

CIVIL WAR STORIES

JOHN T. BELL



MANUEL



ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

THE GREATEST OF ALL GREAT AMERICANS.

CIVIL WAR STORIES

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL RECORDS—UNION
AND CONFEDERATE

BY

JOHN T. BELL

(FORMERLY OF SECOND IOWA INFANTRY)



SAN FRANCISCO
THE WHITAKER AND RAY COMPANY
(INCORPORATED)

1903

COPYRIGHT, 1903
BY JOHN T. BELL

TO MY SON STANLEY

WHO, WHEN A LITTLE LAD, WAS WONT TO DEMAND OF
ME MORE AND MORE, AND STILL MORE, "STORIES 'BOUT
THE WAR," THIS BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE.

THE one hundred and thirty volumes of War Records, Union and Confederate, the publication of which, by the government, was recently completed, contain the inside facts connected with the four years of the Civil War,—the most tremendous period in the history of our nation. Many of the letters and orders published were marked "Private and Confidential," and were never before made public. These big books tell of ambitions realized; of plans which failed; of personal jealousies and disappointments; of suffering by men and women and little children; of manacles and chains; of death of blindfolded men in front of a file of soldiers; of executions on the scaffold; of bloody battles; of weary marches; of prison camps; of wrong, injustice, and sacrifice; of brutality which would disgrace a heathen people; of loyalty worthy of saints; of unjust criticism and querulous fault-finding; of loss of life and loss of fortune; of greed battenning on a nation's stress; of generous proffer of all men and women held dear; of the hopefulness, the forbearance, the suffering, the broad charity, and the forgiving spirit of that noblest son of the greatest nation on earth — Abraham Lincoln.

To glean from the 139,868 printed pages comprising this stupendous record some of the stories it contains of the intense life of that eventful period, and to render accessible to the general public historical facts which would be otherwise known to only the few, is the purpose of this book.

JOHN T. BELL.

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA,
February 6, 1903.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTORY	9
IN THE BEGINNING	18
IN THE SOUTH IN 1861	35
THE NEGRO IN THE WAR	51
ENFORCEMENT OF THE DRAFT	69
LOYAL EAST TENNESSEE	79
PRISONERS OF WAR	87
POLITICAL PRISONERS	100
CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM	112
FOUR TRAGEDIES	118
A CHAPTER OF SUNDRIES. LETTER FROM THE POPE . . .	127
PEACE NEGOTIATIONS	134
SURRENDER OF LEE AND JOHNSTON	142
A MONTH OF ANXIETY	151
CONSTERNATION AT WASHINGTON	161
FRIENDSHIPS AND ANIMOSITIES	169
PRISON DAYS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS	180

INTRODUCTORY.

ON Christmas day, 1860, President James Buchanan sent to the Secretary of War this note:—

"My dear Sir,—I send you a telegram which I have this moment received from Pittsburg."

Possibly the President then went to his Christmas dinner, but the dispatch referred to was of a decidedly startling character, as follows:—

"An order has issued from the War Department to transfer all the effective ammunitions of war from the arsenal in this city to Southern forts. Great excitement has been created in the public mind by this order. We would advise that this order be immediately countermanded. We speak at the instance of the people, and if not done, we cannot be answerable for the consequences." To this were appended the following names: William Wilkens, William F. Johnston, W. Robinson, Thomas Williams, and Charles Shaler.

At this time, J. B. Floyd was Secretary of War, Samuel Cooper was Adjutant-General, Joseph E. Johnston was Quartermaster-General, and Jefferson Davis was chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. Four days after the receipt of the note above given, Floyd resigned and went South; and a few weeks later, Davis was President of the Southern Confederacy, Cooper was its adjutant-general, Johnston was a brigadier-general (Robert E. Lee being the only other then occupying that position), and soon afterward Floyd was also a brigadier in the Southern

army; and the four years immediately following this peremptory demand upon the chief executive of our nation were crowded with events of the gravest character, affecting our own land not only, but the civilized world. The story of these four years is told in the one hundred and thirty volumes, many of which contain twelve hundred pages and over, the publication of which, by the government, was recently completed at a cost of nearly three million dollars.

When the task of compiling and arranging this immense amount of material, Union and Confederate, was begun in 1864, Edwin M. Stanton was Secretary of War; before it was completed, the following named had succeeded him: U. S. Grant, John M. Scofield, John A. Rawlins, William T. Sherman, William W. Belknap, Alphonso Taft, James D. Cameron, George W. McCrary, Alexander Ramsey, Robert T. Lincoln, William C. Endicott, Redfield Proctor, Stephen B. Elkins, Daniel S. Lamont, Russell A. Alger, and Elihu Root. Immediately upon the evacuation of Richmond the government set vigorously to work to collect Confederate archives, and military officers in the South were instructed to take charge thereof and forward to Washington as soon as possible, in order to prevent destruction of important official documents. In response to this order, nearly two car-loads were sent from Goldsborough, North Carolina, after the surrender of Joseph E. Johnston, and from other points in the South came papers of incalculable value. The sum of twenty-two thousand dollars was paid to three ex-Confederate officers for official documents, and one of these (General Marcus J. Wright) was

employed in the publication of the records for about twenty-three years, this being done in order that every effort possible might be made to render the Confederate side of the history as complete as it could be made. There are more than 139,000 printed pages, and an atlas containing 1,006 maps and sketches gives additional value to the work, and makes a complete record of battle-field operations, the fortifications on the sea-coast, etc.

Both the greatness and the smallness of human nature are illustrated in the Rebellion Records. From beginning to end, the nobility of character of President Lincoln is conspicuous. Many are the letters, telegrams, orders, and proclamations to which his name is appended, and in not one is there the slightest trace of an ignoble soul. At the outset, he, with his sturdy common sense, was irritated by the blunders, the delays, the frightful extravagance in outlays, and the lack of results on the part of men in high places. His shrewd judgment made clear to him what should be done and what could be done, and, with his intense anxiety to see peace restored to the country, the haltings, the false movements, the jealousies, the lack of unity, displayed by military commanders must have given him many a heartache, but his correspondence with those officers is marked by a courtesy and a kindness which, now that we are placed by these records behind the scenes as he was then, excites our wonder and amazement. He was always anxious to avoid wounding the feelings of those with whom he was brought in contact, deferring to others often when his own judgment in the case was superior. His

heart was full of sympathy for the Union soldiers confined in prisons in the South, and he was swift to save the lives of our own men sentenced to death by military courts.

The love of the President for the men in the ranks was well known. At City Point he devoted a whole day to visiting the hospitals, where he shook hands with over six thousand of the sick and wounded. Some of the army officers criticised him for pardoning or respiting men convicted by courts-martial, but he said that it made him feel rested after a hard day's work if he could find some good excuse for saving a man's life, and that he went to bed happy as he thought how joyous the signing of his name made that man and his family and friends. "There are already too many weeping widows in the United States. For God's sake, don't ask me to add to the number," he exclaimed in one instance. "Well, I think the boy can do us more good above ground than under it," he said on another occasion. Over and over again the men of Sherman's army, as they approached Washington after two thousand miles of marching in the West and South, said, in talking of the proposed grand review in the nation's capital, "If we could only see Lincoln!" But Lincoln had gone to his eternal reward.

And not a line in all this mass of correspondence appearing in these records—much of it written under great stress of exciting surroundings and in the midst of provocations—is discreditable to General Grant. Level-headed and self-contained was this great soldier at all times and under all circumstances.

In the first two years of the war he was handicapped by the contemptuous disregard of his views, his plans, and his purposes by General Halleck, under whose orders he was operating, but he continued his work, quietly and conscientiously, bent upon the one absorbing purpose of crushing the Rebellion. He knew that he was Halleck's superior in military judgment; he saw the end from the beginning of his plans, and it must have been a constant irritation to him to find those plans referred to in the most contemptuous manner by Halleck. When, on that notable day in March, 1864, he stood for the first time in the presence of Mr. Lincoln and received from him a commission of lieutenant-general,—the third to hold that position since the foundation of our government,—it must have added to the satisfaction of the "Silent Soldier" to know that General Halleck was standing near and hearing the President's warm words of commendation for past services and of confidence in the future of the armies under Grant's command and direction.

These official records give an insight into the busy life of Secretary Stanton, and while they show that he was doing an immense amount of work, and was always actuated by motives of the highest patriotism, they also present him in the character of an ambitious man bent upon carrying out his own purposes and ideas, regardless of the rights and judgment of others. He was unfortunate in respect of exciting the antagonism of the leading generals of the Union armies. General Grant, in his *Memoirs*, says that he had an irritating manner, and assumed authority frequently in an unwarranted way. When Sheridan was sent

from Petersburg to take charge of affairs in the Shenandoah Valley, Grant directed him to avoid Washington, as he was confident his own orders would be countermanded by Stanton.

When the war closed, Mr. Stanton was disliked by Generals Grant, Halleck, Pope, McClellan, Sherman, and other prominent officers. Sherman was so bitter in his animosity, that when he met Stanton in Washington on the occasion of the grand review at the close of the war, he publicly refused to shake hands with him when the two met on the reviewing-stand.

General Sherman takes up many pages with his letters in these records. He wielded the pen of a ready writer, was always free to express his views on any and all subjects, was swift in criticism when things did n't move along to suit him, and was outspoken in opposition to the enlistment of negroes as soldiers for a year and a half after the government had begun to organize negro regiments. He despised politicians, and had little use for newspaper-men. The result was, that the politicians did all in their power to hamper him, and the newspapers for a time abounded in misrepresentations concerning him, and made his life a burden. Even the warmest friends of General Sherman, after a careful study of the history of the war as detailed in these great volumes, must recognize the fact that he was fortunately situated after his first trying experience in Kentucky in 1861. He did not fight battles on strictly military lines, as General Thomas fought the battle of Nashville, but he achieved success—and that is what the country wanted. He was fortunate in having won the regard

of General Grant in 1862, and in having as subordinate officers a high grade of men who had confidence in him and were always ready to obey his orders.

Horace Greeley said that George H. Thomas was the greatest general in the Union army, and the official records go far to bear out this opinion, with Grant alone excepted. A Virginian by birth, with the intense love for the South which characterizes the people of that portion of our country, it must have cost him a severe struggle to array himself in battle against his brethren and friends. Confronted by the same proposition at the beginning of the war, Albert Sidney Johnston, the colonel of Thomas's regiment; Robert E. Lee, the lieutenant-colonel; and W. J. Hardee, a major, were found wanting in loyalty to the nation; but Thomas stood firm. A little insight into what this cost him is given in a pathetic story told by General Howard after the death of the hero of Chickamauga and Nashville. General Howard had been requested to prepare a paper on General Thomas's career, which fact he made known to two sisters of the latter, then living at the old home in Virginia, and asked them for a few recollections of General Thomas's boyhood, saying that he had known and loved him through all his mature years, and that some incidents of the boyhood days of the great soldier would add to the interest of his proposed paper. In reply, one of these sisters, who had not seen her brother nor had any correspondence with him since Sumter was fired upon, wrote: "In answer to your inquiry respecting the character of the late General Thomas as a boy, I can only inform you that he was as all other boys who are well born and

well reared." The whole nation, North and South, was mourning the death of this noble gentleman, patriot, and soldier, and it is surprising that his own sister, who had known him from his cradle, could write so coldly in response to General Howard's warm-hearted, sympathetic letter. It is interesting to speculate upon what would have been the result had General Thomas, instead of Buell, been placed in command of the Department of the Ohio in the fall of 1861. That the war would have ended sooner than it did is certain.

In these records General Lee would find nothing to be ashamed of, if he were living. He wrote always as a courteous gentleman, and there is a calmness and placidity about his correspondence which is very pleasing. In the Southern army, as in the Union, there were jealousies and bickerings, and on many occasions Lee was a sort of buffer between President Davis and leading officers who felt themselves aggrieved, and often was he called upon to restore harmony. It is manifest by the official records that he was held in the greatest esteem by both civil and military officials in the South, and that his judgment was always relied upon in the councils at Richmond. It was, doubtless, due more to his urgent solicitations that Mr. Davis finally consented to the enlistment of negroes in the military service of the Confederacy than to any other influence. But this consent came too late to be of any value to the Southern cause.

The records show that the President of the Confederacy was not a man of sound judgment or of equable temperament. His proposition to execute all officers in the Federal army on account of the enroll-

ment of negroes in the Union service was an illustration of the former, for, to say nothing of the humanity of such a proposition, common prudence would have shown him its folly, as there were more Confederates in the prisons of the North than of Yankees in those of the South, and the Federal government would have at once adopted retaliatory measures by hanging Confederate officers. In respect of temper, Mr. Davis's correspondence shows that he quarreled with many of the leading men of the South. One of his subordinates, however, appears to have been deeply impressed with a sense of the superiority of Mr. Davis over ordinary men, and that was Mr. Walker, the Confederacy's first Secretary of War, who wrote to Mr. Davis that Mr. Davis was the only man he had ever met who grew in greatness the nearer one approached him. The fact that Mr. Walker had just been asked to resign his position by Mr. Davis, and that the letter in which Walker conveyed this compliment also contained a request to be appointed a brigadier-general in the army, may have had something to do with the matter. He got the appointment at once.

IN THE BEGINNING.

ONE of the latest official acts of Jefferson Davis, as chairman of the Senate Committee of Military Affairs, in December, 1860, was to inquire of the Secretary of War, J. B. Floyd, if there could not be a reduction of expense in the War Department. In response, the heads of the different divisions, with but one exception, replied in the negative. Paymaster-General Larned stated that his annual disbursements were five million dollars. Doubtless, he would have scouted as preposterous the assertion that in 1864 the government would be paying out that amount in two days and a half on account of its army and navy operations.

When Mr. Floyd resigned, December 29, 1860, Joseph Holt of Kentucky—destined to win an imperishable name at the head of the Department of Military Justice—became Secretary of War, and was at once called upon by the House of Representatives for information concerning the distribution of government arms. A report from Col. H. K. Craig, Chief of Ordnance, showed that in January, 1860, Floyd had ordered the transfer of 5,750 boxes of rifles and muskets from the armory at Springfield, Massachusetts, and from the Watervliet (New York) armory, to the arsenals at Fayetteville, North Carolina; Charleston, South Carolina; Augusta, Georgia; Mount Vernon, Alabama; and Baton Rouge, Louisiana. As there were twenty muskets or rifles in a box, the total number thus transferred would be 115,000. An order on the Quarter-

master-General for transportation for these boxes was issued January 28, 1860. In addition, Floyd had sold, during that year, 3,500 muskets to the state of Alabama, and 5,000 each to the states of Virginia, Mississippi, and Louisiana, at \$2.50 each. United States forts were seized by the South as follows: Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, December 27, 1860; Fort Morgan, Alabama, January 5, 1861; Baton Rouge barracks, Louisiana, January 10, 1861; Forts Jackson and St. Philip, Louisiana, January 11, 1861; Fort Pike, Louisiana, January 14, 1861; and Oglethorpe barracks, Georgia, January 26, 1861.

The first proffer of soldiers made to the government was by Frank J. Herron, captain of the Governor's Grays, of Dubuque, Iowa, who tendered the services of his company, January 15, 1861. Captain Herron became Major-General Herron before the close of the war. William F. Small, a militia general, of Philadelphia, offered the government the First and Second regiments of Washington Guards, on January 28th; and on February 20th, a company of sixty men, the Leavenworth (Kansas) State Guards, was proffered the government by its captain, Daniel McCook, who also became a major-general in the Union army.

In response to the call made by President Lincoln, April 15, 1861, for 75,000 militia for three months, Governor Buckingham of Connecticut telegraphed that the requisition made on him would have immediate attention; Indiana's quota was 4,683, and Governor Oliver P. Morton at once tendered 10,000; Governor Magoffin of Kentucky replied, "In answer, I say emphatically Kentucky will furnish no troops for

the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern states"; Governor Washburn of Maine said the people of Maine would rally with alacrity to the maintenance of the government and the Union; Governor Andrew of Massachusetts asked, "By what route shall we send?" Irvin McDowell (then Assistant Adjutant-General, who was to command the Union army, as Major-General, in the first battle of the war) answered, "Send your companies by rail," and four days later the street pavement of Baltimore was reddened with the blood of Massachusetts men as they were hurrying to the defense of the nation's capital; Governor Ellis of North Carolina doubted the genuineness of the dispatch sent by the Secretary of War, as it was of "so extraordinary a character," but would say, in reply, that he regarded the proposed levy of troops for subjugating the South as a gross usurpation of power and unconstitutional, that he could not be a party to this wicked violation of the laws, and that there would be no troops furnished by North Carolina; Governor Morgan of New York asked for more detailed information, and General Sickles, of the state militia, telegraphed that the city of New York would sustain the government, that Democrats were no longer partisans, but loyal to the government and the flag, and that the attack on Fort Sumter had made the North a unit; Governor Randall of Wisconsin replied that the call for one regiment would be promptly met, as would be further calls when made; Governor Dennison of Ohio said that the thirteen regiments required of that state would be promptly furnished; Governor Olden of New Jersey asked for information concerning arms,

etc., so that his quota could be prepared as soon as possible; Governor Goodwin of New Hampshire replied that his state would furnish the men asked for with no loss of time; Governor Letcher of Virginia said his state would not furnish any men, and added, "You have chosen to inaugurate civil war, and having done so, we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the administration has exhibited towards the South"; Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania replied that the troops from his state would be in the state capital in twenty-four hours; Governor Yates said that the Illinois regiments would be in the field in a day or two; Governor Harris of Tennessee telegraphed that his state would not furnish a single man for purposes of coercion, "but fifty thousand, if necessary, for the defense of our rights and those of our Southern brethren"; Governor Sprague expressed a desire that Rhode Island should be the first in the field; Governor Jackson of Missouri considered the requisition illegal, unconstitutional, revolutionary in its object, inhuman, and diabolical, and he could not comply with it; Governor Fairbanks of Vermont said that the citizens of his state would respond with great enthusiasm to any call for sustaining the government against the designs of conspirators; Governor Kirkwood of Iowa telegraphed at length in the most encouraging manner, but suggested that Davenport would be a better place for rendezvous than Keokuk, as it had direct railway communication with the East, and also telegraph connection, which Keokuk did not have. Governor Blair of Michigan offered double the number of men called for from that state; and Governor Don-

nelly of Minnesota responded by saying that the troops would be ready from his state in ten days. The territories were not asked to furnish men, but General John M. Thayer, of the Nebraska militia, offered, in the absence of the governor, Alvin Saunders (who had recently been appointed, but had not reached his post), to supply a sufficient body of volunteers to man Forts Kearney and Randall as a protection against Indians, or to serve elsewhere if needed.

In the midst of these messages from governors appears the first mention, in the official records, of the name of George B. McClellan in connection with the Civil War. It is found in a paragraph in a long letter from Commodore W. H. Aspinwall to General Scott, of April 27, 1861, as follows: "I received at midnight a dispatch from Larz Anderson, S. H. Vinton, Groesbeck, and several other influential men in Cincinnati, urging me to get, in some manner, a message to you that you might recommend George B. McClellan to Governor Dennison as a suitable man to be placed at the head of military affairs in Cincinnati, and requesting that the same communication be sent to the President, General Cameron, and Governor Chase." Within less than a month McClellan's name again appears in the records, this time with the words "Major-General U. S. Army" appended. It is signed to a dispatch from Indianapolis, urging the government to accept, for three years, three-months Indiana men then in camp at Indianapolis.

At the time George B. McClellan was bringing to bear all the influence he could to secure a place in the

army, one of his old West Point associates was also endeavoring to get into the service, and knowing what we do of the subsequent career of these two men, it is with a pathetic feeling that one reads, turning but a single page forward from the dispatch from Major-General McClellan, this letter from U. S. Grant, dated at Galena, Illinois, May 24, 1861, and addressed to Adjutant-General Thomas:

"Sir:— Having served for fifteen years in the regular army, including four years at West Point, and feeling it the duty of every one who has been educated at the government expense to offer their services for the support of that government, I have the honor, very respectfully, to tender my services, until the close of the war, in such capacity as may be offered. I would say, in view of my present age and length of service, I feel myself competent to command a regiment, if the President, in his judgment, should see fit to entrust one to me. Since the first call have been serving on the staff of the governor of this state, rendering such aid as I could in the organization of our state militia, and am still engaged in that capacity. A letter addressed to me at Springfield, Illinois, will reach me."

But that letter proved to be one of the letters which never came, for Adjutant-General Thomas threw Grant's communication aside, and paid no further attention to it. Within less than nine months after the writing of that application the name of U. S. Grant was known all over the civilized world as the victor in the most important engagement of the war thus far, and the captor of thirteen thousand Confederates.

Proffers of regiments far in excess of the number

called for were made the government in 1861. In urging the President to accept one more regiment from Illinois, Governor Yates wrote him that the hard fighting of the war would be on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, with Tennesseans and Missourians. He had previously recommended the organization of an army for the West to consist of twenty thousand men, which he doubtless considered a large body of men. A larger number, Union and Confederate, were killed or wounded at a single battle fought less than a year afterward — the battle of Shiloh.

President Lincoln's extraordinary skill in the strong presentation of points was notably illustrated in his message to Congress, convened in extra session July 4, 1861. After concisely setting out the condition then confronting the country, he asked for authority to raise an army of at least 400,000 men and an appropriation of \$400,000,000, calling attention to the fact that a public debt of even \$600,000,000 would not be so large per capita as was the nation's debt at the close of the Revolutionary War. "It might seem, at first thought, to be of little difference whether the present movement at the South be called 'Secession' or 'Rebellion,'" he said. "The movers, however, well understood the difference. At the beginning they knew they could not raise their treason to any responsible magnitude by any name which implies violation of law. They knew their people possessed as much of moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in and reverence for the history and government of their common country as any

other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement in the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments." In concluding, he said: "The constitution provides, and all the states have accepted the provision, that 'the United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government'; but if a state may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so, it may also discard the republican form of government; so that to prevent its going out is an indispensable means to the end of maintaining the guaranty mentioned, and when an end is lawful and obligatory, the indispensable means to it are also lawful and obligatory."

Congress granted the President authority to enlist a million men and voted an appropriation of five million dollars. The call for three years' troops followed, and the country, North and South, became a vast military camp. Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania was appointed Secretary of War, and continued in that responsible office until the following January, when he was succeeded by Edwin M. Stanton of Ohio.

In a report made at this time Secretary of War Cameron said that the large disaffection of United States army officers had excited the most profound astonishment and naturally provoked inquiry as to the cause. "But for this startling defection the Rebellion could never have assumed formidable proportions," he says. "The mere accident of birth in a particular section, or the influence of belief in particular political theories, furnishes no satisfactory explanation of this remarkable fact." In this connection he called attention to a recent report of the Board of

Visitors to West Point Academy in which it was asserted that the discipline at the military school practically ignored the essential distinction between acts wrong in themselves and acts wrong because prohibited by special regulations.

The fear that England and France would recognize the Confederacy as an independent government and give it material aid soon became a factor in the situation. On July 12, 1861, John Norris, Jr., an American living in London, wrote a letter to F. H. Morse, the United States consul at London, concerning a conversation he had recently had with one Forbes Campbell, an intimate friend of Lord Palmerston's private secretary. Campbell referred to the supply of cotton from the United States to England and France and said that, including shipments then on the way, it would last only until about November 1st; that prices had been advanced and, if the Rebellion continued, would probably reach a point which would materially check consumption; that at first, public feeling in England was entirely in favor of the North, but the passage of the Morrill tariff act, together with a fear of trouble a lack of cotton would cause, had produced a change, and public feeling was now generally in favor of the South. Mr. Campbell was of the opinion that France would recognize the Southern Confederacy before November, and if it was necessary to obtain cotton, would break the blockade of Southern ports which the United States had established, but that the British government had no such intentions—that it might recognize the Confederates if successful, but would give them no material aid.

In this connection, a letter written to the War Department by Senator Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, August 27, 1861, is of interest. He said that a Colonel Elliott, a member of the Canadian Parliament, desired to raise a regiment of Canadian cavalry for the Union army; that Elliott was in favor of the closest union between the Canadas and the United States, and believed that a fraternal union upon the battle-field would tend strongly to cement a yet closer union; that it would satisfy England that "hands off" was her best policy. Senator Chandler also said that the moment it was proven that blacks were used in the Southern army to fight he proposed to recruit a few regiments of sabres in Canada to meet that enemy, and he thought Colonel Elliott's proposition would be an opening wedge to that movement.

With a view of counteracting unfriendly feeling in Europe, and to show that the United States was prosecuting the war in a vigorous manner, the following dispatch was prepared in Washington, October 31, 1861, and sent to the Associated Press in New York with a request that it might be sent by steamer to Europe and properly used on the other side of the water: "The power of the loyal states girds the rebels closer and closer. Five hundred thousand troops on an arc stretching from Kansas to Cape Hatteras are slowly but surely pushing the insurgent force into the interior of the slave states, where it will inevitably perish. There is no abatement of the military spirit in the free states. Now that the harvest is fully ended, volunteers for the war fill up regiments with astonishing alacrity. It is unquestionable that the determination to restore

the Union, and to accept of no compromise whatever with the slavery propagandists, increases daily. The annual fall elections in the North and West have resulted, almost without opposition, in sustaining the policy of the Federal government. If the President will fight, and keep on fighting, the free states will give men and money without stint. An immense naval expedition sailed for an unknown destination on the coast of the Atlantic cotton states on the 29th. It took out 30,000 men of both services, and was composed of 31 large transport vessels, 16 steam-gunboats, and 8 men-of-war carrying 383 guns. Immense quantities of ordnance, a large number of surf-boats, houses framed ready to put up, 1,500 shovels, brick in quantity, and all needed materials for a campaign, together with supplies of artillery, and cavalry horses, went in the transports."

Later, Henry W. Lord, United States consul at Manchester, England, wrote Secretary Seward that a large number of English subjects were offering their services at the consulate, under the impression that they would be received and forwarded to the United States to serve in the Union armies; that many had found their way over at their own expense, and that, if not inconsistent with international obligations, a little encouragement would induce the emigration of thousands of sturdy men to the United States; and Mr. Lord suggested the payment of their passage (twenty dollars) by the government, which was then offering bounties of twenty-five dollars to induce men to enlist. The diplomatic Secretary of State responded to this suggestion with a circular, designed for use by

all the representatives of the government in foreign countries, in which he said that at no former period of our history had our agricultural or mining interests been more prosperous than at that juncture, which fact might be deemed surprising, in view of the enhanced price for labor, occasioned by the demand for the rank and file of the armies of the United States. "It might therefore be confidently asserted," he said, "that, even now, nowhere else can the industrious laboring man and artisan expect so liberal a recompense for his services as in the United States. You are authorized and directed to make these truths known in any quarter and in any way which may lead to the migration of such persons to this country."

H. S. Sanford, writing to Secretary Seward, November 12, 1861, from Brussels, reported that he had secured an option by which he had control of contracts for material designed for the South—for 206,000 yards of gray cloth which could be dyed blue in twenty days; 100,000 yards of blue cloth; 100,000 blankets; 40,000 guns, and 20,000 saber bayonets—and that if the money needed to close the deal could be furnished him at once, it would be a victory which would almost compensate for Bull Run. He also reported that the drift of public sentiment in France was against the North; that men in high places believed the North was not in earnest, had no heart in the struggle, and would soon abandon the contest. The Russians he found to be everywhere, in Europe, the friends of the United States.

In the first year of the war, the contending forces

found it difficult to procure arms. On behalf of the United States, General Frémont assumed authority to make a large purchase in Europe, which caused a great deal of trouble for himself and for the government. General James W. Ripley, ordnance officer, reported that this purchase was without authority; that Frémont had paid \$22.50 for Hall's carbines, which cost \$17 new, and that this make of carbines had been rejected by our military service after trial, and many had been condemned as unsuitable for use and sold for \$6, and less, at auction; that Frémont had bought Enfield rifles at \$26.50, which the government had recently contracted for at \$20; he had bought Colt's pistols at \$35, the contract price of which with the government was \$25, and Colt's carbines and rifles at \$60 and \$65 each—a price, he said, much in excess of their value. General Ripley insisted that such extravagant and unlawful expenditures should be stopped. In marked contrast with the prices paid by General Frémont was a proposition made the government by Philo D. Mickles and Charles Hopkins of New York, in October, 1861, to furnish muskets, boxed, at New York, at \$7.65 each, on a contract for 60,000.

Robert Dale Owen and Joseph Holt were appointed a commission, in 1861, to audit the accounts of those who had claims against the government for arms furnished, and the report they made to the government discloses an astonishing state of affairs. It was found that government agents and state agents were overrunning Europe, bidding against each other for arms, all of which the government was to pay for; worthless weapons were bought at extravagant prices, even

though they had been of value; "middlemen" with no knowledge of the business accumulated fortunes in selling to these competing agents, but in one instance this commission saved the government \$580,000 by cutting down the price previously arranged, and in another, dealing with a *bona fide* importer of arms, made a saving of over a million dollars, as compared with prices previously paid this same man. Arms had been bought without regard to needs, in one instance 1,164,000 Springfield rifles having been contracted for, when only 500,000 were needed. Remington and Sons had solicited orders to supply their revolvers at \$15 each, but could get a contract for only 5,000, while at the same time an order had been given to another American company (the name of which appears in the report) for an indefinite number of their revolvers, in no wise superior to Colt's, at \$25, of which 31,000 had been bought, but when the government, recently, advertised for bids, that same company offered to supply the revolvers at \$14.50.

The commission refer, in their report, to a United States Senator who was to receive \$10,000 for a contract he had obtained from the Secretary of War for muskets. He had insisted upon \$50,000 at first but had compromised at \$10,000. A firm dealing in fire-arms employed as "middleman" an individual who had achieved remarkable success of a financial sort in beef contracts with the government. He succeeded in getting a contract for 5,000 pistols at \$20 each and was paid \$10,000. A few days later this firm made written application to the Secretary of War for a contract for 10,000 pistols. It was referred to the Chief of

Ordnance who promptly reported against the application on the ground that the pistol was not, in his opinion, a desirable one for the service, and thereupon the application was rejected by the Department. Some time afterward this firm was waited upon by a man who asked if they did not want an additional pistol contract. They replied that they did, and when he inquired what they would give him, offered him \$10,000 to procure an order for 5,000. He then proposed that the price of the pistol should be raised to \$22.50, but the firm declined to do this, as they had previously sold to the government at \$20. In a short time this man procured an order for 5,000 pistols at \$20.

Meanwhile the enormous outlays of money alarmed the country and Senator Henry Wilson inquired of Paymaster-General B. F. Larned as to the best method of reducing these expenditures. In reply, General Larned said that regimental bands were more ornamental than useful and that if they were mustered out a saving of \$5,000,000 a year would be made; that \$2,000,000 a year could be saved by cutting off the allowance of forty cents a day for risk and use of horses of cavalry officers; that a saving of from \$10,000,000 to \$15,000,000 could have been made annually if the pay of soldiers had not been raised from the old rate of \$11 per month to \$13. General Larned also objected to the class of men appointed as chaplains, which officers he apparently considered as unnecessary as regimental bands, and he mentioned an instance where, it was said, a regiment employed a French cook who was mustered as chaplain to meet the expense, and some chaplains, he said, drew pay for

forage for three horses when they had but one; that many field and staff officers were allowed more horses than they needed, and drew pay for forage for horses they did not have; there were entirely too many staff-officers, in his judgment, and he considered army sutlers a demoralizing force, taking money from the men which should go to their families.

Quartermaster-General Meigs, it is evident, differed from the Paymaster-General in two particulars; viz., as to chaplains and regimental bands. The latter were abolished early in 1862 and in a letter written that year General Meigs expresses his regret, as the bands were a great comfort to the soldiers in camp, in bivouac, and on the march, and in time of battle, and after they served as a disciplined ambulance corps to pick up the wounded. In respect of chaplains he makes complaint that he had learned "that soldiers are buried without any religious service whatever," and he requests that if regimental chaplains are unavailable for that purpose the quartermaster's department be authorized to employ chaplains for that special duty.

The nearness of the nation's capital to the seat of war was a matter of grave concern to the government in 1861—as, indeed, it was during the entire war, and in December, 1861, Secretary Cameron recommended to President Lincoln a change of geographical lines by making the Blue Ridge Mountains the eastern boundary of Virginia, and Pennsylvania the northern line, thus giving Virginia the two Maryland counties of Allegany and Washington; transfer to Maryland all of

Virginia lying between the Blue Ridge and Chesapeake Bay, and to Delaware that portion of Virginia situated between Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic.

An insight into Mr. Lincoln's views as to the growth of the United States is given in his message to Congress when it met in regular session in December, 1861, when he said that there were then living among us those who, if the Union were preserved, would live to see it contain 250,000,000 people; hence, he said, the struggle of to-day was not altogether for to-day, but for a vast future also.

IN THE SOUTH IN 1861.

DECEMBER 20, 1860, the state of South Carolina adopted the following ordinance:—

“An Ordinance to Dissolve the Union Between the State of South Carolina and other States United with Her in a Compact Entitled ‘The Constitution of the United States of America.’

“We, the People of the State of South Carolina in Convention Assembled do Declare and Ordain, and it is hereby Declared and Ordained, that the Ordinance adopted by her in Convention on the Twenty-third day of May, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all the acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying the Amendments of the said Constitution are hereby repealed, and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States under the name of the United States is hereby Dissolved.”

There were 169 members of this convention and the vote by which the above ordinance was adopted was unanimous. Similar ordinances were adopted by other Southern states as follows: By Mississippi, on January 9, 1861; Florida, January 11; Alabama, January 11; Georgia (with 89 votes in opposition), January 19; Louisiana, January 26; Texas, February 1; Virginia, April 17; Arkansas, May 6; and North Carolina, May 20. A proposition to vote upon the calling of a convention to decide whether or not

Tennessee would secede was submitted to the people by the legislature, and was rejected by over ten thousand majority, in February. In April, after the surrender of Sumter, a special session of the legislature was called by Governor Isham G. Harris, an avowed Secessionist, and an election was ordered for the 8th of June. The election was held, and the state declared out of the Union, East Tennessee giving a majority of over twenty thousand against secession.

Alexander H. Stephens, one of the leading men of Georgia, and who afterward became Vice-President of the Confederacy, upon invitation of the legislature of his state, made a speech before that body, November 14, 1860, taking strong grounds against secession, in the course of which he said that "to make a point of resistance to the government, to withdraw from it because a man has been constitutionally elected, puts us in the wrong. We are pledged to maintain the constitution; many of us have sworn to support it. Can we, therefore, for the mere election of a man to the Presidency, and that, too, in accordance with the prescribed forms of the constitution, make a point of resistance to the government without becoming breakers of that sacred instrument ourselves?" Mr. Stephens's address was a notable one, and, doubtless, bore fruit in the eighty-nine votes cast against secession when the convention was held in his state the following January.

The provisional government was organized at Montgomery, Alabama, in February, 1861, and on the 18th, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice-President.

At 4:30 o'clock on the morning of April 12th the first shot of the Rebellion was fired at Fort Sumter by Edmund Ruffin of Virginia, and the war was on. Previous to this overt act, however, the Confederacy, on March 5th, sent three commissioners to Washington to endeavor to secure an establishment of relations "between the two governments, on a basis of justice and equity." L. P. Walker, the Confederacy's Secretary of War, also sent to Washington to secure the services of a reliable and competent clerk from the War Department of the United States, with a proffer of a salary of twelve hundred dollars a year. The commission received no official recognition, and J. Forsythe, one of these commissioners, wrote Secretary Walker as follows, in reference to the clerk, and the situation at the nation's capital generally, under date March 14th:—

"Your telegram about disbursing clerk duly received and attended to without delay. I have not been able to find one who is properly recommended. Major Belger, of the quartermaster department in the war office, is in search of what is wanted, and believes he can succeed in a day or so. We are feeling our way here cautiously. We are playing a game in which time is our best advocate and if our government could afford the time I feel confident of winning. There is a terrific fight on in the Cabinet. Our policy is to encourage the peace element. The outside pressure in favor of peace grows stronger every hour. Lincoln inclines to peace, and I have now no doubt that General Scott is Seward's anxious and laborious coadjutor in the same direction. If Seward were not

a coward, and would have had an unofficial conference with us, we could have strengthened his hands. His refusal forced us to precipitate the official bomb-shell into the Cabinet before he was ready for it. He has already had to beg for time and I repeat that I feel the strongest conviction that if time were allowed we could make our mission a success. Seward wanted time as much as we did but his lack of nerve has lost it to him and to us.

"Never was administration in such a dilemma. The only question with them is, which of its two horns it had better be impaled over. Since the 4th of March all of the Republican illusions have been exploded—first, that it was very easy to reinforce the forts, and second, that they could collect revenue on floating custom-houses at sea. The great danger is, that, with their ignorance of the true state of affairs at the South, they may blunder us into war when they really do not mean it. I think the great problem with the administration is to how to get out of a fight without blowing up the Republican party. They believe, and we encourage the pleasant thought, that in case of war their precious persons would not be safe in Washington. With prudence, wisdom, and firmness, we have the rascals 'on the hip.'"

That it was believed there would be little difficulty experienced in setting up the Confederate government is shown by the adoption of resolutions tendering the new government the free use of their roads by the management of the Tennessee and Mississippi, the New Orleans, and the Jackson and Great Northern railroads. V. P. Daniels, Jr., president of the Rich-

mond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad, wrote General Lee, April 25, 1861, making a number of suggestions, which, in the light of the experiences of the war, are of interest. He proposed that at every point on the line of his road liable to sudden invasion by the enemy, an engine should be kept fired up night and day, with engineer and fireman ready at a moment's warning to run over the road and give notice of the enemy's approach. Tar-barrels and other combustible material for beacons should also be placed at convenient stations on the road, he said, to give warning, and engineers and machinists should be instructed, upon the certain approach of an overpowering force of the enemy, to carry away or conceal the main connecting-rods of their engines.

One of the first acts of the Confederacy was to appropriate \$5,000,000 for military purposes. The first call for troops was made April 8, 1861—four days before Sumter was fired on. At that date only seven states had seceded and the apportionment of this call was as follows: Florida, 1,500; South Carolina, Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, 3,000 each. In issuing the call, Secretary Walker stated that "a large force will be needed to resist the coercive measures of the Washington administration." (An army of 19,500 was not considered "a large force" a few months later.) On April 16th, another call was made—Mr. Ruffin of Virginia having sped his shot at Sumter in the mean time—and Florida was asked to furnish 2,000 more men, and the other Confederate States 5,000 each, thus giving the

South a military force of 51,500 men to inaugurate war against the United States.

The raising of a Confederate army attracted attention in Potter County, Penna., and Charles W. C. Macomac, writing from Brindleville, informed Mr. Davis that there were lodges of Southern sympathizers formed all through the states of Pennsylvania and New York; that ten thousand men had been enlisted for the Confederacy; that they had sold all their property to get money to go South; that they had bought arms and equipments but still lacked \$11,340 to pay transportation charges. They proposed to fight for the South without a cent of pay, and if Mr. Davis would at once send to the writer that amount in gold, this army of 10,000 men, armed and equipped, would start South immediately. The joker who sent this proposition may be interested in learning, if he is still on earth, that the President of the Confederacy gravely indorsed the letter: "Secretary of War; attention. Curious."

After the state of Virginia seceded, the provisional government ceased and Richmond became the Confederate capitol the first session of Congress being held in that city, July 20, 1861, and from that time until April 2, 1861, Richmond was a storm-center. On February 22, 1862, Davis and Stephens were re-elected, and remained in office until the close of hostilities.

There was a swift response to the demand for soldiers in the South in the opening months of the war but in 1862 the enthusiasm waned to a considerable degree, as it did in the North, and a conscription

law was passed which provided that all able-bodied men in the Confederacy, between the ages of 18 and 35, should be enrolled in the military force of the South. Exemptions upon the payment of \$500 were granted, and members of the organizations of Friends, Dunkards, Mennonites, and Nazarenes were exempted from the operation of the law. Later in the war the age limit was between the ages of 17 and 50, which gave rise to the charge, in the North, that the South was "robbing the cradle and the grave" to get material for her armies. All exemptions previously made were canceled and those who had furnished substitutes were held subject to military duty. The loss of one or two fingers, the loss of an eye, or of hearing—if not complete—did not excuse one from service in the army. The enforcement of the conscription act almost caused an internal revolution in some of the states, notably North Carolina and Georgia, both of which were but half-hearted members of the Confederacy, and each had a governor who was remarkably handy with the pen. Governor Z. E. Vance of North Carolina, and Governor J. E. Brown of Georgia, took the position that they were the head of the militia in their respective states, and the interference with their jurisdiction by the attempted enforcement of the conscript act was vigorously resented in a correspondence with Mr. Davis and his Secretary of War, which, at times, bordered on the personal.

In one of his letters on this subject Governor Vance set up the sovereignty of the state—the principle upon which the South had left the Union. "Of course, then, everybody is liable to conscription," he says.

"The governor, as the commander-in-chief, and all the officers of the militia are, of course, liable to military duty, and therefore to conscription also. You are already enrolling magistrates who compose our courts of pleas and quarter sessions, lay our taxes, assess property for taxation, provide for the poor, and preserve the peace generally, and with them every executive officer and constable, and also the police-officers of our cities and corporations. Now, sir, after these and the militia officers have been taken by the Confederacy, will you please inform me what remains of the boasted sovereignty of the states? . . . God forbid that the rights, the honor, and the existence of the states should rest upon the grace and mercy of a bureau of conscription. The rights of the states certainly rest upon a more solid foundation than this."

In Georgia, Howell Cobb had charge of the enforcement of the law and in addition to the correspondence which Governor Brown carried on with the Richmond authorities on this subject, he exchanged letters with Cobb, of an exceedingly vigorous character, until finally the Governor made a personal reference to Cobb's acquirement of wealth through the medium of the marriage altar, and Cobb responded with insinuations that Brown had recently obtained money by means which had not been fully accounted for to the public. To this the Governor replied by giving details of his business affairs which clearly proved that whatever fortune he might possess had come to him by honorable methods.

The rights of the state, as distinguished from those of the Confederacy, became a subject of controversy

later on in connection with the manufacture of whisky. On account of the scarcity of grain, Virginia and South Carolina passed laws making it a penal offense to convert corn, wheat, rye, or other grain into whisky. By order of the War Department a distillery was established in Virginia for the manufacture of whisky for the use of the medical and quartermaster departments. To this the state authorities objected and the matter was carried to the Attorney-General of the Confederacy, George Davis, who held that it was unconstitutional for any state to pass laws which interfered with the enactments of the Confederate Congress.

With a view of inducing officers to leave the United States service in 1861, the Confederate Congress passed an act providing that "in all cases of officers who have resigned, or who may within six months tender their resignations, from the United States army, and who have been or may be appointed on original vacancies in the army of the Confederate States, the relative rank of officers of each grade shall be determined by the commissions held in the United States army anterior to the secession of the Confederate States." Of the prominent officers leaving the United States service to enter that of the South Joseph E. Johnston was a brigadier-general and Samuel Cooper, Albert Sidney Johnston, and Robert E. Lee were colonels. In the organization of the army a few weeks later, General Joseph E. Johnston was made fourth in the list, the other three ranking him. To this he made emphatic objection, after the battle of Bull Run, in a long letter to President Davis, and as a result of the

correspondence on that subject an antagonism to General Johnston was shown by Mr. Davis from that period until the close of the war.

In 1861, Charles P. Leavitt, Company K, Second Virginia Regiment, wrote the Confederate Secretary of War informing him that he had invented a submarine gunboat to which he desired to call the attention of the government. It was fitted with boilers which generated steam from air and the air for respiration was kept in fit condition for breathing, by men operating the boat, by the gradual addition of oxygen, while the carbonic acid was absorbed by a shower of lime-water which he considered better than to take down a supply of compressed air. "After being towed out to sea, and on coming in range of the enemy's guns, it is to be cast off, when it will sink below the surface of the water, and when within a few rods of the enemy's ship it will leap to the surface and explode a shell, then drop below the surface of the water again and proceed noiselessly on its way towards another ship, and after a few ships are sunk, the enemy can scarcely have the temerity to remain in our waters," says this ingenious inventor, who was requested to come to Richmond, but there is no record of the adoption of his submarine boat for offensive purposes.

Evidence that the Southern people were ready to criticise public officers is found in the following, written to the Secretary of War, April 16, 1862, by one J. J. Beed, of Marshall, Texas:—

"My dear Sir—It is subject of general remark among intelligent men, that if for the next six months

the War Department of the Confederate States is managed as it has been for the past six, the country is irretrievably ruined. Although advised that the enemy were raising an additional number of men to the amount of half a million, and that \$400,000 [*sic*] had been voted to put the machinery in motion for our subjugation, and with a full knowledge that one Southern raw recruit was worth two raw recruits from the North, yet the War Department was content to lie idle and supinely wait the stupendous preparations of the enemy.

“The inefficient army we have had in the field has been rendered comparatively worthless by the character of officers that have commanded it and the want of moral courage in the War Department to hold them to a proper accountability. Attention has been called to the notorious drunkenness and inefficiency of officers, and their names given, and the next news was, that instead of these men being court-martialed, or dismissed, they have been promoted.

“The fall of Fort Donelson and the occupancy of Nashville exhibited the lamentable condition of our defenses. The people felt—and justly felt—deceived and betrayed. Never has there been congregated on earth’s surface so united, so patriotic, and so unselfish a people. All they require is a government that will stand by them. Let me beseech you to learn wisdom from the errors of your predecessor, or if you do not know yourself to be competent, to give the place to some one who is. After the fall of Fort Donelson it was hoped that the day of errors was passed. But what is the result? We behold the same weak, vacil-

lating policy continued that brought us to the verge of ruin then. I can only judge by what I see in this state. Here, various commissions were given to Tom, Dick, and Harry, to raise regiments of twelve months' volunteers, and most of them cavalry. Scarcely one man of the whole number was fit for the position assigned him. Some were brainless upstarts, and others notorious drunkards, while there was scarcely an isolated instance of an aspirant who could properly drill a company. It seemed as if any man, no matter how worthless, could go on to Richmond and get a colonel's commission. The people of Texas had to volunteer with these men, or not go to the army at all.

"Above all things, have the moral courage to do your duty and to get rid of incompetent, inefficient, and drunken officers and worthless surgeons, who, in many instances, are brutes and a disgrace to the army. . . . It was the imbecility of the War Department that lost Nashville to the Confederates, with the population and valuable manufactures of West Tennessee. If the South is overrun and millions of property destroyed in the next six weeks, it will be owing to the same vacillating and criminal neglect of the Department over which you preside. If we are ruined, you will be the acknowledged author of our misfortunes."

In some localities there had been much destruction of property by order of the military authorities in the South. To this, J. Alexander of Memphis, Tennessee, objected in a letter to Mr. Davis, dated March 19,

1862, in which he referred to a large quantity of cotton and sugar being piled up on the bluff in that city by order of the provost marshal for burning, and added: "To destroy this cotton and sugar without compensation will reduce to poverty a number of good and loyal men. It should certainly be destroyed, rather than fall into the hand of the Federals, but as the sacrifice would be for the public good, they ought to have their pay in Confederate notes, which, in this city, is only worth half as much as gold, but they will willingly take them at par value. The probability is, that without a change in the tide now against us, Memphis will soon be in the hands of the Lincolnites. With it will go a large portion of rich cotton-plantations. Planters who have little, and some of them no money, are required to pay the war tax in gold, or almost its equivalent, besides all expenses. Now, in addition to this, burn their cotton, their only reliance, without paying them Confederate notes, which they now use, and you seriously injure many, and it will throw a damper on the Confederate cause, because the burden is not equal. Meat-men, corn and grain raisers, stockmen, have all been paid fair prices. The cotton-planter has suffered most, and ought to be relieved, where the cotton is burned for the public good."

Mr. A. Battle of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, took the opposite view of the matter, and insisted that the right thing to do was to burn cotton and tobacco. "The Yankees will soon overrun the cotton states," he wrote the Secretary of War, April 29, 1862, "and destroy our crops, which will starve the people and army, and

bring about submission to Lincoln, unless some great victories are soon won by us, and we can see no prospect of that. The wheat crops of the valley of the Tennessee River is poor; the army cannot receive any support from that crop down South. The fall of New Orleans has produced fear and alarm amongst the people for the success of the cause for which we are fighting, and you will very soon see a proclamation from Lincoln to the Southern planters, making it a penal offense for any one to burn cotton or tobacco, and I am sure it would greatly alarm the people, and I am very sure they will not burn a bale of cotton, even on the Mississippi River, if they can avoid it, though they know Lincoln will get every bale. They will haul it a few miles off the river and be made by the Lincoln army to haul it back.

"Now, sir, it appears to me that the provost marshal in every county in the cotton and tobacco states should be appointed with instructions to burn every bale, reserving just enough to clothe each family (allowing one half-pound to the yard), needed for one year, and the Confederacy take charge of enough for the different factories. Let the tower be pulled down at once, and be felt by Europe as well as America, for the South is essential to the civilized world, and the powers of Europe could have prevented the war by timely interference. Now let them suffer while we are a ruined people. Why not carry the war into Kentucky, or even their own territory if we can? Let them overrun the South as they will, anyhow; shall we not more likely turn them from the South by sending our armies North? Our struggle must be one of endurance, anyhow."

The Confederacy confidently expected to be promptly recognized by Europe as an independent nation, as it was believed that the cotton crop of the South was indispensable to foreign countries. Edwin De Leon, writing from Vichy, July 30, 1862, to Secretary of State Benjamin, details his experience in London and Paris in endeavoring to learn the state of public feeling in England and France. To Lord Palmerston he had "fully exposed the real position of affairs and the certainty of our approaching successes." Palmerston was "politely incredulous as to the latter," but listened very seriously to statements and explanations, and asked a great many questions as to what he considered the weak points of the South, saying that the Confederacy must do much more than it had done to entitle it to recognition, referring particularly to the loss of New Orleans and to the United States having blockaded the Southern ports. Mr. De Leon asked if a repulse of the Union army before Richmond and a transfer of the siege to Washington would be sufficient, and was answered in the negative. The result of the interview was, that De Leon was impressed with the conviction that England would preserve an attitude of "masterly inactivity" in the matter, and would restrain France as long as she could. In Paris he found himself in a more congenial atmosphere. He was not able to meet the Emperor but articles he sent the Parisian papers were printed and many prominent men gave him encouragement. In a later letter he wrote: "The tide which was setting in so strongly toward our recognition when my last communication was sent was turned by the frantic folly of Garibaldi in Italy, which

created a serious crisis in Europe, and rendered it evident that France could not and would not act alone on the American question while so grave a complication continued." The slave question was one which made negotiations difficult in France but Mr. De Leon writes: "We are trying to change this issue by proving that not to be the matter in dispute."

THE NEGRO IN THE WAR.

IN the first year of the war the government was in a quandary as to what to do in respect of the slaves. On account of Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland having remained in the Union, the situation was somewhat complicated. The difficulty is hinted at in a letter marked "Confidential," written by General Scott to General McDowell, July 16, 1861, in which is quoted a question President Lincoln had asked; viz., "Would it not be well to allow owners to bring back slaves who have crossed the Potomac with the Union army?" General Scott invites General McDowell's attention to that matter, adding, "Of course it is his wish that the name of the President should not, at this time, be brought before the public in connection with this delicate subject."

A few days later, Attorney-General Bates wrote United States Marshal J. L. McDowell, in Kansas—replying to a question by the latter as to whether he should give his official service to the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law—that it was the President's constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed; that he (the Attorney-General) and the marshal "are subordinate to the President; that Missouri is a state of the Union, and that a refusal by any ministerial officer to execute any duty which properly belonged to his office was official misdemeanor," of which he had no doubt the President would take notice.

General John A. Dix, commanding at Baltimore,

reported, August 21, 1861, that three fugitive slaves had come to Fort McHenry and that he had declined to receive them on the ground that he could not harbor them as fugitives from service, or arrest them for the purpose of returning them to their masters.

General "Jim" Lane, of Kansas, commanding a brigade of Kansas men at Kansas City, Missouri, in an official communication said: "My brigade is not here for the purpose of interfering in any wise with the institution of slavery. They shall not become negro-thieves nor shall they be prostituted into negro-catchers. The institution of slavery must take care of itself. I said, in the Senate of the United States, and my experience since only demonstrates its truth, that, in my opinion, the institution would perish with the march of the Federal armies. Confiscation of slaves and other property which can be made useful to the army should follow treason as the thunder-peal follows the lightning's flash."

General Frémont, commanding the Department of Missouri, issued a proclamation, August 30, 1861, declaring Missouri slaves free but his act was at once declared invalid by President Lincoln.

Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts (whose official acts as chronicled in the War Records proclaim him a man of unusual ability) wrote to the Secretary of War, December 7, 1861, protesting against Massachusetts soldiers being used as man-hunters, and inclosed a letter written from Camp Benton, Pooleville, Maryland, telling this story: A description of two runaway slaves had been sent to the camp with an order from General Charles P. Stone to arrest them.

This order was turned over by the lieutenant-colonel commanding the regiment to Lieutenant Macy, officer of the day. "On Sunday morning," says the writer of the letter, "several negroes came into camp, as usual, for the purpose of selling cakes, pies, etc., to the soldiers. Although having eatables for sale some of these negroes were themselves almost famished and were treated to breakfast by the men of one of our German companies. The vigilant eyes of Lieutenant Macy espied the negroes as they were disposing of their wares through the company streets. . . . Beckoning two of the negroes to the guard-house he ordered them into the house and immediately detailed a file of soldiers with loaded muskets to escort them to their supposed owners, and deliver them up."

Governor Andrew also addressed the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment in regard to this affair, and was thereupon notified by General McClellan, then in command of the army, that he had committed a breach of military discipline; that governors lost control over the troops from their states when the men were mustered into the army and that the men no longer represented individual states. In reply to this somewhat brusque letter the governor showed that he was abundantly able to hold his own with the head of all the armies of the United States.

On December 9, 1861, a resolution was offered in the House of Representatives reciting the fact that General Halleck had issued an order prohibiting negroes from coming within the lines of his command, and excluding those already under the protection of his army, which order the resolution characterized as

cruel and inhuman and based upon no military necessity, therefore the House would respectfully request the President to direct General Halleck to recall said order. The resolution was tabled by a vote of 78 to 64.

"Hordes" of negroes, as he expressed it, came to the camps of Gen. W. T. Sherman at Port Royal, South Carolina, in 1862. To this General Sherman made strenuous objection, and gave reasons why they should be excluded, one of which was that they were "disinclined to labor, and evidently will not work to our satisfaction without those aids to which they have been accustomed; viz., the driver and the lash."

When General David Hunter took command of the Department of the Coast he issued an order declaring martial law in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, and said that as slavery and martial law were incompatible, therefore slavery was abolished in the three states named. As soon as the news reached Washington President Lincoln declared General Hunter's order wholly void, and so notified him, stating that whatever action should be found necessary in regard to slavery it was a subject upon which military men had no right to issue orders.

In the mean time negroes flocked to the camps of the Union army by thousands—men, women and children—and established settlements of their own, living in tents, in brush shanties, in the open air, or in any way they could. The women washed and mended for the soldiers; the men secured employment as teamsters, in unloading cars, and in other capacities, and there was no longer anything said about

sending them back to their masters. Every raid made out into the country by the troops resulted in new accessions to the negro camps and in April, 1863, extensive rules and regulations, drafted by Dr. Francis Lieber, were adopted for the guidance of the armies of the United States. On the subject of fugitive slaves there was this provision: "Fugitives escaping from a country in which they were slaves, villeins, or serfs, into another country, have, for centuries past, been held free, and acknowledged free, by judicial decisions of European countries, even though a municipal law of the country in which he had taken refuge acknowledged slavery within its dominions, and therefore, in a war between the United States and a belligerent which admits of slavery, if a person held in bondage by that belligerent be captured by or come for protection to the military forces of the United States, such person is immediately entitled to the rights and privileges of a free man. To return such person into slavery would mean to enslave a free man, and neither the United States, nor any officer under their authority, can enslave a human being."

There was but one negro organization in the Confederate service, and that same organization was the first to enter the service of the Union. "The Native Guards" was the name of this body and it was composed of free colored men of New Orleans and organized in April, 1861. March 4, 1862, Governor Thomas O. Moore, of Louisiana, issued an order directing the Native Guards to report to General Lewis for service, but, as a matter of fact, they remained in New Orleans, and became a part of the spoils of war which

fell to General Benjamin F. Butler when that city was captured in May, 1862. They were mustered into the Union army, September 27, 1862, and before March 7, 1863, four other negro regiments were organized in the Louisiana Department. In South Carolina, the first negro regiment was mustered, December 31, 1862, and three others were organized in that department before July 1, 1863. In April, 1863, a negro regiment was organized in Kansas. Two regiments—the Fifty-fourth and the Fifty-fifth—were organized in Massachusetts, and then the forming of regiments of colored men was placed in charge of Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas. The pay of white soldiers (privates) was \$13 a month, and \$3.50 additional was allowed for clothing; negro soldiers were paid \$10 a month, with no clothing allowance. After the close of the war this distinction was abolished. The enlistment of a slave set free himself, his wife, his mother, and his children, if they were slaves.

President Lincoln was especially interested in the enrolling of negroes in the army. On March 26, 1863, he wrote Andrew Johnson this note, which he marked "Private": "I am told that you have at least thought of raising a negro military force. In my opinion, the country needs no specific thing so much as that some man of your ability and position to go to this work. When I speak of your position, I mean that of an eminent citizen of a slave state who is himself a slaveholder. The colored population is the great available and unavailed-of force for restoring the Union. The bare sight of fifty thousand armed and drilled black soldiers on the banks of the Mississippi

would end the Rebellion at once; and who doubts that we can present that sight if we would take hold in earnest? If you have been thinking of it, please do not dismiss the thought."

The enrollment of negroes in General Hunter's department appears to have been attended by some unusual circumstances. In the spring of 1862, the Treasury Department took charge of abandoned plantations on the islands off the South Carolina coast. Here, thousands of negroes had collected and it was the purpose of the government to set them to work on the plantations and make them self-supporting. The government furnished mules, farming implements, seed, and white men to superintend the work, which was under the general charge of an agent of the Treasury Department. Several thousand acres were planted in cotton and about two thousand acres in vegetables. At this stage of affairs an order for the enrollment of the able-bodied men on the islands for military service was issued by General Hunter. The result is told by Edward L. Pierce, the Treasury Department agent, in a long letter to Secretary Chase, dated Port Royal, South Carolina, May 12, 1862, in which he said:—

"This has been a sad day on the islands. I do not question the purpose which has caused the disturbance, as in many respects it is praiseworthy, but practical injustice and inhumanity may often consist with a benevolent purpose. Last evening (Sabbath) I received a messenger from General Stevens, bringing an order from General Hunter requiring all able-bodied negroes between 18 and 45 to be sent to Beaufort and

from thence to be sent at once to Hilton Head. Having communicated the order to the superintendents, with a request for their aid, I sought at once General Stevens at Beaufort. From General Stevens I learned that without previous consultation the imperative order had come from General Hunter to be executed forthwith. He was going to seek General Hunter by boat leaving Beaufort at 6:30 A. M. and express his views."

The correspondence shows that General Stevens went to General Hunter's headquarters, as did also Mr. Pierce, to remonstrate against the enforcement of his order.

"General Hunter has been, evidently, acting in this matter upon certain notions of his own, which he has been revolving in his mind," continues Mr. Pierce, "rather than upon any observations of his own, or the testimony of others as to the feelings and dispositions of these people, which was, of course, the first thing to be considered. As a general rule, they are extremely averse to bearing arms in this contest. They have great fear of white men, natural enough in those who have never been allowed any rights against them, and dread danger and death. They are to be brought out of this unmanliness with great caution and tact, and the proceedings of to-day, managed, as they have been, with a singular forgetfulness of their disposition, will only increase their aversion to military service.

"I now come to the scenes of to-day, which have been distressing enough to those who witnessed them. Some five hundred men were hurried during the day from Ladies [Island] and St. Helena to Beaufort, taken over in flats, and then carried to Hilton Head

in the Matteno. The negroes were sad enough, but those who had charge of them were sadder still. The superintendents assure me they never had such a day before; that they feel unnerved for their duties and as if their work had been undone. The arming of these negroes by entirely volunteer enlistment is well, but this mode of violent seizure and transportation, even to Hilton Head alone, spreading dismay and fright, is repugnant. It should not be done with white men, least of all with blacks, who do not yet understand us, and for whose benefit the war is not professed to be carried on, and who are still without a government solemnly and publicly pledged to their protection. . . . The subtraction of so large a field-force leaves but a few more than are necessary to cultivate the provision crop. What shall be done with the five thousand acres of cotton planted, most of which is up and growing?"

In a letter to General Hunter, Mr. Pierce describes the scenes attending the enforcement of his order thus: "The colored people became suspicious of the presence of the companies of soldiers who were marching through the islands during the night. Some thought the rebels were coming, and stood guard at the creeks. The next morning they went to the fields, some, however, seeking the woods. They were taken from the fields without being allowed to go to their houses even to get a jacket, this, however, in some cases being gone for by the wife. As those on this plantation were called in from the fields, the soldiers, under orders, loaded their guns, so that the negroes might see what would take place in case they at-

tempted to get away. This was done in the presence of the ladies here. Wives and children embraced the husband and father thus taken away, they knew not where, and whom, they said, they should never see again. On some plantations the wailing and screaming were loud, and the women threw themselves in despair on the ground. On some plantations the people took to the woods and were hunted up by the soldiers. The school at Eustis was a scene of confusion, the children crying, and it was found of no use to carry it on. The superintendents aided in the execution of the order with moral influence and physical assistance, some of them walking many miles in the night to guide the soldiers, but they all express great sorrow at what has been done, and feel that the hold which they had been slowly and carefully getting on their people had been loosened."

General Hunter, not being encouraged by the government in his efforts to organize negro troops, disbanded his first regiment and reported the fact to the War Department, August 10, 1862.

Some of the repulsive features of slavery are made prominent in a report, beginning on page 289, serial No. 125, by the American Freedman's Inquiry Commission, under date May 16, 1864. One witness who appeared before the commission told this story of what he witnessed down in South Carolina: Hearing an outcry in the door-yard of a house one morning, he looked through a crack in a fence and saw a negro woman stretched face downwards, lying on the ground, her feet and hands fastened to stakes. Over her stood

her master, striking her with a leather harness-trace, welts and ridges being raised on her back and legs as the blows fell. When the woman would cry out with pain, the master would kick her in the face, and when he completed his flogging, he called for sealing-wax and a lighted candle, and, melting the wax, dropped it on the woman's lacerated back. Then, taking a riding-whip, and standing over the woman, he flicked off the hardened wax by switching. The whole affair was overlooked by the man's two grown-up daughters, who stood at a window. The witness afterwards learned from the woman's fellow-servants that her offense consisted in having burned the edges of some waffles she was cooking for breakfast.

At Louisville, Kentucky, the commission visited a house occupied by a negro family of man and wife and two children—a boy of about ten years and a girl two or three years younger. The commission remarked upon the neat appearance of the house and the bright, attractive children. The woman said her husband was a cook, working in a hotel, and that they had been buying their time of their master for eleven years, during which period they had paid him \$4,092, but were still slaves, and added, "Already the white people have two of my children, and that boy is about big enough to go." She said that her master left her children with her until they were about 11 or 12 years of age and then took them and set them to work; that the last to go was a girl between 11 and 12, and that four months before she had gone to visit the child (not having seen her for ten months), taking a dress for the girl. "I knew she would need it,"

said the woman, "but I never expected to find her as bad as she was. I could n't help crying when I saw her. I took off her rags and washed her. She was serving my young master and he had whipped the child so that you could not lay your hand anywhere along her back where he had not cut the blood out of her. I brought back the rags my child was covered with, and have them yet. If I could have kept my children, I would not have cared for all the rest. I like so much to have them clean and nice." In another case the commission found a negro washwoman with two young children, who supported her family and had paid her master five dollars a week for fifteen years for her time.

Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts was a warm friend of the colored race. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry was made up of negroes and when it received its first payment by the government Samuel Harrison, the chaplain, refused the ten dollars a month which was offered him, that being the amount paid negro soldiers. He claimed that the salaries of army chaplains was fixed at one hundred dollars per month and two rations, and the matter was at once brought to the attention of President Lincoln by Governor Andrew, and by Mr. Lincoln referred to the United States Attorney-General with a request for his legal opinion on the subject. Attorney-General Bates, himself a citizen of a slave state, replied at length. He said that the regulations fixed the pay of army chaplains at one hundred dollars and two rations; that there was nothing said as to the color of army

chaplains and hence a black man stood on the same level as a white man in filling that position.

Among the prisoners captured from Banks's command in the Red River expedition were two free colored boys, born in Boston, who were with the army as servants. They were sold into slavery in Texas, and soon afterwards the state machinery of Massachusetts and the government machinery of the United States were set in operation to secure the release of those black boys, but the records do not show whether or not the efforts made were successful.

In entering the service negroes made it a condition—which was agreed to—that if it were found necessary to punish them it should be by some method other than flogging. A disregard of this condition created trouble at Fort Jackson, near New Orleans, December 9, 1863. Two men belonging to a negro regiment then under command of its lieutenant-colonel, one Benedict, had gone outside the camp without permission. Hearing of this, Benedict had the two men tied up, and publicly flogged them with a wagon-whip. Instantly there was an assembling of the regiment on the parade-ground, armed, and for half an hour riot reigned. Many shots were fired, but no one was injured and no property was destroyed. Benedict concealed himself and order was finally restored by Colonel Drew, the post commander, assisted by officers of the regiment.

A military commission, of which General Frank Herron was president, investigated the affair. One of the witnesses examined testified that on one occasion he saw Benedict "spread a man out on his back, drive

stakes down and spread out his hands and legs, take off his shoes, and take molasses and spread it over his face, hands, and feet. The man remained there the whole day and was put out again the next day." As a result of this inquiry several of the soldiers were found guilty on the charge of mutiny. One of the number was sentenced to be shot and the others to hard labor for terms varying from one to twenty years. Benedict was convicted on the charge of "inflicting cruel and unusual punishment, to the prejudice of good order and discipline," and was dismissed the service.

There were 178,955 negroes in the Union army. The last regiment to be mustered out was the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Infantry, discharged December 20, 1867. The last volunteer organization of whites mustered out was Company B, First New Mexico Battalion, discharged November 18, 1867, and the last enlisted man discharged was Private William Sadler, Company B, Ninth Veteran Reserve Corps, mustered out October 4, 1868. He had been employed as a messenger in the War Department.

Two days before the battle of Bull Run was fought, the Confederate War Department was written to, with a suggestion of organizing negro troops. The writer was W. S. Turner, of Helena, Arkansas. He said: "I wrote you a few days since, for myself and many others in this district, to ascertain if we could get negro regiments received for Confederate service, officered, of course, by white men. All we ask is arms, clothing, and provisions, the usual pay for officers, and not one

cent pay for negroes. Our negroes are too good to fight Lincoln hirelings, but as they pretend to love negroes so much, we want to show them how much the true Southern cotton-patch negro loves them in return. The North cannot complain at this. They proclaim negro equality from the Senate-chamber to the pulpit, teach it in their schools, and are doing all they can to turn the slave upon the master, mistress, and children. And now, sir, if you can receive the negroes that can be raised, we will give the Northern thieves a gorge of the negro's love for them that will never be forgotten. As you well know, I have had long experience with negro character. I am satisfied they are easy disciplined, and less trouble than whites in camp, and will fight desperately as long as they have a single white officer living. I know one man that will arm and furnish one hundred of his own, and his son for their captain. The sooner we bring a strong negro force against the hirelings, the sooner we can have peace, in my humble judgment."

In the South there was a reluctance to enroll negroes in the army until along in the latter part of the war. In January, 1864, a secret meeting of officers was held in General Hardee's army at Dalton, Georgia, for the discussion of a paper prepared by General Patrick Cleburne, one of the bravest men in the Confederate service, killed at the battle of Franklin, in November following. In this paper, General Cleburne got at the heart of things. "We have now been fighting for nearly three years," he says; "have spilled much of our best blood, and lost, consumed, or thrown to the flames an amount of property equal in value to the

specie currency of the world." The Confederates could see no end to the present deplorable state of affairs, except in their own exhaustion; they were sinking into a state of apathy, growing weary of hardships and slaughters which promised no results, and they believed that some black catastrophe was not far ahead. "Subjugation," he says, "means that the history of this heroic struggle will be written by the enemy; that our youth will be trained by Northern school teachers; will learn from Northern school books their version of the war; will be impressed by all the influences of history and education to regard our gallant dead as traitors, our maimed veterans as fit objects of derision. It means the crushing of Southern manhood, the hatred of our former slaves, who will, on a spy system, be our secret police."

The South, he said, was opposed at every point; that the enemy had three sources of supply for recruiting his army, viz., "his own motley population, the slaves of Southerners, and Europeans whose hearts are fired into a crusade against us by fictitious pictures of slavery." England and France could not assist the South without helping slavery and to do that would be in conflict with their policy for the past quarter of a century. England had paid hundreds of millions to emancipate her West Indian slaves and break up the slave-trade. Could she now consistently spend her treasures to reinstate slavery in this country? The remedy for the evils confronting the South was the emancipation of the slaves and their wholesale enlistment in the Confederate armies, which would "strip the enemy of foreign sympathy and assistance and

transfer them to the South; will dry up two of his three sources of recruiting; it will take from his negro army the only motive it can have to fight against the South, and will probably cause much of it to desert over to us. The necessity for more fighting men is upon us. We can only get a sufficiency by making the negro share the danger and hardship of the war. If we arm him and train him, and make him fight for the country, every consideration of principle and policy demands that we shall set him and his whole race, who side with us, free."

In this strain General Cleburne proceeded at length, but his views were not indorsed by the officers present at the meeting and one of the number, Gen. W. H. F. Walker, became alarmed at the situation, procured a copy of the paper and sent it to the Confederate War Department, explaining that he did so because of "the gravity of the subject, the magnitude of the issues involved, and my strong convictions that the further agitation of such sentiments would ruin the efficiency of our army and involve our cause in ruin and disgrace." Mr. Davis and the Secretary of War both promptly responded, the former writing to General Walker, thanking him for the service he had rendered, and the latter to General Joseph E. Johnston—who had, in the mean time, succeeded General Hardee—insisting that no further publicity should be given a subject so dangerous, and adding that the measures advocated in General Cleburne's paper were not proper subjects for discussion by the military. General Johnston at once issued a circular to his officers, announcing the views of the War Department, and wrote to the Secretary of War, explaining his action, and stat-

ing that General Cleburne said he would be governed by the opinion of the officers who were present when the paper was read, none of whom had approved it.

In the latter part of 1864, General Lee added his influence to the rapidly growing sentiment in favor of arming the negroes but President Davis was stiff-necked in opposition. March 4, 1863, a joint resolution was adopted by the Virginia legislature placing negroes in that state at the service of the Confederate government, and nine days later the Confederate Congress passed a bill providing for negro enlistments, and it was approved by President Davis the same day. The closing article in the 130 volumes of War Records is an order of the Confederate military authorities empowering each of ten persons therein named to proceed at once to raise a company of negroes to be mustered into the Confederate army. But it was too late. This order was dated April 28, 1865 — nineteen days after Lee's surrender to Grant and one day after the surrender of Johnston to Sherman.

It is a remarkable coincidence that on the day Virginia, by legal enactment, provided for freeing the slaves in that state by enrolling them in the army, President Lincoln, addressing the world in his last inaugural, said, referring to the war: "Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, still must it be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

ENFORCEMENT OF THE DRAFT.

Four drafts were ordered in the North to fill up the ranks of its armies. The first was begun about July 1, 1863; the second, about April 1, 1864; the third, about September 19, 1864; and the fourth, about February 20, 1865. Through these drafts 168,649 men were added to the army, and a fund of \$15,686,400 was paid for exemptions. The office of provost-marshal-general was created in March, 1863, to take charge of the business, and Colonel (afterward General) James B. Fry was put at the head of the department, and a most efficient officer he proved to be in a trying and responsible position, with no precedents to guide him.

In April, 1861, the United States army consisted of only 16,402 officers and men. April 9, 1861, a call was made on the District of Columbia for ten companies of militia and the disloyalty among the militia organizations of the District at that time is shown by the fact that in one company of 100 men, 2 officers, 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, 1 musician, and 10 privates refused to muster. April 15th, President Lincoln called out 75,000 militia for three months; May 3d, he called for 500,000 three years' men; July 2, 1862, he asked for 300,000 more three years' troops; August 4, 1862, for 300,000 for nine months; October 17, 1863, for 500,000 for three years; March 14, 1864, for 200,000 for three years; July 18, 1864, for 500,000 for one hundred days; and on December 19, 1864, for 300,000 more. The official abstracts of reports from

which these figures are taken (p. 1264, Ser. No. 125, War Records) do not state the length of time the last call was for. Several of the later calls were made in order to make up the number of men lacking to complete previous calls.

The total number of enlistments, during the war, in the Union army was 2,778,304, but a very considerable number of these represent re-enlistments of soldiers who had served under previous calls. For example, 136,000 of the best men in the Union armies re-enlisted as regimental organizations, in the winter of 1863, for an additional term of three years. At the beginning of the war, enlistments were carried on under the authority of the various governors but, after the organization of his department, the whole business was turned over to General Fry, and he added a total of over a million men to the service. In addition to the enormous number of men above given, there were special calls made by the President during 1863 and 1864 upon the states of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia for aid in emergencies, and in 1864 Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin furnished 85,000 men for 100 days.

The efforts made to enforce the draft were met with the most intense opposition in several states. In July, 1863, there was a bloody riot in New York City. Many negroes were killed, and a number of houses burned. In various localities in different states there were similar demonstrations and enrolling officers were mobbed and, in some instances, were murdered. Governor Horatio Seymour of New York was very earnest in his opposition to the enforcing of the

draft in his state and carried on an extended correspondence with the authorities on the subject. His provost marshal, Nelson J. Waterbury, was an industrious letter-writer. How his correspondence was estimated at Washington is shown by the following note from President Lincoln's private secretary, John Hay (now Secretary of State), to General Fry:—

"The inevitable Waterbury is again upon us. Don't like the way the thing is done. His experience as a political ballot-stuffer for twenty years comes up and troubles his dreams. He is afraid you are stuffing the draft on him. Read his wail if you don't think life too short and Lee too near. If you do, file it. With a firm reliance upon Providence and your waste-paper basket, you cannot fail. I am going to the seashore; burst not with envy. Yours hilariously,

"JOHN HAY."

Writing to Governor Seymour in reply to one of his frequent demands that the draft in his state should be postponed, or its terms modified, Mr. Lincoln said: "We are contending with an enemy who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen. No time is wasted; no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn on our now victorious soldiers already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits, as they should be."

There were some odd things about the enrollment act. For example, no person who had ever been convicted of a felony could be enrolled, even though he had been pardoned before the act was passed; hence a

man of that character was not subject to the draft. A woman who had been compelled to get a divorce from a worthless husband, and depended upon an only son for support, could not claim exemption for that son, though she could if she were a widow. In case she were aged and infirm, however, the son would be exempt.

A few days after the New York riot a letter was written from that city to the War Department by John Jay in which he said that armed rebellion in New York had been resolved upon by rebel sympathizers almost from the commencement; that before the fall of Sumter Mayor Fernando Wood, in a message to the city council, announced that by the secession of South Carolina the Union was dissolved and that it became every city and every community to take care of itself and he suggested that New York become a free city, like Frankfort-on-the-Main. The writer was told a year before by "one of the most wealthy and fashionable bankers of New York," that the present administration would not be allowed to complete its term, but would be overthrown in New York City.

In 1864 the feeling in opposition to the draft was exceedingly strong in many states. Sherman telegraphed from Georgia: "If the President modifies it to the extent of one man, or wavers in its execution, he is gone. Even the army would vote against him." Blaine objected to the method adopted and wrote: "If it goes on in the slow process it will about ruin us in the October elections of Pennsylvania and Ohio, whereas if the quick process were adopted, we should have fifteen or eighteen unembarrassed days for marshaling our political forces in those states, and would close with a

blaze of glory and a big victory, settling conclusively the Presidential struggle," and Vice-President Colfax, then out on an electioneering tour, wrote the President in the greatest alarm over the situation.

Four monks of the Benedictine order, at Latrobe, Pennsylvania, were drafted, and Boniface Wimmer, the abbot in charge, wrote President Lincoln a letter of gentle protest. He said that many years ago he had come to this country, with nineteen others, to carry on the work of their order; that he had established branches from New York to St. Cloud, and from Chicago to Texas, and not one cent of the money necessary had been collected from people in this country, "but I get, every year," he says, "three thousand dollars from Bavaria, and some years four thousand dollars, and five thousand dollars, and six thousand dollars (from the ex-King of Bavaria, King Louis, alone, more than \$15,000). All this money, and all we get by the earnings and hard labor of my confrères, has been spent for the good of this country. Now, the law says, 'Shoulder arms, or pay.' Having spent all my own and all our common money for the good of this country, I must now blushing confess I cannot pay, and the law then answers, 'Shoulder arms!'" This good man said, in addition, that it was against the principles of his order to go to war, and he suggested that in the case of the men who had been drafted and were unable to pay the alternative of three hundred dollars each, they be given an indefinite furlough, as was sometimes done with conscripts in Germany. On receipt of this letter, an order was issued by the War Department exempting the Benedictines from draft.

The Order of the Holy Cross, headquarters at Notre Dame, Indiana, also appealed to the President for exemptions from the operations of the conscript law, on the ground that it was repugnant to the sacred calling of the priests, brothers and sisters of the order to bear arms, and that they had displayed their patriotism in services rendered by priests as chaplains and by the sisters as nurses. As to their procuring substitutes, that was out of the question, on account of a lack of money. On this application appeared two indorsements—one by General Sherman, who said he concurred, but did not commit himself as to the legal questions involved. General Grant wrote: "I would respectfully represent that the order here applying for exemption has contributed largely of its services to the support of the war, and if any class is to be exempt from the present or any future draft, they have fully entitled themselves to such benefit. Respectfully referred for the consideration of the President, hoping that, if not inconsistent with law or with the policy of the government, the favor asked will be granted."

In the midst of the trouble over the draft a mass-meeting of "Unconditional Union Men" was called to be held at Springfield, Illinois, which the President was invited to attend, but was compelled to decline on account of pressing official duties. He wrote a letter, however, of some length, full to overflowing with patriotic sentiments, and closing thus: "Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay, and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been

proved that, among free men, there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal will be sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then, there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while, I fear, there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they strove to prevent it. Still, let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy, final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result."

In transmitting this letter to James C. Conkling, Mr. Lincoln added this note: "I cannot leave here now. Herewith is a letter instead. You are one of the best public readers. I have but one suggestion: read it slowly. And now God bless you and all good Union men."

An incident in the enforcement of the draft was the development of the "bounty-jumping" industry—the payment of large bounties to infamous wretches who had no idea of going into the army and who took the first opportunity, after enlistment, to escape from the officers having them in charge. This business was carried on until almost the close of the war. As late as March 11, 1865, a letter was received at Washington from Col. L. C. Baker, of the secret service at New York, in which he said: "I made my contemplated raid on the bounty-jumpers yesterday, and succeeded in capturing 590 of the most desperate villains unhung.

Most of them have enlisted and deserted from three to twenty times. They are most all in irons and will go to the castle on Governor's Island to-morrow. I have been requested to pass them down Broadway in order that people might have a sight of them. Is there any objection?" Colonel Baker was at once informed by telegraph that there was no objection and, no doubt, he carried his plan into effect.

In order to assist poor men who might be drafted in that city, Chicago appropriated \$120,000 to be expended in procuring substitutes for this class who had families; like action was taken in many other towns and cities, and money in large sums was also appropriated by public bodies to induce enlistments. It was a trying period in the country's history, but Sherman's march to the sea and up through the Carolinas (thus proving the truthfulness of Grant's assertion that the Confederacy was an egg-shell), Thomas's magnificent victory at Nashville, and the capture of Charleston and Wilmington, cheered the loyal people in the North and caused a lively increase in enlistments in the closing months of the war.

General Fry's report shows an astonishing number of desertions from the army. The total given is 268,530, but he says that there should be a reduction of twenty-five per cent made from these figures on account of those absent temporarily, those who had overstayed their furloughs, etc., but that leaves a total of 201,397 — enough to constitute a large city. The ratio of desertion in the regular army, per one thousand men, was 244.25 per cent; in the volunteer service, 62.51. Ratio of deaths

in the regulars, 42.27 per cent; in the volunteers, 59.22. Ratio of deaths among the negroes, 141.39 per cent—attributed by General Fry as due, in a large measure, to the lack of heart and hope and mental activity on the part of the negroes.

Kansas troops showed the highest ratio of desertions, with 117.54 per cent, and California next, with 191.86 per cent. An explanation of this is given to the effect that Kansas had a larger proportion than any other state of men whose presence was needed at home to support their families and that the California regiments were largely made up of levies in the large cities of the East, and of adventurers collected from all quarters of the globe in San Francisco. In battle mortality Kansas leads, with a ratio of 61.01 per cent, and next to the District of Columbia, California shows the lowest ratio, being 12.34 per cent. The ratio of the District of Columbia was only 3.62 per cent. The average ratio in the volunteer service was 35.10 per cent, and of the regulars, 30.55 per cent. The report says, in reference to Kansas in this connection: "Its population is a peculiarly pugnacious one, rendered such by its origin and history and, with a singularly martial disposition, which actuated above one half of the able-bodied of the state to enter the army without bounty, may be supposed to have increased their exposure to the casualties of battle after they were in the service."

The total number of deaths in the army during the four years, as given by a report compiled in 1885, was 359,526, as follows: Killed in action, 76,958; died of wounds received in action, 48,012; died of disease,

223,586; accidental death, including drowning, 9,058; murdered, 550; killed after capture, 194; suicide, 391; executed by United States military authorities, 367; executed by the enemy, 64; death from sunstroke, 313; from other known causes, 1,034; causes not stated, 12,121.

LOYAL EAST TENNESSEE.

"UNION REBELLION IN EAST TENNESSEE" is the striking heading to 108 pages of Serial No. 114 of the War Records. The mountain region of one third of Tennessee was, and is, occupied by a sturdy, industrious, enterprising, and intelligent class of people, of whom a comparatively small proportion were extensive owners of slaves before the war. They had no sympathy with the doctrine of secession and when the question was submitted in June, 1861, gave a majority of 20,000 against it. East Tennessee was the home of Andrew Johnson and for several years after he was President of the United States a sign attached to his old home in the little town of Greenville bore the words, "A. Johnson, Tailor." In Knoxville lived Horace Maynard, for many years a Congressman, and, later, United States minister to Constantinople. That city was also the home of the famous William G. Brownlow, editor of the Knoxville Whig, and called "Parson" Brownlow because his language in denouncing Democrats and other people he did not like differed widely from the language parsons should use. Congressman Thomas A. R. Nelson was a resident of East Tennessee, as were also Emerson Etheridge and other men of national reputation.

The story which the records tell of the experiences of the good people of that portion of the state during the first two years of the war is a touching one. They arrayed themselves against the Confederacy on account of their love for their country, and confident

that the Union army would soon come to their relief. The Union army did not go to their relief and men were forced to hide in caves and forests; they were hunted like wild beasts; they were arrested on the charge of being traitors and confined in prison; they were ambushed and killed and many of them were finally forced into the Confederate service to save their lives. Their situation appealed strongly to the sympathy of President Lincoln and he did all in his power to send them aid in their perilous need.

In July, 1861, Loudon C. Haynes notified the Confederate Secretary of War that "peril of civil war in East Tennessee" was imminent and that news had been received of the sending of arms for the Union men of that part of the state; that Mr. Brownlow, in his paper, said that civil war was inevitable. Mr. Haynes mentioned Thomas A. R. Nelson, William G. Brownlow, Connelly F. Trigg, and William P. Carter as the leaders of the Union forces. Soon afterward, Mr. Nelson, while on his way to Washington as Congressman, was arrested in Lee County, Virginia, and taken to Richmond, where he was released in a short time by Mr. Davis's order. Bishop Polk (afterward lieutenant-general in the Confederate army), writing to Mr. Davis from Nashville, told him that there was no time to be lost in East Tennessee, and recommended the formation of a military department of East Tennessee and a portion of North Carolina, with General Zollicoffer in command. A Mr. Yerger of Corinth, Mississippi, wrote that he had found an alarming state of affairs in East Tennessee, with an active organizing of the Union men, and Isham G.

Harris, the governor of Tennessee, who was doing all in his power to take the state out of the Union, was especially concerned over the situation. He was of the opinion that twelve thousand or fourteen thousand men could crush out the East Tennessee rebellion without firing a gun, if firm action were taken at once. "We cannot temporize with the rebellious spirit of that people any longer, and every moment's delay increases the danger of an outbreak," he wrote.

At this time, letters and dispatches came to Mr. Davis and the Confederate War Department from many prominent Southerners urging the sending of troops to East Tennessee at once. Colonel Wood, commander of the post at Knoxville, wrote that the people were evidently preparing for a general uprising if the Lincoln army should make any advances into that part of the state. In November an election was held to send men to the Confederate Congress and the Union men of East Tennessee refused to vote. A. G. Graham wrote to Mr. Davis that the Union men in East Tennessee were looking for a re-establishment of Federal authority in the South "with as much confidence as the Jew looked for the coming of the Messiah, and I feel quite sure," he said, "when I assert it, that no event or circumstance can change or modify their hopes." In this letter Mr. Graham spoke of one camp where there were twelve hundred or fifteen hundred armed Union men. Among the arrests made of men on the charge of loyalty to the Union was Judge David T. Patterson, son-in-law of Andrew Johnson, and whose wife was afterward mistress of the White House, when her father was President.

General Samuel P. Carter had organized a brigade of loyal East Tennessee men and gone into camp at Loudon, Kentucky, near the Tennessee line. Writing to General George H. Thomas, he said: "We have arrivals every day from East Tennessee. The condition of affairs there is sad beyond description and if the loyal people who cling to the government are not soon relieved they will be lost." By this time General McClellan had come into command of all the Union armies and he wrote to General Buell, commanding in Kentucky, that political and strategic considerations rendered a prompt movement into eastern Tennessee imperative, the object to be gained being the cutting of communication between the Mississippi Valley and eastern Virginia, the protection of Union men in eastern Tennessee, and the re-establishment of the government in that portion of the state. General McClellan recommended a movement on Knoxville, if it were possible to make it. A few days later he wrote Buell again telling him to make the East Tennesseans feel that the government had no intention of deserting them. He recommended a movement with fifteen thousand men and said: "I think we owe it to our Union friends in eastern Tennessee to protect them at all hazards."

Many were the letters and dispatches sent by McClellan to Buell of this character during November and December of 1861. December 3d he sent two letters which had been referred to him by the President and wrote: "I still feel sure that the best strategical move in this case will be that dictated by the simple feelings of humanity. We must preserve these noble fel-

lows from harm. For the sake of these eastern Tennesseans who have taken part with us, I would gladly sacrifice important military advantages. If you can gain and retain possession of eastern Tennessee you will win brighter laurels than any I hope to gain." The two letters referred to as having been sent by the President were appeals made to Mr. Lincoln, of the most pathetic character, setting out the state of affairs in that portion of the country and begging for help from the government.

In the correspondence from General Carter, himself an East Tennessee man, it was urged that a force of two or three batteries and ten thousand men provided with powder and lead for the people of that section would be all that was required. In concluding one of his letters, he asked, "Will help never come?" In another letter he said, "If something is not done, and that speedily, our people will be cut up and ruined." December 7, 1861, Senator Andrew Johnson and Congressman Horace Maynard joined in a dispatch to Buell saying: "Our people are pursued as beasts of the forest. The government must come to their relief. We are looking to you with anxious solicitude to move in that direction."

William Blount Carter wrote to General Thomas: "Men and women weep for joy when I merely hint to them that the day of their deliverance is at hand. I assure you that whoever is the leader of a successful campaign into East Tennessee will receive from these people a crown of glory of which any one might well be proud and I know of no one upon whom I would more cheerfully bestow that crown than yourself."

President Lincoln telegraphed Buell: "Have arms gone forward for East Tennessee? Please tell me the progress and condition of the movement in that direction. Answer." Buell replied that arms could go forward to East Tennessee only under protection of the army.

Congressman Maynard wrote to General Thomas: "You are still farther from East Tennessee than when I left you nearly six weeks ago. There is a shameful wrong somewhere; I have not yet satisfied myself where. That movement, so far, has been disgraceful to the country and to all concerned. I feel a sense of personal degradation from my own connection with it greater than from any other part of my public actions. My heart bleeds for these Tennessee troops. I learn that they have not yet been paid and are left without either cavalry or artillery at Loudon and not permitted to do what is their daily longing—go to the relief of their friends at home. With Nelson [General William Nelson, recently transferred from the navy, is probably referred to], and the measles, and blue-grass, and nakedness, and hunger, and poverty, and homesickness, the poor fellows have had a bitter experience since they left their homes to save a government which, as yet, has hardly given them a word of kindly recognition. The soldiers of all the other states have a home government to look after them. These have not, and but for General Carter, who has been like a father to them, they would have suffered still more severely. That they at times get discouraged and out of heart, I do not wonder. My assurances to them have failed so often that I should be ashamed to look them in the face."

Upon receiving a dispatch from General Buell, outlining a campaign which had little of practical aid for East Tennessee, President Lincoln telegraphed him: "Your dispatch of yesterday received and it disappoints and distresses me. My distress is that our friends in East Tennessee are being hanged and driven to despair and even now I fear they are thinking of taking rebel arms for the sake of personal protection. In this we lose the most valuable stake we have in the South. My dispatch to which yours was in answer was sent with the knowledge of Senator Johnson and Representative Maynard of East Tennessee and they will be upon me to know the answer, which I cannot safely show them. They would despair; possibly resign to go and save their families or die with them."

January 6, 1862, General McClellan telegraphed General Buell, insisting upon a movement into East Tennessee with a strong column and called attention to the advantage which the government would derive from an adhesion of the masses in that portion of Tennessee, western North Carolina and South Carolina, and northern Georgia and Alabama.

Referring to a proposition that had been made that a force of five thousand men go into East Tennessee with pack-mules and three batteries of artillery, General Buell declared it "simply ridiculous," and he wrote General McClellan that it would take ten thousand wagons constantly going from the nearest depot of supplies to Knoxville to supply the force of ten thousand men he had suggested making the movement with. He claimed that it would take thirty thousand men for this movement, one third of which would be required to keep communications open.

It is a pitiful story, and it is easy to criticise, but there can be no doubt that if General Grant had been in command of that department and had received from his superior officer and from the President the letters and telegrams which were sent to General Buell, he would have found a way to carry their desires into effect and the occupation of that country at that time, with a possession of the railroad which was of incalculable value to the South, would have had a direct influence upon military operations throughout the entire South, with a probability of shortening the war. A single division of General Sherman's army, as constituted in 1865, would have considered an advance into East Tennessee, under the conditions which prevailed in 1861, as a picnic.

PRISONERS OF WAR.

EIGHT volumes of these records are devoted to prisoners of war and they are records of suffering and death. In the North, as comfortable quarters as could be provided housed thousands of Confederates; in the South, open fields served in many localities, and the rate of mortality was appalling. In a report dated July 18, 1866, General Ethan A. Hitchcock, Commissary-General of Prisoners, says that with a total of thirty-four Southern prisons, complete reports of deaths were received from only four—Andersonville, Georgia; Salisbury, North Carolina; Cahaba, Alabama; and Danville, Virginia. The aggregate of deaths reported was 22,676; those of Confederates in Northern prisons, 26,426; total number of Union soldiers captured, 126,952; total number of Confederate soldiers captured, "about" 220,000.

The first capture of Union soldiers was the result of the surrender of all the army posts in Texas by Brigadier-General David E. Twiggs in February, 1861. Correspondence with General Twiggs with a view to this action was carried on by Thomas J. Devine, P. N. Lockett, and S. A. Maverick, representing the state of Texas, and signing themselves "Commissioners on Behalf of the Committee of Public Safety." General Twiggs's headquarters were then at San Antonio. It was first agreed that the forts and public property in the state were to be surrendered, the troops to be marched to the coast and there take ship for the North, the men retaining their arms. Twiggs

begged to be allowed to retain the guns of two light batteries, as their surrender, he said, "would be an act which would cast everlasting disgrace upon the arms of the United States," and he thought the state of Texas should not demand such a sacrifice, after he had "yielded so much to the state to meet what I deem to be due to the state, and avoid unnecessary collision between the state and the Federal troops."

This permission was granted, but the troops were taken prisoners by order of the Confederate government, which had taken hold of the matter, in violation of the agreement made by the state authorities. General Earl Van Dorn represented the Confederate government in this affair, and it is an interesting fact that one of the regiments composing General Twiggs's command, and which was thus surrendered by him, was the Second Cavalry, of which Van Dorn was a captain, but resigned in order to enter the Southern army. In addition to the defection of all the field-officers of the Second Cavalry, with the exception of George H. Thomas (one of the majors), more than half of the captains and lieutenants also joined the Confederate army. The enlisted men, however, stood firm in their loyalty to the Union. A portion of the troops surrendered were paroled and came North, and the remainder stayed in Texas until they were exchanged.

General Nathaniel Lyon captured twelve hundred Missouri militia at Camp Jackson, near St. Louis, May 10, 1861, and at Fort Donelson, on February 16, 1862, General Grant received the surrender of thirteen thousand Confederates—the first large capture of the

war on either side. The surrender at Donelson was made by General Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky. He had been educated at West Point, and a few days after the fall of Fort Donelson, General Buell telegraphed from Louisville to General Halleck at St. Louis, that a summons had been issued and an officer sent by the state authorities to arrest General Buckner on the charge of treason against the state of Kentucky. "The feeling against him is so intense among a large portion of the people of the state," said General Buell, "that his presence would endanger the good order of the community, and I request that he shall not, under any circumstances, be sent here." Notwithstanding this intense feeling General Buckner, after the war, became one of the most popular men in the state and was twice elected governor. At West Point he was a classmate of General Grant, and was one of the pallbearers at General Grant's funeral in 1885. A story is told to the effect that when Buckner was starting North, a prisoner, Grant insisted on loaning him some money.

Exchanges were made with but little difficulty during 1861, frequently by commanders of armies confronting each other. January 20, 1862, Secretary Stanton appointed Bishop Edward R. Ames, of the Methodist Church, and Hamilton Fish commissioners to visit Southern prisons and relieve the wants of Union soldiers. They went to Fortress Monroe and were there met with a polite note from General Benjamin Huger of the Confederate army, to the effect that they would be saved the fatigue of journeying to Southern

prisons, as James A. Seddon and Charles M. Conrad had been appointed a commission to meet them and arrange for a general exchange of prisoners. This turn of affairs was reported to Secretary Stanton and he thereupon notified Commissioners Ames and Fish that as they had been refused permission to enter Confederate territory, their services would be no longer required, and that they could return to Washington at their convenience.

Then General John E. Wool, representing the government, and Howell Cobb, for the Confederacy, undertook to draw up a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, but failed because the United States refused to recognize the Confederacy as an independent, belligerent power. Later, a cartel was agreed upon, General Dix representing the United States in the arrangements.

In the West, Gen. John C. Frémont and General Sterling Price had previously issued a joint proclamation declaring that there should be no more arrests, in their department, by either side on account of political opinion, and providing for an immediate release of all prisoners held by them. Five days later, General Frémont was succeeded in the command of the Department of Missouri by General David Hunter, who at once notified General Price that the joint edict would not be recognized under the change of commanders.

The enlistment of negro soldiers changed the situation materially. Mr. Davis, on January 12, 1863, in a message to the Confederate Congress, said: "I shall, unless you, in your wisdom, deem some other course more expedient, deliver to the several state authorities all commissioned officers of the United States that may

hereafter be captured by our forces in any of the states embraced in the proclamation, that they may be dealt with in accordance with the laws of those states providing for the punishment of criminals engaged in inciting servile insurrection." In May following, the Confederate Congress passed a law embodying the above suggestion, but confining its operation to commissioned officers of negro regiments. Negro soldiers, when captured, were to be delivered to the authorities of the states where captured, to be dealt with according to the laws of those states. This law stood unrepealed until the close of the war, so that, as a legal proposition, any officer of a negro regiment who was unfortunate enough to become a prisoner was liable to be hanged, as John Brown was after the Harper's Ferry insurrection.

The appointment of General Ben Butler as an agent for the exchange of prisoners, in 1864, added to the difficulties of the situation. The Richmond Examiner, commenting upon his appointment, indulged in a violent tirade, and insisted that it would be better to have no more exchanges than for Southern officers to be compelled to treat with a creature so low as Butler. This personal assault had no more effect upon General Butler than water on a duck's back. He carefully clipped the editorial and sent it to the War Department, and thus secured its preservation in the official records.

An illustration of the lenient treatment given prisoners in the North in the early period of the war is shown in the following, clipped from the Cincinnati Commer-

cial by a Baptist clergyman of Ohio, in April, 1862, and forwarded to the President, with a request for a change, the writer saying that he had two sons in the Union army: "They [Confederate prisoners in Camp Chase, at Columbus] are permitted to visit the town and swell about the hotels, where they write themselves down as of the C. S. army. They prowls about the bar-rooms, drinking the mean whisky for which Columbus is famous, and condescend to make acquaintances among the poor white trash of the North, who fawn upon them. They order new Confederate uniforms, and talk treason publicly as rampantly as in Richmond. Foolish women, crack-brained on the subject of the South, are permitted to minister to them, not to wait upon the sick or comfort the afflicted, but to encourage them to persevere and 'whip the Yanks.'"

The placing under martial law of a strip of ground one hundred feet was a novel war incident which occurred at Chicago in May, 1862. A Chicago alderman having been refused permission to visit the prisoners at Camp Douglas undertook to talk to them through the fence and when ordered to desist he became abusive to the guard and was arrested. The matter was taken into the courts and the action of the military was sustained. In order to avoid future trouble of this character a strip of ground one hundred feet wide all around the camp inclosure was put under martial law and trespassers thereon thus placed themselves outside the jurisdiction of the civil authorities.

Thousands of Union soldiers perished in Southern

prisons and other thousands endured hardships which permanently disabled them as the result of the refusal of the Confederates to recognize the negro as a soldier and the refusal of the United States government to permit any discrimination as to the color of the men who wore its uniform. It was a distressing situation and Mr. Lincoln was in almost daily receipt of letters, during the latter part of the war, appealing to him to abandon his position in that regard and consent to an exchange of prisoners on a basis which would leave the black men in the hands of their captors. The following is a sample of letters which must have brought distress to his sympathetic heart. It is dated at Roxabell, Ohio, September 4, 1864, signed by D. C. Anderson, and indorsed by J. H. Brown.

“HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT LINCOLN: *Dear Sir,*—
‘Blessed is he that considereth the poor.’ My business as an agent for one of our church boards has given me an opportunity of becoming extensively acquainted with the views and feelings of the ministers and prominent members of the Presbyterian Church of southern and western Ohio. I find everywhere the most intense feeling of dissatisfaction at the policy of the administration relative to our suffering prisoners at Andersonville, Ga. The people are, and were, your warmest political friends. Those people and ministers labored earnestly to fill your call for volunteers from the beginning of our national war, very many of them urging their own sons to enter the list. Many of those ministers have sons and scores of members now in prison, taken at Chickamauga and Gettysburg. The authenticated accounts of their sufferings at Andersonville

have brought several gray-haired mothers to their graves and others to the insane asylum.

"Fathers and mothers who wept, but yet thanked God for such noble sons when they heard of their falling gloriously on the battle-field, have sickened and fainted under the consuming suspense and burning anxiety caused by the long imprisonment and ineffable sufferings of other sons compelled to undergo more than the horrors of the Inquisition in that terrible open-field pen. They are naked, without shelter by day and by night, starved, eaten by vermin, the filthiest of water, no soap, no blankets, sickening, dying, rotting as they stagger and fall, to rise no more. Many hoped and prayed long and waited your strong arm to come to their relief but, 'hope deferred maketh the heart sick,' and they have sunk into insanity. From 6,000 to 8,000 have died and found such graves as no good man would put a dog into.

"Now, is it to be wondered at that these good fathers and friends should manifest dissatisfaction? Your failure to comply with the rebel proposition to a mutual exchange of physicians increases their dissatisfaction. Now, in spite of the world this policy will affect our coming election. Our enemies are making use of this with effect. To render things worse is the fact that these sorrowing parents can get no letters nor boxes to their sons, and many of these good and influential men have come to the deliberate conclusion that their noble sons are the victims of a heartless, cruel neglect. Dr. Still said: 'If anything could be more cruel than the rebel treatment of our sons it is the criminal neglect shown them by our

authorities;' Dr. Gould pronounces it 'the result of a negligent administration;' Rev. Warner, 'the grossest neglect and ingratitude of the powers that be toward our gallant boys;' Rev. Gibson, that he 'can never again respect Lincoln, Stanton, or Butler.'

"All hold you responsible. Oh, for God's sake interpose! It is crushing the patriotism out of the poor prisoners and embittering hundreds of thousands of their friends. Those worse-than-murdered men you will meet at the bar of God. It is everywhere considered the refinement of cruelty. I write in love but in earnest. We know you can have them exchanged if you will give your attention to it. It is simple murder to neglect it longer."

In 1863 Quartermaster-General M. C. Meigs, at Chattanooga, set 6,000 Confederate prisoners at work repairing railroads, unloading trains, etc., on the ground, as he said, of expediency, efficiency, economy, and humanity, but was soon notified that the government deemed his course inexpedient. Northern soldiers, confined in Southern prisons, welcomed all chances to work that was offered them, but these opportunities were few. General Grant had some correspondence with General Lee in 1864 over a reported putting of negroes captured from the Union armies at work on the Confederate fortifications in front of Richmond, but this was a different character of labor from that given Confederates at Chattanooga.

In 1864-65 a considerable number of Confederate prisoners took the oath of allegiance to the United States and enlisted in the army with the understand-

ing that they were not to be sent South to fight. At that time the Indians were making trouble on the plains and these men, dubbed "Galvanized Yankees," were sent out West to fight the Indians.

During the first two years of the war Union prisoners were permitted to receive boxes of provisions and clothing from the North but this was afterward prohibited on the ground—according to Gen. Ben Butler—first, that his predecessor, General Meredith, had published in the newspapers a statement that these boxes did not reach the prisoners but were sent to the men in Lee's army, and, second that many of the boxes had been labeled: "To Our Starving Soldiers in Richmond," or: "To Our Brave Defenders in Libby Prison," all of which was deemed insulting by the Southerners.

In July, 1864, a party of fifty Union officers arrived in New York from Charleston, S. C., where they had been in prison. They were boiling over with indignation over the treatment they had received and one of their number, Gen. W. H. Wessells, was deputed to address a communication to the War Department recommending the appointment of a commission of ex-Union prisoners to visit all the Northern prisons, investigate their methods and conditions and draw up a code of rules for their management based upon the management of prisons in the South, claiming that if such a code were adopted it would produce a change for the better in the treatment of Union prisoners. The recommendation was not adopted.

The expense of fitting up prisons and the care of

their inmates was a heavy burden to the South and as early as 1861 the Confederate War Department was in receipt of suggestions from various and sundry public citizens in that connection. One writer proposed that the "Lincoln government" should be notified that it must feed the prisoners held in the South and that in case of refusal they would be starved to death. Another man suggested the building of a new railroad line by prison labor and one ingenious gentleman — Tazewell W. Trice, of Cotton Plant, Arkansas — suggested that all Union soldiers captured should be taken to Fort Sumter, there fed on bread and water for a time and that then they should be turned loose after each man had had his left leg broken by a commission to be appointed for that purpose composed of Generals Hardee, Pillow and McCulloch.

Beginning on page 588, serial number 121, of the War Records, is an exhaustive report, covering many pages, as to the conditions at Andersonville in the closing months of the war. It was prepared by Dr. Joseph Jones and was to have been presented to the Surgeon-General of the Confederacy but the ending of hostilities prevented. It fell into the possession of the United States War Department and was made use of by Judge-Advocate N. P. Chipman before the military commission which tried and convicted Henry Wirz, who had charge of that prison, on an accusation of murder. Wirz was convicted and was hanged November 10, 1865, and his body buried alongside that of Atzerodt, one of the assassin conspirators, in the navy-yard at Washington.

Wirz was a captain in the Southern army, a Swiss by birth, and upon the collapse of the Confederacy he wrote a pitiful letter to Gen. J. H. Wilson begging to be permitted to return to Europe and insisting that his management of the prison had been as lenient as was possible under the circumstances and that he had, in fact, been extremely kind in certain instances. Gen. Wilson at once ordered his arrest, and he was taken to Washington and his trial proceeded with without loss of time. Gen. N. P. Chipman, now one of the Supreme Court Commissioners of California, Judge-Advocate of the military court, several years ago printed a pamphlet detailing the facts brought out on the trial, being impelled to do so by two articles published by Jefferson Davis in Belford's Magazine for January and February, 1890, entitled "Andersonville and Other War Prisons."

Gen. Chipman says of these articles that they were originally prepared by Mr. Davis for the North American Review through the urgent request of its managing editor, James Redpath, who visited Mr. Davis at his home in Mississippi for that purpose. Thorndyke Rice, the editor, postponed the publication for political reasons and soon afterward died. Meanwhile the Review published an article written by Lord Wolseley reflecting somewhat upon Mr. Davis and the latter replied, in response to a request from Mr. Rice's successor, but the article was so severely pruned before publication that Mr. Davis withdrew his Andersonville prison contribution and sent it to Belford's Magazine.

No braver armies were ever organized than those of the South. On hundreds of battle-fields they fought with a courage which commanded the admiration of the opposing force; for four years they marched and suffered; ragged; many times with nothing but parched corn in their haversacks; without pay for the last two years of their service; their homes wrecked and their families destitute in thousands of instances; without proper medical and surgical departments—with conditions the most discouraging these men displayed a devotion to duty as they understood it so heroic, so self-sacrificing, so noble, that the glory of it will grow brighter as the years pass and mankind comes into a fuller knowledge of it. In their personal relations with prisoners, on the battle-field, and after, they were kind and considerate—as brave men always are—but when these prisoners became subject to those in control at Richmond they found no mercy and the story of the prison pens of the South makes up one of the blackest pages in human history and for all time the world will wonder that men could be so cruel to men.

POLITICAL PRISONERS.

IN Serial No. 115 is presented the most remarkable "human interest" stories ever compiled in a single volume. It deals chiefly with "Suspected and Disloyal Persons" confined in Forts Hamilton and Lafayette, New York harbor; Fort Warren, Boston harbor, and Fort McHenry at Baltimore. Soon after his appointment as General-in-Chief of the Union armies General McClellan organized a secret service with Allan Pinkerton in charge, the latter making his reports to the government over the name of E. H. Allen. It is evident from the records that the members of this force entered upon the performance of their duties with unusual zeal and industry and that the most trivial circumstances were often distorted into evidence of disloyalty. Other agencies for spying into the doings and sayings, the incomings and outgoings, of men and women were soon afterward employed and in a short time these prisons were filled with inmates and were kept full until the end of the war. In many instances extreme cruelty was practiced upon the prisoners and solitary confinement, bread and water, chains and manacles, were resorted to.

Here is a story of the arrest of an Episcopal clergyman who was, however, released in a short time. This man, Rev. J. R. Stewart, rector of St. Paul's church of Alexandria, Va., habitually omitted, in the service, the prayer for the President of the United States. Learning of this S. W. Morton, a secret service agent, attended the service one Sunday morning

and at the point of this omission rose and requested that the prayer be read but no response was made and a second request met with like result. Thereupon Captain Farnsworth, of the Eighth Illinois Cavalry, stood up and demanded the reading of the prayer and when no attention was paid by the clergyman to this demand he ordered his arrest by a sergeant who sat in the pew with him and the arrest was made, in the midst of great excitement and confusion.

Many pages in this volume are taken up with the case of Col. Richard Thomas, alias "Zarvona," alias "The French Lady" who, on June 28, 1861, in the disguise of a woman, went on board the passenger-boat St. Nicholas, plying between Baltimore and the Potomac and, with the aid of a party of men purporting to be mechanics, seized the vessel and took her to a Virginia port as a prize. He was then given a colonel's commission in the Confederate service and in returning to Maryland was arrested as a spy. At the time of his capture he was found in woman's clothes, concealed in a large drawer in one of the staterooms of the steamer on which he was a passenger. His commission as colonel was in his pocket. Thomas belonged to a prominent Maryland family and is referred to in a letter from General Dix as being "rich, intelligent and resolute." His arrest occurred on July 8, 1861, and six sailors who were on the St. Nicholas at the time of her capture were taken in charge and detained as witnesses, being subjected to the same treatment as the other inmates of the prison in which they were confined, one of the number being handcuffed as a result of an unsuccessful attempt to escape. One of

the sailors did escape and one was released but the others remained prisoners nearly two years.

Thomas's influential family at once set to work to secure his freedom. A letter to the War Department says that Thomas had a cipher code by means of which he corresponded with a Mrs. Norris and others in Baltimore, a line of poetry, for instance, conveying a request for acid, files, or anything he might desire. Governor Letcher of Virginia sent President Lincoln a long letter, in January, 1863, setting out the seceding of Virginia from the Union and the official status of Thomas in the military service of the South and insisting that he could not be legally held on the charge of piracy. Gov. Letcher also notified the President that seven Union prisoners—four officers and three privates—had been placed in solitary confinement to be held as hostages for the safekeeping of Thomas and to secure his exchange. On January 8th a resolution was adopted in the United States Senate in behalf of Thomas who was then reported to be hopelessly insane from his sufferings. He had been kept in solitary confinement for more than a year in consequence of his attempting to escape from Fort Lafayette by jumping into the harbor; he had been refused visitors, was allowed communication with only the prison officials and non-commissioned officers of the guard and was not permitted the use of paper or books. In response to this resolution an army surgeon reported, upon examination of Thomas, that he was found to be in good health and in normal condition as to sanity. In February the Union prisoners held as a hostage for Thomas united in a letter, which was

brought to the attention of Judge-Advocate-General Holt, setting out their own deplorable condition and urging that measures be taken for their relief and finally, on April 11, 1863, Secretary Stanton authorized the exchange of Thomas for the seven Union soldiers.

W. H. Stevens, Assistant Postmaster at San Francisco, on behalf of Postmaster S. H. Parker wrote Secretary Seward, October 22, 1861, informing him that "William M. Gwin, formerly U. S. Senator, and Calhoun Benham, formerly U. S. District Attorney for this district, both rank traitors, left this city for New York by way of Panama yesterday. They will arrive in New York on or about the 10th or 12th of November. Their destination is South." While on the voyage these men were arrested by Gen. Edwin V. Sumner, who was a fellow-passenger, but were released on parole. Arriving at New York they were committed to Fort Lafayette. Benham was a brother of the wife of George D. Prentice, the famous editor of the Louisville Journal. The latter at once interested himself in behalf of the prisoners who were permitted to go to Washington on parole and on December 10, 1861, they were released, both insisting that they entertained no feelings of disloyalty to the government. And there is nothing in the record to show that they were not loyal.

And Mr. Prentice had troubles of his own in this connection as is shown by the following letter written by him to the President April 28, 1862: "Mr. Lincoln. I have great favor to ask of you. Hear me! My only child, Clarence J. Prentice, God help him, is a major in the Confederate service. A few weeks ago he came to Kentucky and, being cut off from his com-

mand, he came by night to his home to see me and his mother and his baby. He was seen coming and in a few hours was arrested. He is now at Camp Chase and his mother in Columbus. He desires, I know, to serve no longer in the war. He would be great loss to the Confederates for he has been one of their most effective officers. I don't suppose, Mr. Lincoln, that you can parole my boy upon his taking the non-combatant's oath, to remain in the United States, though I should be most happy if you could, but I fervently appeal to you to let him go upon his agreeing to go outside of the United States and of the rebel Confederacy. I know his plans. His mother will go with him and he will never bear arms against us again. I will be surety for this with my fortune and my life. I have written to Gen. Burnside to allow him to remain at Camp Chase until I hear from you. Please let it be soon for I am most unhappy." Young Prentice was soon afterward released on parole.

Lord Lyons, British Ambassador to the United States, appears prominently in this volume of records as he was frequently appealed to by British subjects arrested on various charges. On November 25, 1861, James M. Mason and John Slidell were locked up in Fort Warren. The fact of their capture by Capt. Wilkes, of the *San Jacinto*, while passengers on a British steamer on the way to represent the Confederacy at London and Paris, is well known, as are also some of the subsequent proceedings in regard to these men but in this book is printed a great deal of official correspondence between this country and England in

that connection which was never before made public. Captain Wilkes and his men were heartily commended by Secretary Welles, of the Navy Department, but the situation soon became so grave and the possibility of war between the United States and England so imminent on account of this seizure, that only by the most skillful diplomacy on the part of the President and Secretary Seward was the crisis passed with safety and with credit to our country. In this connection Mr. Lincoln displayed statesmanship of the highest order and when he handed to the Secretary of State a document in which he had outlined the course to be pursued, Mr. Seward—himself one of the most astute of men, and with a knowledge of statecraft acquired while the President was a country lawyer in a Western community—read it over carefully and remarked: "That is a great state paper, Mr. President." The people of the North were furious over the bare suggestion that Mason and Slidell should be given up and a war with England would have been preferred by a large proportion of them as an alternative, but the President knew then, as always, what his duty was, and by his order the Confederate envoys were, on New Year's Day, 1862, placed on board Her Majesty's ship *Rinaldo* and permitted to go on their way to Europe. The official correspondence with various countries in this connection did not close, however, until the month of March following.

At that period almost any man or woman was liable to be thrown into prison, to be released only after months, and sometimes years, of confinement. The wife of an admiral in the United States navy was under

surveillance for alleged correspondence with rebels; ex-President Pierce was accused of aiding in organizing a secret league with the object of overthrowing the government; ex-Governor Morehead of Kentucky was confined in Fort Warren; Congressman May of Maryland was an inmate of Fort Lafayette for months; women were locked up on suspicion of being spies and numerous newspapers were suppressed and their editors and publishers imprisoned for treasonable utterances. An illustration of the attitude of the War Department toward the press is given in the following order sent by Mr. Stanton to Gen. Dix and to the chiefs of police of all the important cities in the North, February 25, 1862: "All newspaper editors and publishers have been forbidden to publish any intelligence received by telegraph, or otherwise, respecting military operations by the U. S. forces. Please see this night that this order is observed. If violated by any paper issued to-morrow seize the whole edition and give notice to this department that arrests may be ordered."

That "aid and comfort to the enemy" were often given through newspaper publications was a fact well known. Just before the battle of Bull Run, when the Southerners were specially desirous of learning the purposes of the government, a Confederate officer in citizen's clothes arrived in Washington early in the morning on a mission to a lady residing in that city who was supposed to be able to furnish some valuable information by reason of her social position. As he approached her house he met newsboys shouting their calls and announcing that the Union army had been ordered to advance upon Beauregard—precisely the

information the officer was seeking. But, of course, the public wanted the news of all that was going on, and they got it, though often their getting it was followed by the failure of carefully laid plans and the useless sacrifice of many lives.

George W. Jones, ex-Congressional delegate from Michigan and Wisconsin; ex-United States Surveyor-General; ex-United States Senator from Iowa and United States minister at Bogota, New Grenada, in 1861, wrote a letter to Jefferson Davis in May of that year addressing him as his "noble and very dear friend"; expressing his sympathy for the Southern cause, his admiration for the slave system, his hatred for all friends of negro freedom and his own wrongs in being compelled to emancipate nine slaves during his residence in Iowa. In other correspondence he gave evidence of his disloyalty to the United States. Upon arriving in New York, December 20, 1861, he was arrested and sent to Fort Hamilton on the charge of engaging in treasonable correspondence with his country's enemies while in his country's service. He was released February 22, 1862, on taking an oath to "render no aid or comfort to enemies in hostility to the government of the United States" and a few weeks later Secretary Seward was notified by one E. R. Meade that he had been retained by Jones to bring suit for damages against Mr. Seward. The outcome of the proposed proceedings is not given in the official records but it is probable that the matter was dropped.

William Henry Hurlbut, a prominent newspaperman of New York, was born in Charleston, S. C., and his sympathies were with the South. In June, 1861, he

managed to get through the lines in some way and went to Charleston where he had a married sister living. He was at once denounced as a public enemy by the press of that city, was threatened with a visit by a vigilance committee and, on advice of friends, he started on his return North. At Atlanta, Ga., he was arrested and went to Richmond expecting to be able to effect his release without difficulty. He was locked up in the county jail at Richmond, but he at once employed a lawyer to look after his interests supposing that he would be set free in a day or two. Investigation disclosed the fact that Hurlbut's offense consisted in his having written an article, four years before, for the *Edinburgh Review*, in which he gave an unfavorable view of slavery. His confinement lasted many months and upon being released he hastened back to New York.

Catherine V. Baxter, of Maryland, was one of the prisoners in the Old Capitol, at Washington. In letters written to Secretary Seward she reveals a good deal of character. "I have heard," she says, "that William H. Seward is a hard and heartless man, permitting nothing to stand in the way of his boundless ambition; sacrificing upon the principle that the end justifies the means. Now, sir, I do not believe any such doctrine. I believe there is no man without some good impulse and surely a woman, and a mother, pleading to you need not plead in vain. 'The leopard cannot change its spots'; I cannot, to save my neck, shout 'Union' but I will go home and meddle no more with edged tools. You can fight hereafter without my aid or intervention. . . . My child is entirely de-

pendent upon me for everything. For the past two or three weeks, young as he is (but 14 years old), he has, in order to be nearer me (though he is allowed to see me but once a week for 15 minutes), been acting in some capacity to a party who furnishes the sutlers; a child who until now has been tenderly nurtured and cared for. He came to me on Saturday in such trim I could scarcely recognize him—dirty, neglected, sick, and so thin and careworn—every vestige of my once bright, happy boy gone. My heart ached and so would yours have done could you have seen him and heard his exclamation: ‘Ma, if you do not soon get out I shall die!’ ”

In a letter to Secretary Stanton Mrs. Baxter gives a graphic account of her experiences in the handling of “edged tools” which brought her to her then miserable plight. She was specially desirous of seeing Jefferson Davis and journeyed from Baltimore to Richmond with that object in view, carrying numerous letters for Southern people. She was presented to Davis, of whom she writes: “Rebel, or not, he is certainly a gentleman.” It appears to have been a case of mutual admiration for Davis gives her a letter to the Secretary of War who grants her request for a surgeon’s commission for a friend in Baltimore and who is entirely ignorant of her kind intentions concerning him. The Confederate war secretary warned her, as he handed her the document that “this is gunpowder should it fall into the wrong hands” but she gayly assumes the risk and after a few days visiting in the Confederate capital, where she cut quite a figure, she started North, carrying this commission and many letters intrusted

to her for delivery. Her capture follows and the gentleman for whom she had procured the commission, (which is found in her possession) Dr. Septimus Brown—who had previously told her that he would not leave Maryland—is also arrested and locked up. Mrs. Baxter's arrest was on December 30, 1861, and she remained a prisoner until June 2, 1862, when, with two other women prisoners, she was sent south of the lines. Dr. Brown was released April 8, 1861, on parole.

To one wishing to study the various phases of human suffering this volume affords abundant material, for hundreds of cases are detailed. Extenuation, in a great measure, may be found for the course of the government—which, in many instances appears to have been heartless—in a dispatch concerning conditions at the beginning of the war. The dispatch is dated February 14, 1862, and refers to an order authorized by President Lincoln, as follows:

“The breaking out of a formidable insurrection based upon a conflict of political ideas, being an event without precedent in the United States, was necessarily attended by great confusion and perplexity in the public mind. Disloyalty before unsuspected suddenly became bold and treason astonished the world by bringing at once into the field a military force superior in number to the standing army of the United States.

“Every department of the government was paralyzed by treason. Defection appeared in the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the Cabinet, in the Federal courts; ministers and consuls returned from foreign countries to enter the insurrectionary

councils, or land, or naval forces; commanding, and other officers of the army and in the navy, betrayed our councils or deserted their posts for commands in the insurgent forces. Treason was flagrant in the revenue and in the post-office service as well as in the territorial governments and in the Indian reserves.

“Not only governors, judges, legislators and ministerial officers in the states, but even whole states rushed, one after another, with apparent unanimity, into rebellion. The capital was besieged and even its connection with all the states cut off. Even in the portions of the country which were most loyal political combinations and secret societies were found furthering the work of disunion while from motives of disloyalty, or cupidity, or from excited passions, or perverted sympathies, individuals were found furnishing men, money and materials of war and supplies to the insurgents’ military and naval forces. Armies, ships, fortifications, navy-yards, arsenals, military posts and garrisons were, one after another, betrayed or abandoned to the insurgents.”

CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM.

MUCH space is given in the War Records to the chronicling of the doings of Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio. He was particularly active in opposing the war measures of the government and in his public addresses he gave much aid and comfort to the South. In April, 1863, General Ambrose E. Burnside, commanding the Department of the Ohio, issued an order announcing that "the habit of declaration of sympathy for the enemy will not be allowed" and that persons so offending should be at once arrested. The issuance of this order had no effect upon Vallandigham, but he continued in his usual course. On the night of May 5, 1863, a detachment of 100 soldiers surrounded his house, broke in the entrance door and an inside door, and took him into custody. He was arraigned before a military commission at Cincinnati on the charge of having violated General Burnside's order. Vallandigham thereupon applied to Judge Leavitt, of the United States District Court, for release on habeas corpus proceedings. When the hearing came on General Burnside, by permission of the court, filed a paper in which he set out at length his reasons for the issuing of the order, in the course of which he said:

"I beg to call upon fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, relatives, friends and neighbors of soldiers in the field to aid me in stopping the uncensored and untrammelled discussion which is discouraging our armies, weakening the hands of the government and thereby strengthening the enemy. If we

use our honest efforts God will bless us with a gracious peace and a united country. Men of every shade of opinion have the same vital interest in the suppression of this rebellion for, should we fail now, the dread horrors of a ruined and distracted nation will fall alike on all, whether patriots or traitors."

In passing upon the case Judge Leavitt entered into a full presentation of the legal points involved and refused to grant the application. Vallandigham was taken under guard to a point in Tennessee on the road between Murfreesboro and Shelbyville and through a flag of truce sent to the headquarters of General Bragg, then at Shelbyville. Being thus inside the Confederate lines Vallandigham applied to Bragg for a passport for protection which was at once given him, on May 26th. In transmitting it General Bragg congratulated the exile on his "safe arrival in our land of liberty, where you will find freedom of speech and conscience secured to all. Your sojourn among us as a private citizen exiled by a foreign government with which we are at war will, of course, impose some restrictions upon you which our people will fully appreciate, but I am satisfied you will ever receive the courtesy due your unfortunate position and the respect of all who learn of the quiet and retired position you have determined to occupy."

This passport permitted Vallandigham to go about within Bragg's department as any other citizen would be allowed to do. Bragg notified the Confederate War Department of his action and was promptly informed that it was a wrongful use of a flag of truce to employ it to cover a guard over an expelled citizen; that it

was his right to have held the guard as prisoners of war or even to have dealt with them as spies. Bragg was directed to ascertain from Vallandigham the exact character the latter sustained in thus coming within the Confederate lines; if he still claimed to be a citizen of the United States he must be held on parole as an alien enemy.

General Bragg thereupon withdrew the passport he had given the Ohio wanderer and the latter, in reply to the inquiry from Richmond as to his citizenship, stated that he was still a citizen of the state of Ohio and of the United States; that he was within the lines of the Confederacy by compulsion and against his consent; that he had been banished on account of his love for constitutional liberty, and that he desired to go to Canada. President Davis wrote a polite note to General Bragg directing him to send Vallandigham to Wilmington, North Carolina, under guard, and about the same time Secretary of War Seddon received a letter from one Charles Martin, eulogizing Vallandigham in the highest terms and begging permission to entertain him as a guest. The Confederate War Secretary was evidently not at all pleased with Vallandigham's presence as in one of his letters in this connection he objected to the South being converted into a sort of Botany Bay by the United States. Vallandigham asked for permission to visit a friend living at Lynchburg, Va., which he was allowed to do, under guard, and he was then sent to Wilmington, still under guard, with leave from Mr. Davis to there take shipping to any foreign port he desired to reach.

In the mean time, on June 11th, Vallandigham had

been nominated for governor by the Democrats of Ohio and upon reaching Canada, on July 15, he issued a flamboyant address to his party. His arrest and expulsion had created great excitement among the Anti-war Democrats all over the country. The convention which nominated him for governor adopted strong resolutions denouncing the action of the government in emphatic terms and a committee of nineteen members of that body, including its president, was sent to present these resolutions to President Lincoln and demand that Vallandigham be at once restored to his home and set at liberty. Mr. Lincoln listened to the committee's presentation of the matter and put in writing his own view of the case. He held that there had been no violation of the constitution by General Burnside in issuing and enforcing his order, called attention to the evil done by the addresses of Vallandigham and made a proposition to the committee to the effect that if a majority of its members would counteract the influence of the disloyalty of Vallandigham by signing a paper in which he set out three propositions indorsing the war, its purposes and its prompt prosecution by the government he would restore Vallandigham to his home. This the committee declined to do.

A Democratic mass-meeting was held at Albany, New York, where the action of the government in respect of Vallandigham was declared to be of the most dangerous character and involving the liberties of a free people. In this view of the matter Governor Horatio Seymour heartily concurred and sent to Mr. Lincoln an urgent appeal in behalf of the exile. On

the other hand Governor Yates, and other state officials of Illinois, sent the President a dispatch urging him to stand firm in the position he had taken and from other parts of the North telegrams of a like character poured in to the White House. A writ of certiorari to the supreme court of the United States was then resorted to by Vallandigham's friends, in which proceedings Joseph Holt, then Judge-Advocate-General, represented the government. This writ was also denied.

In his address, above referred to, Vallandigham said: "Arrested and confined for three weeks in the United States as a prisoner of state; banished thence to the Confederate States and there held as an alien enemy and prisoner of war on parole, fairly and honorably dealt with and given leave to depart—an act possible only by running the blockade—I find myself first a free man when on British soil, and to-day under protection of a British flag, I am here to enjoy and exercise the privileges and rights which usurpers insolently denied me at home. The shallow contrivances of the weak despots and their advisers have been defeated . . . and I who, for two years, was maligned as in secret league with the Confederacy have refused, when in their midst under circumstances the most favorable, either to identify myself with their cause or even so much as to remain, preferring exile in a foreign land."

In the election Vallandigham received over 180,000 votes for governor of Ohio, but failed of success. During his stay in Canada he was kept under close surveillance by agents of the secret service of the govern-

ment and frequent reports concerning him were made. Letters were sent him by friends under cover to a man in Detroit, Mich., but they might as well have been sent direct for the government secured copies of all of them.

On June 15, 1864, a district convention was held at Hamilton, Ohio, for the purpose of electing delegates to the national Democratic convention to be held at Chicago (where General McClellan was nominated for the Presidency). In the midst of the preliminary proceedings a great noise was heard on the outside of the hall and suddenly the door opened and Vallandigham appeared, followed by a crowd of admirers indulging in the wildest demonstrations of joy. He pressed his way forward where he was lifted up on the speaker's platform, in the midst of great uproar and excitement. Order being finally restored he made a violent speech in denunciation of the treatment he had received and said he had returned to his home and family and that he intended to remain. An agent of the government secret service was present and took a full report of the speech, ostensibly for the Chicago Times, which report was sent to Washington. At this convention Vallandigham was elected a delegate to the Chicago convention and no effort was made afterward to interfere with him on the part of the government. He left the front door of his house in its splintered condition for some time as evidence of the treatment he had received from the "myrmidons of a tyrannical government."

FOUR TRAGEDIES.

IN the summer of 1863 for several weeks there was scarcely a night that a picket was not shot at some one of the Union outposts at Corinth, Mississippi, and energetic measures were taken to ascertain the cause, resulting in the capture of one Johnston, a long, lank man who had suddenly appeared in the Union camp some months previously and, after loitering about for a time, had joined the First Alabama Cavalry, then being organized by Capt. George Spencer of Gen. G. M. Dodge's staff, and of which regiment Spencer became colonel. (Spencer was a United States Senator from Alabama after the war.) In the course of a few weeks Johnston deserted, went outside the lines, organized a band of guerrillas and devoted his time to slipping up on the picket posts (the location of which he had learned while connected with the Union service and in hanging about camp), and shooting the men on duty.

This fact was learned upon the trial of Johnston by court-martial after his capture and the further fact, also, that he had previously belonged to the Confederate service and that his purpose in joining the Federal army was to gain information concerning the strength of the post at Corinth, its guard lines, etc. He was found guilty on the charge of being a spy and was sentenced to death by shooting. A firing party of twelve men was detailed from the Fiftieth Illinois Infantry, each taking one of twelve muskets that were leaned up against a building, all but one of which were loaded with powder and ball, one having a blank cartridge so

that each man of the party might comfort himself with the hope that he was the one whose gun carried the blank cartridge and that his hands were not stained with human blood. The entire division, except the men on duty, was turned out under arms, forming three sides of a hollow square. In the center of the open side was piled up the yellow earth of a freshly dug grave. When the troops were in position an ambulance left the prison carrying Johnston and a chaplain, sitting on a coffin—a common, rough box. In front was a band with silver instruments playing the Dead March; on either side of the ambulance and in rear marched the guard—none of whose guns carried a blank cartridge—and in the rear came the firing party. In this order the right of the line was reached; the prisoner and the chaplain alighted; the coffin was taken out of the ambulance and the procession formed for marching in front of the long line of soldiers. Four men carried the coffin and next—so near that he could have reached it by stretching out his hand—came the prisoner, bareheaded and in shirt sleeves, leaning on the arm of the chaplain; then followed the guards and the firing party. As Johnston passed down the line, he exclaimed, over and over: “God have mercy on me!” “God help me!” the chaplain, meanwhile, speaking to him, in low tones, words of encouragement.

Thus the entire line was traversed, the infantry regiments, with glistening arms, standing at parade rest. Not a word was spoken excepting by the doomed man and the chaplain. What thoughts passed through the mind of the former as he saw before him the box

which was soon to contain his body, now pulsing with life, and conscious all the time of the fact that only a few feet behind him marched the men who were to shoot him, God alone knows. When the extreme left was reached the party—which was led by the band, all the time playing the slow, mournful music of the Dead March—turned squarely to the right and halted when the grave was reached. The coffin was placed on the ground, the guards stepped to one side, the firing party formed in line about ten paces in front of the coffin, four of them being directed to reserve their fire to insure the death of the prisoner in case the first fire should not prove fatal, and the chaplain and prisoner knelt on the coffin to pray. At this juncture the adjutants stepped to the front of their respective regiments and read the finding of the court-martial, with the name and crime of the accused. Johnston was then seated on his coffin, a long white cloth was wound about his head, blindfolding him, and the command given: "Ready!" "Aim!" "Fire." Eight Springfield rifles responded, the white cloth was no longer white, but red; the body fell back with the feet resting on the coffin and the soul of Johnston had gone to its Maker. The body was left lying as it fell, and the division was marched past it in order that every soldier present might be fully impressed with the solemnity of the occasion.

In the fall of 1863 Samuel Davis, a slender, smooth-faced lad about 18 years old, was captured by two scouts belonging to the Second Iowa Infantry, in the vicinity of Pulaski, Tenn. He was dressed in Con-

federate uniform, as they were; he thought they were Confederates and frankly told them he had been inside the lines at Pulaski. Upon his person were found complete plans of the camps, fortifications etc., of the Union forces, then under command of Gen. G. M. Dodge. He was tried by a court-martial and found guilty on the charge of being a spy. On the trial the fact was disclosed that the sketches of the camps had been furnished him by some one inside the lines and the boy was told that if he would give the name of the person who had supplied him with the sketches and information concerning the Union camps he would be given his liberty and safe conduct to the outposts of Bragg's army near Chattanooga. He refused and the erection of a gallows was proceeded with on an elevated site on the edge of town and in full view of the jail in which Davis was confined. Meanwhile the proffer of freedom was often made and as often refused. November 27th was the date set for the execution and the command was ordered out under arms. Several solid squares were formed about the gallows and on the hillside on the opposite slope of a stretch of low ground were assembled thousands of citizens. The prisoner was brought out from the jail in an ambulance, he and a chaplain seated upon a coffin, with guards on either side and in the rear, and, in front, a band playing a funeral dirge. On reaching the ground, one corner of each square fell back to permit an entrance of the party, the coffin was placed at the foot of the gallows' steps and prayer was offered by the chaplain, kneeling with the lad, by the coffin. The prisoner's hands were tied and as he started up the steps an

officer touched him and spoke to him in a low tone, and what he said every man in blue within view of the scene knew, though he heard not a word; he knew that the officer had told that slender, smooth-cheeked boy, who ought at that moment to have been at home with his mother, that if he would whisper a single name—only one name—his hands would be unbound, his freedom restored, and he would be taken to the outposts of the Confederate army under a flag of truce and returned to his friends, and every man in blue, there present, his heart filled with pity, for the boy, hoped that the name would be revealed.

For an instant the lad hesitated. Around him stood thousands of those he deemed the enemies of his country; on the opposite slope thousands of citizens but not one able to lift a hand in his behalf; the bright sky above him; in front the rope swinging slightly; at his feet the coffin and the gallows steps; life, with all the promise it gives to vigorous youth, was within his grasp; death, in its most repellent and disgraceful form, confronted him; all that was needed for him to escape the dreadful fate impending and be able to turn his back upon that empty coffin and that hideous noose was to whisper a single name.

It was a terrible temptation, but this young hero turned it aside. He shook his head and then, mounting the steps, he stood beneath the rope; the cap was drawn over his head; the noose adjusted; the trap sprung and thus died this lad whose sense of honor was so keen that he was ready to surrender life rather than to betray a confidence.

This gallows was left standing and was used again. In July of 1863 an orderly sergeant of the Seventh Illinois Infantry, then encamped at Corinth, Mississippi, became engaged in an altercation with the colored servant of his captain. The captain came to the negro's defense and the result was that he stepped into his tent to get a revolver and the sergeant armed himself with his rifle. They then returned to the company street. The sergeant fired first and killed the captain. He was arrested and a court-martial sentenced him to death by hanging. The findings were sent to President Lincoln for approval but there was so long a delay that the conclusion was reached that the President did not intend to give his approval. The division moved from Corinth to Pulaski, Tennessee; in December following a large proportion of the Seventh Illinois re-enlisted, this man among the number, for another term of three years; he went with others on a sixty days' visit to the North; returned in March, 1864; and was on duty at a picket post one day in April following when a guard visited the post and arrested him. He was taken into camp and hanged on the gallows which had been erected in November preceding. The proceedings of the court-martial had finally been approved by President Lincoln and reached the post only a few days before the division started South on the Atlanta campaign.

George N— was one of the best men who ever put on uniform. As a member of the Second Iowa Infantry (whose first Colonel, Samuel R. Curtis became a major-general; whose first lieutenant-colonel, James M.

Tuttle; whose first major, M. M. Crocker, and whose first adjutant, N. P. Chipman, all became brigadier-generals) he entered the service at the beginning of the war; re-enlisted in December, 1863 for another three years, and always bore himself with credit. He was a handsome young fellow, with black eyes and hair, straight as an Indian, alert, always well dressed, an expert in the manual of arms, brave, prompt, reliable, of good habits, generous and kind-hearted and always ready for duty—a model soldier in a model regiment. While stationed at Pulaski, Tennessee, for a few months, before going on the Atlanta campaign, there had been a company of scouts organized from various regiments of which company this young man had been made first lieutenant. When the division was ordered to join Sherman at Chattanooga in April, 1864, for the Atlanta campaign, the men composing this company were returned to their regiments, and N— took his place again in the ranks. One day, in front of Atlanta, a Confederate sharpshooter sent a bullet through this soldier's face from which, instantly, five streams of blood gushed—one from the entrance and one from the exit of the ball, one from his mouth and one from each nostril. He presented a dreadful spectacle and when he was removed to the rear his comrades bade him good by expecting to never see him again. The regiment marched back to Rome, Ga., after the capture of Atlanta. Here a large depot of supplies had been established during the summer and also extensive hospital accommodations. Marching past the hospital tents the division was greeted by men, sick or wounded,

belonging to the various regiments. As the Second Iowa approached there stepped out from the long line of convalescents one of the most dreadful-looking objects in human form that was ever seen. One eye was gone; on each sunken cheek was a livid scar; all the hair had fallen from the head; the face was ghastly; the body a mere skeleton. No one recognized the poor creature but when his own company drew near he held out his hands and in a pitiful voice inquired: "Why, don't you know me, boys?" Then he was recognized; it was George N—! His comrades, who loved him, gathered about him; they grasped his hands; they hugged him; they tried to comfort him in his terrible plight and then they marched on—their cheeks wet with tears.

When he finally left the hospital, heart-broken over his condition, borne down by the consciousness that henceforth he was a marked man, to be shunned and pitied, his hopes and ambitions blasted, N— returned to the scene of his operations when on scouting service. Here he joined a band of desperadoes and an official report made by Gen. R. W. Johnston, post commander at Pulaski, dated June 22, 1865, tells the remainder of the story as follows: "Last week I sent to the neighborhood of Lewisburg and Connorsville a small party of cavalry with instructions to hunt down and kill Hill Looker, formerly a scout for Brigadier-General Starkweather; Lin Hopwood, Isby and McCullum, all notorious outlaws and robbers. The party caught and disposed of Looker and McCullum. The others evaded them but only to fall into the hands of another similar party by whom, they, too, were dispatched. Night

before last, learning of a proposed gathering on Sugar Creek, 17 miles below here, I sent out to the locality designated a squad of the Fifth Indiana Cavalry. They captured and executed three notorious robbers and outlaws—Fergusen, Korner and Turner by name. This morning one N—, formerly a scout of Gen. Dodge, was captured near this place with a Confederate of the same kidney (name unknown) and executed by a party of my escort and by my orders.”

In the above report the name is given in full.

A CHAPTER OF SUNDRIES, INCLUDING A LETTER FROM THE POPE.

FROM Brussels, under date of May 9, 1864, A. Dudley Mann sent a letter to Mr. Jefferson Davis inclosing a communication which, he said, "will grace the archives of the Executive Office in all coming time. It will live forever in story as the production of the first potentate who formally recognized your official position and accorded to one of the diplomatic representatives of the Confederate States an audience in an established court palace, like that of St. James's, or the Tuileries." The following was the inclosure sent by Mr. Mann and so highly eulogized by him:

"Illustrious and Honorable Sir: Health! We have received with all fitting kindness the gentleman sent by Your Excellency to deliver us your letters bearing date the 23 of September last. We certainly experienced no small pleasure when we learned from the same gentleman and the letters of Your Excellency with what emotions of joy and gratitude toward us you were affected, illustrious and honorable sir, when you were first made acquainted with our letters to those reverend brethren John, archbishop of New York, and John, archbishop of New Orleans, written on the 18th of October of last year, in which we again and again urged and exhorted the same reverend brethren that, as behooved their distinguished piety and their episcopal charge, they should most zealously use every effort in our name also, to bring to an end the fatal civil war that had arisen in those regions, and

that those people of America might at length attain mutual peace and concord, and be united in mutual charity.

"And very grateful was it to us, illustrious and honorable sir, to perceive that you and those people were animated with the same feelings of peace and tranquillity which we so earnestly inculcated in the letters mentioned as having been addressed to the aforesaid reverend brethren. And would that other people also of those regions, and their rulers, seriously considering how grievous and mournful a thing is intestine war, would be pleased with tranquil minds to embrace and enter upon councils of peace. We indeed shall not cease with most fervent prayers to beseech and pray God, the omnipotent and all good, to pour out the spirit of Christian charity and peace upon all those people of America and deliver them from evils so great with which they are afflicted.

"And of the most merciful Lord of compassion Himself, we likewise pray that He may illumine Your Excellency with the light of His grace, and make and join you in perfect love with ourself.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, December 3, in the year 1863, and of our Pontificate the eighteenth.

"PIUS P. P. IX."

S. C. Hayes of Richmond wrote to Mr. Davis, January 6, 1864, calling attention to the Irish element of the North as affording excellent material for recruits for the Confederate army. He said he had been a resident of Philadelphia for twenty years, during seventeen of which he was in the wholesale book business, a

publisher, etc., and having quite a number of Irish in his employ, he had become interested in that class. During the summer of 1861 he had spent much time among the Irish operatives of the Pennsylvnnia coal mines and had then done a good deal of missionary work for the South. The effect of his talks with the miners, he wrote, was most happy and he had done a great deal to neutralize the work of men endeavoring to recruit for the Union army. This letter was sent by Mr. Davis to General Bragg who made this indorsement: "This paper contains suggestions which I deem valuable and practicable. The employment of some judicious person to operate on this class of people through our own press and that of the North would, no doubt, be attended with good results. In this connection I suggest the printing in English, German and French a large number of the recent general orders inviting foreigners in the Federal ranks to come to us and offering them protection. With care many of these papers could be introduced into the enemy's lines."

It would appear from a letter dated May 3, 1864, that Gen. Bragg's suggestion was acted upon but that the results were not of the most encouraging character. S. S. Baxter wrote to the Confederate War Department that it was important to encourage desertion from the United States army but there were two obstacles, viz.: "The bad character and conduct of these men and the prejudices of our people against them." He suspected, he said, that many of them had been professional thieves and burglars at home; they were not satisfied with the scant fare of the South and were so averse to

work that they preferred to roam about the country preying upon the public. He advised the sending of them out of the country through the assistance of the vice-consul of France. On the back of this letter was indorsed: "It is undoubtedly very desirable to encourage desertions in the Federal army and, if we can in the mode suggested, be relieved of the delicate question of policy as to their treatment it will be very desirable. This question is one of great difficulty and continued embarrassment."

It is difficult, now, to realize that California ever had any inclination to go out of the Union but the official records show that such was the fact in respect of a portion of the people. Albert Sidney Johnston, colonel of the Second Cavalry, was in command of the Department of the Pacific in the spring of 1861. He was a Southern man and it was feared that he would not prove loyal to the government. In order to avoid trouble in that connection Gen. Edwin V. Sumner was hurried out to the Coast to take command of the department, and no warning was given Col. Johnston of that fact. Upon being thus superseded, Col. Johnston went to Los Angeles. His son, William Preston Johnston, writing after the war, says that it was the intention of his father to remain neutral in regard to the war and to engage in farming near Los Angeles but that he was subjected to an annoying surveillance and that such urgent appeals for help came from his old friends in the South that he finally determined to enter the Confederate service. It would appear now that Col. Johnston had reason to feel aggrieved at the

hasty action taken in regard to him by the government as he had given no evidence whatever of intended desertion of his post or of attempts to influence the men under his command.

Writing from Los Angeles, June 7, 1861, R. B. Hall, who stated that he was a resident of San José, Cal., informed the War Department that he had learned that "Col. Johnston, who was recently the commander of the U. S. forces on this Coast, will leave Los Angeles next week with an armed band of secessionists for Texas with the avowed purpose of joining the traitors of Texas and the Southern Confederacy." Mr. Hall had also learned, he said, that "it is the intention of these men to 'clean out' all Union men on the route" and he considered it his duty to post the War Department in order that these men might be headed off in New Mexico by the soldiers stationed there, or on the border of Texas by Montgomery, or Jim Lane of Kansas. "My name must not be used or my life would not be worth a straw," he says, and then adds, in a more cheerful vein: "California is safe for the Union. We are forming Union corps in every city, town and hamlet."

Col. Johnston took with him a small party, disturbed no one on the way, reached Richmond via Arizona and Texas, was welcomed with the wildest evidences of delight by the Southern people and was one of the five men appointed to high command in the Confederate army, with the rank of general, the others being Samuel Cooper, Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston and G. T. Beauregard. He was given command of a western department, led the Confederate forces in

the first day's battle at Shiloh and would, in all human probability, have overwhelmed the Union army under Gen. Grant had he not been killed, at 2:30 P. M.

In 1864 the Confederate Secretary of War wrote to Gen. E. Kirby Smith a letter which, he said, would be handed to him by Judge L. W. Hastings, late of California, who had received from Jefferson Davis a commission as major to raise troops in Arizona, with authority to recruit in California. Cotton was to be sold in Mexico sufficient to raise \$10,000 or \$12,000 in specie funds for the purpose of meeting the expenses of this service and the money safely deposited at some place in Mexico. It had been arranged that Judge Hastings should go to California where he was confident he could raise a force of 500 men or more. They were to be engaged ostensibly as miners, to go out armed and equipped at their own expense, and to report to designated officers in Mexico on a pledge that there they would be paid for their arms and equipment and forwarded to the point of rendezvous. When assembled in sufficient numbers they were to proceed to Arizona and commence operations to seize and occupy the country. The Secretary of War suggested that an enterprising officer of superior rank should be selected by Gen. Smith to command the expedition and to select a few of the California men to proceed to the territory to engage the co-operation of the friends of the South for action at the proper time. He said that he would be pleased if a gentleman of the known character and spirit of Judge Terry would undertake the guidance of this enterprise. Judge Terry, herein referred to, was one of the most prom-

inent of the Southerners then living in California. He had been one of the supreme court judges, had engaged in a duel with Senator Broderick just previous to the war, (in which duel the latter was killed), and a few years ago was himself killed at a railway eating-station at Lathrop, California, as he was advancing upon Judge Field, of the United States supreme court, with, so Judge Field insisted, the intention of assaulting him.

In 1865 a letter was forwarded to Gen. Irvin McDowell, commander of the Department of the Pacific, written by W. M. Wheeler, at Kernville, Cal., April 25, 1865, as follows: "Brother Ed: I write in great haste for time is precious. Since the news of the surrender of Lee's army, the assassination of Lincoln and the surrender of Johnston's army, etc.; reached here, the Rebs have been perfectly wild with excitement and rage and have organized a guerrilla band at Clear Creek, 15 miles from here, and threaten to annihilate us all, and I dont know but they will do it but we intend to fight them to the bitter end. We are prepared for an attack. They outnumber us considerably and are better armed. We have, however, sent to Visalia for troops to assist us but whether they will come or not, of course I dont know. I think it is their design to clean us out and then make a break for Mexico. I will write you again in a few days if I live. If I get killed do the best you can with my business,"

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

It is a singular fact that the first propositions for peace came from an individual and were made to a single state. In 1862 Edward Stanley was appointed military governor of North Carolina about the same time that Andrew Johnson was appointed military governor of Tennessee. Governor Stanley proceeded to New Berne, North Carolina, and sent a communication to Governor Zebulon Vance asking for an interview with himself or with one or more good citizens representing him, the chief purpose being to see if some measure could not be adopted which would lead to an honorable peace between the United States and the state of North Carolina, and if this could not be done that arrangements might be made to secure a release of prisoners held on political grounds. Governor Vance replied that he could not grant him a personal interview nor send commissioners to meet him for the purpose named. He said that the proposition that North Carolina should, on her own account, make peace with the United States "was based upon the supposition that there is baseness in North Carolina sufficient to induce her people to abandon their confederates and leave them to suffer alone all the horrors of this unnatural war," while they secured terms for themselves, and that this was an error which he would not have supposed one so well acquainted as Graham was with the character of her people could have committed. As for the exchange of political prisoners, North Carolina held no political prisoners. That ended the matter so

far as Vance was concerned but the military governor replied with a note to the effect that he regretted the conclusion reached; that he did not consider that the measure proposed reflected in the least degree upon the people of the state and that he was under no obligations to North Carolina, anyway. With that Mr. Graham drops out of sight. He was a man of high character and had been prominent in the politics of the state for many years before the war. Three years later Gov. Vance endeavored to arrange, with Gen. Sherman, terms of peace between North Carolina and the United States government.

Colonel Jaques, of the Seventy-third Illinois Infantry, next essayed the role of peacemaker and was permitted to enter the lines of the Confederacy for that purpose, but was not successful in receiving any propositions from Mr. Davis.

Then Horace Greeley, the distinguished editor of the New York Tribune, took the matter up. From the outset he had objected to Mr. Lincoln's methods and was wont to criticise them with great vigor in his paper. Replying to one of these criticisms Mr. Lincoln wrote the following, which ranks with his Gettysburg address as a classic in the use of the English language, and is also an illustration of patience bordering upon the saintly. It is dated August 22, 1862.

"Hon. Horace Greeley. Dear Sir: I have just read yours of the 19th addressed to myself through the New York Tribune. If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn

I do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

“As to the policy I ‘seem to be pursuing,’ as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored the sooner will be ‘the nation as it was.’ If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could, at the same time, destroy slavery I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I do hurts the cause and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors and shall adopt new views as they shall appear to be new views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of my official duty and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.”

When Mr. Greeley suggested to the President, in July, 1864, that in his opinion peace could be restored by treating with Jacob Thompson and other Confederate representatives then in Canada on a special mission Mr. Lincoln authorized him to see those men and gave him the following as a credential of authority: "If you can find any person anywhere professing to have any proposition from Jefferson Davis, in writing, for peace, embracing a restoration of the Union and the abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you, and if he really brings such proposition he shall, at the least, have safe conduct with the paper (and without publicity if he chooses) to the point where you shall have met him. The same if there be two or more persons."

Later, Private Secretary John Hay was sent to New York to see Mr. Greeley and, on authority of the President, he gave that gentleman an additional paper specifying by name Jacob Thompson (who had been a member of President Buchanan's Cabinet), Clement C. Clay, Jr., James P. Holcombe and George N. Sanders as the persons to whom safe-conduct to Washington would be given if they desired to visit Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Greeley went to Canada, had a talk with the three last named — Thompson holding himself aloof — and after a full discussion of the matter Clay and his associates informed Mr. Greeley that they had no authority whatever to treat for peace and with that the conference ended. It is said that Mr. Lincoln afterwards expressed a feeling of satisfaction that this episode had afforded him an opportunity of bringing Mr. Greeley into active relation with affairs connected with the war.

On December 28, 1864, President Lincoln gave to Francis P. Blair, Sr. this passport: "Allow the bearer, F. P. Blair, Sr., to pass our lines going South and return." Two days later Mr. Blair sent President Davis a letter asking permission to visit him and submit to his consideration certain ideas which might produce desirable results. Permission was given and on January 12, 1865, the President of the Confederacy handed to Mr. Blair a paper to be submitted to Mr. Lincoln in which he said that he had no disposition to find obstacles in forms but was willing then, as previously, to enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace; that he was ready to send a commission whenever he had reason to suppose that it would be received or to receive a commission if the United States chose to send one with a view to securing peace to the "two countries." On the 18th President Lincoln, with a view that it might be shown to Mr. Davis, delivered to Mr. Blair a paper in which he said he had seen Mr. Davis's letter to Mr. Blair and that he might say to Mr. Davis that "I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue ready to receive any agent whom he or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may send to me with a view of securing peace to the people of our common country." January 28th President Lincoln indorsed on the copy he had retained of this letter: "To-day Mr. Blair tells me that on the 21st inst. he delivered to Mr. Davis the original of which the within is a copy and left it with him; that at the time he delivered it Mr. Davis read it over twice in my presence at the close of which he (Mr. Blair) remarked that the part about 'our common

country' related to the part of Mr. Davis' letter about the 'two countries' to which Mr. Davis replied that he so understood it."

On January 29th Alexander H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter and J. A. Campbell presented themselves at the Union lines in front of the Ninth Corps and stated that they desired to cross the line and go to Washington as a peace commission in accordance with an understanding had with General Grant. Thus far the proceedings had been kept a profound secret, Mr. Blair's missions South having been ostensibly in connection with an effort to recover certain valuable papers that had been taken from his house in Maryland the summer before by Confederate soldiers, on the occasion of the raid made by General Early. The request made by Mr. Stephens and his associates was at once telegraphed to the War Department, which notified Mr. Lincoln of the matter and telegraphed General Ord that the War Department had no knowledge of any understanding with General Grant to allow any persons to come through the lines as peace commissioners. The President then directed the War Department to telegraph General Ord to inform the three gentlemen at his lines that a messenger would be sent to meet them.

The following day Mr. Lincoln sent Major T. T. Eckert with a letter to be handed to the Stephens party giving them permission to come through the lines. In the meantime the commissioners had applied directly to General Grant for leave to proceed to Washington to hold a conference with President Lincoln. General Grant telegraphed this request to Mr. Lincoln and was

notified that a messenger had been sent. January 31st Secretary Seward was sent down to Fortress Monroe to informally confer with the three commissioners and make known to them that in order to secure peace three things were essential — a restoration of the national authority in all the states; no receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question and no cessation of hostilities by the United States until all of the forces in hostility to the government had disbanded.

February 1st the President telegraphed General Grant: "Let nothing which is transpiring change, hinder or delay your military movements or plans." Grant replied at once: "There will be no armistice in consequence of the presence of Mr. Stephens and others within our lines. The troops are kept in readiness to move at the shortest notice if occasion should justify it." The next day he telegraphed to Secretary Stanton that he was satisfied from his conversations with Stephens and Hunter that their intentions were good, and their desire sincere to restore peace to the Union; that their going back without any expression from any one in authority would have a bad influence and that he was sorry President Lincoln could not have an interview with them. This was shown to the President who telegraphed General Grant to say to the gentlemen that he would meet them at Fortress Monroe as soon as he could get away. He also notified Mr. Seward that he would join him. President Lincoln went to Fortress Monroe and a conference was held on a steamer in Hampton Roads. No record was made of the conversation, which was entirely informal, and the

conference ended without any practical result. The party separated and the next time Mr. Stephens saw Fortress Monroe, a few weeks later, he was a prisoner and President Lincoln had been assassinated.

After the failure of this effort there was some disposition manifested to enlist the services of General Grant, through General Lee, to bring about an adjustment of the difficulties but General Lee was not enthusiastic on the subject and no negotiations were entered into.

Mr. Stephens was one of the most brilliant men in public life for many years before and after the war, but he was a man of remarkably small physique. In his Memoirs General Grant tells of this conference and, referring to the Vice-President of the Confederacy, says he wore an overcoat of great length and unusual thickness which gave him the appearance of a man of ordinary size, and that when he removed the coat there was a striking change in the size—in the coat and out of it. President Lincoln, after the conference, asked General Grant if he had seen Stephens's overcoat, to which the General replied that he had whereupon Mr. Lincoln asked him if he had seen him take the coat off, and when General Grant replied in the affirmative he said: "Well, did n't you think it was the biggest shuck and the littlest ear you ever did see?" Years afterward, when a gracious peace had come again to our country, this story was told to Mr. Stephens and he was much amused at the comment of Mr. Lincoln.

SURRENDER OF LEE AND JOHNSTON.

THE lack of supplies for the armies of the Confederacy became a matter of serious concern in the closing months of the war. S. R. Cockrill, of Nashville, Tennessee, made this suggestion: "God said 'Let the waters bring forth abundantly and it was done.' He gave man dominion over the fish of the sea. In our rivers, lakes and bays there is an inexhaustible supply of fish which, in our abundance, we have never resorted to. It is the part of wisdom now to look to this Providential supply, placed beyond the control of the enemy. Let 10,000 men be detailed from the armies, such as disabled soldiers, new conscripts and men over 45, to be placed under proper officers at the best fisheries, a supply of salt to be furnished by the government and fish salted by black and white women. If these men should average ten pounds each per day it would supply enough for an army of 200,000." Mr. Cockrill thought that General Gideon J. Pillow would be a good man to place in charge of this business.

This letter was referred to Gen. L. B. Northrup, the head of the Confederate commissary department, and he indorsed it as follows: "The writer has not shown from Scripture that the promised dominion over the waters and the fishes therein will confer on the 10,000 veteran invalids the skill to fabricate all the appliances necessary to catch the fish, or the judgment, perseverance and hardihood requisite to use them successfully even if the vast amount of cord needed was obtainable. Nor has it been shown that, in the

absence of these facilities and endowments, the promised dominion will cause in the fish a due avidity to be caught even if the season of the year will admit of a present application of the plan. It must also be shown that the promised dominion over the waters will be admitted by Mr. Lincoln in favor of the Confederacy and induce him to prohibit hereafter the boat expeditions which have been used with great activity heretofore to break up the fisheries in the waters of Virginia and North Carolina. This whole subject has long ago been carefully considered and but little fish has been secured during the past two seasons."

Gen. Longstreet wrote to Gen. Lee in January, 1865, that there were supplies enough in Virginia and North Carolina but that they could not be bought with Confederate money. He urged the forcible seizure of all the gold in the country to be used in securing necessities for the army. Gen. Lee replied that neither the government nor the banks had any gold but it was hoarded by individuals and therefore inaccessible. This letter was written a month before Gen. Grant moved out on his left at Petersburg but Gen. Lee then informed Longstreet that that would be Grant's next move.

At this period men were deserting from the Confederate armies by the wholesale. In one locality in Mississippi a thousand deserters were banded together and organized as a regiment prepared to resist to the death any attempt made to disturb them. Secret leagues were formed to encourage desertions and protect deserters. General E. Kirby Smith, commanding the western army, reported that some of his men had

not been paid for two years and they were all ragged and hungry. He wanted fifty million dollars and he wanted it right away. Lee reported that the main cause for the frightful percentage of desertions in his army was the lack of food. But the Confederacy had no money and no credit and it was impossible for it to secure the supplies needed. All of the necessities of life had gone up to astonishing figures and were difficult to procure. Prices were established by the board of commissioners in Virginia, December 3, 1864, of which the following are samples: Flour, per barrel, \$33 to \$42; wheat, per bushel, \$7.50; corn-meal, per bushel, \$5.20; onions, per bushel, \$8; molasses, per gallon, \$25; whisky, per gallon, \$10; horses and mules, per head, \$800; blacksmiths' iron, per ton, \$1,030.

Thomas E. McNeill, on February 20, 1865, addressed a letter to Mr. Davis in regard to the distressing state of affairs and made this proposition as a measure of relief: "I propose the removal of all factories, or their most valuable machinery, to safe points near the base of the mountain ranges, where water-power is abundant and approaches by the enemy difficult. Next, the establishment of small factories at various points of like character. Around these, as centers, the women of our country, who have been deprived of their all and driven from their homes by the enemy, could be collected, the wives and daughters of soldiers and others in indigent circumstance. There they would not be likely to be disturbed by the enemy. Being thus distributed, they could be much more easily fed and escape the demoralizing influence of large cities,

and the country be greatly benefited by their labor, which would be light and highly remunerative to them. So situated no one raid of the enemy could inflict irreparable injury to the country. Cotton would be near at hand, labor abundant, and the necessity for the transportation of food and material to and from great centers of trade and manufacture greatly reduced. I propose, also, to furnish to the women of the country generally, yarns, and a simple and cheap pattern of looms, taking pay for the same in cloth made by them."

But the surrender of General Lee, on April 9, 1865, changed the entire situation and it was with a sense of relief that the Southern people heard the news. The masses were heartily tired of war and those who were well posted as to the true situation knew that it was impossible to succeed in their purpose. At the last session of the Confederate Congress Mr. Davis had made an urgent appeal for money and in his message pronounced the situation to be grave in the extreme.

General Lee's farewell address was issued April 10th, the day after the surrender. He said: "After four years of arduous service marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. I need not tell the brave survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to the result from no distrust of them, but feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that would have compensated for the loss that must have attended a

continuance of the contest, I determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen. By permission and agreement officers and men can return to their homes and remain until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from a consciousness of duty faithfully performed and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection. With an increased admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful appreciation of your kind and generous consideration for myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

After surrendering to General Sherman General Johnston issued an address to the governors of the states comprising his department—North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida and Georgia, detailing the conditions by which he had been confronted. He stated that the Union army was ten or fifteen times as large as his own; that his command was without means for procuring ammunition or repairing arms; without money or credit to procure food and that it was impossible to continue the war except as robbers.

During the negotiations with Sherman by Johnston Mr. Davis and his Cabinet were near at hand, at Greensboro, N. C., but the records do not show any special conferences of importance between General Johnston and these officials. Johnston sent some dispatches to John C. Breckinridge, the Confederate Secretary of War, and the latter was present at the conferences with General Sherman. To the agreement made at the first conference, which agreement was rejected at Washington, Mr. Davis gave his consent, after having

been advised, in writing, to do so by Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State; John C. Breckinridge, Secretary of War; Stephen Mallory, Secretary of the Navy. John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General and George Davis, Attorney-General.

The despondency of General Johnston, upon being notified of the rejection at Washington of the terms of surrender he had made with General Sherman, is manifest by a dispatch he sent General Breckinridge suggesting a disbanding of the army. The returns show that at that time he had only about 14,000 men to meet Sherman's splendid command of 100,000 and he realized the hopelessness of his position. Breckinridge replied that the infantry regiments might be permitted to scatter, to reassemble later on, but that the cavalry should be held inact and ready for service. It is apparent from the official records that in agreeing to the terms of surrender as finally drawn, April 26th, General Johnston acted wholly upon his own judgment. Then Mr. Davis, realizing that the struggle of four years was ended, started on his hurried flight to the Southwest.

The records of those eventful days show that General Wade Hampton and Colonel John S. Mosby were strongly opposed to surrendering their individual commands. The former commanded a cavalry division in Johnston's army and was sent, on April 25th, to consult with Mr. Davis, who was then at Greensboro, N. C. The first conference looking to a surrender was held on the 18th and General Hampton, on the 22d, wrote to Davis at some length advising

against the surrender and claiming that a return to the Union would "bring all the horrors of war, coupled with all the degradation that can be inflicted upon a conquered people. We shall be driven into a war with Europe," he declared, "and, under a rigorous conscription, we shall, alongside of our own negroes, be forced to fight for the Yankees under Yankee officers." The proposed surrender would deprive the South of the benefit to come from foreign intervention, he said, but if the Southern people still kept some organization in the field they could hope for intervention, not only, but also for some reaction in public sentiment. If Mr. Davis proposed to cross the Mississippi he (Hampton) could bring many good men to escort him. As for himself, he could not agree to the terms proposed, and would seek a home in some other country. If Texas held out he would go to that state; if not, he would seek the protectorate of Maximilian in Mexico.

Davis promptly sent word to Hampton that he would like to see him and confer with him. A few days previous to this General Hampton wrote to Mr. Davis that with 20,000 mounted men he could compel Sherman to retreat in 20 days. The final negotiations were entered upon April 26, the surrender being made on the next day, and General Hampton claimed that on account of his absence on this consultation with Davis he was not bound by the surrender. In fact he started to leave with a division of troops but was promptly ordered back by General Johnston, whereupon he wrote Johnston a note in which he stated that he had been placed in a delicate position; that he had arranged to accompany Mr. Davis on his flight

and if he did not do so he would never cease to reproach himself, whereas, if he did go with Mr. Davis he might come under the ban of outlawry. He said he chose the latter but would leave his command to abide by the terms of the surrender. To this General Johnston responded: "You must obey my orders unless you have contrary orders from higher authority."

General Hampton lived to take a more rational view of the result of the surrender. There was no war with Europe; no conscripting to serve alongside of negroes under Yankee officers, but, on the contrary, peace and good will, and, for himself, a seat in the United States Senate, a commissionership of the Pacific railroads and many years of honored and useful life.

Colonel Mosby was connected with Lee's army and he, too, was absent at the time of the surrender and, therefore, he held that he and his regiment had not been included in its terms. General Hancock was in command of the department in which Mosby found himself, with headquarters at Winchester, Va., and Mosby entered upon a correspondence with that officer in regard to the matter. He expressed a willingness to give himself up in case General Johnston surrendered but not otherwise. Several messages were exchanged under a flag of truce and Mosby asked for a ten days' armistice. The matter was referred to General Grant at Washington who extended to Mosby the same terms that had been given to Lee's army generally, but when there appeared to be an unwarranted delay in the surrender of Mosby Grant telegraphed to Hancock to allow him only 24 hours more

time. The latter was still coy, and then the War Department offered a reward of \$5,000 for his capture if he did not surrender by April 20th. As the days passed various members of Mosby's command had come into the lines and given themselves up and, on April 21st, he formally disbanded the remnant with the announcement to them that "the vision we have cherished of a free and independent country has vanished and that country is now the spoil of the conquerer."

In this case, also, the future did not prove to be so black as anticipated. Mosby was appointed United States minister to Shanghai by President Grant, where he remained for a number of years and then through Grant's influence he was given a position in the legal department of the Southern Pacific railroad, where he continued until recently, when he was appointed to a place in the United States land department.

A MONTH OF ANXIETY.

A MONTH of anxiety and distress for Mr. Davis and his Cabinet was that of April, 1865. At 11 o'clock on the night of Sunday, the 2d, they left Richmond and on the 4th, at Danville, Va., Mr. Davis issued a proclamation to the effect that the armies of the South, relieved of the duty of protecting the capital, were now free to move in any direction, striking the enemy at unexpected times and places. On the 6th he lost touch with Gen. Lee and on the 11th he wrote to Gov. Vance of North Carolina that he was not officially informed of Lee's surrender, but that "scouts said to be reliable and whose statements are circumstantial and corroborative represent the disaster as extreme," and adds: "We must redouble our efforts to meet present disaster. An army holding its position with determination to fight on and manifest ability to maintain the struggle will attract all the scattered soldiers and daily rapidly gather strength. Moral influence is wanting and I am sure you can do much now to revive the spirit and hope of the people."

But Gov. Vance was sizing up the situation from his own angle of view and the next day after the above was written he sent to Gen. Sherman (whose army was then advancing upon the capital of North Carolina and was only two days' march distant) a message asking for an interview "for the purpose of conferring upon the subject of a suspension of hostilities with a view to further communications with the authorities of the United States touching the final termination of

the existing war." The interview was not held, owing to the exigencies of the situation, but Gen. Sherman sent the governor a safeguard for himself and his state officers, if they chose to remain in Raleigh, and sent a message to the effect that he would do all in his own power to aid the governor in terminating the war.

On the 10th—the day after Lee's surrender—Mr. Davis and his party proceeded to Greensboro, N. C., in order to be in close touch with the army of Joseph E. Johnston, then confronted by Gen. Sherman's force of, in round numbers, 100,000 men, splendidly equipped and eager for what was expected to be the closing battle of the four years' contest. Of these, 60,000 had marched from Chattanooga to Savannah, taking in the Atlanta campaign with its 100 days of battle on the way; from Savannah they had marched through the Carolinas; they had worn off all superfluous flesh; their muscles were hardened; they carried not an ounce of unnecessary clothing; they were experienced veterans, knowing just how to conduct themselves on the march, on the picket line and in the hour of battle. No superior command was ever organized and to meet it Gen. Johnston had a force of 73,260, on paper, and an effective force of only 14,000 men, half-starved, disheartened, ill supplied with ammunition and lacking in nearly everything necessary for the conduct of a successful campaign.

A cool welcome extended by the people of Greensboro, N. C., to Mr. Davis and his party, most of whom were compelled to make their home in a railway car, and the news daily received must have had a terribly

depressing effect upon them. For example: on the 14th Gen. Joe Wheeler notified Gen. Johnston that Union prisoners captured told him that Sherman's army had 15 days' rations and expected to march rapidly; on the same date a Confederate general sent this dispatch: "I have the honor to report the desertion of numbers of the troops from the lines around the towns, the Virginia troops generally leaving. I am pained to say that the disposition of the command is not good, there being much demoralization. Large numbers of stragglers are constantly arriving. Arrangements have been made to collect these men but the difficulty is to keep them from deserting." Still another general officer, on that date, reported: "Desertions are becoming very numerous. About 200 men of one battalion abandoned their post last night and the remaining men of this force state openly their intention to return to their homes. I am far from desiring to impute this design to the very gallant men now under my command but the fact of the demoralization is, I fear, indisputable."

Sherman's army marched out of its camps at Goldsboro, N. C., April 10th, marching directly upon Raleigh, which city it occupied four days later. Then it marched twelve miles farther west and there its career as a threatening force was stayed for at this juncture peace negotiations began. In these negotiations the Confederate Postmaster-General, John H. Reagan, was one of Gen. Johnston's advisers, and sent him, on the 17th this memorandum of points to be secured:

"First. The disbanding of the military forces of the Confederacy.

"Second. The recognition of the constitution and authority of the government of the United States on the following conditions:

"Third. The preservation and the continuance of the existing state governments.

"Fourth. The preservation to the people of all the political rights and rights of person and property secured to them by the constitution of the United States and of the several states.

"Fifth. Freedom from future prosecution or penalties for their participation in the present war.

"Sixth. Agreement to a general suspension of hostilities."

Of course these points were fully discussed by Gen. Johnston, Mr. Davis, and the members of his Cabinet. That they represented a modified and conservative state of mind on the part of Davis and his advisers is clear from a paragraph calling Gen. Johnston's attention to the fact that his suggestion had been complied with "by omitting the reference to the consent of the President of the Confederate States and to his employing his good offices to secure the acquiescence of the several states to this scheme for adjustment and pacification." The agreement signed by Sherman and Johnston the next day, when at least one member of the Cabinet—Secretary of War Breckinridge—was present, contained all of these provisions but its failure of approval at Washington on the ground that it embodied too much politics necessitated the drafting of another agreement wherein no reference was made to state governments or a condoning of offenses. In the light of subsequent experience in the reconstruction of

the Southern States many of the best people of the North have long regretted that the original propositions assented to by Gen. Sherman were not accepted by the authorities at Washington. To the day of his death this impetuous, sturdy soldier insisted that he was right as to the proper method of re-establishing civil government in the South. Certain it is that by the approval of his original terms for the surrender of Johnston's army many years of suffering by the Southern people would have been averted; there would have been no Ku-Klux Klans or White Leagues; no carpet-bag governments and no making of laws by black men fresh from the cotton-fields and less fitted for the duties of legislation than would have been white schoolboys ten years of age. The years of reconstruction constitute an epoch in the nation's history which was a reproach to the North and a calamity to the South.

That Gen. Beauregard had a crude idea of the situation — probably shared by the Southern leaders generally — is shown by a suggestion he made to Gen. Johnston on the 18th of April to the effect that in case the negotiations then pending terminated favorably the right should be secured, if possible, for the Confederate troops to march to their homes to be there mustered out of the service, depositing their regimental flags in their respective state capitols for preservation. Twenty years later, during the administration of Mr. Cleveland, a proposition to return to the South the flags captured during the war aroused a storm of indignant protest but a better temper is manifest in these recent years.

As to whether he should approve Gen. Johnston's action of the 18th Mr. Davis requested the members of his Cabinet to express their opinion in writing. Replies were received from Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State; John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General; John C. Breckinridge, Secretary of War; S. R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy and George Davis, Attorney-General, all advising him to approve the agreement entered into by Gen. Sherman and Gen. Johnston and a general desire was expressed by these Cabinet officers for a termination of the war. Some of these responses referred also to the suggestion Davis made in his proclamation of April 5th, that the war might be carried on by detached bands, which suggestion was characterized by the members of the Cabinet as promising only harm to the South with a certainty that such bands would be hunted down by the Southern people as a matter of self-defense.

Hon. Charles Francis Adams, in a recently published book, eulogized Gen. Lee for having, on the eve of the Appomattox surrender, rejected a proposition made to him by General Alexander of his staff, to permit his army to disperse and reorganize in guerrilla bands and thus prolong the war indefinitely. That Mr. Adams was in error in attributing to Gen. Lee credit for distinguished service to the country in this connection appears to be clearly shown by these written opinions of the members of Mr. Davis's Cabinet, found in serial number 100, War Records, beginning on page 821; by the wholesale desertion of the Confederate soldiers in the closing months of the war; by the fact that the Southern people, in and out of the army, were

worn out with the contest and anxious for peace on any terms and by the additional fact that in the position Gen. Lee's army then occupied, its escape from Gen. Grant's pursuing host was impossible, so hemmed in was it on all sides. The country appreciates the influence for good resulting from the quiet, conservative life of Gen. Lee from the day of his surrender to Gen. Grant, to the hour of his death, but no vote of thanks has ever been due him from the nation on account of his rejection of General Alexander's guerrilla suggestion of April 8, 1865. It would have been impossible to have organized such bands at that period or to have maintained them. Col. John S. Mosby undertook to carry on the war after Lee's surrender but found it impossible to keep his men together and the records show that some members of his own command undertook his capture in order to secure the reward the government had offered, and on April 21st he formally disbanded the small remnant of his command remaining with him.

It is interesting to note that the question of "State Rights" came up in this closing act of the drama. It had previously vexed the Confederate government in connection with the enforcement of the conscript law, the manufacture of whisky for the government in violation of state enactments and in other ways and now, in the final official expressions of the administrative officers of the Confederacy, it again appears. Several of these refer to the sovereignty of the state as an independent power and the Attorney-General, addressing Mr. Davis, says:

"I am unhesitatingly of the opinion that the con-

vention [for the surrender of Johnston's army] ought to be ratified. As to the proper mode of ratification greater doubt may be reasonably entertained. The Confederate government is but the agent of the state and as its chief executive you cannot, according to our governmental theory, bind the states to a government which they have not adopted for themselves, nor can you rightfully, without their consent, dissolve the government which they have established. But there are circumstances so desperate as to override all constitutional theories and such are those which are pressing on us now. . . . I therefore respectfully advise that upon the ratification of the convention by the executive of the United States you issue your proclamation, plainly setting forth the circumstances which have induced you to assent to the terms proposed, disbanding the armies of the Confederacy, resigning your office as chief magistrate, and recommend to the people of the states that they assemble in convention and carry into effect the terms agreed on."

On receiving these written opinions Mr. Davis, April 24th, sent the following to Gen. Johnston: "The Secretary of War has delivered to me the copy you handed him of the basis of an agreement between yourself and General Sherman, and if the like authority be given by the government of the United States, you will proceed on the basis adopted. Further instructions will be given as to the details of negotiations and the methods of executing the terms of agreement when notified by you of the readiness on the part of the general commanding U. S. forces to proceed with the arrangement."

That was probably the last communication sent by the President of the Confederacy to Gen. Johnston. Two days later Sherman and Johnston held their second convention and, on the following day, signed an agreement which practically terminated the war and, instead of issuing proclamations, Mr. Davis, accompanied by his Cabinet, again sought safety in flight, and just thirty days after the date of the Attorney-General's letter the key was turned which locked up the President of the late Confederacy at Fortress Monroe, where he remained a prisoner for two years.

The official returns of Gen. Johnston's army, April 24, 1865, show an effective force of 13,246 infantry and 742 artillerymen; total, 13,988. No mention is made of cavalry, of which Gen. Wade Hampton commanded a division of about 5,000, hence it would appear that it was not relied upon for duty, for some reason. In a statement made May 6, 1865, Gen. Johnston said that his effective force at the time of the surrender was 14,179.

CONSTERNATION AT WASHINGTON.

THE state of alarm and consternation at Washington as the result of the assassination of President Lincoln is shown by the numerous orders, letters, proclamations and telegrams printed in the records for the last half of April, 1865, and the month of May. General Grant was aboard a train going to Burlington, New Jersey, when the crime was committed and he was at once telegraphed the news by Charles A. Dana who suggested that on returning to Washington he should keep a close watch on all persons who approached him in the cars and that an engine be sent in front of his train to guard against obstructions on the track.

General H. G. Wright, commanding the Sixth Corps, telegraphed to Washington advising that "every Confederate officer within control of the army be at once closely confined with a view to retaliation upon their persons for so horrible an outrage." Lieut. David D. Dana sent a dispatch from Piscataway that he had "reliable information that the person who murdered Secretary Seward is Boyce or Boyd, the man who killed Capt. Watkins, of Maryland." Allan Pinkerton telegraphed from New Orleans offering his services in the efforts being made to detect the assassin. Secretary Welles issued instructions to place the murderer on a Monitor and anchor it out in the Potomac in case he should be captured and taken to the Washington navy-yard. Orders were given for a close

watch upon all persons leaving Washington by train and the fishing-boats on the Potomac were prohibited from landing on either shore below Alexandria.

In a short time descriptions of Booth and Atzerodt were sent all over the country and Secretary Stanton telegraphed to Gen. Hancock that Col. Mosby knew of Booth's plan and was in Washington with Booth — a statement without the slightest foundation in fact. Mr. Stanton also suggested to General Hancock: "In holding an interview with Mosby it may be needless to caution an old soldier like you to guard against surprise and danger to yourself but the recent murders show such astounding wickedness that too much precaution cannot be taken." To this Gen. Hancock replied that he did not intend to meet Mosby personally.

An officer in Maryland telegraphed that Booth had been seen passing through a neighboring town on foot and dressed in woman's clothes. The whole country was aroused; it was supposed that other prominent men had been selected for assassination and all sorts of dispatches were sent to Washington in that connection.

Lieut.-Gen. R. S. Ewell, of the Confederate army, then confined in Fort Warren, a prisoner of war, addressed a letter to Gen. Grant on behalf of himself and fourteen other Confederate generals and one commodore, his fellow-prisoners, in which he said that of all the misfortunes which could befall the Southern people or any Southern man, by far the greatest, in his judgment, would be the prevalence of the idea that they could entertain any other than a feeling of unqualified

abhorrence and indignation for the assassination of the President of the United States and the attempted assassination of the Secretary of State. No language, he said, could adequately express the shock produced upon his own mind, in common with that of the other general officers confined in Fort Warren, by the occurrence of this foul crime and by the seeming tendency in the public mind to connect the South and Southern men with it. "Need we say," he continued, "that we are not assassins, nor the allies of assassins, be they from the North or from the South, and that, coming as we do, from most of the states of the South, we would be ashamed of our own people were we not assured that they will reprobate this crime. Under the circumstances I could not refrain from some expression of my own feelings and thus utter them to a soldier who will appreciate them. The following officers, Major-Generals Ed. Johnson of Virginia and Kershaw of South Carolina; Brigadier-Generals Barton, Corse, Hunton and Jones of Virginia; Du Bose, Sims and H. R. Johnson of Georgia; Frazer of Alabama; Cabell of Arkansas and Marmaduke of Missouri and Commodore Tucker of Virginia all heartily concur with me in what I have stated."

The belief, which was then general throughout the North, that the leading Southern men, including President Davis were implicated in this plot of assassination, is not borne out by the Rebellion Records. Many depositions in support of that belief, however, had been taken by the Bureau of Military Justice, of which Joseph Holt was the head, of the most direct and positive character. General Holt made a lengthy

report to the War Department, January 18, 1866, giving the result of investigations made by his department. It was afterwards found, however, that much of the evidence referred to in this report was rank perjury, some of the witnesses examined testifying under false names.

When the dismemberment of the great armies of the Union was ordered there was developed a feeling of regret at parting of which these official records bear eloquent testimony. The years of danger and suffering bravely shared had bound the men and officers together in no common bond of affection and it is to the everlasting credit of all of the leading officers that they were urgent in their requests to the War Department for promotion, by brevet, of scores of their subordinates who had rendered specially conspicuous service. Army, corps and division commanders issued farewell addresses to their troops, many of which addresses were of the highest order. Of these, that to the Fourteenth Corps by General Jeff. C. Davis, is here given as a fine illustration of the prevailing spirit:

"Since he assumed command of the corps your general has seen many occasions when he was proud of your courage, your endurance, and your gallant, soldierly conduct. If he did not praise you then it was because in view of what yet remained for you to do, what enemies to meet, what hardships and what danger to encounter, it seemed wrong for you or for him to pride yourselves upon the past, or rest upon laurels already won; but now, when the battle and the march are over and the victory won, when many

of you are about to return to your homes and when all have lost the roar of hostile cannon in the plaudits of welcoming friends and the wreaths of victory, he congratulates you upon the part which you have shared, in common with your comrades of the armies of the Union, in the successful struggle for the integrity and security of your country. You will join heartily in the general rejoicing over the result but you will be forgiven for remembering with peculiar pride that at Chickamauga yours were the invincible legions with which the unyielding Thomas snatched victory from defeat, that at Mission Ridge you helped, with your brothers of the Armies of the Cumberland and of the Tennessee, to plant the banner of your country once more on the cloud-capped heights of Chattanooga; that at Jonesborough your resistless charge decreed the final fate of the proud Atlanta; that at Bentonville you, for hours, defied the frenzied and determined efforts of the hosts to crush seriatim the columns of the victorious Sherman. Years hence, surrounded by the prosperity and happiness of a united country, it will be enough for you to say: 'I fought with Thomas; marched with Sherman down from the mountains to the sea in that grandest march of all history; I toiled and skirmished at midwinter through the swamps of Georgia and struggled through the flooded rice-fields and forded the torrents of South Carolina.'

"Now, all danger passed, all victory won, many of you turn homeward. Let your future actions be governed by the same generous spirit, the same pure patriotism that prompted your entering into your

country's service, remembering that the true soldier is always a good citizen and a good Christian. Some remain yet for a time as soldiers; the same country that first called you will retain you and needs your service. Let your record be the same in the future as in the past. So act that when at last no soldier shall remain of the Fourteenth Corps the record of all shall be alike untarnished and glorious. Many of the noblest, the bravest and the best, who came out with us will not return. They are sleeping on the hills and by the streams of the South where no voice of mother, sister or wife will ever awake them; where no kind hands will strew flowers upon their graves. For their sakes as well as in recollection of your own toils, dangers and triumphs, keep ever fresh the good name and memory of the old Fourteenth Corps and in the future associations and meetings of life let us always keep the warmest greetings for those who say: 'I fought and marched with Sherman and Thomas; I belong to the Acorn Corps!'"

General Grant's farewell address was very brief. It was issued June 2, 1865, and was as follows: "Soldiers of the Armies of the United States: By your patriotic devotion to your country in her hour of danger and alarm — your magnificent fighting, bravery and endurance — you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and the constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws and of the proclamation forever abolishing slavery — the cause and pretext of the rebellion — and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order and in-

augurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, and sieges, and battles, in distance, duration, resolution and brilliancy of result, dim the luster of the world's past military achievements and will be the patriot's precedent in defense of liberty and right in all time to come. In obedience to your country's call you left your homes and families and volunteered in its defense. Victory has crowned your valor and secured the purpose of your patriot hearts and with the gratitude of your countrymen and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duties of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs and to secure to yourselves and posterity the blessings of free institutions tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen and sealed the priceless legacy with their lives. The graves of these a nation bedews with tears, honors their memories and will ever cherish and support their stricken families."

As to whether the Fifteenth or Seventeenth Corps, Army of the Tennessee, should march at the head of the column on the Grand Review, the day that Sherman's men had the center of the stage, became a matter of correspondence between high officials on account of the peculiar turn of affairs just previous to the event. Naturally this was a coveted position. In consequence of the selection of Gen. Howard for the head of the Freedmen's Bureau General Logan, who commanded the Fifteenth Corps, was slated as his successor. Under

these circumstances the Seventeenth Corps insisted that a division of honors could be made by allowing Gen. Blair's command to march as the leader in the parade. The matter drifted along until a couple of days or so before the date set for the review, when an order of march was issued by Gen. Howard, as the commander of the Army of the Tennessee, which gave the Fifteenth Corps the right of the line, and the day before the review Logan took command of the two corps as Howard's successor with this vexing incident swept aside. It is quite likely that some practical politics was done in this connection. Blair had marched with the Seventeenth Corps from Chattanooga to Atlanta and from Atlanta to Savannah but Logan left the army after the surrender of Atlanta and did not resume command of the Fifteenth Corps until after the occupation of Savannah. He was very much dissatisfied with General Sherman's selection of Howard as McPherson's successor, instead of himself, at Atlanta, and it was understood in the army that that was the reason of his going North on leave of absence after the occupation of Atlanta. However, he rendered the Union cause valiant service in the political campaign that fall.

The progress of General Sherman from the date of Johnston's surrender until Washington was reached was marked by the writing of letters to Halleck, to Grant, to Howard, to Logan, and others, declaring with all the vigor of his vigorous nature his resentment of the treatment his negotiations with Johnston had received from Halleck and Stanton. As General Grant

wrote him, he had cause for this resentment, and General Sherman was not one to conceal his emotions. Upon reaching Alexandria, Va., a few days in advance of his command, he wrote to General Rawlins, General Grant's chief of staff, at Washington. He said he had seen in the papers an order for a review of his army at the capital, but had not received the order in official form and added: "I am old-fashioned and prefer to receive orders through some other channel but if that be the new fashion, so be it. I will be all ready by Wednesday though in the rough. Troops have not been paid for eight or ten months and clothing may be bad but a better set of legs and arms cannot be displayed on this continent. Send me all the orders and letters you have for me and let some one newspaper know that the vandal, Sherman, is encamped near the canal bridge, half-way between Long Bridge and Alexandria, to the west of the road, where his friends, if any, can find him. Though in disgrace he is untamed and unconquered."

FRIENDSHIPS AND ANIMOSITIES.

THE likes and dislikes of men in high places are made conspicuous in these records. Secretary Stanton apparently had little confidence in any one excepting himself; General Grant had slight regard for either the War Secretary or General Halleck; General Sherman says in his Memoirs that he considered General Hooker a dangerous man on account of his desire to get into engagements on his own account when in the Western army and that he was glad when Hooker asked to be relieved, upon the appointment of General Howard to the command of the Army of the Tennessee after the death of General McPherson at Atlanta; General Logan was indignant when not chosen as McPherson's successor and obtained a leave of absence which prevented his going in command of the Fifteenth Corps on the march to the sea; General Pope was furious (and not without cause) when he was relieved of the command of the Army of Virginia after the second Bull Run battle and banished to the Northwest, with headquarters at St. Paul, and he wrote General Halleck a letter, September 30, 1862, which fairly blistered and in which he warned Halleck that McClellan and his coterie would ruin him, if possible, as the position of Halleck as the head of the army was a constant humiliation to McClellan; General Grant held General Butler in small esteem and his regard for General Buell, after the battle of Shiloh, was not of an ardent nature. General Halleck's contempt for Grant in the early stages of the war was a matter of public com-

ment and was frequently displayed. General McClellan was the idol of the Eastern army and thousands of men have gone to their graves in the firm conviction that he was constantly hampered by the Washington authorities (which the records show was not the fact), jealous of his popularity, and that had he been properly supported by the government he would have soon brought the war to a close. General Thomas had not an enemy in his command but officers and men held him in most affectionate regard. He is conspicuous in the official records for a steady attention to his duty, modest, quiet, patient under lack of appreciation of his great ability by the powers at Washington and, in the battle of Nashville, winding up his active career in a blaze of glory which will grow brighter as the years go by. Grant loved Sherman and McPherson and Sheridan and did all in his power to secure them opportunity for advancement, and this love was rewarded by a prompt response in the performance of duty and a confidence which never waned.

General Hooker was not pleased with his transfer to the Western army in the fall of 1863 and in December of that year he wrote to Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, a very frank letter on military and other subjects. Of the battle of Chattanooga, fought the month before, he gave an extended account. Sherman's attack, on the Union left, he said was a disaster as by his own successful assault on the right he was in position to have cut off the retreat of the Confederate forces, which operation was interfered with, by the action on the left. "Sherman is an active,

energetic man," he wrote, "but in judgment he is as inferior as Burnside. He will never be successful. Please remember what I tell you. It was natural for Grant to feel partial to his old companions and do all in his power to enhance their renown. . . . He aimed for the battle to commence and end on the left while it commenced and ended on the right. I am informed that he has since said: 'D—n the battle; I had nothing to do with it.' . . . Many of my juniors are in the exercise of independent commands while I am here with more rank piled up on me than a well man can stand up under, with a corporal's guard, comparatively, for a command. You cannot wonder, then, at the sincerity of my desire for the war to be brought to an end irrespective of the country and the cause. I see that they are pitching into Meade from all sides. I lost my confidence in him when he allowed Lee to escape. I thought well of him as a corps commander and never doubted but that he would do well with the responsibility of an army upon him. He is a small craft and carries no ballast."

Writing to the President July 25, 1864, General Grant suggests the merging of the departments of the Susquehanna, West Virginia, Washington and the Middle department into one with General W. B. Franklin in command, and it would suit him quite well, he said, to have this territory referred to as a military division and placed under command of General Meade in which case he would recommend General Hancock as commander of the Army of the Potomac and General Gibbon as commander of Hancock's corps.

General Hooker's antagonism to General Burn-

side was probably due to orders the latter prepared, January 23, 1863, after the battle of Fredericksburg, when commander of the Army of the Potomac, for the dismissal from the service of General Hooker, General W. T. H. Brooks, and General John Newton, and for the retirement from duty of General W. B. Franklin, General W. F. Smith, General Samuel D. Sturgis, General Edward Ferarro, General John Cochrane, and Lieut.-Col. J. H. Taylor. (A short time afterwards Gen. Burnside wrote the War Department that he had been in error in regard to General Ferarro.) These orders were not approved by the President but he accepted, instead, the resignation of General Burnside which had been previously placed in his hands and, three days after the date of Burnside's order proposing to dismiss General Hooker from the army, Hooker was placed in command of the Army of the Potomac as General Burnside's successor, to fight but one battle, that of Chancellorsville, and to be removed just before the battle of Gettysburg, when General Meade succeeded him.

On the day he drew the orders above referred to Gen. Burnside telegraphed Mr. Lincoln: "I have prepared some important orders and I wish you to see them. Can I see you alone if I am at the White House at midnight? I must be back by 8 o'clock to-morrow morning." The visit to the White House was made and the orders were not issued.

On January 1st General Burnside had visited the President and discussed with him the lack of unity on the part of the officers of the Army of the Potomac and their lack of confidence in him as the army com-

mander. He urged that he be permitted to retire to private life and said that as the country had no confidence in either Secretary Stanton or General Halleck both of those officials should be removed from their positions as the welfare of the country should be paramount to the ambitions of individuals. Mr. Lincoln endeavored to encourage General Burnside, but did not commit himself as to the suggestions concerning Stanton and Halleck. He declined, at that time, to receive Burnside's resignation and on the same day the latter put the subject of the conversation in writing, sent it to the White House, and returned to his command.

On that same day the President sent this note to General Halleck: "General Burnside wishes to cross the Rappahannock with his army. The Grand Division commanders all oppose the movement. If in such a difficulty as this you do not help me you fail me precisely in a point for which I sought your assistance. You know what General Burnside's plan is and it is my wish that you go with him to the ground, examine it as far as practicable, confer with the officers, getting their judgment and ascertaining their temper. In a word, gather all the elements for forming a judgment and then tell General Burnside that you do, or that you do not, approve of his plan. Your military skill is useless to me if you do not do this."

The kind heart of Mr. Lincoln is shown in an indorsement on this note: "Withdrawn because considered harsh by Gen. Halleck." On the same day the note was written and the indorsement made General Halleck wrote to Secretary Stanton that he could

not perform the duties of his office satisfactorily to the President and himself and therefore he requested to be relieved of his duties as commander-in-chief. As there is no record of any action being taken in the matter it is probable that a conference was had by the Secretary of War with the President which resulted in the withdrawal of the President's note to General Halleck and the withdrawal of the application of the latter to be relieved from duty.

Afterward General Halleck learned from a pamphlet which was published by General Franklin of the effort made by General Burnside to remove the General-in-Chief and Secretary of War, and he wrote to General Burnside, then in command of the Department of the Ohio, with headquarters at Cincinnati, to inquire as to the truthfulness of the statement, adding that Burnside would have done him a service if he could have secured his removal. To this General Burnside replied that he had not seen Franklin's pamphlet until two days before and that he would reply to it briefly as soon as he had time. This was no response to the question asked and after waiting several days General Halleck applied to General Franklin for his authority for the statement and the latter at once gave him the names of several officers who, he said, heard General Burnside say that he had made this request of the President.

The fact that General Burnside took command of the army with great reluctance after the removal of General McClellan is well known. He distrusted his own ability for so responsible a place and accepted the command wholly from a sense of duty. That he was a better judge of his own fitness for the position than

the President the disaster at Fredericksburg demonstrated.

Many and long are the letters, preserved for all time in these official records, which passed between Sherman and Halleck. They had been close friends before the war, they were fellow-passengers on a steamer for San Francisco in 1846, were closely related in business affairs in San Francisco, and their war correspondence is marked by the utmost freedom, Halleck giving Sherman glimpses behind the scenes at Washington and Sherman telling Halleck all about affairs in the West and South (after he began the Atlanta campaign). But in April, 1865, a break occurred in this long and honorable friendship and the breach was never healed. General Halleck was somewhat officious in connection with the rejection of the first terms of surrender submitted for General Joe Johnston's army in North Carolina, instructed Sheridan to disregard Sherman's truce with Johnston, and gave additional prominence to an absurd rumor that President Davis—who was in the vicinity of Johnston's force—had a treasure-chest containing anywhere from three million to six million dollars in specie and that it was thought he would be able, with this fund, to buy a clear escape from the country. All this rendered Gen. Sherman wild with resentment and he soon made his feelings known at Washington. When Sherman's army reached the vicinity of Richmond on its march north from Raleigh, after the final surrender of Johnston, General Halleck issued orders for a review as it passed through Richmond, where he had established

his headquarters as commander of the Department of the James, to which he had just been assigned. Thereupon General Sherman sent him this message:

"I will march my army through Richmond quietly and in good order, without attracting attention, and I beg you to keep strictly perdu for if noticed by some of my old command I cannot undertake to maintain a model behavior, for their feelings have become aroused by what the world adjudges an insult to at least an honest commander. If loss of life, or violence, results from this you must attribute it to the true cause—a public insult to a brother officer when he was far away on public service perfectly innocent of the malignant purpose and design."

The proposed review was abandoned but the army did not march through the late capital of the Confederacy "quietly" and "without attracting attention." It had marched from the banks of the Mississippi, on a roundabout route; it had fought the battles of Wilson Creek and Belmont and Donelson and Shiloh and Corinth and Vicksburg and Perryville and Murfreesboro and Chickamauga and Chattanooga and the battles of the Atlanta campaign, with a score of lesser engagements; it had marched "from Atlanta to the Sea" and through the Carolinas and had just received the surrender of the last large army of the Confederacy, under command of one of its greatest generals, and the curiosity to see the hardy men who had accomplished so much lined the streets with throngs of soldiers and civilians, men, women, and children, whites and blacks—all classes and conditions were present in thousands to witness the passing of the Army of the West.

During the march from Richmond to Washington General Howard, commanding the Army of the Tennessee, was appointed as head of the Freedmen's Bureau, recently organized to have charge of the negroes and the abandoned lands of the South. In writing General Howard on learning of this appointment, General Sherman made a prediction in reference to the difficulties to be encountered and in respect of the trouble which would follow the granting of suffrage to the black man, which illustrated his keen judgment in public affairs. The letter was of considerable length (as General Sherman's letters usually were), and in the course of it he said that he hardly knew whether to congratulate him or not but he feared Howard had undertaken a task which would make him trouble; that it was not in his power to fulfill one tenth part of the expectations of those who had framed the bureau. "I believe the negro is free," he says, "by act of the master and by the laws of war now ratified by consent and power, . . . but I fear that parties will agitate for the negro's right of suffrage and equal political status, not that he asks it or wants it, but merely to manufacture that number of available votes for politicians to work on. Were that to be attempted we would arouse a new and dangerous element — prejudice which, right or wrong, exists and should be consulted as there is a strong prejudice of race which through our whole country exists. The negro is denied a vote in all the Northern states save two or three and then qualified by conditions not attaching to the white race and by the constitution of the United States. To the state is left the right to fix the qualifi-

cations of the voter. The United States cannot make the negro vote in the South any more than in the North without a revolution and as we have just emerged from one attempted revolution it would be wrong to begin another. If we attempt to force the negro of the South as a voter, 'a loyal citizen,' we begin a new revolution in which the Northwest may take a different side from what we did when we were fighting to vindicate our constitution. I am more than usually sensitive on this point because I have realized in our country that one class of men makes war but leaves another to fight it out. I am tired of fighting and if the 'theorists' of New England impose this new condition on us I dread the result." In a letter written a few days later to General Van Vliet, in New York, he said: "I will not conceal from you nor from the world that in the reorganization of civil government in the Southern States, which must be done, I prefer to give votes to rebel whites now humbled, subdued and obedient, rather than to the ignorant blacks who are not yet capable of self-government."

And General Sherman was not alone in an intimation that there was a possibility of an estrangement of the Northwest. He was anticipated more than two years, in a reference to it, by General Beauregard, in a letter written February 9, 1863, when in command of the Confederate forces at Charleston, S. C. "You refer to an armistice," he says. "Nothing of the kind must be thought of. Action, action, action is what we want. An armistice would entirely demoralize our troops who would think the war was over, and our soldiers and officers would wish to go home and see

their wives and children, and negroes, and horses, and hogs, and chickens, whereas the enemy, having nothing of the kind to look to, would at any time be prepared to take the offensive." The thing to do, he said, was to offer to the Northwestern States a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, whenever they should separate from the rest of the United States. "They may not accept it at first," he added, "but they will think about it and discuss it. It will be a beginning for those who are tired of war to stir up and finally, after one or more severe battles, they will make up their minds that we are their best friends and they will act as we desire."

PRISON DAYS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

JEFFERSON DAVIS, President of the Confederacy, fled from Richmond on the night of Sunday, April 2, 1865, and was captured near Irwinsville, Ga., May 10th; was taken to Macon, thence to Atlanta, from Atlanta to Augusta by rail and thence by water to Fortress Monroe, Va., where he arrived May 19th on the steamer Clyde, convoyed by the United States war-sloop Tuscarora. Fellow-prisoners with him were Mrs. Davis and children, Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens, Clement C. Clay, Jr., and wife, Major-General Joe Wheeler and staff, Ex-Postmaster-General John H. Reagan, Colonels Johnston and Lubbock (Mr. Davis's aides); Burton N. Harrison (Mr. Davis's private secretary), and several other persons whose names do not appear in the official report of the arrival of the party, which was in charge of Lieut.-Col. B. D. Pritchard and a portion of his regiment, the Fourth Michigan Cavalry, which had aided in the capture of Mr. Davis.

General J. H. Wilson, in command at Macon, Ga., received two dispatches from Secretary Stanton, when the news of the capture reached Washington, directing him to take the utmost precautions against the escape or rescue of Mr. Davis, to which General Wilson replied, detailing the arrangements made for the safe-keeping of the prisoner, stating that it was impossible for him to escape alive and adding: "I don't think there are 100 men in Georgia who desire the release of Davis or would risk anything trying to rescue him."

General Halleck was sent down to Richmond to take charge of the prisoners with orders to have Davis and Clay confined in Fortress Monroe, send the other male prisoners to various designated prisons, and the women to any Southern point to which they desired to go but on no condition to permit them to remain at Fortress Monroe or Norfolk. A new military district, styled the Fortress Monroe district, was created and Brevet Major-General Nelson A. Miles was placed in command with headquarters in the fort. Charles A. Dana, then Assistant Secretary of War, reported to Secretary Stanton the incidents connected with the transfer of Davis and Clay from the steamer to the prison, on May 22d, as follows:

"Miles held Davis by the arm, marching from the wharf to the prison and Col. Pritchard held Clay. The arrangements were excellent and successful and not a single curious spectator was in sight. Davis bore himself with a haughty attitude. His face was somewhat flushed but his features were composed and his step firm. . . . His hair and beard are not so gray as has been represented and he seems very much less worn and broken by anxiety and labor than Mr. Blair reported after his return from Richmond last winter. From his staff-officers Davis parted yesterday and shed tears at the separation. The same scene has just been renewed at his parting from Harrison, his private secretary, who left at one o'clock for Washington. In leaving his wife and children he exhibited great emotion and was violently affected."

It was then the theory of the government that Mr. Davis, with other leading Confederates, had conspired

to procure the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and a reward of \$100,000 was offered for the capture of Davis and unusual measures for his safe-keeping were taken. Orders were issued that he should be confined in the rear room of a casemate in the fort with two sentinels in the room, two sentinels and a commissioned officer in the outside room, and two sentinels at each front door. No two doors were to be unlocked at the same time; at night a light was to be kept burning in both the inner and outer room in order that the guards might have the prisoner in view, day and night, and the officer of the guard was to see him every fifteen minutes. Sentinels were posted outside so as to prevent the approach of any one to the fort and also in the vacant room on each side of the one occupied by Davis. No person was allowed to communicate with him verbally or in writing; no sentinel was permitted to speak to him or to answer a question, all his requirements to be attended to by the officer on guard in the room communicating to the officer in general charge. In case of sickness the surgeon's visits were to be accompanied by the field-officer in charge. Meals were to be passed in by the officer on guard and no servant or waiter was permitted to enter the prison room. The furniture was of the simplest character and the prisoner was allowed but one book—the Bible. These orders applied to Mr. Clay as well as to Mr. Davis.

On the second day after taking charge Gen. Miles wrote to Gen. Halleck: "In your instructions the prisoners were allowed only their Bibles. They desire their prayer-books and tobacco. Will it be granted

them?" To this inquiry Gen. Halleck responded: "Allow the prisoners their prayer-books and tobacco." Clay then asked for "Bishop ——'s Evidences of Christianity" but this request was referred to the War Department at Washington, General Halleck evidently declining to assume the responsibility involved and there is no further reference to the matter in the printed records, hence the world is left in ignorance as to whether the book was furnished and as to who was its author.

General Miles was authorized to put manacles or fetters on Davis if he deemed it advisable to secure his safe-keeping and on May 24th the reports show that irons were put on the prisoner's ankles "which he violently resisted but became more quiet afterwards," wrote Gen. Miles. In June Charles O'Connor, the famous New York lawyer, proffered his legal services to Mr. Davis, through the War Department, and Davis made two attempts to reply — Gen. Miles having received instructions to allow him writing materials sufficient for that specific purpose — but both of his letters were returned by the War Department on the ground that they contained objectionable expressions. He finally succeeded in meeting the requirements in that respect, however, and thus established connection with the New York lawyer.

On June 17th Mrs. Davis, then at Savannah, Ga., to which place she had been taken from Fortress Monroe on a government vessel, addressed the following dispatch to Quartermaster-General Meigs, at Washington: "Plead for me that I may be allowed, if not to see, to correspond with my husband. The reports

harrow me so that, under happier circumstances, I would be unable to bear them. Entreat that I may be allowed to go North out of this unhealthy climate with my unacclimated little children, while my scanty means suffice for that purpose. Or, if allowed to remain in the North until after my husband's trial, I will bind myself not to do anything prejudicial to your government. I think you could vouch for my rigid adherence to the parole. Please answer by telegraph. I have been three weeks in suspense. Tell me what you know of Mr. Davis's health?"

This dispatch was submitted by the superintendent of the telegraph company to the War Department and General Meigs's reply was not made to Mrs. Davis direct but to "the Commanding Officer at Savannah," as follows: "I was under obligation to Mr. and Mrs. Davis for kindness and courtesy received before they inaugurated rebellion and civil war and therefore, probably, she appeals to me. The fact of that war, my personal loss in the death of my oldest son, murdered by one of Mr. Davis's assassins, called guerrillas, and my position as an officer of the government make it improper for me to enter into correspondence with Mrs. Davis, or to attempt to interfere with the course of justice. Her own case and that of her husband are in the hands of the government which will do what may be right. I have made inquiry as to her husband's health and I will be obliged to you if you will cause her to be informed that it is reported to be better than when she parted with him."

Gen. Miles sent to Washington daily reports as to the health of his prisoner and other matters concern-

ing him. On July 20th he reported that when Mr. Davis was informed of the hanging of the men charged with conspiring to procure the assassination of President Lincoln he remarked: "President Johnson is very quick on the trigger."

In November, 1865, Governor Morton, of Indiana, wrote to President Johnson that if there was no question of jurisdiction in the way Mr. Davis could be indicted and tried in Indiana as the rebel army — five thousand strong — under General Morgan invaded that state. The grand jury, he said, was then in session, and in case an indictment were found there would be no difficulty in getting a jury that would do justice to both the government and Mr. Davis. President Johnson replied that the question of jurisdiction was one of the difficulties in the case and that Davis had already been indicted in the District of Columbia and at two or three places in Tennessee.

Following is a letter written by Mrs. Davis to President Johnson. It is not dated but was, no doubt, written in January, 1866.

"His Excellency the President. Sir: Please receive my thanks for permission transmitted to me through Mr. Attorney-General Speed, to go to Canada, but before I proceed there will you reconsider your decision not to permit me to see my husband? He is suffering and wretched. I fear an utter failure of his health if kept long in the state in which he now is. I have never desired to be either defiant or rude to you but have greatly suffered and perhaps may have appeared both in my unstudied expressions. Will you exert your great power and exercise this clemency to me, the

most helpless and wretched of all those over whom you rule? I look to you for protection and aid in common with the people of our Southern country. I cannot feel that you will refuse it. May I hope once more to sit near my sick husband? I cannot do anything for him in his great peril and agony but speak to him of my love and despair. Will you let me do this? Neither is he nor am I responsible for the silly efforts for his escape which are alleged to have been on foot and which I deprecate as much as any one can. Then do not, Mr. President, let me be the helpless sufferer. I will take any parole, do anything, if you will only let me see him. Will you not? I pray God daily to spare you for a long life. May I not hope that you will permit me to thank God for your clemency also? With the hope that you will grant my prayer, offered with tears enough to float it to you if they were as many as the throbs of agony which bring them forth, I am, sir, regretful of the past, if in it I have unwittingly offended you,

“Very Respectfully and Prayerfully Yours,

“VARINA DAVIS.

“Mr. President: Please decide this matter yourself. For the love of God and His merciful Son, do not refuse me. Let me go to him and admire and bless your name every hour of your life.”

The permission asked for was refused and probably the fact that about that time a strip of red tape, 36 feet long, made of short pieces sewed together, was found in the prisoner's cell had something to do with that refusal. This strip of tape is preserved in the War Department.

The House of Representatives, on January 18, 1866, called upon the War Department for information as to the grounds on which Davis, Clay, Stephens, Mallory (ex-secretary of the Confederate navy) and David Yulee were held as prisoners. A lengthy reply was sent by Mr. Stanton (printed in Serial Number 121, War Records, beginning at page 847), giving the evidence on which was based a belief on the part of the government that these persons were connected with the plot for the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and the attempted assassination of Mr. Seward and others. In the course of this report it is stated that upon learning of the murder of President Lincoln Mr. Davis said to General Breckinridge, who deplored the event as unfortunate for the South: "Well, General, I don't know. If it were to be done at all it were better that it were well done and if the same had been done to Andy Johnson — the beast — and to Secretary Stanton, the job would then be complete."

On April 26, 1866, President Johnson issued an order granting Mrs. Davis permission to visit her husband. She was then in Montreal, Canada, but she went at once to Fortress Monroe where she gave the following parole: "I, Varina Davis, wife of Jefferson Davis, for the privilege of being permitted to see my husband, do hereby give my parole of honor that I will engage in, or assent to, no measures which shall lead to any attempt to escape from confinement on the part of my husband, or to his being rescued, or released from imprisonment, without the sanction and order of the President of the United States, nor will I be the means of conveying to my husband any deadly weapons of any kind."

In May, 1866, Surgeon George E. Cooper made a report that Mr. Davis's health was rapidly failing whereupon certain newspapers declared that he was being treated in the most inhuman manner and Surgeon-General Barnes was sent down from Washington to visit the prisoner and report as to his condition and surroundings. That report was to the effect that he was receiving the best attention and that his health was quite good. It should be stated here that months before this the rules of the prison had been materially modified; Mr. Davis was allowed daily exercise and visits from friends and at this period Mrs. Davis had taken up quarters in the fortress and saw her husband frequently.

In September Gen. Miles was relieved of his onerous duty and ordered to Washington where he was appointed colonel in the regular army, his previous service and rank having been in the volunteers.

May 13, 1867, Mr. Davis was taken before Judge Underwood, of the United States court at Richmond, for trial. The United States Attorney-General was assisted by William M. Evarts and Charles O'Connor appeared for the prisoner. The proceedings resulted in Mr. Davis being released on bond, with Horace Greeley as one of his bondsmen, and on Christmas Day, 1868, he was given his freedom by an amnesty proclamation by President Johnson.

And thus closed this mighty struggle wherein great armies had confronted each other on more than a hundred battle-fields Blue and Gray equally brave, equally self-sacrificing and now that their task was

done, ready to clasp hands in loyal friendship. The four years' contest had placed manhood upon a higher plane, had aroused the world's wonder, and had given our nation a rank it had never before had as one of the forces for the uplifting of humanity. It was a war planned from the beginning by the Almighty and fought by American pluck and endurance to its appointed end.

List of Miscellaneous Publications

...OF...

THE WHITAKER & RAY COMPANY

San Francisco

Complete Descriptive Circular sent on application

	Postpaid Prices
Adventures of a Tenderfoot —H. H. Sauber - - - - -	\$1 00
About Dante —Mrs. Frances Sanborn - - - - -	1 00
Among the Redwoods—Poems —Lillian H. Shuey - - - - -	25
Beyond the Gates of Care —Herbert Bashford - - - - -	1 00
Backsheesh—Book of Travels —Mrs. William Beckman - - - - -	1 50
California and the Californians —David Starr Jordan - - - - -	25
Care and Culture of Men —David Starr Jordan - - - - -	1 50
Chants for the Boer —Joaquin Miller - - - - -	25
Complete Poetical Works of Joaquin Miller - - - - -	2 50
Crumbs of Comfort —Allie M. Felker - - - - -	1 00
California's Transition Period —S. H. Willey - - - - -	1 00
Doctor Jones' Picnic —S. E. Chapman - - - - -	75
Delphine and Other Poems —L. Adda Nichols - - - - -	1 00
Educational Questions —W. C. Doub - - - - -	1 00
Forty-Nine—Song —Lelia France - - - - -	10
Forget-Me-Nots —Lillian L. Page - - - - -	50
Guide to Mexico —Christobal Hidalgo - - - - -	50
Hail California—Song —Josephine Gro - - - - -	10
History of Howard Presbyterian Church —S. H. Willey - - - - -	1 00
Life—Book of Essays —John R. Rogers - - - - -	1 00
Love and Law —Thos. P. Bailey - - - - -	25
Lyrics of the Golden West —W. D. Crabb - - - - -	1 00
Main Points —Rev. Chas. R. Brown - - - - -	1 25
Man Who Might Have Been —Rev. Robt. Whitaker - - - - -	25
Matka and Kotik —David Starr Jordan - - - - -	1 50
Modern Argonaut —L. B. Davis - - - - -	1 00
Missions of Neuva California —Chas. F. Carter - - - - -	1 50
Pandora —Mrs. Salzscheider - - - - -	1 00
Percy, or the Four Inseparables —M. Lee - - - - -	1 00
Personal Impressions of Colorado Grand Canyon - - - - -	1 00
Rudyard Reviewed —W. J. Peddicord - - - - -	1 00
Seven Ages of Creation - - - - -	2 50
Some Homely Little Songs —A. J. Waterhouse - - - - -	1 25
Songs of the Soul —Joaquin Miller - - - - -	1 00
Story of the Innumerable Company —David Starr Jordan - - - - -	1 25
Sugar Pine Murmurings —Eliz. S. Wilson - - - - -	1 00
Training School for Nurses —A. Mabie - - - - -	50
Without a Name—Poems —Edward Blackman - - - - -	1 00
Wolves of the Sea—Poems —Herbert Bashford - - - - -	1 00
LATEST ISSUES	
Interviews with a Monocle —Leopold Jordan - - - - -	50
My Trip to the Orient —Rev. J. C. Simmons - - - - -	1 50
Rearing Silkworms —Mrs. Carrie Williams - - - - -	1 25
Western View Series, No. 1—San Francisco Views - - - - -	15
Western View Series, No. 2—Alaska Views - - - - -	15