

MOAT AND SEAWARD FACE OF FORTRESS MONROE.

CHAPTER II.

EASTERN VIRGINIA, MISSOURI, AND WESTERN VIRGINIA.

Occupation of Alexandria.—Death of Ellsworth.—Fortress Monroe.—Battle of Big Bethel.—Condition of Missouri.—General Lyon's Measures.—Battle of Booneville.—Action at Carthage.—Governor Jackson deposed, and Gamble appointed.—Battle of Wilson's Creek.—Death of Lyon.—Western Virginia.—The Mayor of Wheeling.—M'Clellan appointed to the Command of the Department of the Ohio.—Skirmish at Clarksburg.—M'Clellan's Instructions.—Grafton.—Battle of Philippi.—Union Convention at Wheeling.—Letcher's Proclamation.—Rich Mountain.—Battle of Carrick's Ford.—Wise's and Floyd's Campaigns in Western Virginia.—Battle of Carnifex Ferry.—M'Clellan's congratulatory Address.

THE month of April saw the insurrection extravagant in hope, prodigal in the promise of success. The success of its first move had made secession rampant. State after state had wheeled into the line. Even Virginia, that had for a time hesitated, now stood in the van of that insurgent column which looked defiance at the general government which it had paralyzed. The attitude of the Confederacy was not that of resistance, but that of aggression. It hoped to possess itself, almost without opposition, of such commanding positions as would at the outset give it a decided advantage over the federal government both in prestige and power. The capture of Washington, secretly planned by the cautious, was talked of by the indiscreet leaders of the confederates. It is possible that all which prevented the realization of this scheme was the inertness of Virginia in regard to her final decision of the question of secession. The very time of the attack was fixed upon, which was to be between the 17th and 21st of April. It was doubtless with this view that the raid had been made upon Harper's Ferry, and that to embarrass the government still farther, a very large number of officers in the army and navy had suddenly handed in their resignations. It must be remarked, however, that Governor Letcher—whatever may have been his feeling in the matter, declined to sanction the raid upon Harper's Ferry, as also that upon the government property in and near Norfolk. These events occurred or were planned before the state had fully committed itself to secession, and therefore Letcher was undecided whether to give them his official sanction. Thus the hesitancy of Virginia became the salvation of Washington, for without the hearty co-operation of that state it was impossible that Washington, already forewarned and partially forearmed, could be taken.

When it is considered that Washington was the seat of the federal government, and that no hint of aggression had as yet issued from the administration, and when, indeed, no act of war had taken place, excepting that which the insurgents had inaugurated and consummated, it is not difficult to see that the revolutionary programme, in its very earliest movements, contemplated no less than the destruction of the entire fabric of the republic. When Mr. Walker, the rebel Secretary of War, said, on the 12th of April, that before the 1st of May the confederate flag would float over the dome of the old Capitol, President Lincoln had not yet called for his first quota of troops; and when, three days afterward, he did call for seventy-five thousand men, it was for the purpose mainly of protecting the capital against the threats of its enemies—threats that were even then on the verge of execu-

tion. Such was the position of the secession leaders in this month of April, when the sun shone for their hay-making.

But the month of May reversed the picture. The hope which had well-nigh led secession to triumph, and to justify that triumph which it sought, was crushed. The North had arisen, and rushed to the defense of the capital; and in the middle of May it was seen that the time for taking the old seat of government without a desperate struggle had gone by. Yet it was declared that "the fixed and unalterable determination to capture this city is the prevailing sentiment of our people, and satisfaction gleams from the eye of every soldier whose destination is Washington."

The occupation of the "sacred soil" of Virginia soon became necessary to the safety of the national capital. It was undertaken in the latter part of May. The enthusiasm with which the loyal states had met the crisis of danger encouraged the government to push on and punish the aggression which had precipitated that crisis.

With a view of attacking, if possible, but, at any rate, of strenuously defending its position, the Confederacy held, in considerable force, the whole line from the Chesapeake to Edwards's Ferry, 25 or 30 miles above the capital. With a vigor which would have been afterward repeated with good effect, the government decided to take the offensive and to occupy Alexandria, about six miles below Washington, and on the opposite side of the Potomac. General Mansfield, with about thirteen thousand men, led this important movement. It was an impressive scene which the night preceding the attack ushered in. Vague hints had been given out of a storm about to burst forth at a moment's warning; and, in profound stillness, under a full moon, a busy preparation was being made; scouts were sent out in every direction; the men were suddenly summoned to the novel business of war, their bayonets glittering in the cold light; upon the river, steamers were being laden with troops and the machinery of strife: then the movement was made; and when the citizens of Washington awoke on the morning of the 24th of May, the ripe result was announced of operations that had been begun and consummated while they were asleep. At about daybreak the New York Seventh touched the Virginia soil, landing at the Alexandria bridge, near which they encamped. A detachment of soldiers, with some cavalry and artillery, crossed the Potomac below Georgetown, and took possession of the Loudon and Hampshire Railroad. The Manassas Gap Railroad also, running out of Alexandria, was held by the New York Sixty-ninth, and seven hundred passengers were captured and held as hostages. Meanwhile Colonel Ellsworth, early in the morning, entered the town with his Zouaves, severed its communication with the South both by railroad and telegraph, and so completely surprised the rebel troops that a large number of them, unable to effect an escape, were captured. Thus was an important entrance into Virginia opened to the federal army without a battle. One single life was lost, that of the brave but imprudent Colonel Ellsworth, who was shot by Jackson, the landlord of a hotel, to the roof of which he had incautiously ascended to pull down a confederate flag. "Behold my trophy," said the ardent Ellsworth, as he descended from the trap-door down the stairs. "And behold mine," replied Jackson, as, springing from his hiding-place, he lodged the contents of his gun in Ellsworth's breast. But the se-



ELMER E. ELLSWORTH.

cessionist quickly paid life for life at the hands of private Brownell. Ellsworth was looked upon as a noble martyr in the North, and so was Jackson in the South.

Simultaneously with the occupation of Alexandria, the heights commanding Washington were taken possession of by the national troops preparatory to a defensive fortification of the city. A few skirmishes and accidental collisions with the enemy were the only occurrences upon which the intense popular excitement of the people fed itself until the reverse at Big Bethel. This takes us from the Potomac to the Peninsula between the James and York Rivers.

Fortress Monroe is, strictly speaking, the only fortress or fortified inclosure in the United States. It was at first constructed for the protection of Gosport Navy Yard, and at the beginning of the war it had cost the government two and a half millions of money. Its area embraces about seventy acres, and in the centre it has a magnificent parade-ground of twenty-five acres, finely shaded with live-oaks. It is a bastioned work, heptagonal in form; its walls, which are of granite, rise to the height of thirty-five feet; and about the entire work a moat extends, from seventy-five to a hundred and fifty feet wide, and faced with dressed granite. On the side facing the sea there is a water-battery of forty-two embrasures, the slope of which, covered with a green turf, affords a favorite promenade. Fortress Monroe has been the final head-quarters of all the military and naval expeditions that have been sent to the Southern coasts. So completely does its possession control the commerce of Virginia, that it almost supersedes the necessity for a blockade along the coast of that state. Governor Letcher was, at an early period, fully aware of the importance of its capture, but this was an undertaking which, like the seizure of Washington, required a stronger force than could be marshaled together previous to the secession of Virginia. The Confederacy had no navy, and the land approach to the fortress was exceedingly difficult, the only access being by means of a strip of beach not over forty rods in width. After Virginia had finally seceded, this stronghold stood in great peril, but was promptly re-enforced.

On the 22d of May, General Butler, whose decided policy in Maryland had saved that state to the Union, arrived at Fortress Monroe, and there assumed the command of a new department, the main object of which was a military occupation of the Atlantic coast.

On precisely the same day that Mansfield occupied Alexandria, Butler made a reconnoissance in force toward Hampton, a little village just north of Fortress Monroe. The confederate troops stationed there retreated as soon as they were aware of his approach, and, having made their escape across Hampton Creek into the town, attempted to burn the bridge in their rear, which they partially succeeded in doing. General Butler immediately established a camp near Hampton, and another eight miles farther west, at Newport News: in these two encampments, together with the troops inside

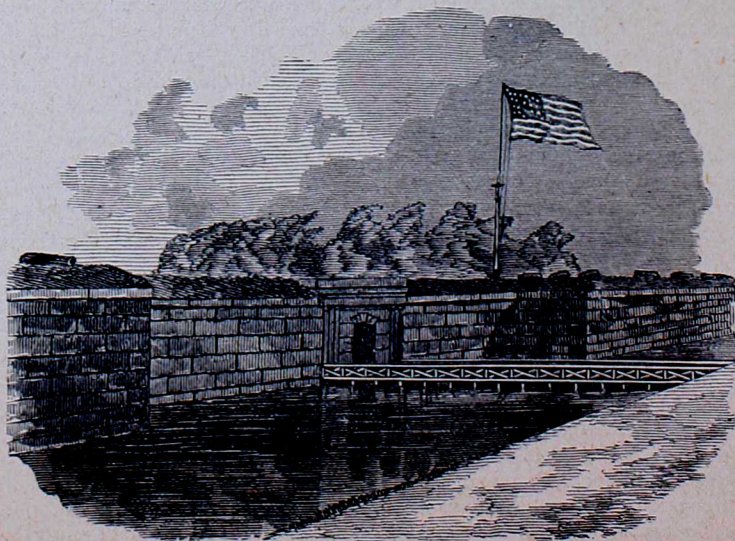
the fortress, Butler had in the early part of June about 12,000 men.

On the 10th of June the battle of Big Bethel was fought. The enemy had a strong position at Yorktown, about twenty-five miles from Fortress Monroe, and on the opposite side of the Peninsula. From this point southward they established outposts, which became centres whence cavalry squads were sent all over the country to compel tribute from the inhabitants, and frequent detachments were sent forth under cover of the night to harass the federal encampments and render their position untenable. The nearest of these outposts was situated at Little Bethel, a church which stood at the vertex of an equilateral triangle, each side measuring eight miles, and whose base is the line connecting Hampton and Newport News. Five miles farther, on the road to Yorktown, was the Great Bethel Church, near which the confederate Colonel Magruder was strongly intrenched, with a command of about 2000 men.

Butler determined to break up these two posts. On the 9th of June, he had his naval brigade busily engaged all day in learning the management of the flat-boats, in which a portion of his troops were to be ferried across Hampton Creek that night, to co-operate with another column moving from Newport News against Little Bethel. The expedition started secretly, under cover of the darkness, about midnight, as it was intended to reach its destination at daybreak. The force at Little Bethel was to be attacked simultaneously in front and rear by the two separate columns, and, having been routed, was to be driven toward Big Bethel and into Magruder's intrenchments. Fast upon their heels, and taking advantage of the entrance that would be opened to the fugitives, the federal forces were to rush in and take possession. In case of any failure in effecting this surprise, it was left to General Pierce's discretion whether or not he should attempt an assault upon Big Bethel.

A single miscarriage spoiled the intended surprise. Colonel Duryea's regiment was ferried across at one o'clock in the morning, and proceeded on the road to Bethel as far as to Newmarket Bridge, having crossed which it passed to the rear of the enemy, having captured his picket guard. So far all was well; but Colonel Townsend's regiment was yet to arrive from Hampton to act as support to Duryea. The roads from Hampton and from Newport News join just before Little Bethel is reached, and no sooner had Duryea's regiment passed this point of junction than the column from Newport News came up under Colonel Phelps, who left Colonel Bendix behind with a small force and a field-piece, to act as rear guard in case of an attempt being made by the enemy to cut off the retreat. But the Third New York (Colonel Townsend) was yet due. The arrival of this regiment and its junction with Bendix were a part of the programme, therefore it was expected, and its arrival promptly followed that of Bendix, who had taken position at the crossing of the roads; but, before it could emerge into plain sight, it had to ascend a slight elevation in the road. Phelps and Pierce were just in advance, and as they appeared above the rising crest alone and mounted, Bendix, in the dim light, conjectured that a cavalry force was approaching; but no cavalry were in the federal force, so that this body was assumed to belong to the enemy. They were fired upon, and ten of Townsend's men were wounded.

Pierce now ordered a retreat of the regiment. Meanwhile the firing alarmed the federal forces in advance, who also fell back. It was now broad daylight, and the mistake of the last hour was painfully evident, but it was too late to retrieve it, for already the enemy at Little Bethel had taken the alarm, and had added their strength to the already formidable position of Magruder. Pierce determined to try an assault, and sent to the fortress for re-enforcements. At first there was some promise of success; the outer line of the enemy's intrenchments was taken; but it was immediately retaken, and the bravest advances of the national troops were unavailing against the well-sheltered foe, and were repulsed with a loss of about forty men. Two of these, Major Winthrop and Lieutenant Greble, fell under circumstances worthy of distinct commemoration. Winthrop was shot by a North Caro-



ONLY ENTRANCE TO FORTRESS MONROE.

THE ADVANCE GUARD OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES CROSSING THE LONG BRIDGE OVER THE POTOMAC, MAY 24, 1861.





JOHN T. GREBLE.

lina drummer-boy while standing upon a log and brandishing his sword. He was in the act of rallying his men for a fresh encounter. Greble was working his gun within two hundred yards of a masked battery; a position which he retained until he had lost six out of eleven of his artillerymen, during which time he had with his single piece repelled a sortie on the part of the enemy with great slaughter. He was falling back himself, when his head was taken off his shoulders by a cannon ball.

This reverse, though not without its value to the federal army, aroused a storm of popular indignation in the North. But Butler held his position on the Peninsula, which was so strong that Magruder, in spite of his success at Big Bethel, soon deemed it prudent to withdraw to Yorktown.

Leaving Eastern Virginia, penetrated from the north and east by the national forces, whose advance was as nearly as possible in the form of an arc reaching from Washington to Fortress Monroe, while at Richmond, the centre of this arc, the confederates were marshaling in strength, and from thence radiating forth and seizing upon the strongest natural positions, we turn to contemporaneous events in the West.

By a vote of one hundred and thirty-five thousand against thirty thousand, Missouri had, in the presidential election of 1860, decided against the extremists of the South. In this state, as in Maryland, there were men determined that Missouri should share the fate and fortunes of the Southern confederacy, but they were few. The events which have previously been narrated in this history: the President's call for troops to aid in suppressing insurrection, and Jackson's refusal; the conflict of the Home with the State Guards; the raid of the Illinois troops upon the St. Louis Arsenal, and the capture of Camp Jackson, near that city, by Lyon; the conflict of United States troops with the mob of St. Louis; Lyon's reversal of the policy adopted by Harney—a policy which, while it crippled the general government, yet allowed Jackson and Price, whom Harney knew to be secessionists at heart, to mature the military organizations of the state for purposes of their own—all these events had been gradually establishing a line of division on the question of state sovereignty as opposed to the sovereignty of the general government. That the very idea of state sovereignty, conceived thus absolutely, was the root of secession, was not popularly understood. It was so regarded by the secession leaders, and by Lyon also, who was persistently counteracting their movements. But a large portion of the people blindly believed that a state had the right to assume at option and to maintain an attitude of independence of the general government. Some states had already done this. In the opinion of the Missourians that was an unwise proceeding, but thoroughly legitimate; that is, they justified secession as to the principle involved, though they by no means favored its adoption. Missouri, at any rate, did not want it; if South Carolina wanted it, however, she had a perfect right to it. It was this position which, seemingly so innocent, still wrought all the mischief in the border states; for it was impossible that a state could hold that position and not advance beyond it. Clearly, any opposition by force of arms to secession, on the part of the general government, must of necessity array Missouri, and all other states in a similar situation, upon the one side or the other; for, judged from the stand-point of these states, such opposition was unjust and despotic. This judgment, which was entertained by a large portion of the people of Missouri, taken in connection with the prevailing sympathy of the state for Southern institutions, was sufficient, if not to throw the state over into the confederacy, at least to array it against the national government.

Accordingly, on the 11th of June, Jackson and Price held an interview with Lyon and Blair at St. Louis, and demanded of the latter that no more United States troops should be quartered in or should pass through the state. This was an attempt on the governor's part to renew with Lyon the

compact previously made between Price and Harney. In case his requisition was complied with, he offered, on his part, to disband the State Guards; to nullify the organization of the state militia, which had been going on under the provisions of the Military Bill; to protect the rights of all the citizens of Missouri, and to repel any invasion from without. That these offers were not made in good faith is evident from the fact that it was the governor or himself who had in secret organized the State Guards before the Home Guards had any existence; indeed, these latter were rendered necessary by the violence of the former directed against loyal citizens. Moreover, the governor knew that what he had offered to do it was utterly impossible for him to accomplish.

But, whether made in good faith or not, these offers could not be met by Lyon; for, even assuming Jackson to have been desirous that Missouri should be neutral—and certainly that was all which the great body of his supporters desired—yet, in the assumption by any state of a neutral attitude, there was involved the right of separation. For Missouri to demand the abandonment of the state by the United States troops was no more than for South Carolina to demand the national government to evacuate the forts in Charleston Harbor; and the same principle which led to the refusal of the one demand compelled the rejection of the other. Lyon accordingly refused compliance with the terms proposed. The very next day Governor Jackson issued from Jefferson City a proclamation to the people of Missouri, making the most of his unsuccessful attempts at compromise; representing that he himself, desirous only of peace, had proposed terms of agreement most humiliating to the state, and that even these were rejected; and, finally, calling for fifty thousand of the state militia to repel the invaders. The majority of these "invaders," it will be remembered, were loyal Missourians.

The war was now fairly inaugurated, and the next day, the 13th of June, saw Jackson, with all the available troops under his command, retreating from the capital, and Lyon on his way to the capital, having started from St. Louis with about fifteen hundred men. On the day before, Sigel, with the Second Missouri, had been dispatched toward Springfield by the South Pacific Railroad for a purpose which will hereafter become evident.

Jackson, in his retreat, had given orders for the destruction of the Moreau bridge, four miles below Jefferson City, on the Missouri, while General Price attended to the severing of telegraphic communications. The flight was executed by means of the railroad, and all the bridges, as soon as passed, were burned. As General Lyon proceeded by water, this destruction was of course utterly useless. Even the destination of the fugitive executive was concealed, though conjecture pointed to Booneville, a strong-hold of secession some fifty miles up the river. Meanwhile, in the absence of the recreant governor, General Lyon instituted a provisional government, and called upon all loyal men to rally to the support of order and legitimate authority.

Thus far there had been no hostile collision between those representing the authority of the United States and Jackson's forces. But, now that war had been unmistakably declared, Lyon did not wait for the enemy to perfect his organizations; and, although General Harney had so illy appreciated the importance of a decided policy, yet it can not be denied that the federal troops at this crisis held their opponents in the State of Missouri at a great disadvantage. A firm course from the first would have held Missouri as strongly to her allegiance as Maryland was held. That had not been done. Still, so energetic and prompt were the measures of the national government, that they elicited praise even from the lips of the enemy. "Energy and promptitude," says the Charleston Mercury of May 31, "have characterized their movements both in Maryland and St. Louis, and their success along the border has so far been complete. They have, in the West, obtained and secured the great repository of arms for that section, equipped our enemies of St. Louis, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, leaving the resistance-men of Missouri poorly provided, Kentucky unarmed and overawed, and Tennessee also, with a meagre provision for fighting, dependent on the cotton states for weapons of defense. In all this, the military proceedings of the North since the fall of Sumter have been eminently wise."

Missouri was favorably situated for the influx, on a large scale, of confederate troops from Kentucky and Tennessee on the east, and from Arkansas on the south; and, curiously enough, at the very moment when Jackson was so confidently offering to repel all invaders, Ben M'Culloch, a noted Texan Ranger, had already crossed the southern border of the state with a force of 800 men, which rapidly increased as he moved upon Springfield. In view of this movement, General Sigel had been sent, on the 12th, in that direction, with the Second Missouri. Price was sending on other confederate forces as speedily as possible to Booneville and Lexington, and on the western border of the state Rains was mustering together still another army.

While these forces in the various parts of Missouri had not as yet been able to concentrate in any one place, it was evidently Lyon's opportunity to dispose of them in detail. For accomplishing this purpose he had inconsiderable means at his disposal. Leaving a force at Jefferson City sufficiently large to preserve order, he set out in three steamers and with about 2000 men for Booneville. This was on the 17th of June.

A few miles below the town the confederates had posted a battery on a bluff commanding the river. Instead, however, of passing this battery—which, indeed, he could hardly have effected with safety—Lyon landed his troops lower down, and marched along the road running through the bottom-land and parallel to the river. A mile and a half brought them upon the enemy's pickets, and another half mile brought them upon the enemy himself, in full force, under Colonel Marmaduke, who was posted in a lane running at right angles with the road upon which Lyon was approaching, and terminating at the river. A heavy cannonade was opened, driving the confederates to an adjacent wood. In order to draw them from this covert,



LYON'S MARCH FROM BOONEVILLE.

from which they kept up a brisk fire upon the federals, Lyon ordered a feigned retreat. The ruse was successful, and the whole force of the artillery was opened on the enemy, who turned and fled in confusion. The enemy seem to have been deficient in artillery; at least not a single cannon was fired by them during the engagement. Marmaduke's men had insisted upon fighting contrary to their colonel's judgment, who wished to retreat to some more tenable position. Jackson is said to have watched the battle from a distant hill, and, seeing the disastrous result, to have fled. Price was at home. The force of the enemy was inferior to that of the federal army making the attack, and was, besides, so indiscreetly managed, that in twenty minutes from the firing of the first shot it was in full retreat.

Every effort was now made by the state forces in Missouri to concentrate. There was no hope of their being able to effect this in the northern part of the state, but there was a chance in favor of a concentration of the forces retreating southward with those of McCulloch in the southwest. Jackson fled from Booneville with only about five hundred men, and Captain Totten followed close upon him with a thousand. Rains was hurrying forward in order to join Jackson, pursued by Major Sturgis of the United States regular army. Rains, however, by the destruction of the bridge over the Osage at Papinsville, put a check upon the pursuit, and Sturgis was obliged to go into camp and wait for the high water to subside. Lyon, who had remained behind to get together an additional force, was soon able to join Sturgis on the Osage.

Meantime, on the 23d of June, Sigel arrived at Springfield. Price was then encamped at Neosho, a town in the southwest corner of the state, and Jackson was speedily moving southward to join him. To prevent this junction, Sigel advanced rapidly upon Neosho, which he entered without opposition on the 1st of July, and the next day learned that Price, Jackson, and Rains had already united their forces at a point just north of Carthage. Informing General Sweeny, who was at Springfield, of this fact, he received orders immediately to attack the confederate position. On the 4th of July he set out, and on the 6th came upon the enemy, posted in the open prairie. His force was greatly inferior, but he unlimbered his artillery and opened fire, to which the confederates briskly replied. A sharp artillery duel was kept up across the level prairie until two o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy's guns had all been dismounted and his ranks broken. The confederate cavalry now attempted to outflank Sigel; but the latter, sending two six-pounders to the rear, and changing front, fell steadily back to his baggage-wagons, which were laboring forward, and, having secured these, he fell slowly back to the bridge over Dry Fork Creek, where the road ran between two high bluffs. Here, at the opening, were stationed the enemy's cavalry, which, baffled in its attack on the baggage train, sought at this point to cut off the retreat. Sigel, dispatching two cannon to the right and two to the left, supported by a small portion of his force, drew the enemy out of his solid and impregnable position against these his feigned movements, and waiting patiently their approach on either side, he opened upon them a terrific cross-fire, and, at the same time, by a sudden movement in front, cleared the bridge. The cavalry were routed, and Sigel moved rapidly to Carthage, which, to his surprise, he found occupied by the enemy. The only course left was to effect a junction as quickly as possible with a Union force stationed at Mount Vernon, midway between him and Springfield. But his immediate route, which led through a forest, was disputed by a large force

of the enemy. Here there was no opportunity for the enemy's cavalry, and, though he was largely outnumbered, Sigel, by the superiority of his Minié rifles over the old-fashioned arms of his antagonists, was able to contest the ground. Here the battle lasted for over two hours, until after sunset, and, indeed, was prolonged even into the darkness, when finally the enemy retreated, and Sigel, not daring even to rest his tired army, kept up his march all night, and the next day reached Mount Vernon.

Sigel had seen service in Europe, and in this battle proved both the temper of his courage and his able strategy. His entire loss was reported at forty-four, while that of the confederates was much greater, owing to the superiority of Sigel's artillery, that of the enemy being very poor and poorly managed.

At this time all the state, except the southwest quarter, was under the control of the Union forces. North of the Missouri River hostile collisions were frequent between the state troops and the small bodies of Illinois volunteers that had been stationed at various points. Skirmishes followed one another in rapid succession, and a vast amount of property was destroyed. On the 19th of July General Pope assumed the command of Northern Missouri, having under him a force of 7000 men. Meanwhile, on the 16th, Lyon and Sturgis had reached Springfield. An expedition under Sweeny was immediately dispatched to break up a secession camp at Forsyth, fifty miles south of Springfield, just above the Arkansas border. This was accomplished without opposition.

The situation in Missouri at the latter end of July assumed a very critical aspect. General Fremont, who a month previously had returned from Europe with a large amount of arms for the government, had just been appointed to the command of the Western Department. This was no enviable position. Every thing was in disorder. Forces which ought already to be matured were only preparing to be organized; they lacked arms, and even the harnesses for the baggage trains were unprovided. The enemy, on the other hand, had already prepared himself, and was ready to strike boldly. The successes of the confederates in Virginia had wrought up to the highest pitch their hopes of a speedy and victorious close to the war. The Southern journals of this date exulted in the anticipation of the most splendid success in Missouri, and with good reason. Price, and Rains, and Jackson had united their forces, and had forced Sigel to retreat. These forces were now joined to those of McCulloch, making an army four times as large as that under Lyon. In the southeast, General Pillow had an army at New Madrid ready to march against St. Louis.

In the face of all these unfavorable circumstances, the political movements going on in the state were of an encouraging nature. On the 22d the State Convention met, and, after a few days' earnest consultation, declared the seats of the governor and his associates in office vacant, and appointed as provisional governor Hamilton R. Gamble. An address was also prepared for the people, justifying the measures which had been taken. This address reprimands in the most scathing terms the efforts which Governor Jackson and his lieutenant had made to carry Missouri out of the Union even previously to any interference on the part of the general government in the affairs of the state. On the same day that this document was issued, Lieutenant Governor Reynolds put forth a proclamation from New Madrid, which was meant as a preface to General Pillow's advance northward; and in two or three more days Governor Gamble issued a proclamation offering protec-



NATHANIEL LYON.

tion to all loyal citizens, and notifying the officers and troops of the Confederate States that their continuance in the state would be considered as an act of war. Certainly, so far as proclamations were concerned, the provisional government had the best of it, for, besides holding the capital, the proper and accustomed seat of the state sovereignty, they were also backed by the popular convention. But proclamations could neither disarm or discourage a confident confederate army like that which now threatened to overrun the state from the southwest.

On the 1st of August, the federal army at Springfield, under Lyon, whose principal commands were intrusted to Sweeny, Sigel, and Sturgis, encamped at Crane's Creek, two miles south of Springfield. The next day they resumed their march, and about five o'clock in the afternoon there was a slight skirmish with a small force of the enemy at Dug Springs. Having marched to Curran, twenty-six miles from Springfield, Lyon fell back again upon the latter place. His position was one of great peril. His force was inadequate to meet the enemy, and Fremont could spare no re-enforcements from St. Louis without weakening his own position, which was of greater importance; but, if he retreated, he would leave the inhabitants of Springfield unprotected, and could not, after all, save himself from a conflict, which must yet take place at some point sooner or later. Therefore he determined to make one effort to stay the progress of the enemy northward and to maintain his own position. Upon this determination followed the battle of Wilson's Creek, which, next to Bull Run, was the severest engagement of the year.

There is something sublime in the bold march of Lyon, on the night of the 9th of August, with a force of 5000 men, to Wilson's Creek, to encounter in the morning a force of more than 20,000. The enemy, meanwhile, was making elaborate arrangements for attacking him. For some time there had been considerable delay in the movements of the confederates toward Springfield, owing to a disagreement between the two leading generals, Price and McCulloch, the former advocating, and the latter opposing an immediate attack upon the federal army. This question had been settled, however, by a peremptory order from General Polk to McCulloch, commanding an immediate advance upon Springfield. Then McCulloch, seemingly determined upon a quarrel, insisted upon having the chief command, which Price conceded without dispute.

On the 9th of August the confederate army had reached a point on Wilson's Creek about nine miles south of Springfield. They had determined to attack the national forces on four sides at once, when suddenly they were aware that they themselves were assailed by two columns—one, under Lyon, in front, and another, under Sigel, on their right flank. It was the expectation of Lyon to fall upon an enemy unprepared, but in this he was disappointed, and all that he had hoped from a surprise was lost. At first the powerful batteries of Totten and Dubois told fearfully upon the enemy, and it was even doubtful whether the inferiority in numbers, and particularly in cavalry, might not be compensated for by the superiority in artillery. Against Totten's battery the enemy directed an overwhelming force, and for half an hour the contending lines surged to and fro over the disputed ground, neither force giving way to the other. On the left of the battery the enemy had gained an advantage; but, in a moment, Lyon led his horse along the line to rally the troops. The horse was killed at his side, when, mounting another, he led on his men into the thickest of the fight. On our left, the enemy, meanwhile, was pressing hard, but there Dubois's battery held him in check. On the right, the First Missouri was being forced back by an overwhelming force, when Lyon promptly ordered two regiments to its sup-

port. Patiently at the brow of the hill they waited the approach of the enemy, until only a few yards separated the combatants, when the simultaneous discharge of their Minié rifles poured forth its volume of death against the astonished and panic-stricken foe. Lyon now ordered a bayonet charge, and himself took the lead of an Iowa regiment which had lost its colonel. He fell dead, pierced in that shower of hail; but the regiments stood firm and unwavering until the enemy, again baffled, withdrew.

Major Sturgis, upon whom the command now devolved, stood doubtful whether to advance or retreat. The former seemed impossible, and, if the latter was concluded upon, there was a dreary march of twelve miles before men who since yesterday morning had not tasted water. Sigel was to have attacked the rear, but there was no token that he had entered upon the work. Once, while this suspense lasted, the federal troops were deceived by the approach of a confederate column under the Union flag, and, hoping to receive their friends, they were mowed down by the fire of the cunning enemy. But against every movement, open or treacherous, our troops stood firm, and with their artillery drove the enemy back to his own ground. After six hours of this unavailing slaughter, Major Sturgis ordered a retreat, and having done so, received tidings of Sigel's rout and withdrawal from the rear. The enemy was too severely cut up to molest the leisurely retreat of either column. In this battle, as in that at Carthage, the artillery alone saved the Union army from utter annihilation.

No sooner had Virginia, on the 17th of April, passed the Ordinance of Secession, than Governor Letcher addressed a letter to Andrew Sweeny, Mayor of Wheeling, informing him of the fact, and ordering him to seize at once upon the Custom-house of that city, the Post-office, and all public buildings and documents, in the name of the sovereign State of Virginia. The mayor promptly replied: "I have seized upon the Custom-house, the Post-office, and all public buildings and documents, in the name of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, whose property they are." In this reply, Andrew Sweeny represented the whole northwestern portion of the state, and the attitude which it assumed toward secession.

By every natural association, Western Virginia was allied to Ohio and Pennsylvania, and therefore to Northern sentiments and institutions. Between the eastern and western portions of the Old Dominion there was little affinity; the low-lying lands of the former invited slavery, while the mountainous tracts of the latter absolutely excluded it. All along, therefore, there had been a natural disaffection between the two sections, and this had certainly not been weakened by the extraordinary exemption from taxation which, under the existing state of affairs, the East had always enjoyed. But the treason of Richmond furnished abundant occasion to the West to assert its dignity and independence. The triumph of secession upon the James naturally led to the triumph of loyalty among the mountains; and while Governor Letcher was training the state militia for service against the general government, Union meetings were held all over the western counties for the support of that government. The series of measures which resulted in the formation of the State of Western Virginia will hereafter be narrated. We have here only to do with the military events in that portion of the state. The topographical features of the region precluded it from becoming a permanent arena of warfare. McClellan's short campaign, lasting from the middle of May to the middle of July, 1861, comprises the history of secession in Western Virginia.¹

On the 11th of May, the Department of the Ohio, including Ohio, Indiana, and the western portions of Pennsylvania and Virginia, was organized, and General McClellan, who had been invited by Governor Dennison, of Ohio, to abandon the presidency of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad for a brigadier generalship, was put at its head. McClellan's career as military engineer in Mexico had brought him great distinction; but the office which he was now to undertake was novel, and accompanied by many difficult trials. An army had actually to be created out of undisciplined volunteer forces. To this task he proved himself fully competent. One of the prominent objects of the department thus instituted was to guard the line of the Ohio River, but, as the policy of the general government became more aggressive and determined, this object was lost sight of in view of a bolder purpose. The campaign in Western Virginia was in no sense an invasion, and this feature distinguished it from the operations that were going on for the occupation of the eastern part of the state. Indeed, it was some time before the federal army entered Western Virginia even for the purposes of protection. Thus, for a long period, this portion of the state had to take care of itself against the secessionists. Union companies were formed every where.

¹ As the terms were formerly used, the Blue Ridge was the boundary between Eastern and Western Virginia. In 1850, the former contained 401,540 whites, 45,783 free colored persons, and 409,793 slaves; the latter, 492,609 whites, 8123 free colored, and 62,233 slaves. The long-standing dispute between these sections, growing mainly out of the questions of taxation and representation, were temporarily compromised by amendments to the Constitution made in 1850, by which a mixed basis for representation was adopted, giving to the West a majority in the House, and to the East a majority in the Senate. By this compromise, slaves under twelve years of age were not subjects of taxation, while upon those above that age \$1 20 was levied. The West complained that a large proportion of the property of the Eastern planters, which consisted of slaves, was either wholly or in effect free from taxation, while all of theirs was taxed; and moreover affirmed that they derived no benefit from the sums expended for internal improvements. From this time many leading men began to plan for a separation between the two sections. Mr. John S. Carlisle, in a speech at the Wheeling Convention, said: "There is no difference in opinion between the advocates of a separation of this state. If I may be allowed, I can claim some credit for my sincerity when I say that it has been an object for which I have labored at least since the year 1850. The Convention which met at Richmond in that year, and adopted our present State Constitution, clearly disclosed to my mind the utter incompatibility consistent with the interests of the people of Northwestern Virginia of remaining in connection with the eastern portion of the state." Governor Letcher, in his proclamation to the people of Northwestern Virginia, June 14, 1861, admits that these complaints were well founded. He says: "There has been a complaint among you that the eastern portion of the state has enjoyed an exemption from taxation to your prejudice. By a display of magnanimity in the vote just given, the East has, by a large majority, consented to relinquish this exemption, and is ready to share with you all the burdens of government."



THE MOUNTAIN REGION OF WESTERN VIRGINIA.

The first collision between these companies and Governor Letcher's forces occurred at Clarksburg on the 23d of May. Immediately measures were taken to organize regiments at Wheeling for the protection of loyal citizens; for no sooner had the result of the election in Western Virginia and its unanimous declaration of loyalty been made known, than the signal was given for the secessionists, whom Governor Letcher had sent in their midst, to inaugurate a reign of terror. Union men were treated with violence; bridges were burned, and valuable property destroyed. It was now high time that the general government should come to the rescue.

Before the advent of his troops into Western Virginia, M'Clellan issued two proclamations, one to his soldiers, and the other to the people whom they were sent to protect. The former were commanded to preserve the strictest discipline, and to remember that their duty was confined to the protection of loyal men against traitors; and the latter were assured of the honest intentions with which the movement was undertaken, and reminded of the fact that, while the secessionists had sent their armed forces beforehand to terrify and intimidate, the United States had patiently awaited the result of their election. They were moreover assured that there would be no interference with their slaves, but, on the contrary, that they should be protected even against any insurrection of the latter.

The instructions given to M'Clellan were to cross the Ohio, join Colonel Kelly, who was in command of the regiment at Wheeling, and, having driven out the confederate force, to advance on Harper's Ferry. His movements were hastened by the rapidity with which the secessionists were destroying bridges that would be necessary to his line of communication. The first point of approach was Grafton, which was the centre of all the railroad lines in Northwestern Virginia. Toward this point, on the morning of the 27th, Kelly moved with the First Virginia; and immediately afterward Colonel Irvine, with the Sixteenth Ohio, crossed the Ohio and followed Kelly's command. Another column, consisting of the Fourteenth Ohio, crossed at Marietta, and moved on Parkersburg. The confederates, having been informed of this advance, hastily retreated from Grafton at midnight, falling back to Philippi, where Colonel Porterfield was stationed with a small force of infantry and cavalry. Porterfield had been sent on by General Lee to recruit an army for the rebellion in Western Virginia, but his attempts proving entirely unsuccessful in that loyal section, he was obliged to write a very dependent letter to Lee, asking for re-enforcements in order to enable him even to maintain his position.

The occupation of Grafton had thus been effected without the firing of a single gun, and, on the afternoon of June 2d, there were assembled on the parade-ground of that place 3000 Union troops, under the command of Colonel Crittenden, of Indiana, to receive orders for a forced march that very night against the enemy at Philippi. At 8 o'clock they marched southward. It commenced early to rain, and rained all night; but through the wet and the mud the federal forces pushed on to their destination, which the most of them believed to be Harper's Ferry. They moved in two separate columns. One column, under Colonel Dumont, proceeded on the Northwestern Virginia Railroad to Webster, twelve miles from Philippi, and thence marched against the enemy's front. Kelly, accompanied by Colonel Lander, moved another column eastward to Thornton, from which point they marched twenty-two miles, and got in the rear of Porterfield's force. As soon as the column attacking in front was in position, the enemy's pickets commenced firing, and our artillery opened upon the surprised camp and threw it immediately into utter confusion. Had not the darkness and the storm impeded the movements of the flanking column, the entire confederate force at Philippi must have been captured; but Kelly only arrived in time to aid in the pursuit, and himself to meet with a severe wound from a stray shot after the enemy had mainly been put to flight.

But the military opposition to secession was no more decided than was the political. On the 11th of June the Union Convention met at Wheeling. Forty counties were represented, and each county delegation came forward and took the following oath: "We solemnly declare that we will support the Constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, as the supreme law of the land, any thing in the ordinance of the Convention which lately met at Richmond to the contrary notwithstanding." The next day a committee of thirteen reported a Bill of Rights, repudiating all allegiance to the Southern Confederacy; resolutions were offered to maintain the rights of Western Virginia in the Union, and commanding all forces in arms against the United States to disband and return to their allegiance; and an ordinance was reported providing for the establishment of a provisional government. Frank H. Pierpont was appointed governor; and the principle set forth in his inaugural, that to the loyal people belong the government and governmental authority, was the principle that controlled the entire proceedings of the Convention.

On the 14th of June, Governor Letcher, having posted troops at Hattonsville, issued a proclamation, insisting that the majority of the state should rule the state, and calling upon Western Virginians, in the name of past friendship and historic memories, to co-operate with secession and join the Southern army. But this proclamation was as ineffectual as Porterfield's recruiting had been, although the governor offered to redress the wrongs which the western part of the state had so long suffered.

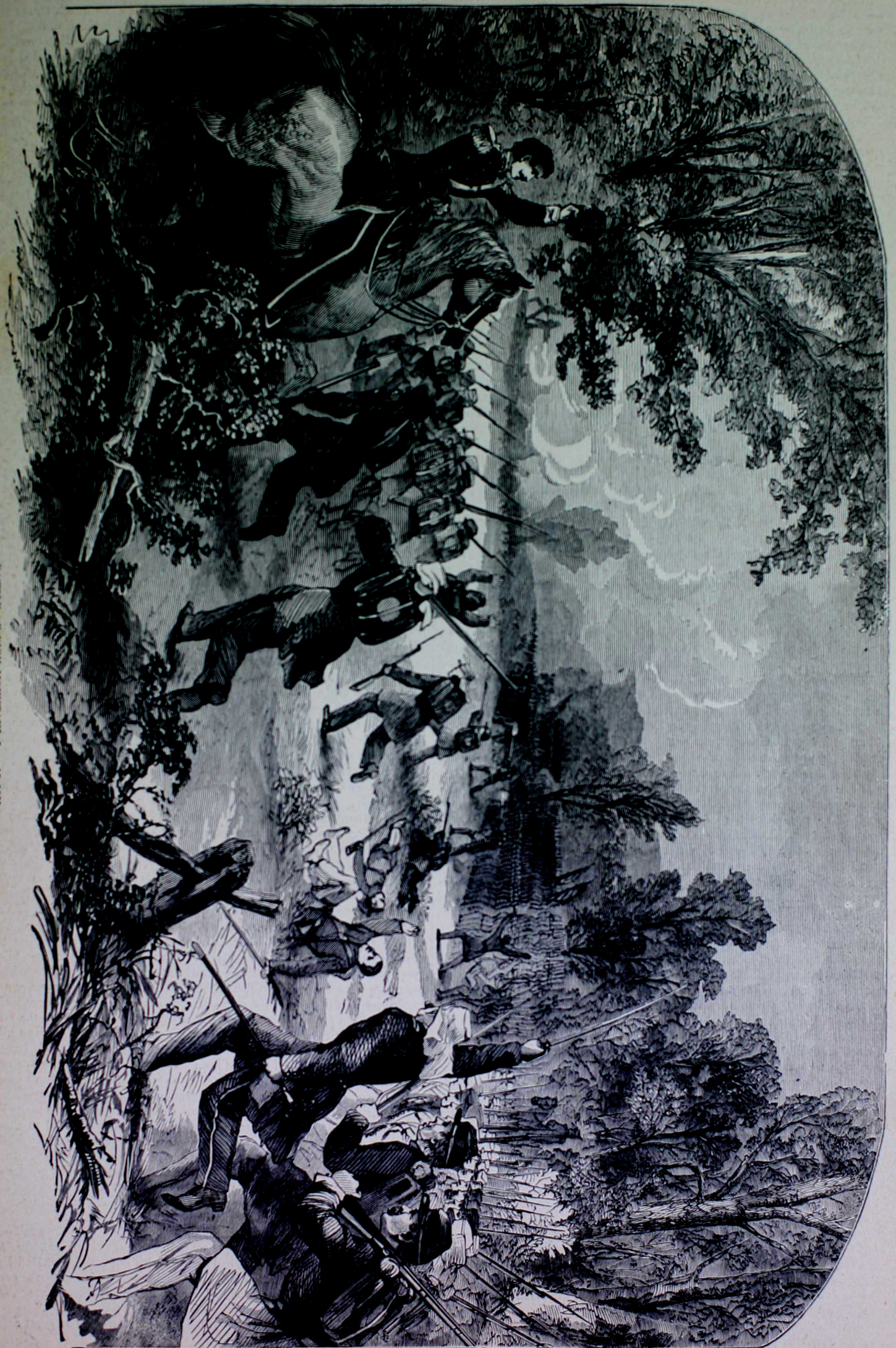
Returning to the military situation, as we find it in the latter part of June, we have M'Clellan personally at the head of the Union army in Western Virginia, and General Garnett commanding the confederate forces. The former had about 20,000 men, and his communications open and easy; while the confederate general had an inferior force, and, although posted in a position highly advantageous so far as fighting was concerned, was yet completely isolated from any possible basis of military operations. To have held

this position for a single day after the battle at Philippi, unless it were with a force so overwhelming as to make defeat impossible, was simply a military blunder. Yet Garnett held it even when he knew that M'Clellan was moving steadily on, and rapidly increasing in the number of his command. This position of the confederates was some twenty or thirty miles southward from Philippi, at Rich Mountain, a gap in the Laurel Hill Range, where the Staunton and Weston turnpike crosses it, about four or five miles from Beverly. The road which runs along its western slope was the only possible line of communication between this position and Garnett's base. This road ran through Beverly, and to hold the latter place was effectually to intercept the possibility of the enemy's retreat. Here, at Rich Mountain, Garnett had posted Colonel Pegram with 3000 men, while he himself, with about 8000, occupied Laurel Hill, fifteen or sixteen miles farther westward. The fortified position at this latter point was very strong. Having ordered General Morris to occupy Garnett's forces by a direct attack, M'Clellan himself, with the main body of his army, passed around by Buckhannon to the rear, that is, to the western slope of Rich Mountain. Here he divided his force into two columns, and giving one of these to Colonel Rosecrans, he sent the latter to the rear of Pegram, while he remained in front, ready to attack simultaneously. Rosecrans obtained the rear, sent a courier back to M'Clellan to give the signal, and went to work. The messenger missed his way, and passed into the encampment of the enemy, thus giving them full information of the movement. Meanwhile M'Clellan awaited the signal, and the enemy, acquainted with the peril of his position, made his way toward Laurel Hill. Garnett, also, had been warned of the danger, and, hastily leaving his intrenchments, proceeded southward, hoping to reach Beverly before M'Clellan; but, on his way thither, he met the fugitives of Pegram's army, and learned that Beverly was already in the possession of the Union forces. Thus all retreat to the southward was cut off. The only way of escape left him was to follow the course of the Cheat River toward the northeast until he should find some outlet into the valley of Virginia. Then followed M'Clellan's, or, rather, Morris's forces, in swift and unrelenting pursuit, Captain Benham leading the advance. At a bend of the Cheat River, where it winds about a bluff of fifty or sixty feet high, the enemy made a stand, and, planting a cannon on the top of the bluff, disputed the advance. It was an admirable position; but Benham led his men directly under the bluff and around to its left, where they could gain the road, and as they appeared upon his flank the enemy fled, leaving one of his guns and a number of killed and wounded. About a quarter of a mile farther on, where the stream made another turn, Garnett, with a few skirmishers, attempted to make another stand, and, while rallying his men, received a Minié ball which caused his death. This was called the battle of Carrick's Ford. In the mean time, Pegram's force, finding escape impossible, had surrendered to M'Clellan.

The federal success was complete. Only a small portion of the enemy escaped, and all their material fell into our hands. The immediate and natural result of this battle was the evacuation of Harper's Ferry, and the abandonment by the enemy of all Western Virginia.

In the mean time, while General M'Clellan was moving southward from the Ohio, along the Alleghany Ridge, and driving the enemy before him, General Wise, near the western and southern borders of the state, was gathering together another confederate army. He had just been appointed a brigadier general, with orders, first, to clear Western Virginia of federal troops and keep it clear, and, secondly, to occupy Wheeling, and disorganize the Union Legislature. In order to accomplish this in the face of M'Clellan's rapidly advancing army, he demanded of his government an adequate force, and was told that he must raise it himself. With the meagre nucleus of an army he advanced to Louisburg, about fifty miles south of Cheat Mountain Gap, and from this point moved in a northwesterly direction down the Kanawha Valley, his force gradually increasing, until, by the accession of Colonel Tompkins's detachment, already in the valley, it numbered full 4000 men, with a considerable cavalry force, and three or four battalions of artillery; but he was poorly supplied with ammunition, his recruits were undisciplined, and he was by a long distance removed from his base of supplies, which, besides that it might easily be cut off by the enemy, could only be reached through a portion of the state which was bitterly hostile to secession. Plainly, therefore, he must fall back to Charleston. Every conceivable advantage was in favor of the Union arms; every conceivable disadvantage frowned upon the confederates. The movements of the federal army were controlled by a single mind; its appointments were complete: the confederates had two armies, distinct in their organization and operations, and, if the most elaborate arrangements had been made to secure the possibility of their being conquered in detail, these two armies could not possibly have been more conveniently posted for that purpose than they were. The federal army had at its disposal every desirable means of communication both by land and water; the confederates had to communicate across the mountains. It is true that nowhere on the continent could be found positions of greater natural strength than those in which Garnett and Wise might fortify themselves at their leisure; but it is also true that, with equal leisure, M'Clellan could cut them off, and compel engagement or flight. This was pointedly illustrated in the battle at Rich Mountain, the news of which, coming like a thunderbolt upon Wise, precipitated his retreat, which stopped not short of Gauley Bridge, and in the course of which a great number of troops deserted him.

Thus ended the month of July, which in the eastern portion of the state had proved so disastrous to our arms. It was at this point that M'Clellan assumed command of the army of the Potomac, leaving Rosecrans to take his place in Western Virginia. Wise had handed in his resignation to the authorities at Richmond. General Floyd was ordered to re-enforce him, which



BATTLE OF HIGH MOUNTAIN, JULY 13, 1861.

he did at his own convenience; and after the two generals had come together in Greenbrier County, there was a continual hostility between them, arising, no doubt, from the supercilious airs which Floyd indulged in toward Wise; to say the least, we may be sure that no love was lost between them. Floyd hesitated to support Wise; and Wise, though more honest in the discharge of his duty, could not help laughing at the blunders of Floyd. The latter started from Whiteville with over 3000 men, which force, before it was joined to Wise's legion, dwindled down to less than half that number. Floyd appointed as chief of his staff the editor of the *Lynchburg Republican*, for his first aid-de-camp a sub-editor—intending, probably, to have his conquests duly set forth in print—and for the leader of his cavalry a farmer, whom he seriously promised that horses and men should come out of the campaign as safe and sound as they went in; and this gentle general bragged that he would in a single fortnight drive Rosecrans across the Ohio. While he planned these large results, he forgot all about his transportation, and his baggage trains passed out from Whiteville no less than three times before they were fairly on the way for White Sulphur Springs, the place of junction.

From this position, which was more secure than any other, being near to the great central route to the eastward, the confederate army, largely re-enforced, and having the means at its disposal for carrying on the campaign considerably increased, ventured to advance to Sewell Mountain, a short distance to the west, and thence to Dogwood Gap, where the road from Summersville strikes the main turnpike from Louisburg to Charleston. Thus far there had been no important engagement in the valley of the Kanawha; but on the 10th of September a battle was fought at Carnifex Ferry.

General Rosecrans, on the last day of August, had proceeded to gather up his scattered army for a brisk autumn campaign against Floyd. Leaving Reynolds to keep General Lee in check at Cheat Mountain, he had advanced southward over Kreitz and Powell Mountains to Summersville, driven back the enemy's advanced posts, and pushed on by a forced march of seventeen miles and a half toward the Gauley River. It was not until he had nearly come up with the enemy that he learned the exact position of the latter, which was on the heights overlooking Carnifex Ferry.

Here Floyd had posted himself, having left Wise at a point farther southward to guard against a rear attack from the federal force at Hawk's Nest. He had expected to find a detachment of General Cox's division here, but the latter had retreated, and, unfortunately for Floyd, had sunk the ferry-boats. Floyd pushed his men across, and then, for the first time, discovered his ludicrously awkward position, with his infantry on one side of the river and his artillery on the other; so he posted off on horseback to General Henningsen for an engineer to build boats. While he was in this position, Colonel Tyler, with a small Union force, attacked him, but was repulsed. No sooner had Floyd extricated himself from his difficulty, than Rosecrans suddenly came upon him from Summersville. Floyd's position was naturally one of great strength, protected in the rear both by the river and the mountain ridge, and having but one avenue of approach, which was commanded by two powerful batteries. Rosecrans's troops were exhausted by a long and weary march; it was nearly night, too, and nothing could be accomplished but a reconnoissance, yet this came as near as possible to being a battle. An attempt was made to outflank the enemy on the left, where he was driven from his breastworks to the centre, but it was too late to bring up a supporting force; and, at the same time, two unsuccessful attempts were made in front to take the enemy's batteries by assault, in which Colonel Lytle was wounded and Colonel Lowe killed. Thus the day closed, and in the morning it was discovered that the enemy had retreated, and by the destruction of the bridge over the Gauley had cut off all pursuit. The retreat was continued to Meadow Bridge, whither General Wise was invited to follow; but the latter, having secured himself in a strong position in Fayette County, declined to fall back.

General Lee, who had assumed the command of Garnett's scattered forces in the northwest, and who had a considerable force at his disposal, proceeded to take up a position between the two principal positions of Reynolds—at Elkwater and at Cheat Mountain summit—and to carry them by a simultaneous attack, advancing against Elkwater himself, and giving to General Jackson the other column. Meeting with a repulse, however, he joined Floyd at Meadow Bridge, and after having personally examined Wise's position at Camp Defiance, brought to that point the entire confederate force (which amounted to about 30,000 men), with the exception of General Jackson, who remained in the vicinity of Cheat Mountain. Here, at Sewell's Mountain, the two main armies confronted one another; but no sooner was this the case, than Rosecrans, by a sudden movement, advanced against Jackson, surprising and totally routing his forces, and then returned back as far as to Gauley River.

At this crisis, Lee, Henningsen, and Wise were ordered to report at Richmond, and Floyd, who was left in the chief command, went into winter quarters at Cotton Hill, opposite the mouth of the Gauley, where the latter empties into the Kanawha. From this position, about the middle of November, being attacked suddenly and unexpectedly by a division of Rosecrans's forces under General Benham, he was driven in great confusion to Raleigh, through Fayetteville, a distance of thirty miles. Benham's men were worn out by the long march through mud and rain, and were obliged to rest for the night. The next morning, when about to continue the pursuit with almost a certainty of capturing Raleigh, and with it the entire train, if not the whole force of the enemy, he was recalled by an order from General Schenck, and Floyd continued his flight without farther molestation.

A writer in the *Lynchburg Virginian* gives a full account of the flight of Floyd, which he pronounces to be "another dark shadow in the campaign

of Western Virginia." He says, "On the evening of November 11 the enemy made strong demonstrations, near Cotton Hill, of an attack on the next day, and General Floyd ordered the army to fall back three miles. Next morning it was reported that the enemy were advancing to Fayetteville, to cut off our retreat and surround our brigade. This news caused General Floyd to order a retreat, which took place about eight o'clock at night, when the brigade retreated back to Fayetteville, two and a half miles, and halted to guard the road which the enemy were expected to come in to attempt to cut off our retreat. Here the brigade remained until just daylight, without shelter, victuals, or repose, when they were ordered to continue their retreat. The brigade continued its retreat ten miles on the 13th, and halted for the night. During the whole of the retreat thus far there was a great deal of excitement, fear, and especially loss of baggage, property, and provisions; and on the night of the 11th they burned about three hundred tents, several bales of new blankets and overcoats, and a number of mess chests, camp equipages of all kinds; and flour barrels were burst, contents scattered on the ground, and all kinds of provisions wasted and scattered, all to prevent the enemy from getting them. Wagoners were compelled to take the horses from the wagons, mount them, and fly for safety, leaving about fifteen wagons in the hands of the enemy. On the morning of the 14th the brigade took up their march, and had gone but two miles, when it was reported that the enemy were near and rushing on the brigade. At this the cavalry, under command of Colonel Croghan, were ordered back to scout the country and ascertain the enemy's distance. When they had gone back two miles they met the enemy's pickets advancing, when Colonel Croghan ordered his men all to dismount, though he did not, when the pickets of the enemy fired on him, and he fell mortally wounded. His men took him up and carried him some two hundred yards to a house, when they discovered that the enemy were closing in, and the colonel told them to fly and save themselves, for he was dying. At the moment those who were with the colonel discovered that their horses had been taken by the Yankee pickets, who had rushed upon them, they turned and fled, and the whole cavalry came within five minutes of being all cut off and captured. The cavalry then all swept on in abreast until they came up with the rear of our infantry, and proclaimed that the enemy were pursuing in double-quick time. Then appeared a scene in our army indescribable, and of terrific confusion. At the word 'the enemy are pursuing,' all broke off in a wild run, some so frightened that they threw away their knapsacks and all they had, but gun and knife to defend themselves with. It required great effort upon the part of the officers, who were somewhat cool, to prevent a perfect rout. After this day the brigade continued its retreat, but with a great deal of toil and difficulty, and finally encamped here on the 24th of November. This encampment is near Peterstown, in the south edge of Monroe County, and it is expected that the brigade will winter near here."

Colonel Croghan fell into our hands mortally wounded, and died in a few hours. His body was sent by General Benham to the confederate commander, with a note hoping that he would appreciate the desire thus expressed of mitigating the horrors of war. He was a Kentuckian, the son of that George Croghan who, in 1813, with only 160 men, defended Fort Stephenson in Ohio against 1000 British regulars and Indians, and who, a quarter of a century later, received the thanks of Congress and a medal for his gallantry on that occasion, and died as inspector general of the United States army.

This pursuit of Floyd brought to an end the campaign in Western Virginia. After this there was no engagement—nothing but an unimportant though severe skirmish between a confederate force at Camp Alleghany, about twenty-five miles from Cheat Mountain summit, and a portion of Reynolds's division. Floyd was ordered with his brigade to Tennessee, and Wise's legion went to Richmond, from which place it was sent to Roanoke Island, where at the proper moment we shall find it, under the general's son, doing battle against the federal troops under General Burnside.

On the 19th of July McClellan had issued an address to his soldiers summing up the results of his campaign. He said: "You have annihilated two armies, commanded by educated and experienced soldiers, intrenched in mountain fastnesses, and fortified at their leisure. You have taken five guns, twelve colors, fifteen hundred stand of arms, one thousand prisoners, including more than forty officers. One of the second commanders of the rebels is a prisoner; the other lost his life on the field of battle. You have killed more than two hundred and fifty of the enemy, who has lost all his baggage and camp equipage. All this has been accomplished with the loss of twenty brave men killed and sixty wounded on your part. You have proved that Union men, fighting for the preservation of our government, are more than a match for our misguided and erring brothers. You have made long and arduous marches, with insufficient food, frequently exposed to the inclemency of the weather. I have not hesitated to demand this of you, feeling that I could rely upon your endurance, patriotism, and courage. In the future I may have still greater demands to make upon you, still greater sacrifices for you to offer. I have confidence in you, and I trust you have learned to confide in me. Remember that discipline and subordination are qualities of equal value with courage."

This address of McClellan seems almost prophetic. Two days before it was issued our army of the Potomac came in sight of the enemy before Manassas; two days after it was issued we met with the disaster of Bull Run. The greater demands of which McClellan spoke were to be made, the greater sacrifices offered; and we had to learn by bitter experience that "discipline and subordination are qualities of equal value with courage."

From our triumph in Western Virginia we now turn to our great defeat at Bull Run.