite late, when a Courier came to relieve us.

Our command was now twelve hours ahead of us, and we had had nothing to eat since breakfast, and no prospect of getting anything soon. We trudged on up the mountains, tired, hungry, and sleepy, when we came up with Genl. Forrest and escort, resting beside the road. The General asked how we came to be so far behind, and on being told of the duty that had been inposed on us, asked if we had anything to eat. We told him not since breakfast; he then fed us from the haversacks of his men and allowed us to pass on. We continued the retreat to Chattanooga, and after a short time went into camp at Tyner's Station, above Chattanooga on the E. T. V. & Ga. Railroad. We remained here until Rosecrans crossed the Tennessee River and occupied Chattanooga. We were then sent to McLemore's Cove, and right here somebody made a fatal blunder, and while there was no fight, it was quite plain there should have been, for we surely had Genl. Thomas bottled up in that cove. We stopped around Lafayette, Ga., until we marched to the deathly banks of Chickamauga. In this battle Company E was almost annihilated. We entered the battle numbering twenty-three, rank and file, and as we made our first charge, seventeen of those gallant men fell either killed or wounded. We had not fired a gun, nor did we fire until the battery in front of us was ours. This was a glorious charge. The remainder pressed right on for a distance of half a mile or more, when we were met by fresh troops, which forced our much shattered little band back, but we held the ground occupied by that fatal battery.

Our brigade in this charge advanced fully a half mile beyond

our alignment. We simply retired to our regular line. When the battle closed on the evening of the second day, only two men in Company E, out of twenty-three were unhurt. They were R. J. Neal and Sam Walden. Neal's clothes were actually shot off of him ; he looked like he had been picked, but he was unhurt.

The second day's fighting was terrific also, but not so fatal to us as the first. Every officer and non-commisioned officer of our company was killed or wounded. The loss of Company E in this one battle was estimated at 95⅔ per cent. It would be altogether unnecessary to make any comment whatever on the courage of men who went into such a "slaughter pen," for it is said that figures wont lie, and these are the figures. Lieut. M. S. Mason and Lucian Weakley were killed. Capt. W. T. Ridley, Lieut. M. M. Sanders, Sergt. W. W. Batey, Geo. A. Neal, Geo. W. Walden were wounded, other casualties are not re-recalled.

We would like to recall all the names, but the lapse of time has so dulled our memory that we can't do it. The battle over, the enemy retired into Chattanooga, our army closing in around and occupying Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain. Here we lived on short rations, and dug rifle pits until the enemy were heavily re-inforced. Then Longstreet was sent to Knoxville, and the remainder of the army was left to make the unequal fight at Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain. The night before the battle of Missionary Ridge, that portion of our army in the valley witnessed the battle of Lookout Mountain, some times called "the battle above the clouds." By the flashes from the guns we could plainly locate both lines, our men being steadily driven back.

About 11 o'clock that night our army was moved back upon Missionary Ridge. To add to our depression and the gloom of defeat,the moon was undergoing a total eclipse, and from our side the effect was anything but inspiring, every one seemed impressed with impending disaster. No amount of reasoning would throw off the gloom. Why should it presage defeat to us? Why not to the Yankees?

We reached the crest of the ridge, near Bragg's headquarters, and rested untill morning; but it seemed as if the gloom of the pre-

ceeding night still hung over us. The artillery was parked behind the ridge, the horses were poor and weak. We watched them trying to get the guns up the hill, but the horses would not, or could not, pull them up even with double teams; but one shot from Fort Cheatham, and a single team carried its guns up promptly, the excitement of battle enabled them to do so.

We moved along the ridge about a mile north of Bragg's headquarters and took our place on the line of battle. Our brigade, (Tyler's) formed the right of Bate's Division. The 4th Georgia Batallion to the the right, the 20th Tennessee next and so on. The enemy had formed outside his works and was moving across the valley towards us, we being on the crest of the ridge. It was indeed a grand spectacle for our little band to see—perhaps in modern times an entire army had not witnessed such a scene. The valley between the ridge and Chattanooga had been occupied by both armies for near two months, and was now almost destitute of timber; and across this denuded valley Grant's Army of from 80,000 to 100,000 were marching in plain view of every Confederate soldier. We could plainly see every movement. When about half way across the valley our artillery opened on them and they could not well reply. How we did enjoy that cannonading,—no shells were disturbing us — we watched the effects of our artillery on them. It seemed distressing, but on they came, and when they reached the foot of the ridge, our guns could not be depressed sufficiently to play on them any longer.

Now our small arms were brought to bear on them as they climbed up the ridge. In order to cover a long front, we formed in one rank. At the right of our regiment, our line turned from north to the north-east, conforming to the crest of the ridge. In about a hundred yards it turned north again. This hundred yards was occupied by the 4th Georgia Batallion. As the enemy came up every thing in our front was driven back, so also in the front of the Georgia Batallion, and to the north of this, as they came steadily on, never halting.

Our regiment could only look on, we could not fire to the right oblique, for that would endanger our Georgia Batallion, and from the "lay of the land," they could not see the enemy. With



Capt. W. T. Ridley, Co. E.

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bated breath we watched to see the result (no enemy in our front). Steadily Dea's men with their weak line fired into that brave, as well as overwhelming host of the enemy. We saw them as they staggered up to the half-finished rifle pits, a few passed on, then three stands of Federal colors in a bunch, mounted the works.

Dea's line was broken, not to their discredit however, for it would have taken more men to have done more. They were too heavily outnumbered. The Yankees first turned right and left, flanking our men out of the ditches. They next went for a battery, in position between Dea's and Tyler's Brigades. Our men wheeled two guns and fired, at not more than a hundred feet distance at the Yankees, but many of them were now over the works, and they rushed at the battery with fixed bayonets. The cannoniers fought them with their swab sticks, but they were soon overpowered and killed or captured with their guns. Every survivor deserved a medal, and every one killed, a monument. The enemy now turned the guns down our trenches, and who can tell the suspense until they fired? Fortunately it was infantry and they could not sight a cannon with any degree of accuracy, and the charges of canister, for the most part went wild, one charge however tearing up a large stump in the rear of Company E. Colonel Shy commanded us to move out by the left flank. We moved a short distance, and were commanded to move by the left flank again, which threw us into line again at an "about face." As we were moving back we noticed that our entire line south toward's Bragg's headquarters was broken and our men in full retreat. As we moved back our brigade continued to fire at the pursuing enemy, until we got them checked, in a measure, and other brigades now began to reform, and order was partially restored. Colonel Shy discovered our field band in the rear, and ordered them to play "Dixie." This seemed to do more toward rallying the men than all else. We came to a field, and just across this was General Bragg, sitting on his horse with a large flag, appealing to the men to stand. Finley's Brigade now reformed, and our brigade was placed with the field in our front, Finley to our left, but before we finished our formation the enemy advanced on us.

Night was fast approaching, and they made no determined charge, but kept up a pretty heavy firing, until darkness had

gathered around us, so we were firing only at the flashes of each other's guns. It was thus that the enemy was checked, giving the left wing of the army a chance to cross the Chickamauga river. Just here quite a singular incident occured :— Capt. W. G. Ewing of Co. A, not knowing the men on our right were gone, and hearing a command on his right, stepped out and asked what command it was. The answer being 18th Regt. Mich. State. He immediately reported to Col. Shy, who commanded us "about face, forward march," and off we started on quick time, but some of the Yankees were suspicious and fired at us in the dark. Ewing's Company fired back, when Lieut. Brothers of company E innocently yelled out, "you are shooting at our own men." Shy and Ewing repeated it, and luckily for us the Yankee officers heard it, and believed it and repeated it to their men, saving us from a scathing fire at close range. We did not wait for explanations, but crossed the Chickamauga river that night and retreated along the W. & A. railroad by Ringold, Tunnel Hill, and finally rounded up for the balance of the winter at Dalton, Georgia. Company E had borne its part well in this unfortunate battle. Captain W. T. Ridley was wounded in the head, and as he was being borne from the field another shot struck him in the leg, from these wounds he never fully recovered. George W. Davis and O. C. Holland were captured, other losses of the Company are not recalled.

At Dalton we went into winter quarters, each mess built its own house, and the styles of architecture were something wonderful, they would doubtless have astonished the Greeks and Romans. At any rate the houses kept us fairly dry and comfortable. We drilled here by Companies, Regiments, Brigades, Divisions and Corps, and when the campaign opened next spring the discipline was splendid, and we were prepared to meet Sherman. While here at Dalton, Sergt. A. J. Irwin was made Lieutenant to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lieut. J. W. Peyton, who was killed at Chickamauga.

Revival services were carried on most of the time while at Dalton, and many of the men professed religion and united themselves with the various churches ; and none of them were ever

known to repudiate their faith either while soldiers or afterwards as citizens. Here too, we had the big " Snow ball battle."

Spring now opened, Johnston and Sherman had been preparing for their famous "one hundred day's campaign" which now began of which history furnishes no parallel, since the retreat of "the ten thousand" under Xenophen. Sherman came up to our front at Mill Creek Gap, north of Dalton. Johnston met him, but Sherman flanked by passing to our left through Dug Gap and aimed to intercept Johnston at Resaca, but when he got there Johnston was in his front ; here he made an effort to drive Johnston out of his works, but failed, and in that failure, he learned a lesson he seemed never to have forgotten. We punished him severely for his conduct on this occasion ; we also sustained considerable loss. With his much greater army he continued to march around our flank. Johnston would fall back just far enough to bob up in his front every time, skirmishing every day, in fact just about all the time. But no decisive battle was fought. Johnston was not strong enough to attack and Sherman seemed afraid to risk it.

We battled along until we reached Kennesaw Mountain. Capt. Ridley had not been able for duty on this campaign. Lieut. Sanders was absent sick, and Lieut. Brothers was in command. A shell from the enemy exploded in our works, killing Wiley Griggs and wounding eight others of company E among whom were R. J. Neal, Sam. Walden, Sam. M. Jamison, Andrew Robertson and others not recalled. We had to remain in the works till nightfall on account of the enemy's sharp shooters. We then, with the aid of the infirmary Corps, got the wounded out and buried Griggs. Griggs was perhaps the most inoffensive man in the company. He was always quiet, always in his place and never complained ; he was in addition to this, one of the bravest men in the company. He was one of the men who porfessed religion and joined the church at Dalton, and no man ever doubted his sincerity ; he ever quietly lived up to it — peace to his memory. The campaign proceeded ; almost daily we skirmished and neared Atlanta, and finally we crossed the Chattahooche River.

Johnston was succeeded by Hood, then came " Peach Tree Creek." In all of this campaign with the exceptions noted,

Company E was, as far as recalled, fortunate. We had some of our men captured, but Geo. W. Walden was the only one recalled.

After Peach Tree Creek, Hardee's Corps, to which we belonged, marched around Sherman's left wing, and on July 22, 1864, charged him in his works. We carried the works and drove them furiously, killing General McPherson, but one Divison of our Corps suffered serious loss, (that of Cleburne). He lost perhaps half of his men captured, but we recaptured most of them together with several hundred prisoners. In this engagement Lieut. A. J. Irwin was killed, another good man, gallant officer and generous comrade.

After this we were placed on the extreme left of Hood's army, when on the 6th day of August 1864, we had a brilliant engagement with the enemy. We were deployed as a heavy skirmish line. We had excellent works, with "head logs." There was some timber in our front and the undergrowth had been cut down to obstruct the enemy's advance. We were told that we must hold that line at all hazards. So we made up our minds to stay there. They first advanced with a double skirmish line; we drove that back inflicting a heavy punishment upon it. Then they came with a solid line of battle, determined to dislodge us, but we drove that back with heavy loss. Next, they made a third assault, ; this time they come with two solid lines of battle, and some of them reached our works, but none ever got over. We poured the shot into them in a manner simply terrific, and forced them back with terrible slaughter. Up to this time we had not lost a man, while the enemy lay dead and wounded by hundreds in our front. We captured three stands of colors from them. After the fight was over, our Regiment was sent out in front to pick up the stragglers that might be left skulking in the brushes. One of these skulkers shot George Castleman of Company B in the thigh. R. J. Neal, who was with Castleman fired obliquely at the blue coat, when P. S. Latimer told him to "look out." He looked forward and saw a Yankee aiming at him. He dropped on his knees and was loading his gun when the fellow fired, striking him in the right shoulder.

These were the only casualties of our Regiment, while those of the enemy could be counted by the hundreds. Report said

the 8th Federal Tennessee Regiment went into that charge with more than eleven hundred men, and after the charge could muster only fifteen. One of the stands of colors captured belonged to that Regiment. We were now drawn back to the main line on the left. Sherman commenced to flank again, and we were sent with Hardee's Corps to Jonesboro to meet the flank movement. We attacked them in their entrenched lines, and were repulsed with heavy loss, and retired to within our own works. While the 20th lost many of its best men, Company E had no casualties that can now be recalled. Next day we were on the skirmish line and the enemy charged us, but their greatest effort was against Cleburne's front, where they were partially successful, but they paid dearly for their success. Cleburne never failed to punish them when they brought up in his front.

On this day Company E was three times driven in while skirmishing across an open field, without the loss of a man, and at nightfall held the line we had in the morning. After dark we were withdrawn from the skirmish line, and when we reached the position our main line had occupied in the morning, we found it abandoned; and the troops were retiring to Lovejoy Station, where we followed. On this night, Hood was retiring from Atlanta, burning all his stores and destroying his magazines. Atlanta was twenty miles distant, but the fires made a great light, and the burning of the magazines made almost a perpetual roar; the sights and sounds of which, coupled with our retreat, made it a night never to be forgotten.

The next morning found us at Lovejoy Station; we were ready for the enemy when they overtook us, but the day was spent in manuevering and heavy skirmishing. Here we were joined by Hood with the main army. From here our Regiment was sent to Griffin to intercept stragglers from the army leaving Atlanta. We performed this duty, and in a few days we returned to Lovejoy Station, then we learned the enemy had gone back to Atlanta. We followed as far as Jonesboro, then moved west to Palmetto, on the Atlanta and West Point Railroad. Here President Jefferson Davis came to us and reviewed the army, and planned "Hood's Campaign into Tennessee." From Palmetto we moved North, crossing the Chattahoochie River on a pontoon bridge. The one hundred day campaign was ended, and no gen-

eral engagement had taken place. The battles of Peach Tree Creek, the one on July 22nd, July 28th, and Jonesboro were only partial engagements, as on the Confederate side only Hardee's Corps had been engaged in the first and last, and the left wing of the army in the other. Yet it had been one hundred days of continued skirmishing, often amounting to the proportions of a spirited battle ; the losses of the two armies in killed, wounded and missing aggregating more than if a general engagement had taken place, and until Joe Johnston was removed the enemy loss was much the heaviest.

We now entered on a new campaign. Hood, after crossing the Chattahoochie River moved along parallel with the W. & A. Railroad, occassionally sending in a detachment to tap the railroad, as at Altoona and Resaca. We marched around Rome, and again tapped the railroad at Dalton, capturing a regiment of negroes and destroying a great deal of railroad track. Above Dalton we turned to the the left and passed through Lafayette, and near Gadsden, Ala., we crossed over Sand Mountain, and came in touch again with the enemy at Decatur, but continued west along the M. & C. Railroad to Tuscumbia.

Here we remained a few days, while our pontoon bridge was being placed across the Tennessee River. One bright November morning we crossed over and found ourselves in Florence. We remained here a few days and started North on the Waynesboro road. When we crossed the line into Tennessee it was snowing. We passed through Waynesboro and continued North until one afternoon we came to the place looking off over Duck River valley. It was the more inspiring from the fact that for several days we had marched through a very poor country, and on very short rations, (three sinkers per day—to those who don't understand, a sinker is a biscuit made from unbolted wheat flour without milk, grease, salt or soda). Our losses had been continued and heavy, and we had no chance to recruit. All the companies were very small. Company E and Company H had been thrown together as one company. Capt. Tom Caruthers of Company H commanding, Second Lieutenant W. E. Brothers of Company E second in command, First Lieutenant M. M. Sanders of Company E being absent on detached service.

We found the enemy at Columbia ready to meet us, but we

crossed the river above, (Hardee's Corps, in command of Cheatham), and struck for Spring Hill in their rear. We reached there in good time, and by all means should have fought them in open field, instead of at Franklin in their fortifications next day. But we didn't and the reason for not doing so has always been a mystery to the rank and file of the army. We bivouacked in line parallel with the turn pike, only two or three hundred yards away and let them pass undisturbed with all their wagons and supplies to their strong hold at Franklin. This was a fatal blunder. Next morning we took the road for Franklin. Our division turned to the left and moved so as to leave Franklin to our right, halting and fronting the town, our Company E having the Bostick House on our right. We moved forward, straight towards the Carter House. There was a body of men to our left, between us and Harpeth River, supposed to be dismounted cavalry. They advanced with our line and did good work. When the enemy opened fire on us, we charged straight ahead, but they had placed obstructions in the way, over which we could not pass. This we saw too late and it caused our line to break, but it was reformed again near the Bostick House. There was a depression between the enemy and the creek that runs north past the Bostick House, here about one hundred men were rallied by Adjt. Tom Fowler, Lieut. Pete Edwards and W. E. Brothers. By lying down we were not visible to the enemy, and when a new line to our right charged, this hundred men charged again. Of course we were repulsed, but rallied again in the depression, but finally gave it up and rejoined the command. It was on the first charge and when nearest the enemy's works that Capt. Todd Carter dashed through our lines on his horse with drawn sword, made straight for his father's house, and met his death as it were, on the very threshold of his parental home. He was perhaps not more than fifty feet from us when he fell; his horse was seen to plunge and we knew he was struck. Captain Carter was thrown straight over the horse's head, his sword reached as far as his arm would allow toward the enemy, and when he struck the ground he laid still, and his brave young life went out almost at the door of his home. The sight of home and all that makes home dear, and that home in possession of the enemy caused him to forget himself, and under the impulse of the moment he rushed

† His Brother, has resided in San Diego, many years, & Still so

to certain death. In this action Chrisman of Company H was killed, Captain Caruthers was wounded, W. D. Martin of Company E was wounded, R. J. Neal of Company E was struck three times in the engagement, but never left the field, the wounds being slight, P. S. Latimer of Company E was slightly wounded, but did not leave the field, other casualties not recalled.

The next day the twentieth Tennessee, was placed on provost duty, but so many of the men lived in and around Franklin, that soon the regiment was short in numbers, the boys quietly took "French leave" to visit their homes. They were not blamed at all, especially as they all returned in a few days.

On the second morning after the battle of Franklin, Bate's division moved towards Murfreesboro, and when opposite Nolensville Company E being almost home, took "French leave" for a day or two. We had been gone almost two years, and so many did not return that the Company was now only a little squad, that could be more than counted on the fingers, but for those who did return, it was joy to get back home, but sad indeed to think what had become of so many who did not return.

The army was now making history fast and we could remain home only for a day or two. The boys knew Bate was largely outnumbered at Murfreesboro and hurried to their places. The battle of Overall's Creek was fought, and Adjutant Thoma B. Fowler lost a leg. In a day or two after, the second battle of Murfreesboro was fought; Colonel Shy commanded the consolidated Regiment, some of the men had not yet returned, Lieutenant Pete Edwards of Company D and Lieutenant W. E. Brothers of Company E were the company commanders. Brothers commanded companies E and H, till the close of the Nashville campaign. The battle was lost to us, not through want of courage on the part of men, nor of skill and tact on the part of General Bate,—but simply because we did not have men enough. In addition to the lack of men it was December, and the men were poorly clad, many were bare-foot, many had their feet wrapped in "green hides" fastened on with whangs cut from the same, called mocasins, while others had their feet wrapped in rags from cast off clothing. Washington crossing the Delaware and marching on Trenton is noted in history, is represented on canvass, and cele-



Sergt. Jno. R. Hill, A. Q. M. Dept.



Lt. Wm. E. Brothers, Co. E.

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brated in song and story ; but that was a dash across the river, a short, quick march, a sharp fight, and then return ; in all only two days ,—while Hood's campaign lasted more than a month, during which time, three severe battles were fought, leagues of hard marching were made, with his men poorly clad and fed, in a severe mid-winter campaign of rain, sleet, snow and freeze, as were Washington's and yet who ever saw a representation of their suffering on canvass? Who ever heard a song commemorating that campaign ; but the patriotism and fortitude of its participants, under all the privations they endured is worthy of highest commendation. There is another feature about this campaign that all the writers seem to have over-looked. Hood's men were for the most part men of intellect, more so than an army usually is. There were few illiterates,—they were of a class of men that go to make a country.

Now these men were veterans. For four years they had been marching and fighting, studying the game of war practically ; they knew when they crossed the Tennessee river what a perilous thing it was, they knew that it was almost the last hope of a dying Confederacy, and they knew too how poorly prepared they were for such a venture. They knew when the battle of Franklin was over, though a signal victory, was in reality a defeat. They knew after the battle of Murfreesboro how badly we needed reinforcements, and they knew there were none for us to get ; yet knowing this they closed in around Nashville, where the enemy were re-enforcing every day, as cooly and cheerfully as if everything promised victory. The wonder is, that men could continue to battle against such odds.

The night before the battle of Nashville, our division (Bate's) was moved from the extreme right of the army to the left of the Granny White pike. Our company was near the top of the hill. When we took our position there were no earth works, so we at once gathered up old logs and stones such as were at hand, and placed them for protection. After a while we borrowed some picks and shovels from the Florida Brigade, and worked with them best we could, but the ground was hard and rocky, and we had accomplished but little when we had to return the tools. We laid down to sleep ; R. .J Neal, W. E. Brothers and W. W. Batey of Company E, together with N. G. Kimbro and John

Davis, unarmed recruits for our Company E. Company H was with us, and we numbered seventeen in all in both Companies.

We knew that something decisive would be done on the morrow. We had a little fire at our feet, and three blankets for the five men, but the enemy's sharp shooters began to fire at the light and we had to extinguish the fire. Next morning Kimbro and Davis being unarmed, were sent to the rear, until guns could be secured for them. The enemy was seen in our front some distance off. We at once noticed that we had built our works too far back on the hill, for we could not see the enemy after they reached the foot of the hill, until they would be close upon us, but it was too late to remedy the mistake now; for as soon as they could see, the sharp shooters commenced to entertain us, the enemy using their artillery also. We had none in position with which to reply; finally, with the exception of a few of our sharp shooters with "Witworth Rifles" we almost ceased to fire at them, but when the "Witworth's" were fired they were answered with shells.

Our sharpshooters finally used our works from which to fire. The enemy now turned their artillery on Companies E and H. The logs and stones were knocked down in a "giffy," and most of the men in the two companies were wounded. We made our way up to the next company on our left and claimed protection with them; some of the wounded climbed over the hill in search of our field hospital, but from the time our works were demolished, to the time they made a general charge on us, it was not exceeding five minutes; they came in overwhelming numbers, having massed under the hill in our front. We could fire only one volley at them before they were upon us. We gave them that volley in "great shape," but did not check them. Seven stands of colors passed over our works. Our men, some of them, performed acts of heroism and valor, that to this day seems more like a dream than a reality when we think of it.

The enemy poured over our works in great numbers; our men at first, fought with clubbed guns, but for an instant—and then —they broke, Yankees and Confederates all mixed up—the Confederates trying to get away, and the Yankees trying to stop them. Both parties had fired their guns and neither had taken

time to re-load. Gradually we unmixed ourselves from them. Our channel of escape would have been through the gap in which the Granny White Pike passes, but the enemy were already in possession of that gap ahead of us; we bore to the left, crossed the pike, and went along the foot of the ridge until we reached the Franklin pike. Many of the men rallied in small numbers and would turn and fire on the enemy, thus checking them in a measure; but the enemy were coming up the Franklin pike, too, and many of the men who had been checking their pursuers, were either captured or compelled to climb the steep hill on the right. No general attempt was made to rally until we reached the vicinity of Brentwood. Here order was partially restored, and we commenced the retreat from Nashville.

Of the seventeen men in Companies E and H, we never knew what became of all of them. Lieutenent Brothers was not seriously wounded and escaped just before the final rush. R. J. Neal, having exhausted his ammunition (he was on skirmish line), started for more, and this doubtless saved him. W. W. Batey was severely wounded and left for dead, was made prisoner and recovered. The two recruits, Kimbro and Davis, were not seen any more after being sent to the rear. But now we left our homes again, the cloud over the Confederacy lower and darker. The men were worn down with almost continued marching and fighting for months.

Yet, true to their colors they marched away from home again on the retreat, sadly it is true, but determined to stand by St. Andrew's cross to the last man. And this they did without complaint. They blamed nor censured no one — all believed that every one from commander-in-chief to the private soldier had done his best and accepted the result as the fate of war. GLORIOUS OLD BOYS!

The companies had now become so small that the Regiment was but little more than a few messes. Some of the companies had no commissioned officers left; but every man and officer had an individuality that made it a remarkable set of men. Every one of these knew his duty just as well as if he had borne a commission; he was just as prompt to do his duty as was the officer. They were quite different from the young men and beardless boys, who left home nearly four years ago. Time had made them

men. The usage and customs of war, and its privations had inured them to such hardships as but few men could bear, and made them Veteran soldiers. The weakly and delicate ones had yielded to their ailments. Those remaining were physically perfect, and their morals were as good as when they left home.

We returned South through Franklin, Columbia and Pulaski, recrossing the Tennessee River near Bainbridge, continued on to Corinth, Miss., and after a short stay there, proceeded to West Point, where Hood's Army took the cars for South Carolina, and on to Bentonville, North Carolina, where the Company E was represented in the last battle of the war by Lieut. M. M. Sanders, R. J. Neal and Jack Hartman. Lieutenant Sanders commanded a company of "galvanized Yankees" — (Federal soldiers who had joined our army to get out of prison) in this fight, and of course was not with the Regiment. Jack Hartman was Ordnance teamster and as usual, was at his post of duty with his Ordnance wagon. Neal was the only man of Company E in regimental line. Lieutenant Sanders was wounded in this battle. Those "galvanized Yankees" gave him credit for being the gamest man that ever took them into battle. He certainly put them in and made them do splendid fighting. Soon after this battle Gen. J. E. Johnston surrendered us to Sherman, near Greensboro, N. C.

Lieut. W. E. Brothers was present as a supernumerary officer. Just before the surrender all the Tennessee troops had been consolidated into four regiments, which left quite a number of supernumerary officers who were allowed to choose any branch of service they preferred, and Brothers was in this number.

Jack Hartman was present as Ordnance teamster, and R. J. Neal represented the rank and file of the original Company E in line with a gun. Lieutenant Sanders was absent under treatment for his wound. He was also a supernumerary. Our old Regiment, the Twentieth, formed Company D of the (new) 4th Tennessee, Capt, C. S. Johnson of old Company B commanding. R. J. Neal was first Sergeant; the other officers and non-commissioned officers not recalled. Thirty-four men of the original Twentieth Tennessee were all that answered to roll call when the end came. After receiving our paroles we marched from Greensboro to Salisbury, Statesville, Morganton, Marion, Asheville,

and Marshall, N. C., thence across the mountains to Greenville, Tenn. From Greeneille we were sent by rail to our respective homes. W. E. Brothers, R. J. Neal and Jack Hartman being all of old Company E present, got off the cars at Lavergne, Rutherford County, Tenn., Hartman going north to his home, Brothers and Neal going south to their homes.

Of the forty nine men who got on the cars June 7th, 1861, Brothers was the only one here on the return, Neal having gone out a little later and Hartman yet later. We do not mean that all the forty nine except Brothers had been killed. Many had been killed, many had sickened and died, many were disabled with wounds, some had been transferred, some were in prison, and some had deserted.

We can't recall just how many were enlisted in the company first and last. At Camp Buckner it was a large company, but we had men both before and after, that never saw Camp Buckner.

We must have had first and last, not less than one hundred and forty men. We sincerely regret being unable to recall each and every one, for doubtless we may fail to mention some of our most worthy men. But it has been forty long years since, and time has dimmed our memory. Yet we don't fail to remember that it hurts to be forgotten. If we have failed to recall some, which we know we may have done, it is certainly not our fault. We would not intentionally do injustice to, or mistreat the memory of any one.

PERSONAL:—Justice demands "Honor to whom honor is due." Captain J. S. Gooch, although a mere boy at the beginning of the war, was chosen to the command of Company E, and to his credit it must be said, that he made an excellent officer. He was an ideal officer as long as he commanded the company. His men loved and obeyed him for his manly and sterling qualities as such. He commanded us in only one fight, in which he was severely wounded, in gallantly leading his men on a desperate charge. No man or officer behaved more gloriously on the battle field of Fishing Creek, than did Captain Gooch. As a proof of his sterling qualities as a man and officer, he was chosen to the Lieutenant Colonency of the Regiment at the reorganization of the army at Corinth, Miss.

He resigned his commision as Lieutenant Colonel at Vicksburg, Miss., owing to his inability for service, caused from the wound received at Fishing Creek. He still lives on his farm near Smyrna, Rutherford Co., Tenn., and is respected by all who know him. As he made a good soldier, so he naturally makes a good citizen.

W. T. RIDLEY.

We could write a long time portraying the many good and noble qualities of Capt. W. T. Ridley of Company E, 20th Tennessee Regiment. He assisted in organizing the company and was chosen as one of its Corporals. At the re-organization at Corinth, Miss., he was chosen 1st Lieutenant. At Vicksburg, Miss., Capt. Ralston resigned, and Ridley was promoted to the Captaincy, which he held to the close of the war. He was in nearly every battle in which the company engaged. (He was sick when the battle of Baton Rouge was fought.)

He was probably the best known man of his rank in Breckinridge's or Bates' divisions. He was noted for his cool courage and quick decision.

On the field of battle no one ever saw him excited. He was as brave as a Spartan; no braver man ever lived; he knew not the word "fear." He was kind, gentle, and as chivalrous as a knight. On the march, or in camp with his men, he was more a pleasant companion, than a military commander, yet his wish was law for his company; he was the arbiter in all the differences that came up amongst his men; he had a keen sense of justice and the personal rights of each individual, and never censured a man for asserting his rights, even though in doing so he may have trampled on technicalities with which he had no patience.

Captain Ridley, though then a young man, took almost paternal care, not only of the company as a whole, but of each individual. To illustrate: Two of the men were quarreling; one applied an insulting epithet to the other, for which he was struck a dangerous blow with the butt of a gun; Captain Ridley immediately arrested the offender, and sent him to the "guard house," but five minutes later he was at the "guard house" and had the culprit released, giving as his reason: "I would have knocked him down myself. I can not punish a man for what I would certainly do myself."

Though a brave man, no braver soldier ever lived ; yet he was kindness itself. No man could be more alive to the joys or sorrows of his men, and they not only obeyed, honored, and respected him, but they loved him. He was scrupulously true to every trust, and never forsook a principle, or failed a friend ; he was an ideal man and soldier.

Captain Ridley died at his home in Williamson County, April 21, 1902. His loss is deeply felt by a host of friends, especially by the living members of Company E, every one of whom will willingly attest to the truth of every word of the above.

Captain Ridley was dangerously wounded at Missionary Ridge in the head, and while being borne from the field was wounded a second time, this time in the leg. He never recovered from the effects of these wounds. When he died he was filling the office of County Trustee of Williamson County.

COMPANY "F"

Company F, of the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, was raised in the northeast corner of Sumner County, in what is known as the Fifteenth Civil District. This district joins Macon County on the east, and Kentucky on the north.

This district has always been known as the "big woods" of this county. The Gallatin and Scottsville Railroad runs through this section, and Westmoreland is the only town of note.

Company F was gotten up by J. A. Nimmo and R. E. Johnson, and they had about 85 men on the company roll when the company was organized by the election of J. A. Nimmo, Captain; R. E. Johnson, First Lieutenant; R. S. Hawkins, Second Lieutenant; W. Y. Doss, Third Lieutenant; S. A. Epperson, Orderly Sergeant; W. T. W. Davis, Second Sergeant.

The names of the other non-commissioned officers could not be obtained.

Company F was mustered into the State service June 1, 1861, and went into Camp of Instruction at Camp Trousdale at once.

On the organization of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment this company was placed in the right wing of the regiment, and was called Company F. It followed the fortunes of this Regiment around to Fishing Creek without any serious trouble. In this engagement Company F lost Lieutenant Johnson and Gideon Stewart, killed. Sergeant Davis was shot through the lungs; a number of the boys were wounded.

After the battle we fell back to our camp at Mill Springs, and re-crossed the river that night, and by daylight next morning we were all over, and the little steamboat by the name of Noble Ellis, that had crossed us all over, and had rendered such valuable service to the Confederates, was ordered by Col. Battle, of the Twentieth Regiment, to be burned, and it was set on fire by D. M. Brown, a member of Company F.

This Noble little craft, for it had the right name, was not set on fire by the enemy's shells, as some would have it appear.



Lt. F. B. Crosthwaite, Co. E.

See page 433.



Shelton Crosthwaite, Co. E.

See page 434.



Evan Shields,, Co. C.

See page 101.



Bromfield Crosthwaite.

See page 434.

After we had re-crossed the Cumberland, we fell back to Gainsboro, and here Company F elected R. E. Hawkins to fill the place of our First Lieutenant, R. E. Johnson, who was killed at Fishing Creek. W. Y. Doss was made Second Lieutenant, and J. H. Durham, Third Lieutenant. When we left Gainsboro, on the Cumberland River, we went on our road to Shiloh, and Company F did her full share in this great battle. The losses in killed in this battle were: Lieut. R. E. Hawkins, and Samuel Anderson. Captain Nimmo was shot through the thigh, F. G. Durham in the head, T. W. Wert in the leg, and a number of others were wounded.

After the battle of Shiloh, we fell back to Corinth about twenty miles, and Company F selected S. A. Epperson, our Orderly Sergeant, to fill the place of our First Lieutenant, R. E. Hawkins, who was killed, and W. A Escue was elected to First Sergeant in Epperson's place. Up to this, May 1st, 1862, Company F had her two First Lieutenants killed dead on the field.

On May 8th, 1862, the re-organization took place, and Company F re-enlisted for two years or the war, and elected their company officers as follows: —

F. M. Davis, Captain; J. H. Durham, First Lieutenant; M. M. Wray, Second Lieutenant; J. W. Morgan, Third Lieutenant; W. A. Escue, Orderly Sergeant.

Capt. Davis commanded his company until he was badly wounded in the arm at the battle of Murfreesboro, after which time he resigned, and Lieut. Durham commanded the company principally until the campaign in Georgia, when he acted as Adjutant of the regiment. In this capacity he was wounded at the battle of Jonesboro, with a minnie-ball through his thigh. He walked six miles in this condition to keep from being captured.

If an officer of the Federal Army of to-day should do such an act, he would be lionized as a hero, while in the Confederate Army hundreds of such acts were done, and no one thought of it as only in the line of duty.

This wound was so severe that it kept Lieut. Durham in the hospital for five months at Milledgeville, Ga., and he was only able by this time to join Joe Johnson's little army on its retreat from Tennessee, through Milledgeville into the Carolinas; here

he was put in command of two consolidated companies of the 37th Tennessee, which he commanded in the battle of Bentonville, the last battle of the war.

After the battle of Bentonville, just before the surrender, a second re-organization took place, and all of the 20th Regiment were put into one company, and Lieut. George Peay was put in command of this company.

After Lieut. Durham left Company F, it was commanded by Lieuts. Wray and J. W. Morgan. At the battle of Chickamauga, Charley Simmons and John Woodard were killed and a number of Company F were wounded.

After Lieut. Durham left Company F, on the Georgia campaign, the company fell in the hands of two competent and brave young Lieutenants (Wray and Morgan), and nobly did they and Company F do their duty. Lieut. Morgan regularly attends the Annual Regimental Re-unions.

The Roster of Company F is as follows:—

Nimmo, J. A., Captain. Was wounded at battle of Shiloh and resigned. He was a well educated business man and his company was very fond of him. Died at Gallatin several years ago highly respected.

Johnson, R. E., First Lieutenant. Killed at Fishing Creek; was one of the best drilled officers of the regiment, having commanded a company of militia before the war.

Hawkins, R. E., Lieutenant. Killed at Shiloh.

Doss, W. Y., Joined Morgan's Cavalry after the reorganization.

Epperson, S. A. E., Lieutenant. Elected First Sergeant, promoted to First Lieutenant just before the re-oreanization, and discharged at the re-organization at Corinth.

Davis, F. M., Was elected Captain at re-organization, wounded at Murfreesboro and resigned.

Ausbrooks, D. H. Discharged; over age.

Alsup, Jerry. Discharged; over age.

Angler, C. T. Discharged; over age.

Austin, Henry.

Brown, J. D. Westmoreland, Tenn.

Brown, John. Westmoreland, Tenn.

Brown, Marion. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Brown, D. .M Was the soldier who set fire to the Noble Ellis.

Bloodworth, John.

Corbin, Mordica.

Couch, John.

Carter, Johnson.

Carter, Buck. Killed.

Caldwell, Hardy. Known as "the Sweet Singer of Israel."

Caldwell, David. Died in hospital.

Cawley, Seth. Dead.

Clark, Richard.

Coats, Jones.

Duffer, Abner.

Doss, Martin. Killed at Shiloh.

Durham, J. H. Elected Third Lieutenant at Gainsboro, elected First Lieutenant at re-organization; wounded at Chickamauga, and Jonesboro. Post Office, Angle, Tenn.

Durham, F. G. Wounded at Shiloh, and captured.

Durham, A. M. Discharged at Gainsboro.

Durham, Miles. Transferred to Artillery.

Davis, W. A.

Dorris, J. E. Died in Sumner County since the war.

Davis, F. M. Elected Captain at re-organization; wounded at Murfreesboro, and resigned.

Dorris, W. A.

Escue, W. A. Elected Orderly Sergeant at re-organization and died at home since the war.

Fisher, Henry.

Farris, Dudley.

Fagg, Jones.

Fagg, Bartlett.

Gilliam, Dink. Trammel, Tenn.

Gilliam, W. B. Shackle Island, Tenn.; wounded at Shiloh.

Gilliam, David. Trammel, Tenn.

Hodges, Smith. Died in hospital.

Hix, G. W.

Hilburn, Robt. Wounded at Fishing Creek.

Howell, M. H.

Hodges, Jackson. Killed at Shiloh.

Hodges, Lafayette. Killed at Shiloh.
Holmes, R. Y. Bethpage, Tenn.
Holmes, C. B.
Keen, Mark.
Keen, Lem.
Keen, William.
Key, John.
Love, Henry.
Morris, Samuel.
Morris, Robt.
Morris, Wid.
Morris, John.
Morris, Henry. Discharged; died on way home.
McWhirter, Newt.
McAdams, James.
McAdams, Irwin.
McAdams, John.
Mason, Jasper. Killed at Shiloh.
Morgan, J. W. Elected Third Lieutenant at re-organization; captured at battle of Nashville, Dec., 1864; released from prison, Nov., 1865; now lives at Bethpage, Tenn.
Perry, John
Perry, William
Pike, James. Discharged; over age; dead.
Pike, John
Phillips, J. W.
Phillips, J. D.
Rippy, Alfred. Died in prison.
Rippy, Sid. Thumb shot off at Shiloh.
Rippy, Joe. Discharged at Vicksburg, 1862. Dead.
Rippy, W. W.
Rippy, Eli.
Rippy, W. A.
Rippy, Jesse
Ragon, Jesse
Riddle, Sam
Stewart, Sam. Discharged; over age; dead.
Stewart, Gideon. Killed at Fishing Creek.
Simmons, Charley. Wounded at Shiloh; killed at Chickamauga.

Simpson, J. E. Discharged ; dead.
Stone, Buck
Troutt, Jerry. Trammel, Tenn.
Troutt, Elijah
Wray, M. H. Elected Second Lieutenant at reorganization.
Wray, George
Wray, William.
Woodall, E. P.
Woodward, John. Killed at Chickamauga.
Willoford, Frank.
Willoford, Green.
Willoford, Henry.
Wert, T. W. Wounded at Shiloh ; post-office, Rock Ridge, Tenn.
Witham, ———. Discharged ; over age ; dead.

The territory from which this company came was inside of the Federal lines most of the war, and had but little opportunity for recruiting. Total rank and file, 92.

COMPANY "G"

Company G of the 20th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry was organized at Linden, Perry County, on May 4th, 1861, and was known throughout the war as the "Perry Guards." This company had in it men from the counties of Perry, Wayne, and Humphreys.

At its organization the following officers were elected: —

Captain, J. Lewis Shy, who broke his ankle on June 8th, on the first march the company made; was discharged from the service at Mill Springs, Ky., December 4th, 1861.

First Lieutenant, J. H. Anderson, was also discharged from the service at Mill Springs December 4th, 1861.

Second Lieutenant, R. D. Anderson, was promoted to Captain, December 5th, at Mill Springs. He was three times wounded and had seven bullet holes shot in his clothes, and his sword-scabbard shot in two at Fishing Creek, and was wounded at Shiloh; re-elected Captain of Company G at re-organization; was discharged at Vicksburg, 1862, from failing health; afterwards raised a company of cavalry and served with General Forrest to the end of the war. None was ever truer or braver than this faithful officer.

W. H. Whitwell, Third Lieutenant; G. W. Pettigrew, First Sergeant, promoted to First Lieutenant, and killed at Fishing Creek; J. M. Pettigrew, Second Sergeant; elected First Lieutenant at re-organization; promoted to Captain at Vicksburg, 1862; John Rolin, Third Sergeant; J. H. Horner, Fourth Sergeant; Wm. Nichols, First Corporal; O. H. Miller, Second Corporal; W. B. Laxton, Third Corporal; promoted to Second Lieutenant, and killed at Fishing Creek; Wm. Potter, Fourth Corporal; wounded at Fishing Creek.

Alexander, J. H. Killed himself, 1868.

Blakewell, Wilkins. Discharged.

Bird, John. Living.

Bird, Amil. Wounded and discharged

Byers, Robert. Living.

Bates, John M. Discharged.

Bates, J. A. Died in hospital at Okalona, Miss. June 20, 1862.

Bascomb, Wm. Died at Camp Trousdale with measles, 1862.

Bowers, R. H.

Brown, J.

Bone, W. P.

Cates, J. W. Elected Lieutenant at re-oganization May 8th, 1862.

Catham, Thomas.

Conder, Anderson. Living.

Clark, Doe. Captured at Fishing Creek. Dead.

Clark, Thomas. Captured at Fishing Creek. Dead.

Campbell, K. Wounded at Fishing Creek.

Campbell, J. M. Discharged as over age 1862 at Vicksburg.

Capps, John. Killed.

Capps, Lewis.

Criff, J. W. Killed at Hoover's Gap.

Casin, Wm.

Cunningham. Wm. W.

Dixon, John W. Sr. Discharged at Vicksburg in 1862, over-age.

Dixon, John W. Jr. Discharged, dead.

Dixon, Robert. Killed at Shiloh.

Dixon, J. R. Wounded at Shiloh and discharged.

Dabbs, Pleas. Killed at Murfreesboro.

DePriest, Dick. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Dockley, J. A. Living.

Daily, Wesley. Killed in Perry County after the war.

Davidson, J. D.

Davidson, Adly. Died from measles, 1861.

Dunn, James. Wounded and captured at Fishing Creek.

Dunn, Lafayette. Killed at Shiloh.

Dean, Doe. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Daniels, J. N.

Dean, James.

* drove Ambulance, for 10th Tenn Cavalry, for 2 years, & until end of war.

Dean, J. M.
Exum, George W. Living.
Fitsyear, Beverly. Killed in Perry County after the war.
Freeman, A. C.
Freeman, Steve. Wounded at Shiloh.
Falkner, Martin.
Falkner, Wm. Died with measles.
Gamblin, Gib. Discharged.
Govy, James. Died with measles, 1861.
Greer, Thomas. Died at Cumberland Ford, 1861.
Greer, J. A. Elected Second Lieutenant at Gainsboro, Tenn.; wounded at Shiloh.
Gordon, James. Killed at Fishing Creek.
Guinn, A. C.
Hudspeth, Robert. Died since the war.
Hudspeth, ———. Discharged.
Harris, W. B. Discharged over age, 1862.
Hooper, Ben. Wounded at Shiloh ; discharged.
Hamer, Levi. Living.
Hardin, John. Promoted to Color Bearer ; wounded at Shiloh.
Hart, J. I. Killed at Hoover's Gap.
Jackson, James. Killed at Shiloh.
Kilpatrick, Wm. Wounded at Fishing Creek.
Kilpatrick, Thomas.
Kelly, Thomas. Promoted to Lieutenant ; killed by train.
Kelly, Jesse.
Lancaster, Doc. Wounded at Shiloh.
Lancaster, W. H.
Longley, John W. Went West ; living.
Lewkin, John.
Lynch, Wm. Died since the war.
Murphy, Hugh. Elected Second Lieutenant at re-organization.
Murphy, D. B. Died at Greenville, Tenn., 1861.
Murry, G. W. Died in hospital, 1863.
Martin, G. W. Killed since the war, 1865.
McCann, Ed. Killed at Fishing Creek.
McCann, Wm. Killed at Fishing Creek.



Capt. Robt. D. Anderson, Co. G.

See page 410.

McCullum, J. A. Wounded and captured at Fishing Creek.
Mathis, Doc. Living.
Mathis, Rube. Discharged.
Morris, G. W.
McCreig, S. L.
Nichols, W. B.
Nichols, Nathan. Killed at Fishing Creek.
Nelson, W. B. Died at Burnsville, Miss., 1862.
Nicholson, Jacob. Killed at Fishing Creek.
Owen, Dennis. Living.
Potter, Wm. Wounded at Fishing Creek.
Perry, Jackson. Discharged at Vicksburg, over age.
Proffett, A. Discharged ; joined cavalry ; killed.
Price, A. J. Transferred to cavalry.
Potter, E. H.
Potter, W. E.
Phebus, W. W.
Phebus, A.
Roland, A. J. Wounded at Shiloh.
Rail, Wm. Killed at Fishing Creek.
Rosson, John Wounded at Shiloh ; killed at Hoover's Gap
Roberts, A. G.
Roberts, W. A. Living.
Ross, Wm.
Ross, Thomas. Left country after the war.
Robertson, W. E.
Spurlock, Wm. Killed at Fishing Creek.
Stone, J. D. Died since the war.
Stone, G. W. Wounded at Fishing Creek.
Shy, French. Discharged in 1861.
Skipworth, D. B. Died since the war.
Smith, J. H.
Tatum, John D. Wounded at Shiloh.
Taylor, J. W. Wounded at Shiloh ; afterwards killed.
Tally, C. C. Discharged on account of bad health.
Terry, Ed.
Tubbs, A.
Vickory, John. Living.
Vinyard, James.

Wells, John. Died at Vicksburg in 1862.
Wells, Wesly. Died soon after the war.
Wells, Henry. Wounded at Shiloh; afterwards killed.
Wells, Wm. Died at Camp Trousdale with measles.
Warren, Burrell. Died since the war.
Woods, Green B. Killed at Fishing Creek.
Woods, Jason. Wounded.
Woods, Enoch. Discharged at Camp Trousdale in 1861.
Weatherly, L. Died since the war.
Willett, William. Wounded at Shiloh.
Wells, Eli. Killed at Shiloh.
Young, William. Died of measles at Cumberland Gap in 1861.
Young, Giles.

Total Rank and File, 138. Killed or died during the war, 36. Wounded, 22. Discharged, 15.

We can see from the long list of casualties of this gallant company that it sealed its faith with its blood, and no company in the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was led by braver officers. The "Perry Guards" was strictly a fighting company, and if any one was "spoiling for a fight," all that he had to do was to step over among the "Perry Guards" and he would be accomodated.

I served by the side of this company for four long and bloody years, and I, with all who knew its character, had the utmost confidence in its staying qualities.

On the completion of its organization it reported to the Governor at once for orders, and on June 3rd, they received orders to report at Nashville at once, and on June 8th, the "Perry Guards" left their homes for the war. They went by way of Columbia; their captain, J. L. Shy had the misfortune to break his ankle, which incapacitated him for infantry services. This accident to their Captain threw the company into confusion, as the First Lieutenant was not very popular with the men, and there were strong threats made of breaking up the company and going back home, but it was finally agreed that if the Second Lieutenant, R. D. Anderson would be allowed to command the company that they would go on; which was done, and the company arrived at Columbia on June 11th, and camped that night, and on the morning of the 12th they left on the train for Nashville and arrived there at 10 a.m., and were at once mustered into the service of

the State of Tennessee for twelve months, and drew camp equippage and were ordered to report to Capt. Joel A. Battle, who was forming a regiment at Camp Trousdale.

The "Perry Guards" was met at the depot by Captain Battle and given food and shelter and was incorporated into the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry at once and given the letter "G," and in line of battle it was next to the left company of the regiment, which was Colonel Battle's old company, and this was the company to which your writer belonged; so we were so close to the Perry Guards in camp, on the march and in battle that we knew them pretty well.

This company was not as well drilled as some other companies in the regiment, but none had any better fighting material, and no company in the regiment suffered any more than the "Perry Guards" in some of our hardest fought battles.

COMPANY "H"

Company H of the Twentieth Tennessee Infantry, was raised in and around Franklin, Williamson County, in the early spring of 1861. We believe there were only a few in this company that were not from this grand old county, which was settled almost entirely by the sons and daughters of Virginia and North Carolina, as good and patriotic people as ever supported any government. It was here that lived the McGavocks, McEwins, McMurrays, Mortons, Perkins, Ewins, Fosters, Caruthers, Marshalls, DeGraffenreids and a host of other families equally as true. This county voted in 1860, 1,800 votes, and in 1861 and 1862 sent 2,200 Volunteers into the Confederate armies. With the ancestry that she had, could she have been anything else but Southern to the core?

The boys who made up this company, in their childhood's days played marbles over the ground on which was fought one of the bloodiest battles of ancient or modern days, and in this battle, Company H of the Twentieth Tennessee Infantry did its full share.

Company H was organized by electing Moscow B. Carter, Captain; M. Fount DeGraffenreid, First Lieutenant; R. Swanson Second Lieutenant; P. H. Eelbeck, Third Lieutenant; Thos Parkes, Orderly Sergeant; F. M. Lavender, Second Sergeant Felix G. Allen, Third Sergeant; and John E Smith, Fourth Sergeant.

This company was mustered into the State Service May 28th, 1861, and sent to Camp Trousdale for instructions in the duties of the soldier, and when the Twentieth Regiment of Volunteers was formed, this Company took the letter H and was given a place of honor, as the left color Company of the Regiment.

The roll of this noble band of men and what became of each, as far as we can learn, is as follows:

Captain Moscow B. Carter. Elected Lieutenant Colonel at organization of Regiment, captured at Battle of Fishing Creek,

Jan. 19th, 1862. His post office is now Franklin, Tenn.

First Lieutenant, M. F. DeGraffenreid. Promoted to Captain at organization of Regiment; resigned April 1862, lives in Kentucky.

R. Swanson. Second Lieutenant, resigned after the battle of Shiloh. Post office, West Harpeth, Tenn.

P. H. Eelbeck. Resigned 1861. Died after the war in Franklin, Tenn.

Anglin, Daniel. Lives at Union Valley, Williamson County, Tenn.

Armstrong, Ben. F. Wounded at battle of Murfreesboro, December 31, 1862, and died from his wound.

Alexander, Jas. L. Died in Hospital, Knoxville, August, 1861.

Andrews, John. Killed in Breckinridge's charge at Murfreesboro, Jan. 2, 1863.

Andrews, Frank M. Died in Hospital, in 1863.

Bennett, Wm. Killed in the battle of Shiloh, April 7th 1862.

Bennett, W. S. Lives in Williamson County, Texas.

Bennett, J. A. Lives in Williamson County, Texas.

Berry, Johnson. Wounded at battle of Nashville, 1864, and captured and died of wounds while in prison.

Boyd, W. E. Died in Hospital at Knoxville, August 1861.

Boyd, John. Wounded at Shiloh, April 6th, 1862; died from wound.

Boxley, Philip H. Wounded at Shiloh, Chickamauga, and Franklin; lives at Franklin, Tenn.

Beech, Paul B. Captured at Missionary Ridge, Nov., 25th, 1863. Post office, Williamson County, Tenn.

Beech, Fred B. Wounded at Chickamauga, captured at Missionary Ridge; died in West Tenn.

Byrd, Thos. H. Wounded at Murfreesboro. Post office Basin Springs, Tenn.

Butts, J. L. Killed in Breckinridge's charge at Murfreesboro, Jan., 2nd, 1863.

Butts, C. C. Died since the war.

Butts, Daniel. Died in Hospital, April 3rd, 1863.

Buchanan, Thos. Discharged 1861; lives in Texas.

Cliffe, Dr. Dan. Lives in Franklin, Tenn.

Cartwright, Joseph. Discharged 1862; under age.

Campbell, Jas. A. Killed at battle of Hoover's Gap, June 24th, 1863.

Carter, Theo. Promoted to Captain in Quartermaster's Department. Captured Missionary Ridge, Nov., 25, 1863; made his escape and was Aide on the staff of Gen. Thos. Benton Smith, and was killed in front of his father's house at the battle of Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30th, 1864.

Carter, Wad. Promoted to color guard; wounded at Shiloh, lives in Texas.

Cunningham, H. R. Captured Missionary Ridge. Post office Williamson County, Tenn.

Cook, N. P. Transfered to Thirty-second Tenn. Regiment. Lives in Arkansas.

Crenshaw, Thos. Wounded at Murfreesboro in Breckinridge's charge.

Crenshaw, Hardin. Wounded at Fishing Creek, Jan. 19th, 1862. Post office, Nashville.

Caruthers, Thos. Elected First Lieutenant at re-organization of Regiment, May 8th, 1862. Promoted to Captain, 1863. Wounded at Murfreesboro, Dec., 31, 1862, and at Franklin, Nov. 30th, 1863. Post office, Franklin, Tenn.

Canada, Allen. Captured Missionary Ridge. Lives in Williamson County, Tenn.

Canada, Wm. C. Captured Missionary Ridge; died since war.

Canada, Jos. A. Wounded in a ditch on the Kennesaw Line while broiling a piece of bacon Post office, Davidson County.

Castleman, Chas. Died 1902.

Castleman, Jas. D. Lost an arm at Hoover's Gap; now an inmate of Confederate Soldier's Home.

Davis, Jas. A. Wounded at Murfreesboro. Post office, Dickson, Tenn.

Davis, Jasper. Died in Hospital, 1863.

Davidson, Wm. Lives in Texas.

Davis, John. Discharged in 1862. Post office, West Harpeth.

Davis, Buster. Discharged under age; died since war.

Eelbeck, Frank. Promoted to Commissary Sergeant, 1861. Post-office, Nashville, Tenn.

Edney, Turner. Died in hospital, April, 1863.

Edney, Robert. Died in hospital, 1863.

Fox, Joe. Lost an arm July 22, 1864, near Atlanta; now a minister of the gospel; Post-office, Maury County.

Fox, Bryant, E. Lost a leg May 22, near New Hope Church, Ga.; post-office, White Oak, Williamson County, Tenn.

Foster, Jos. A. Discharged May 28, 1861; Post-office, Rutherford County, Tenn.

Flein, Frank. Went fishing and never returned.

Givens, Ben M. Wounded and captured at Fishing Creek; also wounded at Hoover's Gap; died in Georgia, 1863.

Givens, John. Discharged in 1861; died since the war.

Givens, Sharp. Lives in Kentucky.

Gresham, Jos. A. Lives in Williamson County.

Gee, W. H. Discharged since war in Hickman County.

Giles, C. Y. Elected Orderly Sergeant at re-organization of Regiment; wounded at Resaca, Ga.; was one of the six of Company H who surrendered with Gen. Jos. E. Johnston at Greensboro, N. C.

Giles, Thos. J. Elected Fourth Sergeant at re-organization of Regiment; killed at battle of Nashville, 1864.

Garrett, Wash. Discharged under conscript law as over age, 1862. Lives in Texas.

George, W. R.

Harvey, Robert H. Promoted to Ordinance Sergeant; Post-office, Lawrenceburg, Tenn.

Harrison, Harvey. Died at Corinth, 1862.

Harrison, Jas. Post-office, Basin Springs, Tenn.

Harrison, Dock. Lives in Kentucky.

Harrison, Dan. Wounded and captured at Fishing Creek; made escape from prison; lives at Jingo, Tenn.

Hughes, R. B. Elected Lieutenant at re-organization of Regiment; wounded at Murfreesboro, and Jonesboro, Ga.; post-office, Nashville, Tenn.

Hughes, W. P. Discharged 1862; Post-office, Nashville, Tenn.

Hutchinson, Alfred. Lost an arm at Chickamauga. Lives in Texas.

Hughes, Jas. Post-office, Nashville, Tenn.

Hampton, John. One of the six of Company H at General Johnston's surrender in North Carolina.

Harbison, W. J. (Butch). Post-office, Dickson, Tenn.

Hay, Jesse K. Died in 1862.

Ham, Isaac. Post-office, Basin Springs, Tenn.

Ham, Fred. Died in 1863.

Ham, Jesse D. Wounded at Shiloh and at Chickamauga in the same hand; was one of the six of Company H who surrendered at Greensboro, N. C.

Hume, Wm. M. Wounded at Hoover's Gap; died since the war.

Huff, Sam.

Ivy, A. Killed at Fishing Creek, being the first man of Company H killed in the war.

Ivy, W. L. Died in Florida in 1868.

Ivy, W. R. Died in hospital in 1863 at Newnan, Ga.

Ivy, John W. Wounded at Murfreesboro; Post-office, Basin Springs.

Inman, Reuben. Discharged 1862; post-office, Terrill, Texas.

Inman, Jos. Discharged 1862; Post-office, Basin Springs.

Inman, Jeff. Discharged 1862; died since war.

Jones, Jas. Killed in a falling house in Nashville in 1863.

Jones, John. Killed at Jonesboro, Ga., 1864.

Jamison, Sam. Died since the war.

King, William. Killed at Shiloh, April 6, 1862.

King, Robert. Died at Mill Springs, Ky., 1862.

Knight, Thos. M. Killed at Hoover's Gap, June 24, 1863.

Kirby, Mack D. Discharged 1862; Post-office, Terrill, Tex.

Lewis, Kelly. Post-office, Fernvale Springs, Tenn.

Lavender, F. M. Second Sergeant. Promoted to Lieutenant January, 1862; promoted to Captain, 1862; promoted to Major at reorganization of Regiment; promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, 1862; wounded at Shiloh, and captured in Breckinridge's charge at Murfreesboro. Resigned in 1863 on account of disability; died since the war.

Morris, Nathan E. Wounded at Peach Tree Creek, near Atlanta; made turnip greens out of briars and "buck bushes." Post-office, Grassland, Tenn.

McIntosh, John. Wounded at Hoover's Gap; Post-office, Hickman County, Tenn.

Moss, Newton J. Post-office, Basin Springs.

Marr, Ben F. Wounded at Chickamauga and died soon after.

McNeal, Young. P. O., Fernvale Springs.

McFadden, Robt. Discharged, 1861.

Murphy, John. Killed July 22, 1864, near Atlanta, Ga.

Marshall, John. Transferred to quartermaster department, 1861; killed in R. R. wreck at Harpeth River on N. Western Railroad, July 4, 1870.

McAllister, Jas. M. Killed at Shiloh, April 6, 1862.

Mangrum, Wesley. Wounded in Breckinridge Charge at Murfreesboro, 1863; wounded at Nashville, 1864; lives in Cheatham County.

Mangrum, Wiley. P. O., Williamson Co.

Mangrum, John W. Wounded at Murfreesboro; P. O., Franklin, Tenn.

Mangrum, W. B. Died, 1879.

Manley, Jas. Discharged, 1861.

McKay, R. H. Wounded at battle of Shiloh, April 7, 1862; P. O. Franklin, Tenn.

Newcomb, Nelson. Killed at Fishing Creek, Jan. 19, 1862.

Nolen, F. C. Discharged under age; died since the war.

Norman, Jack A. Killed after the war.

Ormes, Wm. Discharged, 1862; over age.

Overton, Jas. Wounded at Shiloh; discharged as under age, 1862; died 1872.

Ogles, Levi. P. O., Perry County.

Owen, Joshua. Died since the war.

Pinkerton, Jack. Killed at battle of Nashville, Tenn., 1864.

Pritchard, Wash. Died in his tent at Knoxville, Oct., 1862.

Pritchard, Isaac. Lives in Kentucky.

Pritchard, John. Died in 1863.

Parker, D. C. Lost a leg at Chickamauga; P. O., Franklin, Tenn.

Parkes, Thos. Lieutenant; detached at Decatur, Ala., 1861, and placed on duty in Secret Service department; later received appointment on Staff of Genl. Wheeler; died since our last Reunion at his residence in Nashville.

Prewitt, Wm. P. O., South Harpeth, Tenn.

Prewitt, Adam. P. O., South Harpeth, Tenn.

Prewitt, Thos. Died since war.

Rodes, Wm. G. Elected Lieutenant at re-organization of regiment ; died 1863.

Reams, W. R. Discharged 1861 ; died 1864.

Reid, Peter H. Discharged 1862 ; P. O., Brentwood, Tenn.

Short, Jesse. Elected Sergeant ; wounded at Chickamauga, Resaca, and Jonesboro ; P. O., Franklin, Tenn.

Short, Henry M. Wounded at Shiloh and battle of Franklin, and surrendered at Greensboro, N. C. with "Old Joe," April, 1865 ; P. O., Union City, Tenn.

Sayers, Harvey. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Sayers, W. D. Wounded at Murfreesboro ; P. O., Franklin, Tenn. ; died since the war.

Southall, Phil. Promoted to Sergeant ; wounded at Resaca, and surrendered with Genl. Joe Johnson at Greensboro, N. C.

Smith, Jos. J. Sergeant ; wounded at Shiloh, Chickamauga, and Franklin ; P. O., Franklin, Tenn.

Smith, Geo. C. Lives in West Tennessee.

Stovall, Thos. Wounded at Murfreesboro ; captured at Missionary Ridge ; P. O., Franklin, Tenn.

Stovall, Martin. Wounded at Kennesaw Mtn. ; died since the war.

Smith, Dub. Wounded at Chickamauga and Resaca ; died since the war.

Smart, Hiram. Died since war.

Smith, John C. Elected Sergeant ; discharged 1861 ; P. O., Franklin, Tenn.

Shy, W. M. Appointed to Color Guard, 1861 ; elected Lieutenant, 1862 ; elected Captain, 1862, at re-organization of regiment ; promoted to Major in 1863 to Lieutenant Colonel in 1863, and to Colonel in 1864 ; killed at battle of Nashville, while in command of the regiment.

Stevens, Thos. Killed at Shiloh.

Sellars, Thos. S. Died in 1863.

Sexton, Jas. Discharged as under age, 1862.

Shelton, G. M. Killed by falling from train, July, 1861.

Smith, Sam. Wounded at Shiloh ; lives in Humphrey's Co., Tenn.

Tomlin, Geo. Captured in Tennessee, 1863; died since the war.

Truett, Frank. Died in Knoxville, 1861.

Truett, Jas. T. Died since the war.

Tally, Thos. J. Died since the war.

Tanner, Thos. A. Captured at Missionary Ridge; died, 1901.

Taylor, Wm. E. P. O., Maury Co., Tenn.

Tierce, J. P. Wounded at Murfreesboro; lives in Georgia.

Vowel, Jones. Wounded at Chicamauga and Jonesboro, Ga.; killed in a personal difficulty in 1874.

Vaught, G. M. P. O. Nashville, Tenn.

Vaughn, Thos. R. Lives in West Tenn.

Vaughn, J. R. P. O. Nashville, Tenn.

Vaughn, Geo. W. P. O. Nashville, Tenn.

White, John. Wounded at Fishing Creek and killed at Shiloh.

White, Jas. H. Elected Lieutenant, 1861; wounded July 22, 1864, near Atlanta, Ga. Paroled May 22, 1865; died as Commandant of Tennessee Confederate Soldier's Home in 1896.

White, Ben E. Killed at Chickamauga.

Withers, Jas. H. Surrendered with General Johnson at Greensboro, N. C. Died in Nashville, Tenn., 1880.

Withers, Ben. Killed at Chickamauga.

Whitfield, Thos. Discharged 1862; lives in Williamson County.

Watson, Thos. J. Discharged 1861; died since war.

Wray, Major I. Discharged 1861. Died since war.

Wray, Frank. Killed at Fishing Creek.

York, Thos. J. Killed at Shiloh.

This splendid Company of 167 men did their whole duty as their casualties will show:

Killed in battle	25
Wounded in battle	50
Died from disease	21
Transferred, discharged and resigned	40
Captured	14
Died since war	30
Lost sight of	6

The following were the noted 6 that surrendered with Gen. Joe Johnston at Greensboro, N. C., 1865:

C. Y. Giles, Jesse D. Ham, Henry M. Short, John Hampton, Philip Southall, Jas. H. Withers.

COMPANY "I"

Company I, of the Twentieth Volunteer Infantry, C. S. A., was raised at and near the Hermitage, in the Fourth Civil District of Davidson County, and was called the Hermitage Guards in honor of the home of the hero of Talledaga, Emuckfau, Horseshoe, and New Orleans.

The boys that belonged to the Hermitage Guards could not help being good soldiers when in their boyhood days they played around the tomb of Old Hickory, and often laid flowers of love and respect upon the grave of his beloved Rachel.

This section of country from which this Company was raised is one of the most historical, not only in the State of Tennessee, but in the American Union. This was the home, and is now the last resting place of the man of nerve. It was here at his Clover Bottom Race Course, on one occasion, when a number of Kentuckians came down to Tennessee to the races, and brought with them their horses, a certain class of horses were to enter the race, when just before starting, Jackson was informed that the Kentuckians had entered a higher grade horse than was agreed upon. This so infuriated General Jackson that he mounted the stand without consulting any one, and shouted out, "By the eternals, there will be no race here to-day," and there was none.

Could Company I fall short of being good soldiers when reared in such an atmosphere?

It was also in this section, on the banks of Stone's River, the Indians committed their bloody Clover Bottom massacre, about the year 1780. This spot lies hard by Jackson's old race course, and legend has it that in a little hillock adjoining the two last named spots, that Aaron Burr spent six months of his time contemplating his Western Empire, just before he went to the beautiful Isle of Blennerhassett in the Ohio River. Legend also says that it was thought at the time that Burr and Jackson were consulting together on this project, but this has never been defi-

nitely proven. But Jackson did ride all the way from the Hermitage to Richmond, Va., on horseback, to defend Burr before Chief Justice Marshall. It is here that the Tennessee Confederate Soldier's Home is located. This generous donation of the old Volunteer State to her brave sons stands as a perpetual wall between Tennessee's unfortunate chivalry and the county poor houses of the State; and we trust in God that it may be perpetuated as long as lives a single one who wore the gray.

Company I was organized at the Hermitage by the election of Timothy F. Dodson, Captain; wounded at Shiloh; Jas. F. Cockrill, First Lieutenant; Andrew Adams, Second Lieutenant; W. M. Donaldson, Third Lieutenant; wounded at Shiloh.

E. E. Patterson, Orderly Sergeant; Jno. T. Watkins, Second Sergeant; T. A. Jones, Third Sergeant; W. M. Chandler, Fourth Sergeant; Jno. W. Goodlett, First Corporal; Jno. E. B. Ridley, Second Corporal; Riley Hager, Third Corporal; wounded at Shiloh; Ben C. Seaborn, Fourth Corporal.

Company I was mustered into State service for one year from June 1, 1861, on Front Street, near Broad, in the city of Nashville, and was put on the cars of the L. & N. Railroad and carried to Camp Trousdale, and there was incorporated in the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment as Company I, and known as the boys from the home of Old Hickory.

The roster of this Company was as follows: —

Timothy F. Dodson, First Captain, wounded in the heel at Shiloh, and never went into service again; died near the Hermitage, 1890.

Jas. F. Cockrill, First Lieutenant. Living in Nashville.

Andrew Adams, Second Lieutenant.

W. M. Donaldson, Third Lieutenant. Died near the Hermitage.

E. E. Patterson. Promoted to Lieutenant; badly wounded at Fishing Creek, and elected Sheriff of Davidson County in 1870; dead.

Jno. T. Watkins. Promoted to Captain; killed near the Cowan House, at the battle of Murfreesboro; he was always the neatest dressed officer in the Regiment.

T. A. Jones. Killed at Fishing Creek.

W. M. Chandler. Lives near the Hermitage.

Jno. W. Goodlett. Shot in the wrist at Fishing Creek; studied medicine after the war, and died in Mississippi.

Jno. E. B. Ridley. Died 1862.

Riley Hager. Dead.

Ben C. Seaborn. Promoted to Lieutenant; badly wounded at Chickamauga; recovered, and lives near the Hermitage.

Blair, W. H. H. Dead.

Brown, R. W.

Brown, H. D. Dead.

Binkley, Jack. Dead.

Binkley, Henry C. Dead.

Binkley, Fred M. Dead.

Bryan, W. M. Wounded at Shiloh.

Bryant, John O. Hermitage.

Brooks, J. M.

Brooks, Jas.

Brown, G. R.

Blair, Jas.

Brooks, Moses.

Brown, Floyd. Dead.

Beard, Jno. Dead.

Beard, Martin. Dead.

Binkley, Wm. Promoted to Captain; killed at Chickamauga.

Castleman, Ben.

Castleman, J. B. Dead.

Castleman, Wes. Wounded at Shiloh.

Cook, Jno.

Cary, Sam. Dead.

Cary, Richard. Dead.

Cotton, A. B. Killed at Jonesboro.

Cotton, Willis. Promoted to Captain; wounded several times; dead.

Creel, Whitman. Dead.

Earheardt, Mass.

Earheardt, J. H.

Ellis, Rubin. Died August 1861.

Ellis, Jas.

Fuqua, A. L. Practicing medicine at Donaldson. Wounded at Missionary Ridge and Franklin, Tenn.

Fuqua, W. H. Living near Donaldson.

Fuqua, Adolphus. Died at Mills Springs, Ky.

Gleaves, Jno. Bell. Living near the Hermitage. Wounded at Shiloh.

Graves, John. Dead.

Gann, Jno. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Hessey, Wm.

Hessey, G.

Hessey, L. C. Living near the Hermitage.

Hayes, Anderson. Dead.

Hayes, Jno.

Hayes, Wyatt. Killed at Shiloh.

Hayes, Jas. Died.

Hoffstetter, Jno. Killed at the battle of Nashville.

Harris, G. W. Dead.

Johnson, Henry.

Johnson, Gabriel. Dead.

Jones, J. B. Promoted to Colonel, guard, lives in Nashville.

Jones, Charles, Dead.

Mitchell, Ed.

Massey, J. H.

Massey, Wm. Died at Beech Grove.

Matthews, Billie. Dead.

Moore, Robt. Living near Una, Rural Route, No. 15. Wounded at Shiloh.

Morris, Will, Dead.

McClendon, Jas. Living near Donelson Station.

McClendon, A. J. Dead.

O'Brian, Jno. Hermitage.

Page, Wm. Dead.

Rogers, Robt.

Rogers, Jno.

Ridley, Jones. Willow Beech.

Stevens, Jno.

Scott, Joseph.

Steel, Jas.

Studivant, Morgan.

Smith, Currin.

Towns, Westly. Wounded at Shiloh; lives near Hermitage.



A. L. Faqua, Co. I.

See page 439.

Utly, Jno. Died in Nashville, 1903.
Wright, J. H.
Wright, W. T.
Wright, M. W. Wounded at Shiloh.
Wright, Wade.
Wright, J. C.
Wright, Jas.
Wright, R. A. Killed at Fishing Creek.
Wright, Hampton.
Wright, J. S.
Wright, Polk.
Rank and File, 91.

COMPANY "K"

Company K of the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry was raised in and near Hartsville, Tenn., from the counties of Smith, Sumner, Macon and Wilson. These men were born and reared on the banks of the beautiful and historic Cumberland. This stream was made famous from the very incipiency of its name, when in the year 1748, Dr. Thomas Walker of Virginia, in company with Colonels Wood, Patton, Buchannan and Capt. Charles Campbell passed through Powell's Valley, and discovered that beautiful range of mountains running West and named it Cumberland Mountains. This party traversed this mountain in a southwest direction and came to a remarkable depression in this chain, and they called this depression Cumberland Gap, and through this Gap flowed the tide of emigration from East to West nearly half a century.

The Walker party passed through this Gap and on the western side of this range, they discovered a beautiful mountain tream, whose waters were as clear as crystal and abounded in fish, and on its banks were droves of all sorts of game, and they called this stream Cumberland River, all in honor of the Duke of Cumberland. These boys of Company K had drank of and bathed in the invigorating waters of this stream, and lived near enough to the Hermitage to breathe the inspiring atmosphere of "Old Hickory," until they were a host within themselves. This Company was organized and mustered into service of the State about June 9th, 1861, by as gallant an Irishman as the Emerald Isle ever gave birth, the heroic Patrick Duffey. The cross of St. Andrew had no truer disciple, although a foreigner by birth, he was a true Southerner by adoption.

Company K was organized by the election of Patrick Duffey, Captain.

M. M. Newsome, First Lieutenant; W. J. Dyer, Second Lieutenant; S. W. Wooten, Third Lieutenant; J. D. Stubblefield, Orderly Sergeant; W. A. Pursley, Second Sergeant; J. H. Har-

gas, Third Sergeant; Dan Haven, Fourth Sergeant, J. D. Wooten, First Corporal; M. A. Chambers, Second Corporal; J. H. Kerley, Third Corporal.

This Company was sent to Camp Trousdale and was placed in the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry as Company K, and most gallantly did they sustain themselves as soldiers until the close of the war, when the Company on the day of surrender could only muster five men, (three only of whose names I can call), viz: Thomas Harris, who was the last Captain of Company K, Billy Page and Lieutenant Josh Tally; the other two I do not remember.

The Roster of Company K was: Patrick Duffey, Captain at organization of the Regiment, was elected Major, served most gallantly with his command until after the battle of Shiloh, and was not re-elected, survived the war and died at Hartsville.

M. M. Newsom was promoted to Captain, when Captain Duffey was elected Major.

W. J. Dyer, First Lieutenant. Was afterwards promoted to Captain and resigned.

W. J. Neely was elected Third Lieutenant.

J. F. Stubblefield, Orderly Sergeant, was discharged at Murfreesboro 1862.

W. A. Pursley. Second Sergeant.

J. H. Hargas promoted to Captain after resignation of Captain Dyer.

M. A. Chambers, Second Corporal. Was killed at Franklin.

J. H. Kerley, Third Corporal. Promoted to Lieutenant.

Tom B. Reed. Promoted to the Regimental Band.

Andrew, J. W. Transferred 1861.

Austin, J. B. Promoted to Captain; killed at Jonesboro, Ga., August 31st, 1864. A true Christian gentleman, a good and faithful soldier, and a patriot in every sense of the word.

Alexander, F. M. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Brannon, J. R. Died since the war.

Brannon, Edmond. Died since the war in New York. Was called after the battle at Fishing Creek, "The Conquering Hero."

Brogen, Thomas. Died since the war.

Bugg, C. Discharged, 1861, Camp Trousdale.

Burnley, J. M. Dead.

Ball, Wiley, Died since the war.

Ball, John. Died since the war.

Ball, Jas. Died since the war.

Chambers, Nathan. Yet lives in Russellville, Ky.

Cole, M. P.

Cates, William Henry Harrison. Died since the war.

Carter, P. W. Called "Stackpole" on account of his height. Died since the war.

Carter, S. W.

Crunk, Wm. Discharged 1861.

Carmen, S. W. Wounded and captured at Fishing Creek. Died ~~since the war~~. 1921

Claborn, Z. G. Wounded and captured at Fishing Creek.

Claborn, J. C.

Claborn, S. R. Wounded at Fishing Creek.

Denty, Jack.

Davis, J. W. (Old Cock Eye), Lives in Lebanon, Tenn.

Duncan, Tom F. Mortally wounded at Fishing Creek and died.

Duncan, F. E.

Essex, S. H.

Furlong, J. A. Killed by bushwackers.

Hall, J. A. Wounded at Fishing Creek and discharged.

Hutcherson, N. D.

Higgerson, Sam.

Higgerson, J. T.

Harris, W. T. Last Captain of Company K. Died recently.

Harris, T. G.

Hines, H. E.

Jackson, J. W.

Jackson, Jno. Died since the war.

Jackson, T. Dead.

Jones, T. H.

Jones, Geo. Wounded at Fishing Creek.

Johns, Calvin.

Lurtan, W.

Maddin, J. T. Killed at Fishing Creek.

Miller, J. J. Dead.

Moran, M.
McGrath, J. Dead.
Morris, W. C.
Morris, J. A.
Mitchell, W. Dead.
Mason, O.
Marshall, T.
Moss, T. Died at Camp Trousdale in 1861.
Morris, J. W.
Moore, Jas.
Newman, W. F.
O'Riley, John. Wounded and captured at Fishing Creek.
Pitt, A. G. Promoted Lieutenant; died in prison.
Petway, B. W. Wounded July 22, in front of Atlanta, and captured; now living in Nashville.
Petway, J. H. Died since the war.
Page, Wm. B. A member of the company at its surrender at Greensboro, N. C.; died recently in Missouri.
Seats, Riley.
Stallcup, Samuel.
Stallcup, G. F. Died.
Satterfield, Shelton. Dead.
Satterfield, Jno.
Stone, H. E.
Shrum, J. F. Now in Arkansas.
Stinson, J. F.
Stinson, J. W.
Senter, F. M.
Smith, B. T.
Tarpley, Henry. Wounded at Fishing Creek.
Talley, Joshua. Lieutenant at the close of the war.
Whaley, J. D. Wounded at Shiloh and died.
Waters, J. G. Discharged.
Winston, W. C. Transferred to Second Tennessee at Cumberland Ford.
White, David.
Weemis, H. C.

Total Rank and File, 87.

B. W. Petway was the only survivor of this Company present at the re-union in 1903. He was severely wounded in the knee in front of Atlanta, July 22, 1864; was left on the field and taken to the Federal Hospital. Three months later, and after recovering from his wound, he was brought to Nashville, and confined in the penitentiary; in November, 1864, he was taken to Camp Douglas, and in March, 1865, he was sent to Point Lookout, Md., to be exchanged, reaching there April 1, 1865, where he was held until he was paroled, June 20, 1865.

Tom Duncan, colored (Black Satin), who was one of the most faithful men in the Regiment, was always at his post to cook and wash for Company K, and was a great favorite with the Regiment; and if he is dead he deserves a Confederate monument.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.

In preparing the Company Histories every possible means has been taken to secure correctness, especiailly as regards the data in the "Roster", of each company. These company histories were all type-written prior to the annual Re-union held in Rutherford County in 1902. On that occasion, the survivors of each company collected apart from the others and the large concourse of visitors, and while one member of the company read over the history of that company, the others offered such suggestions, additions, alterations and corrections as collectively and individually they deemed best and in accordance with their recollection and memory.

Again, at the Re-union held in the Senate Chamber of the State Capitol in 1903, the same procedure was resorted to, and each company history was carefully gone over by those present, the survivors of each company being assembled together apart from the others. Despite these precautions certain errors have occurred, some typographical and due to faulty proof-reading and corrections, and others, matters of detail that was overlooked, and not detected untill the sheets had gone to press. They are as follows.

Page 75, fifth line "W. E. Demors," should read W. E. De Moss.

" 99, in "Co. C." insert: W. Baker, Killed at Shiloh.

In the Roster of Co. C., the name of P. N. Matlock does not appear although he was one of the most gallant soldiers in this gallant company. He was wounded in the shoulder at the first battle of Murfreesboro. Was transferred to cavalry, having been commissioned by the War Department as First Lieutenant of Carter's Scouts, July, 1863. He was again wounded in

left thigh at Sulphur Trestle, Ala. He was parolled at Gainesville, Ala. May, 9th, 1865.

After the war he studied medicine and received his degree of M. D. at the Nashville Medical College, now Med. Dept. Univ. of Tenn., and is now engaged in an extensive and successful practice in Obion Co., Tenn. He is Past Grand Master of the G. L., F. & A. M. of this state. He is an honorable and honored citizen, highly esteemed and respected by all who know him.

Page 100. "Jas. Huggins, In Soldier's Home." He was not a member of Co. C., or of the 20th, Tennessee. Regiment.

Page 101. "W. T. Mize. Dead." Not *dead* but a very live employee of the N. C. & St. L. R. R.

Page 106. "M. L. Covington, Killed at Hoover's Gap, June 22, 1863," should be June 24th.

Page 121, tenth line, "Co. B." should read "Co. E."

I also desire to state that the very full History of Co. E., was written by Ralph J. Neal, a member of that Company, who went through it all "from start to finish," and while it is more voluminous and goes more into detail than the history of any other company written by myself, being in fact a replication of Regimental History, yet being the history of his company as well as that of the Regiment from his standpoint, and as remembered by him, for this reason it is given so much more space than the other Company Histories. It is the picture of the varying and trying scenes through which the Regiment passed as it appeared to him, as the subsequent Section, Part III, or "Regimental History" gives the views as presented to me, with such other facts and incidents as I could collate. W. J. McMURRAY, M. D.



COL. JOEL A. BATTLE.

See page 386.

PART III.

REGIMENTAL HISTORY.

REGIMENTAL HISTORY.

This gallant command was raised in Middle Tennessee. At the beginning of our civil war a number of companies, as fast as organized, were sent to Camp Trousdale to be organized into a regiment. Camp Trousdale was on the L. & N. Railroad, just south of the Tennessee and Kentucky State line.

When a sufficient number of companies (ten) had arrived at this camp, the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry was organized by the election of Joel A. Battle, of Davidson County, who was Captain of Company B, as Colonel; Moscoe B. Carter, also of Williamson County, who was Captain of Company H, as Lieutenant-Colonel; and Patrick Duffey, of Smith County (now Trousdale) as Major, he being Captain of Company K.

The regimental staff was composed of Dr. James Franklin, of Sumner County, Surgeon; John H. Morton, of Davidson County, as Assistant Surgeon; John Marshall, of Williamson County, Quarter Master; M. M. Hinkle, of Davidson County, Commissary; Alex Winn, of Williamson County, Adjutant; John Edmondson, of Williamson County, Chaplain; Twist Marshall, of Williamson County, Wagon Master; and E. L. Jordan, Assistant Wagon Master.

The ten companies that composed this Regiment at its organization, which was about the first of June, 1861, numbered 900 men, and after the organization was completed, it got down at once to hard company and regimental drilling.

It was said of our Colonel, by other troops then camped near us, that the Colonel of the Twentieth Tennessee did not know but three commands, viz., "form line," "fix bayonets," "forward, march." And these same troops, in the other regiments also said that the field band of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment did not know but two pieces to play; one was "The Bobtail Horse," and the other "The Girl I Left Behind Me."

About nine-tenths of this regiment were country boys, and nearly all of our officers were from the country, (we had but few officers who had even a limited military education.)

There were at Camp Trousdale at this time four other Tennessee regiments whose organization had just preceded ours, viz: Seventh Tennessee, commanded by the gallant Robert Hutton, who was killed at the battle of Seven Pines, Va.; Sixteenth Tennessee Regiment, that was led through some of the hardest fought battles of the war by that game old man of the mountains, Col. John H. Savage, who ought to have been a Brigadier General before the first year of the war closed; Seventeenth Tennessee, commanded by Colonel Newman, and was afterwards made famous by the leadership of that knightly soldier and genial gentleman, Albert S. Marks; and the Eighteenth Tennessee, that was commanded by that urbane and scholarly gentleman and soldier, J. O. Palmer, of Murfreesboro, who had the honor of bringing the remnant of that battle-scarred band of Tennesseans back to their homes after the surrender of General Joe Johnston at Greensboro, N. C.

While the Twentieth Regiment was undergoing strict discipline at Camp Trousdale, the boys were giving the officers a great deal of trouble by slipping through the guard lines and getting whisky in the adjacent country.

One morning when the guard was mounted, a country boy by the name of James Stevens was placed on duty, with strict injunctions not to let any one pass the line without a written pass, except General Zollicoffer. The soldier began his beat; in a short while, sure enough, General Zollicoffer did come, and the soldier halted him and said, "Who comes there?" The General said, "It's General Zollicoffer." The soldier replied, "You can't pass here." The General said that "he had a right to pass," to which the soldier said, "You can't come that game on me; if I would let you pass, in fifteen minutes there would be forty Zollicoffer's here."

These four regiments and Rutledge's First Tennessee Battery composed a brigade, and was entrusted to the command of Brigadier General Felix K. Zollicoffer, but soon after the brigade was formed, the Seventh and Sixteenth Regiments were ordered to

Virginia, and soon after that, the Seventeenth, then the Twentieth, Battle's Regiment.

About the 23rd of July, Col. Battle received orders to strike tents and board the cars for Virginia. This was our first breaking up of camp, and we had more baggage than we knew what to do with.

The route was by way of Nashville, where we arrived in the forenoon, and the ladies of Nashville had an elegant dinner for the boys of Battle's Regiment spread in the old Female Academy grounds, on Church Street, then in charge of that grand old educator, C. D. Elliott. In this school were many of the sweethearts, sisters and afterwards wives of the boys of Battle's Regiment.

As the sun began to hide itself behind the western hills, the train on the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad pulled out for the east, carrying with it Battle's Regiment; there was shaking of hands, shedding of tears, and vows of love when the parting time came.

Next morning about ten o'clock, we pulled up at Chattanooga, one hundred and fifty-one miles distant with the loss of one man who belonged to Company H, by the name of C. M. Shelton, who fell from the train and was killed.

We only remained in Chattanooga long enough to change cars, when we pulled out for Knoxville, distant one hundred miles and arrived there next morning; but we could not be forwarded at once to Bristol, and had to lay over several hours, and during this time a great many of the regiment indulged too freely in East Tennessee's apple brandy and became very boisterous. Our Colonel ordered the sober portion of the regiment to put the drunken portion in a mule pen near the depot; this was done with some difficulty and when the work was completed a large per cent. of the regiment was in the pen.

After several hours delay Maj. Campbell Wallace, who was in charge of transportation from Knoxville to Bristol, had us on our way. When we arrived at Bristol, after a journey of one hundred and three miles, to our great surprise and chagrin we were ordered into camp; many of the boys thought because we

were stopped here that the war would be over before we would get into a fight.

While at Bristol we camped some two weeks about one mile from town near a big spring, one of the finest that it was my pleasure to ever see; and in after days, while on the long and hot marches, and while laying on the different battle fields, wounded, I thought that I would almost give up life if I could only spend but one hour by the side of that clear, pure, crystal fountain. While here the mountaineers would come into camp and bring huckleberries to sell to the soldiers, these were the first I ever saw, and I had but one objection to them, it took all of our sugar to sweeten them and left none to put in our coffee. (We we getting coffee that early in the war.)

It was also here that the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment received its first stand of colors, made and presented by the ladies of Nashville, the presentation speech was made by Capt. Albert S. Marks, a young lawyer of the Seventeenth Tennessee Regiment, who was camped near by, and it was a splendid oratorial effort.

About the latter part of August 1861, Battle's Regiment was ordered back to Knoxville and went into camp near the Fair Grounds, and went at once to hard drilling. It was here that we met for the first time the Fifteenth Mississippi Regiment, commanded by Col. W. S. Statham, E. C. Walthall, Lieutenant Colonel, and Brantly, Major; between whom and the Twentieth Tennessee afterwards sprang up quite an intimacy.

It was also about this time that several prominent Union men of East Tennessee made their escape across the mountains into Kentucky, among them were Wm. G. Brownlow, Horace Maynard and Thomas A. R. Nelson. Captain Rutledge with the First Tennessee Battery of six guns, joined us at this place, also the Sixteenth Alabama Regiment under command of Col. W. B. Woods. The Tennesseeans here felt very much chagrined when we saw that the Fifteenth Mississippi were armed with Mississippi rifles with sword bayonets, and the Sixteenth Alabama with percussion cap muskets, and they armed with the old antiquated flint lock muskets, that carried one large round ball

and three buckshot, which was but little service in wet weather. (We received these arms while at Camp Trousdale.)

About the fifteenth of August, the right wing of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment under Colonel Battle and Lieutenant Moscow Carter was ordered by General Zollicoffer to Jacksboro, forty miles north of Knoxville in the direction of Cumberland Gap, while the left wing of five companies, was left at Knoxville under command of Major Pat Duffey. In about ten days, Major Duffey received orders to join Colonel Battle at Jacksboro. I belonged to this wing, and it was the first regular marching we had ever done, and this little batallion was scattered along the road for several miles. A little incident occurred on this march that furnished the boys of the left wing of the Regiment a by-word for the rest of the war. Major Duffey, who never fell out with a soldier for giving him a drink of "apple jack," was riding a few hundred yards in advance of the batallion; came to the forks of the road and took the wrong road. He was so full that he never looked back to see if the batallion was following him until he had gone about a mile, and when he did discover his mistake, he at once wheeled his old roan and came back at a lively speed, halloahing, "Where in the h—l is the batallion?"

The old soldier was taken from his horse and allowed to rest by a large spring, and Patrick was soon himself again. The batallion camped the first night on the banks of Clinch River, and the next evening about dark we reached Jacksboro with blistered feet and skinned heels.

The Twentieth Regiment remained at Jacksboro about two weeks. While here I heard one of the most impressive sermons preached by Rev. Fountain E. Pitts, to the soldiers of the Twentieth Regiment, that I heard during the war. Rev. Mr. Pitts was afterwards Colonel of the Eighty-fourth Tennessee Regiment. While here we blockaded some mountain passes that led over into Kentucky.

We were next ordered to Cumberland Gap, forty miles further up Powell's Valley, which we reached about sundown on the second day, tired and worn out, and many of us thought that we could go no further; but orders came for us to cook three days' rations, and be ready to move at twelve o'clock that

night, which we did, and passed through Cumberland Gap over to Cumberland Ford, in Knox County, Ky.

Battle's Regiment arrived at this point in great haste, as we were told that it was a stratigetical point, and the enemy was trying to beat us there. This was fourteen miles north of Cumberland Gap. (I believe that Battle's Regiment was the first Confederate Infantry to pass through this gap.)

The different Regiments of the brigade soon followed, viz: Fifteenth Mississippi, Sixteenth Alabama, Eleventh, Seventeenth and Nineteenth Tennessee, McNairy's Batallion of Cavalry and Rutledge's Battery which composed Zollicoffer's Brigade, at Camp Buckner or Cumberland Ford. While here several false alarms were gotten up to test the men, and after the alarm was over we would return to camp. Several knock-downs took place on account of some criticizing the conduct of others.

While Zollicoffer was at Cumberland Ford, the Federals occupied Barboursville, eighteen miles further north, with a lot of East Tennessee and Kentucky Bush-whackers. This nest, General Zollicoffer determined to break up, so an expedition against them was fitted out, composed of two companies from the Eleventh, two from the Seventeenth, two from the Twentieth Tennessee, two from the Fifteenth Mississippi, and McNairy's Batallion of Cavalry, all under the command of Colonel Battle. We were ordered to proceed by night march to Barboursville and engage the enemy at day light next morning. In forming our lines early in the morning, the fog being heavy, the command had some trouble in passing a small bridge, and while in that condition, some of the enemy's pickets fired on it. Colonel Battle took in the situation at once, and in order to frighten the enemy, he hallowed out in a ringing voice, "Make way men, make way, and let the artillery come forward." When in fact he did not have a piece of artillery nearer than Cumberland Ford, eighteen miles away; but the bluff worked, and in one hour's time Barboursville was in the hands of the Confederates, and the only casualties were Lieutenant Powell of the Nineteenth, who had accompanied the expedition, and an old sow that was fired into by a company of the Twentieth

Regiment while in a corn field, who thought she was a lot of Yankees. The poor old hog was literally riddled with buck and ball from those flint-lock muskets at close range.

Colonel Battle and his Command returned to Camp Buckner in triumph from their first field of battle. Also, while at Camp Buckner, General Zollicoffer learned that the enemy was at Goose Creek Salt Works, so an expedition was fitted out against that place, which captured the place and procured a quantity of salt, but found no Yankees. While here the Twentieth Regiment was strongly recruited from boys at home, who saw that they would have to join the army; also while here the Command had to deal with their first deserters, two soldiers who had deserted were captured and court-martialed, and the sentence was, "to cut a hole in a sugar hogshead for each, and let them put their heads through it so the weight of the hogshead would rest on their shoulders; then the regiment was formed on dress parade and the deserters were marched in front of the line in this condition, with the regimental band playing, 'The Bob-tail Horse' behind them;" they were then escorted to our outer lines and let go.

It was also from Camp Buckner that Generat Zollicoffer moved against Wild Cat or Rock Castle, by the way of Barboursville and London, and as we passed Laurel Bridge we had a light skirmish.

Wild Cat was a Federal Camp in the Rock Castle Hills in Pulaski County, Ky., so the battle at this place was called by the Federals, the Battle of Rock Castle, and by the Confederates, the Battle of Wild Cat.

On the day that we reached Wild Cat, the Twentieth Regiment in advance, and just before we reached Rock Castle River, our advance guard came upon the enemy's pickets, a few shots were exchanged and the Federals ran in, leaving one of their number dead at his post. He proved to be a Captain Merriman from East Tennessee who had gone North and joined an Ohio Cavalry Regiment. This was the first dead Federal that we had seen. When the enemy's pickets ran in, the Twentieth Regiment was ordered to open ranks and let McNairy's Battallion of Cavalry pass; they crossed the river at once, and a number of

Brother Walter S. Smith, was an Artilleryman in this expedition. He was of Co. A, 11th

shots were fired. Then about dark, the Twentieth Regiment was ordered to cross, and we plunged into the river nearly waist deep, it was cold and swift. We went over, tore down a fence, and formed a line of battle and were ordered to load; in a few minutes we were ordered back across the river, and in about half an hour we were ordered the third time to wade Rock Castle River. We then lay on our arms and threw out pickets, and when the details were being called to go on picket for the first time in the face of the enemy, every soldier's heart was in his mouth.

I was unfortunate enough to be called, and was led high upon the side of the mountain, wet, hungry, cold and frightened badly, and remained there until just before day when we were withdrawn to take part in the advance. The Twentieth was again in the advance with left in front, but before the engagement was opened Battle's Regiment was withdrawn, and nearly all of the fighting on the part of the Confederates was done by the Eleventh Tennessee under Col. Jas. E. Rains, and the Seventeenth under Colonel Newman. These two regiments lost, eleven killed and forty-two wounded, and as night approached General Zollicoffer withdrew his command and camped on the ground that he occupied the night before; and before daylight the next morning he ordered a retreat back over the same road that he had advanced, without being persued by the enemy.

As far as the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was concerned only one company (B) was engaged, and its action will be found in the history of that company.

The Federal Command at Wild Cat was composed of the Federals about five hundred strong who were driven out of Barboursville by Battle's expedition on the nineteenth of September, 1861, which were reinforced by two Kentucky regiments under Col. T. T. Garrard of the Seventh Kentucky. This command was attacked by General Zollicoffer on October twenty-first, and while the battle was in progress the Federals were reinforced by General Schoopff with five regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a battery of artillery, and when the fight was over, both parties retreated, Zollicoffer to Cumberland Gap, and the Federals back to Camp Robinson. This ended the Wild Cat Campaign.

After General Zollicoffer had gotten his command all up after his Wild Cat Campaign, he moved south, went down the Cumberland Mountains by way of Wartburg and Jimtown, and then north by way of Monticello, Ky., to Mill Springs, on the south bank of the Cumberland River; on this march and at Mill Springs, he was reinforced by several commands.

Zollicoffer at once crossed over several regiments of his command to the north side of the Cumberland; at this place the river makes a bend to the south, then again to the north, making a complete horse-shoe; the Confederates fortified across the neck of the horse-shoe, and pitched their tents behind their fortifications. This was the situation of the Confederates on the Upper Cumberland, about the middle of November, 1861.

Gen. Albert Sidney Johnson, who was at this time in command of the department of the West, had established a line of defence from Columbus, Ky., on the west, running east through Bowling Green to Mill Springs on the Upper Cumberland. Gen. Leonidas Polk was in command at Columbus, Gen. Simon B. Buckner at Bowling Green, and Zollicoffer at Mill Springs.

There had been all the while much concern by both sides about the attitude of Kentucky. She was, it is true, a Southern Slave State, allied to the South by blood and institutions, yet, she was a border State and on good terms with her Northern neighbors. She saw the storm coming. There was no great secession or republican sentiment in the State at this time.

To prove this, we will analize the vote of Kentucky for President in 1860. There was cast in this election 145,852 votes. Breckenridge and Lane who represented Southern Democracy, received 52,836 votes; Douglass and Johnson who represented Northern Democracy, received 25,644 votes; Bell and Everett, who represented the Constitutional Union Ticket, received 66,016 votes; and Lincoln and Hamlin, while they had no ticket in Kentucky received 1,366 votes. We will see from this vote, if the Democrats had been united, instead of losing the State by about 13,000 votes, they would have carried it by 12,464; and furthermore, the platform of three of the parties were antagonistic to the Republican platform. In January, 1861, Kentucky called a convention to consider the status of her affairs, and on

the twenty-first a resolution was introduced, first, declaring with regret that Kentucky had heard that resolutions had passed the General Assemblies of the States of New York, Ohio, Maine and Massachusetts, tendering to the President men and money to be used in coercing sovereign States of the South into the Federal Government.

This resolution of regret was adopted unanimously. A second resolution was introduced, viz: "Whenever the States above named should send armed forces to the South for the purpose of coercing a Sovereign Southern State, we will unite with our brethren of the South as one man and resist the invasion at all hazzards and to the last extremity." This resolution was carried by a vote of eighty-seven to six, thus showing the feelings of Kentucky toward the South.

On January 21, 1861, there was also a convention held jointly by the Bell and Everett and Douglass parties, which passed a resolution stating, "that we deplore the existence of a Union to be held together by the sword and the laws enforced by standing armies."

About this time a Union State Central Committee was gotten up composed of John H. Horney, Wm. F. Bullock, Geo. D. Prentice, James Speed, Charles Ripley, Wm. P. Boon, Phillipp Tompert, Hamilton Poe, Nathan Wolfe and Lewis E. Harvis.

About the middle of April Fort Sumpter fell, and the President called on Governor McGoffin of Kentucky to furnish his *quota* of troops for invading the South, to which he responded: "Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subdueing her sister Southern State." On the seventeenth day of April, two days after the Governor declined to furnish troops to the Federal Government, Hon. John J. Crittenden, who had just retired from the United States Senate, made a speech in Lexington endorsing the Governor's action in regard to furnishing troops to the Federal Authorities; and on April eighteen, the Central Union Committee issued an address to the people of Kentucky endorsing the Governor's course and favoring an armed neutrality. This Committee said also, "that if the enterprise announced in the President's Proclamation, should at any time hereafter assume the aspect of a war for subjugating the

seceding States, we do not hesitate to say, that Kentucky should promptly unsheath her sword in behalf of what will then become a common cause, in defence of a people jealous of their liberties, and when Kentucky detects this meaning she ought at once without counting the cost take up arms against the Government."

There was also a large meeting held in Louisville, that was addressed by Hons. James Guthrie, Arch Dixon and John Young Brown, and advocated the policy of armed neutrality. The Southern element of Kentucky was anxious to avert a war, and Gen. John C. Breckinridge, representing that element, clasped the hand of Hon. John. J. Crittendon as an approval of the armed neutrality question, and his followers sustained him in it. Had Hon. John C. Breckinridge declined to accept the neutrality proposition, and insisted on the State taking immediate action with the South, there is but little doubt but Kentucky would have at once swung into line with the young Confederacy, but he yielded to the seductive persuasion of men who had scarcely sealed the compact before they broke it.

It is sickening to recall the duplicity that followed. A committee of Union men at once visited Mr. Lincoln at Washington, and they returned and said that the President gave every assurance that their armed neutrality would be respected; yet in thirty days, secret emissaries were sent from Washington to organize in the State of Kentucky recruits for the Federal Army. The chief of them was one William Nelson, a native Kentuckian and a lieutenant in the United States Navy, who was well acquainted with a number of Southern Leaders, so he mingled with them without suspicion; at the same time, he was empowered to issue commissions to officers, and make contracts for mules, beef and other army supplies. Through Nelson's instrumentality there were 5,000 stands of arms shipped into Kentucky by May 20, 1861. How could he have gotten these arms and had them shipped into Kentucky without the consent of President Lincoln, who had promised the Union men of Kentucky not thirty days before that he would *respect* the armed neutrality agreement? These arms were shipped to Camp Dick Robinson, where several Federal regiments were organized and armed.

This same William Nelson who was sent here by the Washington Government, went all through Middle and Eastern Kentucky, issuing commissions from the Federal Government to Colonels, Captains and so on, if they would raise commands. This is where the by-word originated, "as numerous as Kentucky colonels."

The Legislature of Kentucky met in called session May 6, 1861, and appropriated $750,000 to arm the State in defence of neutrality, under the direction of a military board composed of the Governor, Samuel Gill, Geo. T. Wood, Gen. Peter Dudley and Dr. Jno. B. Peyton, with instructions that these arms were not to be used against the United States or the Confederate States unless in protecting the soil of Kentucky against lawless invasions.

In the meantime recruiting was going on from both sides. The Confederates had a camp in Montgomery County, Tenn., which they called "Camp Boon," and the Federals had a camp in Southern Indiana that they called "Camp Joe Holt." The recruiting that was going on in Kentucky was secretly done by William Nelson and Joshua F. Speed, the latter was a bosom friend of President Lincoln.

This same William Nelson received a letter from L. Thomas, Adjutant General of the Federal Army, dated Washington, July 1, 1861, authorizing him "to raise regiments of infantry in East Tennessee and one regiment of cavalry; also one regiment of infantry in West Tennessee, and appoint their officers and send their names to that office, and he would send to his care 10,000 stand of small arms, and one battery of six guns at Cincinnati, Ohio." Now was not this in keeping with the neutrality proposition?

The Southern sympathizers had done all that they could to defend the neutrality of their State, but the intreagues from Washington, and the double dealing of the Union men of their own State, in breaking the compact that they made when John C. Breckinridge clasped the hand of John J. Crittenden, is a stain on Kentucky's fair name that will take years to wipe off.

The Federal Government now threw off its mask and advocated the occupation of the State of Kentucky; so on the 15th of

August, 1861, by general order No. 57, issued from Washington, Kentucky and Tennessee were to constitute the Department of the Cumberland, and Gen. Robert Anderson was assigned to its command. This order ended the armed neutrality of Kentucky, and the Washington Government did what it intended to do from the biginning, viz: occupy the State with Federal bayonets. A great deal more could be said on Kentucky's position.

We will now return to our campaign in Eastern Kentucky.

January 1, 1862, found Gen. Geo. B. Crittenden, a son of Jno. J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, a graduate of West Point, and who at the outbreak of the war was a Lieutenant Colonel of Mounted Riflemen in the Federal service, in command of the Department of Eastern Kentucky, with the rank of Major General, and he had in his division the brigades of Felix K. Zollicoffer and Wm. H. Carroll. Zollicoffer's brigade was composed of the following regiments which had crossed over the Cumberland Rim opposite Mill Springs, and fortified the horse shoe bend of the river and called it "Camp Beech Grove": The Fifteenth Mississippi, Sixteenth Alabama, Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-ninth Tennessee Infantry Regiments, and two companies of cavalry and eight pieces of artillery; while General Carroll was on the south side of the river, and the following commands composed his brigade: The seventeenth, twenty-eighth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee Regiments, First Tennessee Batallion of Cavalry, two independent companies of cavalry, and four pieces of artillery, under Captain McClung, making in all about 4,000 effective men and twelve guns.

At this time, the Federal General, Thomas, occupied Somerset, eighteen miles north of Camp Beech Grove, with eight regiments. Thomas also had stationed at Columbia, thirty-five miles north-west of Camp Beech Grove, five more infantry regiments under Colonel Bramlette, Colonel Carter's Brigade at London, and Colonel Hoskins with his regiment near Somerset, and General Schoopff with the Seventeenth and Thirty-eighth Ohio and Standart's Battery at Waitsborough, and five hundred of Wolford's cavalry that was ordered to reinforce Hoskin's near Somerset, all of these were watching the little command of Crittenden's of about 4,000 men..

After Zollicoffer had crossed over his Brigade, and before Crittenden had taken command, he,—Zollicoffer,—received a letter from Gen. Albert Sidney Johnson, disapproving his crossing the river, to which Zollicoffer replied, "I inferred from your letter that I should not have crossed the Cumberland, it is now too late; I cannot with safety recross in face of the enemy with my limited means."

Now that our readers may understand the situation of the Confederate's army at this place, I will say that Mill Springs is a small hamlet on the south bank of the Cumberland, Beech Grove was just across the river on the north bank, and Fishing Creek flows from the north and empties into the Cumberland just above Mill Springs. General Crittenden learned on the 18th of January that the forces under Colonel Bramlette had moved up from Columbia to Logan's Cross Roads, only ten miles north of Beech Grove, with the expectation of effecting a junction with Thomas' forces at Somerset, which would give Thomas a force superior to his, and that this junction would be retarded by the swollen condition of Fishing Creek.

Crittenden held a council of war, and it was determined to attack the enemy in detail if possible. He therefore moved Carroll's Brigade across the river and united his forces on the north bank, and at twelve o'clock that night moved out his command with Bledsoe and Saunder's Cavalry Companies in advance, on the road leading to Logan's Cross Roads, with Zollicoffer in front of Carroll. At daylight our cavalry advance came upon the enemy's pickets two miles from their camps; the skirmishing began, and a line of battle was formed, a cold winter's rain pouring down at the time. The enemy was not taken by surprise, and besides they had effected a junction. Zollicoffer formed his line of battle by throwing the Fifteenth Mississippi and the Twentieth Tennessee to the right of the road. The Tenth Indiana under Colonel Mason was already drawn up in line of battle waiting the Confederate attack. The Fifteenth Mississippi moved forward on the Tenth Indiana, which was stationed in a heavy woods, and was pressing them back, when Colonel Mason ordered the Fourth Kentucky Regiment, under Col. Speed S. Fry, to his support. At about this



BRIG.-GEN. THOS. BENTON SMITH.

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juncture Battle's Regiment of Zollicoffer's Brigade engaged the fourth Kentucky and attempted to flank them, but was checked by Carter's Brigade of East Tennesseeans.

Colonel McCook, with the Ninth Ohio and Second Minnesota, was ordered up to the support of the Tenth Indiana and a section of Kenney's Battery, and fourth Kentucky, which made eight regiments and one section of artillery that the Fifteenth Mississippi and the Twentieth Tennessee were fighting. Zollicoffer attempted to form his line on the left of the road with the Nineteenth and Twenty-fifth and Twenty-ninth Tennessee Regiments while he placed the only artillery that he had in the road; this section of two guns were under the immediate command of Lieut. Mark S. Cockrill and was the only artillery that was fired by the Confederates.

The Federals kept extending their line to the left by bringing their reinforcements into action, the Mississippians moving to their right to keep from being flanked, and the Twentieth Tennessee trying to keep in touch with the Mississippians, left a gap between the left of the Twentieth Tennessee and Cockrill's guns in the road, and in the dense mist of the rainy morning General Zollicoffer rode into this gap on the right of the road up to the Fourth Kentucky, whom he mistook for the Twentieth Tennessee, as that regiment was the only regiment between the Mississippians and Cockrill's Battery, and was fired on by a portion of Fry's Regiment, and he and his aid, Henry B. Fogg, were both killed.

The Nineteenth, Twenty-fifth, and Twenty-ninth Tennessee Regiments that were on the other side of the road were being engaged, but not near so heavily as the Twentieth Tennessee and Fifteenth Mississippi. As Zollicoffer's Brigade began to be forced back, Carroll's Brigade was formed, but could not stem the tide of confusion that was caused by the death of General Zollicoffer, and the forcing back of the Fifteenth Mississippi and Twentieth Tennessee who had bravely borne the brunt of the battle up to this time, the Twentieth Tennessee being armed with flint lock muskets, not one in five would fire on account of the incessant rain.

In the engagement on the left of the road, the Nineteenth

Tennessee was the most hotly engaged, and after the death of General Zollicoffer, Colonel Cummings of the Nineteenth Tennessee, being Senior Colonel, took command of Zollicoffer's Brigade. Colonel S. S. Stanton of the Twenty-fifth Tennessee was severely wounded; he also made the mistake that Zollicoffer did, viz., that he was firing on his friends, and ordered his regiment to cease firing and fall back. The enemy was now gaining ground on our left. Carroll's Brigade was now ordered up, the Nineteenth, Twenty-fifth and Twenty-ninth Tennessee were being driven back. It was here that the Seventeenth Tennessee gallantly met and held in check for some time the entire right wing of Thomas's Army, but was finally forced back by superior numbers and superior arms.

The Twenty-ninth Tennessee under Colonel Powell came to the rescue of the Twentieth Tennessee and Fifteenth Mississippi and kept them from being flanked for a while, by pouring a galling fire into the enemy at close range. It was here that its gallant Colonel was wounded.

The Sixteenth Alabama, under Col. W. B. Wood, also rendered good service, but the battle was lost; a combination of circumstances was against the Confederates, viz.: the loss of their principal officer at the opening of the engagement, the incessant rains that rendered one-third of the arms of the Confederates useless, and the superior arms of the enemy. A retreat was ordered back to Beech Grove, (and it did not take much ordering), and the Federals followed us up that evening, and by dark were throwing shells into our camp. Crittenden recrossed his army that night, on a little steamboat named "Noble Ellis," leaving his camp equipage, twelve pieces of artillery, about 1,000 horses and mules and a number of small arms and the worst of our wounded. He retreated across the mountains about ninety miles to Gainesboro on the Cumberland River, where he received supplies from Nashville. This march in the dead of winter, was one of the most severe that I experienced during the four years of war. We lived almost the entire ten days on parched corn.

In the battle of Fishing Creek the following forces were engaged on each side: The Federals had in the engagement and

on the grounds, Ninth, Fourteenth, Seventeenth, and Thirty-first Ohio, Second Minnesota, Tenth Indiana, Carter's Brigade of East Tennesseeans, Fourth, Tenth, and Twelfth Kentucky Regiments, Wolford's Kentucky Cavalry Regiment and Kenney's, Wetmore's and Standart's Batteries, making fourteen regiments and twelve guns; and General Thomas reported that he lost thirty-nine killed, and two hundred and seven wounded; but General Crittenden said that the Federal loss was seven hundred.

The Confederates had the following commands in the battle: The Fifteenth Mississippi, forty-four killed, one hundred and fifty-three wounded; Twentieth Tennessee, thirty-five killed, fifty-nine wounded; Nineteenth Tennessee, ten killed, twenty-two wounded; Twenty-fifth Tennessee, ten killed, twenty-eight wounded; Seventeenth Tennessee, eleven killed, twenty-five wounded; Twenty-eighth Tennessee, three killed, four wounded; Twenty-ninth Tennessee, five killed, twelve wounded; Sixteenth Alabama, nine killed, five wounded, making one hundred and twenty-five killed, three hundred and eight wounded, and ninety-nine missing.

General Zollicoffer's remains were kindly treated by General Thomas, who had them embalmed and carried to Lebanon, Ky., thence to Louisville, and shipped to Nashville, where he was buried in the Old City Cemetery within two hundred yards of where I am now sitting while penning these words.

The right wing of Albert Sidney Johnston's line of defence was now broken, Forts Henry and Donaldson had fallen, and Crittenden's Army at Gainesboro, had orders to meet Johnston's forces from Bowling Green at Murfreesboro, on their way to Shiloh. The Twentieth Regiment camped at Murfreesboro for a few days, and while here Gov. Isham G. Harris and Secretary of State Whitthorne made speeches to the Twentieth Regiment to encourage them in the sadness they felt in leaving their homes, friends and State, to the mercies of an advancing foe; but this was unnecessary. When orders came we fell into line like soldiers and patriots and left all behind, many of us to return no more, for the cause of our beloved Southland.

On our way to Shiloh, we passed through Shelbyville, Fayetteville, Tenn., and Athens, Ala., on to Decatur, where we took the cars to Iuka, Miss., where we camped a few days, and while here an alarm came that the Yankees were moving on us from East Port, a landing some ten miles from Iuka on the Tennessee River. The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was marched out some three miles in that direction to meet them, but they did not come.

We were in a few days ordered fourteen miles further down the Memphis and Charleston R. R. to the little town of Burnsville, where we camped until ordered out to the battle field of Shiloh.

While at Burnsville, only a few days before the battle of Shiloh, the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment drew new Enfield rifles with new accoutrements and English ammunition, and if there was ever a body of men that appreciated a good thing, it was this regiment, for they had experienced the inferiority of their arms to that of their enemy on the battle field of Fishing Creek.

And now as we were well armed and equipped, we thought that the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was able to meet successfully a like number of any troops. When the accoutrements were being issued, one box turned out to contain thirty-three pairs of sewed boots. As there were ten companies in the Regiment, Colonel Battle, in order to acquaint the men with their new guns, ordered that three pairs of boots be issued to each company, and each Captain have his company shoot two hundred yards off hand, and the three best shots in each company to take the boots, the three remaining pairs of boots were shot for by the company officers.

While on dress parade at Burnsville, Miss., on the evening of April 3, 1862, was read to the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment Albert Sidney Johnston's "Famous Battle Order" that he issued just before the battle of Shiloh, which was as follows: —

HEADQUARTERS
ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Corinth, Miss., April 3, 1862.

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF MISSISSIPPI: —

I have put you in motion to offer battle to the invaders of your country. With the resolution and disciplined valor, becoming men fighting as you are for all worth living or dying for you can but march to a decisive victory over agrarian mercenaries sent to subjugate and despoil you of your liberties, property and honor. Remember the precious stake involved, remember the dependence of your mothers, your wives, your sisters and our children on the results, remember the fair, broad abounding land, the happy homes and ties that will be desolated by your defeat. The eyes and hopes of 8,000,000 of people rest upon you.

You are expected to show yourselves worthy of your valor and lineage, worthy of the women of the South, whose noble devotion in this war has never been exceeded in any time.

With such incentives to brave deeds, and with the trust that God is with us, your Generals will lead you confidently to the combat, assured of success.

A. S. JOHNSTON.
General Commanding.

When Genl. A. S. Johnston issued the above order, his army was composed of four Corps, commanded respectively: First Corps, Major Genl. Leonidas Polk; Second Corps, Major Genl. Braxton Bragg; Third Corps, Major Genl. W. J. Hardee; Fourth Corps, Brig. Genl. John C. Breckinridge.

First division Polk's Corps, commanded by Brig. Genl. Chas. Clark, was composed of the following regiments and brigades, with the names of the Brigade Commanders.

First Brigade, Col. R. M. Russell commanding: 11th Louisiana, 12th, 13th, and 22nd Tennessee, and Bankhead's Battery.

Second Brigade, Brig. Genl. A. P. Stewart commanding: 13th Arkansas, 4th, 5th, and 33rd Tennessee, and Stanford's Battery.

Second Division of Polk's Corps, Brig. Genl. B. F. Cheatham commanding : —

First Brigade, Brig. Genl. Bushrod Johnson, commanding : Blythe's Mississippi Battalion, —— and 15th Tennessee, 154th Tennessee Regiment (Senior), and Polk's Battery.

Second Brigade, Col. W. H. Stephens, commanding : 7th Kentucky, 1st, 6th, and 9th Tennessee, and Smith's Battery.

The First Corps numbered 9,136 men.

Second Corps, Major Genl. Braxton Bragg, commanding.

First Division, Brig. Genl. Daniel Ruggles, commanding : —

First Brigade, Col. R. L. Gibson : 1st Arkansas, 4th, 13th, and 19th Louisiana, and Bain's Battery.

Second Brigade, Brig. Genl. Patton Anderson : 1st Florida Battalion, 17th and 20th Louisiana, 9th Texas, Louisiana Confederate Guards, and Hodgean's Battery.

Third Brigade, Col. Preston Pond, Jr.: 16th and 18th Louisiana, Crescent Regt., La., —— Tennessee, and Ketchum's Battery.

Second Division of Bragg's Corps, Brig. Genl. James M. Withers, commanding : —

First Brigade, Brig. Genl. A. H. Gladden : 21st, 22nd, 25th, and 26th Alabama, 17th Louisiana, and Robertson's Battery.

Second Brigade, Brig. Genl. J. R. Chalmer's : 5th, 7th, 9th, and 10th Mississippi, 51st and 52nd Tennessee, and Gage's Battery.

Third Brigade, Brig. Genl. J. K. Jackson : 17th, 18th, and 19th Alabama, Alabama Battalion, Arkansas Battalion, 2nd Texas Battalion, and Garordey's Battery.

Second Corps numbered 13,589 men.

Third Corps, Major Genl. W. J. Hardee, commanding : —

First Brigade, Brig. Genl. T. C. Hindman : 2nd, 5th, 6th, and 7th Arkansas, 3rd Confederate, Miller's Battery, and Smith's Battery.

Second Brigade, Brig. Genl. Patrick Cleburne : 15th Arkansas, 6th Mississipi, 2nd, 35th, 23rd, and 24th Tennessee, Calvert's Battery, Trigg's Battery, and Watson's Battery.

Third Brigade, Brig. Genl. S. A. M. Wood : 7th and 16th Alabama, 8th Arkansas, 9th Arkansas Battalion, 3rd Mississippi Battalion, 27th, 44th, and 55th Tennessee, and Harper's Battery.

Third Corps numbered 6,789 men.

Fourth and Reserve Corps, Brig. Genl. J. C. Breckinridge, commanding : —

First Brigade, Col. R. P. Trabue : 4th and 31st Alabama Battalions, 15th Arkansas, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Kentucky, Crew's Tennessee Battalion, Byrn's Battery, and Lyon's Battery.

Second Brigade, Brig. Genl. J. S. Bowen : 9th and 10th Arkansas, 2nd Confederate, 1st Missouri, and Hudson's Battery.

Third Brigade, Col. W. S. Statham : 15th and 22nd Mississippi, 19th, 20th, 28th, and 45th Tennessee, and Rutledge's Battery.

The Reserve Corps numbered 6,439 men.

Johnston had 4,382 Cavalry under the command of Brig. Genl. F. Gardner. This gave A. S. Johnston a force of 35,953 infantry and artillery with the 4,382 cavalry added, a sum total of 40,335 soldiers to fight the battle of Shiloh.

Genl. U. S. Grant was at Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee River, eighteen miles from Corinth with five divisions of Federals, each averaging 9,000 men, making a total of 45,000, under the following division Commanders : Prentiss, Sherman, Hurlburt, McClernand, and Smith ; Genl. Lew Wallace's Division of 8,000 was five miles below Pittsburg Landing at Crump's Landing, and was not in the first day's engagement.

Genl. Don Carlos Buell was moving from Nashville out through Columbia on to the Tennessee River by forced marches, with an army of 25,000 men in four divisions, commanded by Generals Nelson, McCook, Crittenden and Thomas, to form a junction with Grant at Pittsburg Landing, which would have given Genl. Grant an army of 78,000 men, while the Confederate Commander only had 40,335 soldiers to meet them in a death struggle.

Johnston determined to move on Grant's 45,000, with his 40,335 and crush him before Buell could reach him ; so he moved out from Corinth and Burnsville on April 4, with his commands on the following roads.

First Corps under General Polk, on the Bark Road ; Second Corps, under General Bragg, on the Monterey Road and Savannah Road, passing by the McKay House, this Corps being the largest Corps, was moved in two wings, its left wing resting on Owl Creek when formed in line of battle, this creek flowing into

Snake Creek, formed the Confederate's left and the Federal's right of line of battle.

Third Corps under General Hardee on the Ridge Road to the Bark Road.

The Reserve Corps composed of the Brigades of Trabue, Bowen and Statham under Brig. Genl. J. C. Breckinridge, moved out from Burnsville and struck the Monterey Road. The Twentieth Tennessee was in Statham's Brigade. All of this moving out was on the 4th of April, and the Army camped that night on the various roads. On the 5th, we moved cautiously, and formed in two lines of battle that day and that night with our left resting on Owl and Snake Creek, and our right on Lick Creek. We laid in line of battle all night and were not allowed to have any fire or loud talking, we were so close to the enemy. Before sunrise on the morning of the 6th, our skirmishers began to advance, and the great battle of Shiloh had opened.

The Yankee skirmishers gave way as ours advanced, our first line of battle followed close on our skirmish line, and in a short while it seemed as if our whole line to our left was engaged. Statham's Brigade was near the extreme right, and in a short while our front line was into it too, and drove the Federals out of their camps. It was now about eleven o'clock, when the Reserve Corps was ordered in.

Statham's Brigade was composed of the Twentieth Tennessee on the right and then the Forty-fifth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-eighth Tennessee, Twenty-second and Fifteenth Mississippi, and Rutledge's Battery. We passed through the camps that the Yankees had been driven from, then across a mule lot of about three or four acres, and beyond this lot, McArthur's Brigade of W. H. L. Wallace's Division of Federals were laying in a ravine waiting for us, and they gave Statham's Brigade a warm reception. McArthur's Brigade was composed of Ninth Illinois on his left, the Twelfth Illinois, Eighth Ohio, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Missouri.

The Twentieth Tennessee met the Ninth Illinois Regiment in a death struggle on the edge of the ravine, which lasted one hour and a half, and during that time the Forty-fifth Tennessee that had never been in an engagement before became confused in

passing the stake and ridered fences of the mule lot, and being a little in the rear and to the left of the Twentieth mistook us for the enemy, and poured a very destructive fire into us. Colonel Battle sent a courier to Colonel Searcy commanding the Forty-fifth, to tell him that he was firing into his own men. About this time the Federals brought up a regiment and flanked the Twentieth Tennessee on the right, which caused the right wing of the regiment to swing back as far as the regimental colors.

In a few minutes a Louisiana Regiment came to our assistance and drove back the flanking party. The right wing of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment advanced with the Louisiana Regiment and our line was re-established.

Colonel Battle's horse was killed here. The battle now had been raging at this point for more than one hour; I had fired thirty rounds while on the edge of this ravine, and the barrel of my new Enfield rifle had become so hot that I could only hold it by its wooden stock. It was also here that Corporal W. S. Battle, of Co. "B," a son of our Colonel, was killed; and about this time Genl. John C. Breckinridge, who was on a magnificent bay horse, rode up to Capt. Thomas B. Smith, (afterward Genl. Smith), who was in command of Company "B," of the Twentieth Tennessee, and ordered the charge that swept McArthur's Brigade out of that ravine and drove them pell mell for five hundred yards across a level burnt district to another ravine, where they attempted to rally.

The Twentieth Tennessee was following the Ninth Illinois so closely that they were on a portion of them before they could form. A little red headed Irish boy from Company "A" and I captured a First Lieutenant and two privates at the second ravine. The game little Irish boy took charge of the two privates and I the Lieutenant. We started to the rear with them, and in the confusion and smoke we became separated, and while escorting my fine looking prisoner, (for he was of a magnificent physique, of about two hundred pound weight, and finely dressed), back over the burned district that we had driven them, we came across his Captain, who was killed, and he remarked that his Captain had on his person some very valuable papers that would be of much service to his wife. He asked my per-

mission to take them, which I refused, because his Captain had buckled on him a sword and a pistol, and as I had disarmed my prisoner once, I could not let him have an opportunity of rearming himself. He and I were alone in the bushes and smoke, and I knew he was a powerful man and I nothing but a lad. He insisted that he should get the papers and started towards his Captain, when I was forced to cock my Enfield and level it on my prisoner, (which I regretted to do), and told him if he touched his Captain that he would be shot. He did not wait for a second order. His Captain was also a fine looking soldier about six feet tall, with long sandy whiskers, and was splendidly dressed.

After my prisoner and I had passed his Captain going to the rear, we entered into a conversation about the battle. He told me that he was a First Lieutenant in the Ninth Illinois Regiment, McArthur's Brigade, his Captain and about twenty of his company had been killed, and he did not know how many had been wounded. I took my prisoner on to the rear and guarded him until Prentiss' Brigade surrendered, and put him in with them and the officers took charge of me and made me help guard the prisoners all night in the rain.

I hope I will be pardoned for mentioning myself so often in this connection, but I have to do this to prove the identity of the regiment that the Twentieth Tennessee was fighting.

The lines of the Twentieth Tennessee was formed near the second ravine, moved through some abandoned camps and was halted, and for some reason waited and saw the enemy reform their lines, when an artillery duel took place. The Twentieth Regiment was not engaged any more that evening, and about dark the Regiment was withdrawn a short distance and lay in line of battle. It rained and rained almost the entire night, and the Yankee's Gunboats were shelling the woods all around with their big guns, and we there in the mud and rain waiting for another day that the machines of death might begin their work.

On the morning of the seventh, Statham's Brigade was formed in line and took two or three positions, and later went to the support of a battery that was having a duel at close range.

The enemy's infantry was formed and reinforced by twenty-

five thousand fresh troops under General Buell during the night, when our exhausted troops, who had not slept any for two nights and were in the battle of Sunday, moved on the enemy who were fresh and in greatly superior numbers, we were repulsed and our battery taken.

The command rallied about four hundred yards in rear of the battery in an irregular line, when two regiments reinforced us and we moved forward again to retake the battery that we had lost, which we did, and the fighting was at such close range that the smoke from the enemy's battery blinded us. We not only retook our battery but also another battery of the enemy's and re-established our line where we were in the early morning.

It was in the first charge on the morning of the seventh, that the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment sustained its heaviest loss, by the wounding and capturing of our colonel, and the death of the gifted, gallant and brave Joel Allen Battle, Jr., who was Adjutant of the regiment.

He was severely wounded in the battle of Fishing Creek, Jan. 19, in the shoulder, from which he had not recovered, and went into the battle of Shiloh with his arm in a sling, went all through the battle on Sunday and was killed early Monday morning. His remains fell into the hands of the enemy, members of the Eighty-first Ohio Volunteer Infantry, some of whom were students with Joel A. Battle, Jr., at the Miami University of Ohio in the years 1859–1860, who found there a former fellow student dead on the bloody field of Shiloh, and had him decently buried. The names of these generous Federal soldiers were Capt. R. N. Adams, Lieut. W. H. Chamberlain, Sergeant John R. Chamberlain, Adjutant Frank Evans and Private Joseph Wilson, all from the same regiment, thus showing in what esteem he was held by his former associates at college, but now his enemies on the battle field.

After the second charge of the Twentieth Tennessee on Monday morning nearly all of the heavy fighting was over, but there was heavy skirmishing the greater part of the afternoon; until late in the evening the Confederate forces began a retreat back to Corinth. General Breckinridge's Division acted as a rear guard and laid near the field of battle for three days, and the

enemy with all of their fresh troops made no offer whatever to pursue.

The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment went into the battle of Shiloh with three hundred and eighty men rank and file, and lost in killed and wounded one hundred and fifty-eight. Our Colonel was wounded and captured, our Adjutant killed, and the regiment was, soon after the battle, reorganized.

The regiment that the Twentieth Tennessee met and fought at such close range for one hour and a half, on Sunday, the first day of the engagement, was the Ninth Illinois, and the official report of Col. A. Mersy who commanded that regiment in the battle, stated that his loss was sixty-one officers and enlisted men killed on the field, nineteen officers and two hundred and eighty-one enlisted men were wounded, and five captured; making a total loss of three hundred and sixty-six out of six hundred men and officers that he carried into the fight.

The greatest loss to the army of Mississippi was the death of that towering military genius Albert Sidney Johnston, at 2 : 30 o'clock on Sunday, who with far seeing military insight had conceived, planned and fought one of the best conducted battles of the war, and had fought it with raw troops, inferior numbers poorly armed, against an army nearly twice his number and largely composed of regulars, superbly armed.

The Confederate Army lost in the Battle of Shiloh, which lasted for eighteen hours of the fighting, 1,728 killed dead on the field, 8,012 wounded, 925 missing, making a total loss of 10,665 out of an army of 40,335.

General Grant fought his five divisions that were at Pittsburg Landing, 45,000 strong; Lew Wallace's division at Crump's Landing, 8,000; Buell's Army or four divisions 25,000 strong, making an army of 78,000 men, and lost in killed on the field 1,754, wounded, 8,408, captured 2,885, total 13,047 out of an army of 78,000. General Grant also lost five regimental colors, made of blue silk, twenty Federal flags, one garrison flag and two guidons, total colors lost, twenty-eight, small arms about eight thousand, artillery forty pieces.

The people of the South can never pay the debt they owe to the name of Albert Sidney Johnston, neither can the people of

the North pay the debt they owe to the private Federal soldier who fired the shot that caused the death of Genl. Albert Sidney Johnston, for one hour more of life to General Johnston, and Grant's Army would have been captured or swept into the Tennessee River, and U. S. Grant would hardly have been known in history.

"But God works in a mysterious way, his wonders to perform."

The Confederate Army now back at Corinth under the command of Genl. G. T. Beauregard, was largely reinforced, in fact was the largest Confederate Army ever collected in the West, and had on its rolls of the different branches of the service sick, well, detached, and absent, 112,092. It was here that the Confederate Army was reorganized, and the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry remodeled itself, Capt. Thomas Benton Smith, who was Captain of Company "B" was elected Colonel, he was about twenty-two years of age. Capt. Jno. S. Gooch of Company "E" was elected Lieutenant Colonel, he being only about nineteen years of age; Frank Lavender, Captain of Company "H" became Major.

The reorganization of the different companies is detailed in the company histories. This reorganization took place May 8th, 1862, and while here at Corinth we were in the left wing of the army and did no fighting but were ordered out several times with that expectation. We were all anxious to see how the regiment and different companies would behave under their newly elected officers. We were not disappointed, the Twentieth Regiment under the leadership of the invincible Smith, was truly a fighting machine.

I would like to pay Col. T. B. Smith this compliment here. The first year of the war, I was in the same company with him, and during the three remaining years of the war served under him as Colonel, and I have often said that I would rather risk him to fight seven days in the week from daylight until dark than any soldier I ever knew.

While General Beauregard was at Corinth with the largest Confederate Army that was ever gathered together in the West, he only had an effective total of 52,706, on account of sickness,

and absentees from various causes; while General Halleck was moving on him from Pittsburg Landing with an army estimated at 120,000 men, well supplied with all that an army required. After several heavy skirmishes on our right near Farmington, and on the Monterey Road between the commands of Generals Price and Van Dorn on the part of the Confederates, with no decisive results, General Beauregard decided to retreat further South, so he evacuated Corinth on the night of May the 30th, 1862, and moved his army to Baldwin and encamped there for a few days, but the location did not suit, so he moved further South to Tupelo, fifty-two miles from Corinth where we camped for two or three weeks.

It was about this time that General Bragg succeeded General Beauregard to the command of the Army of Mississippi. General Bragg moved a portion of his army to West Point, Miss., and it was about this time that the Army of Mississippi changed its base of operations.

About the middle of April, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed the Conscript Act, which read: "All soldiers now in the Confederate service between the ages of eighteen and forty-five shall be retained until the close of the war, and all soldiers who are over forty-five years of age and under eighteen will be discharged, and a bounty offered to all such for re-enlistment." The commissioned officers that were not re-elected were allowed to resign and choose the branch of service they preferred. The same provision that applied to the soldiers applied to the civilians, and an enrolling officer was placed in each civil district to enforce the Conscript Act. The exemption included all civil officers, physicians, ministers of the gospel, millers, shoe-makers, black-smiths, school teachers, government employees and those who owned a certain number of negroes. This last clause brought about a good deal of comment from the soldiers in the field, but it was done that the owners of the negroes might stay at home and make the negro labor more effective in raising provisions for the army. It is true the ranks of the army were apparently considerably swollen, but virtually they were weakened. The hearts of but few of the Conscripts were in the cause, and it took efficient soldiers to look after them. Some few fought

as became Southern soldiers, and stayed with us to the end, but a great many deserted at the first opportunity.

While Bragg's Army was at West Point, Memphis and New Orleans had fallen, and the Army under Halleck was being dispersed to other points. The Federal gunboats had ascended the Mississippi and captured Baton Rouge and were threatening Vicksburg. General Breckinridge with his division was ordered from West Point to Vicksburg. (The Twentieth Regiment still remained in Breckinridge's Division after the reorganization). We moved west through Pontotoc over to Abbeville, on the Mississippi Central R. R., and took the cars for Jackson, Miss., and there changed cars for Vicksburg, forty-five miles distant, where we arrived at the Big Black River Bridge, June 28, some five miles from Vicksburg. Next morning we cooked breakfast and marched down the railroad to Vicksburg, Statham's Brigade was halted in a deep cut on the railroad about three hundred yards from the Mississippi River; the enemy was that morning shelling the city of Vicksburg from Farragut's Fleet, some five or six miles below the city. While Statham's Brigade was laying in the cut, a Confederate regiment had marched down near the water's edge and occupied a brick warehouse, their marching in must have attracted the attention of the Federal Fleet, and as a number of those large mortar shells had burst near the warehouse and some large fragments came crushing through the roof, this regiment became stampeded and left the warehouse.

General Breckinridge was an eye witness to the affair, and said, that he would send a regiment there that would stay, so he ordered the Twentieth Tennessee, who promptly moved into the warehouse, Colonel Smith knew that there was no enemy close by. He formed his regiment in line and ordered them to stack arms, and rest until further orders, he placed two guards at each door with fixed bayonets with orders to bayonet the first man who attempted to pass out without permission, but this was unnecessary. The Federal Fleet seemed to have increased their fire, one shell tore off one corner of the warehouse and another burst over it, and a fragment that would weigh about one hundred pounds came crashing through the roof and fell among the

men, but injured no one. The regiment stayed there until ordered out.

Statham's Brigade was then taken over behind the ridge from the lower batteries, and went into camp, this brigade picketed the line that was along the edge of the swamp that was between our lower batteries and the river, and the Yankees would send a detachment each night from their boats into this swamp, and between the Yankees, green lizards, mosquitoes and alligators it was indeed quite interesting for us.

When General Breckinridge with his division arrived here on June 28, he found Genl. M. L. Smith in command with the following troops: Twentieth and Twenty-eighth Louisiana Regiments, five companies of Stark's Cavalry, four companies of the Sixth Mississippi Battalion, Ridley's Light Battery and twenty-nine stationary guns, two of which were ten-inch Columbiad's, the rest thirty-two and forty-two pounders of old style.

An amusing thing took place with a Frenchman while the heavy firing was going on, on the 28th. He said, "I confess I no like ze bomb, I can no fight him back." And that was the reason that it was so hard to keep men in the warehouse. Breckinridge brought to the relief of Vicksburg at the first seige, the Brigades of Helm, Preston, Bowen and Statham and while our stay at Vicksburg was about one month, we were entertained nearly every day and night by shells thrown from the mortar fleet below the city. During the night when one of their mortar guns would fire, we could see the light as it ascended into the skies like a great meteor circling through the heavens with a tail sometimes about forty or fifty feet long. This was one of the grandest sights that I ever witnessed. If this enormous shell should strike the ground before it exploded it would often go fifteen feet into the sand and clay. I have seen these shells go into the ground at the roots of good sized trees, explode and tear the trees up by the roots, and when they started in your direction you would not know which direction to go to get out of the way. Most of the shelling was done by the lower fleet. There were about fifty gun boats, mortar boats and transports in the upper fleet, which arrived here after Memphis and Island No. 10 had fallen. This constant shelling of Vicksburg went on for sixty-



Col. W. M. Shy.

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seven days when the two fleets disappeared and the first siege of Vicksburg was over, and it was estimated that 25,000 of these enormous missiles were thrown into the city of Vicksburg, and yet the casualties in the batteries were only seven killed and fifteen wounded, and only two citizens were killed in the city.

It was estimated that three hundred guns were used against the defences of Vicksburg, and not a single gun of the Confederates was dismounted.

The first siege of Vicksburg ended July 27. While here the lamented and gallant Genl. W. S. Statham died of disease, which was a great loss to the Confederates. While the first siege of Vicksburg was going on, day after day in a monotonous manner, on the morning of July 15, about eight o'clock, the scene was changed by one of the most gallant performances that was ever enacted in the naval history of the world.

In the fall of 1861, at Memphis, was begun the construction of two ironclad rams, one was named the Tennessee and the other Arkansas. When Island No. 10 fell, these two rams were unfinished, the Tennessee was burned, and the Arkansas was brought down the Mississippi River to the mouth of the Yazoo River, and taken up the Yazoo to Greenwood, where she was completed under the supervision of Lieut. Isaac N. Brown, C. S. N., who was in the United States Navy before the war, from Mississippi. Before Lieutenant Brown could finish his boat, Commander A. W. Ellet, who had heard of Rebel gun-boats being built up the Yazoo, went up that river sixty-five miles with two Federal rams to destroy them. As Ellet came up the Yazoo the Confederates set fire to some unfinished boats and cut them loose, and before this fiery advance, Ellet and his two rams were run out of the Yazoo River, and he didn't find the Arkansas Ram that Brown was at work on.

The Arkansas was completed, and in appearance suggested both the Merrimac and the Monitor, having the ends above water like the latter, and with the armored shed of the former shortened up to a "gun-box" amid-ships. The armor was ordinary railroad iron. The battery was respectable for that period, ten guns, including two 64-pounders and two 100-pounders, and was

manned principally by men from the late river fleet, commanded by experienced officers from the old United States Navy.

On July 12, Commander Brown dropped down to Satartia bar, and after a day spent in organization and drill started down to encounter the enemy's fleet. At the mouth of Sunflower creek it was found that steam had wet the powder in the forward magazine so as to render it unfit for use, and it was necessary to tie up and spread the powder out in the sun to dry. Finally, after more vexatious delays, the ram entered the broad expanse of Old River, and was there met at dawn, on the 15th of July, by the ironclad Carondelet, the wooden gunboat Tyler, and the ram Queen of the West.

The Arkansas immediately started at full speed for the Carondelet, which fired one gun and then turned tail, followed by the other vessels. The Arkansas opened fire with her 8-inch guns, and the 64-pound projectiles were seen to have marked effect on the armor of the Federal ironclad. The latter and the other Federal boats kept up a spirited fire from their stern guns. The pilot house of the Arkansas was imperfectly covered with 1-inch bars, and a shot from the enemy wrought havoc in that quarter, mortally wounding Chief Pilot Hodges and disabling Shacklett, the Yazoo River Pilot. James Brady, a Missourian, then took the wheel, and all went well until the Tyler, slowing up, came within gunshot, and a minie ball struck Brown in the temple and momentarily rendered him unconscious. On recovering he resumed command and passing the Carondelet, which took refuge in shallow water, he drove the other two boats before him into the Mississippi River.

On turning down the Mississippi towards Vicksburg, it was found that the temperature in the engine room had run up to 130 degrees, so that the engines could only be tended by frequent relays of men, and the connections between the furnaces and the smokestacks had been shot away; so that only twenty pounds of steam were available, barely enough to run the engines. This destroyed all hopes of using the vessel as a ram in the conflict with the great Federal fleet which now lay before Brown and his men like a forest of masts and smokestacks. But they had no mind to do else than what in fact was the only thing they could

do — go ahead with the current. Undauntedly they advanced to the attack of what Brown described as appearing like a whole navy, four or five ironclads, six or seven rams and the fleet of Farragut generally.

As the Arkansas neared the head of the line she opened with her bow guns on the Hartford, Farragut's flagship while at New Orleans, and soon all her guns were in action. The day was calm and the smoke settled down so that the gunners could only aim at the flashes of the fire which encircled them on all sides. The shock of missiles was continuous on the sides of the gallant Arkansas, and the rain of shrapnel made it impossible to remain on the shield-deck. Still she replied with unceasing vigor, firing in every direction "without the fear of hitting a friend or missing an enemy." The approach of a ram at the stern was diverted by the powerful rifle guns. "Another ram was across our way ahead," says Brown, in an account of this wonderful fight. "As I gave the order, 'Go through her, Brady,' her steam went into the air and her crew into the river. A shot from one of our bow guns had gone through her boiler and saved the collision. We passed by and through the brave fellows struggling in the water under a shower of missiles intended for us. When near the end of this ordeal, a large ironclad was seen square in our front, which escaped ramming by steaming ahead, receiving the Arkansas' last shot in the fight, which must have gone through the vessel from rudder to prow."

As the ram approached Vicksburg, the lower fleet was seen, one vessel aground and in flames. But the Arkansas had no desire to engage them immediately. Her smokestack was cut to pieces, a section of plating torn from the side, and her dead and wounded demanded attention. Amid enthusiastic cheers from our land forces the ram made a landing opposite the City Hall, and dropping down to the coal depot began coaling and repairing under fire of the lower fleet.

This movement of Brown's compelled part of the fleet above the city to drop down again below Vicksburg, which was begun that evening. The Arkansas, notwithstanding her crippled condition, gallantly put out into the stream, but was immediately still more disabled by a 160-pound iron bolt which crashed

through her engine room, injuring the engine and killing, among others, Pilot Gilmore, and knocking overboard the heroic steersman, Brady. It also destroyed all the medical supplies and caused a very serious leak. Nevertheless, the indomitable gunners stood to their work, sending broadside after broadside into the Federal boats as they dropped past. A few days later, as the Arkansas lay at anchor with only men enough to man two guns, and engines disabled, the ironclad Essex and ram Queen of the West endeavored to cut her out, or run her down under the guns of the batteries; but, though killing half the crew and further disabling the Arkansas, failed in their purpose and themselves suffered severely. The fourth and final battle left the Arkansas, as Brown is fully justified in saying, "though reduced in crew to twenty men all told for duty, still defiant in the presence of a hostile force, perhaps exceeding in strength that which fought under Nelson at Trafalgar."

In the official report of Genl. M. L. Smith, Statham's Brigade was spoken of in very complimentary terms, which said, "The Brigade under the lamented Statham, showed a bravery in guarding the front of attack assigned him that could not be surpassed.

"On one occasion having forced his way through a swamp deemed impassible, he made a rush upon the mortar boats, moored to the shore, driving the force guarding on board, and had the position of the boats been accurately known, would have taken possession of and destroyed several."

On July 27, 1862, Genl. John C. Breckinridge, with his division, left Vicksburg with less than 4,000 men, to fight the battle of Baton Rouge. The Federal General, Williams, after the attack on Vicksburg had been abandoned, fell back down the Mississippi River and went into camp at Baton Rouge, La., and Breckinridge's expedition was against him. When Breckinridge left Vicksburg, he went by rail to Jackson, Miss., thence to Tangipahoa, La., there a great many of our command fell victims to malarial fever. We had been on night duty so much in the swamps at Vicksburg, that the systems of the men had become so saturated with malaria, and now being exposed to the hot August sun, so that only about 2,600 of Breckinridge's 4,000

reached the battle field of Baton Rouge, on account of sickness. At Camp Moore, General Ruggles, with a small force, joined the expedition. Here the forces were divided into two divisions, one under Genl. Charles Clark, the other under General Ruggles, and the entire force moved west to Baton Rouge. The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was in Genl. Charles Clark's Division. Everything was ready for the attack on the morning of August 5, when it was understood that the Arkansas Ram would be on hand to engage the Federal Fleet, while General Breckinridge would crush General Williams on land, who had about the same number of troops as Breckinridge had. (The Confederates did not ask for anything more than to meet equal numbers.)

The famous little ram, although not in condition, with her commander sick and disabled, yet she set sail under Lieutenant Stephens for Baton Rouge. In her efforts to arrive on the morning of August 5, according to orders, she broke one of her engines, in sight of her destination; and they saw the Federal gunboat, Essex, approaching her while in this condition. With the other engine, Lieutenant Stephens drove her ashore, landed his men, set fire to this little floating tornado, that defied both of the Federal fleets in whose combined strength was nearly one hundred vessels, and her colors were blown into the air, and her hull went to the bottom of the Mississippi River in sight of her foes.

General Breckinridge not knowing the fate of the Arkansas Ram, formed his lines on the morning of August 5, and as they were about ready to move forward, a roaring noise was heard in our front, and about that time some one yelled out, "Yankee cavalry!" This threw everything into confusion and it turned out to be a portion of our partisan ranger cavalry that had become stampeded and some of it ran through the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment and killed W. A. Hayes of Company "B." Order was soon restored and our lines reformed, and we moved on the enemy's entrenched camp, and drove them from it and burned the camp. The Federals fell back to their second camp, which was attacked by the Confederates, one of our brigades being led by General Breckinridge in person, when the enemy was driven back under their gunboats for protection, as they

were at Shiloh. Breckinridge ordered his command to fall back, and after the battle, retired to Comite River, ten miles from Baton Rouge, where his command camped for several days.

Breckinridge lost in this engagement four hundred and forty-six killed, wounded and missing, our severest loss was the death of Brig. Genl. Charles Clark, and the gallant Captain Hughes, commanding the Twenty-second Mississippi, and a number of other gallant officers; and the wounding of Colonels Helm, A. P. Thompson and H. W. Allen, and a number of gallant officers who were leading their men. Among the most conspicuous, on the field of Baton Rouge, was Major Lucien Brown of Tennessee, who was chief of the commissary department of Breckinridge's Division. He was an old man about sixty-five years of age, with long white hair, armed with only a walking cane, and could be seen everywhere in the thickest of the fight, riding from one portion of the line to the other, rallying and encouraging the men.

In the Federal's report they claim to have lost three hundred and eighty-three, including General Williams, their commander. The Federal gunboats were the only thing that saved their army from capture.

On August 13, 1862, General Breckinridge received orders from General Van Dorn to move his force from his camp on Comite River to Port Hudson.

On August 18, General Ruggles received orders from General Breckinridge to take command of all troops in this military district, except the troops from Kentucky and Tennessee, and they were to be sent by way of Clinton to Camp Moore, and from Camp Moore to Jackson, Miss., where we camped a while. The two Governments were at this time exchanging prisoners at Vicksburg, and several men of the Twentieth Regiment who had been captured on the different fields of battle were exchanged and rejoined us here. We then boarded the cars and went to Holly Springs in North Mississippi, and in a day or two we were ordered by way of Jackson, Miss., Mobile and Montgomery, Ala., via Atlanta, Ga., to Knoxville, Tenn. We went by rail to Jackson, Mobile, Montgomery, Atlanta and on to Knoxville, with the expectation of following General Bragg into

Kentucky, and while here learned of the great battle of Perryville, and how the Tennessee troops had distinguished themselves on this bloody field, winning fresh laurels for the Volunteer State. We also learned that Bragg was coming out of Kentucky, and Breckinridge's command was ordered to meet Bragg's forces at Murfreesboro. We arrived there by rail about the middle of October, and went into camp out on the Woodbury Road about one mile from town. In about two weeks the Twentieth and Forty-fifth Tennessee Regiments were ordered ten miles north of Murfreesboro on the Nashville pike to Stewart's Creek, to support a lot of our cavalry at Lavergne, still five miles further north toward Nashville. While here and at Murfreesboro a great many of the Twentieth and Forty-fifth Regiments got permission to go home to see their families, as many lived in the surrounding country near here. While we were in camp at Stewart's Creek, an alarm came one day that the Yankees in force had driven our cavalry from Lavergne, which was so, and our two regiments of infantry were hurried down there as quickly as possible. When within about one and a half miles of the village we were filed to the right into the cedars and rocks and formed line of battle, and marched in line of battle through cedar jungles until we reached the south edge of the village, and as we went in on one side, the Yankees had burned the village and were going out on the other, and as they did not halt to entertain us, we then retired to our camp back at the creek.

Also while here at Stewart's Creek, the weather had begun to get quite cool and a snow of about two inches fell and we had a rousing rabbit hunt. The entire regiment formed in line of battle and swept through the woods with great success. A portion of the Forty-fifth Tennessee and one Company of the Twentieth Tennessee were largely raised in this community. The boys of the Twentieth knew that the Forty-fifth had in their camp a great many good things just from home, and now how to get them was the question. So the Twentieth Regiment got up a snow ball fight with them and a charge was ordered, and the boys of the Twentieth mixed up with the Forty-fifth in their own camp and the battle waxed warm, and while about

three fourths of the Twentieth Regiment were waging war in the heart of the Forty-fifth's camp, the other one-fourth was packing off into our camp whatever they could get. When the fight was over the Forty-fifth did not have near as many good things as they did when it opened, they even lost a large per cent. of their cooking utensils, and the best of their arms. I fared badly in this charge. While in the thickest of the fight two large soldiers caught me and I was thrown into a ditch, one of them held me while the other nearly smothered me with snow, but I was doing my best to entertain them for I knew that some of our own men were confiscating what the Forty-fifth had. These two regiments, about December 1, were ordered back to Murfreesboro and went into camp on the little ridge just west of the depot, and remained there until we were ordered out to the battle field of Murfreesboro. On Christmas day the officers of the Regiment bought a barrel of whiskey for the men, that they might spend a "merry Christmas," and before night they were sorry for it, we had many a drunken fight and knock-down before the day closed. On the second night in the Christmas, the soldiers of Bragg's Army had a big ball in the Court House, which was the last ball that many of us ever attended, it was a magnificent display of chivalry and beauty.

Now the Battle of Perryville had been fought on October 8, 1862, and Bragg was coming out of Kentucky with his forces heading towards Murfreesboro. Buell's forces were heading in the direction of Glasgow, and Bowling Green, Ky., on their way to Nashville.

About this time an order issued from the War Department at Washington, dated October 24, 1862, relieving Genl. Don Carlos Buell of the command of the army of the Ohio and creating the Department of the Cumberland, and putting Genl. W. S. Rosecrans in command. General Rosecrans assumed command on October 30, while at Louisville. On November 2, he moved to Bowling Green, and it was here that he issued an order forming the army of the Cumberland into three divisions, viz: the right wing, the center, and the left wing; the right under McCook with three divisions; center under Thomas, with five divisions, and the left under Crittenden, with three divisions, making in

all eleven divisions of infantry. Genl. D. S. Stanly was put in command of his cavalry.

Rosecrans now pressed on to Nashville to reinforce the garrison that Buell had left when Bragg forced him back into Kentucky. Bragg now at Murfreesboro reorganizing the Confederate forces and Rosecrans at Nashville, only thirty miles away, getting the Federal Army in condition for a winter campaign, nothing took place until December 26, except cavalry skirmishes and cavalry raids.

Bragg being fully aware of Rosecran's intentions of moving against him, on December 7, he ordered Genl. John H. Morgan with his cavalry force of six hundred men, and the Second and Ninth Kentucky Infantry, seven hundred strong, under Colonel Hunt, and Cobb's Battery of four guns, two of which were not in the battle, to move north, cross the Cumberland River near Hartsville and attack Col. A. B. Moore, who was at Hartsville with three full regiments of infantry, one of cavalry and two rifle cannons, in all two thousand men. After a fight of one hour and a half, the entire Federal Command surrendered to General Morgan, who crossed his two thousand prisoners and their arms and a large quantity of army stores over the Cumberland, while there was a Federal force of five thousand men at Castallian Springs, ten miles from Hartsville in the direction of Gallatin.

This feat alone stamped Morgan as a masterful raider. There was no rest for Morgan and his gallant men. On the morning of December 22, he and his men were on the road to Kentucky, Bragg had ordered him to destroy the Louisville and Nashville Railroad and break Rosecrans' connection with Louisville. On the 24th, he had a skirmish with a battalion of Michigan cavalry, on the 25th he attacked Johnson's Regiment of Cavalry, then a stockade at Bacon Creek and caused it to surrender, and burned the railroad bridge ; he then passed on fourteen miles to Nolin, where another stockade surrendered without a fight, and here destroyed the bridge. On the 27th of December Morgan captured Elizabethtown, with six hundred infantry in command of Lieutenant Colonel Smith, and next day moved along the railroad destroying it for some distance.

The principal object of Morgan's raid was the destruction of the two great trestles at Muldraugh's Hill, one of which was eighty and the other ninety feet high and each five hundred feet long, with the garrison of eight hundred men which he captured; this being accomplished, he moved south to Tennessee.

In the meantime the Federal Cavalry had moved out to Franklin, eighteen miles south of Nashville, and had a spirited engagement with some Confederate troops.

On December 26, 1862, General Rosecrans put his army in motion to attack Bragg at Murfreesboro, and moved out on the following roads with an army of 46,940 men, Bragg being at Murfreesboro with an army of 37,712 men, according to the official returns.

Bragg on the 26th was at Murfreesboro, his center under Polk, his left wing under Hardee at Triune and Shelbyville, and his right wing at Readyville twelve miles away under Genl. J. P. McCown, and his cavalry under Genl. Joe Wheeler, that game little fighter who was so ably seconded by Generals Wharton and Pegram.

On the morning of December 26, Rosecrans ordered his whole army forward, except a garrison left at Nashville. The right wing under McCook composed of the divisions of Johnson, Davis and Sheridan, moved out on the Nolensville Pike; Thomas sent two Divisions out the Franklin Pike to Brentwood, and then took the Wilson Pike east towards Triune in order to threaten Hardee's left, a portion of whose corps was at Triune. Davis, who was in command of McCook's advance division, moved out the Nolensville Pike seven miles to the Edmondson Pike, and took this pike about six miles to Primm's blacksmith shop on the old Franklin and Jefferson dirt road, which he followed one mile and then took the right hand road to Nolensville, (I was born and raised within one mile of the forks of this road). In the meantime McCook, with the two divisions of Johnson and Sheridan, had moved on towards Nolensville on the Nolensville Pike, and a portion of them camped all around my mother's house that night; the next morning, not a chicken, turkey, goose, hog, horse or cow could be found on the place, and not a

rail near the house. The Yankees were the first to adopt the "no fence law" in our section.

Rosecrans' center moved out the Murfreesboro Pike with the divisions of Rousseau, Negley and Fry, having sent two of his divisions out the Franklin and Wilson Pikes. The left wing under Crittenden, composed of the divisions of Wood, Palmer and Van Cleve also moved out the Murfreesboro Pike, and at the Chicken Pike out four miles took to the left, also at the Old Jefferson Pike, some eighteen miles out, both leading in a direction to the left of Murfreesboro. The Federal's advance struck the Confederate pickets about Lavergne on this pike, and they gradually fell back, but the right wing under McCook, had heavy skirmishing from the first day with Wharton's Cavalry, just south of Nolensville and at Triune, it almost amounted to a battle.

Hardee had now begun to fall back on the Triune and Murfreesboro dirt road to Murfreesboro about fourteen miles distant; McCown's Command of two divisions were brought in from Readyville. The Federals continued to press forward on the different roads, forcing back the Confederate Cavalry until they arrived in line of battle in front of Bragg's forces already drawn up in front of Murfreesboro. This took General Rosecrans four days to accomplish, at the rate of less than eight miles per day.

Nearly all of Rosecran's army was in front of Murfreesboro on the night of December 29, with Thomas in the center, which was about the Nashville Pike.

McCook on the right, extending from Thomas' right around south-east beyond the Murfreesboro and Triune Roads, while Crittenden, who commanded the Federal's left wing, extended Thomas' left across to the east side of Stone River, in the direction of the Lebanon Pike.

Bragg began to form his line of battle as soon as he was satisfied of Rosecran's advance, with Polk in the center with his right resting on Stone River, near the Cowan House, with his line extending nearly south, bending a little to the east, with the divisions of Cheatham and Withers. Hardee's Corps extended from Polk's left across and beyond the Murfreesboro and

Triune Road in a south-east direction, with the divisons of McCown and Cleburne.

Breckinridge, who commanded Bragg's right, was on the east side of Stone River with his left resting on Stone River and his right on the Lebanon Pike. Breckinridge had only his division, composed of the Brigades of Adams, Palmer, Hanson and Preston, the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was in Preston's Brigade; he also had the Batteries of Slocum, Moses, Wright, and Cobb, making sixteen guns. This was the position of Bragg's line on the night of December 30, while Rosecrans made but little change in his lines from the night of the 29th, except to extend his right wing.

On the evening of the 30th, McCook had Johnson's Division on his extreme right, then came on his left Davis, then Sheridan, these three divisions formed McCook's Corps, except the two brigades of Kirk and Willich. Kirk was next on the right of Johnson's line, and Willich was on the right of Kirk, but his line was thrown back at right angles to Kirk's line to keep the right wing from being flanked. On the left of Sheridan's Division of McCook's Corps, rested Negley's Division, and on the left of Negley was Palmer's right. It was this wing of Rosecran's Army that was assailed so vigorously on Wednesday, December 31, 1862, by Hardee, with the division of McCown and Cleburne. General Rosecrans called his Corps Commanders together on the night before the battle and explained to them his plan of attack, which was, that Van Cleve, who was on the east side of Stone River, was to attack Breckinridge as soon as Thomas's skirmishers should advance on the next morning; and Woods was to cross the river at the upper ford and join in the attack of Van Cleve on Breckinridge, making two divisions of Federals to one of Confederates; therefore, force Breckinridge back through Murfreesboro by superior force, and Woods was then to place the guns of his division on an elevation near the east bank of the river, which would command the flank of Bragg's center, commanded by Polk. And all that he, Rosecrans, asked of McCook was, to hold his own for three hours after the battle had opened, and in that time, his two divisions on the east side would crush Breckinridge, Thomas would press

Bragg's center, and his right wing would be turned, and the whole rebel force either destroyed or driven into the woods in the direction of Salem.

But alas, this magnificent victory that had been won on paper, was so near, yet so far, from being realized. There was a soldier by the name of Hardee that arose from his gray blanket too early on that memorable morning, and nipped Rosecrans' grand plan in the bud. Rosecrans ordered McCook's troops to rise early and breakfast, and attack at 7 o'clock, but this fellow that we called Hardee, rose before day and breakfasted his men and attacked McCook at daylight, while his men were at breakfast, and after that morning, until the day of his death, McCook never forgot Hardee as an early riser.

Now as it was Rosecran's plan to turn Bragg's right and force it back through Murfreesboro, and drive him into the woods in the direction of Salem, Bragg's plan of battle was just the opposite. He intended to throw Hardee's Corps of two divisions of McCown and Cleburne like a tornado against the three divisions of Johnson, Davis and Sheridan and the two brigades of Willich and Kirk, and swing around to the right with Polk joining in and pushing his center, making Polk's right his pivot, and thus swing around to the N. & C. R. R. and the Nashville Pike, and cut off Rosecran's communications with his base at Nashville, and destroy his army or drive his whole force into the woods and the bottoms of Stone River, where he would have to go fifteen miles to the Lebanon and Nashville Pike before he could ever reach his base. Our readers will see that the plan of battle of each was equally bold.

On the morning of the 31st, both sides had orders to advance. While Johnson and Davis were at breakfast with their men, and getting ready to attack at 7 o'clock according to orders, Hardee hurled McCown's Division against Johnson's Division and Kirk and Willich's Brigade, and struck them before they were through with breakfast, and it was like a whirlwind coming in contact with a pile of dry leaves.

The division of Johnson and the brigades of Kirk and Willich went to pieces. General Kirk was mortally wounded, and Willich was captured. Kirk lost four hundred and seventy-

three killed and wounded and three hundred and forty-two missing, while Willich's Brigade did not loose so many killed and wounded as Kirk, but had about seven hundred captured, McCook lost in this charge eleven guns.

Cleburne's Division was in the second line in the rear of McCown. McCown went a little too far to the left in the swing to the right, and left a gap between his right and Polk's left. Cleburne at once unmasked McCown and moved up and filled this gap.

General Baldwin's Federal Brigade, which was Johnson's reserve, was ordered up and hastily formed and made a stubborn fight, but he too had to fall back, and he and his brigade barely escaped from being captured. Here Baldwin lost Simonson's Battery of four guns. Baldwin attempted to rally his men in a woods in his rear, but was soon forced out of them by the victorious Confederates.

Davis, who was next on the left of Johnson, as soon as he discovered what disaster had befallen Johnson, formed his right Brigade under Post, at right angles to the rear, just as Willich had done on Johnson's right early in the action to prevent a flank attack, and in a few moments, he, Davis, felt this Rebel tornado strike his division, the brigade of Baldwin and the regiments of Johnson's Division had been rallied and brought into line with Davis. McCown and Cleburne were pressing this line, and about this time two brigades of Wither's Division rushed upon the two brigades of Corlin and Woodruff, and they were reinforced by Sill's Brigade of Sheridan's Division; here the Confederates were checked for a while.

The Confederates reformed their lines and brought up the brigades of Maney and Vaughn of Cheatham's Division; the Confederate lines were moved forward, again, but had to fall back again. It was here that General Sill attempted to follow the little advantage that he had gained, and was killed, and when he fell his brigade retired. Cleburne was now forcing Davis, until Davis' lines were perpendicular to the lines of Sheridan. It was at the apex of these two lines that the gallant Cheatham, with his four Tennessee Brigades had a death struggle with Davis and Sheridan, but he forced them to retire.

Hardee, with the victorious Divisions of McCown and Cleburne that had swept Johnson, Kirk and Willich from the field, now compelled Post with his Brigade to fall back to the Nashville Pike with the loss of one gun. After Post had retired, Davis's flank was so exposed and pressed that he, too, had to fall back to the railroad cut; but before Davis did retire Corlin and Woodruff put up a very stubborn fight, and only yielded when their entire brigades were threatened to be captured.

Hotchkiss' Battery was now placed in position to help rally the men. Woodruff was being sorely pressed, but he rallied his brigade and made a counter charge that sent the Confederates back some distance.

About this time Davis was trying to form a new line just north of the Wilkerson Pike, but failed. Woodruff had partially rallied his brigade, but as soon as they received one volley from the Confederates they broke and fled across to the railroad. After Woodruff's ammunition gave out his troops passed to the rear and could not be rallied.

Now McCown and Cleburne had forced Davis's and Johnson's Divisions back to the railroad, Cheatham and Withers were pressing Sheridan and Negley, and now the whole Federal's right wing had been driven back to the railroad, where they were making a death struggle to keep from being cut off from their base. It was here that the shattered and worn out ranks of McCown, Cleburne, Cheatham and Withers were massed together and tried to dislodge the demoralized forces of Johnson, Davis, Sheridan, and Negley, reinforced by the fresh divisions of Palmer and Rousseau that had done but little fighting up to this time.

Sheridan, in falling back to this new line, lost eight of his guns. It would be superhuman for these troops that had been engaged since daylight to dislodge a superior force largely reinforced by fresh troops.

General Rosecrans, early in the morning, had remained on the west bank of the river on an elevated point to watch Van Cleve and Woods crush Breckinridge, and entrusted the affair of the right wing to McCook; but before Crittenden, who commanded Rosecran's left wing, could get Van Cleve and Woods in shape to attack Breckinridge, a courier came from McCook stating that

Johnson's Division had been shattered and his guns captured, and that he, McCook, wanted help ; and in a few minutes more, another messenger came with the sad tidings that Davis was hard pressed and falling back ; and a third courier came, saying that Baldwin's and Johnson's reserves had been ordered in and had been cut to pieces, and driven back with the loss of Simonson's Battery.

General Rosecrans sent a courier at once to Crittenden, to tell him to hold on and let Breckinridge alone, for we will need you on the right, for that fellow Hardee, who gets up so early in the morning didn't give McCook and his men time to get up, and get their breakfast. Rosecrans's entire right wing was being shattered or driven back, and the victory that the Commanding General described to his corps commanders the night before, had miscarried.

General Rosecrans saw at once that it devolved upon his personal efforts to save his army, so he galloped to the center, found General Thomas, and ordered Rousseau's Division to go at once into the cedars and help what was left of McCook's Corps. He sent a courier to Crittenden to send Van Cleve from Breckinridge's front westward across the river as a reserve at the railroad cut ; and to tell Woods not to cross to the east side, but move at once to the new line and keep Haskall's Brigade in reserve. General Rosecrans now placing his batteries on the high ground near the railroad, supported by two fresh divisions of Van Cleve and Wood, made one of the most desperate stands of the day, and here the Confederate advance was checked although they made four assaults, they did not have the men to dislodge the enemy. The fighting was now being done about the railroad and the Round Forest, which was east of the railroad. Rosecrans regarded the Round Forest of great importance.

During the morning Donelson's Brigade of Cheatham's Division, in their desperate fight around the Cowan House, was severely injured from the enemy's guns that was posted in the Round Forest.

No troops now being in front of Breckinridge, by 12 m., Bragg ordered Breckinridge to send the Brigades of Adams and Jackson to the west side of the river. They arrived about 2 p. m. and



MAJOR FRED CLAYBROOKE.

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assaulted the Round Forest, which by this time was well reinforced by Rosecrans, and they were repulsed. Two hours later the Brigades of Palmer and Preston of Breckinridge's Division arrived. The Twentieth Tennessee was in Preston's Brigade. We were formed in line after wading the river, about six hundred yards from Round Forest, Preston's Brigade on the right and the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment on the right of the Brigade, with the Sixtieth North Carolina, that had never been in an engagement before, on our left, which with the First, Third, and Fourth Florida Regiments composed Preston's Brigade. We formed in an open field, and moved forward under heavy shelling until we struck a picket fence. Only the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment came in contact with that fence, when Col. T. B. Smith gave the command, "By the right flank, tear down that picket fence, *March!*" This command caused a great deal of laughter among the boys of his Regiment, but it was the last laugh that many of these brave fellows ever had. We tore a hole in the picket fence and went through by the right flank, formed in line of battle, then double quicked and caught up with the brigade, while under a severe fire from sharp-shooters, and heavy shelling.

The brigade moved straight down by where the Cowan House was in the morning, but which was burned during the day; here the Twentieth Tennessee became separated from the rest of the brigade, which went to the left of the railroad cut and the Twentieth Tennessee went to the right in a straight line towards the Round Forest, from whence a heavy fire was emanating. After we passed the intersection of the railroad and the pike, we entered a cotton field about four hundred yards wide that lay in front of Round Forest.

The Regiment, single handed and alone, entered this cotton field, moving on Round Forest, and when we had gone about half way it got so hot for us we were ordered to lie down, with nothing to protect us but cotton stalks. The Yankee Infantry had now turned loose on us, we couldn't go forward without reinforcements and they could not be gotten up to where we were, and we didnt want to go back, so we stayed there until it was useless to stay any longer.

Colonel Smith having ordered us to fall back, and every man for himself, if ever you saw a lot of men get out of a place in quick time the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment did it, I being one of the foremost.

While we were lying in line in the cotton field, a neighbor boy who went to school with me and my mess mate in the army, was lying by my side, and when the order to retreat was given, he and I sprang up together and just as we had started to the rear, a minnie ball struck him in the upper part of his thigh and it seemed to me that he jumped four feet into the air and fell; his thigh bone was terribly shattered, and he fell into the hands of the enemy, and I never saw him any more until after the war. This boy was John (Dike) Crocker, and he was a splendid soldier.

In this charge, our colonel was wounded, our color bearer, J. M. Smith, who was a brother of our colonel was killed. A number of our killed and wounded were left in the cotton field, we were so close under the enemy's guns that we could not bring them off. The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment fell back some three hundred yards, near the crossing of the Pike and railroad, everything was in confusion, our colonel wounded and our color bearer killed. It was here I saw as gallant a feat performed by Major Fred Claybrooke as was witnessed on any field of our Civil War. In this confusion, Major Claybrooke, who was on a very large horse, took one of our color guards by the name of Isaac Hyde up behind him with the colors, while under fire from the enemy's sharpshooters and artillery; he rode up and down our line, rallying our men until he restored order, and then faced them by the right flank, and double quicked them down under a bluff of rocks at the river edge. Here the river makes a bend to the north. The regiment was here halted and faced the bluff and cotton field. By this time the enemy had moved four or five hundred troops down across the cotton field in rear of the fence on the bluff.

Major Claybrooke, when his regiment was sufficiently protected by the bluff, halted his men, faced them to the front, ordered them to fix bayonets, scale this bluff and drive the enemy back out of the cotton field. The bluff ranged from six to ten feet

high, and the highest part of the bluff was in front of the left wing of the regiment. When the order to charge was given those of us on the left wing had some trouble in scaling the bluff; Company B., our extreme left company, had considerable difficulty, we had to go up between two rocks. The first man was killed, the second wounded, and I was the third man but was not touched. Before all of the left wing had gained the top of the bluff, the right that had but little difficulty had entered the cotton field and swung around to the left and bagged about seventy-five of the enemy, and the remainder fell back across the cotton field under the protection of their guns.

When this charge was made as I cleared the crevice between the rocks, the enemy had fallen back, and a Federal soldier had gotten on the side of the fence next to our line and some one had killed him. I at once seized the dead Yankee's gun and fired at a retreating Federal not forty steps away, with a rest of the gun on the top rail of the fence. I don't think he even looked back.

In scaling this bluff, we lost Captain Watkins of Company I., and Lieutenant Frank Crosthwaite of Company E., two of the bravest officers we had. The Regiment that evening had in killed and wounded eight officers, forty-six enlisted men, and five missing, total fifty-three ; out of three hundred.

It was now nearly dark, the gallant Claybrooke marched his Regiment and prisoners a few hundred yards to the rear, where he received orders to rejoin his brigade nearly half a mile west in the cedar glade, which he did, and in rejoining the brigade we were ordered at once to furnish a detail of forty men from the regiment to go on picket. I was detailed as the officer of the pickets, and reported at once there in the cedars and darkness to a staff officer who led us through the thick cedars where Cheatham with his Tennesseeans had fought over during the day, and the ground was strewn with the dead and wounded. We were placed on the picket line in front of Preston's brigade, with instructions that no one was in front of us but the Yankees and they only about one hundred yards away. My line being established, it was my duty as an officer to visit the different picket posts at intervals during the night. The night was cold and clear, the ground frozen to the depth of about one inch.

While I was making my rounds, about one o'clock a. m., I heard quite a halloahing and moaning some fifty yards in the rear of my picket line. I told my picket to keep a sharp lookout and I would go back and see what that noise was. I crept back up a little rocky ravine until I was within a few yards of the noise and discovered, as I had expected, a wounded soldier. I asked, "To what command do you belong?" He said "Eighteenth Regulars, and that he was badly wounded and had been left here, and was nearly frozen to death." He asked me to make him a fire at his feet. I told him that I was a Confederate and on picket just in front of him, and by making a fire would draw the picket fire from the Yankee's pickets. He begged me so pitifully, and as he was down in a ravine, I took the chances, and searched around among the rocks and got some cedar limbs and made him a fire and gave him some water, placed his head on his knapsack and made him as comfortable as possible. He said to me that "the Eighteenth Regulars had fought some Tennessee Volunteers in this cedar brake that day, and they fought more like regulars than any volunteers that he ever saw." He further said, that they had killed and wounded nearly all of his regiment.

The poor fellow had bled and laid on the cold ground until life was nearly gone. When I left him I told him if my line was not attacked or ordered away, that I would come back before day and look after him. I went back in about two hours, but he had crossed over and was sleeping the soldier's sleep and I could do no more for him. I returned to my duty, and next day as I was on the picket line for a while near this spot, I counted seventeen minnie balls in one cedar tree not over twelve inches in diameter, up six feet high, and twenty-two dead Federals within fifty feet of this tree.

The Twentieth Regiment lay in these cedars all day on New Year's Day, 1863, and that night, and until about two o'clock on the second of January (Friday), when we were ordered to the extreme right to participate in that ever memorable charge of General Breckinridge.

On January 2, Rosecrans had crossed Van Cleve's Division under Beatty over to the east side of Stone River, with the

brigades of Beatty, Price, Fyffe, and Grider's and Drewry's Batteries with one brigade of Palmer as a reserve on the extreme left. Negley's Division was placed in reserve on the west bank of the river, but in supporting distance of those on the east side; there was also on the west bank of the river fifty-eight pieces of artillery massed for the support of Van Cleve if he should be driven back.

The troops on the east side of the river occupied high ground, and the guns of these troops would flank the right of Polk's Corps that rested on the west bank of the river near the Cowan House; so if Polk should continue to hold his position, Van Cleve must be dislodged, and Breckinridge with his division was assigned this task.

Breckinridge received his orders about two o'clock on Friday, the second of January, to this effect, and marched his division from the west side to the east side of Stone River near his original position. He now formed his command in two lines, with two brigades in each line in a skirt of woods. At this juncture Genl. Gideon J. Pillow, who had just reported for duty, was assigned to the command of Palmer's Brigade, and Colonel Palmer returned to the command of his old regiment, the Eighteenth Tennessee.

The Brigades of Pillow and Hanson formed Breckinridge's front line. Pillow on the right, Hanson on the left, Adams and Preston the rear line. Preston on the right, Adams on the left, and four batteries, viz: Anderson's Georgia Battery, Wright's Tennessee, Cobb's Kentucky and the Fifth Battery of Washington Artillery, and ten twelve pound Napoleon guns under Capt. F. H. Robertson.

Breckinridge sent a courier back to General Bragg at 3:30 o'clock, saying that he would be ready to move at four o'clock. It was understood between Bragg and Breckinridge that when the latter was ready to move, that the guns on the right of Polk's Corps would open on Rosecran's center in order to keep up a diversion. So, promptly at four o'clock, Polk's guns opened, and Breckinridge moved out into the open field and at once Drewry's Battery and the guns of Negley's Division that were on the west bank of the river, opened on him with telling effect,

but he moved across the field about five hundred yards before he struck the first line of Beatty's, who was in command of Van Cleve's Division. This was a short and bloody struggle, he was soon driven back on his second line about two hundred yards in the rear, and in twenty minutes more Breckinridge was moving both lines of Beatty's in a confused mass back to the river about three hundred yards in their rear and pressing them closely, and as the Federals descended the east bank down to the water's edge, so that they unmasked the pursuing Confederates, the fifty-eight guns turned loose on Breckinridge's gallant men, some of whom on the left of his line had crossed the river, and there met Negley's Division; and in this confused condition could not stand a division of reinforcements and the fifty-eight pieces of artillery. So it was here, if a soldier ever saw the lightning and heard the thunder bolts of a tornado, at the same time the heavens opened and the stars of destruction were sweeping everything from the face of the earth, if he was in this charge he saw it. The division fell back across the field exposed to this terrible artillery fire, and as Breckinridge's troops began to retire, Col. John F. Miller, who commanded the right brigade of Negley's Division, ordered his brigade to cross the river and follow up Breckinridge's retreating command. Bragg being informed that Breckinridge, after he had so gallantly taken the high point that he was ordered to take, was forced to retire by superior numbers, sent Genl. Patton Anderson with his brigade to help him. This brigade was thrown in between the retreating troops and the advancing Federals of Negley's Division, and Breckinridge's troops rallied on each wing and held their line during the night and until ordered away next day.

As there was no fighting going on, on the Confederate's left, Cleburne was also ordered to the right on Friday night but was not engaged.

Now as to the part the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment took in Breckinridge's charge. We were the right Regiment of Preston's Brigade, which made the Twentieth Tennessee the extreme right of the second line. Wright's Battery was attached to Preston's Brigade. As the two lines moved out from the woods where we formed and were going across the field towards the enemy, and

as soon as our front line was engaged, Lieutenant Colonel Lavender, who commanded the Twentieth Tennessee, seeing that the enemy's line extended about two hundred yards beyond ours, he moved his regiment by the right oblique until he unmasked our front lines. This gave us only a single line. Here the Federals had two lines; this was done about one hundred yards from a fence about forty yards behind which the front line of Yankees were laying. At this time Wright's Battery was rushed up in support of the Twentieth Regiment. As soon as we were unmasked, the front line of Yankees poured a volley into the Twentieth Regiment that made them stagger and waver like a drunken man.

A soldier by the name of William Nevins, who was just on my left, lost his leg from this volley. The regiment pressed forward to the fence and had orders to lie down behind it. This put the two lines about forty yards apart, the Yankees were standing, and we were lying behind the fence. We had the advantage, and the slaughter was terrible. I carried an Enfield rifle in this charge, and at this fence I dropped down in a corner that no other Confederate happened to be in and saw three Federals standing by an oak tree. While I was laying as flat as I could in the fence corner, one of them shot at me and knocked off a piece of rail across my back. I returned the fire with a good rest on the rail for my gun. Another one shot at me and tore off a large portion of rail against my left breast, and by this time I had fired three shots, and the order was given to charge.

The Regiment did not take time to climb the fence, but caught the fence about the third rail from the bottom, and the fence, line and all went over together. The first line of Yankees fell back to their second, we pressed them so closely, in twenty minutes the whole mass was going back to the river, and the whole Federal force that lapped us so far on our right, with no one in front of them except Wright's Battery that was shooting at them from a right oblique, fell back. As the Twentieth Regiment passed over the fence, we were soon upon the ground that was occupied by the front line of Federals, and it was the straightest and prettiest line of dead Yankees I ever saw.

It was here between these two lines that was formed by the

Federals that I saw as gallant an act performed as was that of Napoleon at the Bridge of Lodi. Every one of the color guards of the Twentieth Regiment had gone down except Frank Battle, a son of our first Colonel. The colors were the center guide of the Regiment. Capt. W. G. Ewin was the right and I was the left guide, and Frank Battle with the colors the center guide was forty yards in advance of any of us. The color staff had been shot in two twice, and the colors were so heavy that the boy could scarcely carry them. He fell down on the ground, and we thought he too was killed, when Capt. W. T. Ridley, of Company E., sprang forward to pick them up, when young Battle said, "I just laid down to tie them to a portion of the staff," and by this time the line overtook him, when he had wrapped the colors around him and was again in front. We were now crowding them back to the river on their masked batteries; but we soon had to fall back, but not before the Twentieth Regiment had captured two hundred prisoners.

Wright's Battery was supporting the Twentieth Regiment close up, and was being most ably officered and bravely served. Its gallant Captain E. Eldridge Wright was killed, his First Lieutenant, J. W. Mebane was wounded, but succeeded in getting off a portion of his battery. The brave battery had lost so heavily that in the retreat it did not have enough men to get all its guns away, one gun had only one boy left and he was not able to limber up his piece. He had fought it with a Spartan courage until the enemy was so close to him to remain longer would be death or capture, and he gave it up. This young lad was Luke E. Wright, a brother of the Battery's heroic Captain. He served gallantly through the war and is now Governor of the Phillippine Islands.

As the Twentieth Tennessee retreated back over the ground that we had driven the Federals from, we would load and turn and fire back at them, and when we reached the ground near the fence where we first met them, as I loaded my gun and turned to fire, a minnie ball struck me in the left breast, and I was left there a good portion of the night in the rain. The wound was not so severe but it cut a furrow about five inches long over my heart.

In this engagement the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was among the last to leave the bank of the river, and Wright's gallant battery was still with us, so when we did start back the enemy was so close upon us, that we could not get all the battery off, so we lost the only guns that were lost in the engagement.

Bragg's Army held the field for two days after the battle. On the morning of December 30, the day before the battle, Breckinridge reported seven thousand and fifty-three men in his division for duty, he carried about five thousand seven hundred into the fight. On the 31st, the first day's fight about the Cowan House and the Round Forest he lost seven hundred and thirty; subtract seven hundred and thirty from five thousand seven hundred and you have four thousand nine hundred and seventy men, infantry and artillery that he carried into his desperate charge on Friday evening, losing one thousand three hundred and thirty-eight of this number, one hundred and fourteen were officers. Now add the loss of the two days together and it will give you a total of two thousand and sixty-eight, which was nearly thirty per cent. Here is what General Breckinridge said about this charge on Friday evening, January 2, 1863: —

"In regard to the action of Friday, January 2, upon which the Commanding General heaped so much criticism, I have to say, with the utmost confidence, that the failure of my troops to hold the position which they carried on that occasion, was due to no fault of theirs or mine; but to the fact, that we were commanded to do an impossible thing. My force was about four thousand five hundred men, of these one thousand seven hundred heroic spirits were stretched upon that bloody field, in an unequal struggle against three divisions, a brigade and an overwhelming concentration of artillery, attest our efforts to obey the order."

The Corps, Divisions and Brigades that composed the Army of Tennessee (Bragg's) were, Hardee's Corps on the left, composed of McCown's and Cleburne's Divisions. McCown's Division, the extreme left of our infantry had: —

Ector's Brigade which was composed of Tenth, Eleventh,

Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Texas Cavalry dismounted, Douglas's Texas Battery.

Rain's Brigade: Third and Ninth Georgia Battalion, Twenty-ninth North Carolina, Eleventh Tennessee, and Eufaula, Ala., Battery.

McNair's Brigade: First and Second Arkansas Rifles, Fourth Arkansas Regiment, Fourth Arkansas Battalion, Thirtieth Arkansas Regiment, and Humphrey's Arkansas Battery.

Jackson's Brigade: Fifty-fourth Georgia, Second Georgia Battalion, Fifth and Eighth Mississippi Regiments.

McCown's Division lost one thousand two hundred and eighty-five.

Cleburne's Division: —

Wood's Brigade: Sixteenth and Thirty-third Alabama, Third Confederate, Forty-fifth Mississippi, Fifteenth Mississippi Battalion, and Semple's Alabama Battery.

Bushrod Johnson's Brigade: Seventeenth, Twelfth, Twenty-fifth, Thirty-seventh, and Forty-fourth Tennessee, and Darden's Mississippi Battery.

Liddell's Brigade: Second, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Arkansas, and Sweet's Arkansas Battery.

Polk's Brigade: First, Thirteenth, and Fifteenth Arkansas, Fifth Confederate, Second and Fifth Tennessee, and Calvert's Arkansas Battery.

Grand total loss, Cleburne's Division, two thousand and sixty-six.

The Center, or Polk's Corps, Wither's Division: —

Dea's Brigade: Nineteenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth, and Thirty-ninth Alabama, Seventeenth Alabama Battalion, First Louisiana Regulars, and Robertson's Battery.

Chalmer's Brigade: Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, and Forty-first Mississippi, Blythe's Mississippi Regiment, Ninth Mississippi Battalion, and Garrity's Mississippi Battery.

Walthall's Brigade: Forty-fifth Alabama, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-ninth, and Thirtieth Mississippi, Thirty-ninth North Carolina, and Barrett's Missouri Battery.

Bro Walter, was captured — & escaped — in this battle: He was of Co A-11th Tenn — Forrest's Command — fought battle of

Anderson's Brigade: Twenty-fourth, Twenty-eighth, and Thirty-fourth Alabama, Tenth and Nineteenth South Carolina, and Water's Alabama Battery.

Grand total loss, Wither's Division, two thousand five hundred and fourteen.

Cheatham's Division: —

Donaldson's Brigade: Eighth, Sixteenth, Thirty-eighth, and Fifty-first Tennessee, and Carnes' Tennessee Battery.

Stewart's Brigade: Fourth, Fifth, Nineteenth, Twenty-fourth, Thirty-first, and Thirty-third Tennessee, and Stanford's Mississippi Battery.

Maney's Brigade: First Tennessee, Fourth Tennessee (Confederate), Sixth and Ninth Tennessee, Maney's Tennessee Battalion, and Smith's Mississippi Battery.

Preston Smith's Brigade: Twelfth, Thirteenth, Twenty-ninth, Forty-seventh Tennessee, One Hundred and Fifty-fourth Tennessee (Senior), Ninth Texas, and Scott's Tennessee Battery.

Grand total loss, Cheatham's Division, one thousand nine hundred and thirty nine.

Breckinridge's Division, Right Wing: —

Adams' Brigade: Thirty-second Alabama, Thirteenth, Twentieth, Sixteenth, and Twenty-fifth Louisiana, Austin's Sharp Shooters, and Slocum's Louisiana Battery, (Washington Artillery, Fifth Company).

Pillow's Brigade: Eighteenth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-second, Forty-fifth Tennessee, and Moses' Georgia Battery.

Hanson's Brigade: Forty-first Alabama, Second, Fourth, Sixth, and Ninth Kentucky, and Cobb's Kentucky Battery.

Preston's Brigade: First, Third, and Fourth Florida, Sixtieth North Carolina, Twentieth Tennessee, and Wright's Tennessee Battery.

Grand total loss of Breckinridge's Division, two thousand and sixty-eight.

RECAPITULATION OF LOSSES BY DIVISIONS.

McCown	1,286
Cleburne	2,066
Withers	2,514
Cheatham	1,939
Breckinridge	2,068
Total Infantry and Artillery	9,872

This out of a total of Infantry and Artillery of 33,475.

Wheeler's Cavalry consisted of —

Wheeler's Brigade	1,169
Wharton's "	1,950
Pegram's "	480
Buford's "	638
Total	4,247

Wiggin's Arkansas Battery.

White's Tennessee Battery.

Loss of Cavalry, 449; loss of Infantry, 9,872, making a grand total loss of 10,321 out of a total army of 37,712.

Now what did they do? They met General Rosecrans, who had an army of 46,940, who had superior arms and better fed soldiers, and in a contest of three days captured from him 6,273 prisoners, more than 6,000 stands of arms, 31 pieces or artillery, 800 wagons loaded with all kinds of army supplies, brought off some and destroyed the rest. General Rosecrans, in his official report admits his loss at 13,249.

The Confederates lost three pieces of artillery, and about 1,500 prisoners, about 1,200 of whom were so badly wounded that they could not be moved, and about 600 of them died after the poor fellows fell into the hands of the enemy.

Bragg now fell back on the Shelbyville and Manchester Pikes behind Duck River, and went into winter quarters at Shelbyville and Tullahoma, and our old friend, "Rosey," was glad to camp a while in the cedar brakes about Murfreesboro and let those ragged Rebels alone until spring, because he did not have as many supplies when he got through with Bragg at Murfreesboro as he did when he left Nashville on December 26, 1862.

He was not to blame for this miscalculation, for he was a clever old Dutchman.

The Confederates had on this field 99 Infantry Regiments, and Tennessee furnished 35 of these; Alabama, 14; Arkansas, 11; North Carolina, 3; South Carolina, 2; Florida, 3; Mississippi, 12; Louisiana, 9; Texas, 5; Kentucky, 4, and Georgia, 1. Several States furnished a number of battalions.

CAVALRY RAIDS DURING THE WINTER AND SPRING OF 1863.

After the Battle of Murfreesboro, Bragg retreated to Shelbyville and Tullahoma, some twenty and thirty miles respectively, south and southeast of Murfreesboro, and went into winter quarters. General Rosecrans was well enough satisfied to be let alone at Murfreesboro.

Each General now set to work reorganizing and replenishing his shattered ranks, remaining in these two positions about six months, and during this time a number of cavalry raids were planned and executed, viz: On January 26, 1863, General Bragg ordered General Joe Wheeler on an expedition against Fort Donaldson, with parts of Forrest's and Wharton's Brigades of Cavalry. Colonel Harding with the Eighty-third Illinois Regiment, about eight hundred strong, was in the Fort, supported by six gunboats. The weather was very severe and Wheeler's men suffered very much.

On February 3, Wheeler made two assaults on the Fort, but was unsuccessful on account of its strong defences. Wheeler then ordered a retreat, and in the meantime General Rosecrans at Murfreesboro sent out Davis's Division of Infantry and about five hundred Cavalry to intercept Wheeler before he reached Columbia, his base.

This force of Federals under Davis, went as far west as Kinderhook and Bon Aqua Springs, but the wily Wheeler went by way of Centreville and there recrossed Duck River and made his way back to Columbia. In this expedition he lost a number of splendid officers and brave men. It must be remembered that Wheeler would have captured the Fort, had it not been for the assistance that the Federals received from the six gun boats that

were there acting as a convoy to a Federal Fleet of eighteen infantry regiments and four batttalions of artillery on their way to reinforce Rosecrans at Murfreesboro.

On March 4, General Gilbert, who was at Franklin, eighteen miles south of Nashville, ordered Colonel Coburn with five regiments of infantry, a large detachment of cavalry and Aleshire's Battery with about one hundred wagons to go south, out the Columbia Pike and forage on the helpless citizens. Colonel Coburn had in his command about three thousand men. Colonel Jordan who was in command of Coburn's Cavalry struck the Confederate pickets out about three miles from Franklin. The Confederate Cavalry was in force at Thompson's Station and Spring Hill under Van Dorn and Forrest. When the Federals had pressed the Confederates back to Thompson's Station about eight miles from Franklin, they here found Van Dorn's Troops drawn up in line of battle, Forrest on the right and Armstrong in the center, with Whitfield with his Texans on the left.

Coburn ordered an advance and the battle opened. Forrest was pressing Coburn's left back, where they were rallied behind a stone wall and gave Forrest some trouble to dislodge. Armstrong and Whitfield were pressing his center and right. Coburn, who was now trying to retreat, ordered Jordan with his cavalry to save his artillery and wagons and get back to Franklin if he could, which he did. Coburn being now nearly surrounded, surrendered himself and two thousand two hundred men and arms. In this surrender was included the famous General Shafter, afterwards of Santiago fame, where Joe Wheeler did the fighting and Shafter got the glory.

The capture of Coburn at Thompson's Station developed such a force of Confederate Cavalry that on March 7, Sheridan with his division of infantry and a brigade from Nashville, were ordered to Franklin, and on the 9th, Minty's and Granger's Brigades of Cavalry also reported to Sheridan at Franklin, and in a few days this superior force moved on Van Dorn at Spring Hill, and caused him to fall back about six miles behind Rutherford Creek, but the Federals did not pursue.

On March 18, Colonel Hall with a brigade of Federal cavalry and the Second Brigade of Reynold's Division of Infantry,

Next day, we captured balance of Brigade, at Brentwood. Immense Stores, Q. C. S.

* Not all of them; We Captured a 6 gun attery, Several Wagons, & many Med Stores Wagons. Forrest's boys, done most of

moved out to Milton, north-east of Murfreesboro some twenty miles, and attacked Genl. John H. Morgan's Command of Cavalry, and a battle of some four hours resulted in which both sides lost severely. Morgan withdrew on account of inferior numbers. This battle has never been written up as it deserves.

On April 2, Genl. D. S. Stanley, with a heavy force of cavalry, moved out from Murfreesboro through Liberty, and attacked General Morgan at Snow Hill, and compelled him again to retire before largely superior numbers.

On April 7, General Rosecrans ordered Col. A. D. Streight with a Brigade of Federals that was organized for the purpose of moving south and south-east, to cut the lines of communication, and destroy all property that would be of service to the Confederates. So Colonel Streight went to Nashville and organized this brigade which was composed of the Fifty-first Indiana, Col. Streight's own regiment; Seventy-third Indiana, Eightieth Illinois, Third Ohio and two companies of "home made" Yankees, that were made up in Southern Middle Tennessee and North Alabama, under the command of Capt. D. D. Smith.

Colonel Streight received orders from Genl. Jas. A. Garfield, who was Rosecran's Chief of Staff, to start from Nashville on April 10. He went by boat down the Cumberland River to Palmyra, there he disembarked his command of one thousand eight hundred men, and went across the country to Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, taking from the citizens all the mules and horses he could find.

Colonel Streight met transports at Fort Henry that carried his Command up the Tennessee River to East Port, where he was landed on the south bank of the Tennessee, which was only about ten miles from Iuka, on the M. &. C. Railroad.

General Dodge who was at Corinth, Miss., moved up to Iuka and Bear Creek, with a force of eight thousand men and met Streight. Here General Dodge furnished Streight with a good deal of his mount and supplies. The two commands moved up the railroad to Tuscumbia. It was here that Streight heard for the first time that Forrest (The Ney of the West), had crossed the Tennessee River and was at Town Creek, Ala., while Streight thought he was at Columbia, Tenn.

Genl. Phillip D. Roddy had been fighting the forces of Dodge and Streight as best he could. The Federal's plan now was, that General Dodge should entertain the Confederate Cavalry, which would give Streight an opportunity to get at least forty-eight hours the start of Forrest. Colonel Streight moved out from Tuscumbia on April 26, with his command, in the direction of Moulton, by the way of Russellville. He camped at Mount Hope on the night of the 27th, and on the 28th, Streight went in the direction of Blountville, by the way of Day's Gap, where he arrived about midnight; and by this time General Forrest with two regiments of cavalry, the Fourth and Ninth Tennessee, were in hot pursuit, fighting him all day and all night at Driver's Gap, on Sand Mountain, where his brother, Capt. Will Forrest, was wounded, and Capt. Aaron Thompson, and a number of brave men were killed. I was there. A. C. S.

Streight lost fifty killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, two hundred and fifty mules and one hundred and fifty negroes were captured. Colonel Streight here lost two of his best officers, Lieut. Colonel Sheets of the Fifty-first Indiana, and Lieutenant Pavey of the Eightieth Illinois. Forrest put up such a stubborn fight here that Streight said that Forrest had twelve pieces of artillery and three times as many men as he had, but the truth was, General Streight had three times as many men as General Forrest.

Forrest was pressing him so close that the two forces skirmished again at Crooked Creek, ten miles south of the Gap, and then again at Hog Mountain. The two forces went through Blountville on to Black Warrior River. Here Streight had to turn and give battle to Forrest's advance guard before he could cross the river; and another skirmish took place at Black Creek.

It now became evident that Forrest with his small band of determined men was wearing out this picked and skilled officer and the flower of Rosecran's Army that out numbered him three to one. The battle of Blount's Plantation was next fought where Streight was soon compelled to abandon the field and headed his forces toward Rome. In this last engagement he lost another of his best officers, Colonel Hathaway of the Seventy-third Indiana, who was killed. Colonel Streight now realized the condition he



CAPT. WM. G. EWIN, CO. A.

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was getting into, ordered Capt. Milton Russell of the Fifty-first Indiana to take two hundred picked men and proceed to Rome, capture the bridge across the Coosa and hold it until he came up with his main command; but when Captain Russell reached the vicinity of Rome he found that a force of Confederates were at the bridge that prevented him from taking possession.

General Streight still pressed on in the direction of Rome, and when he reached the ferry on one bank of the Coosa River, he found that Captain Russell had crossed his men over about one hour before, and the Confederates had gotten possession of the boats during that hour and run them off. Streight learned that there was a bridge about seven miles up the river, which he made for and crossed his command and burned the bridge and passed on to Cedar Bluff, near which place he stopped to feed.

It was here that Forrest came fully up with General Streight and his command. Just before Streight crossed the Coosa he sent a detachment and burned the Round Mountain Iron Works. While Streight and his command were feeding, Forrest sent in a demand for an unconditional surrender, which was at first refused, and Streight asked a personal review of Forrest's Command, which was not granted; but General Forrest by skillful maneuvering showed most of his command to General Streight twice or more, and when Streight went back to his command he called a council of war with his field officers, and reported that General Forrest had at least three men to his one. General Streight said that he was opposed to surrendering, but it was the unanimous vote of the Council of War to do so; so he yielded, and gave this as his reason for doing so, viz: "That his ammunition had become nearly worthless from being wet, his men and horses were exhausted, and his command was in the heart of the enemy's country and confronted by three times their number."

On May 3, 1863, Genl. A. D. Streight surrendered one thousand four hundred and sixty-six men to Genl. N. B. Forrest who had four hundred and sixty-four men. These are figures given to me by Lieut. Col. J. M. Crews, who was attached to General Forrest's Staff and said that he counted the men on both sides.

This was one of the most remarkable surrenders in the annals of warfare, as Forrest's four hundred and sixty-four men were

not picked men, but all Tennesseeans, and the one thousand four hundred and sixty-six men of Streight's Command were picked from an army of seventy thousand.

General Streight and his men surrendered and were sent to Richmond, Va., and confined in Libby Prison, after an incessent running fight of five days and nights.

THE TULLAHOMA CAMPAIGN.

While Breckinridge's Division was at Tullahoma, early in the month of March, 1863, his wife and some of her lady friends who had left their "old Kentucky homes" and had come South, made of the silk dresses worn by the wife of our Division Commander on the day she was married and the day after, one being of white silk and the other of red, a very handsome Regimental flag, which she requested her husband to present to the most gallant regiment in his Division.

The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was the recipient of this beautiful stand of colors, and on an unusual pleasant afternoon for the month of March, the entire Division, having been reviewed by the General, was formed in a hollow square, and the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was ordered to advance slightly to the center, when that gifted Kentucky poet, Major Theo. O'Hara, the Assistant Adjutant General for General Breckinridge, presented the colors to the Regiment.

On presenting the flag made by the hands of Mrs. Breckinridge to the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, Colonel O'Hara said: —

"I have a duty devolved upon me to-day which I esteem an honor, and perform with pleasure. I am deputed to present to you a flag wrought by the hands of a lady of Kentucky. The inquiry may present itself: Why the distinguished gentleman charged to bestow this banner has not chosen to present it to a regiment from his own State? The answer I think is too obvious to need expression. I might add that the noble Kentuckians who have relinquished all the ties, and almost all the hopes of home to devote their lives and their all to this cause, are contented with the assured appreciation of their illustrious com-

mander and countryman and with the proud consciousness of having nobly done their duty, and their constant and equal devotion to the common cause leaves no criterion by which their General might distinguish among them. He and they feel that it is to a regiment of some other State that the honor of bearing this flag will be more appropriately confided. And the General has felt the delicacy and difficulty of making a selection among the various regiments which constitute his command, and many of which have won his admiration by their gallant conduct under his own eye in many a stricken field. After mature consideration, however, in view of its uniform gallantry and length of service under his command he has concluded that it is upon the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment that these colors will be most properly bestowed. In the first memorable battle on the soil of Kentucky, in this war, the Twentieth Tennessee was signalized by its devoted patriotism and disciplined valor. At Fishing Creek, when the sternest were dismayed and the timid yielded to panic, the gallantry of the Twentieth Tennessee shone forth with conspicuous lustre. At Shiloh, when the ruling battalions of the enemy confessed the superiority of Southern valor, the banners of the Twentieth Tennessee were among the foremost in that bloody struggle. At the bombardment of Vicksburg throughout the sulphurous carnival that raged so many days and nights around that heroic city, the Twentieth Tennessee stood baring its scarred front to the storm of shot and shell. At Baton Rouge, when our Southern chivalry rushed upon the insolent invader of their country, the Twentieth Tennessee was again seen in the van of the battle. At Murfreesboro, whether on the left of Stone River among the bloody cedars, or on the right in the fearful charge of the second of January, which laid low many a noble spirit, the Twentieth Tennessee maintained its bright renown and plucked new laurels from the jaws of death. In view of this record of its heroic service and patriotic devotion it has been decided, I feel assured, with no offensive discrimination, to confer upon the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment this beautiful banner wrought by the fair hands of the most distinguished women of Kentucky. I feel that I may safely undertake to declare it is the opinion of those ladies that to no more

deserving and loyal custody could this emblem of our cause be confided, and let me, fellow soldiers, assure you that the men of Kentucky share their opinion and endorse their award. They feel also that it is to no alien hands that this trust is confided. While there is pulse in the heart of a member of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment they feel assured that this emblem will be cherished and guarded as more precious than life. In this confidence, I as their representative, commit this banner to your keeping. I believe that history has already determined the common political fate of Kentucky and Tennessee, and that this simple ceremony here to-day is but the symbol of the affiliation of two millions of people, with the fortune and destiny of the Southern Confederacy."

Col. Thos. Benton Smith, the young colonel commanding the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, raised the colors, and responded in the following brief acceptance : —

Major : In behalf of the officers and soldiers of my regiment, I accept this beautiful flag. My language does not permit me to express my feelings on this occasion. This compliment, unexpected as it is, is doubly pleasing ; coming as it does trom Kentucky, the land of chivalry, and from the noblest of her daughters. A State whose name is linked with the brightest jewels of American history. Her women are as lovely as her mountain flowers. For my officers and soldiers, I thank you. When the storm of battle rages fiercest, amid the wildest conflict, we will think of the fair donors, and cling to this banner. For the complimentary manner, sir, in which you have presented it, I thank you. Soldiers, to you I commit the gift ; in its folds rest your honor. Let it never be contaminated by a foeman's hand. Let the Confederacy and the world see that in the hour of her darkest trials Tennessee will stand by the colors of Kentucky as they would by the standard of their native State. They feel that their honor, their safety, their people, are one."

Shortly after the presentation of this flag to the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, some considerable change was made in the organization of Bragg's Army, especially as to that portion which had from the battle of Shiloh been known as Breckinridge's Division. Generals Breckinridge and Preston were

transferred to another Department, and a new Division was formed and placed under Genl. A. P. Stewart, who had been promoted to Major General; in this division was the new formed brigade, first commanded by the former gallant Colonel of the Second Tennessee Regiment, Wm. B. Bate, who had been most severely wounded at the battle of Shiloh, and had been promoted to Brigadier General. In lieu of a sword, he carried a crutch, being still lame from the serious wound received at Shiloh, when he took command of the brigade, which was composed of the Fifty-eighth Alabama Regiment, Thirty-seventh Georgia Regiment, Fourth Georgia Battalion, Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee (Consolidated), and the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, with the Eufaula Battery of Light Artillery.

About the last of May, 1863, we find Rosecrans at Murfreesboro with an army of about sixty-five thousand; and Bragg at Shelbyville, Tullahoma and Fairfield with about forty-three thousand of all arms.

General Grant was at this time investing Vicksburg, and was anxious that Rosecrans should move on Bragg in order to keep Bragg from reinforcing Pemberton in Vicksburg, or Joe Johnston, who was just out of Vicksburg on the Big Black River. Halleck and Stanton at Washington thought as General Grant did, but General Rosecrans and his Corps Commanders thought differently; so the advance was further delayed. Bragg in the meantime was satisfied to be let alone in his position, for he was drawing heavily in supplies from Southern Middle Tennessee, at the same time was preventing Rosecrans from reinforcing Grant at Vicksburg. But the sentiment at the North became so impatient, that Rosecrans put his army in a condition to advance; but before he concluded to move forward, he organized a reserve Corps of three divisons, and put the First Division under Baird, Second under J. D. Morgan, and the third under R. S. Grainger, with Genl. Gordon Grainger in command of the three.

General Rosecrans now gave orders for the Army of the Cumberland to move South from Murfreesboro on June 23. The right of Bragg's Infantry was at Fairfield some four miles from

Hoover's Gap under Brig. Genl. Wm. B. Bate, of A. P. Stewart', Division, Hardee's Corps.

Bragg's Army of two Corps, one under Polk and the other under Hardee, of about thirty thousand Infantry, was stretched from Hoover's Gap on the east to Duck River on the west. Polk's Corps was the left wing of the Infantry and held the main position at Shelbyville; the pike that leads from Murfreesboro to Shelbyville runs through Guy's Gap. Hardee held Liberty Gaps which was east of Guy's Gap through which the road runs south to Wartrace. Brigadier General Bate was at Fairfield near Hoover's Gap with his brigade, to which the Twentieth Tennessee now belonged. Bragg's Cavalry, at this time amounting to about thirteen thousand, under Wheeler and Forrest, were on the two wings of the army. On the right his cavalry extended to Manchester, on the left, it extended to Columbia. Bragg's main base of supplies was at Chattanooga, and Rosecran's at Nashville, one hundred and fifty-one miles apart.

On June 23, Genl. W. S. Rosecrans, after having ordered up several small commands that were guarding outposts, moved his army out from Murfreesboro, he knowing that Bragg was well entrenched at Shelbyville, determined with his superior force to flank him out of his position; so Rosecrans made a feint on Bragg's left by moving General Mitchell's Cavalry Division up from Triune to Salem and Eagleville in the direction of Shelbyville, and on the same day, Gordon Grainger's Corps of three divisions and Brannon's Division of Thomas's Corps moved out the Shelbyville Pike some distance, then filed to the left and attacked Hardee on the Wartrace Road at Liberty Gap, where the hardest fighting of this campaign was done, except at Hoover's Cap.

Thomas's Corps moved out the Manchester Pike, and Crittenden with the Twenty-first Corps moved out to Readyville and awaited orders. He left Van Cleve with his Division to garrison Murfreesboro for a time. General Rosecrans knowing that the least resistance was out the Manchester Pike, which ran through a long canyon that is called Matt's Hollow, and also through Hoover's Gap in the direction of Manchester, a little village which lies east and somewhat in the rear of Bragg's posi-

tion, moved out on this pike with Wilder's Brigade of mounted infantry, as the advance of Thomas's Corps, with orders when they struck the Confederate's Cavalry to follow them closely through the Gap, and take possession of the southern mouth of it before the Confederates would have time to reinforce, which, with a force of about ten to one, they did.

I will here submit the official report of Brigadier General Bate who was in immediate command of the Confederates here.

Report of Brig. Genl. William B. Bate, C. S. Army, commanding Brigade, Stewart's Division : —

Camp Near Tyner's Station,

July 15, 1863.

Major : I have the honor to submit the following report of the battle of Hoover's Gap, fought on the evening of June 23 last by a part of my brigade : —

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of that day, while encamped one mile from Fairfield and four miles from Hoover's Gap, a courier arrived from Major General Stewart, directing me to send one regiment and a battery up Garrison's Fork towards Beech Grove. In a few moments a second courier arrived, directing me to send two regiments. The Twentieth Tennessee and the Thirty-seventh Georgia Regiments and the Eufaula Light Artillery were designated for the expedition, and at once started through a drenching rain in fulfillment of the order. T. D. Caswell's Battalion of Sharpshooters (Fourth Georgia Battalion) was directed to follow, and the remainder of my command ordered under arms, and to hold itself in readiness to move. Though the order was to send the force, I took the liberty of commanding it in person, believing it would meet the approbation of the Major-general commanding.

The command had not passed the confines of my camp before meeting in scattered remnants a part of the First (Third) Kentucky Cavalry in hot haste, stating that while on picket they had been scattered and driven from beyond Hoover's Gap by the advancing columns of the enemy. I had proceeded about one

mile when I met their Colonel (J. R. Butler) with some eight or ten of his men. He at once volunteered to return with me, and did so. I learned from him that three regiments of the enemy's cavalry had passed down the Manchester turnpike. I also about the same time heard from a citizen that some scouts of the enemy had already passed from the Manchester Pike down Noah's Fork as far as A. B. Robertson's mill, which was on the main road leading to my right and rear. I thereupon immediately sent a staff officer to camp, with instructions to Col. R. C. Tyler to move his command (the Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee Regiments consolidated) to some eligible and defensible position on the road up Noah's Fork, to prevent the enemy from turning our right and rear. Through same channel I ordered Col. Bush Jones to take his command (Ninth Alabama Battalion) one mile in front of our encampment, where the Dismal Hollow road diverges from its main direction and is intersected by a road leading to Garrison's Fork, to resist any attempt made by the enemy to pass in that direction, which was to my left, and to hold himself ready to reinforce our advance should occasion require.

These dispositions having been ordered, I hastily communicated them to Major General Stewart, at Fairfield, and moved on briskly to original destination. When about a mile from Beech Grove (which is near the entrance to Hoover's Gap), I threw out a company of skirmishers to my right, and sent forward with a few scouts at his own instance, Major William Clare, of General Bragg's staff, to ascertain the whereabouts of the enemy. His fire was soon drawn and his position developed. I immediately prepared to give him battle, and advanced two companies as skirmishers at a double quick to gain and occupy a skirt of woods before the enemy could do so, and to which he was advancing. Maj. Fred. Claybrooke (of the Twentieth Tennessee) pushed forward the skirmishers and effected the object, driving the enemy back after a sharp contest, in which Major Claybrooke, while gallantly pressing forward, received his death wound.

Our line of battle, composed of the Twentieth Tennessee and Thirty-seventh Georgia Regiments, extended at right angles

across the main road leading from Fairfield to Hoover's Gap, its left resting on the east bank of Garrison Fork. This line, with skirmishers well advanced, was moved forward until the enemy was driven back about a mile from where we first met him, into Hoover's Gap. One section of the Eufaula Light Artillery, under command of Lieut. W. H. Woods, was in the meantime placed in position on an eminence on my right, just previously occupied by the enemy's advance. This section (3-inch rifles), opened briskly and with telling effect so as to prevent the enemy's farther advance in that direction. It, in conjunction with our advanced skirmishers, completely commanded the exit from the gap on the east.

Having thus checked his advance on the Manchester pike, and learning that the mounted men who had been near Robertson's mill had returned to the gap before we arrived in sight of the same, believing my right and rear free from attack, I ordered, through a staff officer, Colonel Tyler, to bring his command up Garrison's Fork to the position we then occupied, and Colonel Jones to bring his to my left. Finding the enemy in force, and knowing he could without obstruction turn my left and gain a series of hills which commanded our then line of battle, and then relieve the Manchester pike, I at once moved Caswell's battalion of sharpshooters (which had just arrived), the Twentieth Tennessee, and the remaining section of the Eufaula Light Artillery, under command of W. J. McKenzie, to the left and across Garrison's Fork; ordered them to advance and drive the enemy before he could get a lodgment on the hills. My suspicion as to his probable movement was correct. He was advancing in force to gain the hills and turn our left.

The enemy was met with such spirit and resolution by these little commands, each playing its part most handsomely, that he gave way under their fierce attack until pressed back upon his second line. The engagement here became general and sanguinary.

Finding no disposition on the part of the foe to press my right to regain the ground from which he had been driven and relieve the Manchester pike, I ordered Col. A. F. Rudler, with the Thirty-seventh Georgia Regiment, to move his command across

the creek up the steep acclivity of its left bank, form line parallel to the same, and give an enfilading fire to the force then heavily engaging my left. The order was obeyed with alacrity and in good style. The enemy, anticipating the move, met it with a line of battle fronting the woods which skirted the bank of the creek. A bloody engagement here ensued with great odds against us, and after a futile but most persistent and gallant effort to dislodge him, Colonel Rudler properly withdrew his command under cover of the bank. At this juncture every gun and piece in that portion of my command which had arrived on the field was engaged in a spirited and deadly contest.

In this position we fought for nearly an hour, when, by his excess of numbers, the enemy turned our already extended left flank, giving an enfilading fire to the Twentieth Tennessee. It recoiled from the shock, was rallied, and formed in good time on a fence running a short distance from and perpendicular to our line of battle. Caswell's battalion of sharpshooters still held the right of the woods from which the enemy had been driven. Seeing, by his vastly superior force, that he could again turn my left without resistance, as every gun and piece of mine present were engaged, and Tyler and Jones not yet possibly within supporting distance, I removed the artillery then engaged on the left to a line of hills immediately in our rear and in front of William Johnson's house, which admirably overlooked the entire battle ground, as well as a considerable space to the right and left.

The artillery being placed in position on these commanding heights, my entire force present, excepting that guarding the east exit from the gap and the Manchester pike, was quickly and advantageously placed in such position as gave protection to both flanks, and ability to successfully repel any assault from the front. This position being secured, we held the enemy at bay with little effort and comparative security.

At this juncture, an hour before sunset, Lieut. Col. Bush. Jones, with the Ninth Alabama Battalion, arrived upon the field, under a heavy artillery fire, and was placed in position on the extreme left. Soon thereafter Colonel Tyler, with the Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee consolidated, arrived

and occupied the ground from which the enemy had been driven in the early part of the action. Major General Stewart arrived with reinforcements about sundown, and assumed command.

My command having lost in killed and wounded nearly twenty-five per cent. of the number engaged, being wet from the drenching rain, and exhausted from the fight, was relieved by the reenforcements, except the Twentieth Tennessee and the Eufaula Light Artillery, which remained without intermission in line of battle.

Thus closed with the day a most spirited and sanguinary conflict, in which less than seven hundred men (about one-half of my brigade), successfully fought and drove back into Hoover's Gap and held at bay until nightfall Wilder's Brigade of mounted infantry and two brigades of Reynold's Division of Thomas's Corps, at least five to one. It was a bright day for the glory of our arms, but a sad one when we consider the loss of the many gallant spirits who sealed with their blood their devotion to our cause.

Among the officers who fell in this day's action we have to lament that of Maj. Fred. Claybrooke, of the Twentieth Tennessee, one of the youngest but most gallant field officers known to the service. Capt. J. A. Pettigrew and Adjutant J. W. Thomas, of the same regiment, were dangerously wounded and have not yet recovered. Capt. W. M. Carter and Adjutant John R. Yourie, of Major Caswell's battalion, were severely wounded early in the action. Also Capt. W. A. Quinn, Lieut. William Hutchinson, and Lieut. John W. Humphrey, of the Thirty-seventh Georgia.

Our list of the killed and wounded of the six hundred and fifty engaged was one hundred and forty six, which list has been previously transmitted to you.

Col. T. B. Smith, commanding the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment; Col. A. F. Rudler, commanding the Thirty-seventh Georgia, and his Lieutenant Colonel, J. T. Smith; Maj. T. D. Caswell, commanding battalion of sharpshooters, and Second Lieutenant McKenzie, commanding Eufaula Light Artillery, together with the officers and men under their commands, have

interwoven with new laurels the wreaths they have won on other battle fields.

I am pleased to make my acknowledgements to Colonels Tyler and Jones for the prompt manner with which they obeyed every order given them, and for the rapidity with which they brought their commands on the field when relieved from the posts assigned them. My acknowledgements are likewise due and most cordially rendered for their gallant bearing and efficiency to Maj. G. W. Winchester, Capt. W. C. Yancey, Lieut. Thomas E. Blanchard, Lieut. James H. Bate, members of my staff, and Capt. J. E. Rice, ordnance officer, who brought up and supervised the distribution of ammunition under the severest fire. Lieut. Aaron S. Bate, a young man of seventeen years of age, and my volunteer aid, did well his part. I regret his death, which resulted from the exposure and exhaustion of that day.

Maj. William Clare, Assistant Inspector General, on General Bragg's Staff, was making an inspection of my brigade when the order from General Stewart was received. He volunteered to accompany and serve me during the fight. His gallantry was marked, and his services of such an efficient character as to merit my special and most favorable comment.

The morrow renewed our association with the line of battle, under the leadership of Major General Stewart. The Twentieth Tennessee and Maney's battery, under command of Lieut. H. M. McAdoo which had previously been held in reserve, were transferred by order of General Stewart, and placed under command of Brig. Genl. Bushrod Johnson.

The Eufaula Light Artillery was retained on the heights it had occupied the evening previous, and was under command of Brigadier General Johnson. The Thirty-seventh Georgia and Caswell's battalion of sharpshooters were held in reserve during the 25th, except two companies of the former, commanded by Capt. D. L. Gholston and Lieut. James A. Sanders, which were ordered to report to Brig. Genl. Clayton as skirmishers. Colonel Tyler and Lieutenant Colonel Jones, with their commands, were held in line on our center, subject to severe shelling during the entire day.

The next day's retreat was conducted in fine style, free from

undue excitement and straggling. My brigade was handsomely covered by Caswell's sharpshooters and two companies of skirmishers from Colonel Tyler's command. At one time they concealed themselves in a skirt of woods until the enemy's skirmishers had passed their right; they then opened such a deadly fire upon their flank as to precipitate them back in great confusion. This incident had much to do with the caution which afterwards characterised our pursuit.

I am, Major, most respectfully, your obedient servant,"

WM. B. BATE.
Brigadier-General."

MAJ. R. A. HATCHER,
Assistant Adjutant-General Stewart's Division.

In this action General Bate was painfully wounded but remained on the field in command of his heroic little band until nightfall before his wound was even dressed.

The battle of Hoover's Gap was fought on June 23, 1863, and after the battle the Twentieth Tennessee lay in line and on picket all night and until about noon on the 24th. Your writer stood picket the whole night in a freshly plowed field of corn in mud about half way to his knees. In the battle of Hoover's Gap the beautiful stand of colors that was presented by General Breckinridge, made from his wife's wedding dress, and requested by her to be given to the most gallant regiment in his division, and which was given to the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, had its staff shot in two and the eagle shot off the top of the staff in this engagement. Stewart's Division now retreated back to Tullahoma, and on the 29th, Bate's Brigade was drawn up in line of battle out on the Manchester Road, about two miles from Tullahoma, and in our front, skirmishing with the enemy, was the gallant Fourth Tennessee Cavalry Regiment, under the immediate command of that knightly soldier, Col. J. W. Starnes, who on that morning received his death wound. His regiment and the Twentieth Tennessee Infantry were raised in the same section of country.

Bragg's Army was now in full retreat out of Middle Tennessee. Bate's Brigade crossed Elk River at Bethpage Bridge and

brought up the rear of Hardee's Corps. We had gone some three miles beyond the bridge upon the side of the mountain, when a courier came dashing up to Colonel Smith and said that the Yankees were driving our cavalry from the bridge, and the Twenticth Tennessee Regiment must go back; so we were double-quicked back and found that Martin's Cavalry had been driven away by the enemy's artillery, which had not as yet reached the bridge. The Twentieth Regiment, on their arrival deployed as skirmishers and drove the enemy back and burned the bridge. In a short time another courier came in haste and informed Colonel Smith that the enemy had crossed at a ford three miles above, and was about to cut his regiment off and to double-quick out from there as quickly as possible, which we did, and camped that night on top of the mountain without anything to eat except hard tack and water. Next day we moved on towards Chattanooga, by way of Battle Creek, and crossed the Tennessee River at Kelley's Ferry on a pontoon bridge, July 6, and bivouacked that night at Wauhatchie Station on the N. & C. R. R.

This was a campaign of twelve days without ceasing, in which Bragg with an army of forty-three thousand was flanked out of Tennessee by Rosecrans with an army which, by this time had been increased to seventy thousand. General Rosecrans could place as many men as Bragg had in our front, and then have nearly as many to flank us with. Bragg had half a dozen passes over the mountain to defend, and could not successfully do so, with the number he had. There is one slur thrown at the troops from Tennessee in Bragg's army that I propose to clear up right here, viz: "that the Tennessee troops deserted in large numbers during this campaign." Now let us see: Bragg had two corps of infantry at Shelbyville, Tullahoma and Fairfield when the campaign began, besides his cavalry.

Polk's official report of effective men, on June 20, was 14,493, and at the close of the campaign he reports, July 10, 1863, present for duty 14,896, a difference in his favor of 402 more than he started with, to say nothing of his killed and wounded; and it was in Polk's Corps that the greater number of Tennessee soldiers of this army were. Hardee had in his Corps

June 20, present for duty, 15,187; July 10 his return for duty was 13,413, which showed a loss of 1,774, while he had not near so many Tennesseeans as Polk had. It is true that Hardee's Corps did most of the fighting, simply because he was on the right wing where Rosecrans was making his flank movement; and General Rosecrans only claims to have captured deserters and all 1,634. This was the second time that Tennesseeans had left their State to do battle for the cause to which they were wedded.

Tennesseeans fought as gallantly in the swamps and plains of Louisiana and Mississippi as they did on the northern border of their own State.

By July 8, 1863, Bragg had crossed to the south bank of the Tennessee and bivouacked his army in and near Chattanooga about forty thousand strong, with Buckner at Knoxville with about five thousand Confederate troops.

General Rosecrans was now on the north bank of the Tennessee, or in close connection thereto with an army which his official returns show was present for duty June 30, as follows: —

Fourteenth Corps, present for duty	21,793
Twentieth Corps, present for duty	13,188
Twenty-first Corps, present for duty, Crittenden	13,964
Reserve Corps, Gordon Grainger	16,909
Cavalry	9,952
Miscellaneous detachments	2,384
At general headquarters	1,068
Total present for duty	79,258

Genl. Ambrose E. Burnside was at Cumberland Gap and vicinity with a Federal Army of 25,000.

Bragg was now at Chattanooga which is the gateway to East Tennessee and North Georgia. Chattanooga then must be Rosecrans's objective point which he hoped to flank Bragg out of with his superior numbers as he did out of Shelbyville and Tullahoma.

The last two mentioned places he flanked him out of by going to his right, now he proposed going to Bragg's left; and to un-

derstand the position and movements of the two armies our reader should know something of the topography of the country.

Just south of the Tennessee River, and running parallel with it, are two ranges of mountains, known as Sand and Lookout Mountains. The northern extremity of Sand Mountain is called "Raccoon Mountain," where the Tennessee River cuts through and makes a very deep chasm. Between Sand Mountain and Lookout Mountain is Lookout Valley, which some call "Wills Valley." Lookout Creek flows through this valley, and empties into the Tennessee River below Chattanooga. Beyond Lookout Valley is Lookout Mountain, that rises 2,400 feet above the level of the sea, and butts square up to the Tennessee River near Chattanooga. There were then only three roads leading over this mountain, one near the river, the second at Johnson's Creek, twenty miles southwest, and the third at Winston's Gap, 42 miles from Chattanooga.

Just east of Lookout Mountain is Chattanooga Valley, with a small creek by the same name flowing through and emptying into the Tennessee River. Just south of the city of Chattanooga, and south of Chattanooga Valley, runs Missionary Ridge; and parallel with and south of Missionary Ridge is Chickamauga Valley, with Chickamauga River running through it, and emptying into the Tennessee River a few miles above Chattanooga. This river is formed by the flowing together of East, Middle, and West Chickamauga Creeks, and Pea Vine Creek. West Chickamauga and Chattanooga Creeks both have their sources in McLemore's Cove, which cove is formed by Pigeon Mountain on the east, and jutting to the north is a spur of Lookout, and on the west a portion of Missionary Ridge.

The great wagon road that leads from Chattanooga south to Rome, Ga., passes through Missionary Ridge at Rossville Gap, crosses Chickamauga Creek at Lee and Gordon's mills, and east of Pigeon Mountain runs on to Lafayette, Summerville, and Rome, Ga.

East of the Chickamauga you will find Pigeon Mountain and Taylor's Ridge, and southeast of these runs the Western and Atlantic R. R., from Chattanooga to Atlanta, 138 miles; and 38 miles from Chattanooga, on this road, is Dalton, situated in the



MAJOR JNO. F. GUTHRIE.

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valley of the Coosa River, which is the gateway from North Georgia into East Tennessee.

On August 21, Crittenden, who was in command of Rosecrans's left wing, sent General Wilder with his brigade of mounted infantry, and Wagner's brigade of infantry, to reconnoitre the north bank of the river from Harrison's Landing, a few miles above Chattanooga, down to and opposite the city, and it was these troops that threw the first shells into Chattanooga.

On August 29 Rosecrans began with his army to cross the Tennessee River at four points, viz: McCook at Caperton's Ferry, 42 miles below Chattanooga; Thomas at Sand Mountains, others at Bridgeport and the mouth of Battle Creek; and by September 4 his army was across. Rosecrans now began to cross the mountains through the various gaps in a southeastern direction. On September 10 his two advance divisions, under Negley and Baird, had reached McLemore's Cove, and Stewart's and Hindman's divisions were sent by a night march to attack them. Stewart arrived first and drew up in line of battle, but for some cause Hindman's division did not arrive until late in the evening, and before he could get in position the enemy beat a hasty retreat. Stewart's division, in which was the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, moved forward just at sundown, and struck the road where the Yankees had passed a few minutes after dark.

The woods were in heavy foliage, the dust from the retreating Yankees was very heavy, and the moon began to shine very brightly. It was a grand and impressing scene.

The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment being on the right of the line, struck the road close on the rear of the Yankee column, when Colonel Smith called for a detail of one officer and three men. I, with three men, reported, when Colonel Smith said: "Lieutenant, I want you to take your men and follow up these Yankees, and see what becomes of them, and if you are not killed or captured, report back to me some time to-night." My little command of three started, we knew not where, and when about twenty steps away, Colonel Smith hollowed out: "Good-bye, old fellows, I never expect to see you any more."

That night, with my little command, we captured twenty Yankees, and turned them over to Hindman's men, whom we

met late in the night, and after we got rid of our prisoners, we heard there were a lot of bee gums that had been partially robbed by the Yankees, but in their haste to get out of the cove, they did not do a good job. The owner of the bees had left home, so my little command, after a council of war, decided that the honey ought not to be lost. We at once attacked the gums, and the bees attacked us, and we were badly stung about the face and hands. We had gotten honey all over our faces and hands, and had no water to wash it off.

By next morning our faces were so swollen, and the honey caught the dust, until we hardly knew each other.

The next day Stewart's division was moved back in the direction of Chickamauga. Both armies were maneuvering on the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th for the advantage in position. On the night of Sept. 18, 1863, which was the last of the maneuvering before the battle, the two armies occupied their respective positions as follows: General Rosecrans was on the north bank of West Chickamauga with four corps, viz: Thomas on the left with the Fourteenth Army Corps of 21,448 men; Crittenden in the center with Twenty-first Corps of 13,635; McCook on the right with Twentieth Corps of 12,325; Gordon Grainger's Reserve Corps, 6,987; Cavalry under Mitchell, Wilder and Minty, 9,517; attached to headquarters, signal corps, etc., 2,007, and 4,243 officers, which made the grand total of Rosecrans's Army, Sept. 18, 1863, 70,162.

General Bragg, on the night of the 17th, was on the south side of West Chickamauga with three corps: Polk on the right, fronting Thomas; Buckner in the center, fronting Crittenden; Hill on the left, fronting McCook, with Wheeler's Cavalry in McLemore's Cove on the left; and Forrest's Cavalry on the right wing. Bragg's line reached from Reed's Bridge on the right to a little beyond Lee and Gordon's Mill on the left, with Wheeler's Cavalry in McLemore's Cove, still further to the left.

The line of infantry was said to be about three and one-quarter miles long. Bragg's forces consisted of 33,000 infantry and artillery of his own command; 5,000 under Gen. Buckner, who had withdrawn from Knoxville and joined Bragg; two small divisions from Mississippi, 5,000 strong; Longstreet's corps,

from Virginia, composed of the two divisions of Hood and Law, composed of nine brigades, three of whom did not arrive in time for the battle, viz., Wofford's, Bryan's, and Jenkins'; Longstreet's entire corps, numbering 5,000, with three brigades, not arriving in time, would make the force that he carried into action about 3,400; Wheeler's and Forrest's Cavalry, 11,500, making a grand total of 52,900.

Everything was now ready on both sides for the great death struggle of the ages. Bragg issued to his army on the night of the 17th the following orders to be carried out on the 18th: —

"*Headquarters Army of Tennessee.*

"IN THE FIELD, LEET'S TAN YARD,
September 18, 1863.

"General Bushrod Johnson's column, on crossing the Chickamauga at or near Reed's Bridge, will turn to the left by the most practicable route, and sweep up the Chickamauga towards Lee and Gordon's Mills.

Second. Gen. W. H. T. Walker will cross at Alexander's Bridge, and unite his forces with Johnson's, and push vigorously on the enemy's flank and rear in the same direction.

Third. General Buckner, with his corps, will cross at Thedford's Ford and join in the movement to the left, and press the enemy up stream from towards Lee and Gordon's Mills. (The Twentieth Tennessee was in Buckner's Corps.)

Fourth. General Polk will press his forces to the front of Lee and Gordon's Mills, and if met by too much resistance to cross, will bear to the right and cross at Dalton's Ford, or at Thedford's Ford, as may be necessary, and join in the attack.

Fifth. General Hill will cover our left flank from an advance of the enemy from the cove, and by pressing our cavalry in his front, ascertain if the enemy is reinforcing at Lee and Gordon's Mills, in which event he will attack them in flank.

Sixth. Wheeler, with his cavalry, will hold the gaps in Pigeon Mountain, and cover our rear and left and bring up stragglers.

Seventh. All teams not with troops should go towards Ringgold and Dalton, beyond Taylor's Ridge. All cooking should be done at the trains, and when cooked forwarded to the troops.

Eighth. The above movements will be executed with the utmost promptness, vigor, and persistence."

By command of—

GENERAL BRAGG.

GEORGE W. BRENT, A. A. General.

This movement began at 6 A. M. on the 18th, the resistance caused by the enemy's cavalry and mounted infantry and the narrow country roads caused unexpected delays, and a crossing was not effected until late in the afternoon. On the morning of the 18th, the column on the right was put in motion, Gen. N. B. Forrest with his cavalry on the extreme right, forcing a crossing at and near Reed's Bridge.

Gen. Bushrod Johnson, who had been stationed at Ringold with two brigades, and joined Bragg a day or two before, was now in command of Bragg's right column of infantry. He crossed over at Reed's Bridge, and at a ford just above the bridge, about 4 P. M., and moved west about one mile to Jay's Steam Saw Mill at the forks of the road. Both of these roads led to Alexander's Bridge.

Gen. John B. Hood came upon the field while Johnson was at Jay's Saw Mill, and being Gen. Johnson's senior, took charge of the column, and Johnson returned to his division of two brigades. Gen. Walker, who was on the left of Johnson's command, attempted to cross at Alexander's Bridge, but was met with such resistance that he was delayed some time, and when he did get possession of the bridge, the enemy had torn it up so badly that he could not cross on it, and had to pass some distance down stream to Byram's Ford before he could effect a crossing, which was done late in the evening, and his division united after dark with Hood's column, and Forrest's cavalry on the north bank of the Chickamauga ; so Bragg's Army, on the night of the 18th, was divided by the Chickamauga River, with Hood, Bushrod Johnson, Trigg, and Forrest separated from the main army. This was a grand opportunity for Gen. Rosecrans, but he did not make use of it, just as Bragg lost an opportunity of crushing Crittenden's corps on the 13th, as they moved out on the Chattanooga Road, and Polk with his corps, and W. H. T. Walker's

division were ordered to attack and did not do it. Bragg's orders were not carried out again on the 9th, in McLemore's Cove. Gen. Bragg had just grounds for complaint against his inferior officers in this engagement, as we will see further on.

On the morning of the 19th, Buckner, whose corps was on the left of Walker's division, began about daylight to cross his corps at Thedford's Ford, and Cheatham's division of Polk's corps crossed later in the day at the same Ford.

Forrest with his cavalry opened the battle about 8 o'clock, when he drove the enemy some distance, when he in turn was driven back, and Walker was ordered to support him. When these two dashing spirits united their efforts, who could stand before them?

The Yankees recoiled, and left in the hands of Walker and Forrest several batteries of artillery and their dead and wounded. By this time they had aroused the old war dog (Thomas) on the other side, who with his superior numbers, forced Walker and Forrest back; and the gallant Cheatham, with his Tennessee division, was ordered to the help of Walker and Forrest, but before Cheatham arrived, Walker and Forrest had been forced back to their first position. Now the forces of Walker, Forrest, and Cheatham were united and the struggle became desperate. But Thomas's forces, though largely superior, had to go back. Hood's forces were now ordered in and the battle became general. Now in the move to the right, an opening in the line between Cheatham and Hood was discovered, and Stewart's division of Buckner's corps was thrown to the right to fill this gap, and at once became hotly engaged. The left of Buckner's corps was about one mile from Lee and Gordon's Mills. Bragg was now pressing Rosecrans's left and left center, and the battle was being waged over the possession of the Chattanooga Road, which if Bragg got possession of, would force Rosecrans into the hills west, and cut him off from Chattanooga.

It was now in the afternoon, and Gen. Polk was ordered to cross the remainder of his corps below Lee and Gordon's Mills and take charge of the right wing.

Gen. A. P. Stewart's division composed of the brigades of Clayton, Brown, and Bate (the 20th Tennessee was in Bate's

brigade), was thrown forward in column by brigades with such telling effect as to penetrate the enemy's center and get possession of the Chattanooga Road, the bone of contention, and pressed the enemy half a mile beyond it until both flanks were exposed and he slowly retired. A detailed description of this action will be submitted with Gen. Bate's official report.

Hill's corps, late in the day, was ordered to cross below Lee and Gordon's Mills, and Cleburne's division of Hill's corps was the first of his corps to reach the right about sundown, and was ordered to attack at once. Your writer, who was lying on the field, as he thought, mortally wounded, wishes to pay this compliment to this Gallant Chief and his Veteran Command. I never heard a more terrific roar of musketry on any field; almost every gun seemed to fire at once, which showed the discipline of his men. The Yankees were driven back in great disorder for nearly one mile. This magnificent destruction of human life that was performed by the gallant son of the Emerald Isle and his command, closed the fighting of the 19th, except skirmishing; and the Confederates were masters of the ground that had been fought over.

It was ascertained from deserters and prisoners, that Gen. Rosecrans had fought nearly the whole of his 70,000 men, and Bragg knew exactly how many of his command had been engaged. He had in the battle up to this time Walker's division of 2,500, Cheatham's 7,000, Stewart's 4,040, Cleburne's 5,115, Hood, Bushrod Johnson, and Trigg's 8,428, Forrest and Pegram's cavalry 3,500, making a grand total of Confederate troops who fought on the first day of 33,583. None of Polk's corps, except Cheatham's division, were engaged, and only Cleburne's division of Hill's corp; and a good portion of Longstreet's command had only come upon the field after dark on the 19th.

Gen. James Longstreet arrived on the field and reported to Gen. Bragg at 11 o'clock at night on the 19th, and received his orders from Bragg. During the night of the 19th, both armies were reorganized. Bragg withdrew Wheeler's cavalry from McLemore's Cove and placed them nearer his left. He reorganized his army into two wings, the right and left, assigning the command of the right wing to Lieut. Gen. Polk, and the left wing

to Lieut. Gen. Longstreet. Polk had in his wing the divisions of Breckinridge, Cheatham, Cleburne, Walker, and Forrest's cavalry numbering 22,071 men. Gen. Longstreet, who commanded the left wing, had the divisions of Preston, Hindman, Johnson, Law, Stewart, and Wheeler's cavalry, numbering 22,982, making a grand total of Confederates for the second day's battle of 45,453.

Now Gen. Rosecrans's forces for the struggle of the second day were McCook's corps 14,345, Thomas's 24,072, Crittenden's 13,975, Grainger's Reserve corps 6,987, cavalry 7,000, making a grand total of 66,379. This gives a difference in favor of Gen. Rosecrans of 20,926.

Gen Bragg, in his official report of the battle of Chickamauga, in Series 1st, Vol. xxx, part 11, page 33 of the *War of the Rebellion*, says: "After the close of the engagement on the evening of the 19th, the proper commanders were summoned to my camp fire, and there received their specific instructions touching the disposition of the troops for the operations of the next morning." Gen. Bragg said that Lieut. Gen. Polk was ordered to assail the enemy on our extreme right at day-dawn on the 20th, and take up the attack in rapid succession to the left. The left wing was to await the attack by the right and the whole line then to be pushed vigorously throughout its extent. "Before the dawn of day," he says, "myself and staff were ready for the saddle, occupying a position in the rear of and accessible to all parts of the line. With increased anxiety and disappointment I waited until after sunrise without hearing a gun, and at length I despatched a staff officer to Lieut. Gen. Polk to ascertain the cause of the delay, and to urge him to a prompt and speedy movement. This officer not finding the general with his troops, and learning where he had spent the night, proceeded across Alexander's Bridge to the east side of the Chickamauga and there delivered my message."

Gen. Bragg said that he proceeded to the right wing in person, and found the troops not even prepared for the movement. He sent other messengers immediately for Gen. Polk, and he shortly joined him, and his orders were renewed and the attack began at 10 A. M., and then the troops went to the assault in detail.

Gen. Bragg further said, "that the reason assigned for this unfortunate delay by the wing commander appears in part in the reports of his subordinates, which it is sufficient to say, were entirely unsatisfactory."

This is Gen. Polk's reply for not attacking the enemy at day light on the morning of the 20th.

HEADQUARTERS POLK'S CORPS, ARMY OF TENNESSEE,
Missionary Ridge, September 28, 1863.

COLONEL: In reply to your communication, I would respectfully submit to the commanding General the following statement, explanatory of the failure to make an attack upon the enemy, as ordered, at daylight on the 20th.

After leaving army headquarters on the night of the 19th, where I received a verbal order to attack the enemy at daylight, I rode immediately to my headquarters, beyond Alexander's Bridge, where I arrived at 11 P. M.

On the way, accompanied by General Breckinridge, I met a staff officer of Lieutenant-General Hill, to whom I communicated my orders, and from whom I learned that General Hill's headquarters were at Thedford's Ford. I asked him to say to General Hill that my headquarters were beyond and near to Alexander's Bridge, and that I desired to see him there. On arriving at my headquarters, I issued orders, dated 11: 30 o'clock, to Lieutenant-General Hill and Major-General Cheatham to attack the enemy simultaneously at daylight, General Walker's division being held in reserve.

I also posted two couriers at the bridge to keep up fires and inform persons where my headquarters were. My orders were sent by couriers to the headquarters of the respective generals. General Walker's returned promptly. The courier sent to General Hill, after searching for the General through the night, returned about daylight, saying that he could not find him. General Hill did not make his appearance at my headquarters. Hearing nothing of the attack, and not knowing where to find General Hill, I sent staff officers in haste directly to Generals Breckinridge and Cleburne, with information that

General Hill could not be found, and with orders to make the attack at once, and rode to the front myself.

Shortly afterwards I received, in reply to my orders, a communication from General Hill, stating that his divisions were getting their rations, and would not be ready to move for an hour or more, and also reporting that Breckinridge's wagons had been lost between Thedford's Ford and the battle field. On reaching General Hill's line, I saw General Cleburne, of General Hill's corps, and asked if he had received my orders to attack. He said he had received it in the presence of General Hill. I found also that General Hill had delayed his attack in consequence of a misapprehension on his part as to the relation between his line and that of General Cheatham, he supposing that Cheatham's line was formed, as he said, on his left at nearly a right angle to his own. In this he was mistaken. The relation of the lines were such as is indicated in the accompanying diagram.

General Hill mistook the line of one of Cheatham's reserve brigades (Jackson's), for that of his front line. The order to attack was then repeated and executed.

Respectfully, Colonel, your obedient servant,

L. POLK,
Lieutenant-General Commanding,

LIEUT. COL. GEORGE WILLIAM BRENT,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

On the morning of the 20th, General Rosecrans's line was formed with Thomas on the left, Crittenden in the center and McCook on the right. On Thomas's extreme left was Baird's division, supported by one brigade of Negley's division; next to Baird's comes Palmer's division, next to Palmer, Johnson's, next to Johnson's Reynold's, and next Brannon's. This part of Rosecrans's line had been well entrenched during the night of the 19th. The attack was opened about 10 o'clock by Forrest, Breckinridge and Cleburne attacking the troops of Baird, Palmer and Johnson behind their works with partial success. The attack was taken up by the Confederates on to their left, until the two armies were locked in deadly embrace.

Polk had now brought into action almost his entire reserve,

and was pressing Thomas so hard that he was calling for help. Longstreet with the left wing was gradually forcing back McCook and Crittenden's right; it was about this time, 2. p. m., that a fatal mistake was made by the Federal Commanders, who ordered the three remaining brigades of Negley's division, who were on the right of Brannon and left of Wood, hurriedly to the left to support Baird and Palmer, whose breastworks had been stormed and carried by Breckinridge and Cleburne. It was in this assault that Brig. Genl. Lucius E. Polk and his command covered themselves with glory.

This gallant brigade was composed of the following regiments: First Arkansas, Second Confederate (Tennessee), Fifth Confederate (Tennessee), and the Second, Thirty-fifth, and Forty-eighth Tennessee.

Gen. D. H. Hill, in his official report, says that the charge of Polk's brigade, and the capture of this angle and two other lines of the Federal works, gave us the victory.

It was the moving of Negley's command that left the gap between Wood and Brannon that Longstreet discovered, and poured seven brigades through it in less than sixty minutes, routing three divisions of Rosecran's line and badly demoralizing the fourth.

It was here that the Federal Brigadier-General Lytle, who was trying to stay this tide, was killed. It was this General Lytle that wrote that famous poem, "I am Dying, Egypt, Dying."

This unfortunate gap for Rosecrans was made still broader by Wood receiving orders to close up on Reynolds, when Brannon was between him and Reynolds, while Wood had to pass to the rear and left of Brannon to close up on Reynolds. It was in this charge that Rosecrans lost his headquarters wagons, forty pieces of artillery, a large supply of medical stores and ambulances, besides a number of prisoners. Bragg at this time, 3 P. M., was directing his right wing in person, and massed the divisions of Breckinridge, Cleburne, and Walker, and hurled them against Thomas's left, and doubled it back. McCook and Crittenden had now abandoned their corps, and gone ten miles back to Chattanooga, and left their divisions and brigade commanders to take care of themselves, back on Snodgrass Hill,

where the bulk of Rosecran's army had now been driven, while General Rosecrans had abandoned the field and joined McCook and Crittenden, two of his corps commanders, back into Chattanooga. Snodgrass' Hill, by 5 P. M., was covered from base to summit with confused lines of blue.

Gordon Grainger, who had been held in reserve near Rossville Gap with a corps of 6,987 men, was ordered in great haste to support Thomas, the only organized corps on the field. It is said that Grainger came upon the field like a roaring lion, seeking whom he might devour, but his introduction to Bragg's right was of such a warm and cordial nature that he departed in less than three hours time in company with that grand old soldier, George H. Thomas, who had set out about dark to see if he could discover the whereabouts of Rosecrans, McCook, and Crittenden, whom he afterwards found back in Chattanooga. But before Thomas and Grainger left the field, the terrible struggle took place around Snodgrass Hill, where Longstreet, with the divisions of Hindman, Bushrod Johnson and Preston attacked the hill on the west, Stewart, Laws and Kershaw on the south, while a portion of Polk's corps was sweeping down from the east across the Rossville road. When assault after assault was made upon this elevated stronghold that had packed on its blood-stained sides men and artillery as thick as they could stand, your writer heard General Boynton, who was in command of a Federal brigade on Snodgrass Hill that evening, say that the "Confederates made seventeen different charges on the different parts of the Federal line before they finally carried them, and such a thing was unequaled in the history of the world."

The Confederate troops who fought on the south side would go up against this mountain of blue only to be repulsed and fall back in the Dyer field, just far enough to reform in line in face and full view of the enemy, and return to the charge time after time. It was a scene grand, glorious, and bewildering. The Confederates seem to have been intoxicated with prospects of final victory, and about 6 : 30 o'clock Hindman, Preston, and Bushrod Johnson, with nine brigades, made that awful assault from the west that swept the last Yankee off of Snodgrass Hill, and in twenty minutes York's Georgia Battery, under Lieutenant

Everitt, was on top of the hill pouring grape and shells into the demoralized and retreating ranks of Yankees as they passed down the northern slope of Snodgrass Hill in the direction of Rossville Gap. When that great blue mass was seen sliding down the north slope of the hill, leaving behind them their killed, wounded, and artillery, there was a rebel yell that went up from Bragg's army that echoed and reechoed until it filled the valleys and shook the mountains, the like of which has never been heard since Joshua encompassed the city of Jericho, seven times, and halted the children of Israel and faced them inwards to the city, and ordered his priests to blow the trumpets, and Israel raised a yell that shook the walls of Jericho until they fell to the ground. So your writer would not have been surprised if he had heard a few days after the taking of Snodgrass Hill by the Confederates, that the spires on the churches in Chattanooga, ten miles away, had fallen from the effects of that glorious yell.

How better can a soldier die
Than fighting fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers,
And the temples of his God?

There is nothing on this earth as grand and inspiring, raising the soul of the Confederate soldier to those heavenly heights as the life-stirring strains of "Dixie" and that soul-bursting rebel yell.

At the close of the battle, on the night of the 20th, Mr. C. A. Dana, the distinguished editor and assistant secretary of War under Mr. Lincoln, telegraphed to Washington "that Chickamauga is as fatal a name in our history as Bull Run."

General Rosecrans arrived at Chattanooga about 4 o'clock on the evening of the 20th, and a few minutes later McCook and Crittenden arrived. Garfield, his chief-of-staff, who had left him about 3 P. M. at Rossville Gap, and went to Thomas, now sent Rosecrans a dispatch that Thomas and Grainger were still holding out. Immediately he swung it around over his head and said: "Thank God, the day is not yet lost," and hustled McCook and Crittenden out of Chattanooga back to Rossville Gap to halt the stragglers there, and form them in line. After dark

Thomas and Grainger fell back to Rossville Gap and lined up to the right and left of the gap on Missionary Ridge, three miles south of Chattanooga ; and on the 21st the bulk of the Federal army moved into the trenches about Chattanooga that Bragg had thrown up before he evacuated.

Now the great battle of Chickamauga had been fought, and both Rosecrans and Bragg had their "ifs" to explain to their respective governments. Rosecrans says if that gap had not been left in his line on the 20th, between Wood and Brannon, he could have won a glorious victory ; and "if" his government had furnished him more cavalry, results would have been different ; and "if" Bragg had not fought with largely superior numbers, he could have whipped him anyhow"

Any one who knows the Yankee character, knows what this last "if" means, viz., that whenever they got whipped, the Rebels always had largely superior numbers.

This is surely a compliment to the Confederate generals, for them to marshall a superior force on any field, while the Confederacy had only about 600,000 soldiers, and the Federal Government had 2,859,000, or five to one.

Now General Bragg had his "ifs" to explain to his Government, and says that "if his order had been obeyed in McLemore's Cove, Baird's and Negley's divisions would have had no easy time ; and if Polk and Walker had attacked the Twenty-first Corps on its way out of Chattanooga to Lee and Gordon's Mills, on the 13th, it would have been crushed ; and "if" Polk, who was in command of the right wing, had not spent the night of the 19th south of the Chickamauga, away from his troops that were lying in line of battle, and the enemy only a few hundred yards away, and had attacked the enemy at day dawn, as ordered by the commanding general, in person, Rosecran's army would never have stopped at Chattanooga.

In the two days' battle of Chickamauga, Rosecrans's reports show that he had present for duty 70,162 officers and men, and that he lost 1,657 killed, 9,756 wounded, 4,757 captured, making a total of 16,170, including the loss of four Generals, Lytle, Hegg, Baldwin and King.

General Bragg's official report shows that the Confederates

lost three Brigadier-Generals, viz., Smith, Helm, and Deshler, and Adams, Gregg and McNair wounded. Major-General Hood lost a leg on the 20th. There were captured fifty-one pieces of artillery, fifteen thousand stands of small arms, and eight thousand prisoners.

The organization of the Army of Tennessee from General Bragg's official reports of September 19 and 20, 1863, will show that Lieutenant-General Polk's Corps, which was Hill's Corps after Polk took command of the right wing, consisted of —

Cheatham's Division : —

Brigadier-General Jackson's Brigade : Second Georgia Battalion, Fifth Georgia Regiment, and the Fifth and Eighth Mississippi Regiments.

Preston Smith's Brigade : Eleventh, Twelfth, Forty-seventh, Thirteenth, One Hundred and Fifty-fourth and Twenty-ninth Tennessee Regiments, and Dawson's Battalion.

Maney's Brigade : First and Twenty-seventh Tennessee Regiments, Fourth Tennessee Confederate Regiment, Sixth and Ninth Tennessee Regiments, and the Twenty-fourth Tennessee Battalion.

Wright's Brigade: Eighth, Sixteenth, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-eighth, Fifty-first and Fifty-second Tennessee Regiments.

Strahl's Brigade : Fourth, Fifth, Nineteenth, Twenty-fourth, Thirty-first and Thirty-Third Tennessee Regiments.

Attached to Cheatham's Division were the following batteries: Carnes's Tennessee, Scoggins's Georgia, Scott's Tennessee, and Smith's and Stanford's Mississippi batteries.

Hill's Corps, Cleburne's Division : —

Wood's Brigade : Sixteenth, Thirty-third, Forty-fifth, and Eighteenth Alabama Regiments, Thirty-second and Forty-fifth Mississippi Regiments, and the Fifteenth Mississippi Battalion.

Polk's Brigade : First Arkansas, Third and Fifth Confederate, and Second, Thirty-fifth and Forty-eighth Tennessee Regiments.

Deshler's Brigade : Nineteenth Alabama, Twenty-fourth Arkansas, and the Sixth and Tenth Texas Regiments, and Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Twenty-fourth Texas Cavalry Regiments dismounted.

Calvert's Arkansas, Douglass' Texas, and Semple's Alabama Batteries.

Breckinridge's Division : —

Helm's Brigade : Forty-first Alabama, and Second, Fourth, Sixth, and Ninth Kentucky Regiments.

Adam's Brigade: Thirty-second Alabama, and the Thirteenth, Twentieth, Sixteenth, Twenty-fifth, and Nineteenth Louisiana Regiments, and the Fourteenth Louisiana Battalion.

Stovall's Brigade : First, Third, and Fourth Florida, and the Forty-seventh Georgia and Sixtieth North Carolina Regiments.

Cobb's, and Graves's Kentucky, Mebane's Tennessee, and Slocum's Louisiana Batteries.

Walker's Division : —

Gist's Brigade : Forty-sixth Georgia Regiment, Eighth Georgia Battalion, and the Sixteenth and Twenty-Fourth South Carolina Regiments.

Ector's Brigade : Stone's Alabama and Pound's Mississippi Sharpshooters, Twenty-ninth North Carolina Regiment, and the Ninth, Tenth, and Thirty-second Texas Cavalry Regiments dismounted.

Wilson's Brigade : Twenty-fifth, Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Georgia Regiments, and the First Georgia and Fourth Louisiana Battalions.

Ferguson's South Carolina and Howell's Georgia Batteries.

Liddel's Division of two Brigades : —

Govan's Brigade : Second, Fifteenth, Fifth, Thirteenth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Arkansas Regiments, and the First Louisiana Regulars.

Walthall's Brigade: Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth and Thirty-fourth Mississippi Regiments.

Fowler's Alabama, and Warren's Mississippi Batteries.

Forrest's Cavalry Corps.

Armstrong's Division : —

Col. James T. Wheeler's Brigade : Third Arkansas, Second Kentucky, Sixth Tennessee Regiments, and the Eighteenth Tennessee Battalion.

Dibrell's Brigade: Fourth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Tennessee Regiments, and Shaw's and Hamilton's Tennessee Battalions.

Hoggin's and Morton's Tennessee Batteries.

This was Forrest's old brigade.

Pegram's Division : —

Davidson's Brigade: First and Sixth Georgia, and Sixth North Carolina Regiments, Rucker's Tennessee Legion, Twelfth and Sixteenth Tennessee Battalions, and Huwald's Tennessee Battery.

Scott's Brigade: Tenth Confederate, First Louisiana, Second and Fifth Tennessee Regiments, a detachment of Jno. H. Morgan's command and Robinson's Louisiana Battery.

Polk's Corps, or the right wing of the army numbered 22,471.

LEFT WING.

Lieut-Genl. Longstreet commanding.

Hindman's Division :—

Anderson's Brigade: Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, Forty-first and Forty-fourth Mississippi Regiments, Ninth Mississippi Battalion and Garrity's Alabama Battery.

Dea's Brigade: Nineteenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-fifth, Thirty-ninth and Fiftieth Alabama Regiments, Seventeenth Alabama Battalion and Dent's Alabama Battery.

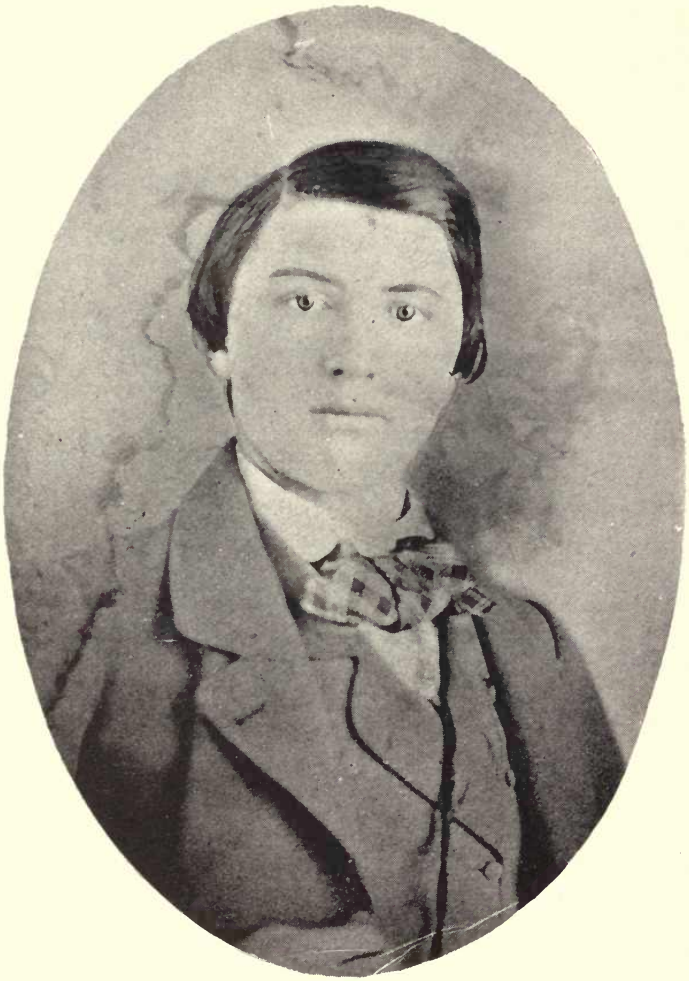
Manigault's Brigade: Twenty-fourth, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-fourth Alabama, and the Tenth and Nineteenth South Carolina Regiments and Walter's Alabama Battery.

Buckner's Corps : —

Stewart's Division was on the right on the 19th, Col. Jno. G. Fulton commanding First Brigade: Seventeenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-third, Twenty-fifth and Forty-fourth Tennessee Regiments.

Bate's Brigade: Fifty-eighth Alabama and Thirty-seventh Georgia Regiments, Fourth Georgia Battalion, and the Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh (consolidated), and Twentieth Tennessee Regiments.

Brown's Brigade: Eighteenth, Twenty-sixth, Thirty-second



David Gooch King, Co. B.

See page 423.

and Forty-fifth Tennessee Regiments, and the Twenty-third Tennessee Battalion.

Clayton's Brigade: Eighteenth, Thirty-sixth, and Thirty-eighth Alabama Regiments.

First Arkansas, Dawson's Georgia, York's Georgia (this battery of four guns fired four hundred and twenty-eight rounds), and the Eufaula, Ala., Batteries.

The Eufaula Battery of Bate's Brigade fired the first and last guns of this great Battle, and York's Georgia Battery, under Lieut. W. S. Everett of Clayton's Brigade, was on top of Snodgrass Hill within twenty minutes after the Yankees were dislodged, and was pouring shot and shell into their retreating ranks as they hastened towards Rossville Gap. Both of these batteries belonged to Stewart's Division.

Preston's Division: —

Gracie's Brigade: Forty-third and First Alabama Regiments, Second, Third and Fourth Alabama Battalions, and the Sixty-third Tennessee Regiment.

Kelley's Brigade: Sixty-fifth Georgia, Fifth Kentucky, Fifty-eighth North Carolina, and the Sixty-third Virginia Regiments.

Trigg's Brigade: First Florida Cavalry Regiment, dismounted, Sixth and Seventh Florida Infantry, and the Fifty-fourth Virginia Regiment.

Jeffries's Virginia, and Peeble's and Watkin's Georgia, Batteries.

Bushrod Johnson's Division: —

Gregg's Brigade: Third, Tenth, Thirtieth, Forty-first, and Fiftieth Tennessee Regiments, First Tennessee Battalion, Seventh Texas Regiment and Bledsoe's Missouri Battery.

McNair's Brigade: First and Third Arkansas dismounted Rifles, Twenty-fifth Arkansas dismounted Regiment, Fourth and Thirty-first Arkansas dismounted Battalions, Thirtieth North Carolina Regiment and Culpepper's South Carolina Battery.

HOOD'S CORPS OF TWO DIVISIONS.

McLaw's Division: —

Kershaw's Brigade: Second, Third, Seventh, Eighth, and Fifteenth South Carolina Regiments, and the Third South Carolina Battalion.

Humphrey's Brigade: Thirteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Twenty-first Mississippi Regiments.

Wolford's Brigade: Sixteenth, Eighteenth, and Twenty-fourth Georgia Regiments, Third Georgia Battalion, and Cobb's and Phillipp's Legions.

Bryan's Brigade: Tenth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first and Fifty-third Georgia Regiments.

Law's Division, Hood's Corps: —

Jenkin's Brigade: First South Carolina Regiment, Second South Carolina Rifles, Fifth and Sixth South Carolina Regiments, Hampton's South Carolina Legion, and Palmetto South Carolina Sharpshooters.

Colonel Sheffield's Brigade: Fourth, Fifteenth, Forty-fourth, Forty-seventh and Forty-eighth Alabama Regiments.

Robertson's Brigade: Third Arkansas, and the First, Fourth and Fifth Texas Regiments.

Anderson's Brigade: Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh and Fifty-ninth Georgia Regiments.

Benning's Brigade: Second, Fifteenth, Seventeenth and Twentieth Georgia Regiments.

Longstreet brought with him from the army of Northern Virginia, Hood's two divisions and the following six batteries:

Flicking's South Carolina, Jordon's Virginia, Moody's Louisiana, and Parker's, Taylor's and Woodfork's Virginia Batteries.

All of these batteries and the three brigades of Wolford, Bryan and Jenkins did not arrive in time for the engagement.

Bragg's Reserve Artillery consisted of —

Baxter's Tennessee, Darden's Mississippi, Cobb's Alabama and McCont's Florida Batteries.

Wheeler's Cavalry attached to left wing consisted of —

Wharton's Division: —

Col. C. C. Crew's Brigade: Malone's Alabama, and the Second, Third and Fourth Alabama Regiments.

Harrison's Brigade: Third Confederate and Third Kentucky Regiments, Fourth Tennessee (Paul Anderson's) Regiment, Eighth and Eleventh Texas Regiments, and White's Tennessee Battery.

Martin's Division: —

John T. Morgan's Brigade: First, Third and Fifty-first Alabama Regiments and the Eighth Confederate Regiment.

Russell's Brigade: Fourth Alabama and First Confederate Regiments and Wiggin's Arkansas Battery.

This gave Longstreet, who commanded the left wing, 22,982, and that under Polk numbered 22,471. This gave Bragg a fighting force, on the second day, of 45,453. Of this number of troops Tennessee furnished 46 infantry regiments and 9 of cavalry, 8 batteries, 8 battalions and 3 escort companies, making a total of 74 organizations.

As to the part that the Twentieth Tennessee took in this great battle, I will refer to the report of Major-General A. P. Stewart, whose division was composed of the brigades of Clayton, Brown and Bate.* Clayton carried into action 1,383, and lost 634, a loss of 42 per cent. Brown carried in 1,320, lost 480, 33 per cent. Bate carried in 1,053 men and 132 officers, losing 7 officers and 59 men men killed, 541 officers and men wounded, making a loss of 607 out of a total of 1,187, or 51 per cent.

I will also refer to the official report of Brigadier-General Bate, of whose brigade the Twentieth Tennessee was a component part.

REPORT of BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM B. BATE.

HEADQUARTERS BATE'S BRIGADE, STEWART'S DIVISION.

Major: I have the honor to submit the following report of the participation had by my brigade in the late three days' battle of the Chickamauga, comprising the 18th, 19th, and 20th ult.:—

Having been ordered to advance, take possession, and hold Thedford's Ford, but not to bring on a general engagement unless indispensable to the accomplishment of these objects, I moved my command at once at a double-quick, and occupied a wooded eminence commanding it, and placed my battery (the Eufaula Light Artillery) on a cleared hill to the front and left, which overlooked the enemy, and within a few hundred yards of his position. The attack, in which the Fourth Georgia Batta-

* This report will be found in Records of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. XXX, Part II, from which General Bate's report is taken.

lion Sharpshooters (Major Caswell) and my artillery alone were engaged, was brisk and spirited.

In the meantime, however, the entire brigade was subjected to a severe shelling from the enemy just above Alexander's Bridge and across the Chickamauga, by which one man was killed and five or six wounded. After a few well-directed shots from my battery, which Captain Oliver placed promptly in position, the enemy gave way. This was the opening fight of the battle of the Chickamauga.

We bivouaced near the camp of the enemy commanding the two fords—Thedford's and the Bend Ford—where I crossed my command next morning at an early hour, and formed line of battle in rear of Brigadier-Generals Brown's and Clayton's brigades, the whole under command of Major-General Stewart. We moved in this order, bearing to the right through a cornfield and woodland nearly two miles, at which point we were halted for some hours. Here my artillery was put forward to develop the enemy's position, which it did, drawing shell and round shot upon our lines, wounding three or four of my men. We were moved hence by the right flank near to a point where heavy volleys of musketry were heard, and thence by the left flank in line of battle some 300 or 400 yards, and halted in the same relative position we had occupied during the early part of the day, mine being in the rear line of battle.

At 3 P. M. Brigadier-Generals Clayton's and Brown's brigades successively engaged the enemy. In about thirty minutes I was ordered by Major-General Stewart to advance, General Clayton having withdrawn ; and Brown also passed to the rear. My line of battle was organized by placing Caswell's battalion of sharpshooters (Fourth Georgia) on the right, and in succession from that wing were the Twentieth Tennessee, Col. T. B. Smith ; Thirty-Seventh Georgia, Col. A. F. Rudler ; Fifty-eighth Alabama, Col. Bushrod Jones ; the Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee, Col. R. C. Tyler, constituting the supporting line. I had thrown out no skirmishers. The whole command moved forward with spirit and zeal, engaging the enemy hotly before it had proceeded two hundred yards, his line extending in front of and to the right and left of us. A battery in front of my ex-

treme right played constantly and with terrible effect upon that wing until my right pressed within less than fifty paces of it, when it was rapidly removed to prevent capture. Another revealed its hydra-head immediately in the rear of this, supported by a second line, hurling its death-dealing missiles more destructively, if possible, upon our still advancing but already thinned ranks. Having driven the first line back upon its support, a fresh battery and infantry were brought to play upon my right, which by its advanced position had become subject to an enfilade fire, and gave way, but not until Major Caswell, Colonel Smith, and Colonel Rudler, the three officers commanding, respectively, the three right battalions, were wounded, and at least 25 per cent. of their number killed and wounded.

When the right gave way the enemy sought to follow it up, and pressed his sharpshooters beyond the right flank, who, finding it well aligned and in the attitude of resistance, precipitated themselves back and out of reach. The men were easily rallied and promptly re-formed a short distance in the rear of the point to which they had advanced. In this dash the enemy captured one of my pieces and one of my couriers. It needed, however, but a moment to retake the piece, which was handsomely done. In this contest my right retook the battle flag of the Fifty-first Tennessee Regiment, General Wright's brigade, which but a moment before had been wrested from them by superior numbers and flank movements of the enemy. I was rejoiced to deprive him of his trophy so recently won, and to return it to its gallant owners, hallowed as it is by its baptism in the blood of Shiloh, Perryville, and Murfreesboro.

My left in the meantime, composed of the Fifty-eighth Alabama, Colonel Jones, and the Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee Regiments (consolidated), Colonel Tyler, not being so much harassed by the enfilade fire from the right, pressed steadily forward in fine order, driving the enemy, who contested every inch of ground with dogged and persistent obstinacy until forced beyond the Chattanooga road and several hundred yards back into the woods, thus deranging his compact lines and breaking his centre. In this charge Colonel Tyler captured three guns,

and Colonel Jones participated with the Fifty-eighth Alabama, for particulars of which I refer to their reports.

It being nearly night, and having advanced so far beyond the enemy's lines as to make them liable to a flank movement, they returned from farther pursuit to the point of the battle-field to which I had ordered the Eufaula Light Artillery, and where General Clayton and I were reforming our shattered commands, Colonel Tyler bringing with him his captured guns, and Colonel Jones in such fine order as to elicit my public commendation. Owing to a movement of the enemy to our right, the front of General Clayton's command was changed by Major-General Stewart to meet an expected attack from that source, and my line was left fronting the Chattanooga road. General Brown's command subsequently intervened. Thus we bivouaced for the night upon the field of carnage, enveloped by the smoke of battle and surrounded by the dead of friends and foe.

Sunday morning found us in the line assumed the night previous, and under the order of Major-General Stewart I moved my command by the right flank 500 or 600 yards, and took position forward and on the right of General Brown's brigade; but in forming the line was compelled to retire the right to an angle of about forty-five degrees on account of the proximity of the enemy located to my right oblique. Caswell's battalion of sharpshooters, under command of Lieut. Joel Towers (Capt. Benjamin M. Turner having been dangerously wounded the evening before), was thrown forward and deployed at right angles with my right, to guard against a repetition of the movement of the previous evening (to turn that flank, to which we were liable), there being at that time no force sufficiently near to intervene.

Having assumed this line of battle, I had a temporary barricade of logs hastily constructed, which gave partial protection against the shower of grape, canister, and shell which continuously and most angrily saluted us. During the time we were subjected to this ordeal several men and officers were killed and wounded, yet no restiveness or other evidences of demoralization was manifested.

At about 9 A. M. the brigade of General Deshler was placed upon my right, prolonging the line and observing the same incli-

nation to the rear. Soon thereafter I received notice that General Woods' brigade was in my front, and that the general movement would be a successive one by brigades commencing on the right; and being ordered by Major-General Stewart to follow up the movements of General Deshler, after waiting under a severe and incessant fire of artillery until about 11 A. M., I communicated to General Stewart that no movement on my right had taken place ; that General Deshler had been killed, and desired to know if I should longer remain inactive. About this time there was firing in my front, and soon thereafter General Woods' command came back, passing over my line. I was then ordered by Major-General Stewart to advance and attack. My command received the order with a shout, and moved upon the foe at a rapid gait. The battalion of sharpshooters was ordered to maintain its position at right angles to the line, and check, if possible (if not, to delay), any movements in that direction, giving the earliest notice of the same. My right, as upon the evening previous, became hotly engaged almost the instant it assumed the offensive. It was subjected to a most galling fire of grape and musketry from my right oblique and front, cutting down with great fatality the Twentieth Tennessee and Thirty-seventh Georgia at every step, until they drove the enemy behind his defenses, from which, without support either of artillery or infantry, they were unable to dislodge him. General Deshler's brigade not having advanced, I called on Major-General Cleburne, who was near my right and rear, for assistance ; but he having none at his disposal which could be spared, I was compelled to retire that wing of my brigade or sacrifice it in uselessly fighting thrice its numbers, with the advantage of the hill and breastworks against it. I did so in good order, and without indecent haste, and aligned it first in front, and then placed it in rear of our flimsy defences. My left (the Fifty-eighth Alabama and Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee, the latter under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Frayser, Colonel Tyler having been wounded), being farther from the enemy's line than my right, did not so soon become engaged; and not being, at this time, subjected to so severe a cross-fire, proceeded steadily on, and drove the enemy behind his works, which had been constructed the night

previous on the very spot we had driven him from, and maintained his position with a dogged tenacity until the Twentieth Tennessee and Thirty-seventh Georgia were put in position behind the barricade, and the battalion of sharpshooters drawn in. The artillery of the enemy had ceased to play upon us, except at slow intervals, and a part of their [Tyler's and Jones'] commands having already returned, I dispatched Lieutenant Blanchard, of my staff, to ascertain their situation, who reported that he met them returning with the balance of their command in good order. I placed them in position and awaited orders.

I am unable to give as accurate an account of my left as of my right, for the reason that the right became first engaged, and the commanders of the three right battalions having been wounded the evening previous, devolving the commands on junior officers, I felt that my personal services were most needed there, which prevented me witnessing so as to give in detail the incidents connected with that portion of the field. I found, however, their dead in the breast-works of the enemy, which is the highest evidence that can be afforded of what they did.

In this fight my command lost 30 per cent killed and wounded, in addition to the heavy loss of the evening before.

After a short respite, Major-General Stewart ordered my command (which still held its position in the front line) to the left, where it would be more secure from the artillery missiles of the enemy on my right. Here we remained until about 5 P. M., when I was ordered to form in rear of General Clayton and join him in taking the batteries and breast-works on our right, from which we had suffered so heavily during the day. I changed front forward on my right battalion, and, together with General Clayton's brigade, soon ran over the fortifications, driving the enemy in confusion and capturing a number of prisoners. In this charge Captain Tanksley commanded the Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee, Lieutenant-Colonel Frayser having been wounded. The Eufaula Light Artillery, Captain Oliver, had kept close to my infantry, and notwithstanding the obstruction of a dense wood, took position inside the fortifications, and opened a rapid and destructive fire upon the retreating foe until the curtain of night closed upon the scene. I claim for this bat-

tery the honor of opening on Friday evening and closing on Sunday evening the battle of Chickamauga.

My brigade went into the fight with muskets in the hands of one-third of my men, but after the first charge Saturday evening, every man was supplied with a good Enfield rifle and ammunition to suit, which was used with effect on their original owners the next day. The dead and wounded over which we passed in driving them back on Saturday and Sunday gave an earnest of the telling effect produced upon them in both days' fight. Besides arming itself with Enfield rifles, a detail from my command, under supervision of my ordnance officer, James E. Rice, gathered upon the field and conveyed to the ordnance train about 2,000 efficient guns. The piece captured by Colonel Tyler and those in which Colonel Jones participated in capturing were taken to the rear and turned over to proper officers.

My command entered the fight Friday evening with 1,055 guns and 30 provost guard and a fair complement of officers, out of which number it lost 7 officers and 59 men killed, and 541 wounded, 61 of whom were officers; making a total of 607. It is seen that every field officer in the brigade excepting three were wounded.

For further particulars allow me to respectfully refer to the reports of the commanders of battalions and battery, which are herewith transmitted.

I cannot close this report without noticing the distinguished services rendered, unworthy as the tribute may be, by my field officers,—Colonels Tyler, Smith, Rudler, and Jones; Lieutenant-Colonels Smith, Inser, and Frayser; and Majors Caswell, Wall, Kendrick, Shy, and Thornton — to each of whom is due the highest meed of praise. It would be invidious to make distinctions where each has played his part so well.

Colonels Rudler and Smith and Major Caswell were painfully, the last two seriously, wounded at the head of their respective commands, early in the engagemenr of Saturday, and compelled to retire from the field, thus devolving the command of the Twentieth Tennessee on Major Shy, the Thirty-seventh Georgia on Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, the battalion of sharpshooters on

Lieutenant Hightower, each of whom did his duty gallantly and nobly throughout the conflict.

Colonel Tyler, Lieutenant-Colonels Inser and Frayser, Majors Wall, Kendrick, and Thornton were wounded, from which they suffered considerably [the last named officer prostrated by the explosion of a shell], still remained at the post of duty, bearing themselves with distinguished gallantry.

To each of my staff — Major Winchester [who, notwithstanding his leg was badly hurt from the fall of his horse when shot Friday evening, continued in the field until the close of the fight], Lieutenants Blanchard and Bate — I am indebted for their hearty co-operation and prompt execution of my orders, notwithstanding each was unhorsed by shots from the enemy. Also to James E. Rice, brigade ordnance officer, am I indebted for the prompt discharge of his duties. But to none are my thanks more signally due or more cordially awarded than to my gallant young Adjutant, Capt. W. C. Yancey, who, while cheering and encouraging my right wing in its desperate charge on Sunday, received a fearful wound, shattering his foot and compelling him to retire from the field.

I take pleasure, also, in adding my testimony, humble as it may be, to the hearty co-operation of the two gallant brigades of Stewart's division [Generals Clayton's and Brown's] in every charge in which it was the fortune of my command to engage.

Major-General Stewart will accept my thanks, as a soldier's tribute, for his polite and genial bearing and personal assistance in the thickest of the fight, the time when I felt I much needed it.

While I recount the services of the living, I can not pass unremembered the heroic dead — the cypress must be interwoven with the laurel. The bloody field attested the sacrifice of many a noble spirit in the fierce struggle, the private soldier vieing with the officer in deeds of high daring and distinguished courage.

While the "River of Death" shall float its sluggish current to the banks of the beautiful Tennessee, and the night wind chant its solemn dirges over their soldiers' graves, their names, enshrined in the hearts of their countrymen, will be held in

grateful remembrance as the champions and defenders of their country who had sealed their devotion with their blood on one of the most glorious battle-fields of our revolution.

I am, major, most respectfully, your obediednt servant,

WM. B. BATE, *Brigadier-General.*

Maj. R. A. Hatcher, Assistant Adjutant-General.

At the battle of Chickamauga, General Bate had three horses shot under him. The first was his old sorrel that carried him into the first charge on Saturday the 19th. General Bate had his black mare brought up and mounted her and was soon again in the hottest of the fight with crutch in hand, directing and urging his men forward until they broke the Federal right center and forced that part of the line back for more than one mile across the Rossville road, which was the bone of contention.

In this last effort, some 300 yards in advance of where the old sorrel was killed, the game little mare and her gallant rider went down together. The mare was killed, but the General was not touched.

General Bate next secured a mouse-colored artillery horse from the Eufaula [Alabama] Battery that was attached to his brigade, and mounted him and this horse was killed the next day — Sunday, Sept. 20th, close in front of the Yankee's breast works over which Bate and his brigade were the first to charge.

One of General Bate's horses was killed by a cannon ball. It occurred while his brigade was lying in line of battle under a heavy artillery fire waiting orders from Gen. A. P. Stewart; the order was soon brought by Maj. John C. Thompson, Stewart's Inspector General, who on reaching the general, raised his hand to salute and began delivering the order, when a cannon ball passed through General Bate's horse and both went to the ground. General Bate struggled to his feet by the aid of his crutch, and found the cool and daring Thompson in *statu quo* with his hand still in the position of salute, when he finished delivering his order, completing the partly finished sentence that was so rudely interrupted by the cannon ball, which evidently had, or took the right of way, regardless of common courtesy.

General Bate was dependent on his crutch from the effects of

wounds that he had received at the battles of Shiloh and Hoover's Gap. Major Thompson entered the service as Second Lieutenant of Company C, Twentieth Tennessee Regiment.

Three days after the battle, President Davis with a guide, went over this "Field of Death," and as they passed over the ground where Stewart's division fought on Saturday, he saw the trees and fences badly torn to pieces, and the dead lying thick. In the midst of this carnage he saw a dead horse with officer's trapping on. Mr. Davis asked the guide whose horse that was. The guide said that it was Brigadier-General Bate's of Tennessee. Three or four hundred yards farther on they came upon the little black mare with officer's trappings on, and the President asked whose horse that was, and was told that it was Brigadier-General Bate's of Tennessee. When they had gone some distance to the front, where Bate's brigade took the Federal works on Sunday, they saw the mouse colored horse lying close up to the Yankee breast-works, and he again asked whose horse that was, and for the third time the guide said that it was the horse of General Bate of Tennessee. The President remarked that General Bate of Tennessee must be a dashing officer.

In a short time after the battle of Chicakmauga, Brigadier-General Bate of Infantry, was offered a Major-General's commission of cavalry, which he declined, but accepted the rank of Major General of Infantry.

The following soldiers, of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, distinguished themselves on the field of Chickamauga, Sept. 19 and 20, 1863, and were recommended for promotion: —

Sergeant W. W. Evans, Company A.
Sergeant J. C. Irvin, Company E.
Sergeant A. L. Fuqua, Company I.
Sergeant J. J. Ellis, Company I.
Private B. F. Harrison, Company F.

In the battle of Chickamauga this regiment carried into the engagement thirty-one officers and one hundred and fifty-two men, total one hundred and eighty-three, and lost in killed and wounded ninety-eight. The company to which I belonged (B), went into the battle with three officers and twenty-three men, had four men killed, one officer and fourteen men wounded;

total, nineteen killed and wounded out of twenty-six. This regiment was raked by an enfilading fire on both days' engagements.

After the battle of Chickamauga, Rosecrans, with the army of the Cumberland, about 45,000 strong (the balance of his 70,000 had been killed, wounded, captured or deserted), was behind his entrenchments at Chattanooga, and Bragg moved up at once and invested the place by throwing up a line of earth-works to the right on Missionary Ridge, and extending his lines to the left and west across Lookout Valley, on across Lookout Mountain in the direction of Bridgeport. Longstreet at this time occupied Bragg's left as far as Bridgeport, with his pickets. It was at this time that Bragg made his fatal mistake by halting his army, although he was still inferior in numbers to Rosecrans, the morale of his army was good; on the contrary, the Federal Army was badly demoralized, and four of its leaders, viz., Rosecrans, Thomas, McCook and Crittenden, three of whom, viz., Rosecrans, McCook and Crittenden, were constantly ducking their heads for fear that a blow would be dealt from Washington that would decapitate them for their conduct on the field of Chickamauga. I would like to say this of General Rosecrans, as a soldier in the line from the opposite side, from the time that General Rosecrans took command of the Army of the Cumberland up to this time, I believed that the Federal army did not have a more conscientious and patriotic soldier in it, although C. A. Dana and Halleck were trying to retire him. This is what C. A. Dana wrote from Chattanooga, Oct. 12, 1863, which can be found in Series I., Vol. XXX., page 215, part 1, of the Records of the Rebellion, at Washington: —

"It is my duty to declare, while few persons exhibit more estimable social qualities, I have never seen a public man possessing talent with less administrative power, less clearness and steadiness in difficulty, and greater practical incapacity than General Rosecrans."

This letter of Dana's, heaped on General Rosecrans after his other troubles, resulted in an order from Washington dated Oct. 16, 1863, superceding General Rosecrans in the command of the Army of the Cumberland, by Major-General George H. Thomas.

General Bragg, about this time, prefered charges against Lieutenant-General Polk, and President Davis had come to the Army of Tennessee for the purpose of consulting with Bragg and reviewing his army.

President Davis relieved General Polk from the command of his corps under Bragg, and assigned him to the command of the department of Mississippi and Louisana, and Major-General Cheatham was assigned to the command of Polk's old corps. General Thomas was only in command of the Federal Army a few days, when the armies of the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi, were all merged into the department of the Mississippi, and Gen. U. S. Grant put in charge; (the world knows Grant's way of fighting, that is, to accumulate enough men and material to overpower his opponent by brute force); and he now began reinforcing the army at Chattanooga.

The authorities at Washington ordered Burnside with an army of 25,000 to hold Knoxville, Sherman and Hulbert were ordered up from Grant's old army at Vicksburg to reinforce him at Chattanooga, and Hooker was on his way by rail from the east with the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. Reinforcements continued to pour into Chattanooga until Grant said he had enough.

General Bragg, after the Battle of Chickamauga, had before Chattanooga his three corps, viz: —

Polk's Corps	10,313
Longstreet's Corps	15,522
Hill's Corps	10,307
Artillery	2,704
Total	38,846

Wheeler's cavalry was in Middle Tennessee on raids most of the time, and Forrest had been sent into West Tennessee to recruit his command. About November 5th, Bragg sent Longstreet with his corps of about 15,000 against Burnside, who was strongly entrenched in Knoxville 100 miles away. After Longstreet had left, Bragg had only about 23,000 men to defend his line from the mouth of the Chickamauga on the east, to twelve miles west below Chattanooga, a total distance of 18 miles, while Grant had massed in and near Chattanooga, not less than 102,000 men.

Bragg's army was now, Nov. 20th, on the top of Missionary Ridge, running down across Lookout Valley in a thin line with some scattering brigades on Lookout Mountain. Even after Longstreet had left for Knoxville, Grant thought it would be safer to wait an attack on Bragg until all of Sherman's army could get up.

General Grant had his immense army lined up for an attack as follows:

Sherman with five divisions was to cross the Tennessee River above the mouth of Chickamauga Creek, throw a pontoon bridge across the creek, and attack the east end of Missionary Ridge on the morning of Nov. 23.

General Thomas was in the center of Lookout Valley with "one half of the world." Hooker with his corps was to attack Bragg's pickets on Lookout Mountain and further west, while Howard and his corps was in reserve on the north bank of the river opposite the city of Chattanooga ready to cross on a pontoon bridge, to reinforce either one of the three immense corps, either one of which would outnumber Bragg's entire army.

Lieutenant-General Hardee had been restored to Bragg's Army and took command of [Cheatham's] Polk's old corps. Most of the fighting on and around Lookout Point was done, on the part of the Confederates, by Walthall's Mississippi Brigade, and it was Hooker's corps fighting this little brigade of about 1,200 strong, that Hooker has blown so much about as his "battle above the clouds,,' which was nothing but a skirmish on the sides of Lookout Mountain, where the Confederate pickets were contending against at least ten to one.

On the 24th, Grant ordered Thomas, who was commanding his center, with the corps of Palmer, Grainger, and Howard to move on Bragg's center, which he did, and wrested from Bragg's thin line Orchard Knob.

It was on this occasion, when this immense body of soldiers moved on the Confederate picket line, one of the pickets, Dave Montgomery of the Twentieth Tennessee, ran back to report to his captain and said: "Captain, they are coming, they are coming, for I heard General Grant give the command: 'Attention world! by nation's right, into line! WHEEL, March!'"

The Tenneseeans mostly fought on the east end of Missionary Ridge near the tunnel where Sherman's host was driven back several times. Hardee, Breckinridge, and Stewart were Bragg's corps commanders in this engagement.

Suffice it to say that Bragg was defeated and his little army forced back, but General Grant was slow to claim a victory, for at 7 : 15 P. M. on the 25th, he telegraphed to Washington that he had "no idea of finding Bragg here on to-morrow," and it was two days afterwards before Grant's advance under Hooker, came up with Bragg's rear guard under Cleburne at Ringgold, Ga., twenty miles distant. Cleburne had 4,157 men, and Hooker had about 12,000 when he attacked Cleburne. The battle was short and bloody, and the repulse very decisive. Cleburne had twenty killed and 190 wounded; Hooker had sixty-five killed and 377 wounded. This put a stop to any further pursuit.

General Grant said that he lost in killed, wounded, and missing 5,824, and that the Confederate loss was considerably less, but he captured 6,142 prisoners, forty pieces of artillery, and 7,000 stands of small arms.

The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment in this engagement was in Col. R. C. Tyler's Brigade of Breckinridge's Division under command of Gen W. B. Bate, whose official report, as found in the "*War of the Rebellion — Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*," *Series I, Vol. XXXI, part 2, pages 738–744*, is hereby reproduced in full.

Report of Brig. Gen. William B. Bate, C. S. Army, commanding Breckinridge's division, Breckinridge's corps.

HEADQUARTERS BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION,
Near Dalton, Ga., December 14, 1863.

COLONEL: In obedience to General Orders, No. 17, dated headquarters Breckinridge's corps, December 4, 1863, I have the honor to submit the following report of the part taken by Breckinridge's division in the battle of Missionary Ridge on November 25:

The division I had the honor to command in the recent en-



W. H. Hill, Co. A.

See page 415.



Henry Wolf, Co. A.

gagement near Chattanooga, Tenn. [known as Breckinridge's division], was composed of Brig. Gen. J. H. Lewis' [Kentucky] brigade, Brig. Gen. J. J. Finley's [Florida] brigade, and Bate's brigade, composed of Georgians and Tennesseeans, commanded by Col. R. C. Tyler, and a battalion of artillery commanded by Captain Cobb, and composed of Captain Cobb's, Slocomb's, and Mebane's batteries.

Lewis' brigade, by order from army headquarters, was withdrawn from Chickamauga Station on the evening of November 23 to a point on Missionary Ridge between the headquarters of General Bragg and Major-General Breckinridge. On the same evening, when the enemy advanced and took possession of the knoll, or Orchard Hill, capturing pickets on my right, the two brigades commanded by Brigadier-General Finley and Col. R. C. Tyler, then encamping at the base of Missionary Ridge in front of the headquarters of Major-General Breckinridge, were ordered under arms and in the trenches. Assistance being called for on the right, Colonel Tyler was ordered to report with his command to Brigadier-General Anderson as a temporary supporting force. He returned after dark to his designated place in the trenches, with the loss of 1 man killed and 3 wounded.

Thus located, the entire command remained during the 24th without participating in any of the operations of that day. In the early part of that night I was directed by Major-General Breckinridge to move my command to the summit of the ridge immediately in rear of the place I then occupied. This I did by sending the artillery, under command of Captain Slocomb, via Rossville, moving the infantry directly up the hill, as was contemplated in the order effecting the change.

About 12 o'clock at night I received an order from corps headquarters to send Lewis' brigade to report to Major-General Cleburne, on the right, which was promptly done.

Daylight on the morning of the 25th found the two remaining brigades of the division on the crest of the ridge, Tyler's right resting at General Bragg's headquarters and Finley's prolonging the line to the left, while the enemy, like a huge serpent, uncoiled his massive folds into shapely lines in our immediate front. Fatigue parties were detailed and put to work on the defenses

which Lewis had commenced the day previous, the command having stacked arms in line of battle a short distance back from the brow of the hill, secure from the shells that occasionally greeted us, and which met a prompt replication from Slocomb's and Cobb's batteries, the former near the center and the latter the right of my line; this reply annoyed and checked a line advancing on our left oblique, and relieved from the peril of capture our pickets yet in the advanced trenches. Requisition having been made, in accordance with orders from corps headquarters, to furnish 180 men, with complement of field and line officers, as a picket force to confront the enemy along our immediate line, the First Florida Regiment (dismounted) Cavalry and the Fourth Florida Regiment, both small, were detailed for this duty on the 24th, and Major Wall, of the Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee Regiments, as division officer of the day.

The pressure of the enemy on our front on the morning of the 25th ultimo forbade the relief of this force, and hence it remained on that day; the officer of the day was substituted by Lieutenant-Colonel Badger, of the Fourth Florida. By repeated application from the front, representing the picket force there without support on the left, and remembering the misfortunes of the 23d in the picket line to our right, I was induced, upon consultation with the corps commander, to send the Seventh Florida Regiment as a reserve to our picket line. This little force, under the frown of such a horrid front, remained defiant, and, in obedience to orders, maneuvered handsomely amid the peril of capture until, by order, it found a lodgment in the trenches at the foot of Missionary Ridge, with its right resting at Moore's house, on the left of the Sixtieth North Carolina Regiment [of Brigadier-General Reynolds' command], and its left adjoining the command of Brigadier-General Strahl at a new redoubt where the main line of defense diverges in the direction of Lookout Mountain. Knowing the disadvantages under which the line, strung out without reserves on the summit of the ridge, would labor in resisting with a plunging fire [no other could be given] the advance of three strong lines, I ordered that it hold the trenches at all hazards. To give them up was to give the enemy a shelter behind them, if he chose to stop there, or to pursue rapidly up

the hill, under cover of our retiring line, and gain a lodgment with but little resistance. I give the above interjectional sentence because the obedience of this order may have resulted in the capture of brave and obedient soldiers.

About 1 p. m. I was ordered by my corps commander to remove the division by the right flank until its right should rest on the left of Brig. Gen. Patton Anderson's line. In the execution of the order I found Adams' brigade, of Stewart's division [Colonel Gibson commanding], extended on the left of General Anderson's line with a brigade space between. I communicated this fact through Captain McCawley, of my staff, to General Breckinridge, and desired to know if in the adjustment of my line this brigade was to be regarded as a part of Anderson's line. I was answered in the affirmative, and so made my dispositions. In a few moments, however, I received a message from General Breckinridge directing me to report in person to him at General Bragg's quarters, which I did. General Breckinridge was in the act of going toward Rossville, and directed me to General Bragg, who gave instructions to let my left rest on the Crutchfield road where it crossed the hill, as General Anderson wanted space on his left for Reynold's brigade in case it was retired from the trenches, a fact which General Anderson had made known to me through Captain McCawley, of my staff, and Captain Parker, of General Bragg's staff. My right had under the previous order arrived nearly to the left of General Anderson's brigade, commanded by Colonel Tucker, when the countermanding order caused a left-flank movement until the left of Finley's brigade rested on the Crutchfield road. Cobb's [Kentucky] battery had been detached in the forenoon by General Breckinridge, and by his order detained on the left of General Bragg's quarters in the line subsequently occupied by Adams' brigade, of Stewart's division ; Slocomb's was on an eminence near my right, and Mebane's near the center of my line. The temporary earth-works thrown up at these points were a hinderance to the successful use of the pieces, they being too close to the crest of the hill to admit of being placed in front of them, and being necessarily in rear could not be sufficiently depressed to command the slope of the hill in front. The eminence on which Slocomb's battery was

placed projected beyond the general western slope of the ridge, with a slight depression on the right, which gave the advantage of an enfilading fire in that direction. From the top of the ridge to the intrenchments at the foot is 600 or 800 yards, and beyond this an open field of about 900 yards in width.

When ordered to move to the right at 1 o'clock, I sent a staff officer to bring that part of Finley's command in the trenches to the ridge to rejoin his brigade. The order was given and the troops commenced ascending the hill, but upon making the fact known to General Breckinridge he directed it to remain. When we changed locality our relative position to this command was changed, our left on the ridge not reaching to a point opposite its right at Moore's house.

As to the part taken by this command in the trenches, I respectfully refer to the reports of the division officer of the day, Lieutenant-Colonel Badger, and other officers commanding it.

Hindman's division, commanded by Brigadier-General Anderson, was on my right, and Major-General Stewart's division on my left. These dispositions having been made, we awaited the onset of the foe, who seemed confidently resting as a giant in his strength on the plain below, while volleys on the right told of the conflict being waged.

About 3 or 4 p. m. the enemy initiated a movement along my entire front by advancing a heavy line of skirmishers, followed by two unbroken lines of battle, with heavy reserves at intervals. But a slight resistance was given to this advance by the troops of Reynold's brigade, in the trenches of our immediate front. They abandoned the ditches on the approach of the enemy's skirmishers and sought refuge at the top of the hill, breaking and throwing into slight confusion the left of Finley's brigade as they passed through. Major Weaver, of the Sixtieth North Carolina Regiment, seemed to be in command. He rallied and formed these troops (who seemed to be from two or three different regiments of Reynolds' brigade) across the Crutchfield road a few paces in rear of the main line. A well-directed and effective fire having been opened on the advancing line, handsomely repulsed it, throwing a portion of it behind our vacated trenches and precipitating others on their second line, which, being out

of range of small-arms, I ordered the firing to cease and the line to fall back a few paces to replenish ammunition and give the artillery an unobstructed sweep. This was executed cooly and without confusion. I took occasion during this interval to push a few sharpshooters forward on the declivity of the hill in front of the smoke as vedettes. Order was soon restored in the ranks of the enemy, and another onward movement made in systematic and defiant style. My infantry was again advanced to the verge of the ridge, and opened a spirited fire, which was constantly replied to. During this charge my attention was called to some scattered troops a few hundred yards to my right, making their way, apparently without resistance, to the top of the hill. Believing them to be Confederates falling back from the trenches, I forbade my right firing upon them, and sent a staff officer to ascertain who they were. Upon receiving the answer, I directed upon them a right-oblique fire of infantry and artillery from the right of Tyler's command. It drove him to his left, but did not check his ascent of the ridge. In a few moments I saw a flag waving at the point in the line of General Anderson's division, beyond the depression in the ridge, where a section of artillery of Dent's battery had been firing and was then located. I thought it a Confederate flag, but on a nearer approach and more minute inspection, I soon detected the United States colors. The line in my front had recoiled a second time, but was rallied, and was advancing up the hill in such numbers as to forbid the displacing of any of my command. I was ordered by General Bragg to withdraw a portion of my command and dislodge him if possible ; but upon suggesting that I was without reserves, and the danger of withdrawing when so hard pressed on the front, which would necessarily cause a gap in my line, he directed me to take such as could be best spared. I at once took the command under Major Weaver, which had come from the ditches and were aligned across the Crutchfield road, it being disengaged, and moved it at a double-quick some 500 or 600 yards to the elevation on the right and rear of where the enemy had formed near his flag. I was unable, notwithstanding the assistance of Major Weaver, to get this command farther, and could only form it on the hill at right angles to my line, protect-

ing that flank, and seek to dislodge him by a well-directed fire or hold him in check until the repulsed brigade in Anderson's line could be rallied and retake their lost ground. Having made this disposition and opened fire, I left Lieutenant Blanchard, of my staff, to report the result, and returned to my own line, which was being dangerously pressed. It was but a few moments until the second and third flags were on the ridge near the same spot, and the enemy in such numbers as to drive away the command under Major Weaver. This command, upon the advance of the enemy, broke and retired in disorder. The enemy turned our guns upon us, and opened a fire of musketry from our right and rear. This advantage gained caused my right to give back.

In seeking to rally the right I did not see the exact time when the flag went up at the left of General Bragg's headquarters, but refer to the reports of Brigadier-General Finley, Lieutenant-Colonel Turner (who subsequently commanded Bates' brigade), and Colonel Mashburn, Lieutenant-Colonel McLean, of Florida brigade, and Major O'Neill, commanding the Tenth Tennessee.

The enemy formed a line of battle and moved down upon our right at right angles with that flank. Dent's battery was turned upon us, sweeping our lines from right to left, and, among other effects produced, destroyed two of Slocomb's limbers. Our men of the extreme right gave back in some confusion, and in gallantly seeking to rally them, Col. R. C. Tyler was dangerously wounded. Meanwhile the enemy had gained the summit of the ridge on our left, and subjected us to a fire from that source. He was rapidly enveloping the division, and yet the larger portion of it was on the front line with the artillery. I then moved the command, which was in much confusion, to the rear, ordering the batteries and that portion still remaining on the front of the ridge to retire to the line on which we were rallying. There was much difficulty in stopping the *debris* which had sloughed off from the first line, but through the personal exertions of General Bragg and staff and many subaltern officers, we formed a line about 1,000 yards from the one just abandoned, in a most eligible position across the road leading from General Bragg's quarters to the pontoon bridge at Bird's Mill. During the process of

its formation General Bragg ordered me to hold the position as long as tenable, and then cross the Chickamauga and report to him at Chickamauga Station. This line was soon molded into proper shape and organized to resist the assault then threatened by an exultant foe. Skirmishers were thrown forward, under Major Wall, Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee, on the right, and Major Austin, of Adams' sharpshooters (who was there with a part of his command), on my left. Artillery was planted near the road. I sent officers to push the artillery and ordnance across the bridge, and to stop all stragglers. I withdrew from this line the Sixth Florida, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel McLean, and moved it back as a nucleus for another line. I then placed this main (now front) line under command of Brigadier-General Finley, with instructions to hold it as long as possible ; when forced, to fall back on the next line. Colonel Rudler was ordered to take command in Tyler's place, but was soon badly wounded and taken from the field. I remained with this line until the sharpshooters were driven in and it became well and successfully engaged.

It was now nearly dark, and I repaired to a field near the junction of the roads leading to Bird's Mill from Missionary Ridge, and established a line, with the field in front, under supervision of Lieutenant-Colonel McLean ; this line was formed across the roads. Having thrown out skirmishers along the front and flanks, I proceeded to join General Finley's line, which meantime was hotly engaged, not only checking, but causing the enemy to recede, thus enabling a quiet and orderly withdrawal of that line. This fight was made by a retreating force against an advancing and victorious one. It lasted for nearly an hour after night, and staid the onward movement which was pressing us back to the bridge. For further particulars of this fight, I refer to report of General Finley.

I met the head of this column with Major-General Breckinridge, at whose order it had retired. Not having seen the General since in the earlier part of the evening, when he left General Bragg's quarters to look after the left, I informed him of General Bragg's last order to me, and the locality of my next line. He bade me carry out those orders, and with some addi-

tional instructions then delivered, he proceeded to join General Bragg. Not pursued by the enemy, I leisurely moved the command to the pontoon bridge, leaving the third line under Lieutenant-Colonel McLean, with instructions to hold it until ordered to retire. I saw Major-General Stewart at the bridge, and reported to him my instructions from General Bragg. My command being in good order, I moved it to the east bank of Chickamauga and bivouaced, meantime ordering Lieutenant-Colonel McLean to join me, of which withdrawal I notified General Stewart. I reported to General Bragg, as ordered, and in two hours moved my command on the Ringgold road, running east of the railroad; thence through that place and to Tunnel Hill next day, and the succeeding one to Dalton, where I was joined by Mebane's battery, and subsequently by Lewis' brigade. Lewis' brigade being separated from the command during the fight and retreat, I respectfully refer to his report for the operations of that command.

The service of the artillery, under command of Captain Cobb, was fought successfully and gallantly.

My accomplished Assistant Adjutant-General, Maj. George W. Winchester—to whom I feel much indebted for his efficiency and gallantry on this as well as other fields—in seeking to extricate a part of the command as the enemy enveloped us, lost his liberty, if not his life, no tidings of his fate having since reached me.

Col. R. C. Tyler, commanding brigade, who bore himself as became his reputation, won on other and more fortunate fields, was dangerously wounded in discharging his duty. Col. A. F. Rudler succeeded him in command. He, too, fell a victim to a severe and disabling wound in the fight after dark.

Lieut-Col. J. J. Turner, of the Thirtieth Tennessee, as ranking officer, then assumed command of this brigade. His coolness and courage was marked throughout.

I can not, in justice to the generous and brave, consistently close this without expressing my thanks to Brigadier-General Finley for his gallant bearing and prompt assistance in every emergency.

I take the liberty of mentioning Lieut-Col. Joseph T. Smith,

of the Thirty-seventh Georgia, and Maj. J. M. Wall, Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Tennessee, for special gallantry on this occasion.

To the members of my staff—Capt. G. W. McCawley, Lieuts. T. E. Blanchard and James H. Bate—I also make my acknowledgments for promptness and gallantry on the field.

The casualties of this command were: Killed, 43; wounded, 224; missing, 590. Most of the latter were Floridians who were in the trenches.

For further particulars, I respectfully refer to the reports of subaltern officers.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully,

WM. B. BATE,

Brigadier-General, Commanding.

COL. GEORGE WILLIAM BRENT,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

But let us see further about this battle above the clouds. General Grant states in his official report that his entire army captured at the battle of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge 40 pieces of cannon, 6,142 prisoners, and 7,000 stands of small arms. Now comes this "fighting Joe Hooker," who commanded the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, who was fighting mostly Walthall's Brigade of Mississippians around the side of Point Lookout, while Stevenson's division of Confederates were farther to the west. When the battle was over, he claims that his command had captured 6,547 prisoners, 7,000 stands of small arms, 7 pieces of artillery, and 9 battle flags. He claims that his command captured more prisoners than the whole of Grant's army, with his two corps thrown in, and he captured the 7,000 stands of small arms, which was all that were captured, when every one knew that Sherman did all of the hard fighting on the east end of the ridge, except what was done by the two divisions of Sheridan and Wood in the center. Now that was one falsehood.

This same "Fighting Joe" started a report about the Tennessee troops in Bragg's army, in a communication which he wrote to the Hon. S. P. Chase, dated Dec. 28, 1863, and published in

1890, on page 339, *Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part 2, of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, in which he said: "Before the battle of Lookout, I had opened communications with Cheatham's division, holding the summit of the mountains, and had good reasons to believe that I would have succeeded in bringing in all of the enlisted men, with some of the officers, but for their untimely removal; they were relieved by Stevenson's division. The only conditions I required were that they should give themselves to me with guns in their hands, and take the oath of allegiance, and they would be permitted to return to their homes, where the conscription act could not reach them." This is lie second.

He further said to the Hon. S. P. Chase: "You will remember that when Bragg retreated out of Tennessee, June, 1863, that he was compelled to march the Tennessee troops under guard." This is lie third.

The First and Twenty-seventh Tennessee Regiments [consolidated], was in Maney's Brigade of W. H. P. Walker's division, who were the only Tennessee soldiers on Lookout, and they were only there on picket duty for about ten days in October, and this command of Tennesseans fought in Cleburne's division on November 24th and 25th, on the east end of Missionary Ridge, where they helped to hold back Sherman's host for two days and nights. When "Fighting Joe" says he opened communications with Cheatham's Tennessee division on Lookout Mountain, for the purpose of their desertion, this makes the fourth and biggest lie of them all. We do not know if he has won his spurs as "Fighting Joe Hooker" from services on the field, but we do know that he is entitled to them as "Lying Joe Hooker." When a man tells four falsehoods, one right after the other, can you believe him in the fifth? Your writer is speaking from a standpoint of a Tennessean, who belonged to Bragg's army at the time. He never did belong to Cheatham's division, but he had a brother who did, from the time Cheatham's division was organized, just before the battle of Shiloh, April, 1862, up to the battle of Franklin, November 30, 1864, when he was killed side by side with that knightly soldier, Brigadier-General O. F. Strahl.

This gallant command of Tennesseans was regarded in Bragg's army as one of its most reliable and trusted divisions.

After Bragg's defeat at Missionary Ridge, on November 25, 1863, he retired with his little army to Dalton, in North Georgia, thirty-eight miles from Chattanooga, and went into winter quarters, and the Federal army went into winter quarters at Chattanooga. On December 27, 1863, Gen. Braxton Bragg was relieved of the command of the Army of Tennessee, and Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was put in command. While the change proved to be a good one, the Army of Tennessee lost a great and able leader, a fine disciplinarian, and a true patriot. His ability on the fields of Perryville, Murfreesboro, and Chickamauga displayed a military genius of no ordinary type. At Missionary Ridge he failed only for the want of troops, and from no fault of his. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was received by the Army of Tennessee with unbounded enthusiasm. The army was somewhat reorganized ; Cheatham's old division of Tennesseans were reunited and a number of minor changes made, and the army passed the winter. Three events, peculiar in their kind in the history of the Army of Tennessee, took place here, viz., one of the largest religious revivals, the largest rabbit hunt, and the largest snow-ball fights. The revival seemed to have pervaded the entire army, and large accessions were made to the different churches. While here the meat rations of the Confederate soldiers were short, but the health and morale of the army were fine. It was here that the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment re-enlisted for the war ; also while here, some Georgia troops were camped near by, and their officers put some of their men in stocks, and the Tennesseans went that night and tore down the stocks, which was regarded by the Georgia officers as mutinous, and came near getting the Tennesseans into trouble.

The spring of 1864 had now come, and by May 8, 1864, Gen. Joe Johnston had been reinforced by every available man possible, and his army numbered 42,756, of all branches of the service. They were divided into three corps, under Hardee, Hood, and Polk, with the Confederate Cavalry under Gen. Joe Wheeler.

The Federal Army had passed the winter just previous to the

Dalton campaign at three separate places. The Army of the Cumberland was at Chattanooga, numbering 60,773, with 130 guns, under the command of Gen. Geo. H. Thomas ; the Army of the Tennessee, under Major-General McPherson, was at Huntsville, Ala., numbering 24,465, with 96 guns ; the Army of the Ohio at Knoxville, under General Schofield, numbering 13,559, with 28 guns ; which made a grand total of 98,797 men, with 254 pieces of artillery.

General Grant had now been made a Lieutenant-General and placed in charge of all the Federal armies, and W. T. Sherman had succeeded him in the Department of the Mississippi, which extended from Knoxville to Vicksburg. So on April 27, 1864, General Sherman ordered the army at Knoxville, under Schofield, and the army at Huntsville, under McPherson, to move to Chattanooga. May 6, 1864, found Sherman's Army disposed thus : Thomas with the Army of the Cumberland, 60,000 strong, which was 18,000 more than Joe Johnston had, all told, near Ringgold ; McPherson at Lee and Gordon's Mills, on West Chickamauga, on the road that leads in the direction of Rome, Ga., with 24,500 men ; and Schofield had come down from Knoxville with nearly 14,000 troops, and took position at Red Clay, on the line of Tennessee and Georgia, just north of Dalton. Old Joe was just lying there at Dalton with the Confederate Army of 42,000, waiting to meet Sherman with his 98,000. He was like the wounded stag at bay, waiting for the enemy to approach.

On May 7, General Thomas moved up to Rocky Face Gap, just north of Dalton, and there found the three Confederate divisions of Stewart, Cheatham, and Bate. The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was in Bates' division, just on the left of the gap facing northward. The Confederates were assaulted by Hooker's corps, which was repulsed in good style. The enemy did not break a single line, while Thomas, with his 60,000 men, were in front of the three gallant Tennessee division commanders, who had about 15,000 men. Hooker lost here 760 men, and reported back to Thomas that the place could not be taken by assault. Sherman sent General McPherson, with the right wing of his army, 24,000 strong, by rapid march through Ship's Gap, on to Snake Creek Gap, where a brigade of Confederate

Cavalry was guarding it, with orders to seize the gap, pass his corps through it, turn east, and strike the railroad north of Resaca, a little village eighteen miles south of Dalton. General Schofield, with the left wing of the Federal Army, 14,000 strong, had moved on the 9th from Red Clay to about one mile north of Dalton, and was going south. So our readers will see that Sherman had 18,000 more men in Gen. Joe Johnston's front than Johnston had all told, and nearly as many flanking each of his two wings, and this was the game that was played from Dalton to Atlanta, from May 6 to August 31, culminating at Jonesboro, Ga.

When McPherson approached Resaca, he found Hardee's corps there, and he fell back near Snake Creek Gap, which he kept open, and the bulk of Thomas' Army passed through here. On the 10th and 11th the center and right wings of Sherman's Army passed to the west of Dalton, to and through Snake Creek Gap, and moved east and invested Resaca. "Old Joe" had now withdrawn all of the Confederates to this place; and when he left Dalton there was only Howard's corps confronting him at Rocky Face Gap. He formed his line of battle at Resaca in the shape of a horse-shoe, with the Ostenaula River as the base of the horse-shoe. The village and railroad bridge were protected by this line. Hardee's corps occupied Johnston's left, Hood and Polk extending around, and bringing his right to the river again. Sherman's forces were disposed thus: McPherson on the right, with his right resting on the Oostenaula River; Thomas in the center, and Schofield on the left. McPherson's and Palmer's Corps made desperate assaults on the divisions of Bate, Cheatham, and Cleburne, but were handsomely repulsed.

The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was in Tyler's Brigage of Bate's Division, and supported Lewis's Kentucky Brigade. The Kentuckians were on a bald hill where there was a frame house with a few apple trees about the yard, and had some rifle pits thrown up, and a battery of four guns, with a single line of infantry behind it. The Yankee lines, two deep, and a double line of skirmishers were about 400 yards away across a ravine and a field and posted in a skirt of heavy timber on a ridge. They opened on the brave Kentuckians with about twenty pieces of ar-

tillery, and in a few minutes the two lines of skirmishers and the two lines of battle started with a rush across the open space; but they recoiled before they had gotten within 100 yards of the Kentuckians, and as they retreated, the Yankee artillery opened again and cut down all four of our guns, when three lines of Yankee infantry returned to the assault. Onward they came: the gallant Kentuckians were standing to their work like men; but were about to be overpowered, when Tyler's Brigade, that was lying over behind the hill, was ordered to their support; and when Tyler reached the Kentuckian's line, the second repulse was complete in ten minutes. This was about 2 P. M. After this second repulse, the enemy tried to drive Lewis's and Tyler's Brigades from their positions with artillery; and I will say that it was the most terrific artillery fire that I was under during the entire war. This storm of shot and shell lasted for three hours with scarcely a let up. I timed them several times with my watch, and they threw into these two brigades from eleven to twenty-two shots and shell per minute, but we held the position until after dark, when the command was withdrawn behind the hill, and next morning before daylight, I was sent on the same line with forty men to hold it, and was wounded in the leg by a Yankee sharpshooter.

On the night of the 15th, Gen. W. H. T. Walker, who had been sent by General Johnson to Calhoun, reported that the Yankees were crossing the Oostenaula near that place, and that McPherson was crossing at Lay's Ferry below; so we were flanked out of position again.

On the night of the 15th, when Johnston's army retreated across the Oostenaula, at Resaca, the Yankees were pressing us very hard. The heavens seemed to be filled with shells, and the long lines of musketry firing by the Yankee infantry, and the pop, pop, pop, of the miles of skirmishers, was a sight that no man could describe, unless he had gone through one of the eruptions of Mount Pelee.

In a dispatch to Washington on the 16th, Sherman reported that his loss was 3,375 wounded: he did not say how many he had killed, but there are 1,790 Yankees buried there and 170 Confederates. The Confederates were behind entrenchments.

The heaviest loss sustained by the Confederates was that of Col. S. S. Stanton of the Twenty-eighth Tennessee Regiment, formerly Colonel of the Twenty-fifth Tennessee Regiment. Cleburne with his division moved in haste to Calhoun to support Walker, where the Yankees were crossing the Oostenaula. It was here that L. E. Polk's Brigade of Cleburne's Division, met the Yankees and punished them severely. On the night of the 16th, "Old Joe" retired to Adairville, and on the morning of the 17th, Hardee went into position two miles north of that place, with Cheatham and Bate in the front line, supported by Cleburne.

The Yankees made a furious assault on Cheatham, but were driven back. On the night of the 17th, we fell back to Kingston, at the Junction of the Western and Atlantic, and Rome and Atlanta R. R., and halted here a few hours, and then fell back a little further to Cassville.

Sherman's army crossed the Oostenaula on the 17th, Schofield on the left above Resaca, McPherson at Lay's Ferry below the village, while Thomas crossed at the center on the road bridge that Johnston did not destroy. Sherman also sent Jeff. C. Davis' division down the west bank of the Oostenaula in the direction of Rome, which he captured without a fight, with a number of Confederate factories and hospitals.

When "Old Joe" fell back to Cassville, he formed his army in line of battle, as he thought, in the best position between Dalton and Atlanta, and issued his battle order; his army was wild with enthusiasm. The position was well chosen. He held a council of war with his three corps commanders, Hardee, Polk, and Hood. Hardee was willing to risk the battle, but Polk and Hood were not, because a portion of Polk's corps could be enfiladed with the Federal artillery; so Johnston was persuaded to abandon this fine position and fell back across the Etowah River with Hardee protesting. On the night of the 19th, Sherman sent a despatch to Washington saying that "Johnston retires slowly, leaving nothing and hitting hard if crowded." It was here that Sherman formed his usual line with Thomas in the center, Schofield on the left, and McPherson on the right.

On May 21, while here, Sherman reported back to Washington that he had fully eighty thousand fighting men and had ordered the Seventeenth Corps with ten thousand five hundred strong to join him; this would give him ninety thousand five hundred soldiers. Sherman here gave his army a rest for a few days. On May 23, Sherman put his army in motion again and ran upon General Johnston at Altoona Pass, but finding it too strong for him, determined to flank him out of it by going to the right in the direction of Dallas. General McPherson's army crossed the Etowah River near Kingston, and moved by way of Van Wert to the south of Dallas. Thomas took the road by Burnt Hickory, and Schofield traveled a road a little east, all converging on Dallas.

One of Johnston's couriers was captured near Burnt Hickory with a letter on his person, which showed the Yankees that he had detected Sherman's move on Dallas, and was already there and fortifying. General Thomas was pushing in the direction of Dallas on the Pumpkin Vine Creek road. When in a few miles of Dallas, there was a stragetic point that he was ordered by Sherman to secure; it was where the three roads from Acworth, Marietta, and Dallas met, and was known as New Hope Church.

General Johnston, who was anxious to hold this point, had sent General Pat Cleburne there with his division of about four thousand men. At 4 P. M. on May 27, this one division of four thousand was attacked by four corps of Federals, not less than thirty thousand men in column. The battle lasted for one hour and a half, and resulted in the repulse of the entire Federal column, with a loss of three thousand killed and wounded; seven hundred of the killed were in forty feet of Cleburne's line. He captured 332 prisoners, and 1,200 stands of small arms. The Confederate loss was eighty-five killed and 363 wounded.

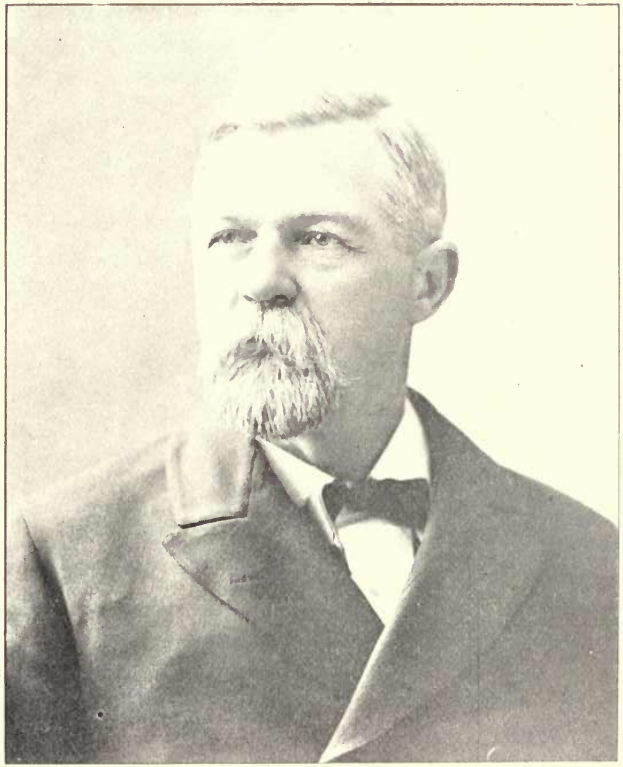
Cleburne's division was composed largely of Tennesseans. Gen. W. A. Quarles, who commanded a Tennessee brigade in this division, received the thanks of General Cleburne for courageous fighting of his command. Several of the Yankees charged into Quarles' rifle pits, but none ever came out.

This action came near making Cleburne a Lieutenant-General



Adjt. Jas. W. Thomas.

See page 424.



Capt. B. L. Ridley.

See page 359.

afterwards, when Hood was promoted to the command of the Confederate Army operating in Georgia.

On the 28th, while Bate's division was on the left of the army in front of Dallas, he was ordered with his division, viz., the Kentucky Brigade, Tyler's Brigade, and Finley's Florida Brigade, to reconoiter the enemy in connection with Armstrong's Cavalry, but the cavalry attack was so strong that Bate's brigade commanders mistook it to be a general assault, and rushed in, and before they could be withdrawn, had lost three hundred men.

After Sherman had made his flank movement to the right some eighteen miles, for two purposes, viz., one, to flank "Old Joe" out of Altoona Pass, and the other, to get him from his line of supplies and the railroad, the two armies seemed to start east to Marietta and the railroad, side by side, throwing up earthworks like two great, mad bulls, each trying to get the advantage of the other. While Bate's division was in front of Dallas, I saw and participated in one of the most terrific skirmish fights of the war.

While this division was lying in their entrenchments one morning early, with a Florida Regiment on a hill guarding our left flank, the Yankees about five-hundred strong, charged the hill and captured it. A Tennessee Regiment was ordered to retake it, which was done in the most gallant style, and then a detail of forty men from the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was ordered to take position on the hill, after the Tennessee Regiment was withdrawn. If I remember correctly, Lieutenant Mark Sanders was the officer in charge of the forty men from the Twentieth Tennessee. He had scarcely gotten in position before the Yankees returned to the charge, and it was a fight to the finish.

Sanders was fighting between four-hundred and five-hundred men with forty; they assaulted him a number of times, and at one time the contestants fought across a rail pile about four feet through, when one Yankee attempted to scale it, and received five minnie balls and fell dead, and his comrades recoiled. He proved to be a Sergeant in the Twenty-eighth Illinois Regiment, who had just received his company's mail, but had not distributed it yet, and the boys took the letters and sent them back to Colonel T. B. Smith.

In about four hours, I, with a detail of forty men, was sent to relieve the gallant Sanders. We had some very warm work, but we did not put up any better fight than Sanders. Late in the evening, Colonel Smith sent word that he would send up a piece of artillery, and at the third shot we must charge the enemy, which was done, and they were driven from the hill down across a small valley that was in corn, for about one mile.

On June 26, General A. P. Stewart's Division was in line about two miles northwest of Dallas, and General Hooker with his corps had just crossed Pumpkin Vine Creek going in the direction of New Hope Church, and ran upon Stewart about two hours before sunset, in a heavy thunder and rain storm. Hooker formed two divisions into three columns, the front of these three lines equalled the front of Stewart's one line.

The Yankees opened with vigor, and by their superior force, continued to advance until they were within fifty paces of Stewart's line. Here they were compelled to pause, stagger and fall back; again and again they were hurled against the "Stonewall of the West," who commanded these three brigades that were fighting three times their numbers, and finally made it so hot for this great blue mass, that the Yankees named the place "Hell Hole."

In spite of the heavy fighting along the New Hope line, about Dallas, and Pickett's Mill, and the incessant rains that had been falling for sixteen days, Sherman was extending his line to his left to make connection with Schofield and Stoneman at Acworth, who had come down the railroad through Altoona Gap, all concentrating at Big Shanty, a railroad station a few miles north of Marietta and Kennesaw mountains. It was on this line at Pine Mountain, June 14, while Generals Johnston, Polk, and Hardee were on an outpost in front of General Bate's division making observations, a Federal Battery stationed some six-hundred yards away, down at the foot of the mountain across a small creek, fired at this distinguished groop, and General Polk was killed. I was hotly engaged in a skirmish fight up and down the little creek at the foot of the mountain at the time, and the shot that killed General Polk, passed over my skirmish line, but we knew nothing of it until we were withdrawn.

Sherman, on June 3, reached Acworth, and his left center under Thomas, with his left wing under Schofield and Stoneman, made connection. His flank movement to the right around by Dallas, and back to the railroad and Kennesaw Mountain, took him about thirty days and cost him several thousand men.

The losses in General Johnston's army, to meet these flank movements on this line, were in Hardee's corps, composed of the divisions of Bate, Cheatham, and Cleburn, 173 killed, 1,048 wounded, total 1,221. Hood's corps, 103 killed, 679 wounded, total 781. Polk's corps, 33 killed, 194 wounded, total 227. Cavalry, 73 killed, 341 wounded, total 414. Grand total 2,643, to say nothing of prisoners.

The campaign had now been going on a little more than one month, and both armies had received reinforcements. Johnston had received the three divisions of French, Loring, and Canty, which brought Johnston's army up to 60,564 effective men; while Sherman was reinforced with the Seventeenth Army Corps under Blair, and several brigades had joined him that had been off guarding depots. General Sherman said that his reinforcements about equaled his losses, which gave him about the number he started with on May 6—98,000.

About the time that the Yankee Army crossed the Etowah River, Governor Joe Brown, of Georgia, called for the Georgia State troops, which embraced every man from forty-five to fifty-five years of age, and every boy from sixteen to eighteen years of age, and put them under the command of Major-General Gustavus W. Smith, an officer of skill and experience. It was this levy of Governor Brown, consisting of old men and boys, that caused the Yankees to say that the Confederacy was robbing "the cradle and the grave."

After the death of that gallant Christian and patriot soldier, Lieut-Gen. Leonidas Polk, on June 14, Gen. W. W. Loring took charge of his corp for a few days, but was afterwards succeeded by that Stonewall of the West, Gen. A. P. Stewart.

On June 19 the Confederate lines were formed in a semi-circle around the north and west of Marietta and Kennesaw Mountains, with Hood's Corps between the railroad and the mountain. Loring, who was in command of Polk's Corp, was on top of the

mountain, and Hardee's Corps swung around south between the branches of Noe's Creek. It was here, while in our rifle pits, that the Yankees threw a shell that exploded in the ranks of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment that caused the gallant and gentlemanly captain, W. G. Ewin, of Company "A," to lose his leg June 27, and the same shell killed and wounded nine out of thirteen men of Company E. The loss of this splendid officer was sad indeed for the regiment.

On the 20th General Garrard, with a division of Yankee Cavalry, attacked General Joe Wheeler's Cavalry, and was repulsed by Wheeler, who charged him in turn and routed him. This was the biggest cavalry affair of the campaign. Wheeler on Johnston's right, and Gen. W. H. Jackson on his left, were indispensable. While the Confederate Army was occupying Kenesaw Mountain, it was a difficult matter to get a cannon on top of Big Kennesaw, but the men of French's division dragged up nine pieces by hand at night, and opened a furious fire on the Yankees at the foot of the mountain, which caused them so much trouble that Sherman determined to silence these nine pieces, so he concentrated against them 100 pieces, and the fire was so terriffic that it cut down the trees on the top of the mountain, and swept over its heights toward Marietta, but French's men held their position.

On June 23 the battle of Knobb's Farm was fought between Hooker and Hood, with no decided advantage to either. The fighting was now continuous, the artillery firing was awful, running often up into the night, and the picket firing was such if a soldier showed his head above his breastworks, he was plugged at once. It was this way in both armies.

Sherman had played the game of "flank" so much that his officers and a good portion of the Confederates thought that it was not his policy to charge breastworks. Sherman issued his orders on June 26 for his army to assault Johnston's Army on the 27th. McPherson's and Thomas' Corps struck Loring's and a portion of Hardee's Corps, and were driven back, but the main and direct assault fell on Cheatham's Tennessee division and the left of Cleburne's of Hardee's corp, although the assaulting lines that were more or less engaged were ten miles

long. Sherman's assaulting column, at this point, was formed thus: Newton's division of the Fourth Corps, 5,000 strong; Whittiker's Brigade of Stanly's division, 5,000 strong; Kirly's Brigade of Stanly's division, 5,000 strong; two brigades of Woods' division, Fourth Corps, 5,000 strong; Kemball's Brigade, in reserve for this part of the line, 5,000 strong; Davis' division, 6,500 strong, with Graves' Brigade in the reserve line, this made an assaulting column seven lines deep, numbering not less than 35,000 men; while the Confederates had engaged all of Cheatham's division, about 4,000, and about 2,000 of Cleburne's—a total of 6,000. The lines of the two armies at this point were close together, so when the Yankees were formed and moved forward the action began at close range. The Yankees were seven lines deep and led by gallant officers; they came forward with a rush like a great blue cloud of Egyptian flies. Their front lines began to melt from their first step, but onward they came over their dead and dying. Their front lines had now grown thin, and began to recoil; their rear line pushed on in this mad vortex of human destruction. As this great blue wave was about to reach the earthworks of this Spartan band, a Rebel yell of defiance rolled heavenward that said to the other portion of the Confederate lines that the immortal Cheatham and the tenacious Cleburne were here to do or die. Maney's Brigade held the salient, which was the deadliest point on the line. It was defended by Maney's Brigade of Tennesseans, commanded by Col. F. M. Walker, of the Nineteenth Tennessee, and nobly did they sustain the fighting reputation of the Volunteer State.

The Yankees themselves named this point "Dead Angle." The two divisions alone of Blair and Davis lost 1,580. Sherman says that he lost in this assault 3,000 men, and that Brigadier-General McCook and nearly every field officer of his brigade were killed. In front of Maney's Brigade lay dead 385 Yankees, and in front of Vaughn's 415. Gen. George H. Thomas reported that the loss in the centre of the Federal Army alone, for the month of June, was 5,747,, three-fourths of which occurred at "Dead Angle."

On the 29th a truce was agreed to, and the Yankees were per-

× Brother Walter S. Smith, was there, on the breastworks, so he could see the Yan firing at Yanks, fast as his comrades passed

mitted to bury their dead near the Confederate breastworks, against which some of the Federal dead were lying.

Gen. Joe Johnston said of this assault, that "it lasted for forty-five minutes, and there were more dead men in front of Cheatham and Cleburne than were in front of Jackson at the celebrated battle of New Orleans," and we must remember that it was mostly Tennesseans that did the work for General Packenharm and his "Red Coats" at New Orleans; so it was mostly Tennesseans that did the work for Sherman and the "Blue Coats" at Dead Angle.

In this engagement the Yankees ran upon entrenched soldiers that were equal to Napoleon's Old Guard, or the "Red Coats" that followed Wellington out of Spain into France. Hardee's Corps lost in killed and wounded 286, and Loring's Corps, 236; total, 522.

Sherman had now failed in his great assault on "Old Joe's" lines in front of Marietta and Kennesaw, which lasted for twenty-six days, and was compelled to go back to his flanking by superior forces. This twenty-six days on this line cost Johnston 3,948 men, and Sherman nearly 10,000. Sherman, on the night of July 2, ordered McPherson from the front of Kennesaw, to extend his lines to the left of Schofield on to the Chattahoochee River, and on the morning of July 3 Johnston withdrew from Kennesaw back to a line just north of the Chattahoochee at Smyrna Station. On July 4 Hood's Corps was pressed by the enemy, and Cheatham's division was sent to his assistance, when one of Cheatham's most gallant brigadier-generals, A. J. Vaughn, lost his leg. He was a soldier on whom Cheatham could always rely. On July 7 Gen. A. P. Stewart was appointed Lieutenant-General, and put in command of Polk's old corps, and General Loring returned to his division.

In this appointment the names of Generals Loring, French, Cheatham, and Cleburne were all considered; the two latter having won great distinction, one at New Hope Church, and the other at Kennesaw Mountain.

On July 7, two corps of Sherman's army crossed the Chattahoochee near the mouth of Soap Creek, and effected a lodgment on the south bank. Johnston withdrew across the Chattahoo-

chee on the night of July 9, and took position in a semi-circular line between Atlanta and the river, and everything was comparatively quiet until the 17th, when a large portion of the Federal Army had crossed over; and on the evening of July 17, the Confederates that were campaigning in Georgia received their death blow. An order was received from the War Office at Richmond that our beloved commander was relieved from the command of our army of Tennessee, and Lieutenant-General John B. Hood put in command. I never witnessed as sad sights as I saw here. Great stalwart, sun-burnt soldiers by the thousands would be seen falling out of line, squatting down by a tree or in a fence corner, weeping like children. This act of the War Department threw a damper over this army from which it never recovered, for "Old Joe," as we called him, was our idol. Whatever "Old Joe" said was right; if he said, "fall back," it was right; if he said, "Boys, halt, and let's give them battle," it was right. If we were ragged, barefooted, and half fed, the boys would say: "Old Joe is doing the best he can," and you heard no complaint.

Hood was now in command, and the Confederate Army had withdrawn to the south bank of the Chattahoochee River, with the Yankee Army on the north bank, with the exception of Schofield, who had crossed over near the mouth of Soap Creek. The two armies remained quiet until the 16th, when General Thomas crossed his corps over at Pace's and Power's Ferries, and encamped on the Buck Head Road that led to Atlanta.

General McPherson crossed at Roswell's Ford further up the river, and directed his operations across the country to strike the Georgia Railroad south of Atlanta between Decatur and Stone Mountain. It was this move of McPherson's that brought on the battle of the 22nd of July.

On the 17th and 18th, the whole of Sherman's Army, except his cavalry, lined up on the old Peach Tree Creek Road. It was here that the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was sent across Peach Tree Creek on the 16th on picket duty, and remained there until the morning of the 17th, when the Second Tennessee Regiment was sent over to relieve us, and the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was withdrawn across the creek to get a little

† Davis, made an inexcusable + miserable
blunder, when he made Hood Chief; + eve
one but Davis + Hood, seemed to be

sleep. The Second Tennessee Regiment had not been on duty but a short while until they were assaulted by a largely superior force, and about one half of the regiment were killed, wounded, and captured. The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was hastily aroused from sleep, thrown into line, and checked the enemy at the creek.

After Hood was put in command of the Confederate Army on the 17th, Cheatham was placed in command of Hood's Corps. Hood's three corps cammanders were Hardee, Stewart, and Cheatham. On the 18th, as the army of the Cumberland under Thomas was crossing Peach Tree Creek, Hood thought he could catch them in detail, and ordered an attack to begin at 1 P. M., but on account of some delay it did not begin until 4 P. M., and was not a success, but a heavy loss. On the 21st, Thomas moved up and felt of Hood's lines on Peach Tree Creek, with Schofield to his left and McPherson still further on Schofield's left, occupying Decatur, a little village six miles southeast of Atlanta on the Georgia State Railroad, and had torn up several miles of the road.

McPherson had in his immediate command the Fifteenth Corps under John A. Logan, Sixteenth under General Dodge, Seventeenth under Blair, and Schofield connecting with his right at the Howard House. Hood was now forced to his great flank movement. On the night of the 21st, Hardee's and Cheatham's Corps were moved from the Peach Tree Creek line through Atlanta south out the McDonough Road about six miles, then turning to the left, crossed a little stream called South River. (It was down this road about five miles that I had a little red-headed, black-eyed sweetheart, and that night, about two o'clock, I passed her house wondering what to-morrow would bring forth.)

Hardee's orders were to attack at daylight, but we did not get in position until twelve o'clock on the 22nd. We advanced to the attack about 2 P. M. It was Hardee's and Cheatham's Corps assaulting three Federal corps behind earthworks.

The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was in Bate's Division of Hardee's Corps, and in front of the Yankee works that we attacked was a mill pond, the water about waist deep, which we waded, and while in the pond the Yankees threw a shell into the

regiment and killed three men. We moved on across the pond, and ascended the ridge where the Yankees were intrenched, and struck their works at an angle, and were only partially successful on this part of the line; but the general assault was: we captured one mile of the enemy's works and held them. Cheatham's Corps captured five pieces of artillery and five stands of colors, and Hardee's Corps captured eight pieces of artillery and thirteen stands of colors. But the heaviest loss the Yankees sustained was in the death of Maj.-Gen. John B. McPherson, whom the Confederates regarded as the "brains of Sherman's Army." General Hood complimented the troops by saying that they fought with great vigor, and carried several lines of entrenchment, but the sacrifice was great. Maj.-Gen. W. H. T. Walker of Georgia, was killed. He commanded one of Hardee's divisions; and Col. Frank M. Walker, of the Ninteenth Tennessee, who commanded Maney's Brigade of Cheatham's old division, was also killed. He was a "knight of the first water, and a soldier without a fault."

There has been a great deal said in the Confederate Army about who killed General McPherson. The proof seems to be that he was killed by the skirmish line under Capt. Richard Beard of the Fifth Confederate Regiment, L. E. Polk's Brigade, Cleburne's Division, Hardee's Corps. Captain Beard said: "I was ordered by General Cleburne to advance and never halt until the enemy's breastworks were taken. We ran through a line of skirmishers and took them without firing a gun, and suddenly came to the edge of a narrow wagon road running parallel with our line of march, down which General McPherson came thundering at the head of his staff. He came upon us suddenly. My own company had reached the verge of the road when he discovered us. I was so near him as to see the very features of his face. I threw up my sword as a signal for him to surrender. He checked his horse, raised his hat in salute, wheeled to the right, and dashed off to the rear in a gallop. Corporal Coleman, who was near me, was ordered to fire, and it was his shot that killed General McPherson. At the time that Coleman fired, the General was bending forward passing under the branches of a tree; the ball ranged upward, and passed near his heart. A vol-

ley was fired at his fleeing staff. I ran up to the General, who had fallen upon his knees and face, but he had no sign of life in him. Right by the General's side lay a signal officer of his staff, whose horse had been shot from under him, who, if hurt at all, was slightly wounded. He told me that the dead man was General McPherson."

I am personally acquainted with Captain Richard Beard and believe that his statement is true.

General Sherman, in his history of this campaign, states that General McPherson's pocket-book and papers were found in the haversack of a prisoner.

Captain Beard said that his command did not disturb the General in any way. On the 26th of July, Gen. Stephen D. Lee assumed command of Hood's old corps, and Cheatham returned to his division. On the 28th, Lieut.-Gen. A. P. Stewart was wounded, and General Cheatham was placed in command of his corps on the 29th, and General Maney took charge of Cheatham's Division.

On the morning of July 28, the Yankees moved out on Hood's left on the Lickskillet Road in force, and at 11 A. M., Gen. Stephen D. Lee with his corps was ordered to check the movement. Brig.-Gen. Jno. C. Brown, who was in command of Hindman's old division, with Clayton's Division on his right, advanced and drove the enemy across the road and some distance beyond until he encountered their rifle pits, when he was checked.

Walthall's Division of Stewart's Corps, under instructions from General Lee, assaulted the position. General Walthall in his report said that "Brigadier-General Quarles with his brigade of Tennesseeans made a bold and bloody assault, but his command was checked by the large force of the enemy in his front, and the unopposed troops, which over-lapped his left, and poured into his flank a damaging fire, and if it had been possible for the daring of officers, and the desperate fighting of the men to have overcome such odds, we would have succeeded ; but twice our number could not have accomplished what my division was ordered to do." Quarles' Brigade lost heavily. Rev. J. H. McNeilly, who was chaplain of the Forty-ninth Tennessee Regiment, followed his regiment into the assault, and could be

seen everywhere administering to the physical and spiritual comforts of the wounded and dying.

At night-fall the Confederate troops were withdrawn to their original line. This was one of the bloodiest engagements of the campaign. From July 28 to August 6, there was comparative quiet. On August 5, Tyler's Brigade of Bate's Division, under the command of Col. T. B. Smith of the Twentieth Regiment, was sent out on the Sandtown Road near Utoy Creek, and at once deployed as skirmishers, and began to throw up rails, cordwood, and dirt for protection. In a short while the enemy's skirmishers were upon us, and several encounters took place that evening, the Yankees being repulsed each time. It was here on the evening of August 5, about 3 P. M., that I lost my left arm. On the next day, August 6, while Tyler's Brigade, under the command of the gallant Col. T. B. Smith, was holding this entrenched line, it was assaulted three times by a superior force, and repulsed each time, and after the third assault the Twentieth and Thirtieth Tennessee Regiments charged out of their works, and followed the fleeing Yankees.

It was here where Dave Montgomery, of Company C, killed two Yankees in two minutes. After the Yankees were finally driven away, we found about 1,000 of their killed and wounded left in front of Tyler's Brigade, besides two stands of colors and about 400 stands of small arms. The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, C. S. A., captured the colors of the Eighth Tennessee, U. S. A., and all of the entrenching tools that they had. The brigade was composed of the Second, Tenth, Fifteenth, Twentieth, Thirtieth, and Thirty-seventh Tennessee, Thirty-seventh Georgia Regiments, and Fourth Georgia Battalion of Sharpshooters, all under the command of Col. Tom Benton Smith, of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment. The brigade numbered about 1,200 men, and had twenty killed and wounded. Gen. Stephen D. Lee, to whom General Bate was reporting, said of Tyler's Brigade, in a special order, "that soldiers who fight with the coolness and determination that these men did will always be victorious over any reasonable number." Just before the engagement the Yankees had drawn new clothes and new hats, and our brigade supplied themselves.

On August 30 the Yankees, by their flank movement, had reached the vicinity of Jonesboro, on the Macon & Atlanta Railroad, some thirty miles south of Atlanta.

General Hood was deluded into the belief that this flank movement was made by two corps of Sherman's Army, and that the other five corps were still in his front at Atlanta, when he (Hood) sent two of his three corps, viz., Stephen D. Lee's Corps and Hardee's old corps, under Cleburne, to meet them, while Hood remained back in Atlanta with Stewart's Corps. After an all-night march Cleburne and Lee were in position at 11 A. M., August 31, and Hood's orders were to attack the enemy at once, and drive him across Flint River; but instead of Lee and Cleburne, with their two corps that were worn out from an all-night's march, finding only two corps of Yankees, as Hood had thought, they found the whole Yankee Army there in line, except the Twentieth Corps, which was left at Chattahoochee Bridge. General Lee attacked the enemy in his entrenchments, and was repulsed, leaving 946, killed and wounded, in front of the enemy's works. This showed the desperate fighting of the Confederates, who were contending against three to one in their breastworks. Cleburne, who was in command of Hardee's old corps, carried the works in his front. It was in Bate's division of Cleburne's corps that the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment fought, and it was while assaulting the enemy's works that the regiment lost one of the coolest, bravest, and best officers it ever had, Maj. John F. Guthrie. He was the embodiment of courage, honor, and fidelity to duty. He was a school-mate of mine at home, and a mess-mate in the army.

It was here that the gallant Bob Allison had carried the colors of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment over the second line of the enemy's works when he and Major Guthrie both fell, covered with blood, glory, and the colors of that immortal band. The enemy was now threatening to attack Lee's corps, when Gen. M. P. Lowrie, who was in command of Cleburne's old division, was sent to Lee's support, while Maney, who was commanding Cheatham's old division, took Lowrie's place.

On the night of the 31st, Lee was ordered with his corps to return to Atlanta, as Hood expected the Yankees would attack

him there the next day. This left Hardee's corps on the defensive at Jonesboro, when, on September 1, these troops received repeated assaults from Sherman's Army, but held their position, which enabled Hood to withdraw from Atlanta on the night of September 1, and met Hardee's Corps at Lovejoy Station, where the Confederate Army, what was left of it, was concentrated. In the battle of Jonesboro the Confederates lost, in killed and wounded, 1,485. After the battle of Jonesboro, the Confederate Army lost confidence in Hood's ability as a commander. Tyler's brigade, in the battle of Jonesboro, was hurled against three lines of earthworks, well served with artillery, and lost one-third of their number.

The concentration of Hood's Army at Lovejoy was the end of the campaign from Dalton to Jonesboro. Now let us make some comparison of the forces of the two armies and their losses. On the 6th day of May, when Sherman opened his Georgia campaign in front of Dalton, he had six corps of infantry, four divisions of cavalry, and 254 pieces of artillery; total, 98,797 men. These six corps were the Fourth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-third; and on May 21 he ordered the Seventeenth Corps, 10,500 strong, to join him.

This gave Sherman, up to June 1, 109,297 men, of which he lost, in the entire campaign, killed, 4,423; wounded, 22,822; missing, 9,836; total, 37,081.

Gen. Joe Johnston had at Dalton, May 6, when the campaign opened, 42,756 men and 187 guns, divided into three corps of infantry, and his cavalry in two divisions, under Joe Wheeler and W. H. Jackson. From May 6 to July 18, Johnston received in reinforcements the three divisions of French, Loring, and Canty, and 1,500 Georgia militia, about 18,000 men, which gave Johnston a force of 60,564 to oppose Sherman's Army of 109,297. Johnston lost of this army, from May 6 to July 18, the day that he turned over his army to Hood, 1,221 killed, 8,229 wounded; total killed and wounded, 9,450; captured, 2,364; total, 11,814, lost in a campaign of 72 days against twice his numbers.

General Hood took command July 18, 1864, and reported the strength of his army at 48,750, of all branches. He lost from July 18 to September 1, making forty-three days, killed, 1,750;

wounded, 10,267 ; missing, 1,800 ; total for Hood, 13,817 ; total for Johnston, 11,814 ; grand total for Confederates, 25,631 in the Georgia campaign, which makes the Confederate loss 11,450 less than the Federal loss.

After the Battle of Jonesboro, Sherman's Army camped in and about Atlanta, and Hood gathered his forces about Jonesboro, and afterwards at Lovejoy Station on the Atlanta and Macon R. R., some twenty-five miles south of Atlanta. His three corps under Hardee, Stewart, and Stephen D. Lee, numbered respectively : Hardee's 8,417, Lee's 7,401, Stewart's 8,849, total infantry and artillery 24,667, with 3,794 cavalry under Gen. W. H. Jackson, grand total 28,461. Wheeler with his cavalry, 11,237 strong, had been sent into North Alabama. Hood, on Sept. 18, moved west to Palmetto on the West Point R. R., and formed a line of battle. And it was here that Lieutenant-General Hardee, one of the best officers in the Confederate Army, of his own accord, asked to be relieved of the command of his corps, and Major-General Cheatham succeeded him.

On Sept. 29, Hood crossed the Chattahoochee at Pumpkintown and Phillip's Ferry and started northward, and told his army that this move was not a retreat, but was to draw Sherman out of Atlanta, and have him attack the Confederate forces in position. On Sept. 25, 26, President Davis visited Hood's Army and was received with a great deal of enthusiasm.

Hood, after he had crossed the Chattahoochee, verged to the right and struck the Western and Atlantic R. R. at Big Shanty, where Stewart's corps captured the garrisons at that place and at Acworth. General French with three thousand men attacked Altoona Pass, which was well fortified, and defended by two thousand Yankees ; at this place Sherman had about one million rations stored, and a desperate little battle was fought.

General French's command was detached from the main Confederate forces, and when Sherman heard the roar of the battle he signaled his commander there to hold out, and sent J. D. Cox's corps to intercept French from Hood's Army, so French was compelled to withdraw before he finished his task, or be cut off.

In this assault of 3,000, General French reported that he lost : killed 122, wounded 443, missing 233, total 798. The Yankees

reported their loss at killed 142, wounded 352, missing 212, total 706.

Sherman was now convinced that his army could not remain in Atlanta with Hood tearing up his line of supplies in this manner, so he sent two divisions up to Chattanooga, and one in the direction of Rome, and Thomas started for Middle Tennessee. Sherman left Slocum's corps as a garrison for Atlanta, and he started with four corps after Hood and followed him as far as Gaylesville, in North Alabama. Hood, on his way north, attacked the Federal garrisons at Resaca, Tunnel Hill, and Dalton. It was here at Dalton that Cannon Peay, a member of Company B, of the Twentieth Tennessee regiment, was killed by a shot from the Yankee blockhouse. The Yankee garrison here was 1,200 strong and surrendered to Strahl's Brigade without an effort at defence.

General Bate sent Captain Hamp J. Cheney to demand the surrender of another blockhouse some two miles away, but the Yankees did not recognize Cheney or his flag, and fired upon him, killing his horse. Then General Bate ordered up a piece of artillery, and the first shell entered a port-hole and killed fifteen or twenty men, and then a white flag was run up without being asked.

At Ship's Gap, near Dalton, Colonel Ellison Capers, with his South Carolina Regiment, held back Sherman's advance until a portion of his regiment was captured. Hood now moved south from Lafayette, Ga., down the Chattooga Valley, and Sherman's forces followed on to Gaylesville, where they remained about two weeks watching the movements of the Confederate Army at Gadsden.

On the 17th, General Beauregard took command of the new military division of the West, which included Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and East Louisiana. Hood had moved his army across Sand Mountain over to Tuscumbia on the Tennessee River; when Hood left Gadsden and Sherman went back from Gaylesville, the two old enemies separated. Sherman sent the two corps of Stanley and Schofield, and all of his cavalry except Kilpatrick's division, to report to Thomas at Chattanooga,

who was given full command in Tennessee. Sherman then took his four other corps and went back to Kingston.

If Hood had carried out his original plan of invading Middle Tennessee by crossing the Tennessee River at Guntersville in North Alabama, and gone on at once instead of stopping on the banks of the Tennessee at Tuscumbia and Florence, thus losing three weeks of precious time, which gave Sherman time to repair the N. & C. and W. & A. railroads, and accumulate supplies for his army at Atlanta, that enabled him to make his march to the sea, there would have been a far more successful outcome of this campaign. Not only did he give the enemy these advantages, but his stop at Tuscumbia gave Thomas time enough to collect an army in Middle Tennessee that would have crushed him even if he had not made his mistakes at Franklin and Springhill.

After Sherman had collected his supplies at Atlanta, on Nov. 11, 1864, he ordered General Corse with his command to destroy the railroads north to Rome and the Etowah River, thus cutting his army loose from everything north of Atlanta. On Nov. 14, with five corps of infantry 60,000 strong and 5,500 cavalry under Kilpatrick, making a total of 65,500 men, the right wing under Howard and the left under Slocum, Sherman started through the heart of Georgia with a band of thieves and robbers, applying the torch indiscriminately to the homes of helpless women and children, making a charred avenue forty miles wide from Atlanta to Savannah, destroying $100,000,000 of property; besides, he ordered Capt. O. M. Poe to destroy Atlanta with fire, which turned into the commons and woods thousands of helpless starving women and children, without roof and without bread, when there were not 5,000 Confederate soldiers within hundreds of miles of his army.

This outrage of Sherman's against humane and civilized warfare, entitles him to an abode forever in the bottomless pit of Satan's kingdom, that ought to be made ten times as hot as the hottest fire that Captain Poe kindled in Atlanta in 1864.

Sherman's march to the sea with an army of 65,500, with less than 3,500 cavalry and Georgia militia to oppose him, while he, all the while encouraging robbery, pilfering, and arson, on his



MAJOR PATRICK DUFFY.

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return to Washington was hailed by his Government as a hero, was a disgrace upon Christian civilization.

Sherman himself said of the $100,000,000 of property that his army destroyed, that $20,000,000 of it his army made use of, and the other $80,000,000 was destruction and waste.

On Nov. 21, 1864, Hood began crossing his army over the Tennessee at Tuscumbia and Florence, heading it towards Columbia, Tenn., on the Waynesboro Road. On the 29th he crossed Duck River three miles above Columbia with Cheatham's and Stewart's corps and one division of Lee's corps, crossing Rutherford Creek some five miles north of Duck River, and marched to Spring Hill.

The Yankee Army in this section was about 23,000 infantry and 5,500 cavalry, total 28,500, under General Schofield (who commanded Sherman's left wing in the Georgia campaign). On the 29th, Hood, after traversing the fields and by-roads with his army, late in the afternoon was in position with his front corps (Cheatham's) within two or three hundred yards east of the Columbia pike at Spring Hill, which was twelve miles in rear of Schofield's position at Columbia. This flank movement of Hood's caused Schofield to retreat in haste back to Spring Hill, and that night on to Franklin.

The main Yankee column did not reach Spring Hill until late in the evening or night, when Cheatham's corps lay within two hundred yards of this retreating column and heard them passing almost the entire night without firing scarcely a gun, when the object of the flank movement was to throw the Confederate forces across the pike at Spring Hill and force Schofield to attack or surrender. Now whose fault was it, on the part of the Confederates, that the attack was not made? This mistake and failure caused a great deal of talk and criticism from the Southern soldiers and historians. From the evidence the fault seems to lie between Generals Hood and Cheatham, and the reports of these two gallant and patriotic soldiers, as well as that of some division commanders of Cheatham's corps, will be submitted in full, and see if we can help to clear the public mind on this unfortunate affair.

General Hood, in his report of this affair, made December 11,

22

X I was there — watching the Yanks march up the Pike, towards Franklin & we were impatien — after swimming

1864, said: "Major-General Cheatham was ordered at once to attack the enemy vigorously and get possession of the pike at Spring Hill (the road to Franklin), and although these orders were frequently and earnestly repeated, he made but a feeble and partial attack, failing to reach the point indicated."

Again, in his history of the campaign, "Advance and Retreat," pp. 285, 286, it is related: "General Stewart was then ordered to proceed to the right of Cheatham and place his corps across the pike north of Spring Hill. By this hour, however, twilight was upon us, when General Cheatham rode up in person. I at once directed Stewart to halt, and turning to Cheatham I exclaimed with deep emotion, as I felt the golden opportunity fast slipping from me, 'General, why in the name of God have you not attacked the enemy and taken possession of the pike?'" Lieutenant-General Stewart, referring to this statement in a published letter, says, "No such exclamation by Hood to Cheatham could have been made in my presence."

Major-General Cheatham gave the following account of the affair at Spring Hill: —

"In pursuance of orders from army headquarters, my command crossed Duck River on the morning of Nov. 29, 1864, the division of Major-General Cleburne in advance, followed by that of Major-General Bate, the division of Major-General Brown in the rear. The march was made as rapidly as the condition of the road would allow and without occurrence of note, until about 3 P. M., when I arrived at Rutherford's Creek, two and one-half miles from Spring Hill. At this point General Hood gave me verbal orders as follows: That I should get Cleburne across the creek and send him forward toward Spring Hill, with instructions to communicate with General Forrest, who was near the village, ascertain from him the position of the enemy, and attack immediately; that I should remain at the creek, and assist General Bate in crossing his division, and then go forward and put Bate's command in to support Cleburne, and that he should push Brown forward to join me.

"As soon as the division of General Bate had crossed the creek I rode forward, and at a point on the road, about one and a half miles from Spring Hill, I saw the left of Cleburne's command

just disappearing over the hill to the left of the road. Halting there, I waited a few minutes for the arrival of Bate, and formed his command with his right upon Cleburne's left, and ordered him forward to the support of Cleburne. Shortly after Bate's division had disappeared over the same range of hills, I heard firing towards Cleburne's right, and just then General Brown's division came up. I thereupon ordered Brown to proceed to the right, turn the range of hills over which Cleburne and Bate had crossed, and form line of battle and attack to the right of Cleburne. The division of General Brown was in motion to execute this order when I received a message from Cleburne that his right brigade had been struck in flank by the enemy and had suffered severely, and that he had been compelled to fall back and reform his division with a change of front.

"It so happened that the direction of Cleburne's advance was such as had exposed his right flank to the enemy's line. When his command was formed on the road by which he had marched from Rutherford's Creek, neither the village of Spring Hill nor the turnpike could be seen. Instead of advancing directly upon Spring Hill, his forward movement was a little south of west and almost parallel with the turnpike toward Columbia, instead of northwest upon the enemy's lines, south and east of the village. A reference to the map will show Cleburne's line of advance. General Cleburne was killed in the assault upon Franklin the next day, and I had no opportunity to learn from him how it was that the error of direction occurred.

"Meanwhile General Bate, whom I had placed in position on the left of Cleburne's line of march, continued to move forward in the same direction until he had reached the farm of N. F. Cheairs, one and a half miles south of Spring Hill.

"After Brown had reached the position indicated to him and had formed a line of battle, he sent to inform me that it would be certain disaster for him to attack, as the enemy's line extended beyond his right several hundred yards. I sent word to him to throw back his right brigade and make the attack. I had already sent couriers after General Bate to bring him back and direct him to join Cleburne's left. Going to the right of my line I found Generals Brown and Cleburne, and the latter re-

ported that he had reformed his division. I then gave orders to Brown and Cleburne that as soon as they could connect their lines they should attack the enemy, who were then in sight; informing them at the same time that General Hood had just told me that Stewart's column was close at hand, and that General Stewart had been ordered to go to my right and place his command across the pike. I furthermore said to them that I would go myself and see that Bate was placed in position to connect with them, and immediately rode to the left of my line for that purpose.

"During all this time I had met and talked with General Hood repeatedly, our field headquarters being not over one hundred yards apart. After Cleburne's repulse I had been along my line and had seen that Brown's right was outflanked several hundred yards. I had urged General Hood to hurry up Stewart and place him on my right, and had received from him assurance that this would be done; and this assurance, as before stated, I had communicated to Generals Brown and Cleburne.

"When I returned from my left, where I had been to get Bate in position, and was on my way to the right of my line, it was dark; but I intended to move forward with Cleburne and Brown and make the attack, knowing that Bate would be in position to support them. Stewart's column had already passed by on the way toward the turnpike, and I presumed that he would be in position on my right.

"On reaching the road where General Hood's field quarters had been established, I found a courier with a message from General Hood requesting me to come to him at Captain Thompson's house, about one and a fourth miles back on the road to Rutherford's Creek. Here I found Generals Stewart and Hood. The Commanding General there informed me that he had concluded to wait till morning, and directed me to hold my command in readiness to attack at daylight.

"I was never more astonished than when General Hood informed me that he had concluded to postpone the attack until daylight. The road was still open — orders to remain quiet until morning — and nothing to prevent the enemy from marching to Franklin."

The following communication, written by Governor (afterward Senator) Harris of Tennessee, then acting as aide to General Hood, is a valuable contribution to the history of this campaign. It is copied from Drake's "Annals of the Army of Tennessee," for May, 1877. A copy was furnished to General Hood.

Gov. James D. Porter : —

Dear Sir : In answer to yours of the 12th inst., I have to say that on the night that the army of Tennessee, under command of Gen. J. B. Hood, halted at Spring Hill on its march from Columbia to Nashville, General Hood, his adjutant-general Major Mason, and myself occupied the same room at the residence of Captain Thompson, near the village. Late at night we were aroused by a private soldier, who reported to General Hood that on reaching the camp near Spring Hill, he found himself within the Federal lines ; that the troops were in great confusion, a part of them were marching in the direction of Franklin, others had turned toward Columbia, and that the road was blocked with baggage-wagons and gun-carriages, rendering it impossible to move in order in either direction. Upon the receipt of this report, General Hood directed Major Mason to order General Cheatham to move down on the road immediately and attack the enemy. General Hood and myself remained in bed. I went to sleep, and I supposed that General Hood did the same. At daylight on the following morning we learned that the Federal army had left Spring Hill and was being concentrated at Franklin.

On the march to Franklin, General Hood spoke to me, in the presence of Major Mason, of the failure of General Cheatham to make the night attack at Spring Hill, and censured him in severe terms for his disobedience of orders. Soon after this, being alone with Major Mason, the latter remarked that "General Cheatham was not to blame about the matter last night. I did not send him the order." I asked if he had communicated the fact to General Hood. He answered that he had not. I replied that it is due to General Cheatham that this explanation should be made. Thereupon Major Mason joined

General Hood and gave him the information. Afterwards General Hood said to me that he had done injustice to General Cheatham, and requested me to inform him that he held him blameless for the failure at Spring Hill. And, on the day following the battle of Franklin, I was informed by General Hood that he had addressed a note to General Cheatham, assuring him that he did not censure or charge him with the failure to make the attack.

Very respectfully,
ISHAM G. HARRIS.

Memphis, Tenn., May 20, 1877.

Maj.-Gen. John C. Brown, commanding Cheatham's division, gave the following account of the same affair : —

"My division comprised four brigades of infantry, commanded respectively by Gen. S. R. Gist, of South Carolina, Generals O. F. Strahl, G. W. Gordon, and John C. Carter, of Tennessee. On the morning of Nov. 29, 1864, when I left my bivouac on the Mooresville turnpike in front of Columbia, Tenn., the whole command numbered not exceeding 2,750 effective men. Gist's brigade was the largest, and Strahl's was next in numerical strength ; those of Gordon and Carter being about equal in the number of effective men. We started on the march about sunrise, and after traversing cedar brakes and pathless woods, crossed Duck River by a pontoon previously laid, about four miles above Columbia, at or near what was known as Davis' ferry or Davis' ford. Conforming to the daily alterations, my division was the rear of your [Cheatham's] corps. After crossing Duck River, as I now recollect, at or near Bear Creek, the commanding general, apprehending an attack on our left flank, ordered your corps, on its march from that point, to move in two parallel columns, so that it could come instantly into action in two lines of battle if attacked on the flank. Accordingly, my division was ordered to form the supporting column, and for that purpose to leave the road by which the main body was moving, and so conform its movements to that of the other two divisions (Cleburne's and Bate's), that in coming into action to meet an attack on our left flank, it would occupy a place in rear of and

about four hundred yards distant from the front line of battle. The march thence to Rutherford's Creek was made pursuant to these orders, and the whole distance thus traversed (five or six miles) was through fields and woods and over rough ground, adding greatly to the fatigues of the day. About the commencement of this movement, or soon afterwards, by the order of the commanding general in person, the whole of Gist's and about one-half of Strahl's brigade were detached for picket duty, to be relieved by the orders of the commanding general, thus leaving me with about one-half of my division.

"When near Rutherford's Creek, learning that a crossing was not practicable east of the road, I changed the direction of the march to the left into the road, and found Bate's division preparing to cross the stream. After reaching the north bank of the stream, I was ordered to pursue the road leading in the direction of the Caldwell place, while Cleburne's and Bate's divisions moved at an angle to the left ; but before reaching the Dr. Caldwell house, I was ordered to change the direction of my column to the left, and we reached the "Lewisburg," or "Rally Hill" pike, near the toll-gate, a distance of one and a half miles from Spring Hill.

"This was within an hour or an hour and a half of sunset. I could distinctly see the enemy in force, both infantry and artillery, at Spring Hill, but did not, and perhaps could not at that point, see either troops or wagons moving on the Columbia pike. Forrest's cavalry were on higher ground northeast of my position.

"I was ordered to form a line of battle and 'take' Spring Hill. Gist's brigade and the detachment from Strahl had not reported. I formed my line as speedily as worn out troops could be moved, and after throwing forward a skirmish line, advanced four hundred or five hundred yards, when I discovered a line of the enemy thrown out of Spring Hill, across and threatening my right flank, and I then discovered for the first time that General Forrest's cavalry, which I had been assured would protect my right, had been ordered to another part of the field, leaving me without any protection on my right flank or support in rear. I had neither artillery nor cavalry, and was left in a position

where I must meet with inevitable disaster, if I advanced on Spring Hill.

"A hasty consultation with my brigade commanders resulted in a determination to suspend the advance, and confer with the corps commander. I need not remind you that in a very few minutes you were upon the field, and fully approved of what had been done, as did also General Hood a little later, when he directed that the attack be delayed until the arrival of Generals Stewart and Gist, and in the meanwhile, that the whole command should be held under orders to advance at a moment's notice. General Gist's brigade reported a little after nightfall, and was immediately placed in position on my right. General Stewart's corps came up later, and went into bivouac on the stream in the rear of my right, where it remained until the following morning. I received no further orders that evening or during the night to advance or change my position. After daylight on the morning of the 30th I took up the line of march for Franklin, the enemy in the meantime having preceded, under circumstances of which you are fully advised.

"On the march to Franklin, General Cleburne, with whom I had long enjoyed very close personal relations, sent a message to the head of my column requesting an interview. Allowing my column to pass on, I awaited his arrival. When he came up, we rode apart from the column through the fields, and he told me with much feeling that he had heard that the commanding general was endeavoring to place upon him the responsibility for allowing the enemy to pass our position on the night previous. I replied to him that I had heard nothing on that subject, and that I hoped he was mistaken. He said, 'No, I think not; my information comes through a very reliable channel.' He said that he could not afford to rest under such an imputation, and should certainly have the matter investigated to the fullest extent, as soon as we were away from the immediate presence of the enemy. General Cleburne was quite angry, and evidently was deeply hurt, believing that the commander-in-chief had censured him. I asked General Cleburne who was responsible for the escape of the enemy during the afternoon and night previous. In reply to that inquiry he indulged in some criti-

cisms of a command occupying a position on his left, and concluded by saying that of course the responsibility rested with the commander-in-chief, as he was upon the field during the afternoon, and was fully advised during the night of the movement of the enemy.

"The conversation at this point was abruptly terminated by the arrival of orders for yourself from the commanding general. As he left he said, 'We will resume this conversation at the first convenient moment,' but in less than three hours after that time this gallant soldier was a corpse upon the bloody field of Franklin."

Major-General Bate, referring to an interview with General Hood between the hours of 10 and 12 of the night of the 29th of November, at which General Bate mentioned a conflict in the orders of the general commanding, and the corps commanders touching the movement of his division, relates that General Hood said: "It makes no difference now, or it is all right, anyhow, for General Forrest, as you see, has just left, and informed me that he holds the turnpike with a portion of his forces north of Spring Hill, and will stop the enemy if he tries to pass toward Franklin, and so in the morning we will have a surrender without a fight." He further said in a congratulatory manner, "We can sleep quietly to-night."

General Forrest reported that after the arrival of Cleburne's division at Spring Hill, "I ordered Brig.-Gen. W. H. Jackson to move with his division in the direction of Thompson's Station and there intercept the enemy. He struck the road at Fitzgerald's, four miles from Spring Hill, at 11 P. M., just as the front of the enemy's column had passed. This attack was a complete surprise, producing much panic and confusion. Brigadier-General Jackson had possession of the pike, and fought the enemy until daylight, but receiving no support he was compelled to retire.

Two small brigades, commanded by Brigadier-Generals Armstrong and Ross, constituted Jackson's division. If an adequate force had been sent forward to take advantage of the panic and confusion created by Jackson's attack, a second golden opportunity would not have been lost.

The first intimation of dissatisfaction on the part of the commanding general at the management of the affair at Spring Hill was suggested by the receipt of the following note, written in front of Nashville and dated December 3, 1864: —

"My Dear General: I do not censure you for the failure at Spring Hill. I am satisfied that you are not responsible for it. I witnessed the splendid manner in which you delivered battle at Franklin on the 30th ult., and I now have a higher estimate of you as a soldier than I ever had.

"Yours very truly,

"J. B. Hood, *General.*

"Major-General B. F. Cheatham."

"On the morning of the 4th of December," says General Cheatham, "I went to the headquarters of General Hood, and referring to his note and criticism that had evidently been made by some one, I said to him, 'A great opportunity was lost at Spring Hill, but you know that I obeyed your orders there, as everywhere, literally and promptly.' General Hood not only did not dissent from what I said, but exhibited the most cordial manner, coupled with confidence and friendship."

After the failure of the Confederates on the night of November 29 to cut off the Yankee army at Spring Hill, Hood put his army in motion the next morning and arrived in front of Franklin, 11 miles north of Spring Hill, about 2 P. M. Here he found General Schofield with the fourth and twenty-third army corps under General Stanley and Cox respectively, numbering 23,734 infantry and artillery, and 5,500 cavalry, entrenched behind two lines of earthworks.

Hood, on his arrival in front of the town, formed his three corps thus: Cheatham, who was in command of Hardee's old corps, composed of the divisions of Bate, Brown (Cheatham's old division), and Cleburne, was on the left of Hood's line; Bate, being on the extreme left of the Confederate infantry, moved down by the Carter's Creek pike and the widow Bostick house. General John C. Brown, who commanded Cheatham's old division, was on Bate's right, with the right of his division resting on the Columbia pike. Cleburne was on the right of

Brown, with his left on the pike, the pike being the guide between these two gallant divisions. General A. P. Stewart, who had in his corps the divisions of Loring, French, and Walthall, was on the right of Cleburne, and moved to the assault across the open fields that lay between the Columbia and Lewisburg pikes. The corps of General Stephen D. Lee, composed of the divisions of Generals Ed. Johnson, Clayton, and Stevenson, did not arrive on the field until about 4 P. M., just as Hood was moving to the assault with Cheatham's and Stewart's corps. Johnson's division of Lee's corps was ordered to support Cheatham. They were carried into the battle about dark, and most gloriously and effectively did they do their work. They were mostly from Mississippi and Alabama. The two other divisions of Lee's corps, viz., Clayton's and Stevenson's, were not engaged.

Maj.-Gen. J. D. Cox of the Federal army, in his history of the Battle of Franklin, said that "General Hood moved his troops to the assault with less men than Schofield had behind his works," which were well constructed and the position admirably chosen, and was defended by nearly 24,000 Veterans, well drilled and superbly armed, taking one line of works and a portion of the second and lining up in the outer ditch of the second works. They contended with a force one third larger than their own, across the second works, with bayonets and butts of guns for two long hours,—a fight the like of which has never been surpassed on this continent,—and finally forced the Yankees to retreat from their own trenches, which was as grand a feat as the French performed when they assaulted and captured the Malakoff in the Crimean War. Oh, but what a sacrifice!

It was here that the noblest, the bravest, the grandest lot of men, for the number, that ever assaulted an enemy, enriched Franklin's fields with the cream of Southern blood. How could a just God look down from pure skies and witness this horrible tragedy (that was brought about by mistake), and not by some hidden hand stop it before it culminated in this horrible slaughter? X

It was to the right of the Columbia pike, in front of the old gin house, that that gallant son of the Emerald Isle, that superb

X Gen Forrest, begged Hood, to flank the position; which could have been easily done. 1 and 2 Bros, was there; to

soldier, that Bernadotte of the Western army, gave up his life for our Southern land. On this spot we ought to erect a monument to Patrick Ranayne Cleburne, and carve on its sides, the shamrock, the magnolia, and the cross of St. Andrew, and dig deep into the sides of this monument in letters of gold: "None braver, none truer, duty fully done."

It must be remembered that the three corps of Cheatham, Stewart, and Lee, when they crossed the Tennessee River, numbered about 26,000 men, and a greater number of them, not having seen their families for two years, went home. Two divisions of Lee's corps were not engaged, which reduced these three corps that made the assault at Franklin to 16,000 men.

In this engagement the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment fought in Tyler's brigade of Bate's division, commanded by Col. T. B. Smith, which was on the left of the infantry line, and was not as desperately engaged as were the men to our right, although Bate lost out of his three little brigades 47 killed and 253 wounded. Captain Todd Carter, who was on the staff of General Tom Benton Smith, and who was raised here at Franklin and went to the war as a member of Company H, Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, was killed here right at the enemy's works, almost at his father's door.† The right of Bate's division took the breast works in their front, and held them until next morning. This was the first engagement during the entire war, that the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was engaged in, that they failed to get into the hottest part of the battle, and the boys thought they were in luck.

To show how gallantly this little assaulting army of 16,000 men were led across a plain one and a half miles in open view of an army 24,000 strong, magnificently armed and protected by two lines of works, we will state that this heroic little band lost one major-general killed and one wounded, four brigadier-generals killed and five wounded, six colonels killed and fifteen wounded, two lieutenant-colonels killed and nine wounded, three majors killed and five wounded. No men were more gallantly led by superior courage and skill than was this assaulting column.

At the battle of Waterloo, when the tide of battle had been

† His Brother, Now lives here in San Diego: Frank W. Carter: of

ebbing and flowing for several hours, and Napoleon thought it was time to play his favorite tactics,— pierce the enemy's center, — he formed the old guard in a column, and put at their head the best and bravest marshall of all that fighting machine, Marshall Ney. This column was formed on a little eminence called La Belle Alliance, and swept down across a narrow valley, up the gentle slope of a ridge, against the right center of the allied armies, and here met the two brigades of Maitland and Adams, and were repulsed by an equal number; while at Franklin, the Confederates under Cheatham, Stewart, and Cleburne crossed a plain three times as wide, assaulted the enemy one third stronger than they, behind two lines of works, and finally compelled him to retreat. The loss of the French at Waterloo was thirty per cent., and the Confederates about the same at Franklin.

General Cox, who commanded the Twenty-third Army Corps of Yankees, and witnessed the whole affair, said: "When the Confederates had formed and started forward, no more magnificent spectacle was ever witnessed." Hood's report showed that out of 16,000 that he put into the assault, he lost, killed, wounded, and captured, 4,500, which was a little over thirty per cent., while the divisions of Brown and Cleburne lost forty per cent., Brown's division, who were nearly all Tennesseeans, lost almost every field officer that went into the battle.

The gallant George W. Gordon, who commanded one of Brown's brigades, was wounded on the enemy's works. Colorbearer Drew, of the Twenty-ninth Tennessee Regiment of Gordon's brigade, planted his colors on the enemy's works, and was killed. He fell inside of their works, and died on his colors. General Gist, another of Brown's brigade commanders, was killed in advance of his brigade, near the Yankee's works.

The gallant O. F. Strahl, who was born in the North on the banks of the Muskingum, and was one of Brown's most trusted brigadiers, was killed near where the Columbia Pike and the second line of works crossed, within a few feet of the Yankees' works. Your writer had a brother who was Sergeant-Major of the gallant Twenty-fourth Tennessee Regiment; he was killed by the side of the noble Strahl. Brigadier-General Carter, who

commanded Brown's left brigade, was killed, and Sergeant Brewer was the ranking officer left of the gallant Sixth Tennessee Regiment.

General John Adams, a Tennessean who commanded a brigade in Loring's division, was shot near the enemy's works, and his horse leaped on the enemy's works and fell dead. Quarles' brigade of Tennesseans, of Walthall's division, suffered severely, as did the divisions of French and Loring. The attack of the Confederates was repeated on some parts of the line until nine o'clock at night, and at twelve o'clock the enemy began to withdraw in the direction of Nashville.

There were enough Tennesseans killed in this battle to throw the whole State into mourning.

The battle of Franklin was fought on the evening and night of November 30, 1864. December 1, was occupied with burying our gallant dead and caring for our wounded. On December 2, Hood marched his army north from Franklin to Nashville, a distance of eighteen miles, and formed in line two miles south of the city, with an army of 23,053 men facing an army under Gen. Geo. H. Thomas of about 30,000, which in a few days was reinforced to 60,000, and were working like beavers, entrenching themselves for fear of an attack from Hood's little band.

On the morning of December 2, General Hood ordered Major-General Bate with his three little brigades under Generals T. B. Smith, Jackson, and Robert Bullock, with Slocumb's battery under Lieutenant Chalaron, and 150 cavalry under Col. B. J. Hill, in all 1,600 men, to proceed to Murfreesboro, and destroy the blockhouses and bridges from that place to Nashville. General Bate at once started with his division by way of Triune, and then took the Nolensville Pike north seven miles to Nolensville, then east through the country, over very rough roads, to the terminus of the Wilkerson Pike, some seven miles from Murfreesboro. Here he learned that Murfreesboro had not been evacuated, as he was led to believe, but instead it was fortified and garrisoned with 8,000 or 10,000 troops under Major-General Rousseau, which fact General Bate reported to General Hood, whose headquarters were at the Overton House, six

miles from the city of Nashville, on the Franklin Pike. General Hood at once sent the following order to General Bate:—

"HEADQUARTERS, OVERTON HOUSE, Dec. 2, 1864.

"*Major-General Bate:*—

"General Hood directs me to say that citizens reported some 5,000 Yankees at Murfreesboro. General Forrest will send some of his cavalry to assist you. You must act according to your judgment, under the circumstances, keeping in view the object of your expedition, viz., to destroy the railroad. This report is sent you for what it is worth.

"A. P. MASON,
"Colonel and A. A. General."

General Bate on the next morning moved his command diagonally north across the country, and struck the N. & C. R. R. at Overall's Creek, five and one half miles north of Murfreesboro, while he sent Colonel Hill with his little squad of cavalry to his right in the direction of Salem, to keep him posted as to his right flank. Bate at once drove in the Yankee pickets at the Overall Creek blockhouse, and brought up Chalaron's battery and opened fire on the garrison. The battery was supported by three regiments of the Florida brigade. Jackson's brigade was put to tearing up the railroad, and Smith's brigade was held in reserve. About noon the Yankees showed some force on the opposite side of the creek, but were dispersed by a few shells from our battery. Late in the evening the enemy returned reinforced with infantry and cavalry, and about sundown turned our left flank and charged Chalaron's battery. This charge was met by Smith's brigade and repulsed.

The gallant Chalaron in the meantime was throwing into the Yankees double charges of grape and canister. While this assault was on, our battery was being roughly handled. The Yankees attacked the Florida brigade under Colonel Bullock, and drove it back to the creek, and wounded Colonel Bullock. To meet this advance General Bate threw Jackson's brigade forward, and with one volley repulsed this part of the enemy's line, and drove them across the creek, and we held the field.

The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was still in Smith's brigade in this expedition. General Bate, after ten o'clock at night,

fearing that he might be cut off by the superior force of the Yankees, fell back across Stewart's Creek for the night. In this engagement General Bate lost 15 killed, 59 wounded, and 13 missing—total 87. General Bate said that he had every reason to believe that the enemy's loss was greater than his, as he buried a number of their dead the next day.

On the morning of December 5, General Bate with his command moved to attack the blockhouses at Read's Branch and Smyrna, but on his approach the Yankees evacuated, and Bate's men took what stores they had left, burned the blockhouses and bridges, and destroyed several miles of railroad. While these operations were going on, General Forrest arrived with his two divisions of cavalry and two brigades of infantry and artillery.

General Forrest, being General Bate's senior, took charge of all of our forces operating against Murfreesboro. Forrest at once quit tearing up the railroad, as Bate was doing, and began offensive operation against Murfreesboro, which was strongly fortified and well garrisoned. This was against Bate's judgment and orders that he had received from General Hood, but he, like a soldier, obeyed his superior in rank.

General Forrest now attempted to draw his lines south and west of the town. While Forrest was getting his lines in position, the Yankees were seen crossing Stone's River above the town, and coming around on Forrest's right on the Salem Pike. General Forrest had in his command now his two divisions of cavalry and five little brigades of infantry, viz., T. B. Smith's, Jackson's, and Finley's, of Bate's division, Sear's of French's division, and Palmer's of Stevenson's division.

General Forrest ordered General Bate to put the infantry in line at once near where the Wilkerson Pike crosses Overall's Creek, which he did in the following order: Sear's brigade on the right, Palmer's in the center, and Finley's Florida brigade on the left, with Smith and Jackson in reserve. Before we had time to make much preparation for defense the Yankees were upon us. Bate was ordered to throw his two reserve brigades, Smith's and Jackson's, to the front line. The battery under Chalaron was placed as best we could. The first appearance of the enemy was driven back, but they were reinforced and came



Lt. W. J. McMurray, Co. B.

See page 417.

back again and turned our left flank, when General Forrest ordered the whole line to move to the left, when Sear's and Jackson's brigade moved too far to the left, and Palmer's and Finley's were halted in some temporary works. Smith was thrown into the gap between them at right angles with the pike, and was in full view of the enemy not two hundred yards away, who was advancing and driving in our skirmishers. Our cavalry were falling back on our right. This attack was very sudden. After their first attack was driven back, we thought they had retreated to Murfreesboro. Smith's brigade and the right of Jackson's were fiercely attacked while getting into position, but they drove the enemy back in good style. A portion of the Yankee line struck Finley's and Palmer's brigade diagonally, and they were driven back.

General Bate stayed on the line with Smith and Jackson, while the Yankees occupied the line vacated by Finley and Palmer. Here Smith changed front to rear with his left battalion and held his ground until ordered away, and crossed Overall's Creek without being molested, and joined Palmer, Finley, and Sear's brigade and cavalry. Of the latter General Bate says, if they were seriously engaged on either flank, he never knew it.

On December 9, Smith's brigade of Cleburne's division relieved General Bate's command in front of Murfreesboro, and Bate rejoined his corps in front of Nashville. Forrest laid siege to Murfreesboro, and kept the Yankees closed in until after the battle of Nashville, when he was ordered to join Hood's retreating army at Columbia.

On December 17, Gen. W. H. Jackson's division of cavalry captured a train of cars loaded with 60,000 rations and the Sixty-first Illinois Regiment, all bound for Murfreesboro.

Bate now returned to his command at Nashville only a day or two before the battle, and found the Confederate lines formed with Lee's corps in the center, resting on both sides of the Franklin Pike, Cheatham's corps on the right extending over to the N. & C. R. R., and Stewart's corps on the left extending beyond the Hillsboro Pike.

On General Bate's journey from Murfreesboro to Nashville, a

distance of thirty miles, over a rough and rocky country, the face of which was covered with mud and ice, with one-third of his men barefooted, he joined Cheatham's corps, which was Hood's right. The Nolensville Pike at Rain's Hill was the center of Cheatham's corps. Bate's division on their arrival formed in line of battle just west of this pike.

On December 15, Thomas who was in command of the Yankees, moved out his army and attacked Hood's left under A. P. Stewart, and his right under Cheatham. The enemy appeared in strong force and attempted to turn Stewart's left, but was warmly received. Stewart being out-numbered and out-flanked, Hood sent the brigades of Manigault and Dea of Jackson's division of Lee's corps to help him. These brigades were thrown in line parallel with the Hillsboro Pike. The Yankees that evening captured Redoubts No. 4 and 5, located near this pike. A battery was brought up from Loring's division, and put in position, supported by these same two brigades, but they gave way and the battery was captured, which let the enemy gain the rear of Walthall's and Loring's divisions. Here Walthall put up a gallant fight, but had to retire his line, and Stewart's corp formed a new line between the Granny White Pike and the Franklin Pike. Night now closed the conflict on this part of the line.

On the right a portion of Cheatham's corps was attacked by Major-General Steadman at Rain's Cut on the N. & C. R .R., with the following regiments which composed his command: Twelfth, Thirteenth, and One Hundredth United States (colored) Regiments, under command of Colonel Charles R. Thompson of the Twelfth (colored); the Fourteenth, and Seventeenth (colored) Regiments under Col. William R. Shafter, later of Santiago fame; the Forty-fourth and a detachment of the Eighteenth (colored) under Col. T. J. Morgan; the Sixty-eighth Indiana and Eightieth Ohio, and a battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel C. H. Grosvenor; and the Twentieth Indiana and the Eighteenth Ohio Batteries. These constituted the column of about 5,000 which assaulted a portion of Cheatham's line at Rain's Cut on the N. & C. R. R. on the forenoon of December 15, and the principal part of the attack was borne by Granberry's brigade of Cleburne's old

division, 300 strong, and Turner's battery. The Confederates held their fire until the assaulting column was at short range, and then their work was terrific.

There was a small pond made from the embankment of the railroad, and quite a lot of these poor deluded negroes rushed into it for shelter, and were killed until the pond was black. Lieutenant-Colonel Grosvenor, in his report, said that one of his captains and one hundred men gained the interior of the Confederates' works. The colonel was simply mistaken, he could not have massed enough negroes in front of Granberry's Veterans to carry their works without first killing all of them, when the fact was they did not lose a man. These troops of Steadman's were nearly all negroes and bounty jumpers who had seen but little service before, and did not know what was waiting for them, as they lined up and moved forward as on dress parade; at the first volley from the Confederates it was a race between the deluded negroes and their white officers, who should get to cover first.

This assault did not last over five minutes from the time the firing began, and the Yankees lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, 825. The fire of the Confederates was so deadly that Grosvenor, Shafter, and Company did not make a single effort to take care of their wounded, and the only object they had in view was to get to a place of safety. And yet Captain Osborne, who was in command of the Twentieth Indiana Battery, in his official report stated that he stayed there and kept up a cannonade until night, which was false, because as soon as Cheatham's men delivered this volley, they were ordered to the left of Stewart's corps, three miles away, and no troops were left on this part of the Confederate line. But the captain might have been so badly frightened that he was shooting at imaginary rebels. This affair is known among the Confederates as the " sham battle."

Cheatham's corps on the evening of the 15th was transferred to the left of Hood's line, and on the morning of the 16th Thomas, with Wilson's cavalry, attempted to turn Hood's left, that was held by Govan's brigade of Cleburne's division; and by superior numbers it was done, but not until General Govan and Colonel Greene, his next officer in rank, were both severely wounded.

The loss of this position gave the enemy a big advantage, and Colonel Hume R. Fields, who was in command of Carter's brigade of Cheatham's old division of Tennesseans, was ordered to retake the position lost by Govan, which he did, and at once deployed his whole brigade in a skirmish line in order that he might cover the enemy's front. He sent word at once to General Cheatham to send him support, but Cheatham sent word back not to expect support, for there was none; but later Colonel John H. Anderson of the Eighth Tennessee, who was in command of Gist's old brigade, was sent to Field's support.

Late in the afternoon of the 16th Bate's division, that was occupying a hill, was subjected to a terrific cannonade. The troops on the left of Bate's division gave way, which affected the brigades of Jackson and Tom Benton Smith of Bate's division. They gallantly held their ground until surrounded, and were nearly all killed and captured. It was here that the brave, generous, and manly W. M. Shy, Colonel of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, was killed, and the place is now known as Shy's Hill. When the death of this brave young officer was made known to his mother, who lived near Franklin, only a few miles away, it is said that she remarked that she would to God that she had a hundred sons to die for such a cause. With such a mother could Colonel Shy have been anything but a brave soldier? Lodi had her Lannes, Trafalgar her Nelson, Franklin her Cleburne, and Nashville her Shy.

The death of the gallant Shy and the capture and wounding of General Tom Benton Smith, who was so long the Colonel of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, with two-thirds of its number either killed, wounded, or captured on this fatal field, nearly annihilated this glorious band, who had faced the storms of war for four long and eventful years.

General Smith, in command of Tyler's old brigade of Bate's division, was surrounded by the enemy and compelled to surrender. When he was being carried to the rear, one-half mile inside of the Federal lines, a cowardly Federal dressed in a major's uniform, rode up to him, although he was a quiet prisoner, and began to curse and abuse him. General Smith made no reply, and the Federal finally struck him over the head with a

sword three times, which felled General Smith to his knees. The only reply that Smith made to this cowardly assassin was, " I am a disarmed prisoner." These strokes fractured Smith's skull, from the result of which he has been confined in the State lunatic asylum nearly ever since the war. Is it possible that this cowardly wretch could have been anything other than a Yankee bounty jumper, or perhaps a Southern deserter? One is as good as the other.

This fact was given to your writer by Monroe Mitchell, a private of Company B, Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, and Lieut. J. W. Morgan of Company F, who said that they were eye witnesses of the whole affair.

The Confederates, late in the afternoon, made their last stand on Overton's Hill, about six miles from Nashville, where they repulsed the Yankees once or twice on this part of their line, but contending against three to one, and being flanked on both sides, were compelled to give way, and all was confusion. The battle was lost, and Hood's little army was in full retreat. An effort was made to rally the men on the range of hills at Brentwood, ten miles from Nashville, but it was nearly dark and raining, the enemy were pressing our left from the Granny White Pike in the direction of Franklin, and would soon be in the rear of Hood's men.

It was here at Brentwood, in the midst of this disaster, that a ludicrous occurrence took place between a private soldier and a staff officer. It was this: The different officers were trying to rally the men. About this stage of retreat a young staff officer, who had been off on a furlough for a few days, arrived upon the scene. He rode to and fro, backward and forward across the pike, yelling at the top of his voice, " Halt here, men, halt, form line here. Halt, there is no danger down there," pointing down toward the valley, where Hood's little army had been contending against three to one all day. An old soldier who had been in the fight all day and was nearly exhausted, with powder all over his face and his garments of rags covered with mud, was trying to keep out of the way of the victorious Yankees. This young officer rode up to him and halting him in the road, said, " Where are you going? Halt, and form in line here, there is no danger

down there." The old soldier said to the staff officer, "You go to hell, I've been there."

General Stephen D. Lee, who was ordered to cover the retreat, remained behind with Clayton and Stevenson's divisions, and went into camp that night about 10 P. M. seven miles north of Franklin with these two divisions, while the rest of the army bivouacked all along the pike to Franklin, and some even crossed the Harpeth River that night.

On the next morning, the 17th, the Confederate cavalry was driven in by a vigorous charge of the Yankee cavalry, which assault was checked by Pettus' Alabama brigade, Stovall's Georgia brigade, and Bledsoe's battery. The enemy was now pressing our rear guard, and trying to throw a force in General Lee's rear by the different roads that led into the pike between him and Franklin, but these forces were checked for a short time by Gibson's brigade of infantry and one of Buford's cavalry regiments.

The enemy was very bold, and did all they could to make Hood's retreat a perfect rout. General Lee crossed the Harpeth at Franklin, and on account of several thousand wounded from the battle of Franklin being in town, he with his rear guard passed on through, in order not to endanger the wounded from the enemy's artillery fire.

Captain Coleman, of Lee's staff, with a body of pioneers, burned the bridge over the Harpeth while under a heavy fire from the Yankee sharpshooters. About 4 P. M., some two miles from Franklin, the Yankee cavalry made a bold assault on our rear guard. A more determined effort was never made to rout a rear guard than was this one, and it continued into the night. This assault was repulsed by the brigades of Pettus and Stovall, while Lee's flanks were covered by cavalry under that gallant officer, Brigadier-General Chalmers. General Lee was wounded in the foot about 1 P. M., but retained command of the rear guard until dark.

The Confederates continued to retreat, and the rear guard of Cheatham's corps was overtaken at Spring Hill the next day. They turned on the pursuing Federals and gave them quite a check. The gallant Stevenson, who was in command of Lee's corps after General Lee was wounded, was gradually making his

way back to Spring Hill, and at times was nearly surrounded by the enemy, but he held his command intact, fighting and retreating until he reached Columbia, and crossed Duck River.

General Forrest, who was in command of all of the Confederate cavalry on this campaign, was at Murfreesboro with a portion of his cavalry and two brigades of infantry when the Battle of Nashville was fought; so Hood when he saw that the Battle of Nashville was lost, sent a courier at once to General Forrest to abandon Murfreesboro, and moved his command across the country by way of Shelbyville and joined him at Columbia. But Forrest's wagon train, with the sick and wounded, was at Triune, only twenty-two miles from Nashville, on the Nolensville Pike, so he ordered these to meet his command at Lillard Mills, about half way between Shelbyville and Columbia, on Duck River. Here Forrest crossed over a portion of his command, when the river, which was rising, became past fording, and he was compelled to push his way down the north bank of the river to Columbia, where he arrived on the evening of the 18th, and next morning crossed his command over the river.

It was here that General Hood ordered General Forrest to take charge of the rear guard in connection with Major-General E. C. Walthall, who was to organize a division of infantry to assist him, and General Walthall chose from the army, for this select purpose, the brigades of Reynolds, Ector, and Quarles from his own division; and of Featherston from Loring's division; and of Maney and Strahl from Cheatham's old division; and of Smith from Cleburne's division. These seven brigades, it was expected, would make about 3,000 men, but the seven only numbered 1,601; but this 1,601, led by that embodiment of courage and skill, E. C. Walthall, was simply invincible. He was one of the youngest major-generals in the army, but when Hood's retreating host learned that Walthall would command the infantry of the rear guard, they felt safe. They knew that where Walthall led, the men that he had selected would follow. Although one third of them were barefooted and without blankets and had but little to eat, yet this little band with Forrest's cavalry had beaten and punished the Federals day by day, until General Thomas, who commanded the Federal army, was forced to

admit that Hood's rear guard was firm and undaunted, and did their full duty to the last. General Forrest said of this little band, that its leader displayed the highest qualities of a soldier, and his men, although one third of them were barefooted, bore their suffering without a murmur, and were ever ready to meet the enemy. Yes; and Forrest, & his boys were there, D. C. 81

Hood's army retreated by way of Pulaski, and thence to Bainbridge on the Tennessee River, which place they reached on December 25, Christmas Day, and crossed over on pontoon bridges on the 26th. Our gallant rear guard, after they left Columbia, had a battle at Richland Creek near Pulaski, and again at Pulaski, also just south of Pulaski at Sugar Creek.

The Yankees followed with three corps of infantry to Pulaski, and their cavalry pushed on to the Tennessee River, where Hood's rear guard finished crossing on the 27th. The Thirty-ninth North Carolina Regiment under Col. D. Coleman was the last of Hood's infantry to cross. To show the spirit, wit, and fun there was in the Confederate soldier, while half clad and half starved and barefooted, and fighting three to one, I will relate this: On the retreat near Pulaski, the roads were muddy and crowded, and every soldier was pulling along as best he could. General Hood and staff were passing, and as they were about to crowd an old soldier out of the road, he struck up this song, where General Hood could hear it,—

"You may talk about your dearest maid,
And sing of Rosa Lee,
But the gallant Hood of Texas
Played hell in Tennessee."

The spirit of these soldiers was further shown in the official report of Col. Keller Anderson, of the Fourth Tennessee, to General Hood, when he said: "For the first time in this war, we lost our cannon. Give us a chance, and we will retake them."

In the loss of artillery at Nashvile there were three twelve-pound Napoleon guns that were in Turner's Mississippi battery. These guns were captured by Cheatham's division at the Battle of Perryville, and had been turned effectively against their former owners on the fields of Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, and all through the Georgia campaign and at Franklin. It was to

these guns that Col. Keller Anderson, of Cheatham's Tennessee division, had reference when he said: "Give us a chance, and we will retake them."

Now let us sum up Hood's campaign in Tennessee. He crossed the Tennessee River, coming in on November 21 at Tuscumbia and Florence with an army of about 26,000 of all arms of the service. He assaulted Schofield's works at Franklin with 16,000 of his army, and lost 4,500, and then moved on to Nashville with an army of 23,000 men. Bate's division of 1,600, which he sent to Murfreesboro, left Hood only 21,400 to invest Thomas inside of the forts of Nashville with an army of 30,000, and that army was soon reinforced to 60,000. Before the battle of Nashville was fought, General Bate had only three brigades of about 1,500, for he had lost about 100 at Stewart's Creek, and the others at Wilkerson Pike, hence two other brigades were sent from Hood's army to Murfreesboro to join Bate. This left Hood's army to fight the battle of Nashville of December 15 and 16, with not more than 22,000 infantry, of which, in these engagements, he lost in killed, wounded, and missing 4,462, leaving him with less than 18,000 infantry to get out of Tennessee in the dead of winter, from an army of three times their number, well clothed and well fed.

It does look as if "Pap Thomas," had he had any military strategy at the battle of Nashville, when with his superior force he had routed and turned Hood's left wing and left center, might have pressed on in the Granny White Pike, which led in the direction of Franklin, and beaten Hood's disorganized force there, and forced them to surrender by cutting off their retreat or compelled them to go east over a muddy country to meet Forrest's command on its way south from Murfreesboro. It is a wonder that Hood ever recrossed the Tennessee River with a single organization.

This campaign of Hood's in Middle Tennessee lasted for thirty-four days. After he recrossed the river, he moved his army to Tupelo, Miss., where they could rest and reorganize; and his official returns, which were made January 20, 1865, while at Tulepo, showed an effective strength present of 16,913, after nineteen Tennessee regiments, mostly raised in West Ten-

nessee, had been furloughed. These regiments averaged about 100 men each, which would make 1,900. This will show that Hood recrossed the Tennessee River with an army of infantry 18,813 strong. His recruits in Tennessee did not equal his desertions. Hood captured some small arms and several cannons, but he lost in this campaign of thirty-four days, fifty pieces of artillery; yet he recrossed the Tennessee with fifty-nine pieces and a good supply of ammunition.

General Forrest reported that his cavalry captured and destroyed on this campaign 16 blockhouses and stockades, 20 bridges, 4 locomotives, 100 cars, 10 miles of railroad, 1,600 prisoners, several hundred head of mules, horses, and cattle. It was at this time that General Tecumseh Sherman advised the killing of General Forrest in a letter written to General Thomas, dated Savannah, Ga., Jan. 21, 1865 (see Vol. XLV, War Record, part 2, page 621), in which he advises General Thomas to march on Columbus, Miss., Tuscaloosa and Selma, Ala., destroying farms, gathering horses and mules, burning wagons, doing all possible damage, burning Selma and Montgomery, and all iron foundries, factories, and mills, and says, "I would like to have Forrest hunted down and killed, but doubt if we can do that yet." If such an order had been issued by General Weyler, the Spanish commander on the Island of Cuba, one half of these self-sanctified people of New England and the political job-hunters about Washington would have had religious convulsions, and the other half would have been sent to lunatic asylums as monomaniacs on the subject of barbarism. This inconsistency in the Puritan is as hereditary as is the blue stripe that adorns the front of his abdomen.

On January 23, 1865, at Tupelo, Miss., General Hood was relieved of the command of the Army of Tennessee, and Lieutenant-General Richard Taylor, a son of President Zachary Taylor, was assigned to the command, and in a few days the corps of Lee, Stewart, and Cheatham, in the order named, were sent by rail to South Carolina, and during the month of January the Confederate Congress adopted a resolution asking President Davis to appoint Gen. Joseph E. Johnston to the command of the Army of Tennessee, as such an appointment would be hailed

with joy by that army and the country at large. President Davis did not do as requested by his congress; but Gen. R. E. Lee, after he had been made General-in-Chief of all the Confederate forces, did, on February 22, 1865, appoint Gen. Joseph E. Johnston to the command of the Army of Tennessee and all Confederate troops in the States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. This appointment of Johnston's revived the hopes of the Army of Tennessee to some extent, but their experience with Hood at Atlanta, Jonesboro, Franklin, and Nashville, with all of their untold horrors and mistakes, had nearly convinced the rank and file that the cherished hope of their lives, for which they had suffered and borne so much, was unattainable, but if "Old Joe" said, "Halt, boys, and give 'em battle," it was all right.

Cheatham's corps was the last of Hood's army to take the cars for the Carolinas, and he carried with him the mass of the Tennesseans; but a great many Tennesseans were left in West Tennessee on furlough, and after their furlough was out they joined Forrest's command and surrendered with him.

Cheatham's corps arrived at Augusta, Ga., on February 9, and was held over there a few days to meet a threatened attack.

On the 14th, Cheatham was ordered to Columbia, S. C., then to Newberry, and on to Bentonville, N. C., and united with Johnston's army on the 21st. All the troops that composed the infantry of the Army of Tennessee were put into one corps under command of Lieut.-Gen. A. P. Stewart, and numbered 8,731 effective men; the remnant of Cleburne's and Bate's divisions, 406, was under the command of the gallant Bate. Stewart's corps and some North Carolina troops under Bragg, and a force under Lieutenant-General Hardee, numbering in all 15,000 men, were all that General Johnston fought the battle of Bentonville with. The attack on the 19th and 20th was opened on General Johnston's left by General Slocumb with the twentieth army corps, which numbered nearly as many as Johnston's whole army. This assault lasted for half an hour, when Slocumb was repulsed with heavy loss; and in a few minutes another attack was made upon Stewart's line, and it was driven back in the old-time style.

Hardee with his forces was in position by three o'clock, and made a gallant charge, supported by Stewart; and the enemy was badly beaten, but was soon heavily reinforced, and returned to the assault, but with little effect. The Confederates held the field, buried their dead, cared for their wounded, and afterward returned to their original position.

On the next day the Yankees had four corps on the field, and made several attacks on the Confederate line held by General Bragg, and every one was repulsed; this was on the 20th. On the 21st, Cheatham joined Johnston's army with 2,002, the bulk of whom were Tennesseans; and Gen. Stephen D. Lee arrived a few days later with 3,000 more troops, composed of his own corps and detachments of Stewart's and Cheatham's corps.

On the 21st, skirmishing on the front of our lines began. It was here that Mower's division of the Seventeenth Army Corps penetrated our cavalry line on the left, and moved on Bentonville, but General Hardee met this division of Mower's with Cumming's Georgia brigade of infantry, and Wade Hampton and Wheeler charged his flanks with their cavalry. It was in this charge that the Eighth Texas and Fourth Tennessee under the gallant Baxter Smith covered themselves with glory, as they had on many fields, when they swept down upon the enemy's left and front, and drove them back in disorder upon their reserves, keeping open the only line of retreat that we had across Mill Creek.

This action of the Twenty-first was one of the most gallant of the war, and was the last battle that the Army of Tennessee ever fought. On this field, when Mower with his division attempted to seize Johnston's only line of retreat, Sherman had just three times the number that Johnston had, besides Schofield's army in supporting distance, which would have given Sherman an army of 75,000 with Johnston an army of less than 20,000.

Early on the morning of the 22nd, Johnston retired across Mill Creek, and formed his line of battle again; but the enemy made no effort to pursue. In these three days' fighting the Confederates lost 223 killed, 1467 wounded, and 653 missing — total, 2,343; while Sherman's report showed that he lost in his Caro-

lina campaign 3,546, most of whom were lost at Bentonville. Johnston captured in this engagement 903 prisoners and three pieces of artillery.

In this last battle the gallant Bate, in whose command was the Twentieth Regiment, broke and shattered the command of the Federal General Buell.

Among the Confederates that were counted as missing was a detachment of about one hundred men under Col. Anderson Searcy and Lieutenant-Colonel Hall of the Forty-fifth Tennessee, and a small squad of the Eighteenth Tennessee under Captain Joyner, who penetrated the Yankee lines, got in the rear of Sherman's army, and remained there from the 21st to the 28th, when they passed around the left flank of Sherman's army and rejoined their own command. This required tact, courage, and endurance, which entitle them to high distinction as soldiers; and Gen. D. H. Hill, who was in command of Lee's corps, complimented them very highly.

General Johnston's army changed position on March 24 to a point four miles north of Smithfield, and there halted until April 10. Under orders from headquarters, the army spent the 8th and 9th in reorganizing the faithful little band, when a regiment would not make a company nor a brigade a regiment. Of all the noble band of Tennesseans that once made so large a part of the Army of Tennessee, there was only enough left to make four regiments, in all about 2,000 strong. The first was composed of the following consolidations,— the First, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Sixteenth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, and Thirty-fourth Regiments were put under command of Hume R. Fields, Colonel; Oliver A. Bradshaw, Lieutenant-Colonel; and W. D. Kelly, Major. The Second Tennessee was composed of the Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Twenty-ninth, Forty-seventh, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, and One Hundred and Fifty-fourth. These eight were under Col. Horace Rice and Lieut.-Col. Geo. W. Pease. The Third .was composed of the Fourth, Fifth, Nineteenth, Twenty-fourth, Thirty-first, Thirty-third, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-eighth, and Forty-first under Col. James D. Tillman. The Fourth Tennessee had in it the Second, Third, Tenth, Fifteenth, Eighteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-sixth, Thirtieth, Thirty-second,

Thirty-seventh, Forty-ninth, and Twenty-third Battalion, and was placed under the gallant Col. Anderson Searcy. These thirty-seven remnants of Tennessee commands, that once represented nearly 40,000 men, were now reduced to four regiments, representing 2,000 men, under that gallant and knightly soldier, Gen. Joseph B. Palmer.

This brigade of Tennesseans and Gist's brigade of Georgians and South Carolinians composed a division, and were put under command of the ever faithful and brave Maj.-Gen. B. F. Cheatham. Maj.-Gen. John C. Brown was placed in command of Cleburne's old division, and Lieut.-Gen. A. P. Stewart took command of an army corps. The rest of the Tennessee officers were declared supernumeraries.

General Johnston's army on the 10th marched through Raleigh, crossed the Hawe and Alamance rivers; on the 15th, they marched 15 miles, and on the 16th, 12 miles on the road to New Salem, and bivouacked. It was here that Johnston's army learned for the first time that the army of northern Virginia, under the matchless Lee, had surrendered. On the 17th, Johnston's army was confronted with overwhelming numbers, yet his troops were full of fight, for they had just repulsed three times their number at Bentonville. On the 19th it was known that a truce had been agreed upon by the two commanding generals, and terms of peace were being negotiated.

At first the authorities at Washington refused to ratify the terms, and on the 26th Johnston marched his army ten miles on the Center and Thomasville road; but on the 27th it was officially announced that terms had been agreed upon, by which the troops under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston would be surrendered.

This announcement brought sorrow, but no surprise. Before Lee surrendered, it was hoped that the armies of northern Virginia and Tennessee would unite and yet become invincible, but after Lee's surrender, this only hope was gone. So, according to the terms agreed upon April 26, Johnston's army and all Confederates in this military district, numbering 39,000 officers and men, were surrendered at Greensboro, N. C., and at other points in this district. Nearly all the Tennesseans were in Palmer's brigade of Cheatham's division.

The Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, now a component part of the Fourth consolidated regiment, which had started into the war with 900 men, and was recruited to 1,165, surrendered on the field of Greensboro with thirty-four men and officers under Lieut. W. W. Shute of Company A in command, and George Peay of Company B as Second Lieutenant; of the original ten companies one or two did not have a single man in line, some one, and others from three to six. Ralph J. Neal was the only man of Company E.

The Tennessee Brigade retained its organization, and retired to Salisbury, where they received rations and were paid $1.25 in silver coin for each officer and man. This fund was the military chest of the army, and came under the control of General Johnston by order of President Davis. A touching farewell address from our dear "Old Joe" was read to the troops, and the Tennessee Brigade, in which was the remnant of the Twentieth, all under the command of Brigadier-General Palmer, marched through the mountains to Greenville, East Tennessee, and there took cars for their respective homes. Many of these gallant spirits never met again on earth, but crossed over and joined Lee, Jackson, the two Johnstons, Hood, Forrest, Cheatham, and the long line of privates that bore the burden of the war and made the generals what they were, and it is to them and the women of the South that this little work is most fondly dedicated.

It can be truthfully said of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment and the brigadier and major generals who commanded it on many bloody fields, that it was a favorite with General Zollicoffer, the idol of General Breckinridge; it had the admiration of Gen. A. P. Stewart, and it was the *"Tenth Legion"* of the gallant Bate.

The following tribute to the Twentieth from Major Bromfield L. Ridley, Aide de Camp on the staff of Gen. Alex. P. Stewart, is offered as a *"Prologue"* to our "Regimental History." He had the opportunity of seeing the character of the "rank and file" of the Twentieth on more than one field of carnage and deadly strife.

"It was at Fishing Creek that the Twentieth Tennessee Regi-

ment won imperishable fame,— a reputation that will die only with the last echo of time itself. One day while the army was marching along, the Fifteenth Mississippi Regiment hallooed out, 'Boys! here's the Twentieth Tennessee. *Three cheers and a bumper!*' Inquiry led me to find out that the Twentieth Tennessee rushed into the battle at Fishing Creek and saved the Fifteenth Mississippi from capture. Ever afterward these regiments cheered each other when they met.

"In every important battle of the Army of Tennessee,— Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, Nashville, Franklin, Bentonville,— the Twentieth Tennessee was prominent, and be it said to the glory of the regiment, that when on the right of you, or the left of you, 'when the battle raged and thundered,' it was comforting to know that the Twentieth was there. This regiment commenced with 1165, and ended with only 34 men. Tennessee points with pride to the achievements of Battle's Old Regiment, which was always there when called on, and remained there when ordered to do so. Let the coronet of glory be placed upon her shield, bedecked with brilliant stars showing her triumphs. The great State of Tennessee and the Confederacy will ever look upon the deeds of such sons with the pride of a father, who recurs to the acts of his boy with the glad plaudit of *'Well done.'*"

Our great Civil War was one of the bloodiest, yet not the longest, in history. It lasted for four years, from April, 1861, to April, 1865. On one side were 600,000 men, on the other 2,760,000. In that struggle were fought 1,882 battles and skirmishes, in which were on each side at least one regiment or more, averaging more than one engagement each day of the four years; and there were 112 general engagements in which the losses on one or the other side exceeded five hundred in killed and wounded. In this gigantic struggle, including both sides, a half million men were killed or mortally wounded, and more than a million less dangerously wounded.

On one side were pitted 600,000 pure Anglo-Americans against 2,760,000; 400,000 of whom were foreigners. It was on one side courage, skill, and endurance, against overwhelming resources and brute force on the other.

The most memorable wars are those that were the bloodiest and most destructive, but not the most decisive; and when the impartial historian comes to assign our great Civil War a place in history, and we are weighed according to our long casualty list, it will be seen in its proper light.

The Great American Civil War, and some of its battles, will rank favorably with the following:—

The Battle of Marathon, B. C. 490, in which the Athenians under Miltiades defeated the Persians under Datis.

The Battle of Syracuse, B. C. 413, in which the Athenians were defeated by the Syracusans and their allies.

The Battle of Arbela, B. C. 331, in which the Persians under Darius were defeated by the Macedonians and Greeks under Alexander the Great.

The Battle of Metaurus, B. C. 207, in which the Carthagenians under Hasdrubal were defeated by the Romans under the consuls Caius, Claudius, Nero, and Marcus Livius.

The Battle of Philippi, B. C. 42, in which Brutus and Cassius were defeated by Octavius and Antony, and the fate of the Roman Republic was decided.

The Battle of Actium, B. C. 31, in which the combined fleets of Antony and Cleopatra were defeated by Octavius, and imperialism established in the person of Octavius.

The Battle of Chalons, A. D. 451, in which the Huns under Attilla, called "The scourge of God," were defeated by the confederate armies of the Romans and Visigoths.

The Battle of Tours, A. D. 732, in which the Saracens were defeated by Charles Martel, and Christendom was rescued from Islam.

The Battle of Hastings, A. D. 1066, in which Harold, commanding the English army, was defeated by William the Conqueror, of Normandy.

The Battle of Lutzen, 1632, which decided the religious liberties of Germany, and in which Gustavus Adolphus was killed.

The Battle of Valmy, A. D. 1702, in which an invading army of Prussians, Austrians, and Hessians, under command of the Duke of Brunswick, were defeated by the French under Dumouriez.

The Battle of Blenheim, A. D. 1704, in which the French and Bavarians under Marshall Tallard were defeated by the English and their allies under Marlborough.

The Battle of Pultowa, A. D. 1709, in which Charles XII. of Sweden was defeated by the Russians under Peter the Great.

The Great Naval Battle of Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805, in which the English defeated the French, and destroyed the hopes of Napoleon as to a successful invasion of England.

The Battle of Waterloo, 1815, in which the French under Napoleon were defeated by the allied armies of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England under the Duke of Wellington.

Other countries have had bloody wars and great fatalities, for instance the charge of the light brigade at Balaklava, when 673 English soldiers rode into the jaws of death, obeying an ill-advised order, 113 being killed and 134 wounded — a total loss of 247, or nearly thirty-seven per cent. This charge was made famous by Tennyson in song and story. We can point out seventy-five regiments on each side that lost in a single engagement more than forty per cent.

Then again, in the Franco-Prussian War the greatest loss of any of their regiments was in the Third Westphalian at Mars La Tour, where they went in 3,000 men and lost in killed, wounded, and missing 1,484, a little less than fifty per cent., while in our war on both sides we had 120 regiments that lost more than fifty per cent. in a single battle, and some as high as sixty, seventy, and seventy-five per cent.; and three regiments, one on the Union side and two on the Confederate side, viz., the First Minnesota at Gettysburg lost eighty-two per cent. and the First Texas at Antietam 82.3, and the Twenty-sixth North Carolina at Gettysburg ninety per cent.

We will now compare the heaviest losses of a number of regiments on each side:—

FEDERAL REGIMENTS.

Regiment.	Battle.	No. Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Per Cent.
1st Minnesota	Gettysburg	262	47	168	—	82
141st Pennsylvania	Gettysburg	198	25	103	12	75.7
101st New York	Manassas	168	6	101	17	73.8

Regiment.	Battle.	No. Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Per Cent.
25th Massachusetts	Cold Harbor	310	74	139	7	70
36th Wisconsin (4 Co.)	Bethesda Church	240	20	108	38	69
20th Massachusetts	Fredericksburg	238	25	138	—	68.4
8th Vermont	Cedar Creek	156	17	66	23	67.9
81st Pennsylvania	Fredericksburg	261	15	141	20	67.4
12th Massachusetts	Antietam	334	49	165	10	67
1st Maine Heavy Art.	Petersburg	950	115	489	28	66.5
9th Louisiana (col.)	Miliken's Bend	300	62	130	—	64
111th New York	Gettysburg	390	58	177	14	63.8
24th Michigan	Gettysburg	496	69	247	—	63.1
5th New Hampshire	Fredericksburg	303	20	154	19	63.6
9th Illinois	Shiloh	600	61	300	5	63.3
9th New York	Antietam	373	45	176	14	63
15th New Jersey	Spottsylvania	432	75	159	38	62.9
15th Massachusetts	Gettysburg	239	23	97	28	61.9
69th New York	Antietam	317	44	152	—	61.8
51st Illinois	Chickamauga	209	18	92	18	61.2
19th Indiana	Manassas	423	47	168	44	61.2
121st New York	Salem Church	453	48	173	55	60.9
5th New York	Manassas	490	79	170	48	60.6
93rd New York	Wilderness	433	42	213	5	60
2nd Wisconsin	Gettysburg	302	26	155	—	59.9
41st Illinois	Jackson	338	27	135	40	59.7
148th Pennsylvania	Gettysburg	210	19	101	5	59.5
15th Indiana	Missionary Rdg.	334	24	175	—	59.5
7th Ohio	Cedar Mt.	307	13	149	2	59.2
80th New York	Gettysburg	287	35	111	24	59.2
63rd New York	Antietam	341	35	165	2	59.2
3rd Wisconsin	Antietam	340	27	173	—	58.8
114th New York	Opequon	315	21	164	—	58.7
59th New York	Antietam	381	48	153	23	58.7
26th Ohio	Chickamauga	362	27	140	45	58.5
2nd Wisconsin 3rd Minnesota	Manassas	511	53	213	33	58.3
17th U. S. Infantry	Gettysburg	260	25	118	7	57.6
126th New York	Gettysburg	402	49	181	10	57.4
45th Pennsylvania	Cold Harbor	315	18	141	22	57.4

Regiment.	Battle.	No. Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Per Cent.
49th Pennsylvania	Spottsylvania	478	50	180	44	57.3
6th U. S. (col.)	Chaffin's Farm	367	41	160	8	56.9
15th Massachusetts	Antietam	606	65	255	24	56.7
26th New York	Fredericksburg	300	23	136	11	56.6
14th Indiana	Antietam	320	30	150	—	56.2
9th Illinois	Chickamauga	401	39	134	52	56.1
26th Pennsylvania	Gettysburg	382	30	176	7	55.7
11th New Jersey	Gettysburg	275	17	124	12	55.6
1st Michigan	Manassas	320	33	114	31	55.6
19th Indiana	Gettysburg	288	27	133	—	55.5
12th New Hampshire	Cold Harbor	301	23	129	15	55.4
61st Pennsylvania	Fair Oaks	574	68	152	43	55.4
25th Illinois	Chickamauga	337	10	171	24	54.9
14th Ohio	Chickamauga	449	35	167	43	54.5
2nd New Hampshire	Gettysburg	354	20	137	36	54.5
8th Kansas	Chickamauga	406	30	165	25	54.4
16th Maine	Fredericksburg	427	37	170	34	54
16th United States	Stone River	308	16	134	16	53.8
55th Illinois	Shiloh	512	51	197	27	53.7
69th New York	Fredericksburg	238	10	95	23	53.7
35th Illinois	Chickamauga	299	17	130	13	53.5
22nd Indiana	Chaplin Hills	303	49	87	23	52.4
11th Illinois	Ft. Donelson	500	70	181	—	50.1

CONFEDERATE REGIMENTS.

Regiment.	Battle.	No. Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Per Cent.
1st Texas	Antietam	226	45	141	—	82.3
21st Georgia	Manassas	242	38	146	—	76
26th North Carolina	Gettysburg 1st day	820	86	592	—	71.7
6th Mississippi	Shiloh	425	61	239	—	70.5
8th Tennessee	Murfreesboro	444	41	265	—	68.2
10th Tennessee	Chickamauga	328	44	180	—	68
Palmetto S. S.	Glendale	375	39	215	—	67.7
17th South Carolina	Manassas	284	25	164	1	66.9
23rd South Carolina	Manassas	225	27	122	—	66.2
44th Georgia	Mechanicsville	514	71	264	—	65.1

Regiment.	Battle.	No. Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Per Cent.
1st Alabama Battalion	Chickamauga	260	24	144	—	64.6
2nd N. C. Battalion	Gettysburg	240	29	124	—	63.7
16th Mississippi	Antietam	228	27	117	—	63.1
27th North Carolina	Antietam	325	31	168	—	61.2
5th Georgia	Chickamauga	317	37	165	2	61.1
2nd Tennessee	Chickamauga	264	13	145	1	60.2
15th & 37th Tennessee	Chickamauga	202	15	102	4	59.9
6th Alabama	Seven Pines	632	91	277	5	59
16th Alabama	Chickamauga	414	25	218	—	58.6
15th Virginia	Antietam	128	11	64	—	58.5
6th & 9th Tennessee	Chickamauga	335	26	168	—	57.9
18th Georgia	Antietam	176	13	72	16	57.3
1st S. C. Rifles	Gaines' Mill	537	81	225	—	56.9
10th Georgia	Antietam	148	15	68	—	56.7
18th North Carolina	Seven Days	396	45	179	—	56.5
3rd Alabama	Malvern Hill	354	37	163	—	56.4
18th Alabama	Chickamauga	527	41	256	—	56.3
20th Tennessee	Fishing Creek	400	35	98	24	39
20th Tennessee	Shiloh	380	27	131	1	41
20th Tennessee	Murfreesboro	300	20	125	18	55
20th Tennessee	Chickamauga	183	16	82	10	59
17th Virginia	Antietam	55	7	24	—	56.3
7th North Carolina	Seven Days	450	35	218	—	56.2
12th Tennessee	Murfreesboro	292	18	137	9	56.1
22nd Alabama	Chickamauga	371	44	161	—	55.2
9th Georgia	Gettysburg	340	27	162	—	55
16th Tennessee	Murfreesboro	377	36	155	16	54.9
4th North Carolina	Seven Pines	678	77	286	6	54.4
27th Tennessee	Shiloh	350	27	115	48	54.2
23rd Tennessee	Chickamauga	181	8	77	13	54.1
12th South Carolina	Manassas	270	23	121	2	54
4th Virginia	Manassas	180	18	79	—	53.8
4th Texas	Antietam	200	10	97	—	53.5
27th Tennessee	Chaplin Hills	210	16	84	12	53.3
1st South Carolina	Manassas	283	25	126	—	53.3
49th Virginia	Fair Oaks	424	32	170	22	52.8
29th Mississippi	Chickamauga	368	38	156	—	52.7

Regiment.	Battle.	No. Engaged.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Per Cent.
12th Alabama	Fair Oaks	408	59	156	—	52.6
7th South Carolina	Antietam	268	23	117	—	52.2
58th Alabama	Chickamauga	288	25	124	—	51.7
7th Texas	Raymond	306	22	136	—	51.6
6th South Carolina	Fair Oaks	521	88	181	—	51.6
15th Georgia	Gettysburg	335	19	152	—	51
11th Alabama	Glendale	357	49	121	11	50.7
17th Georgia	Manassas	200	10	91	—	50.5
37th Georgia	Chickamauga	391	19	168	7	50.1
3rd North Carolina	Gettysburg	312	29	127	—	50

The Federal forces in this war were 2,760,000. Of this number, 464,000 were from south of Mason and Dixon's line, to say nothing of the 13,655 that went from the State of Delaware. There were also in the Federal army 183,000 Germans, 165,000 Irish, and fifty-odd thousand of other nationalities, making at least 400,000 foreigners in the Federal service. Add together the 464,000 from the South and the 400,000 foreigners, and you will have 864,000, which was 264,000 more soldiers than the South had, without enlisting from any Northern State a single native born American.

These remarkable records show that there were at least sixty regiments on each side that lost from 50 to 90 per cent., while at the great battle of Waterloo, one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world, which decided the fate and changed the geography of Europe, the loss on one side was 25 per cent., and on the other 32 per cent.

At Gettysburg, Lee had about 60,000 and Meade 82,000 in the fight, with the sixth corps in reserve. Meade fought behind breastworks about half of the time, and the losses on each side were about 23,000, total, 46,000 or 32 per cent.

At the great battle of Leipzig, Napoleon had 175,000 men, and the allies on the first day had 275,000, and the next day were reinforced to 330,000, with a loss on each side of 40,000.

Perhaps the bloodiest battle that was ever fought since gunpowder was invented was the Battle of Borodino, fought between the French and the Russians, with 130,000 on each side, and it is said that 60,000 were killed on this field.

We have shown the greatest losses of the bloodiest battles, and the greatest of a number of regiments, but the greatest loss of any regiment in ancient or modern wars was that of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina at Gettysburg. It went into the three days' engagement with 820 men, had 86 killed and 502 wounded on the first day. On the third day it went into Pickett's charge with a remnant of 216 men, and came out with only eighty officers and men, making a total loss of ninety per cent.

One company of this glorious regiment, commanded by Captain Tuttle, went into this battle with three officers and eighty-four men, and came out with only one officer and one man.

The Old North State should erect a mounment to this regiment if it bankrupted her State treasury.

The war has been over for forty years. The Union is restored, slavery is gone, and the South does not want it restored, but the reserved rights of the States still live, and we who fought on the Southern side have not lost all.

PART IV.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL ALEX. P. STEWART.

General Alexander P. Stewart was born in Rogersville, Hawkins county, East Tennessee, Oct. 2, 1821; was reared near Winchester, Tenn., and was appointed a cadet to West Point in 1838, by Hopkins L. Turney, a Congressman from that district. He graduated from that institution in 1842, and was assigned to the Third Artillery.

A. P. Stewart had as his classmates young men who figured very prominently in our Civil War. Those who fought on the Northern side were Gen. U. S. Grant, Gen. John Pope, Gen. John Newton, Gen. Abner Doubleday, and Gen. W. S. Rosecrans; and those who fought on the Southern side were Gen. G. W. Smith, Gen. James Longstreet, Gen. R. H. Anderson, Gen. Mansfield Lovell, and Gen. Lafayette McLaws. Gen. A. P. Stewart had as his roommates John Pope and James Longstreet.

One year after his assignment to the artillery, he was sent back to West Point as assistant Professor of Mathematics, but two years afterward he resigned this position May 31, 1845, on account of poor health. He afterward accepted the chair of Mathematics and Experimental Philosophy in the Cumberland University at Lebanon, Tenn., which he held for four years, and in 1854-55 he occupied the same chair in the University of Nashville.

At the breaking out of our Civil War in 1861, Professor Stewart offered his services to his State. Gov. Isham G. Harris was then organizing a regiment of artillery to the command of which Governor Harris appointed John P. McCowan colonel, Milton Hayes lieutenant-colonel, and A. P. Stewart major.

After the secession of the State of Tennessee, June 8, 1861, the Army of Tennessee was transferred to the Confederate services; and Major Stewart was sent to different parts of the State establishing camps. In the latter part of the summer of 1861,

he was ordered to Camp Randolph, on the Mississippi River, to instruct the raw recruits in drilling.

He was the first to occupy Island No. 10 and New Madrid, Mo., and afterward commanded the heavy batteries at Columbus, Ky., while the battle of Belmont was going on, and it was said that the shells from his guns confused Grant's forces to such an extent as to cause many of them to retreat to their boats.

Major Stewart was promoted to brigadier-general in the Confederate Army Nov. 8, 1861, and commanded a brigade in Gen. Chas. Clark's division of Polk's corps at the battle of Shiloh. He also commanded a brigade in Cheatham's division, Polk's corps, in the Kentucky campaign, and in the battles of Perryville and Murfreesboro, and after the Confederate Army fell back to Tullahoma and Shelbyville. On June 2, 1863, A. P. Stewart was promoted to major-general, and it was his division that did most of the fighting at Hoover's Gap. This was the first fighting that the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, under the gallant Brig.-Gen. W. B. Bate, had done under Maj.-Gen. A. P. Stewart.

At Chickamauga, on Saturday evening, this grand old hero, with the three brigades of Brown, Bate, and Clayton, broke the Federal left center for the first time it was broken; and in that desperate charge Bate's brigade, in which was the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, carried their colors farther to the front than any command on that bloody day.

On the Georgia campaign, near New Hope church, this grand old soldier, with his single division, met "fighting Joe Hooker" with his corps, and repulsed every assault, and made it so hot for them that the Yankees called the place "Hell's Hole." This stubborn stand of Stewart's saved Stevenson's division from being captured.

On June 14, 1864, Lieutenant-General Polk was killed on Pine Mountain, and on June 23, A. P. Stewart was promoted to lieutenant-general and took charge of Polk's corps, which he commanded during the remainder of the Georgia campaign.

When Hood came into Tennessee, his three corps commanders were A. P. Stewart, Stephen D. Lee, and B. F. Cheatham. It was the corps of Stewart and Cheatham with one division of Lee's corps, that fought the battle of Franklin. Stewart's corps

was composed of the divisions of French, Walthall, and Loring, in which he took much pride.

This battle-scarred soldier, after the Tennessee campaign, followed Joe Johnston into the Carolinas, and before the battle of Bentonville all of the infantry that composed the Army of Tennessee, which was 8,731 effective men, were reorganized and put under command of Lieut.-Gen. A. P. Stewart, and nobly did he, in the last battle of the war (Bentonville), repulse and force back superior numbers of the enemy.

He accepted his parole of honor with General Joe Johnston, and returned to his beloved Tennessee, to take up anew his scholarly pursuits, and in 1874 became Chancellor of the University of Mississippi. In 1890 he was appointed one of the park commissioners of the battlefield of Chickamauga, on which he has served to the satisfaction of both the Blue and the Gray.

GENERAL JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.

John Cabell Breckinridge was born Jan. 21, 1821, near Lexington, Ky. His grandfather was a United States Senator, and at one time United States Attorney-General.

John C. was educated at Center College, Danville, Ky., and went through a law course at Transylvania Institute. On his graduation in the law he moved to Burlington, Ia., but remained there only a short time, returning to Lexington, where he soon built up a fine law practice.

About this time war broke out with Mexico, when John C. joined a Kentucky regiment and was elected major. The record does not show that he did much fighting, as nearly his whole time was taken up as counsel for General Pillow, who had gotten into trouble with his associates and superior officers, and had reached the point of litigation.

After the Mexican War, Breckinridge returned to Kentucky, and was elected to a seat in the lower house of the Kentucky Legislature. In 1851 he was elected to Congress, and again in 1853. President Pierce offered him the position of Minister to Spain, but he declined. At the National Democratic Convention

held at Cincinnati in 1856, John C. Breckinridge was put on the ticket as a running mate of James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, and was elected Vice-President of the United States.

In April, 1860, the National Democracy met at Charleston, S. C. The Northern wing wanted Stephen A. Douglass and the Southern wing John C. Breckinridge, as candidates for the Presidency of the United States. They adjourned without a nomination, and later the Northern wing nominated Douglass, and the Southern wing Breckinridge. A fuller description of this is given in another part of this work.

After his defeat for the Presidency in 1860, he was almost immediately taken up by the Kentucky Legislature and elected United States Senator to succeed the Hon. J. J. Crittenden. This position he held until December 4, 1861, when he resigned and joined the Confederate forces under Albert Sidney Johnston. He was at once made a brigadier-general, and commanded Johnston's reserve division at the battle of Shiloh. The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was in Statham's brigade of Breckinridge's division. After the battle of Shiloh and the retreat of the Confederates back to Corinth and thence to Tupelo, Breckinridge's division was sent to Vicksburg, and after the first seige of that place, Breckinridge, with a handful of men, went by way of Jackson and Tangipahoa and attacked General Williams at Baton Rouge, a full account of which is given in our Regimental History.

Breckinridge was made a major-general after the battle of Shiloh, and after the battle of Baton Rouge, his division was sent to Murfreesboro. In that great battle his division fought near the Cowan House on the first day, and on Friday evening of the third day he with his gallant division made that ill-advised and never-to-be-forgotten charge, that cost him nearly half of his gallant command. A full description of this is given in the statement as to the battle of Murfreesboro.

After the battle of Murfreesboro, Bragg's army fell back to Shelbyville and Tullahoma, and while at Tullahoma, after the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment had been in his division since the battle of Shiloh, Mrs. Breckinridge made a stand of colors of her wedding dress, and requested the General to present it to

his favorite regiment. The Twentieth Tennessee was its recipient. If a regiment ever worshiped a division commander, the Twentieth Tennessee idolized Gen. John C. Breckinridge, and this admiration we thought was returned to its fullest extent.

It was here that the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was separated from its idol, and put in the division of that old war horse, A. P. Stewart.

General Breckinridge afterward commanded a division in the great battle of Chickamauga, and it was the brilliant fighting of the divisions of Breckinridge and Cleburne on Sunday morning that forced Rosecrans to reinforce his left so hurriedly that he left a gap in his line near his center, when Longstreet poured seven brigades through it, which made it possible for Bragg to gain that great victory. Breckinridge fought with distinguished courage at Missionary Ridge; afterward he was ordered to Virginia, and in the spring of 1864 he met General Sigel near New Market, and literally demolished him. In the latter part of 1864 he in turn met General Sheridan, who had a superior force, in the Shanandoah Valley and was defeated. Breckinridge was with General Lee at the Wilderness.

The spring of 1865 found John C. Breckinridge Secretary of War of the Confederate Government, and when President Davis and his cabinet left Richmond and reached Georgia, General Breckinridge with his son Cabell, with Colonel Wood, who was a nephew of President Zachary Taylor, and a Colonel Wilson of his staff, left the Presidential party, and on horseback went to Florida Keys, and thence sailed for Havana, and from there to London. He remained abroad until 1868, when he returned to America and lived in retirement in Kentucky until his death, which occurred in Lexington, Ky., May 17, 1875.

MAJOR-GENERAL WM. B. BATE.

Major-General William Brimage Bate was born in Sumner county, near Castalian Springs, Oct. 7, 1826. Early in his youth he manifested a bold and adventurous spirit, which later characterized his career as a Confederate soldier. Leaving school to

become a clerk on a steamboat plying between Nashville and New Orleans, he subsequently enlisted, while in New Orleans, for the Mexican War, and served as a private in a Louisiana regiment; and when his term of enlistment expired, he went with the Tennesseans. On his return to Tennessee he was elected to the Legislature by his admiring friends in his native county of Sumner, and after this he began the study of law in the famous school at Lebanon. He was graduated professionally in 1852, and then made his home at Gallatin, the scene of his earlier efforts in the profession which has been honored by his intellectual ability and manly worth.

In 1854 he was elected attorney general for the Nashville district for a term of six years. That calm, masterful, and judicious leadership, for which his life has been distinguished, was already manifest in the political field, and having declined congressional honors, his name was put upon the Breckinridge and Lane electoral ticket.

In May, 1861, Tennessee began the official negotiations which promptly resulted in her league with the other Southern States for defense against the war being waged upon them, and Bate entered the military forces as a private. He was speedily promoted to captain and then to colonel of the Second Tennessee Infantry Regiment.

His first great battle was at Shiloh, where he shared the work of Cleburne's brigade of Hardee's corps. Bravely leading his regiment in the second charge, through a murderous fire, he fell severely wounded, a minnie ball breaking both bones of his leg and cutting the artery under the knee, disabling him for field service for several months. His horse was killed at the same time. This participation in battle was marked with such gallantry that he was mentioned with praise in the reports of Cleburne and Hardee, and on Oct. 3, 1862, he was promoted to brigadier general.

About this time, though unable to return to the field, he was on duty at Huntsville, Ala., and was given temporary command of the district of north Alabama.

In February, 1863, he was again in the field, assigned to the command of Rains' brigade of Polk's corps, and in June, com-

manding the Fifty-eighth Alabama, Thirty-seventh Georgia, Fifteenth, Thirty-seventh, and Twentieth Tennessee Regiments and Caswell's Georgia battalion, in the division of Maj-.Gen. A. P. Stewart. He took part in the Tullahoma campaign with much credit, fighting the battle of Hoover's Gap on the 23rd of June, 1863, driving the enemy back and holding at bay the Federal advance. In this action he was in command of the Confederate forces, Stewart not arriving on the field until nightfall. He was also wounded in this battle, a flesh wound in the left leg which he bound up, and remained on the field directing the battle until night had come and firing had ceased.

According to Rosecrans' report, Bate delayed his army at this point thirty-six hours, preventing the Federals from getting possession of Bragg's communications and forcing him to disastrous battle. General Bate and his men took a prominent part in the fighting at Chickamauga. They fired the first gun in this historic struggle on the banks of the "River of Death," driving the Federal guard from Thedford's Ford in preparation for the Confederate advance. Crossing the stream the next morning, they went into action, and drove the enemy back toward the position subsequently held by General George H. Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga.

As a result of this first day's fight, the brigade was fully armed with Enfield rifles, taken from the enemy. About one o'clock Saturday evening Stewart threw his division against the enemy, the brigade of Brown followed that of Clayton, and the indomitable Bate pressed on, driving the enemy beyond the Chattanooga road. During this charge, which was truly heroic, General Bate and several of his staff had their horses killed, the second lost by General Bate that day. In the evening he again led his brigade in an action of the division near Kelly's house, routing the enemy and capturing many prisoners. In this action General Bate lost the third horse in that two days' battle, and it is worthy of note that General Bate was still on a crutch, the result of his Shiloh wound, and had to be assisted in mounting his horse. Finally the Eufaula artillery, attached to his brigade, fired the last gun in the battle on Sunday evening.

At Missionary Ridge, commanding Breckinridge's division, he was first on duty in the trenches at the foot of the ridge, and later held a position on the crest of the ridge joining Bragg's headquarters, just east and covering the road leading up the hill.

Fighting in a position where the whole magnificent panorama of the overwhelming army advancing upon them was visible, his troops bravely held their position until both their left and right were turned, and the enemy firing down their flanks, when they fell back three or four hundred yards, and formed in the edge of the woods, which checked the headlong advance of the victorious Federals.

General Bragg reported General Bate among those distinguished for coolness, gallantry, and successful conduct through the engagements and in the rear guard on the retreat.

He continued in division command after this battle, the division being composed of his own brigade, Lewis' Kentucky brigade, and Finley's Florida brigade, and was commissioned as major general Feb. 23, 1864. Throughout the Georgia campaign he commanded a division of Hardee's corps, so often and so bravely in action, in that "hundred days' fight." At Resaca he handsomely repulsed the enemy from his front; at Dallas, he vigorously assailed Logan's intrenched Fifteenth Federal Corps with his single division; took part in the battle of the 20th of July, and on July 22 led the flank movement under Hardee, which brought on that famous battle of Atlanta. On the 6th of August, General Bate fought, with his division alone, the battle of Utoy Creek, and checked the right flank movement of the enemy around Atlanta. In this he drove back the Federal advance line, and captured several flags, severely punishing the enemy. General Bate was again badly wounded, was shot through the knee in this engagement, and was sent to the hospital at Barnesville, Ga., where he remained until Hood's movement in Tennessee.

In the ill-fated campaign under General Hood, which brought General Bate and his men back to their native State, but under circumstances of suffering and disaster, he led his division, now including Jackson's Georgia brigade, in the place of the Kentuckians, from Florence, Ala.; November 21, he marched with Cheatham's

corps to Spring Hill, where he was in readiness for orders to attack; fought heroicly at Franklin, in which desperate battle many of his men gained the interior of the works and remained there until the Federal retreat.

Next morning he was ordered to go and destroy the block-house on the N. & C. R. R., which he did in co-operation with General Forrest, and then returned to the main army around Nashville. He marched his men, a fourth of them barefooted, over the icy roads to Nashville. Even under such circumstances his troops bravely took position, entrenched as best they could in such weather, and made a gallant fight against the Federal assault.

After the supporting troops were driven back, he rode along his advance line urging his men to hold fast, though under fire from three sides. His Tennesseans at the "Angle" were almost annihilated; two Georgia regiments fought until nearly surrounded; all three brigade commanders were captured.

The Army of Tennessee after the battle of Franklin, while under General Hood, was not what it had been. The folly of going into the open jaws of a powerful enemy with a handful of soldiers, less than one to five, was criticised and condemned alike by officers and men; and waiting for such numbers to get around the flank and rear that they might the more easily destroy this remnant of the Army of Tennessee, seemed a combination of folly and madness. So when General Thomas did move with his vast army on flank and front at the same time, the expected came, and this remnant of the Army of Tennessee was driven from their lines and almost annihilated. It swept back, however, in regular form south of the Tennessee River, and finally turned up in the early spring in North Carolina under its old commander, General Johnston, and at Bentonville, N. C., fought its last battle. In this, its dying agony, General Bate was a conspicuous figure. He commanded that day, both his own and Cleburne's divisions as a corps, assailed the lines of the enemy strengthened by temporary works, and overran them, driving them back and capturing many prisoners. It was said that his were the last guns of the Army of Tennessee that found echo in battle. He stood here literally in the "last ditch."

General Bate returned to his home in Nashville after the war, and enjoyed a lucrative practice in the law; was twice elected governor of the State of Tennessee, making a reputation of being one of the most capable and honest governors of the State, and has since been sent thrice to the United States Senate by an appreciative people that he had so fully and honestly served.

GENERAL F. K. ZOLLICOFFER.

Brig.-Gen Felix Kirk Zollicoffer was born May 19, 1812, in Maury county, Tennessee. His father, John Jacob Zollicoffer, moved from North Carolina, and settling on the rich blue-grass lands of Maury county, was a prosperous farmer who divided his time between attention to his farm duties and literary pursuits. George Zollicoffer, the paternal grandfather of the subject of this article, was a captain in the North Carolina Line in the Revolutionary War. The family came to America from Switzerland, and is of an ancestry ennobled by a decree of Emperor Rudolphus II., dated Oct. 19, 1528. A member of it named John Conrad Zollicoffer, who was an officer in the French army, threw up his commission (being furnished with a letter from Silas Deane, our first commissioner to the French court), and accepted a commission from the governor of North Carolina, and served in the Revolutionary War until he was taken prisoner, being afterward released on parole. This old baronial family still preserve a faithful record of their lineage, and it is their custom to keep up a constant correspondence with the American branch of the family. Every marriage, birth, and death in the male branch of the family is promptly forwarded, and recorded in the genealogical table in Switzerland. The oldest living male member of the family in this country is by courtesy called "the Baron," and is in regular receipt of a yearly annuity from Switzerland.

Having received a good plain education, General Zollicoffer's energy and spirit of independence led him, at the age of fifteen, to rely upon his own exertions for a subsistence. Accordingly, he entered a printing office in Columbia, Tenn. Shortly after he was sixteen he formed a partnership with W. W. Gates (since an

editor of prominence) and Amos R. Johnson (who subsequently became a lawyer, and was promoted to the bench in Paris, Tenn.) Here he met with disheartening difficulties, which only served to develop and prove the pluck and indomitable will possessed by him. In some letters, now extant, from his father to him at that time, his high sense of honor, and his determination not to succumb to the untoward turn of affairs, were much commended. He also complimented and encouraged him, for "I am highly pleased," he wrote, "with the appearance of your paper, and I am proud to think that I have a son seventeen years of age who can edit such a one."

The young firm becoming financially involved, quit in debt, and Zollicoffer sought employment, first in Knoxville, Tenn., under the veteran editor Heiskell, and subsequently in Huntsville, Ala., where by hard work, strict economy, and self-denial, he managed to pay off the whole debt contracted at Paris—his partners subsequently repaying him their portion of it. The printing-press upon which their first editorial venture had been made, was, in 1855, discovered by the Whigs of Henry county, from which they carved a walking-cane, mounted it with solid gold, and presented it to Zollicoffer as a testimonial.

His literary tastes were very fine, and while still in his minority he was led occasionally to woo the Muses in his leisure moments. One of his prose fancies which abounds in beautiful word painting, has been preserved to the public among the choice selections in *"Field's Scrap-book."* He was said by those who knew him then, to be a model of neatness and youthful manliness.

From Huntsville he returned to Maury county, and located in Columbia, taking charge of the *Observer.* There he, in 1835, formed a happy matrimonial alliance with Miss Louisa Gordon, and in the following year he volunteered as a soldier and served as a commissioned officer with the Tennessee troops in the campaign against the Seminoles in Florida. He returned in 1837, and resumed his connection with the *Observer,* and continued to edit it with marked vigor and ability throughout the memorable campaign of 1840. He had a strong partiality for agricultural pursuits, and published in connection with the *Observer* an agricultural journal which had a considerable circulation, and

the columns of which evinced the variety of his attainments, and his eminently sound and practical judgment.

The great energy, boldness, and ability which he displayed in the management of the *Observer* made a decided impression upon the leading minds of the Whig party in the State, and in 1841 he was called to Nashville to take a place on the editorial staff of the *Republican Banner,* the chief organ of the party. He at once made his power felt, and by his zealous energy contributed greatly to the re-election of Governor James C. Jones in 1843. After the election his delicate health caused him to lay down the pen; but he was soon called to another field of labor, the Legislature having on the 1st of November following, elected him Comptroller of the State. He was retained in this responsible position until the spring of 1849, when he resigned. He went into the office without any information as to the routine of its business, and without instructions, but his persevering and untiring purpose soon mastered the details of the bureau, and where he found confusion he introduced system and order, and finally laid down the seals of office confessedly one of the most reliable and successful comptrollers that had ever served the State.

In August, 1849, he was chosen to represent Davidson county in the State Senate. Here his powers of intellect and self-culture asserted themselves, and the legislation of the session shows that he made his mark in the Senate and became a leader there among some of the finest minds of the State.

The year 1851 was an important period in the history of the Whig party of Tennessee, and General Zollicoffer was again called to the helm to take charge of the *Daily Republican Banner and True Whig,* in the hope of rallying the slumbering hosts, reanimating their drooping spirits, and overwhelming the Democracy again. The nomination of a candidate for the chief magistracy of the State was eliciting much discussion.

General Zollicoffer favored the nomination of Gen. William B. Campbell, and exerted his influence, which was now second to no Whig leader in the State, in that direction. Devoted to the Whig cause, and equally devoted as a friend to General Campbell, the canvass which followed was a labor of love. He prosecuted it with untiring energy and skill, initiating and carrying out

many of the measures which conduced to its success. Even when so ill he could scarcely sit at the table, he stuck to his post with his invincible spirit and indomitable will, triumphing over the infirmities of the body. A brilliant victory was the result. The canvass was one of the most remarkable in the annals of Tennessee, and its result added immeasurably to the influence of General Zollicoffer. When at its height General Campbell was prostrated by disease, and as his competitor, General Trousdale, a war-worn veteran, was exceedingly popular, the Whigs were cast down and well-nigh hopeless, but the gallant Zollicoffer sprang to their relief, snatched up the old Whig banner, and bore it until General Campbell recovered. In the following year, that of the Presidential contest between Scott and Pierce, he added fresh laurels to his political career.

On April 30, 1853, he received the Whig nomination for Congress in the Nashville district, and severed forever his connection with the press. Throughout the six years in which he served in Congress his votes and acts were in opposition to the party in power, and he won a national reputation as a Southern conservative, and for great ability, strict probity of character, patriotism, purity, and amiability. These qualities gave him great influence as a representative. He was universally esteemed as an honorable, high-minded gentleman, whose fidelity to principle was conspicuous, and who might at all times be relied upon. He sustained himself admirably in debate, and if he did not exceed in the graces of rhetoric and oratory, he was so well fortified with impregnable facts that the readiest and wiliest adversary had to look well to his cause. His encounter with the Hon. A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, the ablest and most adroit representative from the South during the period of his service, was a splendid display of parliamentary and elevated intellectual warfare, and was keenly relished by the members. The distinguished Georgian went out of the contest with a high appreciation of the gallant knight whose lance had won its laurels. They afterward enjoyed the most amicable relations, and became admiring friends, the great statesman on a subsequent occasion being an honored guest at General Zollicoffer's home in Nashville.

An honorable contemporary who knew General Zollicoffer well

in Washington City, thus speaks of him: "In his intercourse with men he was very courteous and polite, and exacted the same deportment from others toward himself. In the House of Representatives he held a high position, and was esteemed for the excellence of his judgment, the integrity of his character, and the firmness with which he adhered to his convictions. He was a very modest, gentle, and dignified man, without pretension, bluster, or bravado; and yet he not only had commanding influence, but challenged the respect of his opponents."

He retired from political life in 1859, and remained a private citizen until he was elected by the General Assembly of Tennessee a commissioner to the Peace Congress. He accepted the appointment, but came home from the conference sad and disheartened.

Soon after the secession of Tennessee, a provisional army was organized by the General Assembly, and Governor Harris tendered to General Zollicoffer the commission of a major-general. He declined the appointment, giving as a reason, that he would not consent to risk by his inexperience the safety and reputation of his fellow-citizens of the Volunteer State. He was, however, appointed to, and accepted, the position of brigadier-general, which appointment he afterward received from the Confederate government. Early in the summer of 1861, it became known that the Federal army threatened the invasion of East Tennessee by way of Cumberland Gap. To defeat this movement the Confederate government sent Brigadier-General Zollicoffer, with a force of about two thousand men, by way of Knoxville, to the point of threatened attack.

Kentucky was at this time endeavoring to occupy and hold a neutral position in the Civil War. General Zollicoffer, on September 14, telegraphed Governor McGoffin, "The safety of Tennessee requiring, I occupy the mountain pass at Cumberland Gap. For weeks I have known that the Federal commander at Haskin's Cross Roads was threatening the invasion of East Tennessee and ruthlessly urging our people to destroy our own roads and bridges. I postponed this precautionary movement until the despotic government at Washington, refusing to recognize the neutrality of Kentucky, had established formidable camps in the center and other parts of the State, with the view, first, to subjugate your

gallant State, and then ourselves. . . . Tennessee feels, and has ever felt toward Kentucky as a twin sister; their people are as one in kindred, sympathy, valor, and patriotism. . . . . We have felt, and still feel, a religious respect for Kentucky's neutrality. . . . . We will respect it as long as our safety will permit. . . . . If the Federal force will now withdraw from their menacing position, the force under my command shall immediately be withdrawn."

General Zollicoffer also issued a proclamation which he caused to be distributed over the country, announcing that he came there to defend the soil of a sister State against an invading foe, and that no citizen of Kentucky was to be molested in person or property, whatever his political opinions, unless found in arms against the Confederate government, or giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

The incidents of his life leading up to its sad and lamentable termination are brought out in Part III, Regimental History, of this volume.

One of the most exquisite little poems, called forth by the tragedies of these four years of war, was written by the gifted Henry Flash, to commemorate the death of General Zollicoffer. It is as follows:—

ZOLLICOFFER.

First in the fight, and first in the arms
  Of the white-winged angel of glory,
With the heart of the South at the feet of God,
  And his wounds to tell the story.

For the blood that flowed from his hero heart
  On the spot where he nobly perished,
Was drank by the earth as a sacrament
  In the holy cause he cherished.

In heaven a home with the brave and blest,
  And for his soul's sustaining
The apocalyptic smile of Christ—
  And nothing on earth remaining,

But a handful of dust in the land of his choice
And a name in song and story—
And fame to shout with her brazen voice,
"He died on the field of glory."

At his fall a wail went up from over the whole South, each household seeming to feel as if death had crossed its special threshold; and even the enemy appeared regretfully subdued as if they were reluctant to proclaim such a victory, and by tender respect to the inanimate body of the fallen chieftain, sending it by flag of truce to his people and his family, there to receive in burial every honor that a loved and sorrowing city could bestow, showed a sympathy and appreciation of his merits not often bestowed by one hostile army to the head of another. His qualities as a public character were well known, but there was a gentler side to his character known only to those who clustered about his family fireside. To them he was indulgent, confiding, and affectionate. His attachment to his children was strong, deep, and tender, and was repaid by a devotion almost amounting to idolatry, and was beautiful and pure as it was undying. His loving and loved wife died in 1857.

In the preliminary report of the battle of Fishing Creek, dated Greensboro, Tenn., Jan. 29, 1862, General Geo. B. Crittenden says: "I am pained to make report of the death of Brig.-Gen. F. K. Zollicoffer, who fell while gallantly leading his brigade against the foe. In his fall the country has sustained a great loss. In counsel he has always shown wisdom, and in battle braved danger, while coolly directing the movements of his troops."

COL. JOEL A. BATTLE.

Joel A. Battle was born in Davidson county, Tennessee, Sept. 19, 1811. His father was originally from Edgecombe county, North Carolina, and his mother was Lucinda Mayo Battle, who inherited a large landed estate in Tennessee. It was through this channel that young Joel A. Battle became possessed of large

landed interests. He was left an orphan at an early age, and his early education was limited, as there were no good schools near him. He was much beloved by his elders, and he in turn showed remarkable fondness and respect for the aged at this early period of his life. In his nineteenth year he was married to Miss Sarah Searcy of Rutherford county, Tennessee. Two years after their marriage his wife died, leaving an only son, William Searcy Battle, who grew to manhood and married Miss Louisa Holt, the second daughter of Thomas Holt, one of the wealthiest men of Williamson county. She died at the birth of her second child. William Searcy Battle joined the Confederate service, Twentieth Regiment Tennessee Volunteers, C. S. A., and was killed at the battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862.

Joel A. Battle, shortly after the death of his young wife, raised a company near his home, and enlisted in the Florida War. After his return from the war he met Miss Adeline Sanders Mosely, a lady who was remarkable alike for her native refinement, her firm, Christian character, and her gentle lovable disposition. Six years after his first marriage, he was united to Miss Mosely, near the Hermitage, and carried her to his comfortable home near Cane Ridge in the Sixth Civil District of Davidson county, to live the life of a quiet farmer's wife, at the old home of his ancestors. It was here that his children were born and raised (until 1861), surrounded by all of the comforts that a country life could afford at that time. (The writer of this sketch was often a partaker of its generous hospitality.)

In 1835 he was elected brigadier-general of the State militia, and in 1851-52 he represented Davidson county in the State Legislature, having as his co-Representative Hon. Russell Houston.

Battle was a zealous Whig, but he allowed no partisan spirit to interfere with his devotion to public interest, and his constant adherence to the principles of right and justice. As a friend, he was as unwavering as the north star, and his attachments for his friends in adversity were as unbroken as the eternal hills; his determination to overcome all obstacles that came in his path was unsurpassed. Nothing that he possessed was too dear to lay at the feet of a friend in distress. Noble, generous, and brave

to a fault, the big heart seemed always looking for some kind act to perform. He was by nature far above the average man. He was a near neighbor of my widowed mother, and I can as a boy count a number of kind acts that he rendered her and her children. It was in the company of such a man that your writer, at the age of seventeen, wedded the cause of the Confederacy, from which he has never been divorced.

In addition to his large landed estate, Colonel Battle was a large owner of slaves, all of whom loved and respected him for his kindness and fatherly care of them. As a proof of their respect for him after the war, when any freed man was allowed to choose his own name, almost to an individual the Battle negroes retained the name of their former master.

Colonel Battle was always in deep sympathy with his slaves. Your writer remembers the time when he was in need of money, and he hired seven negro men of his to run on a steamboat that plied between Nashville and New Orleans, and while the boat was on the Mississippi River it sank and the men were all lost. Their worth was about $10,000, but Colonel Battle did not seem to care so much for the value of his slaves as he did for the love and affection he had for them.

How beautiful was the tender tie that existed between the kind and considerate master and the confiding slave.

The Northern people who have never witnessed this domestic tie, find it difficult to realize it, for no one outside of the mother herself is so much beloved by the family as the "Old Black Mammy," whose protecting wing was always thrown over the family circle in the absence of "Old Missus." Her authority was acknowledged by both white and black, and her will was supreme.

At the beginning of our Civil War, in April, 1861, Joel A. Battle raised a company at Nolensville, Williamson Co., Tenn., which he named the "Zollicoffer Guards." It was afterward Company B in the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry. Battle was elected captain, Dr. William Clark, first. Thomas Benton Smith, second, and W. H. Matthews, third lieutenant. This company was mustered into the State military service on the 17th day of May, 1861, and sent to Camp Trousdale, near the Kentucky line, on the L. & N. railway, to enter upon the duties

of soldiers. It was here that other companies came until enough had gone into camp to form a regiment of ten companies, and by almost unanimous vote of the ten companies Capt. Joel A. Battle was elected colonel. This regiment was known throughout the four years of war as the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry.

It remained in the camp of instruction until about the last of July, 1861, when it was ordered to Virginia. We struck our tents and boarded the cars going by way of Nashville, Chattanooga, and Knoxville, as far east as Bristol, where we were ordered into camp for a few weeks, and then returned to Knoxville, where Battle's regiment was put into a brigade commanded by Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer.

After a few weeks of camp life here Colonel Battle was ordered with his regiment to proceed to Jacksboro, forty miles north of Knoxville, on the road to Cumberland Gap. The stay of the Twentieth Regiment at Jacksboro was only about three weeks, and then we passed through Cumberland Gap over to Cumberland Ford, in Knox county, Kentucky, some fourteen miles from the Gap.

Colonel Battle, in command of the Twentieth Tennessee Infantry, believed that they were the first Confederate infantry to pass through Cumberland Gap at the breaking out of our war.

While Zollicoffer's brigade was at Cumberland Ford, the enemy had a force of five or six hundred at Barboursville, some eighteen miles farther north. So General Zollicoffer fitted out an expedition against them, consisting of two companies from the Eleventh Tennessee Regiment, two from the Ninteenth Tennessee, two from the Twentieth Tennessee, and two from the Fifteenth Mississippi, and a battalion of cavalry under Colonel McNairy. Colonel Battle was entrusted with the command of the whole, and right nobly did he carry out his orders and disperse the enemy. Colonel Battle's little command returned to Cumberland Ford in triumph.

In a short time General Zollicoffer made his celebrated move on the enemy at Wild Cat, Ky., in which Battle's regiment was often in the front. His regiment fought the enemy at Laurel Bridge, Ky., and next day was in front in the approach to Wild Cat. The

fighting on the part of the Confederates was done mostly by the Seventeenth Tennessee Regiment, under Colonel Newman, and the Eleventh Tennessee under Col. James E. Rains.•

After the battle of Wild Cat, Zollicoffer's command fell back to Cumberland Gap, over the same route that they had advanced, and then went westward down the mountain to Jamestown in Fentress county, Tenn. They then crossed over into Kentucky again by Monticello, to Mill Springs on the south bank of the Cumberland River. Here General Zollicoffer crossed a portion of his command to the north bank of the river, and the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was included in this detachment.

Colonel Battle remained here with his regiment until the night of Jan. 18, 1862, when his command was ordered to the battle field of Fishing Creek, which they reached next morning at daylight. As the skirmishers began firing, a few minnie balls began to sing about the boys, and some of them began to duck their heads, when Colonel Battle cried out, "Don't dodge men, don't dodge!" About this time a shell came screaming through the woods and passed uncomfortably near Colonel Battle, and he dodged. His men began to laugh at him, and he said to them: "Boys, dodge the big ones, but don't dodge the little ones."

This grand old man led his regiment all through that bloody engagement, in the rain, while the brave boys were armed with the old flint lock muskets, that carried three buck-shot and one round ball, and not one musket in ten could be fired. His regiment, with the Fifteenth Mississippi, under Lieutenant-Colonel Walthall, bore the brunt of the day's fighting. Colonel Battle carried into this engagement 400 men and had 133 killed and wounded; the noble Mississippians carried in 400 and lost 220 killed and wounded; and forever after that day these two regiments were fast friends. Colonel Battle brought his decimated regiment back to his camp, and recrossed the river, retreating to Gainsboro, Tenn., with the balance of the army. This retreat through the mountains occupied eight days in dead of winter, and the men lived on parched corn.

Colonel Battle was next ordered from Gainsboro to Murfreesboro. Here he met the forces of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnson

on their way to the battlefield of Shiloh. Colonel Battle with his regiment camped for a while at Iuka, Miss., then moved twelve miles down the M. & C. railway to Burnsville, and from there he carried his regiment to the bloody field of Shiloh. Here on this field, in Statham's brigade of Gen. John C. Breckinridge's division, he for two days, the 6th and 7th of April, 1862, led his men to glory and many of them to death. Of the 380 carried into this fight, 158 were killed and wounded. Two of Colonel Battle's sons were among the killed, as stated before, one of them being Joel A. Battle, Jr., his second son, who was the gifted and talented adjutant of his regiment, who did duty all day on the field of battle with one arm in a sling, from the effects of a wound that he had received at the battle of Fishing Creek. Colonel Battle was wounded and captured in this engagement, and carried to Johnson's Island.

After his exchange, Gov. Isham G. Harris appointed him State Treasurer of the State of Tennessee in the fall of 1862, which position he held to the end of the war.

The State funds were taken south on the evacuation of Nashville in the spring of 1862. When the end of the war came, it found State Treasurer Joel A. Battle, with the assets of Tennessee on deposit in Augusta, Ga. The men who were conducting the affairs of the State at that time were Isham G. Harris, Governor, J. F. Dunlap, Comptroller, J. E. Ray, Secretary of State, Joel A. Battle, Treasurer, and G. C. Torbett, President of the Bank of Tennessee, with John A. Fisher, Cashier.

Governor Harris was with Gen. Joe Johnston's army in the Carolinas until it surrendered, then he came through Augusta, Ga., on his way to the trans-Mississippi department; from there he went to Mexico, then to England, and did not return to Tennessee until 1867.

In May, 1865, there was on deposit in Augusta, Ga., a considerable sum of money belonging to the Bank of Tennessee, which was turned over by its officers to the Federal authorities and shipped back to Governor Brownlow at Nashville. Governor Brownlow, in his message of October, 1865, referred to the

State's funds thus: "I advise that out of what is left of the Bank of Tennessee, the Common School Fund shall be, as far as possible, replaced," etc. He further said: "The amount returned, $444,719.70, sold for $618,250, and was invested in 7:30 U. S. bonds."

When Colonel Battle returned with the archives of the State, he was arrested and put in prison. His wife and daughters applied to Col. Jordan Stokes to use his influence with Governor Brownlow to have him released, when Colonel Stokes replied: "Never mind, it will be all right, we three know each other;" as if to say, we were old-line "Whigs" before the war. Your writer personally knew that when Colonel Battle returned home, he was penniless, he and his family did not have one dollar; and yet he through the long dark night of poverty, was the ever faithful, honest, and brave custodian of this fund, and gave an account of every cent.

After the war, Colonel Battle moved to Nashville, and in 1872 was appointed by Gov. John C. Brown superintendent of the State prison, which position he retained until his death, and it was said by those in authority that he inaugurated a number of important changes in the prison discipline. This grand old Roman laid down his life on Aug. 23, 1872, a victim of a severe attack of dysentery, and as his remains were being carried through the city of Nashville to their last resting place at Cane Ridge, the old ancestral home, the remnant of his old regiment accompanied them to the city limits, and with bowed and uncovered heads and hearts full of sympathy and love, bade forever adieu to one of the grandest types of manhood that the State of Tennessee has ever furnished.

The beginning of the war in 1861 found Joel A. Battle and his family wealthy, surrounded with all the comforts of a country life; and when that terrible drama closed, they had not a roof to shelter them from storm, and two of the family had been slain on the battle field. This family was like thousands of other families of the South that came out of the war poverty-stricken, but this poverty was a passport for loyalty and courage.

Col. Joel A. Battle was a Knight of Pythias, and to show the

high esteem in which his brethren of this order held him, several years after his death a lodge was organized in Nashville, named Joel A. Battle Lodge in his honor, and a magnificent hall was built near the Peabody Normal College, at a cost of $15,000.

It can be said of Colonel Battle and his family that they were not like some, who never encountered danger, and remained behind the lines to fatten and grow rich off the misfortunes and absence of others. At Colonel Battle's death, he left to survive him his lovely Christian wife, one son, Captain Frank, and four daughters, namely, Miss Fannie, a noble representative of the Battle family, who has devoted her life to the relief of the poor; Miss Sallie, who married Capt. Dick Herbert of the Twenty-fourth Tennessee Volunteers; and Miss Betty, who married Mr. Scales, and moved to Texas soon after the war, as did her younger sister, who married Captain Giles of the Eighth Texas Cavalry.

GENERAL THOS. B. SMITH.

Written by DEERING J. ROBERTS, M. D.

Thomas Benton Smith was born at Mechanicsville, Tenn., Feb. 24, 1838. His father, James M. Smith, was a soldier in the War of 1812, and was with the heroic and indomitable Jackson at the battle of New Orleans. He was born in Virginia in 1797, his parents migrating to Tennessee in the days of the pioneers. He was engaged in the business of millwright, and was a manufacturer of cotton gins a good part of his life. His wife was Miss Martha Washington Page, who was born in Williamson Co., Tenn. Her family was of the highest standing in this, one of the most magnificent counties of the State, so well and widely known for the high attainments and refinement of her sons and daughters.

James M. and Martha W. Smith had a number of children born to them, but all died in early life except the subject of this sketch, his brother John, who was killed at Murfreesboro on the first days' engagement between the armies of Bragg and Rose-

crans, and a sister now living, Mrs. Johnson Woods, who was first married to a Mr. Cloyd.

Thomas, the younger of the two brothers who attained manhood, was educated in the country schools of his neighborhood until sixteen years of age. He showed remarkable ingenuity of mind in having patented a locomotive cow-catcher or pilot when he was fifteen years old.

In his sixteenth year, his father having died, he was sent to the Nashville Military Institute (the University of Nashville), then under the management and control of Bushrod Johnson, who became a general of considerable reputation in the war between the States. After four years under the classic shades of this military school, Tom was sent to West Point, where he remained only one year, being a lieutenant in his cadet company. Returning to Tennessee and following the mechanical turn of his mind, he obtained a position at the shops of the Nashville and Decatur railroad, now an important link in the L. N. & G. S. system. Toward the close of 1859, he returned to his mother's home in Williamson county, at the instigation of his brother John, who told him that now the time had come to "prepare for war."

With the early spring months of 1861 we find him engaged in raising a company at Triune, which, uniting with a body of volunteers gathered by Gen. Joel A. Battle, became Company B of the Twentieth Tennessee. General Battle was elected captain, and Dr. Wm. Clark, first lieutenant, Thos. B. Smith, second lieutenant, and Wm. Mathews, third lieutenant. On the promotion of Battle to the colonelcy of the Twentieth, Smith became first lieutenant, but on account of his previous military experience, to him was left the moulding of Company B into the splendid body of soldiers it became, vieing with Company A, which was acknowledged to be the best-drilled company in the regiment, owing its proficiency, like Company B, to the untiring ability and energy of one of its lieutenants, Albert Roberts.

Ardent spirits both, to these two "file closers," one at the extreme right and the other at the left of the regiment, was in great measure due the development of the ten companies of raw recruits into one of the best "fighting machines" of the Confederate Army.

At the reorganization of the Twentieth Tennessee at Corinth, Miss., in May, 1862, Thos. Benton Smith was elected colonel. At the head of this regiment, as he appeared in 1862, Colonel Smith was the physical embodiment of a magnificent soldier, with mental attainments and inclination that made him admired and respected by all who came in personal contact with him. Splendidly built, on grand proportions, a little over six feet tall, muscular, erect as an Indian, of a somewhat dark complexion, deep gray eyes, quiet and courteous in demeanor, cool, calm, and collected on all occasions, whether in genial conversation or in the thickest storm of shot and shell, with a most kindly interest in every man in his command, at all times approachable by any subaltern or private in the line, yet commanding the respect and esteem of those superior to him in military rank, he was the beau ideal of a *soldier*. His military history is given in the previous pages of this volume, and to him, as much as to any one, if not more, is certainly due the reputation, the renown, and the favorable consideration of every general who commanded this body of *men* who have made the name and fame of the Twentieth Tennessee a term that will go down "in song and story" through the ever-coming years. The soldiers of the Volunteer State have much to be proud of, from "King's Mountain" even down to our latest essay at war's dread din in the Spanish-American affair of the present century, but to no body of her grand soldiery has more lasting fame attached than to the Twentieth.

Wednesday afternoon, on the field of Murfreesboro, Colonel Smith received a severe wound across the breast, the same ball passing through his left arm. This was the most serious injury he received from the enemy during the war. At the battle of Baton Rouge, in the early dawn, as he was leading his men through the Yankee encampment from which they had been driven, his horse was shot dead, and in falling pinned his leg to the ground; but finding that he could extricate his leg by withdrawing his foot from his boot, the spur on its heel being driven into the ground, he did so, and was again at the head of his advancing column, on foot, "with one boot off, and one boot on."

He followed the varying fortunes of war that came to the Twentieth through its many and severe trials. After the wound-

ing of Colonel Tyler, who was his senior in rank at the battle of Missionary Ridge, he took command of Bate's old brigade, and was its commander during the succeeding winter at Dalton, and throughout the long and trying campaign from there to Atlanta. At the end of this one hundred days, in August, 1864, while in front of Atlanta, he received his commission from Richmond as Brigadier-General, C. S. A., and was entitled to enwreathe his three stars, as his "boys" had so enwreathed themselves in glory.

His command accompanied Hood into Tennessee, actively participating in all the engagements with Bate's division down to the battle of Nashville, where his work as a soldier, true and tried, terminated by his capture and subsequent confinement as a prisoner of war at Fort Warren, where he remained until the close of the struggle.

The shadows of night were rapidly falling on a short winter's day, when with many of his command barefooted, half-clad, and wearied with a forced march from Murfreesboro, General Smith occupied a slight eminence among the Overton Hills just south of Nashville, having received orders from General Bate to "hold his part of the line at all hazards," and having repulsed repeated assaults by the enemy. The gallant Shy, commanding his old regiment, had fallen with his face to the foe, his hand clinched in death on the trigger of an Enfield rifle.

On that fated December evening, General Smith noticed a man near him fall forward, with the blood gushing out of the left side and back of his head. On looking to the rear and left, he saw the "Stars and Stripes" pushing forward on his left, well to the rear; the line on his right had melted away, the blue line was to his right and also well to the rear; the assaulting columns in front were repulsed, but the hosts advancing both on the right and left rear showed him, as did the scattered fugitives fleeing in all directions, only too plainly that the day was lost; and drawing his handkerchief from his pocket and waving it above his head, he commanded the little squad near him to "cease firing." Yes, all was gone but honor. He had obeyed orders, and had *held the line at all hazards.* The inevitable had come.

The little rise among the Overton Hills soon swarmed with Blue, and having been taken in charge by three soldiers, General

Smith was marched northward over the ground so thickly covered with the Federal dead and dying, and after getting about 160 yards to the rear, nothing but desultory shots being heard getting farther and farther toward the south, he was met by a man who disgraced the uniform worn by "Pap Thomas," Grant, Sheridan, McPherson, and others. To Brigadier-General Jas. Winning McMillan, U. S. A., of Clark Co., Ky., a soldier who had served in the Mexican war, and whose father fought with Washington, is due the credit (?) of striking an unarmed prisoner in the presence of three soldiers armed and wearing the uniform he so direfully tarnished, having this prisoner under guard; yes, of striking him with his sabre, not once, but three times over the head, each blow cutting through the hat, and the last felling his victim to the earth. When carried to the Federal field hospital, the surgeon, on examining the wound, remarked: "Well, you are near the end of your battles, for I can see the brain oozing through the gap in the skull." He was both right and wrong—the battles of the Confederate and Federal forces were near the end; but our gallant boy general, so youthful for his rank, so true and tried as a soldier, survived this dastardly deed; but for the last twenty-eight years has been an inmate of the Central Hospital for the Insane of his native State, the result of a wound received as the government for which he had been so faithfully striving was crumbling away. Oh the shame of that wound to the perpetrator! And as to the subject of this brief sketch, what shall we say?

"There's a Destiny that shapes our ends
Rough, hew them as we will."

Yes, —

"The saddest words of tongue or pen,
Are these, ———."

COL. WM. M. SHY.

Written by DEERING J. ROBERTS, M. D.

Wm. M. Shy was born in Kentucky about the year 1838 or '39. His father and mother were living on a farm near Franklin at the opening of the war between the States. One son, Dr.

Louis Shy, at that time living in Perry county, organized the Perry Guards, which became Company G, of the Twentieth Tennessee. Having become disabled by breaking his ankle by a fall from his horse on the first march the company made, he was discharged from service. A younger brother applied for enlistment in the Twentieth, but was pronounced unfit for military duty by the examining surgeon.

"Bill" Shy, as he was popularly known in the regiment, enlisted as a private in Company H, and was mustered into the service at Camp Trousdale with the rest of the company. At the organization of the regiment he was appointed one of the regimental color guard. He passed through the battle of Fishing Creek, and early in the following spring was elected a lieutenant of his company.

At the reorganization of his regiment in front of Corinth, in May, 1862, he was made captain of Company H, and no more effective or faithful company commander was ever selected. He was a friend of each and every member of his company.

Of an unusually quiet disposition, he was not much given to words, but when he did speak, it was to the purpose. He was unquestionably a man rather of deeds than words. Modest as a woman, and as gentle, kindly to all with whom he came in contact, in time of battle he was the embodiment of courage, determined and brave to a degree. In the hottest of the fight, in the dash of a charge, he was always calm and collected; with no excitement at any time, as calm and cool under the hottest fire of shot and shell as by the reminiscent campfire indulging in reveries of home and stories of the days of peace.

Promoted to be major of the regiment in 1863, the rank of lieutenant-colonel soon followed, and when Col. Thos. B. Smith received his commission of brigadier-general, Lieut.-Col. Wm. M. Shy became colonel of the Twentieth Tennessee. He led his regiment most gallantly through the remainder of the Dalton-Atlanta campaign, at Jonesboro, and on to the fatal field of Franklin, to Murfreesboro with Bate and Forrest, and at last came to a soldier's end on the lines in front of Nashville, at the head of his regiment. He fell, a minnie ball piercing his brain, his hand grasped around the trigger guard of a fallen

soldier's Enfield which he had just discharged at the advancing lines of blue. Yes, he fell, fighting to the last, and in accordance with the command of his division general, he had "*held the line at all hazards.*"

What more can we say of him? He gave up his bright young life for a cause he believed was RIGHT. A genial comrade, faithful to his friends and his cause, earnest, sincere, and most honorable in every word and deed, it was a sad sacrifice on the altar of his country.

But few of his family are left in this vicinity, and those all of the third generation. Our biography of this, one of the most gallant soldiers in this most heroic regiment, is but brief, yet it can be said of him, as of Bayard, he was "*sans peur et sans reproche.*"

LIEUT.-COL. JNO. S. GOOCH.

In the beginning of hostilities between the States the subject of this sketch, Lieut.-Col. John Saunders Gooch, was a student at the Military Academy at Nashville, Tenn. His friends at his home near Smyrna, Tenn., organized a company and elected him captain in his absence, without his knowledge, and unsolicited. He accepted the honor thus conferred.

The company was sent by the proper authority to Camp Trousdale, where it was drilled and organized into the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment of Volunteers, Battle's regiment, his company being Company E. The regiment was ordered to Virginia, but was stopped at Bristol, and ordered into Kentucky through Cumberland Gap.

At Fishing Creek or Mills Springs, Ky., Captain Gooch, in leading his company in a desperate charge, received a severe wound, which at the time was thought to be fatal. His men rescued and brought him off the field, as they thought in a dying condition. He rallied, however, and was furloughed.

At the organization of the army at Corinth, Miss., during his absence, he was elected lieutenant-colonel of his regiment in his nineteenth year, showing the regard and esteem in which he was held by his comrades in arms.

He rejoined the army at Vicksburg, Miss., where his regiment had been sent, and reported for duty, but on account of his wound, which was in an unhealed condition, and no prospects for an early recovery, he resigned his commission, and was honorably discharged from the army.

It was many years after the close of the war before he recovered from his wound. Since the war he has remained on his farm near Smyrna, and represents the true type of a Southern gentleman.

MAJOR PATRICK DUFFY.

Major Patrick Duffy was born near the town of Straban, County Donegal, Ireland, and came to America in early life. He was a volunteer in the Florida War of 1836, was a lieutenant in Col. W. B. Campbell's First Tennessee Regiment in the war with Mexico. It was by his order that the first American flag was hoisted over the Mexican fort at the city of Monterey; his company was one of the color companies.

After the Mexican War he lived at Hartsville until 1861, and when our war between the States broke out, this brave and patriotic Irishman donned his gray, and stepped into the arena, and raised a company at Hartsville, which afterward became Company K of the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry.

Captain Duffy was elected major of this regiment at its first organization, and a braver man was never promoted to be major of any regiment.

At the battle of Fishing Creek, Major Duffy had his old roan horse killed by a cannon ball. When he went into the battle of Shiloh, our major was on a long, tall sorrel horse that was very spirited, and when the firing became general, the major could not control him, so he dismounted. Having lost his horse at Fishing Creek, he was trying to hold his sorrel behind a large tree, which was a difficult matter to do, and the old major became vexed at the horse and said to him, "You fool, if you don't stand still, you will get daylights knocked out of you." While the major was trying to hold the horse behind the tree, he himself

was being exposed. In this same engagement, Colonel Battle was wounded and captured; Lieutenant-Colonel Carter having been captured at Fishing Creek, this left Major Duffy in command of the regiment from April 7 to May 8, 1862. When the regiment was reorganized, Major Duffy was a candidate for colonel, and was defeated by Captain Thomas Benton Smith. This somewhat wounded the pride of the major, as he was in the line of promotion, and he retired from the service. He lived to a ripe old age, loved and respected by his many friends.

He was never married, but lived and died in the belief that he would be some day. He would never allow his picture to be taken, and the one that accompanies this sketch was taken without his knowledge or consent.

MAJOR FRED CLAYBROOKE.

Major Fred Claybrooke, a son of Colonel John S. and Mary Perkins Claybrooke, was born Sept. 21, 1837, in Williamson county, Tennessee, and was educated at Hardeman's Academy near Triune under Ebenezer Crocker, and at the Military Academy at Nashville, and in Virginia. His section and county was thoroughly Southern.

Williamson county voted in 1860, 1,800, and in 1861 and 1862 sent 2,200 volunteers into the Southern army.

On May 27, 1861, Fred Claybrooke joined a company that was being made up at College Grove, Bethesda, Peytonsville, and Triune, known as the Webb Guards. William Rucker was elected its captain, Pinkston first lieutenant, Fred Claybrooke second lieutenant, and A. D. A. Rucker third lieutenant.

This company was sent to Camp Trousdale, and was incorporated into the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment as Company D.

Lieutenant Claybrooke was a subordinate officer until the battle of Fishing Creek. First Lieutenant Pinkston was in command, and when he was captured, Second Lieutenant Claybrooke took charge of Company D, and led them gallantly through the remainder of the battle and back to camp, recrossed the Cumberland River that night, and shared their hardships on that ever-memor-

able ten-days' retreat from Mill Springs to Gainesboro in the dead of winter, without blankets or rations save parched corn.

The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment after its retreat to Gainesboro, joined Albert Sidney Johnson's forces at Murfreesboro on their way to Shiloh. In this terrible battle Company D was commanded by its gallant captain, with Lieutenant Claybrooke as second in command. In this engagement the Twentieth Tennessee lost heavily, and Company D furnished her share of the loss.

After the battle of Shiloh the Confederate forces fell back to Corinth, and the entire army was reorganized on May 8, 1862. Company D of the Twentieth Tennessee elected Lieutenant Fred Claybrooke as its captain, and in a short time after the reorganization Lieut.-Col. John S. Gooch resigned, on account of a wound received at Fishing Creek, and Major Frank Lanvender was promoted to lieutenant-colonel and Captain Claybrooke to major. While a major, your writer has seen him get off his horse on those long Mississippi marches, and put two broken-down soldiers on it; and he then would take the gun of another soldier, and strike out through the sand half-leg deep.

Major Claybrooke was with his regiment at the first seige of Vicksburg, 1862, also at the battle of Baton Rouge. After the latter battle was fought the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was sent by way of Mobile and Atlanta to Murfreesboro, Tenn. Here we were still in Breckinridge's division, which was composed of the brigades of Adams, Helm, Palmer, and Preston. When the battle of Murfreesboro opened, Breckinridge's division took position on the extreme right, east of Stone's River, and about twelve o'clock on the first day's battle Breckinridge was ordered to send to near the Cowan House the two brigades of Adams and Helm, and later his remaining two brigades, Palmer's and Preston's. The Twentieth Tennessee was the right regiment of Preston's brigade, and the Sixtieth North Carolina and First, Third, and Fourth Florida composed the brigade.

On our arrival, about 4 P. M., the brigade was formed and moved forward down by the Cowan Pond. When we got to the cut in the N. & C. R. R., all of the brigade went to the left of the cut, except the Twentieth Tennessee, which moved straight

forward into a cotton field in the direction of Round Forrest; but when the regiment had gone some distance into the field, we could go no farther, and were ordered to lie down. It was so hot we could not stay here. Our color-bearer had been killed, our colonel wounded, and we were ordered back out of the field, every man for himself.

It was here at the Cowan Pond that I saw Major Fred Claybrooke perform as gallant an act as did Lannes at the battle of Lodi, viz., when his colonel had been wounded and his color-bearer killed, he took Isaac Hyde, one of the remaining color guards, up behind him, and rode up and down the line, waving the colors under a heavy cannonading and sharpshooting from the enemy. After he had rallied his regiment, he double-quicked them down under a bluff, halted them, and ordered a charge which drove a line of Yankees off the bluff across the cotton field, and captured seventy-five of them. This was as gallant a deed as your writer saw during the war. A fuller description of this is given in the Regimental History.

In Breckinridge's charge, two days later, Major Claybrooke was separated from his regiment by being ordered away on detached duty.

After the battle of Murfreesboro, Bragg's army fell back to Shelbyville and Tullahoma, and while at the latter place the Twentieth Tennessee was presented with a stand of colors by General Breckinridge as an appreciation of their gallantry on several fields, and no soldier of the regiment did more to win this compliment than the gallant Major Claybrooke.

The Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was soon after put in Bate's brigade, Stewart's division, and moved some ten miles northeast from Tullahoma to Fairfield, three miles from the south end of Hoover's Gap. It was here, on the morning of June 23, about 10 A. M., that our long roll began to beat. The rain was coming down in earnest when General Bate received a courier who stated that the Yankees had attacked our pickets at the Gap, and had forced their way through. General Bate at once ordered the Twentieth Tennessee and Major Caswell's battalion of sharpshooters, about four hundred men, to doublequick to the Gap, where we found the enemy's advance about one mile south of the

Gap. The battalion and two companies, A and B of the Twentieth Regiment, were thrown forward, and soon drove the enemy back under cover of their batteries. It was here that Major Claybrooke, who was assisting in arranging the other eight companies of the regiment for an assault, was mortally wounded by the bursting of a shell thrown from one of the enemy's guns. The same shell killed and wounded several of his old company. He was carried to a near-by farm house, where he breathed his last before day next morning; and when that light went out, we could say that a nobler spirit, a truer patriot, a braver soldier, a more warm hearted man was never clad in a suit of gray.

A fuller description of the battle of Hoover's Gap is given in our Regimental History, in connection with Gen. W. B. Bate's official report.

MAJOR JOHN F. GUTHRIE.

Major John F. Guthrie was born Feb. 25, 1833, in the sixth civil district of Davidson county, Tennessee.

He was educated at Woodbury, Tennessee. Being the oldest boy of the family, and his father having died when he was quite young, he had to a great extent the responsibility of the family upon him, and right worthily did he sustain that trust.

At the age of about twenty years, just arriving at young manhood, John F. Guthrie gave his heart and his soul to his God, and joined the Missionary Baptist church at Concord, near Nolensville. He was elected one of the officers of his church, and continued one of its members until his death.

It was at a meeting of his old company at Concord that I saw the gallant young man march up to Capt. Joel A. Battle, and tell him to put down his name as a Southern soldier. The enrolling of that name meant something, for John F. Guthrie from that day until the 31st day of August, 1864, was as closely wedded to the cause of the South as he was to his Baptist church.

But just before he had given himself to his church and his country, he had also interwoven his life and fortune with one of the fairest and most modest of Tennessee's daughters, Miss Bettie Organ, daughter of Benjamin Organ, a school-teacher by

profession. Many a day had I sat on the same slab bench with Miss Bettie, and made eyes at her younger sister, Miss Jennie, at the old school-house at Organ's Hill, just west of the old McMurray residence in Williamson county.

But, alas! this dream did not last; the Civil War came, and John F. Guthrie and at least half the young men and boys of the Concord neighborhood went with Captain Battle's company to Camp Trousdale, near the Tennessee and Kentucky line, on the L. & N. R. R., where we remained until we formed a part of the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry.

We had not been in camp of instruction long before a vacancy for orderly sergeant of the company occurred. John F. Guthrie was elected to that responsible position, and filled it well and nobly until just before General Zollicoffer made his second move into Kentucky, about November, 1861, at which time Sergeant Guthrie was stricken down with typhoid fever and sent home, and I, who by this time had been promoted to second sergeant, was called upon to fill the part of orderly sergeant.

Sergeant Guthrie, on his recovery, returned to his command, and followed its fortune as sergeant of Company B until after the battle of Shiloh, and on that bloody field he distinguished himself as one of the coolest and best soldiers of his regiment. At the reorganization of the Confederate Army, May 8, 1862, John F. Guthrie was elected captain by the men who had seen him tried on several fields, and his conspicuous gallantry had won their confidence and esteem. Captain Guthrie commanded his company in the skirmishes about Corinth, Miss., just before Bragg's retreat to Tupelo, and from there to Vicksburg, Miss.; and during the siege of that place in 1862, I remember well that Captain Guthrie and myself were lying on a blanket in an old warehouse when a large shell from the Federal fleet burst above the building, and a piece of the shell weighing nearly one hundred pounds came crashing through the roof and fell on the blanket between us.

Captain Guthrie was with his company in the Louisiana campaign at the battle of Baton Rouge, and afterward came with his regiment to Murfreesboro, Tenn., and from there to the advance

post of the Confederates at Stewart's Creek, and while here, in the fall of 1862, he received several recruits for his company.

In the great battle of Murfreesboro, Captain Guthrie added fresh laurels to his already well-earned reputation. On Friday evening, while leading his company in the ever-memorable Breckinridge charge, he had his sword belt shot off of him, but was not injured himself.

After this engagement, Bragg's army fell back to Shelbyville and Tullahoma, and in June, 1863, the hot battle of Hoover's Gap was fought, in which Maj. Fred Claybrooke was killed, and Captain Guthrie, senior captain of the regiment, was promoted to major, and right worthily did he deserve it. In this capacity he went into that greatest of all the battles fought during the war—Chickamauga. He came through this terrible struggle unscathed, but had his sword scabbard shot in two.

Major Guthrie was with his regiment at the battle of Missionary Ridge. A few days before that battle, while on duty on top of the Ridge, and looking westward across that great expanse in the direction of his home, mother, wife, and tender babe, he composed a piece of poetry which he afterward showed me, but I do not know if it was preserved through the war. If so, I would like to embody it in this sketch. It was full of love and emotion for his wife and mother. But alas! this was the nearest that he ever came to them. Major Guthrie was with his command in all the battles and skirmishes in the Georgia campaign from Dalton to Jonesboro.

On the 31st of August, 1864, this gallant young major, who was a knight among knights, and the equal of any in cool courage that ever donned the Gray, gave up a life that was well rounded in Christian virtues. Distinguished by patriotic devotion and courageous acts on the field of battle, he was a most Christian soldier whose soul was always overflowing with love for his beautiful Southland, for whose cause he was ever ready to do or die. In the death of Major John F. Guthrie on the fatal field of Jonesboro, Ga., Aug. 31, 1864, the Southland laid upon her sacrificial altar one of her best and bravest soldiers.

May the laurels grow green over his grave, and his ashes rest amidst much love. May also the genial rays of our Southern

sun keep the magnolias, which are an emblem of our Southland, perpetually blooming over its gallant dead.

MAJOR H. CLAY LUCAS.

Major H. C. Lucas was born in Elizabethtown, Ky., Aug. 9, 1834, and was educated at Nashville, and attended the Law School at Lebanon, Tenn., 1858-59.

About May 1, 1861, he joined a company that was being raised by Capt. Jas. L. Rice, in and around Nashville, which was named the Sewanee Rifles. It was afterward Company C of the Twentieth Tennessee Infantry Regiment, and was the color company of the regiment.

"Clay" Lucas, as he was called, was a noted personage, not only in his own company, but in the regiment at large. He began his military career as a private, but was soon detailed from the ranks and attached to the staff of that venerable old soldier, Major Lucien Brown (with the rank of sergeant), who was brigade commissary of Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer's brigade. This worthy detail was made on account of Lucas' superior qualifications, for he was splendidly educated and well versed in literature. His memory of events and his description of what he had seen and read would challenge the admiration of almost any one.

I first became acquainted with Sergeant Lucas under rather peculiar circumstances. In the latter part of 1861, I was second sergeant of Company B of the Twentieth Tennessee Infantry, but was acting in the capacity of orderly sergeant, whose duty it was to draw the rations for the company and divide them among the men. It was the duty of Sergeant Lucas to issue the rations to the different regiments by companies, and each company was called alphabetically, such as A, B, C, and if the sergeant of Company A was not promptly on time, Company B's sergeant would take his place, and so on through the ten companies. Sergeant Lucas said that as a number of sergeants representing their companies were so often behind time, and that the sergeant of Company B was always on hand, he would call Company B first all the time. This I took as a reward for promptness in duty, and it gave Company B a big advantage

over the other companies, which resulted in some dissatisfaction, but Company B got her rations first from that time on.

An intimacy sprang up between Lucas and myself that lasted through the war, and until Major Lucas' death in 1874.

At the reorganization of the Confederate Army at Corinth, May 8, 1862, Clay Lucas was elected captain of Company C, and well did he and his company carry and defend the colors of the grand old regiment for three long and bloody years. I have on more than one occasion seen Captain Lucas dressed in full uniform of Confederate gray, and thought him to be as fine a type of Confederate chivalry as marked the earth. He would carry himself so proudly on the eve of battle that he would remind you of a game cock entering the ring for a death struggle.

Captain Lucas and the colors were the center guide of the regiment. Captain W. G. Ewin, of Company A, who was the embodiment of courage, was the right guide, and I was the left guide; and how it would make my heart throb as we would go into battle, and keep in line with those two heroes.

Captain Lucas commanded his company in the battles of Vicksburg, Miss., Baton Rouge, La., Murfreesboro, Hoover's Gap, Chickamauga, and in all of the battles of the Georgia campaign, to Jonesboro, where the knightly Major Guthrie was killed, and Captain Lucas being senior captain, was promoted to major. He acted in that capacity on the bloody fields of Franklin and Nashville. In the latter Col. Wm. Shy was killed, and that left Major Lucas as senior officer. He carried the remnant of the old guard out of Tennessee, and followed Gen. Joe Johnston into the Carolinas.

He returned home after the war, and began farming near Nashville, at which occupation he continued until his death in 1874.

ALBERT ROBERTS.

Written by PAUL ROBERTS.

Albert Roberts was born in Nashville, April 11, 1835. His father was John Roberts, an Englishman who had learned the printing business in London, and was regarded as the best printer

who ever came to Nashville. He was one of the proprietors of the Republican *Banner,* one of the old Whig papers published at the capital of Tennessee.

Albert received his education at the "old field schools" in and around Nashville, having by his sixteenth year acquired as thorough a knowledge of the classics and mathematics as would at this day have entitled him to an A. B. if not an A. M. degree.

He entered his father's office as an apprentice, and thoroughly learned all that was practical in the "art preservative." Upon reaching his majority he spent part of one year in the capitals of Europe, serving as correspondent of the *Banner,* and other periodicals. Upon his return home he became a city reporter on the *Banner,* and many of his sketches, especially his humorous "Police Court Reports," are well remembered by the survivors of those times.

In 1861, as Second Lieutenant of Company A, Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, he was mustered into the army. He was placed in charge of the company school of the officers of the regiment, and to him and Thos. B. Smith, a lieutenant of Company B, was due the proficiency in military drill and discipline attained by the Twentieth which added so much to its prestige and efficiency.

At the battle of Fishing Creek, in the absence of Captain Foster of Company A, and on the death of Lieutenant Bailey Peyton, who fell early in the action, the command of Company A devolved on "John Happy," as he was then far and widely known throughout army and civil circles, by reason of his witty newspaper correspondence over this *nom de plume.* He gallantly led his company throughout the remainder of the battle, and on the weary and trying retreat to north Mississippi. Just prior to the battle of Shiloh, he was promoted to the captaincy of the company, and headed it in its gallant and heroic discharge of duty from the beginning to the end of that fearful contest.

When the Twentieth was re-organized, in May, 1862, in front of Corinth, he with his company was out on the picket line, and the field and staff were elected in his absence and that of his company. Declining to remain in command of Company A, he resigned his position, and after serving a few months as a volunteer with Gen. John Morgan, being with his command when he

captured Gallatin and also when Gen. Adam Johnson was captured at Hartsville, he turned his attention to his life-work, for which he was so admirably adapted by nature and inclination. He was associated with Frank M. Paul and Henry Waterson on the Chattanooga *Rebel* until it fell by the wayside. He next accepted a position on the editorial staff of the *Southern Confederacy*, published at Atlanta. On the surrender of Atlanta and the collapse of that paper, he was attached to the Montgomery *Mail*, and was a member of its editorial corps when the war ceased.

He accompanied a body of leading citizens of Montgomery to Washington, just after the cessation of hostilities, in order to see what could be done toward rehabilitating the South, which he loved so well. He returned to Montgomery, and served on the staff of the *Mail* until the summer of 1866, when he with his father, Henry Waterson, and Geo. E. Purvis, resusticated the old *Daily Republican Banner*. After the death of his father and the removal of Mr. Waterson to Louisville, he with his brothers and Mr. Purvis consolidated the *Banner* with the Nashville *Union* and *American*, then under the control of Col. John C. Burch. He continued with the newspaper, the Nashville *American*, until shortly after the death of Colonel Burch, when he was appointed United States Consul at Hamilton, Ontario, by President Cleveland, to fill a vacancy. He held this position to the close of President Cleveland's first term, receiving most flattering testimonials from the citizens of Hamilton, among them being a handsome gold watch and chain, and a series of "Resolutions" beautifully engrossed on parchment, and signed by the leading citizens.

After his term as consul was completed, he returned to his native city, and purchased an interest in the *Southern Lumberman*, becoming one of its editors, on which he was engaged until his death, which occurred at his residence near Nashville, July 15, 1895. His widow, a daughter of Dr. John Scott, of Montgomery, Ala., a surgeon in the C. S. A., and five children, two sons and three daughters, with four grandchildren, all living in Nashville, survive him.

The *American*, in its editorial mention of his death, said of him:—

"As a journalist, a representative of his country in a foreign land, and a citizen and patriot, there was no truer man. Long one of the brightest of Tennessee's galaxy of newspaper men, he left his impress on the history of the times, and he will be missed by many who knew him in the days when he held sway in the columns of the old Republican *Banner* of blessed memory, and later in the *American*. Mr. Roberts became known to thousands of people by his writings under the *nom de plume* of 'John Happy,' and up to this good day there has been no writer connected with the Tennessee press who enjoyed a larger clientele than the ever genial 'John Happy.' However Mr. Roberts' fame was not built so much on his ability as a satirical, pungent, and witty writer, as upon the fact that he was a journalist with a clear head, sound judgment, and a forceful pen."

Among the many tributes paid him after his death, the following extract from the "Resolutions" adopted by the representative newspaper writers of Nashville, is added:—

"The schooling received by Mr. Roberts in the printing office was in the days of Tennessee's great men, who frequently made headquarters in the editorial rooms of the newspapers of that time. Boy as he was, the spirit of patriotism and love of country was instilled into his young heart, and the words of statesmen opened up before him a path that he seemed more than willing to follow.

"The life of Mr. Roberts in the army, his various compositions for opera and song, and his connection with the daily press of this city, have been lengthily referred to in the notices of his death by the *American* and the *Banner,* and it is unnecessary to say more. At all times he was an honor to the profession of journalism. As editor, he was painstaking and conscientious. As a writer, he wielded a vigorous pen, exhibited great force in what he penned, never vindictive, but on the contrary, was ever conservative, and endeavored by facts and persuasive evidence to touch upon the event of the times, relying upon the reader to give a verdict for his side of the question. As a humorist, he enjoyed the field to himself for a long time, and in this he made his reputation. It was, in fact, his specialty, and unfortunate was it for him that he discarded the humorous for something

in another line. Had he continued in that field for which he seemed gifted, no man in the whole land would have been his equal during his palmy days. But for this he was not responsible. He was called to another place, where his services were demanded by fellow-associates, and he responded to the call of duty. He never shirked from any position, and as managing editor and editorial writer he enlisted all the ability and talent which he possessed. He was always a hard worker, and had such a love for journalism that he was seldom absent from his post."

There is a profound lesson in the career of this Southern gentleman and ex-Confederate. He ran the gamut of human experience, and covered every phase of life in the short space allowed him. He quickly and entirely responded to all demands made upon him, from seeing a friend through a duel to writing a humorous travesty with a view of raising revenue to "buy all the cork legs in Cork" for his unfortunate fellow Confederates. He possessed many elements of greatness, yet withal such modesty as caused him to withdraw from the field of opportunity, public applause, and public favor, which his own genius and ability had created.

His most conspicuous trait was great goodness of heart, and constant amiability. Here, at least, was a gentle but valiant soul who loved his country and his fellow man, his work and not applause, the doing of good things with no thought of the rewards, duty well performed, with a fine scorn for material profit. As a friend Waterson said of him, "There are lessons and lessons, and the modern newspaper with its myriad hands and eyes, and its reckless disregard of things that ought to be sacred, may take a hint from this simple and wise man, who knew more about the practice and ethics of the craft than many who flourish in the temples and call themselves great."

CAPTAIN WILLIAM G. EWIN.

Written by Rev. J. H. McNeilly, of Glen Leven Church, Nashville, Tenn.

William Goodwin Ewin was the second son of Mr. John H. Ewin, who was for many years the head of a wholesale drug

business in Nashville; and who gave two sons to the cause of the South in her struggle for independence.

The older son, Colonel Henry Ewin, was mortally wounded in the battle of Murfreesboro, where his conspicuous courage won for him promotion to a position which he did not live to fill.

The younger son was born in Davidson county, Tennessee, Jan. 17, 1842, and received the usual education of a youth in his circumstances. After leaving school, he managed his father's farm for a short time, until the beginning of the Civil War in 1861.

He was a young man of fine address and winning manners, very popular with all who knew him. He had been brought up to regard honor and duty above all else, and when Tennessee seceded and the governor called for troops to defend the South from invasion, he recognized the call as the voice of patriotism, and responded at once with all the ardor and enthusiasm of a brave and generous spirit.

He enlisted as a private in the Hickory Guards, and was made orderly sergeant of the company, which afterward became Company A of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment of Infantry. He was with his company in the arduous service of the first year of the war, where the battles of Fishing Creek and Shiloh tested the qualities of his regiment, and gave it a reputation for courage second to none.

When the army was reorganized after the battle of Shiloh, Sergeant Ewin was elected captain of his company, a tribute to his character as a man and a soldier. He showed his fitness for command, not only by his coolness and courage on the field, and his kind care for his men, but also by the strictness of his discipline, so that his company was accounted one of the best drilled in the army. He shared all the privations and hardships of his men with bright cheerfulness, and was with his regiment in the many engagements in which it won renown as the best regiment in the division. In the bloody battles of the Army of Tennessee from Fishing Creek to Murfreesboro and Chickamauga, and in the long-drawn conflict from Dalton to Kennesaw, Captain Ewin led his company with distinguished courage.

In the battle of Kennesaw Mountain on the 27th of June, 1864,

he was severely wounded, making it necessary to amputate his leg. He was thus rendered unable for future service in the field, but for the remaining months of the war he continued his connection with the army, unwilling to be discharged, and ready to render any service he could to the cause he loved so dearly.

When the end came, in May, 1865, he came home as a paroled prisoner, and cheerfully set himself to do his duty as a citizen under the changed conditions. With the same courage which had marked his career as a soldier, he went to work with energy to make a living under adverse circumstances.

On Nov. 23, 1865, he was married to Miss Sallie House, the daughter of Mrs. John Thompson of Davidson county, Tennessee. She lived only a few years, leaving at her death a daughter, now Mrs. E. L. McNeilly. Captain Ewin was afterward married to Miss Martha Hillman, a daughter of Mr. George Hillman. She with several children survive him.

Captain Ewin's popularity with his fellow citizens was attested by his being twice elected clerk of the county court of Davidson county. The duties of the office were discharged with characteristic fidelity.

After his retirement from office, he engaged for a while in the hardware trade. He then removed to Humphreys county, Tennessee, and took charge of the Hurricane mills, a large establishment for manufacturing woolen cloth. He continued at the mills until his death, on the 30th of July, 1882.

Captain Ewin was a fine type of the class of men who defended the South in the great war. He was a man of unflinching courage, of devotion to principle, of strict integrity, of a high sense of honor. He was genial, warm hearted, kind, and courteous. He won and held friends.

He was a consistent member of the Christian Church, sincere, earnest, and faithful, and he died in the hope of a blessed immortality. His memory will ever be cherished by his old comrades as a soldier true and tried, and by his associates in civil life as a citizen honorable and upright. His friends in the intimacy of social life remember him as a gentleman without stain or reproach, a kind, loving, and gracious friend.

CAPT. W. W. SHUTE.

W. W. Shute was a son of John A. and Nancy Wadkins Shute, and was born near the Hermitage, Dec. 3, 1834. He was educated at Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn., and graduated from this institution in 1855.

In April, 1861, W. W. Shute joined a company that was being raised in Nashville by Capt. W. L. Foster, which afterward became Company A of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment. W. W. Shute was elected third sergeant of this company at its organization, and in February, 1862, was promoted to third lieutenant, and as such went through the battle of Shiloh.

At the reorganization of the army, May 8, 1862, at Corinth, he was elected second lieutenant, and in a short time was promoted to first lieutenant. He served as such until the Georgia campaign, when he was appointed Aid de Camp with the rank of captain on the staff of Col. T. B. Smith, who was commanding Tyler's old brigade, but this commission did not reach him, and he was ordered back to the command of his old company, which he retained until the final consolidation of the Tennessee troops in March, 1865, near Bentonville, N. C. when Lieut W. W. Shute was put in command of the remnants of three Tennessee regiments, viz., the Second, Tenth, and Twentieth, and these three regiments formed a part of the Fourth Tennessee Consolidated Regiment under the command of Col. Anderson Searcy, of Gen. J. B. Palmer's brigade, and in this command W. W. Shute surrendered at Greensboro, N. C., April 26, 1865. He then returned to his old home, and went to farming, and in 1880 married Mrs. Beard, and moved to Sumner county. Captain Shute has two children, and now lives in Nashville.

WILLIAM H. HILL.

Written by DEERING J. ROBERTS, M. D

"Major" Hill, as the boys always called him, was born in Williamson Co., Tenn., in 1837. He enlisted in Company A, "Hickory Guards," as it was termed before it became a part of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment. He served faithfully as a soldier, performing satisfactorily every duty assigned to him

during the four years' struggle, and in accordance with the last "General Orders" issued by that illustrious hero, Gen. Jos. E. Johnston, he then returned to his home and made as good a citizen as he had been a soldier.

In 1865 he married Miss Katherine J. Ewing, of Kemper Co., Miss., to whom were born five children, viz., W. T. Hill, of Denison, Texas; Medora C., Albert E., and Louis B. Hill, of Nashville; and Ed. McMurray Hill of Omaha, Neb., all of whom, with their mother, survive. William H. Hill died in the city of Nashville, May 10, 1881, respected and esteemed by all who knew him.

CAPT. C. S. JOHNSON.

Chas. S. Johnson was born July 27, 1833, in the sixth civil district of Davidson county, Tenn., and was educated at Mt. Juliet, Wilson Co., of the same State. He joined the Southern army as a private in Capt. Joel A. Battle's company in April, 1861.

After the battle of Fishing Creek, in which engagement the color guard of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment suffered severely, C. S. Johnson was appointed by Colonel Battle as one of its members, and he went with the colors through the bloody battle of Shiloh. At the reorganization of the Confederate Army at Corinth, May 8, 1862, he was elected first lieutenant of his old company, and served as such until after the battle of Hoover's Gap, June 23, 1863; when Major Claybrooke was killed and Captain Guthrie was promoted to Major, he became captain of Company B, in which position he served until the close of the war.

On the night before Gen. Joe Johnston's army surrendered at Greensboro, N. C., a report was circulated that General Forrest and his cavalry were going to the trans-Mississippi department, and would continue the war, and those who wanted to go with him were advised to get horses and come on. So Capt. C. S. Johnson had decided that he would not surrender with Gen. Johnston, and left the army that night to join General Forrest in the West; but he could not get a horse, and five days later, when

he had gotten as far west as Atlanta, he was compelled to surrender. He accepted his parole May 2, 1865, after making as faithful and as conscientious a soldier as his gallant regiment had in its ranks.

After the war he married Miss Bettie Johnson of Williamson county, and raised a large family, mostly girls. Captain Johnson has nearly lost his eyesight, and now lives in Nashville, honored and respected by his many friends.

W. J. MCMURRAY, M. D.

W. J. McMurray, a soldier and physician, was born in Williamson County, Tennessee, Sept. 22, 1842, of Scotch Irish parentage. His father, John McMurray, was an educated gentleman, and taught school in Williamson county in the forties, and would teach only young men. His father, Sam McMurray, married Luvicy Morton, and his father was killed by the Indians in March, 1792, near Donaldson Station, Tenn. He married a Miss Kincade in Kentucky, and moved to this place in 1790.

The subject of this sketch lost his father when only ten years of age. His mother, *nee* Miss Mary J. Still, was born near Danville, Va., but was raised in Tennessee. In 1852 she was left a widow with seven children.

This young soldier said that when he was a child he often heard his father speak of the war that was soon to take place between the North and the South. So when the first bugle blast swept over the hills of Williamson county, this country boy was among the first to respond to its call, and joined a company that was being raised by Capt. Joel A. Battle at Nolensville in April, 1861. This company was afterward Company B of the Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

This boy soldier took a fancy to the drill and the duties of a soldier's life, and soon won the esteem of his comrades and the confidence of his superior officers. While the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was camped at Cumberland Ford, Ky., in October, 1861, a vacancy occurred for first corporal, and W. J. McMurray was elected. Some two months later a vacancy occurred for second sergeant of Company B, to act in the capacity

of orderly sergeant, as our orderly sergeant, John F. Guthrie, had been sent to the hospital with typhoid fever, and McMurray was promoted to this position. We can say of him that he could call the name of every man with his initials at any hour of the night without the company roll, and there were over one hundred names on the roll.

After his regiment had gone through the battles of Laurel Bridge, Wild Cat, Fishing Creek, and Shiloh, on May 8, 1862, all of the companies and the regiment were reorganized.

W. J. McMurray was elected second lieutenant of Company B, and at Dalton, Ga., 1864, was promoted to first lieutenant. In Breckenridge's charge at Murfreesboro, Jan. 2, 1863, he was wounded in the left breast, and was left on the field that night in the rain. At bloody Chickamauga he was thought to have been mortally wounded, and was again left on the field for the night, Sept. 19, 1863. At Resaca, in May, 1864, while the Federal General McPherson was hurling the heavy legion of his corps against Bate's division of Hardee's corps, our Kentucky brigade of Bate's division was bearing the brunt of this assault, and the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was held in reserve for the Kentuckians. When the noble Kentuckians were about to be overpowered, the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment was ordered to their support, and it was here on this field of carnage that we claim for Lieutenant McMurray a feat of daring and cool courage that we believe was not equalled by any one else in either the Federal or the Confederate armies during the war, and but few instances are recorded in the armies of the world.

As the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment formed in line and moved into action, Lieutenant McMurray was the left guide of the regiment and Henry K. Moss was the next in line on his right. Our line moved splendidly to its work, and shot and shell from the enemy's batteries and infantry were sweeping our ranks, and men were falling thick and fast. Just at this exciting moment, Lieutenant McMurray began to sing in a clear shrill voice one of the verses of that beautiful Southern war song:—

"The Home-Spun Dress."

"And now, young men, a word to you
If you would win the fair,
Go to the field where honor calls
And win your lady there.
Remember that our brightest smiles
Are for the true and brave,
And that our tears are all for those
Who fill a soldier's grave."

Henry K. Moss, who witnessed this cool daring in the face of death, surrounded by the dead and dying, says: "It was a deed that should go down the ages and be recorded in history." The next day Lieutenant McMurray was wounded in the left leg, near the same spot where he displayed such coolness the day before.

Nor is this all: when the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment broke camp and marched out to meet Sherman's forces at Rocky Face Gap at Dalton, Ga., and lay down in line of battle, as the first shell of the Georgia campaign passed over this gallant regiment, Lieutenant McMurray was heard to say, "Welcome, thrice welcome, thou unfriendly visitor." Into this engagement, this boy had hobbled on a stick, from the effects of a wound received at Chickamauga seven months before. . .

Lieutenant McMurray was regarded as a fine disciplinarian and one of the best drilled officers in his regiment. He was in almost every battle that his regiment was in up to the 5th of August, 1864, when he lost his left arm in front of Atlanta. Dr. D. J. Roberts, now of Nashville, who was then surgeon of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, amputated his arm on the field. He was sent to the fair grounds hospital at Macon, Ga., and there took gangrene in his stump, which was cauterized three mornings in succession with nitric acid. He recovered, and reported back to his command for duty while Hood's army was at Tupelo, north Mississippi, in January, 1865, and was recommended for post duty. He surrendered with General Forrest's command at Marion, Ala., May 17, 1865, and reached home June 2, having been in the Confederate service four years,

X Forrest's Command, Surrenderd, at Gainsboro, Ala. Q.C.S., was there;

one month, and fifteen days, and having been wounded four times, and yet hardly out of his teens.

You could scarcely expect anything else of Lieutenant McMurray than a good soldier, when on the morning he left home for the war, his mother told him that she would rather see him brought home dead than to know of his disgracing himself. At the battle of Wild Cat, 1861, as his company started in, he asked J. M. Smith, who was by his side and had seen service in Mexico, to shoot him if he started to run.

When Lieutenant McMurray returned home at the close of the war with a wound in each leg, one in the body, and his left arm off, and he without one dollar, he went to work in the field to make a living and to get money to finish his education. He entered the Nolensville Academy under Prof. Joseph D. Didiot of Paris, France, and graduated as valedictorian of his class in 1867. He then read medicine under Drs. W. M. Clark and Thos. G. Shannon at Nolensville, and two years later graduated in medicine at the University of Nashville, and was chosen by a unanimous vote of a class of seventy-two graduates to deliver the valedictory address.

Dr. McMurray began the practice of medicine in 1869. In 1872 he was elected by the county court physician to the Davidson county jail, a position he held for seven years. In 1874 he was appointed a member of the Nashville City Board of Health; in 1876 was a member of the board of aldermen and vice-president of the Nashville Medical Society. He was for a number of years the Democratic chairman of his ward, and in 1888 was chairman of the Davidson county Democratic Executive Committee. In 1890 he was chairman of the County Campaign Committee, when his party won against thousands of boodle money. He held the position of physician to the Tennessee Industrial School for twelve years, and was appointed by Gov. Robt. L. Taylor on the State Board of Health, 1897, and succeeded himself twice on the board by appointments from Gov. Benton McMillin, and has been president of the board for the past five years.

Dr. McMurray has been a member of the Tennessee Historical Society for twenty years, and chairman of its History Committee

for the past year. He is now one of the chiefs of the "Scots of Tennessee."

But Dr. McMurray's greatest work has been in behalf of his old comrades. He was a charter member of the Frank Cheatham Bivouac, was the first chairman of the Committee on Credentials, which he held for four years. He was then made president of the Bivouac, became president of the State Association of Old Soldiers, and was re-elected by the association as a member of the board of trustees of the Tennessee Confederate Soldiers' Home; he has been a member of the executive board since the foundation of the home, and was its president four years. Dr. McMurray is now and has been for ten years Surgeon General on the staff of Lieut.-Gen. Stephen D. Lee of the United Confederate Veterans. He wrote the sketch of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment in Dr. J. B. Lindsley's "Military Annals of Tennessee."

In 1873 Dr. McMurray married Miss Francis Marion McCampbell, daughter of Hon. Thomas C. McCampbell, a State Senator from the Knoxville District in 1845. She was graduated at Ward's Female Academy in 1872, and is now a member of the Executive Board of the Ladies' Hermitage Association and president of the Nashville Chapter No. 1 Daughters of the Confederacy.

To this union was born only one child, Adele Morton, who was married to Charles L. Ridley, Jr., in 1897.

We, the undersigned, who were raised and soldiered with Dr. W. J. McMurray, have written this sketch:—

CAPT. FRANK BATTLE.
LIEUT. T. G. WILLIAMS.
PRIVATE HENRY K. MOSS.

LIEUT. THOMAS G. WILLIAMS.

Lieut. Thomas G. Williams was born in the east end of Williamson Co., Tenn., May 11, 1839. His family was among the first settlers of this section of country. He was educated near his old home, and was teaching school when the war broke out in 1861. He joined the first company raised in his section of country, which afterward became Company B of the Twentieth Tennessee Volun-

teer Infantry Regiment. While at Cumberland Ford, Ky., October, 1861, Thomas G. Williams was promoted from the ranks to corporal, and at the reorganization of the Confederate army at Corinth, May 8, 1862, he was elected third lieutenant, and at Dalton, Ga., 1864, was promoted to second lieutenant. This faithful officer was with his regiment in almost every battle from Wild Cat, 1861, to Nashville, 1864, and was always at his post of duty.

He was wounded in Breckinridge's charge at Murfreesboro, and again at bloody Chickamauga. Soon after the close of the war, in 1865, he married Miss Elizabeth M. Jordon, and has made a faithful husband, an industrious, prosperous, and highly respected citizen. To this union were born twelve children, eleven of whom are now living.

Lieutenant Williams was one of the best educated men in his company. He has educated his eleven children, and has a competency left to ease him and his faithful wife down the shady side of life.

TIMOTHY JOHNSON.

Timothy Johnson was born near Castalian Springs, Summer Co., Tenn., Oct. 30, 1840. His father afterward moved to Nashville, and was one of the principal men engaged in building the stone piers of the old suspension bridge, as well as the stone work of the Nashville Military Academy. He afterward moved with his family to near Concord Church, in the sixth district of Davidson Co., where "Tim," as we called him, grew to young manhood.

It was here in April, 1861, when the dark clouds of war hung like a heavy vail over our Southland, that Tim Johnson decided at once to whom he owed allegiance, and joined Capt. Joel A. Battle's company, which became Company B of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment. He was wounded three times.

He was a member of our regimental infirmary corps, at Chickamauga, and did his work so well at the battle of Resaca, Ga., when Tyler's brigade of Bate's division was hotly engaged, and had two men killed on this field who had charge of our brigade infirmary corps, that he was appointed by General Bate to take

charge of Tyler's brigade infirmary corps, which he held to the close of the war, and surrendered at Greensboro, N. C., April 26, 1861. I was wounded on four separate fields, and Tim Johnson helped to carry me off of three of them.

After the war, he arrived home May 23, 1865, like the rest of us with nothing save honor, and then another struggle took place for a living, and nobly did he meet it. In 1876 he was appointed deputy sheriff by Frank Woodall, and served a full term, and was then elected sheriff of Davidson Co., but did not stand for a second term.

Mr. Johnson represented his county in the State Legislature for 1877 and 1878. He is now serving his second term as Jury Commissioner of Davidson Co. We are glad to say of this faithful soldier and good citizen, that he now lives near his old home in the sixth civil district of Davidson Co., on his farm, enjoying the fruits of a well-rounded life, surrounded by a happy family.

DAVID G. KING

David Gooch King was born in September, 1840, near Nolensville, Williamson county, Tenn. He was the son of George P. and Lucinda Tate Gooch King. His mother died when he was three days old, and the infant was taken and raised to manhood by Mrs. Elizabeth Ridley, an aunt. His father went with a prospecting party to Mexico when the child was quite young, and was there murdered by the Mexicans.

This young patriot, in whose bosom burned that glow of Southern enthusiasm, joined the company that was raised by Capt. Joel A. Battle, at Nolensville, in April, 1861, and followed the fortunes of the Twentieth Tennessee around to Chickamauga, where on Sept. 19, 1863, in that desperate charge of Gen. A. P. Stewart's division, he received his death wound. He was carried from this bloody field to Atlanta, took gangrene in his wound, and died Oct. 9, 1863. He was buried in Oakland Cemetery, at that place, where a small marble shaft that was erected by Mrs. Fannie Milledge tells of a Tennessee boy who gave his life for our Southern cause.

David Gooch King came of good parentage, than which, on the Gooch side, there was none better in the State.

ADJUTANT JAS. W. THOMAS.

James W. Thomas was born in Nashville in 1838, and died in 1889. He served for some time as private and sergeant in Company C, and at the reorganization of the regiment was made adjutant, and served as such until disabled by wounds received at Hoover's Gap.

He was a man of great popularity, and all the members of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment remembered him with pride and affection. His personal courage was of the highest order; "Jim" Thomas was always in front in time of danger.

At Murfreesboro he left a sickbed to be with his command during the battle, and stayed with them during that trying week, while scarcely able to sit on his horse.

At Hoover's Gap, while passing through the thicket on that steep hill-side, the regiment seemed about to stop, and to stop then meant disaster to that wing of the army. Adjutant Thomas, who was in his position just behind the colors, rushed through the ranks to the front, assisting the ever gallant Col. T. B. Smith in his efforts on the right, urging and encouraging the boys to such an extent that they followed in a charge that swept the Federals back. He was shot down during the charge, and for a moment seemed dead. He fell upon his face, but with a desperate effort twisted over, and waving his sword above him exclaimed, "Go on, boys, don't stop for me. Go on and drive them back." An effort was made to carry him from the field upon the repulse of the regiment, but he was in such mortal agony that he made the men leave him, thinking death would come in a few moments. He was removed that night by the Federals, and treated by them with the utmost kindness. He was allowed to be taken to the home of his uncle, W. B. Cooper, near Nashville, for treatment. His wounds seemed to be healing rapidly, but upon one of his visits his family physician and life-long friend, Dr. T. L. Maddin, who had been permitted by the Federal authorities to take charge of his case, discovered that an aneurism was forming upon the

main artery near the heart, which would certainly destroy his life if unchecked. He told him his condition and that his only chance was an operation, the result of which was extremely doubtful. The operation was performed, a very rare and difficult one, by Dr. Maddin, assisted by some Federal surgeons, and after months of suffering he recovered sufficiently to be removed to Fort Delaware prison. He was discharged near the close of the war, but was never able to do active duty again.

He never recovered fully from the effects of the wound, and died from chronic disease brought about by the hardships of army life. He was elected State Treasurer during General Bate's administration as Governor, and died while serving in that capacity, leaving a wife and six children.

J. L. COOPER.

James L. Cooper was born in Nashville, July 19, 1844, and with one exception, was the youngest member of Company C. He is the only survivor of five first cousins who were connected with the Twentieth Tennessee. The others were Litton Bostick, who fought gallantly as a volunteer in Company C at Shiloh, and was afterward made aid by General Granbury, and was killed at Atlanta on the 22nd of July; Abe Bostick of Company C was transferred to the Seventh Tennessee, and was killed at the battle of Seven Pines near Richmond; James H. Thomas, a sketch of whom appears in this book; and William H. Robinson, who was transferred to Forrest's cavalry, then made captain, and was badly wounded and captured at Baker's X Roads. Two of the cousins were killed in battle, the other three badly wounded, captured, and served long terms in prison.

James L. Cooper was wounded and captured at Fishing Creek, was confined at Camp Chase until August, 1862, then exchanged and rejoined the regiment at Jackson, Miss. He was badly wounded at Missionary Ridge, recovering just in time to be hit again at Resaca, and received a fourth wound at Franklin. At Resaca he was shot through the face and neck while the regiment was climbing to the top of a little hill behind some flimsy rail piles. The position was just over the hill and terribly exposed.

Captain Ewin, Lieutenant Shute, and Captain Clay Lucas wanted to send him to the rear where he could be attended to, but he told them, "No, I will die in a few minutes, stretch me out and let me alone. I can't move." About that time a shell from a newly located Yankee battery exploded among the rails, sending some of them fifty feet in the air, but before they hit the ground Cooper was up and moving to the rear, and if a bullet passed him going over the crest of that hill, it must have started first.

Shortly before the battle of Chickamauga he was made first sergeant of Company C, and served in that capacity until July, 1864, when he was made Aid de Camp by Brig.-Gen. Tyler for "gallant and meritorious conduct." Gen. Tyler being disabled by wounds received at Missionary Ridge, he served as Aid to Gen. T. B. Smith, who commanded the brigade during General Tyler's absence, and was paroled at Greensboro, Ga., after the end of the war.

He is now living near Nashville, in the eighteenth district, engaged in farming and dairying.

PHILIP N. MATLOCK.

Written by DEERING J. ROBERTS, M. D.

Philip N. Matlock was reared in the fifth civil district of Davidson county, about nine miles from Nashville, near the Murfreesboro Pike. He was the only male child in a family of five, and was educated at Franklin College, then under the care of Talbert Fanning.

He joined the Harding Artillery, commanded by Captain Monteserrat, in August, 1861. In January 1862, the battery was divided into two companies, one commanded by Captain Baxter and the other by Captain Baker, he going with Baker's company. After the battle of Shiloh, in which his battery was engaged, Bragg going into Kentucky, his battery remained with General Price in Mississippi, and was engaged in the battles of Corinth and Iuka. On the retreat from Corinth, October, 1862, the guns were captured with a part of the men at Hatchie River. He and others who escaped were consolidated with an Alabama battery.

At Grenada, Miss., he with Andrew Moore was transferred to

Capt. Nathan Carter's scouts, and was sent into Middle Tennessee to obtain information. He returned to Murfreesboro just before the battle there, and not being able to find Captain Carter, he went into the first day's fight with Company C, of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, having many acquaintances in that company. He was wounded in the right shoulder, and was right by the side of John Smith, brother of the colonel of the regiment, when the latter received his death wound. On his recovery Matlock returned to this regiment, and remained with it until July following, so was with Company C in the battle of Hoover's Gap, retreating with it to Chattanooga.

On reaching this little city, then in the throes of war, he again reported to Captain Carter, and was commissioned a lieutenant in his company of scouts.

On Thursday following the battle of Chickamauga he with five others of his company was ordered to go into the rear of the Federal army, and ascertain how many troops were on the railroad between Nashville and Bowling Green. On this trip, on the Murfreesboro Pike near Nashville, he met Sam Davis, who was also on secret service. With Davis and Jas. Castleman of his company, he went into the city of Nashville, and all remained in the city, which was filled with Federal soldiers, for two days and one night, stopping at night at the old St. Cloud Hotel, corner of Summer and Church streets. The second night they left the city, each one mounted on a good horse, with saddle, bridle, and a good pair of army pistols, which they had secured from Federal soldiers. This was the last that he saw of Sam Davis.

In 1864, after much hazardous duty with others of Carter's scouts, the Colonel had received such acquisitions from the young men of Middle Tennessee that the command was organized into a regiment. This regiment was in the advance all the time when Hood came into Tennessee until Franklin was reached, and followed the army out of Tennessee on Hood's retreat, but was left in North Alabama, and did not go on to the Carolinas. The regiment surrendered at Gainsville, Ala., and received their parole, there being only fourteen of the original company of scouts left.

Returning home, Matlock worked awhile on his mother's farm,

and then read medicine under his uncle, Dr. A. P. Grinstead, graduating at the Nashville Medical College in 1879. After receiving his degree, he went to Obion county, and commenced the practice of medicine, succeeding exceedingly well. He became a Master Mason in 1867, and was several years Master of his lodge; he was High Priest of R. A., Eminent Commander K. T. several years, and Grand Master of the G. L. F. and A. M., of Tennessee.

He joined the Cumberland Presbyterian church, has been moderator of Obion Presbytery, and represented his presbytery several times in the General Assembly. He has a wife and an interesting family of children. A good soldier, he has made a most excellent citizen.

CAPT. P. G. SMITHSON.

Patrick Gibson Smithson was born near Peytonsville, Williamson Co., Tenn., November, 1838, the son of Mary Jane Gibson and Major Sylvanus Smithson.

Young Smithson was educated at Jackson College, Columbia, Tenn., and entered the mercantile business at the little village of Peytonsville, his home, in 1859; and it was from this place he joined the first company that was raised in this section.

When he joined the Confederate States' Army, he was young, handsome, well educated, and of magnificent physique, weighing about two hundred pounds, and would attract attention among any body of men, yet he was modest, gentle, reserved, and brave to a fault, and withal a Christian gentleman, never pushing himself forward, but always coming up to the full standard of a true Southern soldier.

His company elected Capt. W. P. Rucker to command them. It was named the Webb Guards, and at the organization of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, became Company D. P. G. Smithson served the first year of the war in this company as second corporal, on May 8, 1862, was elected first lieutenant, and was promoted to captain July 1, 1862. At the battle of Chickamauga, he was badly wounded in the knee in which he took gangrene. This ended his services as a soldier.

With an honorable record he returned home, taught school and merchandised until 1895, when he was elected commandant of the Tennessee Confederate Soldiers' Home, where he died in 1897, beloved and respected as a soldier and a gentleman.

DEWITT SMITH JOBE.

Dewitt Smith Jobe, son of Esq. E. C. Jobe and Mary Smith Jobe, was born June 4, 1840, at the little hamlet of Mechanicsville in the southwestern portion of Rutherford county, Tenn.

When the war between the States broke out in 1861, D. S. Jobe, who was young and enthusiastic, joined a company that was being raised at College Grove in Williamson county, some ten miles from his home.

This company afterward became Company D of the Twentieth Tennessee Infantry Regiment. It was with this company and regiment that D. S. Jobe served until after the battle of Murfreesboro. He was wounded and captured at the battle of Fishing Creek, and after his exchange, participated in the battle of Murfreesboro. In the spring of 1863, while Bragg's army was at Shelbyville, Gen. W. J. Hardee had Jobe detailed for secret service, in which he did a great deal of dangerous work. He did this work for General Hardee until Bragg's army fell back into Georgia, when he was transferred to Coleman's scouts. This was a secret and select organization of the most daring and trusted kind. Their duty was to stay in the rear of the Federal lines, get all the information possible, and send it to Bragg's headquarters.

In the summer of 1864, D. S. Jobe, Tom Joplin, and others came into Middle Tennessee and were scouting about College Grove, Triune, and Nolensville, in Williamson county. These three villages were about seven miles apart, and connected by the Nolensville turnpike. These scouts, when in danger, would separate. Jobe on the night of Aug. 29, 1864, rode all night, and about sunrise the next morning he called at the house of Mr. William Moss (who had two sons in Company B, Twentieth Tennessee Regiment), and got his breakfast. Mr. Moss lived about half way between Nolensville and Triune on the pike. His

house was about two hundred yards west of the pike, which ran between some very high hills.

After Jobe ate his breakfast he went about one mile west of Mr. Moss's house into a cornfield on the Sam Waters farm. Here he concealed himself and horse. At this time a party of Yankees fifteen in number were scouting in the same neighborhood, under the command of Sergeant Temple of the 115th Ohio Regiment, and to them Jobe's whereabouts was made known. They tracked his horse to the field, surrounded and captured Jobe, and when he saw he would be captured or killed, having on his person some very valuable papers that would condemn himself and others (some thought that these papers were procured by a sweetheart of his in the neighborhood), he destroyed these papers by tearing and chewing them up. After they had captured him, they tied him, and tried to make him tell the contents of the papers, but he would not. They told him they would kill him if he did not, but he still refused. They then tied a leather strap around his neck and began to choke him to death, but the brave boy in gray, who was alone, disarmed, and both hands tied, with fifteen of his armed enemies standing over him, thirsting for his blood, and telling him if he didn't tell them the contents of those papers, they would kill him,—this boy in this condition would not betray his friends or divulge his secret, but preferred death. They then beat him over the head with their guns, knocked out his upper front teeth, and dragged him by the leather strap that they had placed around his neck until he was strangled to death.

These fifteen men, who had the courage to murder one man who was tied and disarmed, went back to the pike and told some acquaintances of Jobe's what they had done, and said he was the bravest man they ever saw.

Word was sent to his home, six miles away, that he was killed, and the old servant, Frank, who had nursed him when a child, volunteered to take the wagon and go for him. He was carried to his childhood's home by his faithful old servant, and buried in the family burying grounds in the presence of his mother, father, and others. No braver soldier, no grander patriot, no truer

comrade gave up his life in this great struggle of ours for the right against the wrong, Sam Davis not excepted.

It has been said that the leader of this squad of Yankees became a raving maniac from remorse of conscience.

Dewitt Smith, a cousin of D. S. Jobe, was a member of the Forty-fifth Tennessee Regiment in Bragg's army. When he heard of the cowardly and brutal murder of his cousin, he left his command, came into Middle Tennessee, and raised the black flag, and no less than fifty Yankees paid the death penalty at the hands of this brave boy for the murder of D. S. Jobe.

After Dewitt Smith had waged his war of revenge for two months, he was surrounded by a company of Yankee cavalry at Nolensville, and while contending with them single-handed, was wounded, captured, and carried to Murfreesboro, twenty miles away, where they intended to hang him next day at noon; but before the hour of execution arrived, his brave spirit took its flight from the effects of the wounds that he had received the day before.

D. S. Jobe, Dewitt Smith, and Col. Tom Benton Smith, the last of whom on many bloody fields had led the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment to victory, were all cousins. These three men and Sam Davis was born and raised in a radius within eight miles of each other.

It was my fortune to have D. S. Jobe as a playmate before the war. I soldiered with Col. Tom Benton Smith for four years, and have spoken of the cowardly deed that was perpetrated upon him after he had surrendered on the battle field of Nashville. Dewitt Smith was shot down and captured within fifty steps of the office where I read medicine after the war. Sam Davis's father was a neighbor of my grandmother before the war. Now let me say there was never moulded in nature's cast, better material for soldiers than these four men.

LIEUT. MARK M. SANDERS.

Written by RALPH J. NEAL.

M. M. Sanders was born and raised in Rutherford Co., Tenn. He volunteered with Company E, was made second sergeant at

the organization of the company, and served with it till the close of the war. At the reorganization at Corinth, Miss., he was chosen second lieutenant of the company, was promoted to first lieutenant at Vicksburg, and served as such until the close of the war.

He was a very extraordinary soldier. He was known as the "wild man" of Company E, and it may be truthfully said he was especially wild when a fight was on. He may be called both fortunate and unfortunate; fortunate, because he was not killed, and unfortunate because he was wounded in nearly every fight. He was a "dare devil" sort of fellow, seemed delighted to make hazardous adventures. He would crawl two miles on the ground, or climb the highest tree, to get a shot at a Yankee, when his glee was at its height.

When in the thickest of the fight, his conduct was noticeable above all others in nearly every engagement. At the battle of Bentonville, N. C., he was chosen to command a lot of "galvanized Yankees," because of his daring and independent nature. At first they wavered and showed a disposition to lag back, but he got square after them, and actually "cussed" them into desperation, and a more gallant fight was seldom seen than they made on that occasion. Those fellows said that he was the bravest man that ever carried them into battle. He was wounded there, and was consequently absent from the command at the surrender.

He was boisterous and considered wild, yet he was a fine soldier and officer; the men loved him for his good qualities; he was kind and very thoughtful in regard to them. He would not require a man to do a thing he was unwilling to do himself; and he would share his last morsel with the meanest man in the company. Take him all in all, he was quite an extraordinary soldier. He lives at Ada, Indian Ty., has reared quite a large family, and makes a good citizen.

LIEUT. JOS. W. PEYTON.

Written by RALPH J. NEAL.

Jos. W. Peyton was born and reared in Rutherford Co., Tenn. When quite young he enlisted with Company E in the Twentieth

Tennessee Infantry. His first promotion was to a corporal's place. When the army was reorganized at Corinth, Miss., he was chosen third lieutenant of the company, and at Vicksburg was promoted to second lieutenant, which place he filled until killed on Sept. 19, 1863, at Chickamauga.

He was indeed an ideal, manly, and brave boy, and the true type of a gentleman; he was modest and gentle as a woman, but brave as a lion. And while we loved Lieutenant Crosthwaite so much, we loved Lieutenant Peyton none the less. He was the full embodiment of a good soldier and a true friend.

FRANK B. CROSTHWAITE.

Written by RALPH J. NEAL.

Frank Burton Crosthwaite was born in Rutherford Co., Tenn. When the war began, he was living in Iowa. He left home, business and all, and came back to his native State, and enlisted in Company E of the Twentieth Tennessee Infantry.

At the reorganization at Corinth, Miss., he was chosen first sergeant of the company. He had previously been chosen one of the color guards, which place he filled with distinction. At Vicksburg, Miss., he was promoted to third lieutenant of the company, and served in that capacity until killed at Murfreesboro, Dec. 31, 1862.

He was one of nature's noblemen. He was hardly old enough to be called a man, only about twenty,—yet he was one of the best of friends, one of the most generous of foes, and all in all a braver or more generous-hearted man or soldier could not be found.

He became impressed with the idea that he would be killed in this battle, and tried in every way to shake off the presentiment, but to no purpose. His friends tried to prevail on him not to go into the fight. Captain Ridley advised him not to go, offering to excuse him and hold him above criticism. But he preferred to give up his life to being even exposed to a shadow of criticism, and answered, "No, emphatically no. I will not accept an excuse, but will go into the fight, and die for what I know to be right."

Lieutenant Crosthwaite was not only very intellectual, but was one of the most amiable of young men. To know him was to love him, and to know him better was to love him more. Language seems inadequate to pay full tribute to such a noble youth. "Peace to his memory."

A younger brother, Bromfield, was a member of a Missouri regiment, and was killed at Corinth in the fall of 1862. He was regarded as one of the bravest and most gallant of "Pap Price's" army.

SHELTON CROSTHWAITE.

Written by RALPH J. NEAL.

Shelton Crosthwaite was born in Rutherford Co., Tenn. When the great war broke out, he came from his adopted home in Iowa, and enlisted in Company E of the Twentieth Tennessee Infantry as a private, and served as such until killed in the battle of Fishing Creek, Jan. 19, 1862. It would but mildly put it to say he was decidedly the most intellectual as well as the best informed man in the Company.

He did not seem to want promotion, and was satisfied with his position as a private. No man could possibly have displayed more heroic courage than did he on the battlefield at Fishing Creek. Early in the action he received a wound, but pressed right on, saying, "Boys, they have shot me, but I can still shoot," nor did he stop until he was pierced through by a ball, and fell dead on the field.

He was indeed a model young man, and no man could say ought against him; he was punctual, gentle, and brave. In his death Company E lost one of its best men, and the South one of its most deserving patriots.

A. J. IRWIN.

Written by RALPH J. NEAL.

Lieut. A. J. Irwin enlisted from Williamson county in Company E, Twentieth Tennessee Infantry. He was killed at the battle of Atlanta, July 22, 1864. He was promoted from first sergeant

to third lieutenant, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lieutenant Peyton.

He was a good man, a good soldier, and a good officer, and his loss was felt deeply and sorely.

WM. E. BROTHERS.

Written by RALPH J. NEAL.

W. E. Brothers was born and raised near Lavergne, Tenn., in Rutherford Co. He enlisted with Company E of the Twentieth Tennessee Infantry, and served with it until the close of the war. He was chosen third lieutenant of the company at Tullahoma, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lieut. F. B. Crosthwaite, who was killed at the battle of Murfreesboro. After the battle of Chickamauga he was promoted to second lieutenant, on account of the death of Lieut. J. W. Peyton.

Brothers was then, as he is now, an unpretentious sort of fellow. He had plenty of life and fun in him, but did not choose to put his mouth into everybody's business. He was a thinking man, and rarely failed to "catch on" to everything of importance that transpired. He was a great reader, and when not on some sort of duty, spent most of his time in reading, as a result of which, he was well-posted on all matters available to a soldier.

When a drum tapped, no man was in his harness and in line ahead of Brothers; he was in nearly every fight, and always in his proper place, regardless of danger. It would be hard to find a better soldier in the Confederate army.

He was a noble fellow, mild, brave, and generous to a fault. He was exceedingly popular in the company. Lieutenant Brothers was one of the fortunate ones. He received only two wounds during the war, one at Shiloh, and a slight one at Nashville. No man in the regiment was more exposed than he, for it is well known that he never shirked a duty from the beginning of the war to its close. He was conspicuous in battle for his coolness and good judgment. He was exempt from fool-hardiness, but for courage he was especially noted.

Just before the surrender, the Tennessee troops were consolidated into four regiments, which of necessity left a great number

of supernumerary officers. Brothers was one of these; they were allowed to chose their own branch of service, and Brothers chose old Company E, of the original Twentieth, and was paroled as a private at the end. No man can truthfully say anything that would disparage Brothers, either as a soldier or a citizen.

He lives at Wichita Falls, Texas, where he has resided for a number of years. He has reared a lovely family, of which he is justly proud.

RALPH J. NEAL.

Ralph J. Neal was born two and one half miles south of Lavergne, Rutherford Co., Tenn. and attended the neighborhood schools, but the beginning of the war found him in the Academy at Lavergne, preparing himself for college. He left school and joined Capt. J. S. Gooch's Company E, Twentieth Tennessee Infantry, and was surrendered with it by Gen. Jos. E. Johnston at Greensboro, N. C.

He was one of the fighting men of his regiment, to use an old camp phrase. He was always unfortunately blessed with good health — when a battle came off.

He was wounded at Fishing Creek, at Marietta, and on Aug. 6 in front of Atlanta. He distinguished himself on many battle fields, but especially at Murfreesboro, Franklin, and Nashville.

Along the foot of the ridge between the Granny White Pike and the Franklin Pike, he was in the rear. Again and again did he assist in rallying a few men and fighting back the enemy's advance, thus affording our army more time in which to rally at Brentwood. His conduct was heroic, and richly deserved promotion, which he would doubtless have received but for the rapid close of the war.

Neal was ever an optimist, was always looking for the bright side of the picture, and with him a defeat was only the prelude to a greater victory.

He lives on his Stone River valley farm, six miles north of Lavergne, happy with his family and the consciousness that he earned the esteem of his country and his comrades by the faithful discharge of his duties as a soldier and as a citizen. At his

home, the old Confederate is sure to meet a hearty welcome, while the sick, the poor, and the distressed are ever sure of all the relief that he can procure, and the love and sympathy that only a true comrade can give.

W. W. BATEY.

Written by RALPH J. NEAL.

Sergt. W. W. Batey was born in Marshall Co., Tenn., and reared at Tunnel Hill, Ga. He was in school at Lavergne at the breaking out of the war, and cast his lot with Company E, Twentieth Tennessee Infantry.

He was the best all-round soldier of the company. He was as good as the best in battle, fully as good in the discharge of camp duties, and the shiftiest man in the company. He was kind and courteous to all, never out of humor, and busy as a bee at all times, and was never known to shirk a duty during the war.

He was wounded at Shiloh, Chickamauga, and Nashville, was left for dead at Nashville, and was reported as such, but he still lives on his farm near Tunnel Hill, Ga., and is happy with his family, surrounded by a host of friends.

SAMUEL WALDEN.

Written by RALPH J. NEAL.

Sam'l Walden was born and raised near Lavergne, Rutherford Co., Tenn. He entered the army when a mere child, and was known in Company E as the "baby soldier" of the company. His friends treated him almost like a baby, humoring him in most things, and looking after him as they would a mere child, which he was; but no man in the company could say that he was anything but a first class soldier. No better fighter belonged to the company, and no truer man ever lived. The company was always proud of their "baby soldier."

He is yet living in Rutherford county, Tenn., honored and respected by all who know him. He has reared a large and respectable family.

JAS. K. P. RIDLEY.

Written by RALPH J. NEAL.

J. K. P. Ridley went into the army when a boy in his teens, and and made as good a soldier as belonged to Company E. He was brave and true, like unto his gallant brother, W. T. Ridley, captain of the company.

He was daring and fearless, yet a good and faithful friend. He had no patience with a man that would shirk a soldier's duty. He served until the close of the war, and no man can truthfully say he ever failed to discharge his duties as a soldier.

He still lives in Williamson Co., Tenn., and makes a good citizen.

W. A. HAMILTON.

Written by RALPH J. NEAL.

"Buck" Hamilton was one of the first men to enlist in Company E. No better man ever wore the gray. He was always at his place, and had no respect for a man who was not. He knew nothing about fear, but was always cool and collected. No more popular man belonged to the company. He never grumbled at any duty that was imposed upon him, but always went at it with a vim that meant nothing short of success. He served with Company E until the winter of 1863-64, when he was transferred to cavalry service, where he remained until surrendered under General Forrest at Gainsville, Ala.

His life as a citizen is in full keeping with his life as a soldier. All who know him love and respect him. He is one of the most charitable men known to the community.

J. HARTMAN.

Written by RALPH J. NEAL.

This work would not be complete without making some mention of the sterling qualities of "Jack" Hartman, whom all his friends dubbed "Lieutenant" Hartman. He was an ordnance

teamster, and his post of duty was near the firing line in time of battle. He was always at his post of duty, regardless of danger, and was never known to offer an excuse to avoid performing any duty imposed upon him, but went at it cheerfully. He kept the fattest team of any man in the train.

He was dearly beloved by all who knew him. He lived on his farm, three miles north of Lavergne, and was known and respected as a first-class citizen until his death, March 1, 1904.

CAPT. B. C. SEABORN.

Ben Carroll Seaborn was born in Davidson Co., Tenn., Dec. 9, 1839. His father, Jas. Seaborn, was born in Virginia. Ben received an education in the old field schools in the neighborhood where he was born.

In 1861, when every one knew that the war was on, Ben Seaborn stepped forward and offered his services to his native State, and joined a company that was being raised at the Hermitage by Capt. Timothy Dodson. This company became Company I of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment. Ben Seaborn was one of its corporals.

Just after the battle of Shiloh, April 15, 1862, he was elected orderly sergeant, and a few days later, May 8, 1862, at the reorganization, he was elected third lieutenant. He was wounded and promoted to second lieutenant at the battle of Murfreesboro, was also severely wounded and promoted to first lieutenant on the field of Chickamauga, and was afterward made captain of Company I. After the battle of Missionary Ridge he was wounded twice slightly.

Captain Seaborn surrendered with Gen. Joe Johnston at Greensboro, N. C., at the close of the struggle. He now lives in, and for several years has represented, the sixteenth district of Davidson county, in the county court.

A. L. FUQUA, M. D.

Written by DEERING J. ROBERTS, M. D.

A. L. Fuqua was born and reared in Davidson county, about nine miles from Nashville, in the Stone's River section. In May,

1861, he joined Company I, commanded by Capt. Timothy Dodson. While at Camp Trousdale he was sent home on sick furlough, and only rejoined his company on its retreat from Fishing Creek, meeting it at Livingston, Tenn. Except when sick for three weeks at Corinth, just after the battle of Shiloh, he was with his command every day until captured near Lawrenceburg, after the battle of Franklin, in which he was wounded. He participated in all the battles in which the Twentieth was engaged, viz., Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Hoover's Gap, Missionary Ridge, Chickamauga, Resaca, on the line from Dalton to Atlanta, Jonesboro, and Franklin, Tenn. He was wounded at Franklin and at Missionary Ridge. After his capture at Lawrenceburg, he was taken to Camp Morton, where he was confined until the close of the war, when he was paroled.

Returning home, he again attended school, and then studied medicine, receiving his degree of M. D. at the Medical Department of the University of Nashville. Locating near McWhirtersville, he has been continuously and regularly engaged since in the practice of his profession. His post-office address is Donelson, Tenn.

CAPTAIN ROBERT D. ANDERSON.

Written by DEERING J. ROBERTS, M. D.

The subject of this biographical sketch was born near the mouth of Turnbull Creek, on the banks of "Big Harpeth," about one mile north of Kingston Springs. His grandfather came from near Charleston, S. C., in 1798, his father, then a lad, accompanying, and they lived in the "Old Stone Fort" until 1802, when with a colony, including the Woodwards,, Pegrams, Thompsons. Myses, Dunns, and others, they moved westward to the Harpeth lands. His grandfather and father lived among the Indians until they left that section.

James Anderson, the father of "Capt. Bob," joined Capt. Allen Thompson's company of the First Tennessee Volunteers, commanded by Col. Dick Carroll, Lieut., Col. Sam Houston, Major Stump, in 1812, and was engaged in the battle of Emuckfaw. His term of enlistment having expired, he returned to his home,

and later again enlisted and served through the battle of New Orleans, receiving a sword wound in the head. After this battle he was discharged, and returned to his home on the banks of the Harpeth.

James Anderson married Miss Sarah Hughes, of Williamson county, and they had twelve children born to them, Robert D. being the ninth. In 1840 he sold his farm on the Harpeth to Wilson Thompson, and moved to Madison county, near Jackson, and lived there one year, when he returned to Middle Tennessee and bought a farm near Centreville, Hickman Co. After five years he sold this, and bought a farm in Perry county, five miles below Linden. Robert was about grown at this time, and learned the blacksmith's trade. He bought a shop at Linden, and lived there from 1850 until 1856, when he married and moved to a farm sixteen miles below Linden. This place he sold in 1860, and bought a farm and mill six miles below Linden, and was living there when the war commenced.

He helped to organize and was elected lieutenant of the "Perry Guards," Capt. Louis Shy commanding, which became Company G of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment. He was promoted to be captain of the company, served with it through the battles of Fishing Creek and Shiloh, and resigned his commission while at Vicksburg, on a surgeon's certificate of disability, his system having become impaired by chronic malaria and bowel troubles, and wounds received in these two severe engagements.

After the battle of Murfreesboro, having to some extent recovered his health, he reported to General Bragg, who ordered him to report to Major Winn, in the quartermaster's department of the Army of Tennessee. He was placed in charge of a detail, and collected and secured a large amount of supplies, such as leather, cattle, hogs, etc., much needed by our troops.

Before the year 1863 had got far on its way, he raised a company of cavalry, and reported to Col. W. S. Hawkins of Wheeler's scouts. In October of that year he was captured and sent to Johnson's Island, remaining there until February, 1864, when he was sent through the lines for exchange, reaching Richmond March 6 following. He then returned to Middle Tennessee, although it was inside the Federal lines, raised another company

of cavalry, and reported to Col. J. B. Biffle. He was wounded in the thigh in a skirmish near Beardstown, Tenn., and was not again able for duty until Hood came into Tennessee, when he reported to General Forrest, and remained with him until his surrender at Gainsville, Ala.

During the "Brownlow Regime" after the war, Perry county was a little too hot for "Captain Bob," so he went to Jackson, Tenn., opening a blacksmith shop there.

His first wife, whom he married before the war begun, died in 1866, leaving him one child. Two years later he married again, and this wife, with three children, are living. He has given all his children a good education and a fair start in life, and all are now grown and prospering.

For the last eighteen years Captain Anderson has been living at Linden, the county seat of Perry county. He is respected and esteemed by all who know him. He was a good soldier, is a kind father, a model man, and a splendid citizen.

DEERING J. ROBERTS, M. D.

Deering J. Roberts, son of John and Eliza Roberts, and a brother of Albert Roberts, was born in Nashville, Tenn., May 20, 1840. He was educated in the private schools of Nashville until his seventeenth year, when he commenced the study of medicine under Dr. A. R. Griffith, matriculated in the Medical Department at the University of Nashville, in October, 1858, and received his degree of M. D. in the spring of 1860. He practiced in Mississippi, and in Williamson county, Tenn., until the spring of 1861, when he enlisted as a private in Company C, Rock City Guards, Maney's First Tennessee Regiment, having passed his examination as assistant surgeon before the State Medical Board, but declined a commission, preferring to go as a private soldier. He served with the First Tennessee for twelve months, having been twice detached and placed on hospital duty. In April, 1862, he was assigned to duty with the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment as acting assistant or contract surgeon, and was the only medical officer the regiment had until after the battle of Baton Rouge, when a Dr. Lee of Mississippi was assigned also as contract

surgeon, and served as junior to Dr. Roberts until just before the battle of Murfreesboro. At this time Dr. Roberts passed his examination before the C. S. Army Medical Board and was commissioned Assistant Surgeon, Dr. J. F. Fryar being assigned to this regiment as surgeon. Six months later and just before the battle of Hoover's Gap, Dr. Roberts passed his examination before the Board for promotion, and was commissioned Surgeon and assigned to duty with the Twentieth, Dr. Fryar being transferred to another regiment. From this time until the battle of Franklin, Dr. Roberts was continuously on duty as surgeon of the Twentieth Tennessee. He was well liked and extremely popular with both commissioned officers and enlisted men. His colonel said of him on one occasion, that the only fault he had to find with him, was that he was "too fond of being at the front."

After the battle of Franklin he was left in charge of the wounded of Bate's division, and remained with them after the battle of Nashville, when he was sent by the Federal authorities down to Nashville, and was placed in charge of the Confederate wounded at the Gun Factory Hospital, in which were over 1,200 wounded from the fields of Franklin and Nashville. He with other Confederate surgeons was relieved from duty here on Jan. 10, 1865, and were sent around by way of Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and Fort Delaware to Fortress Monroe, and from there through the lines, reaching Richmond, Va., Jan. 28, 1865. He rejoined his command, the Twentieth, and was with it at the surrender of General Jos. E. Johnston's army, and received his parole at Greensboro, N. C.

Since the close of the war, he has been engaged in the practice of his profession in Kentucky, where he married in 1867; in Sumner county, Tenn., and for the last twenty-five years in Nashville. He was for ten years professor of Practice of Medicine in the Medical Department of the University of Tennessee, and is now lecturing on that branch in the Medical Department of the University of the South. He was surgeon at the Tennessee State Penitentiary during the four years of Governor Bate's administration, and had a lower mortality than any one who preceded or succeeded him in this office. He was for four years a member and secretary of the Nashville Board of Health. He

was chairman of the Section on State Medicine of the American Medical Association in 1884, his address before the general meeting being highly commended. He was president of the Tennessee State Medical Association in 1902, and has been its secretary for the past two years. He has been secretary of the Nashville Academy of Medicine, and has done much during his five years service as its executive officer to build it up. In 1879, he with Drs. Duncan Eve, George S. Blackie, and T. C. Dow, established the *Southern Practitioner*, he being its editorial manager. He succeeded to the entire control, ownership, and management of this journal four years later, and since then has been its editor and proprietor, gaining for it the largest circulation of any monthly medical periodical in the South and Southwest. For the past four years he has been the secretary and treasurer of the Association of Medical Officers of the Army and Navy of the Confederacy.

He has a wife, *nee* Miss Rachel L. Breeding, formerly of Adair county, Kentucky, six sons, two daughters, and five grandsons.

PART V.

HOW THE WAR WAS WAGED BY THE FEDERALS.

HOW THE WAR WAS WAGED BY THE FEDERALS.

We believe that we have shown that the South came into possession of negro slaves honestly and fairly, having paid our Northern brothers, from whom we bought them, every cent they were worth, and we held this property strictly under an agreement that we made with them in 1787.

We also think that we have set forth the doctrine of State's Rights as taught by the New England States, which has always been an underlying principle of the Constitution, that could always be brought out by any State in the form of secession, when said State thought that her rights had been trampled upon.

We hope that we have shown to our readers that secession was justifiable even from a Northern standpoint, and the North could not wage war upon the South without overriding the Constitution, which they did, and continued to do; and when this was done and actual war had been forced upon the South, let us see how it was conducted by the North.

We may ask, "What were the rules laid down by the Federal Government for the control and carrying on of civilized warfare by their armies, as demanded by modern civilization?"

RULE 1. Private property, unless forfeited by crime or by offenses of the owner against the safety of the army or the dignity of the United States, and after conviction of the owner by *court martial,* can be seized only by way of military necessity for the support or benefit of the army of the United States.

RULE 2. All wanton violence committed against persons in the invaded country, all destruction of property not commanded by the authorized officer, all robbery, all pillage or sacking, even after taking a place by main force, all rape, wounding, maiming, or killing of such inhabitants, are prohibited under penalty of death, or such other severe punishment as may seem adequate for the gravity of the offense.

RULE 3. Crimes punishable by all penal codes, such as arson, murder, maiming, assault, highway robbery, theft, fraud, burglary, forgery, and rape, if committed by an American soldier in a hostile country against its inhabitants, are not only punishable as at home, but in all cases in which death is not inflicted, the severer punishment is preferred, because the criminal has, as far as in him lay, prostituted the power conferred on a man of arms, and offended the dignity of the United States.

These three rules were the important provisions adopted by the Federal Government for the control of their armies. Now let us see whether or not they respected their own rules.

Gen. Geo. B. McClellan, who was one of the first Federal generals of any note in our Civil War, and who was a trained and educated soldier, recognized these principles and acted upon them.

So, on July 7, 1862, he wrote to President Lincoln from Harrison's Landing, Va., saying:—

"This rebellion has assumed the character of a war. As such it should be conducted on the highest principles of Christian civilization. It should not be a war looking to the subjugation of the people of any State; in any event, it should not be a war upon population, but against armed forces and political organizations. Neither confiscation of property, political execution of persons, territorial organization of States, nor forcible abolition of slavery, should be contemplated for one moment.

"In prosecuting the war, all private property and unarmed persons should be strictly protected, subject only to the necessity of military operations.

"All property taken for military use should be paid or receipted for, pillage and waste should be treated as high crimes, all unnecessary trespass should be sternly prohibited, offensive demeanor by the military towards the citizens promptly rebuked."

This is the way that an educated soldier and gentleman thought the war ought to be conducted.

If our readers will take the time to follow up the history of the Army of the Potomac while under McClellan, and then under

its other commanders, he will see the difference between civilized warfare and barbarous warfare.

General McClellan would have guards placed around private houses, with orders to shoot any soldier who should dare to intrude and molest private property or insult women and children. How different were the orders from the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac two weeks after McClellan was relieved. Here is Pope's first order:—

"The people of the valley of the Shenandoah and throughout the region of the operations of this army, living along the lines of railroad and telegraph and along the routes of travel in rear of the United States forces, are notified that they will be held responsible for any injury done to the track, line, or road, or for any attack upon trains or straggling soldiers by bands of guerrillas in their neighborhood.

"Safety of life and property of all persons living in the rear of our advancing armies depends upon the maintenance of peace and quiet among themselves, and of the unmolested movement through their midst of all pertaining to the military service.

"They are to understand distinctly that this security of travel is their only warrant of safety. It is therefore ordered, that whenever a railroad, wagon road, or telegraph is injured by parties of guerrillas, the citizens living within five miles of the spot shall be turned out in mass to repair the damage, and shall besides pay to the United States in money or in property, to be levied by military force, the full amount of the pay and subsistence of the whole force necessary to coerce the performance of the work during the time occupied in completing it. If a soldier or a legitimate follower of the army be fired upon from any house, the house shall be razed to the ground, and the inhabitants sent as prisoners to the headquarters of the army. If an outrage occurs at any place distant from settlements, the people within five miles around shall be held accountable, and made to pay an indemnity sufficient for the case."

We defy investigation in the history of modern warfare to find anything emanating from a general commanding an army, as cowardly and as cruel as this order. Just think of it; the women, children, and non-combatants, living within five miles

of the rear of an invading army, ordered to protect it from the incursions of the opposing army, or upon failure to do this, whether from inability or any other cause, to forfeit their lives or their property, or both!

Again, this same commander, on July 23, 1862, issued the following order:—

"Commanders of army corps, divisions, brigades, and detached commands will proceed immediately to arrest all disloyal male citizens within their lines, or within their reach, in rear of their respective stations. Such as are willing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and will furnish sufficient security for its observance, shall be permitted to remain at their homes and pursue, in good faith, their accustomed avocations. Those who refuse shall be conducted south, beyond the extreme pickets of this army, and notified that if they are found anywhere within our lines, or at any point within our rear, they will be considered spies, and subjected to the extreme rigor of military law, viz., death by hanging."—"*The Army under Pope," by Ropes, pages 175 - 177.*

This last order Mr. Jno. C. Ropes, of Boston, a distinguished Northern writer, one generally fairer to the South than others who have written from that locality, criticises most harshly, and he does this, too, although he is about the only apologist, so far as we have seen, of this bombastic and incompetent Federal officer.

General Steinwehr, one of Pope's brigadiers, seized innocent and peaceful inhabitants and held them as hostages, to the end that they should be murdered in cold blood should any of his soldiers be killed by unknown persons, whom he designated as bushwhackers.

On the very day of the signing of the cartel for the exchange of prisoners between the Federal and the Confederate authorities (July 22, 1862), the Federal Secretary of War, by order of Mr. Lincoln, issued an order to the military commanders in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, directing them to seize and use any property belonging to any of the inhabitants of the Confederacy which might be necessary or convenient for their several com-

mands, and no provision was made for any compensation to the owners of private property thus seized and appropriated.

This order was such a flagrant violation of the rules of civilized warfare,—those adopted by the Federal government itself, as herein-before quoted,—that the Confederate government sought to prevent its being carried into execution by issuing a general order, dated Aug. 1, 1862, denouncing this order of the Federal secretary, and those of Pope and Steinwehr, as acts of savage cruelty, violative of all usages of war, and as converting the hostilities heretofore waged between armed forces into a campaign of robbery and murder against unarmed citizens and peaceful tillers of the soil, and by way of retaliation, declared that Pope and his commissioned officers were not to be considered as soldiers, and therefore not entitled to the benefit of the cartel for the parole of future prisoners of war, and ordered that if Pope, Steinwehr, or any of their commissioned officers were captured, they should be kept in close confinement as long as the foregoing orders remained in force. (See Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. 1, pages 302, 303.)

Gen. Robt. E. Lee, on receiving this order from the Confederate authorities, at once sent a communication to the general commanding the United States army at Washington, in which, referring to these orders of Pope and the Federal War Department, he said:—

"Some of the military authorities of the United States seem to suppose that their end will be better attained by a savage war, in which no quarter is to be given and no age or sex is to be spared, than by such hostilities as are alone recognized to be lawful in modern times. We find ourselves driven by our enemies by steady progress towards a practice that we abhor, and which we are vainly struggling to avoid."

He also says:—

"Under these circumstances, this government has issued the accompanying general order (that of Aug. 1, 1862) which I am directed by the President to transmit to you, recognizing Major-General Pope and his commisioned officers to be in a position which they have chosen for themselves,—that of robbers and mur-

derers, and not of public enemies, entitled, if captured, to be treated as prisoners of war."

At this day it may be safely said that there are few, if any, either in the North or in the South, who will question either that General Lee knew the rules of civilized warfare, or that he would have denounced those who were guilty of violating these rules, as robbers and murderers had they not been justly entitled to that distinction; and let this be distinctly borne in mind, that the order of the Federal Secretary of War was issued by order of the President, Mr. Lincoln, and if he ever rebuked Pope, Steinwehr or any of the others, to whom we shall hereafter refer, for their outrages and cruelties to the Southern people, the record, so far as we can find, is silent on the subject.

On Nov. 28, 1862, Gen. R. H. Milroy of the Federal Army had an order sent to Mr. Adam Harper, a man eighty-two years old, and a cripple, one who had served as a soldier in the War of 1812, and who was a son of a Revolutionary soldier who had served throughout that war, which was as follows:—

Mr. Adam Harper. SIR: In consequence of certain robberies which have been committed on Union citizens of this county by bands of guerrillas, you are hereby assessed to the amount of two hundred and eighty-five dollars ($285) to make good their losses, and upon your failure to comply with the above assessment by the 8th day of December, the following order has been issued to me by General Milroy:—

"You are to burn their houses, seize all their cattle, and shoot them. You will be sure that you carry out this order to the letter. You will inform the inhabitants for ten or fifteen miles around your camp, on all the roads approaching the town upon which the enemy may approach, that they must dash in and give you notice, and upon any one failing to do so, you will burn their houses and shoot the men.

"By order of Brig.-Gen. R. H. Milroy."

H. KELLOGG, *Captain Commanding Post.*

Could the most brutal savagery of any age exceed the unreasoning cruelty of this order? (See Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. 1, page 231.)

But we must go on. In the earlier part of the war, Gen. Wm. T. Sherman knew and recognized the rules adopted by his Government for the conduct of its armies in the field, and so on Sept. 29, 1861, he wrote to Gen. Robt. Anderson, at Louisville, Ky., saying, among other things:—

I am sorry to report that in spite of my orders and entreaties, our troops are committing depredations that will ruin our cause. Horses and wagons have been seized, cattle, sheep, hogs, and chickens taken by our men, some of whom wander for miles around. I am doing, and have done, all in my power to stop this, but the men are badly disciplined, and give little heed to my orders or those of their own regimental officers."—*"Sherman's Raid," by Boynton, page 23.*

Later General Sherman said, "War is hell." If we could record here all the testimony in our possession from the people of Georgia and South Carolina, who had the misfortune to live along the line of his famous "march to the sea," during the whole length of which he was warring against and depredating on women, children, servants, old men, and non-combatants (regarding which he wrote in his telegram to Grant, "I can make this march and make Georgia howl."—*Boynton, page 129*), it would show that he had certainly contributed all in his power to make war "HELL," as he termed it, and has justly earned the distinction of being called the ruling genius of his creation.

We will first let General Sherman himself tell what was done by him and his men on this famous, or rather *infamous,* march. He says of it in his official report:—

"We consumed the corn and fodder in the region of country thirty miles on either side of a line from Atlanta to Savannah; also the sweet potatoes, hogs, sheep, cattle, and poultry, and carried off more than ten thousand horses and mules. I estimate the damage done to the State of Georgia at one hundred million dollars, at least twenty million of which inured to our benefit, and the remainder was simply waste and destruction."

But we will introduce our witnesses, and these are some of his own soldiers, who accompanied him on his march. Captain Daniel Oakley, of the Second Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, in "Battles and Leaders," says this:—

"It was sad to see the wanton destruction of property, which was the work of 'bummers' who were marauding through the country, committing every sort of outrage. There was no restraint, except with the column of the regular foraging parties. The country was necessarily left to take care of itself, and became a howling waste. The 'Coffee Coolers' of the army of the Potomac were archangels compared to our 'bummers,' who often fell to the tender mercies of Wheeler's cavalry, and were never heard of again, meeting a fate richly deserved."

Another Northern soldier, writing for the Detroit *Free Press,* gives the following graphic account, after describing the burning of Marietta: "Soldiers rode from house to house, entered without ceremony, and kindled fires in closets and garrets, and stood by to see that they were not extinguished."

He further says:—

"Had one been able to climb to such a hight at Atlanta as to enable him to see for forty miles around, the day Sherman marched out, he would have been appalled at the destruction. Hundreds of houses had been burned, every rod of fence destroyed, nearly every fruit tree cut down, and the face of the country so changed that any one born in that section of country could hardly recognize it. The vindictiveness of war would have trampled the very earth out of sight had such a thing been possible."

Again he says:—

"At the very beginning of the campaign at Dalton, the Federal soldiery had received encouragement to become vandals. When Sherman cut loose from Atlanta, everybody had license to throw off restraint, and make Georgia drain the bitter cup. The Federal who wants to learn what it was to license an army to become vandals, should mount a horse at Atlanta and follow Sherman for fifty miles. He can hear stories from the lips of women that would make him ashamed of the flag that waved over him as he went into battle. When the army had passed, nothing was left but a trail of desolation and despair. No houses escaped robbery, no women escaped insult, no building escaped the firebrand, except by some strange interposition. War may license an army to subsist on the enemy, but civilized warfare stops at livestock,

forage, and provisions. It does not enter the houses of the sick and helpless, and rob women of their finger rings and carry off their clothing."

He then tells of the deliberate burning of Atlanta by Sherman's order, of the driving out from the city of its whole population of all ages, sexes, and conditions, into the fields of a desolated country, to starve and die, as far as he knew or cared. You have only to read these recitals, and you have the picture which Sherman made, and which he truly denominated *"hell."*

The correspondence between Mayor Calhoun and two councilmen of Atlanta, representing to General Sherman the frightful suffering that would be visited on the people of that city by the execution of his inhuman order, and General Sherman's reply, can be found in the second volume of "Sherman's Memoirs," pages 124, 125. We can cite only one or two items from each. The letter of the former says, among other things:—

"Many poor women are in advanced stage of pregnancy, others now having young children, and whose husbands, for the greater part, are either in the army, prisoners, or dead. Some say, 'I have such a sick one at my house; who will wait on them when I am gone?' Others say, 'What shall we do? We have no house to go to, and no means to buy, build, or rent any; no parents or friends to go to.'

"This being so (they say) how is it possible for the people still here (mostly women and children) to find any shelter? And how can they live through the winter in the woods—no shelter or subsistence, in the midst of strangers who know them not, and without the power to assist them, however much were they willing to do so?

"This (they say) is but a feeble picture of the consequences of the measure. You know the woe, the horrors, and the suffering cannot be described by words, imagination can only concieve it, and we ask you, General Sherman, to take these things into consideration."

To this pathetic appeal, Sherman cooly replied on the next day, his letter commencing as follows:—

"I have your letter of the 11th, in the nature of a petition to revoke my orders removing all the inhabitants from Atlanta. I

have read it carefully, and give full credit to your statements of the distress that will be occasioned, and yet I shall not revoke my orders, because they were not designed to meet the humanities of the case, but to prepare for the future struggles in which millions of good people outside of Atlanta have an interest."

After he had started on his "march to the sea," he gives an account of how the foraging details were made and carried out each day, and concludes by saying:—

"Although the foraging was attended with great danger and hard work, there seemed to be a charm about it that attracted the soldiers, and it was a privilege to be detailed on such a party.

"Lastly, they returned mounted on all sorts of beasts, which were at once taken from them and appropriated to the general use, but the next day they would start out again on foot, only to repeat the experience of the day before. No doubt (he says) many acts of pillage, robbery, and violence were committed by these parties of foragers, usually called 'bummers,' for I have since heard of jewelry taken from women and the plunder of articles that never reached the commissary."—*See "Sherman's Memoirs," Vol. II, page 182.*

He not only does *not* say that he tried to prevent his army from committing these outrages, but says, on page 255, in referring to his march through South Carolina: "I would not restrain the army lest its vigor and energy should be impaired."

He tells, on page 185, how, when he reached Gen. Howell Cobb's plantation, he sent word back to General Davis to explain whose plantation it was, and instructed him to spare nothing.

To show what a heartless wretch he was, I quote what he tells on page 194, about one of his officers having been wounded by the explosion of a torpedo that had been hidden in the line of march, and upon which this officer had stepped. He says:—

"I immediately ordered a lot of rebel prisoners to be brought from the provost guard, armed with picks and spades, and made them march in close order along the road, so as to explode their own torpedoes, or to discover and dig them up. They begged hard, but I reiterated the order, and could hardly restrain from laughing at their stepping so gingerly along the road, where it was supposed that sunken torpedoes might explode at each step."

It may be fairly inferred from General Sherman's middle name (Tecumseh) that some of his ancestors were Indians; but whether this be true or not, no one can read this statement of his without being convinced that he was a savage. But he was not only a confessed savage, as we have seen; but a confessed vandal as well. On page 256, in telling of a night he spent in one of the splendid old houses of South Carolina, he says: "The proprietors had formerly dispensed a hospitality that distinguished the old regime of that proud State. I slept on the floor of the house, but the night was so bitter cold that I got up by the fire several times, and when it burned low I rekindled it with an old mantel clock and the wreck of a bedstead that stood in the corner of the room—the only act of vandalism that I recall done by myself personally during the war."

Since the admissions of a criminal are always taken as conclusive proof of his crime, we now know from his own lips that General Sherman was a vandal.

But we also find, on page 237, that he confessed having told a falsehood about General Hampton, so we cannot credit his statement that the foregoing was his only act of vandalism. Indeed, we think we have most satisfactory evidence to the contrary. (It will be noted, however, that Sherman makes a distinction between his *personal* acts of vandalism and those he committed through others.)

A part of this evidence is to be found in the following letter from Lieutenant Thos. J. Myers, published in "Southern Historical Society Papers," Vol. XII, page 113, with the following head note:—

"The following letter was found in the streets of Columbia, S. C., after the army of General Sherman had left. The original is still preserved, and can be shown and substantiated if anybody desires. We are indebted to a distinguished lady of this city for a copy, sent with a request for publication. We can add nothing in the way of comment on such a document, it speaks for itself."

The letter which is a re-publication from the Alderson (W. Va.) *Statesman,* of Oct. 29, 1883, is as follows:—

"CAMP NEAR CAMDEN, S. C., Feb. 26, 1865.

"My Dear Wife:—

"I have no time for particulars. We have had a glorious time in this State. Unrestricted license to plunder and burn was the order of the day. The 'chivalry' have been stripped of most of their valuables. Gold watches, silver pitchers, cups, spoons, forks, etc., etc., are as common in camp as blackberries. The terms of plunder are as follows: The valuables procured are estimated by companies. Each company is required to exhibit the results of its operations at any given place. One fifth and first choice falls to the commander-in-chief and his staff, one fifth to corps commander and staff, one fifth to field officers, and two fifths to the company. Officers are not allowed to join in these expeditions, unless disguised as privates. One of our corps commanders borrowed a rough suit of clothes from one of my men, and was successful in his place. He got a large quantity of silver (among other things an old milk pitcher), and a very fine gold watch from a Mr. DeSaussure of this place (Columbia). DeSaussure is one of the F. F .V.'s of South Carolina, and was made to fork out liberally. Officers over the rank of captain are not made to put their plunder in the estimate for general distribution. This is very unfair, and for that reason, in order to protect themselves the subordinate officers and privates keep everything back that they can carry about their persons, such as rings, ear-rings, breast pins, etc., etc., of which, if I live to get home, I have a quart. I am not joking. I have at least a quart of jewelry for you and the girls, and some No. 1 diamond rings and pins among them. General Sherman has enough gold and silver to start a bank. His share in gold watches and chains alone at Columbia was 275.

"But I said I could not go into particulars. All the general officers and many besides have valuables of every description, down to ladies' pocket handkerchiefs. I have my share of them, too.

"We took gold and silver enough from the d——d rebels to have redeemed their infernal currency twice over. I wish all the jewelry this army has could be carried to the old Bay State. It

would deck her out in glorious style; but, alas, it will be scattered all over the North and Middle States.

"The damned niggers, as a general thing, preferred to stay at home, particularly after they found out that we wanted only the able-bodied men, and to tell the truth, the youngest and best looking women. Sometimes we took them off by way of repaying influential secessionists. But a part of these we soon managed to lose, sometimes in crossing rivers, sometimes in other ways. I shall write you again from Wilmington, Goldsboro, or some other place in North Carolina. The order to march has arrived and I must close hurriedly.

"Love to grandmother and Aunt Charlotte. Take care of yourself and the children. Don't show this letter out of the family.

"Your affectionate husband,

"THOMAS J. MYERS, *Lieut.*, etc.

"P. S.—I will send this by the first flag of truce to be mailed, unless I have an opportunity of sending it to Hilton Head. Tell Lottie I am saving a pearl bracelet and earrings for her, but Lambert got the necklace and breastpin of the same set. I am trying to trade him out of them. These were taken from the Misses Jamison, daughters of the President of the South Carolina Secession Convention. We found these on our trip through Georgia. T. J. M."

This letter is addressed to Mrs. Thomas J. Myers, Boston, Mass.

Imagine, if it is possible to do so, Robert E. Lee or Stonewall Jackson commanding an army licensed by them to plunder the defenseless, and then sharing in the fruits of this plundering.

We can barely allude to Sherman's burning of Columbia, the proof of which is too conclusive to admit of controversy. On Dec. 18, 1864, Gen. H. W. Halleck, major-general and chief of staff of the armies of the United States, wrote Sherman as follows:—

"Should you capture Charleston, I hope that *by some accident* the place may be destroyed, and if a little salt should be thrown on

its site, it may prevent the future growth of nullification and secession."

To this suggestion from this high (?) source to commit murder, arson, and robbery, and pretend it was by accident, Sherman replied on Dec. 24, 1864, as follows:—

"I will bear in mind your hint as to Charleston, and do not think that salt will be necessary. When I move, the fifteenth corps will be on the right wing, and their position will naturally bring them into Charleston first; and if you have watched the history of that corps, you will have remarked that they generally do their work pretty well; the truth is, the whole army is burning with an insatiable desire to wreak vengeance on South Carolina. I almost tremble for her fate, but feel that she deserves all that is in store for her. I look upon Columbia as quite as bad as Charleston, and I doubt if we shall spare the public buildings there as we did at Milledgeville." — *"Sherman's Memoirs," Vol. II, pages 223, 227, 228.*

We say proof of his ordering (or permitting, which is just as bad), the destruction of Columbia is overwhelming. (See report of Chancellor Carroll, chairman of a committee appointed to investigate the facts about this, in Gen. Bradley T. Johnson's "Life of Johnston," from which several of these extracts are taken.)

Our people owe General Johnson a debt of gratitude for this and his other contributions to Confederate history. And Sherman had the effrontery to write in his "Memoirs," that in his official report of this conflagration, he distinctly charged it to Gen Wade Hampton, and confesses, "I did so pointedly, to shake the faith of his people in him." — *"Sherman's Memoirs," Vol. II, page 287.*

The man who confessed to the world that he made this false charge with such a motive needs no characterization at the hands of this committee.

General Sherman set out to make Georgia howl, and preferred, as he said, to march through that State "smashing things" to the sea. He wrote to Grant after his march through South Carolina: "The people of South Carolina, instead of feeding

Lee's army, will now call on Lee to feed them." — *"Memoirs," Vol. II, page 298.*

So complete had been his destruction in that State, he also says: "Having utterly ruined Columbia, the right wing began its march northward." — *Id., page 288.*

On Feb. 21, 1865, only a few days after the burning of Columbia, General Hampton wrote to General Sherman, charging him with being responsible for its destruction, and other outrages, in which he says, among other things:—

"You permitted, if you have not ordered, the commission of these offenses against humanity and the rules of war. You fired into Columbia without a word of warning. After its surrender by the mayor, who demanded protection to private property, you laid the whole city in ashes, leaving in its ruins thousands of old men and helpless women and children, who are likely to perish of starvation and exposure. Your line of march can be traced by the lurid light of burning houses, and in more than one household there is an agony far more bitter than death.

"The Indian scalped his victim, regardless of age or sex, but with all his barbarity, he always respected the person of his female captives. Your soldiers, more savage than the Indian, insult those whose natural protectors are absent." — *"Great Civil War," Vol. III, page 601.*

But while no one will dispute the fact that Sherman has a clear title to the distinction we have accorded him, yet, unfortunately for the people of the South, he had other efficient and willing aids in his work of devastation, destruction, and vandalism; and we must now take up, for a time, the work of his close second, General Philip H. Sheridan. This officer is reported as having said that the true principles for conducting war are:—

"First, deal as hard blows to the enemy's soldiers as possible, and then cause so much suffering to the inhabitants of the country that they will long for peace and press their government to make it. Nothing should be left to the people but eyes to lament the war."

He certainly acted on the last of these principles in his dealings with the people of the beautiful valley of Virginia, which by his

vandalism was converted from one of the most fertile and beautiful portions of our land into a veritable "Valley of the Shadow of Death." He actually boasted that he had so desolated it that "a crow flying over would have to carry his own rations."

In Sheridan's letter to Grant, dated Woodstock, Oct. 7, 1864, he says of his work:—

"In moving back to this point, the whole country, from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain, has been made untenable for the rebel army. I have destroyed over 2000 barns filled with wheat, hay, and farming implements; over 70 mills filled with flour and wheat; have driven in front of the army over 4000 head of stock; and have killed and issued to the troops not less than 3000 sheep. This destruction includes the Luray Valley and Little Fort Valley, as well as the main valley. A large number of horses have been obtained, a proper estimate of which I can not make now.

"Lieut. Jno. R. Meigs, my engineer officer, was murdered beyond Harrisonburg, near Dayton. For this atrocious act all the houses within an area of five miles were burned."

It is not generally known, we believe, that this policy of devastation on the part of Sheridan was directly inspired and ordered by General Grant, who, in his "Memoirs," writes with great satisfaction and levity of the outrages committed by Sherman and Sheridan, before referred to, and which he, of course, understood would be committed, from the terms of Sherman's telegrams to him, and which he, at least, acquiesced in.

On the 5th of August, 1864, Grant wrote to Gen. David Hunter, who preceded Sheridan in command of the Valley, as follows:—

"In pushing up the Shenandoah Valley, where it is expected you will have to go first or last, it is desirable that nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return. Take all provisions, forage, and stock wanted for the use of your command, such as cannot be consumed, destroy."

And says Mr. Horace Greely:—

"This order, Sheridan, in returning down the valley, executed to the letter. Whatever of grain or forage had escaped appropriation by one or another of the armies which had so frequently chased each other up and down this narrow but fertile vale,

was now given to the torch." — *"American Conflict," Vol. II, pp. 610, 611; "Grant's Memoirs," Vol. II, pp. 581, 364, 365.*

The facts about the alleged murder of Lieutenant Meigs, for which Sheridan says he burned all the houses within an area of five miles, are these: Three Confederate cavalry scouts, in uniform, and with their arms, got within Sheridan's lines, and encountered Lieutenant Meigs with two Federal soldiers. These parties came on each other suddenly. Meigs was ordered to surrender by one of our men, and he replied by shooting and wounding this man, who in turn fired and killed Meigs. One of the men with Meigs was captured and the other escaped. It was for this perfectly justifiable conduct in war that Sheridan says he ordered all the houses of private citizens within an area of five miles to be burned. (See proof of the facts of this occurrence, to the satisfaction of Lieutenant Meig's father, Ninth South, in "Sonthern Historical Society Papers," page 77.)

Butler's infamous order No. 28, directing that "any lady of New Orleans who should by word, gesture, or movement insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, shall be regarded and treated as a woman of the town, plying her avocation," not only infuriated the people of the South and caused the author to be outlawed by our government, and denominated "The Beast," but Lord Palmerston, in the British House of Commons, took occasion to be astonished, to blush, and to proclaim his deepest indignation at the tenor of that order. (See "Greely," page 100.)

But we are sick of these recitals, and must conclude our collation, already longer than we had intended it should be. We therefore only allude to the orders found on the person of Dahlgren, "to burn, sack, and destroy the city of Richmond, to kill Jeff Davis and his cabinet on the spot," etc., etc.

The infamous deeds of Gen. Edward A. Wild, both in Virginia and Georgia, and of Col. John McNeil in Missouri, some of which can be found set forth in the first volume of "Southern Historical Papers," pages 226, 232, are shocking and disgraceful beyond description.

Now contrast with all these orders and all this conduct on the part of the Federal officers and soldiers, the address of

General Early to the people of York, Pa., when our army invaded that State in the Gettysburg campaign; or better still, the order of Gen. Robert E. Lee to his army on that march. We will let that order speak for itself. Here it is:—

"HEADQUARTERS, A. N. V.,
"CHAMBERSBURG, PA., June 27, 1863.

"General Orders, No. 73.

"The Commanding General has marked with satisfaction the conduct of the troops on the march, and confidently anticipates results commensurate with the high spirit they have manifested. No troops could have displayed greater fortitude or better performed the arduous marches of the first ten days. Their conduct in other respects has, with few exceptions, been in keeping with their character as soldiers, and entitles them to approbation and praise.

"There have, however, been instances of forgetfulness on the part of some, that they have in keeping the yet unsullied reputation of the army; and the duties exacted of us by civilization and Christianity are not less obligatory in the country of our enemy than in our own.

"The Commanding General considers that no greater disgrace could befall the army, and through it our whole people, than the perpetration of the barbarous outrages upon the innocent and defenseless, and the wanton destruction of private property, that have marked the course of the enemy in our own country. Such proceedings not only disgrace the perpetrators and all connected with them, but are subversive of the discipline and efficiency of the army and destructive to the ends of our present movements. It must be remembered that we make war only on armed men, and that we cannot take vengeance for the wrongs our people have suffered without lowering ourselves in the eyes of all whose abhorrence has been excited by the atrocities of our enemy, and offending against Him to whom vengeance belongeth, without whose favor and support our efforts must all prove in vain. The Commanding General therefore earnestly exhorts the troops to abstain, with most scrupulous care, from

unnecessary or wanton injury to private property; and he enjoins upon all officers to arrest and bring to summary punishment all who shall in any way offend against the orders on this subject."

"R. E. LEE, *General.*"

The *London Times* commented most favorably on this order, and its American correspondent said of it and of the conduct of our troops:—

"The greatest surprise has been expressed to me by officers of the Austrian, Prussian, and English armies, each of which have representatives here, that volunteer troops, provoked by nearly twenty-seven months of unparalleled ruthlessness and wantonness, of which their country has been the scene, should be under such control, and should be willing to act in harmony with the long suffering and forbearance of President Davis and General Lee."

To show how faithfully that order was carried out, the same writer tells how he saw with his own eyes, General Lee and a surgeon of his command repairing a farmer's fence that had been damaged by the army. Indeed, we might rest our whole case on the impartial judgment of a distinguished foreigner, who, writing in 1864, drew this vivid picture and striking contrast between the way the war was conducted on our part and on that of the Federals. He says:—

"This contest has been signaled by the exhibition of some of the best and some of the worst qualities that war has ever brought out. It has produced a recklessness of human life, a contempt of principles, a disregard of engagements. . . . The headlong adoption of the most lawless measures, the public faith scandalously violated, both towards friends and enemies; the liberty of the citizens at the hands of arbitrary power; the liberty of the press abolished; the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act; illegal imprisonments; midnight arrests; punishments inflicted without trial; the courts of law controlled by satellites of government; elections carried on under military supervision; a ruffianism, both of word and action, eating deep into the country. . . . The most brutal inhumanity in the conduct of the war itself; outrages upon the defenseless, upon women, children, and prisoners; plunder, rapine, devastation, and murder — all the old hor-

rors of barbarous warfare which Europe is beginning to be ashamed of, and new refinements of cruelty added thereto, by way of illustrating the advance of knowledge."

He further says:—

"It has also produced qualities and phenomena the opposite of these. Ardor and devotedness of patriotism, which might alone make us proud of the century to which we belong; a unanimity such as was probably never witnessed before; a wisdom of legislation, a stainless good faith under extremely difficult circumstances, a clear apprehension of danger, coupled with a determination to face it to the uttermost; a resolute abnegation of power in favor of leaders in whom those who selected them could trust; with an equally resolute determination to reserve the liberty of criticism, and not to allow those trusted leaders to go one inch beyond their legal powers, a heroism in the field and behind defenses of besieged cities, which can match anything that history has to show. A wonderful helpfulness in supplying needs and creating fresh resources; a chivalrous and romantic daring, which recalls the middle ages; a most scrupulous regard for the rights of hostile property; a tender consideration for the vanquished and weak. . . . And the remarkable circumstance is, that all the good qualities have been on the one side, and all the bad ones on the other."

In other words, he says that all the good qualities have been on the side of the South and all the bad ones on the side of the North. (See "Confederate Secession," by the Marquis of Lothian, page 183.)

All of this was written prior to the conduct of the armies under Sherman and Sheridan, some of which we have herein set forth. How could the learned Marquis find words to portray the acts of robbery and arson of Sherman and Sheridan?

We could cite other authorities to substantiate the same, but surely this arraignment from this high source ought to be sufficient. If any one thinks this distinguished writer has overdrawn the picture, especially in regard to illegal arrests, imprisonments, and brutal conduct toward women and children, and the defenseless gnerally, let him read a little book entitled, "The Old Capital and its Inmates," which has inscribed on its cover what Mr.

Seward boastingly said to Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, on Sept. 14, 1861, "My Lord, I can touch a bell on my right, and order the arrest of a citizen in Ohio. I can touch a bell again, and order the arrest of a citizen in New York. Can the Queen of England in her dominions do as much?"

The late Judge Jeremiah H. Black of Pennsylvania, at one time president of the supreme court of that State, and afterward attorney-general of the United States under Mr. Buchanan, one of the most distinguished lawyers and writers of his day, thus writes of Mr. Seward and his little bell:—

"Now as to the little bell. The same higher law that gave the Federal Government power to legislate against the States in defiance of the Constitution, would logically justify any executive outrage that might be desired for party purposes, on the life, limb, and property of individuals. Such was Mr. Seward's theory, and such was the practice of himself and his subordinates and some of his colleagues."

He says further to Mr. Charles Frances Adams to whom he was writing:—

"I will not pain you by a recital of the wanton cruelties they inflicted upon unoffending citizens. I have neither space nor time nor skill to paint them. A life-size picture of them would cover more canvass than there is on the earth. . . .

"Since the fall of Robespierre nothing has occurred to cast so much disrepute upon republican institutions. When Mr. Seward went into the State department, he took a little bell to his office, in place of the statute book, and this piece of sounding brass came to be a symbol of the Higher Law. When he desired to kidnap a free citizen, to banish him, to despoil him of his property, or to kill him after the mockery of a military trial, he rang his little bell, and the deed was done." (See "Black's Essays," page 153.)

In speaking of the murder of Mrs. Surratt, he says:—

"In 1865, months after the peace, at the political capital of the nation, in full sight of the executive mansion, the capitol and the city hall, where the courts were in session, a perfectly innocent and most respectable woman was lawlessly dragged from her family and brutally put to death, without judge or

jury, upon the mere order of certain military officers convoked for that purpose. It was, take it all in all, as foul a murder as ever blackened God's sky. But it was done in strict accordance with higher law, and the law department of the United States approved it."

Now that is what a Northern man, living in Washington at the time, a profound lawyer and statesman, has to say of these things.

As a matter of course, the North will attempt to reply (about the only reply they can offer with any apparent justification). "Well," they will ask, "was not Chambersburg burned by General Early's order?" Yes, it was, but under circumstances which show that that act was no justification whatever for the outrages we have set forth in this paper, and was only resorted to by General Early by way of retaliation, and to stop, if possible, the outrages then being committed. It was only resorted to, too, after full warning and an offer to the municipal authorities of Chambersburg to prevent the conflagration by paying for certain private property just previously destroyed by General Hunter. But this offer these authorities refused to accede to, saying they were not afraid of having their town burned, and that a Federal force was approaching. General Early says in his report:—

"I desired to give the people of Chambersburg an opportunity of saving their town by making compensation for part of the injury done, and hoped that the payment of such a sum (one hundred thousand dollars in gold, or five hundred thousand in greenbacks) would have the desired effect, and open the eyes of the people of other Northern towns to the necessity of urging upon their government the adoption of a different policy." (See "Early's Memoirs," where the full report of this occurrence is given.)

Among the private property destroyed by Hunter, for which this sum was demanded by General Early, were the private residences of Andrew Hunter, Esq. (then a member of the senate of Virginia, who had prosecuted John Brown as Commonwealth's attorney of Jefferson County, Virginia), of Alexander R. Boteler, Esq. (an ex-member of the Confederate and United States Congresses), and of Edmund J. Lee, Esq. (a relative of General

Lee), with their contents, only time enough being given the ladies to get out of the houses.

General Hunter had also caused the Virginia Military Institute, the house of Governor Letcher, and numerous other houses in the valley, to be burned. Even General Halleck, writing to General Sherman on Sept. 28, 1864, refers thus to this conduct of Hunter:—

"I do not approve of General Hunter's conduct in burning private houses or uselessly destroying private property. That is barbarous." (See "Sherman's Memoirs," Vol. II, page 129.)

No soldier in the Confederate army understood better than General Early the rules of civilized warfare, or was more opposed to vandalism in every form. His conduct at York, Pa., before referred to, and his address to the people of that town, show this in the most satisfactory manner. He says:—

"I have abstained from burning the railroad buildings and car shops in your town, because, after examination, I was satisfied the safety of your town would be endangered. Acting in the spirit of humanity, which has ever characterized my government and its military authorities, I do not desire to involve the innocent in the same punishment with the guilty. Had I applied the torch without regard to consequences, I would have pursued a course which would have been fully vindicated as an act of just retaliation for the unparalleled acts of brutality on our own soil. But we do not war on women and children."

Gen. R. H. Anderson, in his report of the Gettysburg campaign, says:—

"The conduct of my troops was in the highest degree praiseworthy. Obedient to the order of the Commanding General, they refrained from retaliating upon the enemy for outrages inflicted upon their own homes. Peaceful inhabitants suffered no molestation. In a land of plenty they often suffered hunger and want. One fourth their number marched ragged and barefooted through towns in which merchants were known to have concealed ample supplies of clothing and shoes."

On the 2nd of July, 1863, when the battle of Gettysburg was being fought, and when President Davis had every reason to believe that we would be victorious, he wrote:—

"My whole purpose is, in one word, to place the war on a footing such as are waged by civilized people in modern times, and to divest it of the savage character which has been impressed upon it by our enemies, in spite of all our efforts and protests." — *Hoke's "Great Invasion," page 52.*

1. From the reports of the United States War Department, that though we had fifty thousand more Federal prisoners than they had of Confederates, yet four thousand more Confederates died in Northern prisons than died of Federals in Southern prisons.

2. The laws of the Confederate Congress, the regulations of our surgeon-general, the orders of our generals in the field, and of those who had the immediate charge of prisoners, all provided that they should be kindly treated, supplied with the same rations that our soldiers had, and cared for when sick in our hospitals, and placed on exactly the same footing as Confederate soldiers.

3. If these regulations were violated by subordinates in individual instances, it was done without the knowledge or consent of the Confederate authorities, which promptly rebuked and punished cases reported.

4. If prisoners failed to get full rations, or had those of inferior quality, the Confederate soldiers suffered the same privations, and these were the necessary consequences of the mode of carrying on the war on the part of the North, which brought desolation and ruin on the South, and these conditions were necessarily reflected on their prisoners in our hands.

5. That the mortality in Southern prisons resulted from causes beyond our control, but these could have been greatly alleviated had not medicines been declared by the Federal government as contraband of war, and had not the Federal authorities refused the offer of our agent of exchange, the late Judge Ould, that each government should send its own medicines and surgeons to relieve the sufferings of their own respective soldiers in prisons,—refused to accept our offer to let them send medicines, etc., to relieve their own prisoners, without any such privilege being accorded by them to us,—refused to allow the Confederate government to buy medicines for gold, tobacco, or cotton, etc., which it pledged its honor should be used only for their prisoners in our hands,—refused to exchange sick and wounded, and neglected from

August to December, 1864, to accede to our agent's proposition to send transportation to Savannah and receive without any equivalent from ten to fifteen thousand Federal prisoners, although the offer was accompanied with the statement of our agent of exchange (Judge Ould), showing the monthly mortality at Andersonville, and that we were utterly unable to care for these prisoners as they should be cared for, and that Judge Ould again and again urged compliance with this humane proposal on our part.

6. The sufferings of Confederates in Northern prisons was terrible, almost beyond description; they were starved in a land of plenty; they were allowed to freeze where clothing and fuel were plentiful; they suffered for hospital stores, medicines, and proper attention when sick; they were shot by sentinels, beaten by officers, and subjected to the most cruel punishments on the slightest pretexts; our friends of the North were, in many instances, refused the privilege of clothing their nakedness or feeding them when they were starving; and these outrages were often perpetrated not only with the knowledge, but by the orders of E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War of the United States.

7. The sufferings of prisoners on both sides were caused by the failure to carry out the terms of the cartel for exchange, and for this failure the Federal authorities were alone responsible.

It must be remembered, too, that a large number of persons at the North still delight to speak of that war as a "rebellion" and of us as "rebels" and "traitors." We have shown by the testimony of their own people, not only that they rebelled against, but overthrew, the Constitution to make war against us, and that when they did go to war, they violated every rule laid down for the government of their armies, and waged it with a savage cruelty unknown in the history of civilization.

The late commander-in-chief of the British army has recently written of our great leader, "In a long and varied life of wandering I have met only two men whom I prized as being above all the world I have ever known, and the greater of these was General Lee, America's greatest man, as I understand history."

The present chief magistrate of this country, Theodore Roosevelt, wrote twelve years ago, "The world has never seen better

soldiers than those who followed Lee, and their leader will undoubtedly rank as, without any exception, the very greatest of all great captains that the English-speaking people have brought forth." (See "Life of Benton," page 38.)

Is it a matter of surprise, then, that the same hand should have recently written?—

"I am extremely proud of the fact that one of my uncles was an admiral in the Confederate navy, and that another fired the last gun fired aboard the 'Alabama.' I think the time has now come when we can, all of us, be proud of the valor shown on both sides in the Civil War."

If President Roosevelt really believed that his uncles were ever rebels and traitors, would he be "extremely proud" of that fact? Would he be proud to be the nephew of Benedict Arnold? No, and no man at the North who knows anything of the foundation of this Government believes for a moment that any Confederate soldier was a rebel or a traitor, or that the war on our part was a rebellion. Goldwin Smith, the harshest and most unjust historian to the South who has ever written about the war, says: "The Southern leaders ought not to have been treated as rebels, for secession was not rebellion."

And so we say, the time has come when these intended opprobious epithets should cease to be used. But whether called rebels or not, the Confederate soldier has nothing to be ashamed of. Can the soldiers of the Federal armies read this record and say the same?

Yes, our comrades, let them call us rebels if they will, we are proud of the title, and with good reason. More than a hundred years ago, when, as Pitt said, "even the chimney sweeps in the streets of London talked boastingly of their subjects in America," rebel was the uniform title of those despised subjects.

This sneer was the substitute for argument, which Camden and Chatham met in the House of Lords, and Burke and Barre in the Commons as their eloquent voices were raised for justice to the Americans of the last century. "Disperse, rebels," was the opening gun at Lexington. "Rebels" was the sneer of General Gage, addressed to the brave lads of Boston Commons. It was the title by which Dunmore attempted to stigmatize the Burgesses

of Virginia, and Sir Henry Clinton passionately denounced the patriotic women of New York. At the base of every statue which gratitude has erected to patriotism in America, you will find "Rebel" written. The springing shaft at Bunker Hill, the modest shaft which tells where Warren fell, the fortresses which line our coasts, the name of our country's capitol, the very streets of our cities,—all proclaim America's boundless debt to rebels; not only to rebels who, like Hamilton and Warren, gave their first love and service to the young republic, but rebels who, like Franklin and Washington, broke their oath of allegiance to become rebels.

And so we say, let them call us what they may, the justice of our cause precludes fear on our part as to the final verdict of history. We can commit the principles for which we fought; we can confide the story of our deeds; we can consign the heritage of heroism we have earned, to posterity with the confident expectation of justice at the hands of the coming historian.

"A LAND WITHOUT RUINS."

"A land without ruins is a land without memories; a land without memories is a land without history. A land that wears a laurel crown may be fair to see; but twine a few sad cypress leaves around the brow of any land, and be that land barren, beautiless, and bleak, it becomes lovely in its consecrated coronet of sorrow, and it wins the sympathy of the heart and of history. Crowns of roses fade; crowns of thorns endure. Calvarys and crucifixions take deepest hold of humanity. The triumphs of might are transient—they pass and are forgotten; the sufferings of right are graven deepest on the chronicle of nations."

"Yes, give me the land where the ruins are spread,
And the living tread light on the hearts of the dead;
Yes, give me a land that is blest by the dust,
And bright with the deeds of the down-trodden just.
Yes, give me the land where the battle's red blast
Has flashed to the future the fame of the past;
Yes, give me the land that hath legends and lays,
That tell of the memories of long vanished days;

Yes, give me the land that hath story and song!
Enshrine the strife of the right with the wrong!
Yes, give me a land with a grave in each spot,
And the names on the graves that shall ne'er be forgot;
Yes, give me the land of the wreck and the tomb;
There is grandeur in graves, there is glory in gloom;
For out of the gloom, future brightness is born,
As after the night comes the sunrise of morn;
And the graves of the dead with the grass overgrown,
May yet form the footstool of liberty's throne;
And each single wreck in the war-path of might,
Shall yet be a rock in the temple of right."

—*Father Ryan.*

TO THE YOUTH OF THE SOUTH.

No doubt you have read from Northern dailies and Northern histories that your fathers treated badly Federal prisoners who were confined in Southern prisons during our Civil War. When you hear these charges made, we want you to ask if the Southern prisoners who were confined in Northern pens were treated like human beings.

Let us now go into a few prison facts:—

There was a record taken of the Elmira, N. Y., prison for the three months of March, April, and May, 1865, and sent to Washington to be used in Mrs. Surratt's trial. This sworn testimony showed that there were confined in Elmira prison during these three months five thousand and twenty-five (5025) Southern prisoners, and only six had died during these three months, which testified as to the good treatment they received at the hands of the Federal government and its authorized officers.

This record was such a glaring falsehood, manufactured for the sole purpose of hanging a poor woman and implicating President Jefferson Davis, that two of their own papers, viz., the Elmira *Gazette*, and the Buffalo, N. Y., *Courier*, took it upon themselves to ascertain the truth of this record, and they found that there

were, as stated, confined in Elmira prison for the said three months of March, April, and May, 1865, five thousand and twenty-five (5025) Southern prisoners, but of this number there died in March four hundred and ninety-five (495), in April two hundred and sixty-five (265), and in May one hundred and twenty-four (124), making a total of eight hundred and eighty-four (884) against six (6) as reported, which makes a difference of eight hundred and seventy-eight (878); if the record had included the mortality for the month of February of the same year, which was four hundred and twenty-six (426), the death list in these four months would have been thirteen hundred and eleven (1311) out of a total confinement of five thousand and twenty-five (5025).

Can the death list of the Black Hole of Calcutta beat this? Does it not look strange that the descendants of a people who were run out of England for conscience' sake should be found by their own paper lying in this manner?

Let us see what treatment the Southern prisoners were receiving at Camp Douglas, away up on the banks of Lake Michigan, where in mid-winter the thermometer will sometimes drop to forty degrees below zero. We find in the depths of winter, six (6) blankets were issued to one hundred and sixty (160) prisoners, and one stove only was allowed to ten thousand (10,000) men. Many a poor fellow froze to death on the ground without anything under him or over him except the clothes he had on.

Here prisoners were hung up by the thumbs for three or four hours at a time, for the least violation of the rules. Rats and dogs were eaten daily when they could be had, yes, anything to save dear life.

It was here in Camp Douglas, when it was so cold that icicles hung from the roof of the prison down to within six inches of the stove pipes, that the breath of these men froze to their beards, many a poor fellow who was detailed to bring in wood was frost-bitten when he returned, and often his arms would be frozen around his load of wood so that his comrades would have to help him turn it loose. The Northern people may talk of Andersonville, but is was a Paradise compared to Camp Douglas.

At Point Lookout prison, in order to humiliate the proud

Southerner as much as possible, negro soldiers were often put on guard, and on one occasion a negro guard fired into a squad of about two hundred (200) prisoners, killing and wounding five.

The brutal officer of the day called out to his negro guard in the presence of his prisoners, "If your ammunition gives out, let me know, and I will furnish you more." This was all done without provocation.

Here men were frozen to death by being forced to sleep on the frozen ground without blankets or fire, and the rations were barely enough to keep body and soul together.

It was at Point Lookout that the fiendish brutality was practiced on the defenceless unfortunates by the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry, and it will never be forgotten or forgiven; their conduct to the unarmed and helpless stamps them as barbarians and cowards unworthy to carry a flag that represents the "homes of the free and the land of the brave," all too in defense of the negro that Massachusetts did more to enslave than all the rest of the country combined. This was in keeping with Puritan history.

At Fort Delaware, the daily practice of hanging Southern prisoners up by the thumbs for two or three hours for the least infraction of the rules, was simply viciousness.

At eight o'clock each morning the prisoners received their allowance for breakfast, which consisted of a small piece of mixed corn and wheat bread, and one ounce of salt beef or pork, issued to each prisoner; and at 2 P. M., for dinner, the same amount of bread, and one pint of filthy soup was issued, and this to sustain life during the long, cold nights, where one stove was allowed for ten thousand (10,000) men.

Now why was so much salt meat issued to these unfortunate men? It was for no other purpose, as we believe, than to give these helpless men scurvy and other scrobutic diseases.

On one occasion in this prison, a poor boy from Charlottesville, Va., was shot dead for throwing a cup of water out of the window of his barracks; and on another occasion General Schoepf, who was in charge, ordered a lieutenant to have his hands tied behind him and be hung up by the elbows until the poor fellow should faint from pain or his shoulder should become dislocated, and a surgeon was detailed to watch the proceedings and go to

the relief of the prisoner should either occur; this was repeated several times, after which this helpless victim was put in solitary confinement for ten days.

It was also here that the bodies of the dead were sold to surgeons and medical colleges. The *Washington Union* of July 19, 1866, says, "In reply to a resolution from the House of Representatives to Mr. Edward Stanton, Secretary of War, enquiring as to the number of prisoners that either side held and that died during the war, he made the following report:—

" Number of Union prisoners in the South, two hundred and sixty-one thousand (261,000); number of Confederate prisoners in the North, two hundred thousand (200,000); number of Union prisoners died, twenty-two thousand, five hundred and seventy-six (22,576); number of Confederate prisoners died, twenty-six thousand, five hundred and thirty-five (26,535)."

Acording to this report of their own Secretary of War, the number of Federal prisoners confined in Southern prisons exceeded the Southern prisoners confined in Northern prisons sixty-one thousand (61,000); yet four thousand (4,000) more Southerners died in Northern prisons than did Northern prisoners in Southern prisons.

This, too, when in the North there was no lack of anything, and their ports were all open to the world; while in the South everything was wanting, her ports were all blockaded by the Federal fleets, and medicines were declared contraband of war by the Federal government. The South had been stripped of its provisions because it had contributed largely to the support of both armies.

These figures, according to their own testimony, ought forever to set at rest the false accusations brought against the prison keepers of Salisbury, N. C., and Andersonville, Ga. It must be remembered by the Southern youth that these glaring falsehoods, that were so highly colored in the Northern papers, about inhuman treatment of Northern prisoners in Southern pens, was done only to cover up and hide from the eyes of a humane world their own heartless brutalities.

The following is a lecture given by John A. Miller, who was confined in prison at Fort Delaware, and is certified to by John

P. Hickman and W. H. Smith, of Nashville, Tenn., who were also confined there:—

"Every two weeks we were formed in squads and searched. We were allowed to have nothing. One blanket or one overcoat we were allowed to keep, but if a man had both, one or the other was taken from him. It was terribly cold in the winter months, and it is a wonder many of us did not freeze to death.

"On Thanksgiving Day, in 1864, we were given a whole potato each, a fourth of a loaf of bread, a cup of beans and worms, and a cup of coffee. On Christmas we got a half loaf of bread each, and some meat, and we never enjoyed a Christmas dinner as we did that one. When we were searched every two weeks, we were served with a notice that a drawing would take place to see which of the Tennessee prisoners should be shot in retaliation for what they characterized as the massacre at Fort Pillow. This drawing continued until General Forrest had them to understand that he would kill one hundred Yankees for every prisoner thus murdered.

"The offal of the kitchen was carried out in slatted boxes, and emptied in the bay at the privy at low tide; and during a high tide fragments of meat washed upon the levee, and prisoners would fish those fragments out from that filth of the privy, and eat the same.

"The poor unfortunate men who would stand around the stove to keep from freezing, were carried out, made to pull off their well-worn coats, cross their hands, tied, and then stoop down and run their hands over their knees; then Hackout, Fox, or O'Neal would run a stick through at the knee-joints, and roll them upon the stone walk, and let them remain in this pitiable condition for hours at a time, when the thermometer would be at or sometimes many degrees below zero.

"There was a Kentucky boy whom Fox tried to make carry a stick of wood, but he knocked him [Fox] into the moat, and he came near drowning, and his clothes froze on him before he got out of the Sally-port. Hal. Wolf, Randolph O'Neal, and Hackout came in with a squad of Yankees looking for the boy, but he had disguised himself, and they could not find him; and when Fox rallied from the blow and his thorough wetting in the

water on that cold morning, we were all hacked out and sent to the barracks. On going into the barracks, General Schoept, the commander, and all of his staff and squad of would-be soldiers, examined every Confederate as he came in, but Fox failed to identify his man. This little episode had a very salutary effect upon Fox ever after.

" In April, 1864, there was brought to the prison a bright-eyed boy from Tennessee. Before many weeks the horrible treatment began to tell on him, and he began to droop, and finally became very sick. Two of the boys got some whiskey and sugar with a little money they had managed to keep, and gave him a toddy two of three times each day. He finally became better. On Feb. 26, 1865, one thousand and eight hundred (1,800) of us were exchanged, but for some reason this young boy was not included in the list. A man by the name of George Edmundson, was included, but he died the night before, and the young boy tried to impersonate the dead Confederate. He was discovered, and thrown into a dungeon, where he remained for three days and nights. This dungeon was a horrible hole under the ground, and was infested with rats, bugs, and vermin of all kinds. With the regular fare what it was, it can be imagined what he received in the dungeon.

After these three days and nights, he was confined in the barracks, from whence he was released on May 28, 1865. He could have secured release from the dungeon and obtained the fare of the regular United States soldier by taking th oath, but he remained true. [This boy was John P. Hickman.]

" No one has a true conception of the horrors of war unless he was at Fort Delaware in 1864 and 1865. Our mortality during the eleven months of the war after we were set apart in retaliation for Andersonville, Ga., was about twenty-seven per cent., most of them dying with the scurvy or small-pox."

The treatment of President Jefferson Davis by the Federal authorities, after he was captured near Washington, Ga., in the spring of 1865, and carried as a prisoner to Fortress Monroe, was a stain on civilization. Here he was put into an old gun-room with heavy double shutters that were fastened with cross bars and locks. The side opening had been closed with fresh

masonry, which showed that this damp, unhealthy hole had been prepared for the especial benefit of this feeble old man.

Two sentinels with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets paced to and fro across this small prison. Two other guards and a commissioned officer occupied the gun-room with the prisoner, and all the openings were securely fastened. The officer of the day had a key to the outer door, and sentinels were posted on the pavement in front of this outer door; and in addition, there were other sentinels posted on the parapet overhead. They must have thought that Mr .Davis was an African lion.

Did they stop here? No, on the 23rd of May, 1865, the officer of the day, Capt. J. Titlow, of the Third Pennsylvania Artillery, came to the prison door with two blacksmiths, bearing a pair of heavy leg-irons that were coupled together with an enormous chain, and said to the prisoner, "I have been ordered by General Miles to put these irons upon you." Mr. Davis asked if General Miles had given that order. He was answered in the affirmative. Then Mr. Davis asked if he could see General Miles, and Captain Titlow replied that he had just left General Miles, who was leaving the fort. Mr. Davis then asked Captain Titlow if the execution of the order could not be postponed until General Miles returned; to this Captain Titlow gave the prisoner to understand that these were his orders, and he as an officer and soldier must carry them out. To these words Mr. Davis remarked that this was "not such an order as a soldier could give or a soldier should receive."

Captain Titlow with several guards and the two blacksmiths proceeded to carry out their orders. When Mr. Davis made a feeble resistance, several of the guards cocked their guns and leveled them on the feeble old man. Captain Titlow ordered them at once not to fire, and four stalwart soldiers were brought in unarmed, and were ordered to seize Mr. Davis and overpower him, and the blacksmiths put the heavy irons on his ankles. When this brutal act was being done, no doubt this educated soldier and patriot, Jefferson Davis, said:—

"Stop, soldier, stop: this cruel act
Will ring through all the land,

Shame on the hearts that planned the deed,
Shame on the coward hand
That drops the sword of justice bright
To grasp these iron rings;
On them, not me, dishonor falls,
To them this dark shame clings.

"O Mexico, on thy red fields
I battled midst the fray;
My riflemen, with steady aim,
Won Beuna Vista's day.
And standing proud in conscious worth,
I represent my land,
And that Lost Cause for which she bled,
Lofty, heroic, grand."

Now as to the vicious feeling entertained by some Northern men in authority and the false and unmanly way in which they tried to connect President Davis with the treatment of Federal prisoners at Andersonville, Ga., I will show you the desperate straits to which they were driven to make an opportunity to slack their thirst in Southern gore.

The commandant of the Andersonville prison was one Captain Wirz, a wounded Confederate soldier who was not able for service in the field. At the surrender of General Johnston's army, Captain Wirz was included as a prisoner of war.

The authorities at Washington had him arrested and confined in jail in that city, and brought before a court martial presided over by Gen. Lew Wallace. The judge advocate was Colonel Chapman, who had him condemned by false witness, and executed on the 10th day of November, 1865. Captain Wirz was defended by a lawyer by the name of Louis Schade, who was also a Northern man. I will introduce a letter written by Mr. Schade sixteen months after the execution of Captain Wirz; it was published to the world, and replies invited, but none ever came. The following is the letter in full:—

"Intending to leave the United States for some time, I feel it my duty, before I start, to fulfill in part a promise which a few

hours before his death I gave to my unfortunate client, Captain Wirz, who was executed at Washington on the 10th day of November, 1865. Protesting up to the last moment his innocence of those monstrous crimes with which he was charged, he received my word, that, having failed to save him from a felon's doom, I would, as long as I lived, do everything in my power to clear his memory.

"I did that the more readily, as I was then perfectly convinced that he suffered wrongfully. Since that time, his unfortunate children, both here and in Europe, have constantly implored me to wipe out the terrible stains which now cover the name of their father. Though the times do not seem propitious for obtaining full justice, yet, considering that man is mortal, I will, before entering upon a perilous voyage, perform my duty to those innocent orphans, and also to myself.

"I will now give a brief statement of the causes which led to the arrest and execution of Captain Wirz:—

"In April, 1865, President Johnson issued a proclamation stating that from evidence in the possession of the Bureau of Military Justice, it appeared that Jefferson Davis was implicated in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, and for that reason the President offered a reward of $100,000 on the capture of the then fugitive ex-president of the Southern Confederacy. That testimony has since been found to be entirely false and a mere fabrication, and the suborner, Conover, is now under sentence in the jail of this city, the two perjurers whom he suborned having turned State's evidence against him, whilst the individual by whom Conover was suborned has not yet been brought to justice.

"Certain high and influential enemies of Jefferson Davis, either then already aware of the character of the testimony of those witnesses, or not thinking their testimony quite sufficient to hang Jefferson Davis, expected to find the wanting material in the terrible mortality of the Union prisoners at Andersonville. Orders were issued accordingly to arrest a subaltern officer, Captain Wirz, a poor, friendless, and wounded prisoner of war (he being included in the surender of General Johnston), and besides a foreigner by birth.

"On the 7th of May he was placed in the old Capital prison

at Washington, and from that time the greater part of the Northern press was busily engaged in forming the unfortunate man in the eyes of the Northern people into such a monster that it became almost impossible for him to obtain counsel. Even his countryman, the Swiss Consul General, publicly refused to accept money to defray the expenses of the trial. He was doomed before he was heard, and even the permission to be heard according to law was denied him. To increase the excitement and give eclat to the proceedings, and to inflame still more the public mind, the trial took place under the very dome of the Capitol of the nation.

"A military commission, presided over by one of the most arbitrary and despotic generals in the country, was formed, and the paroled prisoner of war, his wounds still open, and so feeble that he had to recline during the trial on a sofa, carried before the same. How that trial was conducted, the whole world knows. The enemies of generosity and humanity believed it then a sure thing to get at Jefferson Davis.

"Therefore, the first charge was that of a conspiracy between Wirz, Jefferson Davis, Seddon, Howell Cobb, R. B. Winder, and a number of others, to kill the Union prisoners. The trial lasted for three months, but unfortunately for the blood-thirsty instigators, not a particle of evidence was produced showing the existence of such a conspiracy; yet Captain Wirz was found guilty of that charge. Having thus failed, another effort was made.

"On the night before the execution of the prisoner, a telegram was sent to the Northern press from this city, stating that Wirz had made important disclosures to Gen. L. C. Baker, the well-known detective, implicating Jefferson Davis, and that the confession would probably be given to the public. On the same evening some parties came to the confessor of Wirz, Rev. Father Boyle, and also to me, one of them informing me that a high Cabinet officer wished to assure Wirz that if he would implicate Jefferson Davis with the atrocities committed at Andersonville, his sentence would be commuted. He, the messenger, or whoever he was, requested me to inform Wirz of this. In presence of Father Boyle, I told Wirz next morning what had happened.

The captain simply and quietly replied: "Mr. Schade, you know that I have always told you that I do not know anything about Jefferson Davis. He had no connections with me as to what was done at Andersonville. If I knew anything about him, I would not become a traitor against him or anybody else, even to save my life."

He likewise denied that he had made any statement whatever to General Baker. Thus ended the attempt to suborn Captain Wirz against Jefferson Davis. That alone shows what a man he was. How many of his defamers would have done the same? Two hours later, with his wounded arm in a sling, the poor paroled prisoner mounted the scaffold. His last words were that he died innocent — and so he did. The 10th day of November, 1865, will indeed be a black stain upon the pages of American history.

"To weaken the effects of his declaration of innocence, and of the noble manner in which Wirz died, a telegram was manufactured here and sent North, stating that on the 27th of October, Mrs. Wirz (who was actually 900 miles away from Washington on that day) had been prevented by that Stantonian *deus ex machina,* Gen. L. C. Baker, from poisoning her husband. Thus, on the same day when the unfortunate family lost their husband and father, a cowardly and atrocious attempt was made to blacken their character also. On the next day I branded the whole as an infamous lie, and since then I never have heard of it again, though it emanated from a brigadier-general of the United States Army.

"All those who were charged with having conspired with Captain Wirz have since been released, except Jefferson Davis, the prisoner of the American Castle of Chillon. Captain Winder was let off without trial, and if any of the others have been tried, which I do not know, certainly none of them have been hung. As Captain Wirz could not conspire alone, nobody will now, in view of that important fact, consider him guilty of that charge. So much, then, for charge No. 1.

"As to charge No. 2, to wit, murder, in violation of the laws and customs of war, I do not hesitate to declare that about 145 out of 160 witnesses on both sides declared during the trial

that Captain Wirz never murdered or killed any Union prisoners, with his own hands or otherwise. All those witnesses (about twelve to fifteen) who testified that they saw Captain Wirz kill a prisoner, have sworn falsely, abundant proofs of that assertion being in existence. The hands of Captain Wirz are clear of the blood of prisoners of war. He would certainly have at least intimated to me a knowledge of the alleged murders with which he was charged.

"In most all cases no names of the alleged murdered men could be given, and where it was done, no such persons could be identified. The terrible scene in court, when he was confronted with one of the witnesses, the latter insisting that Wirz was the man who killed a certain Union prisoner, which irritated the prisoner so much that he almost fainted, will still be remembered.

"That man (Grey) swore falsely, and God alone knows what the poor innocent prisoner must have suffered at that moment. That scene was depicted and illustrated in the Northern newspapers as if Wirz had broken down on account of his guilt. Seldom has mortal suffered more than that friendless and forsaken man.

"Fearing lest this communication will be too long, I will merely speak of the principal and most intelligent of these false witnesses, who testified to individual murder on the part of Captain Wirz. Upon his testimony the Judge Advocate in his final argument laid particular stress on account of his intelligence.

"This witness prepared also pictures of the alleged cruelties of Wirz, which were handed to the Commission, and are now on record, copies of which appeared at the time in Northern illustrated papers. He swore that his name was Felix de la Baume, and represented himself as a Frenchman, and grandnephew of Marquis Lafayette. After having so well testified and shown so much zeal, he received a recommendation signed by the members of the Commission.

"On the 11th day of October, before the taking of the testimony was concluded, he was appointed to a clerkship in the Department of the Interior. This occurred whilst one of the

witnesses for the defense (Duncan) was arrested in open court and placed in prison before he had testified.

"After the execution of Captain Wirz, some of the Germans of Washington recognized in De la Baume a deserter from the Seventh New York (Steuben) Regiment, whose name was not De la Baume, but Felix Oeser, a native of Saxony. They went to Secretary Harlan, and he dismissed the impostor and the important witness in the Wirz trial on the 21st of November, eleven days after the execution. Nobody who is acquainted with the Conover testimony, in consequence of which the President of the United States was falsely induced to place a reward of $100,000 upon the head of an innocent man, will be astonished at the above disclosures of the character of testimony before the Military Commission. So much for charge No. 2.

"If from twelve to fifteen witnesses could be found who were willing to testify to so many acts of murder on the part of Wirz, there must certainly have been no lack of such who were willing to swear to minor offenses. Such was the unnatural state of the public mind against the prisoner at that time, that such men regarded themselves, and were regarded, as heroes, after having testified in the manner above described; whilst on the other hand, the witnesses for the defense were intimidated, particularly after one of them had been arrested.

"But who is responsible for the many lives that were lost at Andersonville, and in the Southern prisons? That question has not been fully settled, but history will tell on whose heads the guilt for those sacrificed hecatombs of human beings is to be placed. It was certainly not the fault of poor Captain Wirz, when, in consequence of medicines having been declared contraband of war by the North, the Union prisoners died for want of the same.

"How often have we read during the war that ladies going South have been arrested and placed in the old Capitol prison by the Union authorities, because some quinine or other medicines had been found concealed in their petticoats. Our navy prevented the ingress of medical stores from the seaside, and our troops repeatedly destroyed drug-stores, and even the supplies of private physicians in the South. Thus the scarcity of

medicines became general all over the South. Surgeon J. C. Pilot, a Federal prisoner, writes, Sept. 6, 1864, from Andersonville (this letter was produced by the Judge Advocate in the Wirz trial) :—

'We have little more than the indigenous barks and roots with which to treat the numerous forms of disease to which our attention is daily called. For the treatment of wounds, ulcers, etc., we have literally nothing, except water. Our wards, some of them, are wild with gangrene, and we are compelled to fold our arms and look quietly upon its ravages, not even having stimulants to support the system under its depressing influence, the article being so limited in supply that it can be issued only for cases under the knife.'

"That provisions in the South were scarce will astonish nobody when it is remembered how the war was carried on. General Sheridan boasted, in his official report, that in the Shenandoah valley alone he burned two thousand barns filled with wheat and corn, and all the mills in the whole tract of country; that he destroyed all factories of cloth, and killed or drove off every animal, even to the poultry, that could contribute to human sustenance. And these desolations were repeated in different parts of the South, and that so thoroughly that two years after the end of war Congress had to appropriate a million dollars to save the people of those regions from actual starvation. The destruction of railroads and other means of transportation, by which food could be supplied by abundant districts to those without it, increased their difficulties in giving sufficient food to our prisoners. The Confederate authorities, aware of their inability to maintain their prisoners, informed the Northern agents of the great mortality, and urgently requested that the prisoners be exchanged, even without regard to the surplus which the Confederates had on the exchange roll from former exchanges, that is, man for man, but the Federal War Department did not consent to an exchange. They did not want to 'exchange skeletons for healthy men.'

"Finally, when all hopes of exchange were gone, Colonel Ould, the Confederate Commissioner, offered, early in August, 1864, to deliver up all the Federal sick and wounded without

requiring an equivalent in return, and pledged that the number would amount to ten of fifteen thousand, and if it did not, he would make up that number with well men. Although this offer was made in August, the transportation was not sent for them (to Savannah) until December, although he urged and implored (to use his own words) that haste should be made. During that very period, the most of the deaths at Andersonville occurred. Congressman Covode, who lost two sons in Southern prisons, will do well if he inquires who these 'skeletons' were whom the Honorable Secretary of War did not want to exchange for healthy men. If he does, he will perhaps be less bitter hereafter against the people of the South.

"But has the North treated her Southern prisoners so well that she should lift up her hands and cry, 'Anathema,' over the South? We used justly to procaim in former times, that ours was 'the land of the free and the home of the brave.' But when one half of the country is shrouded in a despotism which now finds a parallel only in Russian Poland; and when our generals and soldiers quietly permit their former adversaries in arms to be treated worse than the Helots of old, brave soldiers though they may be, who, when the forces and resources of both sections were more equal, have not seldom seen the backs of our best generals, not to speak of such as Butler and consorts; then we may well question whether the star-spangled banner still waves over 'the land of the free and the home of the brave.' A noble and brave soldier never permits his antagonist to be calumniated and trampled upon after an honorable surrender. Besides, notwithstanding the decision of the highest legal tribunal in the land that military commissions are unconstitutional, the earnest and able protestations of President Johnson, and the sad results of military commissions, yet such military commissions are again established by recent legislation of Congress all over the suffering and starving South.

"History is just, and as Mr. Lincoln used to say, we cannot escape history. Puritanical hypocrisy, self-adulation, and self-glorification will not save those enemies of liberty from their just punishment.

"Not even a Christian burial of the remains of Captain Wirz

was allowed by Secretary Stanton. They will lie side by side with those of another and acknowledged victim of military commissions, the unfortunate Mrs. Surratt, in the yard of the former jail in Washington City.

"LOUIS SCHADE, *Attorney at Law.*

"Washington, April 4, 1867."

Let me warn the parents of the children of the South that they should select the histories taught, that they may not be written by unfair hands; for

"A pebble in the streamlet scant
Turned the course of many a river;
A dewdrop on the infant plant
Warped the giant oak forever."

SONGS OF THE SOUTH.

DIXIE.

A short history of this Marseillaise of the South will be interesting to all Southerners.

This soul-stirring, life-giving, patriotic song, that was worth thousands of soldiers to the Southern cause during our Civil War, was composed by a Northern man while in the North; its history is told thus:—

During the winter of 1859-60, business being a little dull, Dan Emmett, a member of Bryant's Minstrel Troop in New York City, was asked to get up something that would be quick and lively; so when he sung 'Dixie," it took so well that it was copyrighted at once, and became a favorite negro, walk-around, minstrel song.

It was supposed by some that Emmett was inspired to write "Dixie" from his knowledge of the South, but this is absurd, for he was a Northern man, and had no special interest in the South, and that he could write a war song for the South one year and a half before hostilities broke out, was equally without foundation. He simply caught the word "Dixie," and thought it was a meaningless negroism that would catch the crowd, never dreaming that it would some day stand for the South and Cotton.

As a matter of fact, Emmett knew nothing of the Southern people or their institutions. In December, 1860, about the time South Carolina seceded, the minstrel troop of Rumsey and Newcomb came to the city of Charleston to play for a week, and at the wind up of each performance they would play "Dixie." In a few days the negroes and boys were humming and singing it on the streets. And also at this time the bands of Charleston had repudiated the national airs, and the city was full of parading State troops, so they took up "Dixie," and the troops from South Carolina were the first from the South to enter Virginia in 1861 with the Charleston band playing "Dixie" at their head; the spirit of the young Confederacy was soon impregnated with this soul-inspiring music, that will forever awaken Southern en-

thusiasm to the extent of an outburst whenever and wherever heard.

It is one of the legacies that we wish to bequeath to our children, and when our time comes, and we shall cross over and the Pearly Gates shall be left ajar, we hope that the first music to greet us will be "Dixie."

This work would not be complete without a few of those soul-searching songs that stirred the brave hearts of Southern boys.

I wish I was in the land of cotton,
Old times dar am not forgotten,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.
In Dixie land where I was born in,
Early on one frosty mornin',
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.

Chorus:

Den I wish I was in Dixie,
Hoorray, Hoorray,
In Dixie land I'll take my stand,
To lib and die in Dixieland —
Away, away, away down south in Dixie —
Away, away, away down south in Dixie.

Ole missus marry "Will-de-weaber,"
William was a gay deceaber;
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.
But when he put his arms around 'er,
He smiled as fierce as a forty-pounder,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.
Ole missus acted de foolish part,
And died for the man dat broke her heart.

Now here's a health to the next ole missus,
And all the gals that want to kiss us,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.
But if you want to drive 'way sorrow,
Come and hear this song to-morrow,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.

Dars buckwheat cakes and ingen batter,
Makes you fat en a little fatter,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.
Den hoe it down and scratch and grabble,
To Dixie's land I'm bound to trabble;
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.

THE BONNIE BLUE FLAG.

During the month of September, 1861, when Terry's Rangers, which was afterward the gallant Eighth Texas Cavalry, was being mustered into the Confederate service at Houston, Texas, three of these companies started on horseback at once to New Orleans, under Captains (afterward General) Wharton, Holt, and Walker, and in a few days other companies that went to make up this gallant command, followed, under command of Lieut.-Col. T. S. Lubbock. On their arrival in New Orleans they found the city full of soldiers from Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, hurrying to the front.

On the night of September 18, at the Academy of Music, was held a public demonstration, and the house was packed from floor to gallery with the youth, beauty, and chivalry of the South. Harry McCarthy, a young Irish boy, stepped upon the stage accompanied by a young lady, who bore a flag of dark blue silk with a single white star in its center, and began singing "The Bonnie Blue Flag that Bears a Single Star." Before the first verse was ended, the audience had gone wild, and hats by the hundreds were going into the air; and before he was through with the second verse, the boys rose to their feet, and yelled and yelled until the little Irishman could not be heard. By the time he got to the third verse, the audience had caught on to the chorus, and it was wafted into the streets, and the whole crowd was turned into a Hallelujah meeting, and soon this song was hummed in every city and hamlet in the South.

After this high tension had somewhat subsided, there was an old Texan that belonged to Company B, Eighth Texas, that the

boys called "Old Virg," and in his pent-up enthusiasm he continued with his Texas yells until a policeman came and tapped him on the shoulder and ordered him to stop. Old Virg thought that the policeman was interfering with his rights, so as quick as a flash he dropped him to the ground. The policeman was at once reinforced by other policemen, and the Texans were determined to see that Old Virg should have fair play, so every Texan rushed in, and a general mix-up was the result, the police using their clubs in the most effective way, while the Texans with their long knives were carving the police in the most scientific style. About this time the mayor and Colonel Terry arrived upon the scene, the mayor called off the police, and Colonel Terry marched his sullen and defiant Rangers back to their camps.

This was the kind of greeting that the "Bonnie Blue Flag" received the first night that it was flung to the breeze. Gallant little Harry McCarthy was killed at the battle of Chickamauga.

THE BONNIE BLUE FLAG.

We are a band of brothers, and native to the soil,
Fighting for the property we gain by honest toil;
And when our rights were threatened, the cry rose near and far;
Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star!

Chorus:

Hurrah! Hurrah! for Southern rights, hurrah!
Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star!

As long as the Union was faithful to her trust,
Like friends and like brothers we were kind, we were just;
But now when Northern treachery attempts our rights to mar,
We hoist on high the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.

First gallant South Carolina nobly made the stand,
Then came Alabama, who took her by the hand;
Next, quickly, Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida,
All raised on high the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.

Ye men of valor, gather round the Banner of the Right,
Texas, and fair Louisiana join us in the fight;
Davis, our loved President, and Stephens, statesman rare,
Now rally round the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.

And here's to brave Virginia, the old Dominion State,
With the young Confederacy at length has linked her fate;
Impelled by her example, now other States prepare
To hoist on high the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.

Then here'e to our Confederacy — strong we are and brave;
Like patriots of old we'll fight our heritage to save;
And rather than submit to shame, to die we would prefer;
So cheer for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.

Then cheer, boys, cheer! Raise the joyous shout;
For Arkansas and North Carolina now have both gone out;
And let another roaring cheer for Tennessee be given —
The single star on the Bonnie Blue Flag has grown to be eleven.

LORENA.

This was one of those charming old songs that was born in the dark days of the sixties, and tells in pathetic strains of disappointed love that will strike a tender cord in every loving soul.

The composer of this song was a young Southern minister by the name of Homer Webster, who, just before our Civil strife, graduated in theology, and applied for and obtained a church in Pittsburg, Pa., where a number of wealthy miners and manufacturers with their families attended religious services. Young Webster was of good family, handsome and eloquent, such a one as would catch the eyes of the young ladies.

A wealthy glass manufacturer, who attended young Webster's church, had a daughter by the name of "Lorena" who fell in love with the young minister, and her love found a

responsive chord in his heart, so she became an ardent co-worker in his church, and at every opportunity a soft squeeze of the hand and loving glances would be exchanged between this young couple.

Lorena had many suitors, who were the sons of wealthy miners, but she did not care for them, as secret vows of love had passed between herself and the young minister. They were engaged to be married, but here fate stepped in, and in an evil hour her father and grandmother persuaded her to marry a son of a millionaire that she did not love.

The young minister soon found that Pittsburg had no charms for him, so he sought consolation among the pine hills of his native Georgia. And when the guns of Sumter echoed round the world, Homer Webster was among the first to don the gray in defense of the Stars and Bars, and tried to smother the dying embers of a first and pure love amid the exciting scenes of camp life and the crash of gory battle. But no, he could not forget; from the rippling rills and green vales of sweet lover's remembrances, although the object of his affection had linked her fate with another, came to Homer Webster, a Confederate soldier, a rich reservoir of love's young dreams that were printed on the tablets of his young heart with the divine effect of never-fading love. He wrote this soul-inspiring song and it was sung at the camp fires of both armies, not only here, but all around the world.

LORENA.

The years creep slowly by, Lorena,
The snow is on the grass again;
The sun's low down the sky, Lorena,
The frost gleams where the flowers have been;
But the heart throbs on as warmly now,
As when the summer days were nigh;
Oh, the sun can never dip so low,
Adown affection's cloudless sky.

A hundred months have passed, Lorena,
Since last I held that hand in mine,

And felt that pulse beat fast, Lorena,
Though mine beat faster far than thine;
A hundred months — 'twas flow'ry May,
When up the hilly slope we climbed,
To watch the dying of the day,
And hear the distant church-bells chimed.

We loved each other then, Lorena,
More than we ever dared to tell,
And what we might have been, Lorena,
Had but our loving prospered well —
But then, 'tis past, the years are gone,
I'll call not up their shadowy forms;
I'll say to them, "Lost years, sleep on,
Sleep on, nor heed life's pelting storms."

The story of that past, Lorena,
Alas, I care not to repeat,
The hopes that could not last, Lorena,
They lived, but only lived to cheat;
I would not cause e'en one regret,
To rankle in your bosom now;
For "if we try we may forget,"
Were words of thine long years ago.

Yes, these were words of thine, Lorena,
They burn within my memory yet;
They touch some tender chords, Lorena,
Which thrill and tremble with regret;
'Twas not thy woman's heart that spoke;
Thy heart was always true to me —
A duty, stern and pressing, broke
The tie which linked my soul to thee.

It matters little now, Lorena,
The past — is in the eternal past,
Our heads will soon lie down, Lorena,
Life's tide is ebbing out so fast;

There is a future — O, thank God —
Of life this is so small a part;
'Tis dust to dust beneath the sod,
But there, up there, 'tis heart to heart.

THE HOME-SPUN DRESS.

This song was written in the spring of 1862, about the time that the Federal fleets began to blockade our Southern ports, but by whom we do not know.

Oh, yes, I am a Southern girl,
And glory in the name,
And boast it with far greater pride
Than glittering wealth or fame;
We envy not the Northern girl
Her robes of beauty rare,
Though diamonds grace her snowy neck,
And pearls bedeck her hair.

Chorus:

Hurrah! Hurrah!
For the Sunny South so dear,
Three cheers for the home-spun dress,
The Southern ladies wear.

The home-spun dress is plain, I know,
My hat's palmetto, too;
But then it shows what Southern girls
For Southern rights will do:
We send the bravest of our land
To battle with the foe,
And we will lend a helping hand —
We love the South, you know.

Now Northern goods are out of date;
And since old Abe's blockade,
We Southern girls can be content
With goods that are Southern made;

We send our sweethearts to the war,
But, dear girls, never mind —
Your soldier-love will ne'er forget
The girl he left behind.

The soldier is the lad for me,
A brave heart I adore;
And when the Sunny South is free,
And when the fighting is no more,
I'll choose me then a lover brave
From out that gallant band,
The soldier-lad I love the best
Shall have my heart and hand.

The Southern land's a glorious land,
And has a glorious cause;
Then cheer, three cheers for Southern rights,
And for our Southern beaux.
We scorn to wear a bit of silk,
A bit of Northern lace,
But make our home-spun dresses up,
And wear them, too, with grace.

And now, young men, a word to you;
If you would win the fair,
Go to the field where honor calls,
And win your lady there;
Remember that our brightest smiles
Are for the true and brave,
And that our tears are all for those
Who fill a soldier's grave.

THE SOUTHERN SOLDIER BOY.

This song was very popular with the young ladies of the South, and forced many would-be shirkers into the Confederate army.

Bob Roebuck is my sweetheart's name,
He's off to the wars and gone;

He's fighting for his Nannie dear,
His sword is buckled on;
He's fighting for his own true love,
His foes he does defy;
He is the darling of my heart,
My Southern soldier boy.

Chorus:

Yo, ho, yo, ho, yo, ho, ho, ho,
He is my only joy,
He is the darling of my heart,
My Southern soldier boy.

When Bob comes home from war's alarms,
We'll start anew in life,
I'll give myself right up to him,
A fond and loving wife;
I'll try my best to please my dear,
For he's my only joy,
He is the darling of my heart,
My Southern soldier boy.

Oh, if in battle he were slain,
I am sure that I should die;
But I am sure that he'll come back again,
And cheer my weeping eye;
But should he fall in this our cause,
He still would be my joy;
For many a sweetheart mourns the loss
Of a Southern soldier boy.

I hope for the best, and so do all
Whose hopes are in the field;
I know that we shall win the day,
For Southrons never yield;
And when we think of those away,
We'll look above for joy;
And I'm mighty glad my Bobby is
A Southern soldier boy.

GOOBER PEAS.

While in the Georgia campaign, 1864, your writer often witnessed the scene as told by this song.

Sitting by the roadside on a summer day,
Chatting with my messmates, passing time away,
Lying in the shadow underneath the trees,
Goodness! how delicious, eating goober peas.

Chorus:

Peas, peas, peas, peas, eating goober peas.
Goodness! how delicious, eating goober peas.

When a horseman passes, the soldiers have a rule
To cry out at their loudest, "Mister, here's your mule,"
But another pleasure, enchantinger than these,
Is wearing out your grinders eating goober peas.

Just before the battle the General hears a row,
He says, "The Yanks are coming, I hear their rifles now;"
He turns around in wonder, and what do you think he sees?
The Georgia militia are eating goober peas.

I think my song has lasted almost long enough,
The subject's interesting, but the rhymes are mighty rough.
I wish this war was over, when free from rags and fleas,
We'd kiss our wives and sweethearts, and gobble goober peas.

I'M CONSCRIPTED, SMITH, CONSCRIPTED.

This poem is a parody on General Lytle's famous poem, "I Am Dying, Egypt, Dying," and was written by Albert Roberts (John Happy), who during the first year of the war was Captain of Company A Twentieth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry.

I'm conscripted, Smith, conscripted,
Ebb the subterfuges fast,
And the sub-enrolling marshals
Gather with the evening blast;

Let thine arms, O Smith, support me,
Hush your gab and close your ears,
Conscript-grabbers close upon you,
Hunting for you far and near.

Though my scarred, rheumatic "trotters"
Bear me limping short no more,
And my shattered constitution
Won't exempt me as before;
Though the provost guard surround me,
Prompt to do their master's will,
I must to the "front" to perish,
Die the great conscript still.

Let not the siezer's servile minions
Mock the lion thus laid low,
'Twas no fancy drink that "slew" him,
Whiskey straight-out struck the blow.
Here, then, pillowed on thy bosom,
E'er he's hurried quite away,
He who, drunk with bust-head whiskey,
Madly threw himself away.

Should the base, plebian rabble
Dare assail me as I roam,
Seek my noble squaw, Octavia,
Weeping in her widowed home;
Seek her, say the guards have got me
Under their protecting wings,
Going to make me join the army,
Where the shell and minnie sings.

I'm conscripted, Smith, conscripted,
Hark, you hear that Grabber's cry?
Run, old Smith, my boy, they'll catch you,
Take you to the front to die.
Fare thee well, I go to battle,
There to die, decay, and swell.
Lockhart and Dick Taylor guard thee,
Sweet Octavia—Smith—farewell.

THE JACKET OF GRAY.

Fold it up carefully, lay it aside;
Tenderly touch it, look on it with pride;
For dear must it be to our hearts evermore,
The jacket of gray our loved soldier-boy wore.

Can we forget when he joined the brave band,
That rose in defense of our dear Southern land,
And in his bright youth hurried off to the fray,
How proudly he donned it—the jacket of gray?

His fond mother blessed him, and looked up above,
Commending to heaven the child of her love;
What anguish was hers mortal tongue cannot say,
When he passed from her sight in the jacket of gray.

But her country had called, and she would not repine,
Though costly the sacrifice placed on its shrine;
Her heart's dearest hopes on its altar she'd lay,
When she sent out her boy in the jacket of gray.

Months passed, and war's thunder rolled over the land;
Unsheathed was the sword, and lighted the brand;
We heard in the distance the sounds of the fray,
And prayed for our boy in the jacket of gray.

Ah, vain, all in vain, were our prayers and our tears;
The glad shout of victory rang in our ears;
But our treasured one on the red battle-field lay,
While the life-blood oozed out on the jacket of gray.

His young comrades found him, and tenderly bore
His cold, lifeless form to his home by the shore;
Oh, dark were our hearts on that terrible day,
When we saw our dead boy in the jacket of gray.

Ah, spotted and tattered, and stained now with gore,
Was the garment which once he so proudly wore;
We bitterly wept as we took it away,
And replaced with death's white robe the jacket of gray.

We laid him to rest in his cold, narrow bed,
And engraved on the marble we placed o'er his head,
As the proudest tribute our sad hearts could pay:
"He never disgraced the jacket of gray."

Then fold it up carefully, lay it aside,
Tenderly touch it, look on it with pride;
For dear must it be to our hearts evermore,
The jacket of gray our loved soldier-boy wore.

SOMEBODY'S DARLING.

Into a ward of the white-washed halls,
Where the dead and the dying lay;
Wounded by bayonets, shells, and balls,
Somebody's darling was borne one day.
Somebody's darling, so young and so brave,
Wearing yet on his sweet, pale face,
Soon to be hid in the dust of the grave,
The lingering light of his boyhood's grace.

Matted and damp are the curls of gold
Kissing the snow of that fair young brow;
Pale are the lips of delicate mould,
Somebody's darling is dying now.
Back from his beautiful blue-veined brow,
Brush his wandering waves of gold;
Cross his hands on his bosom now,
Somebody's darling is still and cold.

Kiss me once for somebody's sake,
Murmur a prayer soft and low,
One bright curl from its fair mates take —
They were somebody's pride, you know;
Somebody's hand hath rested there;
Was it a mother's, soft and white?
Or have the lips of a sister fair
Been baptized in their waves of light?

God knows best—he has somebody's love;
Somebody's heart enshrined him there,
Somebody wafted his name above,
Night and morn, on the wings of prayer.
Somebody wept when he marched away,
Looking so handsome, brave, and grand;
Somebody's kiss on his forehead lay,
Somebody clung to his parting hand.

Somebody's watching and waiting for him,
Yearning to hold him again to her heart;
And there he lies with his blue eyes dim,
And the smiling, child-like lips apart.
Tenderly bury the fair young dead,
Pausing to drop on his grave a tear;
Carve on the wooden slab o'er his head;
"Somebody's darling slumbers here."

WHEN THE LAST ONE PASSES AWAY.

This poem was written by Beverly R. Dudley, after the war.

When the last bright ray of sunshine
Beams around the hoary head,
Of our last Confederate veteran,
'Ere his final hymn is read;
When we see the last one shrouded,
In his tattered suit of gray,
How our hearts will flood with sadness,
As he's softly borne away.

Close beside his bier we'll gather
To proclaim a last farewell,
To our last Confederate veteran,
'Ere they toll his funeral-knell.
And we'll ponder o'er the parting,
And we'll wonder at the way,
Death has swallowed up in victory
Every one that wore the gray.

Then we'll bear our last old soldier
To a quiet place of rest;
And we'll guard his mound of verdure
As an eagle shields her nest;
And we'll deck his grave with violets,
And we'll keep it green each day;
And we'll carve upon his headboard,
"Lieth here the last old gray."

Sad, ah, sad, will be our Southland,
When we have no veteran gray.
Dark, oh, dark, will be the morning,
When the last one's passed away.
Clouds will dim each peaceful voyage
When his quietude they view;
And when parting all will echo:
"Honored sir, adieu, adieu."

Shrouded in a mist of sorrow,
As a Cupid's parting lay;
Will be each Southern valley,
When the last one's passed away.
Close around each hill and mountain,
And around each cabin door,
Will be linked a chain of memory,
As was never linked before.

And through every field of clover,
And among the golden grain,
And along the battle breastworks,
Where her fairest sons were slain;
Will be monuments of memory,
While 'neath every bank of clay,
Myriads of leaden missiles,
To remind us of our gray.

We shall love to teach our children
Of our heroes who are dead;
Of the battle-scars they carried,
Marching to a soldier's tread;

Of their loyal hearts so tender,
All aglow in truth's array,
And the many recollections
Of the "boys" who wore the gray.

And so long as time speeds onward,
And there is a Heaven of love,
God will watch the silent sentinels,
Sleeping — from the world above.
And He'll guard the sacred memory
Of the old Confederate gray;
Throughout time's eternal pages —
When the last one's passed away.

THE FIRST RE-UNION.

On the second Thursday in September, 1877, the Twentieth Tennessee held its first re-union in McCavock's Grove, near Franklin, Tenn. About two hundred members of the regiment were present, together with a vast concourse of the citizens of Franklin and the adjacent section, estimated at between 6,000 and 7,000 people.

The first speaker on this occasion was the former surgeon of the regiment, Dr. Deering J. Roberts, who on being introduced delivered the following address, summarizing the history of the regiment, which was published in the *Nashville Daily American* of the next day.

" Felow-comrades of the past, ladies and gentlemen: Permit me to preface my remarks by begging your kind indulgence for one who is more given to practice than to preaching. More than fifteen years ago the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, in company with the rest of Crittenden's command, marched out from its encampment at Mill Springs, to meet the enemy, and one of the most sanguinary struggles that history has to record took place — an engagement memorable to all of us as being the forerunner of all the disaster, sorrow, and trouble that afterward overspread our grand old Commonwealth. You of the Twentieth, with your comrades, marched to the battle on that day in high spirits, colors flying, and hearts beating tumultously wild with that excitement that only brave men can feel. Many, for the first time, were to hear the terrific roar of the enemy's artillery, the murderous whistling of the minnie bullet; to behold for the first time in battle array the invaders of our country; to contend in a struggle for life with their fellow-beings. How manfully the Twentieth stood its ground, history has already recorded. How bravely they fought on that occasion, became a household word throughout the land. Overpowered by an enemy superior both in numbers and equipments, they contested every foot of the ground, made charge after charge, until over half their number lay dead or wounded on the field, and then stubbornly and sullenly falling back to their encampments. Look at them again during those fearful days that succeeded, when stern necessity

has demanded, and in obedience to their orders, behold them on their first retreat from Middle Tennessee, leaving behind them mothers, fathers, sisters, wives, homes, everything that man holds dear. Their hearts cannot but be sad, their minds enveloped in gloom; but without a murmur of disapprobation, they leave *all* to give their hearty support, their strong right hand, aye, even their lives if necessary, to sustain the government they were assisting to erect.

Behold them on the eventful field of Shiloh. From 8 o'clock on the morning of the first day till night had spread her sable pall over the field of the dead and dying on the second and most fatal day of that sanguinary engagement, right nobly did they sustain their already brightening reputation, having a large proportion of their officers and men killed and wounded; their grand old patriarchal Colonel, captured, and his two gallant sons dead on the field. See them again, in the poisonous swamps around Vicksburg, for months under the continual cannonading of the fleets above, and below that fated city, until the shriek of the terrific shell became as familiar as the nightly hum of the mosquito. And at Baton Rouge, while dashing through the Federal encampment, did the bright sun on the 5th of August, 1862, gild their colors with new honors, as they drove the boys in blue through the streets of the little town, over the river's bank, right down to the water's edge, where they cowered in terror under the powerful guns of their fleet.

At Murfreesboro, again, we see this little band, its ranks becoming thinned by disease and death, in the attack on the center on Wednesday evening, when Hollister, Cator, and their comrades gave up all for your sake and mine, and went to join that gallant band led by Peyton and E. Shields, on whose muster-roll was subsequently added the names of L. Greenfield and others whom I know are ineffaceably enshrined in more hearts than are here to-day; and in the hottest of that ever-to-be-remembered charge of the day following of the gallant Breckinridge on Friday, when Bragg was a good dog, but hold-fast would have been better. At Hoover's Gap the ground was reddened with their best blood. Claybrooke, Callender, and others here laid down their lives for what they believed right. On the second

retreat from Middle Tennessee, a great portion of the time in the post of honor bringing up the rear of our army, skirmishing with the enemy's advance, they are once more forced to leave their homes.

On Chickamauga's deathly banks, what colors are those now rushing forward in the headlong charge; now resisting an impetuous attack of the enemy, stubbornly holding them at bay; now being driven sullenly back, fighting and dealing death at every step? Yet, again, with a rush and a yell, forward is now the cry, and forward is the watch-word as they dash madly and impetuously over the enemy's breast-works. Surely that peculiar but beautiful flag is the one presented to this gallant command by one of Kentucky's most noble and gifted daughters. That white and crimson silk once enveloped the fair form of one of Kentucky's fairest maidens, when she plighted her troth at the altar with the noble soldier, statesman, and patriot, who himself knew that it could but receive additional honor in the hands in which she placed it. Look at their record at Mission Ridge. There they have left a name that will live through years to come. I quote from General Bragg's official report: " To Bate's brigade (of which this command was an integral part) is due the credit of having saved the Army of Tennessee from total rout and destruction." Again see them, after having been twice forcibly expelled from their homes, exiled from the land they loved so well, driven from point to point, their bodies scarred and bruised, their colors tattered and torn, but never dishonored; the beardless boy of two years ago now transformed into the robust soldier, the middle-aged man, the lines of care and thought deepened by his own and his country's trials — for more than one hundred miles of North Georgia's rugged soil did they contend every inch of the way; toiling and delving by night and fighting by day, hastily snatching a mouthful of the hastily prepared and meagre food in occasional momentary lulls of the incessant skirmishing from Dalton to Atlanta, culminating in the brilliant charge on the twenty-second of July, when General McPherson fell and his followers recoiled from the living breast-works formed in part by this command; and at Jonesboro, on the 31st of August, last but most fearful of all the engagements

from Dalton down. Leonidas and his Spartans in the rocky defile of Thermopylæ deserved not greater fame than did Hardee and his little corps when they measured swords with the whole of Sherman's grand army. From early morn till past mid-day did these heroes contend in a hand to hand struggle with a numerical opposition of more than ten to one; and when give way they did, it was not to superior valor, but to mere brutal weight, were they forced to succumb, and not then, until the point for which they strove so hard was accomplished. The other two corps d'armee and the Georgia militia were enabled to escape from the net the wily Sherman was weaving around them; and was so severely punished by the nettle Hardee that he thought within his grasp, that he gave Hood ample time, without further molestation to put his troops in order and mature his future plans. Here fell my old school-mate "Bob" Allison, he with whom I conned my "Liber Primus" and "Cæsar's Commentaries." Only a private in Company C, yet he was a man in every sense of the word. No cenotaph could be raised too high to honor the names of such as he. One of the bravest of the brave — the truest of the true. Here also we lost our gallant major, John F. Guthrie, and if I am not becoming wearisome, I hope you will permit me to read you an extract from a little sheet that I know is familiar to some of you.

Here Dr. Roberts read an obituary published in the *Chattanooga Rebel*, printed at that time (Sept. 9, 1864) at Griffin, Ga., eulogizing this gallant officer and Christian gentleman, who, starting out as a private in Company B, had, at the time of his death, atained the rank of major of this heroic command.

But, to continue, shall we follow the lame Texan in his weary march through North Georgia and Alabama, across the Tennessee, until we find them on this hallowed ground? It is unnecessary for me to mention, surely in this historic locality, the brilliant action that here occurred on the last day of November, 1864. The very walls of the houses of your beautiful little town know that part of history only too well. Was the Twentieth here? The soil of these grand old hills can exclaim with one accord: "We were moistened with some of its best blood." The gallant "Todd Carter," my old mess-mate, whose spicy communications

in the Southern press under the *nom de plume* of " Mint Julep," was rapidly making fame in the field of literature, here breathed his last in his father's house, under his own roof tree that he had so successfully assisted to wrest from the occupancy of the enemy. Fit companion for the heroic souls of Cleburne, Strahl, and others of that stamp, he accompanied them on their last journey to receive the reward meted out to them from the hand of their Creator. And Bill Shy, noble spirit, who was ever the reverse of his name on the field of battle, though elsewhere as modest as a girl, he, too, in the trenches in front of our Capital city, on the 15th of December following, although then the colonel commanding this gallant wreck, with his hand tightly clasped on a fallen soldier's musket, closed his eyes on the terrible storm that was again to envelop his home in its last dark embrace. For the third and last time had this sorely-tried little band to turn their backs on their homes and everything that man holds dear, this time leaving their boy commander, whose trio of stars they had assisted to enwreath with a general's rank, a captive in the hands of the enemy, severely wounded by the stroke of a sabre on that imposing brow, that marred not his physical appearance in after life, but I sadly fear had much to do in shattering that wonderful intellect under whose powerful impulse the boy-soldier had attained a general's command. Think, if you please, of the manly, aye, the peerless form, the matchless courage and unvarying coolness, under the hottest fire, of one of Tennessee's bravest sons. Think of him in subsequent affliction, and hear him, as excitedly he walks the wards of an asylum, in maddened frenzy exclaim:—

" I'm adrift on life's ocean, and wildly I sweep
Aimless and helmless, its fathomless deep;
The wild wind assails me, it threatningly storms —
The clouds roll round me in hideous forms."

But let us draw the veil on that sad picture — too sad for the joy and jesting of this occasion — and follow me one step farther. Again crossing the Tennessee River, in obedience to orders and what they considerd their duty, across the little remnant of territory left to our Confederacy, through Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, to an obscure little hamlet in the old North State,

that grand old State that claims to be the mother of Tennessee, at Bentonville, after Lee's surrender and the fall of Richmond, was the last despairing blow struck by the shattered remnant of the Army of Tennessee and the Twentieth Regiment. I have followed rapidly the steps of this command in its gigantic struggle; looking on its shifting scenes, its varying fortunes. My aim has been to draw but an outline of the mighty wrestle. Of this great American Revolution the world will always doubtless differ in their views; parties will hold opposing opinions, and during the life-time of the present generation, those opinions will be colored by partisan feeling. What men will not differ about, however — what all will agree upon — is the reluctance with which these men of Middle Tennessee entered upon the struggle, and the constancy and courage which they brought to the long, bitter, and terrible ordeal. Right or wrong, they were brave, were they not? Ask their desolated fields, their vacant firesides, their broken hearts. Prostrate, panting, bleeding at every pore, they were faithful to the last in the defense of their principles, and rather than yield those principles, dear as their heart's blood, they bared their bosoms for four years of destroying war. Before that dread and sombre tribunal they dared all, risked all, suffered all — and lost all? No! Their stainless escutcheon is still left them, and their broken swords, which no taint of bad faith or dishonor ever tarnished.

On the 26th day of April, 1865, the soldiers of the Twentieth stretched the hand of friendship to the foe they had fought so long. In accordance with the terms of the military convention entered into on that day between Gen. Jos. E. Johnston and General Sherman they took a solemn obligation not to take up arms against the United States Government, and were permitted to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by the United States authorities so long as they observed said obligation and obeyed the laws in force where they might reside. How that agreement has been observed by both parties I leave you to decide. One lesson which we may learn from the past is, that no uprising of a great people is wholly based on falsehood or delusion. Their errors are, at most, but half truths, and the opposing parties in the conflict are never either wholly in the wrong. The gallant

knights in the fable, who fought about the shield, one side of which was of silver and one of gold, were both right, but neither could see the side the other saw until they met after the strife. So in our civil war, the North fought for a united country, from ocean to ocean, from the lakes to the Gulf, and shed its blood to oppose the right of secession. So far as the South was concerned, the question of negro slavery was but an incident of the strife. The great principle of individualism which asserts itself in local self-government, and which in a republic like ours must be jealously guarded as the bulwark of our liberties, was the mainspring of Southern valor. Nor was the precious blood shed in its defense poured out in vain. The doctrine of State rights, under the Constitution, which seemed in danger of being forgotten, is once more in the ascendant, guiding the policy of the government and transforming political parties. "War," says Dean Paul Ritcher, "is the moulting time of humanity." The eagle, when shedding his plumage is sick and his pinions droop, but when his time is over he plumes his wings for a higher flight. This each one of you must feel to-day is the attitude of our common country as it enters a new era of its existence, and to this consummation every act of sacrifice and self-devotion, all the patriotic blood shed on our battle-fields, whether by the wearers of the blue or the gray, has contributed.

And now, to these ladies here, permit me to assure you from my inmost heart that the debt of gratitude incurred whilst I had the honor to be with you in those sad closing days of '64, can never be repaid. Day after day I witnessed the fair daughters of Williamson bending o'er the rude couches extemporized for our wounded, and whether the sufferer was from the far away everglades of the land of flowers, or the pine ridge or sandy savannahs of Georgia, those fair hands ministered as tenderly, lovingly, and impartially as to the wounded scion that sprang from these historic blue-grass hills and dales. They treated them all as brothers, as brothers who had fallen in their defense.

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