



SMALL-ARMS SURRENDERED BY JOHNSTON.



ACCOUTREMENTS SURRENDERED BY JOHNSTON.

The surrender of Johnston included all the Confederate forces east of the Chattahoochee River, numbering altogether about 50,000 men. On the 4th of May Dick Taylor surrendered to General Canby all the remaining Confederate forces east of the Mississippi. On the 26th of May Kirby Smith surrendered his army. The war was concluded.

## CHAPTER LIX.

### FLIGHT AND CAPTURE OF DAVIS.

A memorable Sabbath.—Davis receives a startling Message.—Richmond must be abandoned.—Panic in the City.—Davis, with his Cabinet, fly by night.—Incidents of the Journey.—Danville enjoys a brief Celebrity as the Capital of the Confederacy.—Semmes's Marine Guard.—Trenholm's Treasury Department.—Davis's Proclamation to his People.—Tidings of Lee's Surrender.—Evacuation of Danville.—The Flight resumed.—Interview with Johnston at Greensborough.—The Confederacy in a Railroad Car.—Dispersion of the Cabinet.—Flight through Georgia.—General Wilson's Arrangements for the Capture of Davis.—Harnden gets upon the Track of the Fugitives.—Close Pursuit.—Pritchard anticipates Harnden, and captures the Confederate Party near Irwingsville, Georgia.—Incidents connected with the Capture.—General Wilson's Report.

WE now turn back to that memorable Sabbath—April 2, 1865—which suddenly disclosed to the Confederate capital its inevitable fate. The battle of Five Forks had been fought on Saturday, and its loss by the Confederates involved the woful necessity of evacuating Richmond. The disaster was unknown in Richmond except to Davis and his cabinet, and even these had no full knowledge of the situation, having no other intimation of what had happened than what was contained in a brief but ominous telegram received early in the morning from General Lee. The President and his cabinet, with the exception of J. P. Benjamin, who was an Israelite, were all at their respective places of worship at the usual hour of morning service. Davis was at St. Paul's, looking care-worn, but still confident. Malory attended mass at St. Peter's. Reagan was at the Baptist church. Benjamin was probably enjoying his pipe on the veranda of his mansion in Main Street.

During the service at St. Paul's the sexton walked up to Davis's pew, and whispered a few words in the ear of the President. Another dispatch had come, and his presence was wanted immediately. The members of the cabinet received a similar call. Thus, from church to church, the note of warning was communicated, and those who were only spectators were agitated with apprehensions which were certainly not less fearful because they were

any orders save those of Lieutenant General Grant, and cut off Johnston's retreat.' He knew at the time he penned that dispatch and made out those orders that Johnston was not retreating, but was halted under a forty-eight hours' truce with me, and was laboring to surrender his command and prevent its dispersion into guerrilla bands, and that I had on the spot a magnificent army at my command, amply sufficient for all purposes required by the occasion.

'The plan for cutting off a retreat from the direction of Burkesville and Danville is hardly worthy one of his military education and genius. When he contemplated an act so questionable as the violation of a 'truce' made by competent authority within his sphere of command, he should have gone himself and not sent subordinates, for he knew I was bound in honor to defend and maintain my own truce and pledge of faith, even at the cost of many lives.

'When an officer pledges the faith of his government, he is bound to defend it, and he is no soldier who would violate it knowingly.

'As to Davis and his stolen treasure, did General Halleck, as chief of staff or commanding officer of the neighboring military division, notify me of the facts contained in his dispatch to the secretary? No, he did not. If the Secretary of War wanted Davis caught, why not order it, instead of, by publishing it in the newspapers, putting him on his guard to hide away and escape? No orders or instructions to catch Davis or his stolen treasure ever came to me; but, on the contrary, I was led to believe that the Secretary of War rather preferred he should effect an escape from the country, if made 'unknown' to him. But even on this point I inclose a copy of my letter to Admiral Dahlgren, at Charleston, sent him by a fleet steamer from Wilmington, on the 25th of April, two days before the bankers of Richmond had imparted to General Halleck the important secret as to Davis's movement, designed doubtless to stimulate his troops to march their legs off to catch their treasure for their own use.

'I know now that Admiral Dahlgren did receive my letter on the 26th, and had acted on it before General Halleck had even thought of the matter; but I do not believe a word of the treasure story—it is absurd on its face—and General Halleck or any body has my full permission to chase Jeff. Davis and cabinet with their stolen treasure through any part of the country occupied by my command.

'The last and most obnoxious feature of General Halleck's dispatch is wherein he goes out of his way and advises that my subordinates, Generals Thomas, Stoneman, and Wilson, should be instructed not to obey 'Sherman's' commands.

'This is too much; and I turn from the subject with feelings too strong for words, and merely record my belief that so much mischief was never before embraced in so small a space as in the newspaper paragraph headed "Sherman's Truce Disregarded," authenticated as "official" by Mr. Secretary Stanton, and published in the New York papers of April 23th.'

based upon no definite information. The dispatch which met Mr. Davis at the door of St. Paul's conveyed to him intelligence of a startling character. That morning the outer defenses of Petersburg had been carried. A single interior line still resisted Grant's approach, but that could be held but a few hours longer. In the mean time, both Petersburg and Richmond must be evacuated. By two o'clock every body in Richmond knew that the city was to be abandoned, and a scene of dismay and confusion followed. Already the orders had been issued for the removal of the archives of the government, and for the destruction of stores for which there was no transportation. This must be completed by 7 o'clock P.M., and by 8 the military and civil authorities of the capital were to meet Davis at the Danville dépôt. By the railroad to Danville a way of escape was still open, but how long it would continue open was uncertain.

The panic in the city was almost universal. The negroes alone were jolly, and they worked with a hearty good will to help off as much of the Confederacy as they could. But, while these were placid and satisfied, nearly all others were either helpless with consternation, or were preparing to leave the city without exactly knowing where they were going. All the coaches in Richmond were waiting at the doors of private houses, and, as the afternoon wore away, the streets were filled with voluntary exiles. Of course there was transportation for a very small fraction of those who crowded toward the dépôt. The rest were compelled to return to the pandemonium from which they could not escape. The presidential party with difficulty made its way through the excited crowd which thronged and blocked the streets. At the dépôt the scramblers were concentrated in an almost impenetrable mass, which was kept back from the platform only by military force. Davis and his cabinet took their seats in a close car. Among this party were Adjutant General Samuel Cooper and a few other military officers. In an adjoining car were the heads of bureaus. A privileged few were admitted to fill up the train. In a car between the engine and that occupied by Davis was a guard of 200 picked men. The principal Confederate officers were spurred, and horses were ready for them in another car in case of an emergency. At 10 o'clock the train left the dépôt, leaving immediately behind it indescribable tumult, and further behind in the city an uncontrollable mob, which had already begun to sack the city. When Weitzler entered Richmond the next morning he found the city in flames.

Very soon the fugitive Confederacy—for it was all crowded into this train—*ubi Davis ibi Confederatio*—was beyond observation of the havoc it had left behind in the doomed city. To Davis and his fellow-conspirators the events of the last few hours must have seemed like a dream. Twenty-four hours ago Richmond was deemed an impregnable fortress. For four years it had been the Confederate capital, and had withstood five separate attempts made by large armies for its capture, and had, during a siege of nine months, repulsed every assault made upon Petersburg, its outpost. Several times its doom had been anticipated, but the fatal day had been so long postponed, it was thought that day might never come. Davis and his confederates, under as calm a sky as ever overarched Virginia, on this night of disaster vigorously rubbed their eyes, but could not escape the reality of the fate of Richmond or of their own flight. In a few hours the national flag would float over the rebel capital, and as to themselves the immediate future was misty and dark. But the dream of empire is not easily dissipated. Davis was troubled, but he did not yet despair. The hope and consolation which he had administered to his followers after the loss of Vicksburg and Atlanta he now whispered to his own agitated soul after the fall of Richmond. His capital was gone, but he said to himself, "All is not lost," and even as he fled he dreamed of newly-mustered armies that should rise at his bidding. Davis was not a matter-of-fact man. Probably no man was ever called to hold so important a position as he had held who had less appreciation of facts or knowledge of men. He did not reflect upon the actual circumstances of his present situation. He never asked himself whence these armies of his imagination were to come. He forgot that, if marshaled at all, their ranks must be filled with the old and the decrepit, beardless boys, and Southern amazons. His determination outran his judgment and transgressed common sense. He could only understand fate when he was crushed by her final blow.

After a ride of 23 miles the train stopped abreast of Petersburg. Here Breckinridge left the party to go to Lee's headquarters. Then the flight was resumed. Benjamin was soon asleep, and Mallory followed his example. Whether Davis slept or not there is no chronicler to tell us, but, whether asleep or awake, he still dreamed of the impossible. Burkesville was reached shortly after daybreak. As the train approached Danville, the question of destination for the first time began to be discussed. Hitherto the only concern of the party had been to get beyond the reach of Sheridan's cavalry. Where was the new capital to be established? Davis expressed his determination to cling to Virginia to the last, and, after some discussion, Danville was honored with all the glory which had departed from Richmond. It was a small town, incapable of receiving the full weight of honor which had been thrust upon it, and it was accordingly settled that the subordinate officials should proceed to Charlotte, North Carolina.

The fugitives were received with great hospitality at Danville, and on the 4th of April they began to establish the new seat of government. Trenholm opened the Treasury at one of the banks, and delighted the citizens of Danville by dispensing silver in return for Confederate notes, one dollar for seventy. In two days \$40,000 in coin was disposed of in this way. Eligible structures were impressed for the other departments. Admiral Semmes organized a brigade of marines for the defense of the new capital, and mounted guns on all the hills about the town. Thousands of fugitives had followed the President from Richmond in subsequent trains, and all the able-bodied men among these were armed with muskets and pressed into the service.

On the 5th Davis issued a proclamation to his people. He announced that General Lee had been compelled to make movements which uncovered Richmond, the loss of which had, he admitted, inflicted moral and material injury upon the Confederate cause. But the energies of the people must not falter, nor their efforts be relaxed. Lee's army—"the largest and the finest in the Confederacy"—had been for months trammelled by the necessity of protecting Richmond. "It is for us, my countrymen," he urged, "to show, by our bearing under reverses, how wretched has been the self-deception of those who have believed us less able to endure misfortune with fortitude than to encounter dangers with courage. We have now entered upon a new phase of the struggle. Relieved from the necessity of guarding particular points, our army will be free to move from point to point, to strike the enemy in detail far from his base. Let us but will it, and we are free. Animated by that confidence in spirit and fortitude which never yet failed me, I announce to you, fellow-countrymen, that it is my purpose to maintain your cause with my whole heart and soul; that I will never consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of the soil of any one of the states of the Confederacy. That Virginia—noble state—whose ancient renown has been eclipsed by her still more glorious recent history; whose bosom has been bared to receive the main shock of this war; whose sons and daughters have exhibited heroism so sublime as to render her illustrious in all time to come—that Virginia, with the help of the people and by the blessing of Providence, shall be held and defended, and no peace ever be made with the infamous invaders of her territory. If by the stress of numbers we should ever be compelled to a temporary withdrawal from her limits, or those of any other border state, again and again will we return, until the baffled and exhausted enemy shall abandon in despair his endless and impossible task of making slaves of a people resolved to be free. Let us, then, not despond, my countrymen; but, relying on God, meet the foe with fresh defiance, and with unconquered and unconquerable hearts."

Brave words, but vain, uttered in the face of defeat, and falling upon the ears like the sound of the droppings of dust upon numberless graves, to be filled by a useless strife which could have no other name but murder! The words of this proclamation could not reach the ears of Davis's "countrymen" before events, already near their consummation, would expose their ludicrous insignificance. For three whole days Davis had not heard one word of tidings from General Lee or his army. This suspense continued until the 10th, and then came the startling intelligence that Lee had been defeated, and had surrendered his army. Then at Danville, on a diminished scale, was repeated the scene which had been witnessed eight days before at Richmond. The new capital was abandoned amid just such tumult as had attended the evacuation of Richmond. Narrowly escaping a raiding party, the presidential train reached Greensborough, North Carolina, on the 11th, bearing with it the disastrous tidings. Here Johnston and Beauregard met Davis. Breckinridge soon arrived with the details of Lee's surrender. The four officers then held a consultation on the slope of a hill where Nat. Green, of Revolutionary memory, had held his council of war the night before the battle of Guilford Court-house. Davis thought the struggle ought to be continued, and even ordered Johnston to fight. That general, however, did not agree with him, and refused obedience. Davis was powerless. He distrusted Johnston, and left Breckinridge with him to foil any movement which he might make to the prejudice of the Confederate cause. How Johnston acted afterward has already been told in these pages.

The people of Greensborough, unlike those of Danville, did not recognize the presence of the Confederate chief, or tender to him any offer of hospitality. The Confederacy was, therefore, now cooped up in a railroad car! On the 14th it left inhospitable Greensborough, uncertain of its destination, but too painfully conscious of the gad-fly Necessity, which urged it to "move on." A good part of the way to Charlotte was passed in wagons. At the latter place the news of Johnston's surrender and Lincoln's murder reached the fugitives. Here Breckinridge rejoined the party. From this point Davis threw off the semblance of authority which he had partially sustained thus far. The movement of the entire party was henceforth simply a flight.

Davis now conceived the idea of reaching Texas. With his cabinet and staff, he left Charlotte under a cavalry escort of 2000 men. On the way to the Catawba River, Trenholm, the Secretary of the Treasury, and George Davis, attorney general, resigned their positions, and left the President to his fate. The flight was continued through Abbeville, South Carolina, Washington, Georgia, and then past Milledgeville and Macon southward, as if making for the coast of Florida. No one showed respect to the ruined President. Benjamin left the party before it reached Washington, and Mallory soon afterward. Breckinridge also broke away, and only Reagan was left of the whole cabinet.

Davis had started from Charlotte shortly after the expiration of the truce made between Johnston and Sherman. Preparations on an extensive scale were then made for his capture by General Wilson. Stoneman's three brigades—Brown's, Miller's, and Palmer's—then in Western North Carolina, were ordered to start in pursuit. These forces were commanded by General Palmer in Gillem's absence. They succeeded in crossing the Savannah River in Davis's front, and thus cut off his retreat toward the Mississippi. Wilson's cavalry was stretched over the whole country, from Kingston in Georgia to Tallahassee in Florida. In the mean time, also, a reward of \$100,000 had been offered by President Johnson for the apprehension of Davis, as an accomplice of Booth in the assassination of Lincoln. Stoneman's and Wilson's cavalry now formed a network through whose meshes Davis could hardly hope to escape.

On the evening of May 7th, four days after Davis left Washington, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Harnden, of the First Wisconsin Cavalry—belonging to Wilson's command—ascertained at Dublin, on the Oconee, that during the day the fugitives had crossed the river, and were moving on the Jacksonville Road. Harnden followed close the next day, and at night reached the camp which had four hours before been occupied by Davis between the forks of Alligator Creek. He pursued the trail to Gum Swamp Creek, and there encamped for the night. On the 9th he pushed on to the Ocmulgee, crossed at Brown's Ferry, and at Abbeville learned that Davis had left that place at one o'clock that morning, and was now on the way to Irwinsville. Colonel Pritchard, of the Fourth Michigan Cavalry—also belonging to Wilson's command—had by this time reached Abbeville, and, taking a more direct route than was followed by Harnden's detachment, reached Irwinsville at two A.M. on the 10th, where he learned that Davis was encamped about a mile from the town, on another road leading to Abbeville. Sending a part of his force to the north to intercept Davis's return to Abbeville, he cautiously approached the camp from both sides, completely cutting off all escape. At daylight he surprised the encampment, and captured Davis, with his family, Postmaster General Reagan, two aid-de-camps, Davis's private secretary, four other officers, and eleven soldiers. Various details have been published in connection with the capture of the Confederate President. It was reported, soon after the event, that Davis was captured in female attire, and a recent official report by General Wilson confirms the report.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> General Wilson's report here referred to is dated January 17, 1867, and gives the following details of the capture of Davis:

"The first direct information which I received of Davis's movements was on the 23d or 24th of April, from a citizen who had seen him at Charlotte, N. C., only three or four days before, and had learned that he was on his way, with a train and an escort of cavalry, to the South, intending to go to the trans-Mississippi Department. This information was regarded as entirely reliable, and hence the officers in charge of the different detachments afterward sent out were directed to dispose of their commands so as to have all roads and crossings vigilantly watched. It was thought at first that Davis would call about him a select force, and endeavor to escape by marching to the westward through the hilly country of Northern Georgia. To prevent this, Colonel Eggleston was directed to watch the country in all directions from Atlanta. Brevet Brigadier General A. J. Alexander, with the second brigade of Upton's division, having reached Atlanta in advance of the division, was directed by General Winslow to scout the country to the northward as far as Dalton, or until he should meet the troops under General Steadman in that region. On beginning his march from Macon, General Alexander was authorized to detach an officer and twenty picked men, disguised as rebel soldiers, for the purpose of trying to obtain definite information of Davis's movements. This party was placed under the command of Lieutenant Joseph O. Yoeman, First Ohio Cavalry, and at the time acting inspector general of the brigade. Verbal instructions were also given to other brigade and division commanders to make similar detachments. General Croxton was directed to send a small party toward Talladega, by the route upon which he had marched from that place, while Colonel Eggleston was directed to send a party by rail to West Point. By these means it was believed that all considerable detachments of rebels would be apprehended, and that such information might be obtained as would enable us to secure the principal rebel leaders if they should undertake to pass through the country in any other way than as individual fugitives.

"In declaring the armistice of Sherman null and void, the Secretary of War had directed that my command should resume active operations and endeavor to arrest the fugitive rebel chiefs. I accordingly notified him and General Thomas by telegraph of the dispositions I had made, and that I had no doubt of accomplishing the desired object; but having forwarded the records of my command to the Adjutant General's Department, as required by army regulations, and having been denied copies of the documents relating to these matters, I can not now fix the exact dates of these dispatches.

"After a rapid march toward the upper crossings of the Savannah River, in Northwestern Georgia, Lieutenant Yoeman's detachment met and joined Davis's party, escorted by Debrill and Ferguson's divisions of cavalry, probably under Wheeler in person, and continued with them several days, watching for an opportunity to seize and carry off the rebel chief. He was frustrated by the vigilance of the rebel escort. At Washington, Ga., the rebel authorities must have heard that Atlanta was occupied by our troops, and that they could not pass that point without a fight. They halted, and for a short time acted with irresolution in regard to their future course. The cavalry force which had remained true to Davis, estimated at five brigades, and probably numbering two thousand men, now became mutinous, and declined to go any farther. They were disbanded and partially paid off in coin which had been brought to that point in wagons. Lieutenant Yoeman lost sight of Davis at this time, but, dividing his party into three or four detachments, sought again to obtain definite information of his movements, but for twenty-four hours was unsuccessful. Persevering in his efforts, he became convinced that Davis had relinquished his idea of going into Alabama, and would probably try to reach the Gulf or South Atlantic coast and escape by sea. Couriers were sent with this information to General Alexander, and by him duly transmitted to me at Macon. The same conclusion had already been forced upon me by information derived from various other sources, and from the nature of the case it seemed quite probable. With railroad communication through most of Northern Georgia, and with a division of four thousand national cavalry operating about Atlanta, it would have been next to impossible for a party of fugitives, however small, to traverse that region by the ordinary roads. This must have been clear to the rebels. From these circumstances I became convinced that Davis would either flee in disguise and unattended, or endeavor to work his way southward into Florida. With the view of intercepting him in this attempt, I directed the crossings of the Ocmulgee River to be watched with renewed vigilance all the way from the neighborhood of Atlanta to Hawkinsville, and on the evening of May 6th I directed Brigadier General Croxton to select the best regiment in his division and send it, under its best officer, with orders to march eastward, via Jeffersonville, to Dublin, on the Oconee River, with the greatest possible speed, scouting the country well to the northward, and leaving detachments at the most important cross-roads with instructions to keep a sharp look-out for all detachments of rebels. By these means it was hoped that Davis's line of march would be intersected and his



About the same time Alexander H. Stephens and Secretary Mallory were captured by other portions of General Wilson's command. Before the close of the month Davis was confined in Fortress Monroe, where he remained for two years, subject to trial. He was indicted for treason, but the trial was postponed time after time, and at length he was released upon bail of

movements discovered, in which event the commanding officer was instructed to follow it, wherever it might lead, until the fugitives should be overtaken and captured. General Croxton selected for this purpose the First Wisconsin Cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Henry Harnden, an officer of spirit, experience, and resolution. During that day and the next the conviction that Davis would try to escape into Florida became so strong that I sent for General Minty, commanding the Second Division, and in person directed him to select his best regiment, and order it to march without delay to the southeastward along the right bank of the Ocmulgee River, watching all the crossings between Hawkinsville and the mouth of the Ochopee River. In case of discovering the trail of the fugitives, they were directed to follow it to the Gulf coast, or till they should overtake and capture the party of whom they were in pursuit. General Minty selected for this purpose his own regiment, the Fourth Michigan Cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin D. Pritchard, an excellent and dashing officer. In the mean time General Upton, at Augusta, had sent me a dispatch advising me to offer a reward of \$100,000 for the capture of Davis, urging that the Secretary of War would approve my action, and that it would induce even the rebels to assist in making the capture. Not caring, however, to assume the responsibility of committing the government in this way, I authorized him to issue a proclamation offering a reward of \$100,000, to be paid out of such money as might be found in the possession of Davis or his party. This was done, and copies scattered throughout the country as early as the 6th of May.

"As soon as it was known at Atlanta that Davis's cavalry escort had disbanded, General Alexander, with five hundred picked men and horses of his command, crossed to the right or northern bank of the Chattahoochee River, occupied all the fords west of the Atlanta and Chattanooga Railroad, watched the passes of the Altona Mountains and the main crossings of the Etowah River, and with various detachments of his small command patrolled all the main roads in that region day and night, until he received news of Davis's capture in another quarter.

"The final disposition of my command may be described as follows: Major General Upton, with parts of two regiments, occupied Augusta, and kept a vigilant watch over the country in that vicinity, and informed me by telegraph of every thing important which came under his observation. General Winslow, with the larger part of that division, occupied Atlanta, and scouted the country in all directions from that place. General Alexander, with five hundred picked men, patrolled the country north of the Chattahoochee, while detachments occupied Griffin and Jonesboro, closely watching the crossings of the Ocmulgee, and scouting the country to the eastward. Colonel Eggleston, commanding the post of Atlanta, had also sent a detachment to West Point, to watch the Alabama line in that quarter.

"General Croxton, with the main body of the First Division in the vicinity of Macon, had sent a detachment under my direction to the mountain region of Alabama, marching by the way of Carrollton to Talladega, and another through Northeastern Georgia toward North Carolina, and was also engaged in watching the Ocmulgee from the right of the Fourth Division to Macon, and in scouting the country to his front and rear. General Minty, commanding the Second Division, was scouting the country to the southeast, watching the lower crossings of the Ocmulgee, and had small parties at all the important points on the Southwestern Railroad, and in Western and Southwestern Georgia. Detachments of the Seventh Pennsylvania Cavalry occupied Cuthbert, Eufaula, Columbus, and Bainbridge, and kept a vigilant watch over the Lower Flint and Chattahoochee. While General McCook, with a detachment of his division at Albany, and 700 men between there and Tallahassee, Florida, was scouting the country to the north and eastward, we also had rail and telegraphic communication from my headquarters at Macon with Atlanta, Augusta, West Point, Milledgeville, Albany, and Eufaula. By inspecting the map herewith it will be seen that my force of nearly 15,000 cavalry, well mounted and vigilant, were occupying a well-defined and almost continuous line from Kingston, Georgia, to Tallahassee, Florida, with detachments and scouts well out in all directions to the front and rear. From this it will be difficult to perceive how Davis and his party could possibly have hoped to escape.

"From the time they were reported at Charlotte till their final capture I was kept informed of their general movements, and was enabled thereby to dispose of my command in such a manner as to render the capture morally certain. As reported by General Winslow, rumors came in from all directions, but by carefully weighing them, the truth became sufficiently manifest to enable me to act with confidence. It is to be regretted now, however, that the hurry of events precluded the use of written orders. In nearly every instance my instructions were given verbally to the division commanders, and by them, in turn, transmitted verbally to their subordinates. Such written dispatches and orders as were given are preserved in the records pertaining to the cavalry corps, Military Division of the Mississippi, now on file in the Adjutant General's office.

"In pursuance of my instructions to General Croxton, heretofore recited, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Harnden, with three officers and one hundred and fifty men of the First Wisconsin Cavalry, left Macon, Ga., on the evening of May 6, 1865, and marched rapidly via Jeffersonville toward Dublin, on the Oconee River. At Jeffersonville Colonel Harnden left one officer and thirty men, with orders to scout the country in all directions for reliable information as to Davis's flight. With the balance of his command he continued the march all night, and the next day, about seven P. M., reached Dublin. During the night and day he had sent out scouts and small parties on all the side roads, in the hope of finding the trail of the party for whom he was looking. Nothing of importance occurred until after he had bivouacked for the night. The white inhabitants of that place expressed entire ignorance and indifference in regard to the movement of important rebels, but were unusually profuse in their offers of hospitality to Colonel Harnden. This, together with the conduct of the colored servants, excited his suspicions, though he gained no valuable intelligence till about midnight, at which time he was informed by a negro man, who went to his camp for that purpose, that Davis, with his wife and family, had passed through Dublin that day, going south on the river road. The negro reported that the party in question had eight wagons with them, and that another party had gone southward on the other side of the Oconee River. His information seems to have been of the most explicit and circumstantial character. He had heard the lady called 'Mrs. Davis,' and a gentleman spoken of as 'President Davis,' and said that Mr. Davis had not crossed the river at the regular ferry with the rest of the party, but had gone about three miles lower down, and crossed on a small flat-boat, and rejoined the party with the wagons near the outskirts of the town, and that they had all gone toward the south together. The colored man reported Mr. Davis as mounted on a fine bay horse, and told his story so circumstantially that Colonel Harnden could not help believing it. The ferryman was called up and examined, but, either through stupidity or design, succeeded in withholding whatever he knew in regard to the case. But in view of the facts already elicited, after detailing Lieutenant Lane and sixty men to remain at Dublin, and to scout the country in all directions, Colonel Harnden, at an early hour in the morning, began the pursuit of the party just mentioned. Five miles south of Dublin he obtained information from a woman which left him no room to doubt that he was on the track of Davis in person. He dispatched a messenger to inform General Croxton of his good fortune, and pushed rapidly in pursuit. The trail led southward through a region of pine forests and cypress swamps, almost uninhabited, and therefore affording no food for either men or horses. The rain began to fall, and, as there was no road, the tracks of the wagon-wheels upon the sandy soil were soon obliterated. A citizen was pressed, and compelled to act as guide till the trail was again discovered. The pursuit was continued with renewed vigor, but as the wagon-tracks were again lost in the waters of the swamp bordering on Alligator Creek, the pursuing party were again delayed till a citizen could be found to guide them to the road upon which the trail was again visible. Colonel Harnden reports this day to have been one of great toil both to men and horses; they had marched forty miles through an almost trackless forest, much of the way under the rain, and in water up to their saddle-girths. They bivouacked after dark on the borders of Gum Swamp, and during the night were again drenched with rain. Before daylight of the 9th they renewed their march, their route leading almost southwest through swamp and wilderness to Brown's Ferry, where they crossed to the south side of the Ocmulgee River. In his anxiety to ferry his command over rapidly, Colonel Harnden allowed the boat to be overloaded; a plank near the bow was sprung loose, causing the boat to leak badly, and, as no means were at hand with which to make repairs, lighter boat-loads had to be carried. This prolonged the crossing nearly two hours. Colonel Harnden learned from the ferryman that the party he was pursuing had crossed about one o'clock that morning, and were only a few hours ahead of him on the road leading to Irwingsville. At Abbeville, a village of three families, he halted to feed, and, just as he was renewing his march, he met the advance party of the Fourth Michigan Cavalry, Lieutenant Colonel B. D. Pritchard commanding, moving on the road from Hawkinsville. Ordering his detachment to continue its march, Colonel Harnden rode to meet Colonel Pritchard, and gave him such information in regard to Davis's movements as he had been able to gather. This was about three P. M. After a conversation between these officers, the precise details of which are variously reported, they separated, Colonel Harnden to rejoin his command, already an hour or more in advance, and Colonel Pritchard continuing his march along the south side of the Ocmulgee. It will be remembered that Colonel Pritchard had begun his march from the vicinity of Macon on the evening of May 7, under verbal orders given him by General Minty, in pursuance of my instructions. His attention was particularly directed to the crossings of the Ocmulgee River, between Hawkinsville and Jacksonville, near the mouth of the Ochopee, with the object of intercepting Davis and such other rebel chiefs as might be making their way out of the country by the roads in that region. He had not gone more than three miles before he obtained such additional information in regard to the party as convinced him that it was his duty to join in the pursuit. In this he was clearly right, and had he done oth-

\$100,000, exactly the same amount which was awarded to his captors. The Confederate Vice-President A. H. Stephens was also confined for a brief period in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor.

Thus closed at once the official and military career of the Confederacy.

erwise would have been censurable for negligence and want of enterprise. Colonel Harnden having informed him that he had force enough to cope with Davis, Colonel Pritchard determined to march another road, leading to Irwingsville by a more circuitous route. Why he did not send a courier on the trail pursued by Colonel Harnden to notify the latter of his intentions has not been explained. This would probably have prevented the collision which afterward occurred between his regiment and that of Colonel Harnden, and would not have rendered the capture of Davis less certain. This is not intended to reflect upon the conduct of Colonel Pritchard, for it is believed that this omission was simply an oversight which might have occurred to any confident and zealous officer. In carrying out the plan which he had adopted, Colonel Pritchard selected from his regiment seven officers and one hundred and twenty-eight men, and at four o'clock began the march, leaving the balance of his regiment under command of Captain Hathaway, with orders to picket the river and scout the country in accordance with previous instructions. The route pursued by Colonel Pritchard led down the river nearly twelve miles to a point opposite Wilcox's Mill, and thence southwest for a distance of eighteen miles, through the pine forest to Irwingsville. He reached this place at one A. M. of the 10th, and by representing his command as the rear-guard of Davis's party, he succeeded in learning from the citizens that the party he was searching for had encamped that night at dusk about a mile and a half out on the road toward Abbeville. Having secured a negro guide, he turned the head of his column toward that place, and after moving to within half a mile of the camp, halted and dismounted twenty-five men under Lieutenant Purinton. This party were directed to move noiselessly through the woods to the north side of the camp, for the purpose of gaining a position in its rear and preventing the possibility of escape. In case of discovery by the enemy, they were directed to begin the attack from wherever they might be, while Colonel Pritchard would charge upon the camp along the main road. Lieutenant Purinton having reached the point assigned him without exciting an alarm, the attack was delayed until the first appearance of dawn, at which time Colonel Pritchard put his troops in motion, and continued his march to within a few rods of the camp undiscovered. Having assured himself of his position, he dashed upon the camp without delay, and in a few moments had secured its occupants and effects, and placed a guard of mounted men around the camp, with dismounted sentries at the tents and wagons. No resistance was offered, because the enemy had posted no sentries, and were therefore taken completely by surprise.

"Almost simultaneously with the dash of Colonel Pritchard and his detachment sharp firing began in the direction of Abbeville, and only a short distance from the camp. This turned out to be an engagement between the party under Lieutenant Purinton and the detachment of the First Wisconsin Cavalry, which, it seems, had followed the rebel trail the night before till it was no longer distinguishable in the dark, had gone into camp only two or three miles behind the party they had been pursuing so long, and had renewed the pursuit as soon as they could see to march.

"Both Colonel Pritchard and Colonel Harnden were informed that Davis had been reported as having with him a well-armed body-guard of picked men, variously estimated at from ten to fifty. They therefore expected desperate resistance, and hence, in the collision which occurred, the men of both detachments seemed inspired by the greatest courage and determination. It was several minutes before either party discovered they were fighting our own people instead of the enemy. In this unfortunate affair two men of the Fourth Michigan were killed and one officer wounded, while three men of the First Wisconsin were severely and several slightly wounded. It is difficult, under the circumstances as detailed, to perceive how the accident could have been avoided. Colonel Harnden certainly had no means of knowing, and no reason to suspect that the party whom he found in his front were any other than the rebels he had been pursuing, while Colonel Pritchard claims that he had cautioned Lieutenant Purinton particularly to keep a sharp look-out for the First Wisconsin, which he knew would approach from that direction. The hurry with which my command was subsequently mustered out of service, and the absence of the principal officers, prevented an investigation of the details of this affair, and the circumstances which led to it. At this late day nothing more can be said of them than what is contained in the official documents already submitted, except that not the slightest blame was ever intended to be cast by me upon Colonel Harnden, as seems to have been assumed by the commission convened by the Secretary of War for the purpose of awarding the prize offered for the capture of Davis.

"During the firing of the skirmish referred to, the adjutant of the Fourth Michigan, Lieutenant J. G. Dickinson, after having looked to the security of the rebel camp, and sent forward a number of the men who had straggled, was about to go to the front himself, when his attention was called by one of the men 'to three persons dressed in female attire, who had apparently just left one of the large tents near by, and were moving toward the thick woods. He started at once toward them, and called out 'Halt!' but, not hearing him, or not caring to obey, they continued to move off. Just then they were confronted by three men under direction of Corporal Munger, coming from the opposite direction. The corporal recognized one of the persons as Davis, advanced carbine, and demanded his surrender. The three persons halted, and by the actions of the two, who afterward turned out to be women, all doubt as to the identity of the third person was removed. The individuals thus arrested were found to be Miss Howell, Mrs. Davis, and Jefferson Davis. As they walked back to the tent from which they had tried to escape, Lieutenant Dickinson observed that Davis's high top-boots were not covered by his disguise, which fact probably led to his recognition by Corporal Munger.

"As the friends of Davis have strenuously denied that he was disguised as a woman, it may not be improper to specify the exact articles of woman's apparel which he had upon him when first seen by Lieutenant Dickinson and Corporal Munger. The former states that he was one of the three persons 'dressed in woman's attire,' and had a 'black mantle wrapped about his head, through the top of which could be seen locks of his hair.' Captain G. W. Lawton, Fourth Michigan Cavalry, who publishes an account of the capture in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1865, states explicitly, upon the testimony of the officers present, that Davis, in addition to his full suit of Confederate gray, had on 'a lady's waterproof (cloak), gathered at the waist, with a shawl drawn over the head, and carrying a tin pail.'

"Colonel Pritchard says in his official report that he received from Mrs. Davis, on board the steamer Clyde, off Fortress Monroe, 'a waterproof cloak or robe,' which was worn by Davis as a disguise, and which was identified by the men who saw it on him at the time of the capture. He secured the balance of the disguise the next day. It consisted of a shawl, which was identified in a similar manner by both Mrs. Davis and the men. From these circumstances there seems to be no doubt whatever that Davis sought to avoid capture by assuming the dress of a woman, or that the ladies of the party endeavored to pass him off upon his captors as one of themselves.

"In addition to Davis and his family, Colonel Pritchard's detachment captured at the same time John H. Reagan, rebel postmaster-general, Colonel B. N. Harrison, private secretary, Colonels Lubbock and Johnson, aids-de-camp to Davis, four inferior officers, and thirteen private soldiers, besides Miss Howell, two waiting-maids, and several colored servants.

"As soon as breakfast could be prepared, Colonel Pritchard, preceded by Colonel Harnden, began his march, with prisoners and wagons, for Macon, about 120 miles to the northwest of Irwingsville. The next day he met a courier with copies of the President's proclamation offering a reward of \$100,000 for the capture of Davis. This proclamation had been received and promulgated by me on the 9th, and hence the officers in pursuit of Davis were in no way inspired by the promise which it contained. They performed their part from a higher sense of duty, and too much praise can not be awarded to Colonels Pritchard and Harnden, and the officers and men of their regiments who participated in the pursuit. Colonel Pritchard arrived at Macon on the afternoon of the 13th, and reported at once with his prisoners at corps headquarters. Arrangements had been already made, under instructions from the Secretary of War, for forwarding Davis to the North, via Atlanta, Augusta, and Savannah. Colonel Pritchard, with a detachment of his regiment, was directed to deliver his prisoner safely into the custody of the Secretary of War. I also placed in his charge the person of Clement C. Clay, Jr., for whose arrest a reward had also been offered by the President. Mr. Clay surrendered himself to me at Macon about the 11th of May, having informed me by telegraph from Western Georgia the day before that he would start for my headquarters without delay. A. H. Stephens was arrested by General Upton, at Crawfordsville, about the same time, and also placed in charge of Colonel Pritchard.

"Brevet Major General Upton was charged with making the necessary arrangements for forwarding the prisoners and escort safely to Savannah, in the department of General Gillmore. These arrangements were successfully carried out, and the prisoners delivered at Fortress Monroe for safe keeping on the 22d of May.

"My command had also arrested Mr. Mallory, the rebel Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Hill, senator, and Joseph E. Brown, governor of Georgia. Breckinridge and Toombs managed to escape by traveling alone and as rapidly as possible, the former having passed through Tallahassee, Florida, only a few hours before the arrival of General McCook at that place.

"Immediately after the capture of Davis, the small detachments and scouting parties of my command were assembled by their respective brigade and division commanders, and after paroling the bulk of the rebel forces, amounting to about 59,000 men that had been serving in Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina, the various regiments were ordered to be mustered out.

"From the foregoing narrative, it will be seen that the first perfectly reliable information in regard to the movements of Davis was sent in by Lieutenant Joseph O. Yoeman, of General Alexander's staff; that the route actually pursued by Davis and his party after leaving Washington was first discovered by Lieutenant Colonel Harnden at Dublin, and that the capture was actually made one and a half miles north of Irwingsville, Georgia, at dawn of May 10, by Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin D. Pritchard, with a detachment of 7 officers and 128 men of the Fourth Michigan Cavalry."