

see at a cost of less than 600 men, and had, besides causing the enemy an equal loss in killed and wounded, captured over 1600 prisoners. But Bragg had escaped. The thing which had been accomplished was not the thing which had been planned.

The worst feature of the situation in which Rosecrans found himself, after Bragg's retreat, was the impossibility of pursuit. His army occupied a line extending from McMinnville to Winchester; but his cavalry posts had followed the enemy to the Tennessee, and outposts were established from Stevenson on the right to Pelham on the left. In this position Rosecrans was brought to a halt, in order to establish his line of communications with Murfreesborough. The Middle Tennessee campaign had been concluded. The movements made by Rosecrans in this campaign were brilliant; but he had made a great mistake in too readily assuming that the enemy would fight instead of retreating. If, in place of waiting at Manchester for Crittenden, he had moved directly on Estelle Springs, Bragg must either have fought or have fallen back with an utterly demoralized army, and with great loss of artillery. If Crittenden was necessary, then he ought not, in the first instance, to have been sent so far out of the way. That which, more than any thing else, disarranged Rosecrans's plans, was the never-ceasing rain; a circumstance for which he, of course, was not accountable, and one upon which he could not have counted. Fair weather would have been the ruin of the Confederate Army of Tennessee. As it was, Rosecrans was farther than ever from his military base, and, looking forward to the next stage of his campaign, could not expect to fight a battle with the enemy under conditions as favorable as those which had just been offered him.

But Bragg's army lost by retreating. His effective force after reaching Chattanooga was only about 40,000 men, or 6000 short of his strength at Shelbyville. Two thirds of this loss is to be accounted for by straggling and desertion. His retreat, occurring at the same time with the surrender of Vicksburg and the defeat at Gettysburg, contributed much to the general despondency in the South which followed those disasters to the Confederate cause.

### CHAPTER XXXIII.

#### THE CHATTANOOGA CAMPAIGN.

##### III. THE ARMY OF THE OHIO.—RECOVERY OF EAST TENNESSEE.

Burnside's Department; its Limits; Political and Military Situation.—The Ninth Corps transferred from Newport News to the West.—Pegram's Raid; his Defeat at Somerset.—New England troops at Louisville.—The three Military Districts of Kentucky and their Commanders.—Organization of the Twenty-third Corps.—The Ninth Corps is sent to Vicksburg.—This upsets Burnside's Plan for the immediate recovery of East Tennessee.—Colonel Sanders's Expedition; he breaks the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, and threatens Knoxville.—John Morgan's Raid.—He starts from Sparta, June 27th.—Estimate of his Force.—Fight at Tebbs's Bend, July 4th.—Colonel Moore refuses to surrender on the Glorious Fourth; his successful Defense.—Morgan crosses Green River.—Colonel Hanson surrenders Lebanon, July 5th, after seven hours' fighting; Morgan's Brother killed.—Generals Hobson, Judah, and Shackelford in pursuit of Morgan.—Morgan crosses the Ohio into Southern Indiana.—He sweeps around Cincinnati.—His perilous Situation.—He is surrounded and captured with his Command.—His subsequent Escape.—Burnside's March across the Mountains into East Tennessee.—Difficulties of the March.—Knoxville is captured without a Battle.—Burnside's Reception by the Loyalists.—Capture of Cumberland Gap.

GENERAL BURNSIDE was assigned to the Department of the Ohio on the 15th of March, 1863. He had been relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac on the 25th of January. The interval had been spent by the general at his home in Providence, Rhode Island. One week after his new appointment he reached Cincinnati, and there established his headquarters. General Horatio G. Wright had been the commander of the Department of the Ohio, which now comprised the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Eastern Kentucky, and East Tennessee, as soon as the latter should be occupied. The situation, political and military, of the department required the utmost tact and sagacity on the part of its commander. The Confederate cavalry was ravaging a large portion of Kentucky, and in the more northern states there existed considerable disaffection toward the national government. Martial law had been proclaimed in Kentucky, but in Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois there was no hindrance to the most licentious freedom on the part of public speakers and of the press.

In such a state of affairs, the military force then existing was not sufficient either to meet the hostile incursions of the enemy or to silence disloyalists. Burnside, therefore, had two divisions of the Ninth Army Corps, then in camp at Newport News, under Generals Willcox and Sturgis, transferred to his department. Upon this change, Sturgis was succeeded in the command of his division by General Robert B. Potter. At this time the Confederate General Pegram, with a force of 3000 men, was marching through Central Kentucky, capturing towns and plundering citizens, and had with feeble opposition penetrated as far as Danville. Louisville was almost in danger of being captured, and Indiana open to invasion. To meet these hostile intentions of Pegram, the Ninth Corps was hurried westward, and the small detachments of Federal troops scattered over Central Kentucky were concentrated at Lebanon and Hickman's Bridge, under Generals Q. A. Gillmore and Boyle. With these latter Burnside ordered an advance against Pegram on the 28th of March. The enemy was driven rapidly southward, and at Somerset, on the 30th, Gillmore, with his cavalry, routed and drove him across the Cumberland River, inflicting upon him a loss of 500 killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The two divisions of the Ninth Corps, now commanded by General John G. Parke, who had relieved "Baldy" Smith, arrived at Louisville early in April. The corps was composed for the most part of New England troops,



ROBERT B. POTTER.

against whom, as Yankees *par excellence*, the Kentuckians were prejudiced. This sentiment, however, was soon overcome by the courtesy of the officers and the general good conduct of the soldiers. Kentucky was at this time divided into three military districts: the Eastern, with headquarters at Louisa, under General Julius White; the Central, under General Q. A. Gillmore, with headquarters at Lexington; and the Western, under General J. T. Boyle, with headquarters at Louisville. Gillmore, after Pegram's defeat, was relieved by General Willcox. The line held by the troops in these three districts extended from the Big Sandy to the Cumberland River. The Ninth Corps, upon its arrival, was sent to the front. It was a part of Burnside's duty to protect so much of Rosecrans's lines of communication as lay within his department. For this purpose fortified posts were established on the railroads leading to Western Kentucky and Tennessee, and the utmost precaution was used to prevent raids on the part of guerrillas and the enemy's cavalry.

On the 27th of April, in compliance with an order from Washington, all the troops in Kentucky not belonging to the Ninth began to be organized into another corps, to be designated as the Twenty-third, and to be under the command of Major General G. L. Hartsuff. This organization was completed by the 22d of May, and a plan of operations was consulted between Burnside and Rosecrans for an immediate advance, the former marching with his two corps directly into East Tennessee, while the latter moved upon Chattanooga. Preparations were made for the campaign by both armies, and on the 2d of June Burnside moved his headquarters from Cincinnati to Lexington; but, at the very last moment, the Ninth Corps was withdrawn from Burnside to re-enforce General Grant before Vicksburg, and the East Tennessee campaign was postponed.

About the middle of June Colonel H. S. Saunders led an expedition into East Tennessee, and, striking the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad at Lenoir, moved up the road, breaking up portions of it on his route. He threatened Knoxville, burned the bridge—1600 feet long—across Holston River at Strawberry Plains, captured 10 guns and 400 prisoners, and, after destroying stores of great value, returned to Lexington on the 26th.

It was at about this time that the Confederate General John Morgan was planning his grand raid into Kentucky and the states north of the Ohio. His scheme was daring, contemplating a bold march through Kentucky, breaking through Burnside's lines, now weakened by the absence of Parke's corps, then across the Ohio River and through the southern counties of Ohio and Indiana, finally sweeping down into West Virginia, or, if fortune favored, through Pennsylvania, to join General Lee's invading army.

Morgan, starting from Sparta June 27, crossed the Cumberland River near Burkesville on the 2d of July, accompanied by General Basil Duke as second in command. His force has been variously estimated, the Confederate statements putting it at 2028 men, with four guns, and the Federal officers in Kentucky at from 4000 to 5000. The truth probably lies about midway between these estimates. Pollard states the force to have been 3000 strong, in two brigades. Burnside was scarcely prepared for this sudden invasion. His best troops were away. Saunders, with his most efficient cavalry, had only just returned from an exhausting raid. Custer's troops were at a distance from the Cumberland. Morgan's command was well organized, and would have little trouble in supplying itself in the fertile valleys of the Cumberland and Ohio. Confined to no strictly-defined line of march, it easily evaded the troops first sent to intercept it, and obtained a start of two days, moving on Columbia.



MORGAN'S RAIDERS.



IMPROMPTU BARRICADE.

Passing through Columbia, Morgan attempted to cross Green River Bridge, at Tebb's Bend, on the 4th. Guarding the river at this point were five companies of the Twenty-fifth Michigan, under Colonel Orlando H. Moore. The position was well selected for defense, and when Morgan approached, before daylight, demanding its surrender, Moore replied, "The Fourth of July is not a proper day for me to entertain such a proposition." Morgan attacked, and was driven off with a loss of nearly 50 men, among whom were some of his best officers.<sup>1</sup> It had been an obstinate, and at times a hand-to-hand struggle, and the 200 brave defenders of the stockade

<sup>1</sup> Moore gives the Confederate loss as 50 killed and 250 wounded.

well earned the thanks which were afterward tendered them by the Kentucky Legislature. Morgan had attacked with two regiments, the rest of his force crossing the river, in the mean time, by another ford.

From the Green River Morgan swept northward, striking Lebanon the next day. The garrison at this place consisted of 400 men of the Twentieth Kentucky, under Colonel Hanson, who stood out for seven hours against Morgan's attack, placing his men in the dépôt and the neighboring houses. Surrender at length became inevitable, the enemy having charged into the town and set fire to the houses from which the garrison were firing. Here Morgan's young brother was killed while leading a charge. With the Federal cavalry now close upon him—riding swiftly on his track while he was fighting at Tebb's Bend and Lebanon—Morgan had not time to parole his prisoners, whom he compelled to keep pace with him to Springfield, making ten miles in an hour and a half. Those who faltered were ruthlessly shot and left upon the road.

A formidable force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, under Generals Hobson, Judah, and Shackleford, joined by Colonel Wolford, were rapidly pursuing Morgan, who was boldly advancing to the Ohio River by way of Bardstown. The experienced raider had still the best of the race, scouring the country for supplies and horses on his route, leaving behind him empty larders and stables, thus compelling his pursuers to make the most of their jaded animals. On the 7th, when the Federals reached Shepardsville, Morgan had twenty hours the start; but the exciting race was continued. Morgan, having crossed Rolling Fork, burning the bridges behind him, reached the Ohio at Brandenburg, 40 miles below Louisville, on the 8th. On board of captured steamers he ferried his command across, and his pursuers reached the southern bank just in time to witness the burning of his transports. On its swift march the Confederate command had gathered fresh accessions of force, and was now ready to fall upon the southern counties of Indiana with an army of 4000 men and 10 guns.

Taking Corydon, Greenville, and Palmyra in his way, Morgan hastened on the 9th to Salem, capturing there 350 Home Guards, breaking up the railroad, and burning the town. It was the portion of Indiana most disaffected toward the national government which Morgan was visiting with his wrath; but he had no time to distinguish friend from foe, and went on burning and ravaging. He dared not halt even to fight, and every place was secure against him which offered any serious resistance. From Salem his course veered eastward toward Lexington, which he reached on the morning of the 10th. From that point, passing northward and eastward, he menaced at once Madison and Vernon, 20 miles apart, but, finding a considerable force at the latter point, he did not venture battle, but skirmished evasively, while his men were destroying the railroads north, south, east, and west of the town. Thence he moved eastward, passing through Versailles on the 12th, seizing fresh horses as he marched, and reaching Harrison, on the Ohio border, the next day, where he gathered in his detached columns, and made a clean sweep around Cincinnati, at distances of from 7 to 18 miles. Daylight of the 14th found him 18 miles east of Cincinnati, anxiously looking for some avenue of escape.

For his position was now one of great peril. He had embarked upon a great adventure, which might have had some military consequence if he had been let alone; but, as must have been apparent to him now, it had proved little more than a bold march across one state and a portion of two others. Indeed, from a military point of view, he was more a necessity to Bragg in Tennessee than he was an injury to the Federal cause in his present position north of the Ohio. So closely had he been pursued that he had stepped lightly over the country which he had meant to crush under the heels of his horsemen. He had captured hundreds (thousands it may be, so Pollard reports) of militia, but he could do nothing with them, and their paroles placed them just where they were before. He had destroyed a large amount of property, and had broken railroad communications, but the ravages had been so slight that a single week would repair the ruin. He had only made a bold march, scarcely worthy the record which we have given it, in the event of his escape. It is the *denouement* of the little episode which gives it any historic interest. How and where did the bold march end? is the question which the reader waits to have answered. And this was the question which Morgan was trying to answer prospectively when, on the 14th, after crossing the Miami, he moved southward to the Ohio to find a crossing for his closely-meshed command.

Generals Judah, Hobson, and Shackleford had crossed the Ohio on the 8th, following Morgan in the route which we have traced. When the raiders crossed the Miami they had only four hours the start of their pursuers. Such a disposition of the Federal forces had been made as would secure Hamilton and Cincinnati against attack. Gunboats were brought up to patrol the Ohio, and to prevent Morgan's escape southward across that river. A column under Judah moved along the river roads, while Hobson and Shackleford took those in the interior. The militia sent down by Governor Morgan, of Indiana, halted at the eastern border of their own state, but the people of Ohio, along the roads in Morgan's front, blocked up his route with fallen trees, while the Federal troops hemmed him in upon the north and in his rear. For 160 miles Morgan continued his desperate flight through Williamsburg, Winchester, Piketon, and Jackson, as if running a race with the gun-boats. But the latter, under the direction of Lieutenant Commander Fitch, had been warped over the shoals, and thus had succeeded in forcing their way up the Rapids, so that when Morgan attempted to cross the river at Buffington Island, near Pomeroy, he found the "web-footed" monsters still in his front, and was driven back in confusion, and brought face to face with his pursuers, near Chester, on the 19th. Here Shackleford met him, and soon Judah, also, was upon his flank, and Hobson upon his

rear. There was a good hour's fight, when Shackleford ordered a charge, and the enemy, with infantry, cavalry, and artillery attacking him upon all sides, sent in a flag of truce, and surrendered 700 men, including Dick Morgan and Basil Duke. But this was only a portion of Morgan's command. The leader himself, with the main body, had pushed up the river some 14 miles to Belleville, where he was already (about 3 P.M.) crossing his horses. Before he had got 400 men, under Colonel A. R. Johnson, across, Hobson and Shackleford were again upon him, and General Scammon's gun-boats made their appearance in his front. Here 1000 more of the raiders were surrendered.

But Morgan was not among the captured, having again disappeared with a small body of his adherents. His guns and weapons were gone, and the great raid had dwindled down into a run for dear life on Morgan's part. He fled inland to McArthur on the 21st, and thence toward Marietta, where he again made a vain attempt to cross into Virginia. Then he veered northward again to Eastport. But Shackleford, with 500 men who had volunteered to stay in the saddle without eating or drinking until Morgan should be captured, overtook the flying partisan near New Lisbon, where the latter's flight had been interrupted by an irregular force of militia and home guards. Driven to a high bluff, Morgan finally surrendered at discretion on the 27th. It was now exactly a month since he had marched from Sparta, in Tennessee. Of the command with which he first set forth, less than 400 had escaped, over 500 had been killed or wounded; the rest, with their leader, were prisoners of war.

Morgan and his officers were carried to Cincinnati, and delivered over to General Burnside. By direction of the President they were confined in Ohio penitentiaries, their heads being shaved like those of felons. Morgan, with six of his officers, managed to escape on the night of November 26 by digging their way out of their cells. Those who escaped had been confined at Columbus. Morgan, with a certain Captain Hines, took the midnight train for Cincinnati, and, just before reaching the city, put on the brakes, jumped off, and was ferried across the Ohio into Kentucky. Through Kentucky, Tennessee, and Northern Georgia, Morgan—having lost his companion by the way—proceeded to Richmond, where he was feted and made much of. His escape from his cell, his disguise, and his flight to Virginia had been accomplished through the assistance of Confederate sympathizers outside his prison walls.

About three weeks after Morgan's capture, Burnside had at Camp Nelson, near Richmond, Kentucky, a thoroughly organized force of 20,000 men. Without waiting for the return of the Ninth Corps, he, on the 16th of August, commenced his advance to East Tennessee. Rosecrans had already driven Bragg to Chattanooga. The occupation of East Tennessee was at this time of very great importance, in order, by the destruction or possession

of the railroad from Virginia, to cut off communications between Lee's and Bragg's armies. Besides, from Knoxville, Burnside could easily and effectively co-operate with Rosecrans's next movement upon Bragg.

East Tennessee lies in the Valley of the Tennessee and Holston Rivers, and between the Cumberland and Blue Ridge ranges of mountains. It is a mountainous district, and its inhabitants were for the most part loyal to the national government. For the latter reason, it was not advisable to occupy this region before it could be permanently held. Hitherto the people had been harassed by the enemy, who had exercised his power to the utmost in order to crush out and overawe the Unionists, many of whom were already refugees.

Burnside's advance was simultaneous with Rosecrans's march from Winchester upon Chattanooga, of which we treat in the next chapter. Concentrating his forces at Crab Orchard, he moved directly upon Knoxville, through Mount Vernon, London, Williamsburg, and thence southward into Tennessee, with Hartsuff's columns upon his right, proceeding through Somerset, and Colonel Foster's cavalry upon his left. The routes taken by the several columns were those least likely to be defended by the enemy. After crossing the Cumberland River a force was sent, under command of Colonel De Courcy, to threaten Cumberland Gap, then held by Frazier's brigade of Buckner's command, while Burnside, with his main body, crossed the mountains by the gaps farther westward. It was a most difficult route; but the troops were in light marching order, and many of them mounted, with pack-mules for transportation, the few wagon trains following on the best roads, while the soldiers, on foot or on horseback, climbed over the mountains by comparatively unfrequented paths. During the fortnight after Burnside's departure from Crab Orchard, on the 21st of August, the whole army, mules and men, were tasked to the utmost limits of endurance. Up the rugged heights the artillery was with difficulty drawn, and when the mules failed from exhaustion their places were filled by the soldiers. At length the summit was reached, and the army descended into East Tennessee, its conquerors; for, surprised by the sudden and apparently formidable movement, General Buckner evacuated Knoxville and fell back to the Tennessee, leaving Frazier's command at Cumberland Gap without orders, without intelligence of his retreat, and without support.

Burnside's army had moved in five columns. The first and second joined at Jamestown, Tennessee, and, moving to Montgomery, were joined on the 30th by the third and fourth. The other column, composed of cavalry, moved directly on Jacksborough, and thence through Wheeler's Gap to Knoxville. Burnside's headquarters were established at Kingston on the 1st and at Knoxville on the 3d of September. In fourteen days he had marched his army 250 miles.

On the 5th he dispatched Shackleford to the rear of Cumberland Gap,



MAP OF BURNSIDE'S EAST TENNESSEE CAMPAIGN.



DRAGGING ARTILLERY OVER THE MOUNTAINS.