

command. In a parting address to his troops, dated Headquarters Army of the Tennessee, at Tupelo, January 23, he thanked his men for the patience with which they had endured the hardships of the recent campaign, for the concep-

tion of which, he said, he was alone responsible, and urged them to support the new commander, General Dick Taylor, who had been appointed his successor.

CHAPTER C VI.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S GEORGIA CAMPAIGN. — ATLANTA TO SAVANNAH, NOVEMBER TO DECEMBER, 1864.

GENERAL SHERMAN having pursued the army of General Hood through Alabama, returned to the line of the Chattanooga and Atlanta Railway, falling back upon Rome and Kingston, at which latter place, on the 9th of November, he issued a special order, reorganizing his army for a new military campaign through Georgia, the objective of which was the possession of the city of Savannah, as a new base of operations on the seaboard. Leaving the Fourth Corps, commanded by General Stanley, and the Twenty-third, commanded by General Schofield, to General Thomas, to cope with Hood, in his advance to Tennessee, he divided his army, for the work before it, into two wings, assigning to the right Major-General Howard, commanding the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps of Osterhaus and Frank P. Blair, and to the left, Major-General H. W. Slocum commanding the Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps of Jefferson C. Davis and Williams. Brigadier-General Kilpatrick was assigned the command of the cavalry. The habitual order of march it was ordered, should be, whenever practicable, by four roads, as nearly parallel as possible, and converging at points to be hereafter indicated. There were to be no general trains of supplies, and each corps was to have its limited ammunition and provision train so dis-

tributed that in case of danger the advance and rear brigades should be unencumbered by wheels. The separate columns were to start habitually at 7 A. M., and make about fifteen miles a day, unless otherwise ordered. The army was directed to "forage liberally on the country during the march." For this purpose brigade commanders were to organize "good and sufficient foraging parties, under the command of one or more discreet officers," to gather corn or forage of any kind, meat, vegetables, or other necessities, aiming always to keep on hand ten days' provisions for the men and three days' forage. "Soldiers must not enter the dwellings of the inhabitants or commit any trespass; during the halt or a camp they may be permitted to gather turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables, and drive in stock in front of their camps." The power was entrusted to army corps commanders, to destroy mills, houses, cotton-gins, etc., in districts or neighborhoods where the army was molested by guerrillas or bushwhackers, or the inhabitants should burn bridges, obstruct roads, or otherwise manifest local hostility, but no such devastation was to be permitted where the inhabitants remained quiet. "As for horses, mules, wagons, etc., belonging to the inhabitants, the cavalry and artillery may appropriate freely and without limit; discriminating, however,

between the rich, who are usually hostile and the poor or industrious, usually neutral or friendly. Foraging parties may also take mules or horses to replace the jaded animals of their trains, or to serve as pack mules for the regiments or brigades. In all foraging, of whatever kind, the parties engaged will refrain from abusive and threatening language, and may, when the officer in command thinks proper, give written certificates of the facts, but no receipts; and they will endeavor to leave with each family a reasonable portion for their maintenance. Negroes who are able-bodied and can be of service to the several columns, may be taken along; but each army commander will bear in mind that the question of supplies is a very important one, and that his first duty is to see to those who bear arms." A pontoon train fully equipped and organized was assigned to each wing of the army.

Having given these instructions, General Sherman assembled his forces at Atlanta, whence, having sent the sick and wounded and surplus stores of provisions to Chattanooga, and burnt the storehouses, depot buildings, and machine-shops, the public property which might be available to the enemy for the purposes of war, he put his army in motion on its march through the central and wealthiest portions of Georgia. The right wing, under General Howard, moved from Atlanta on the 12th, followed on the 14th by the left, under General Slocum. The respective lines of march followed generally the two lines of railroad traversing the State, the Georgia and Central, running from Savannah to Macon, and thence by a southwesterly line to Atlanta, a distance in all of nearly 300 miles; and the Georgia Railroad, running north of the former between Atlanta and Augusta, which was connected with the southerly line by way of Waynesboro' and Millen with Savannah. In the area bounded

by these lines, resembling a parallelogram with Atlanta, Macon, Augusta and Millen at the four corners, and Milledgeville at a central point in the enclosure, the important movements of General Sherman's army were effected. His strategy consisted in directing the attention of the enemy to Augusta, on the north and Macon on the south, while he quietly marched between these cities, through Milledgeville, and by Millen to the seaboard and the conquest of Savannah.

The details of the movement thus outlined, are thus given in a review of the campaign, by a journalist, prepared from the scattered reports which reached the North from rebel and other sources.* "The right wing moved directly south from Atlanta, to Rough and Ready and Jonesboro' stations on the Macon and Western Railroad. November 16 one column of the right wing passed through Jonesboro', twenty-six miles south of Atlanta, Wheeler's cavalry and Cobb's militia retiring upon Griffin. Another column of the right wing occupied McDonough, November 15, the county seat of Henry County, some distance east of Jonesboro', and about thirty-five miles south-east of Atlanta. Henry County is one of the largest and richest of Georgia, and here our forces found large supplies of provisions and forage. On the 16th, Wheeler engaged our cavalry at Bear Creek station, ten miles north of Griffin, and telegraphed General Hardee that he had 'checked the Yankee advance.' The very same evening, at 6 o'clock, his ragged troopers fell back through Griffin, in the direction of Barnesville, where Cobb's militia had already preceded him. Our cavalry occupied Griffin, the county seat of Spalding County, on the 17th, and on the 18th drove Wheeler out of Barnesville, in Pike County, and through Forsyth, the county seat of Monroe County,

* *New York Times*, December 20, 1864.

seventy-six miles south of Atlanta and twenty-five miles northwest of Macon. This demonstration, though only made by cavalry, completely deceived Cobb, who put all his forces in the intrenchments of that place, and by military impressment put every male resident in the ranks. The right wing moved on from McDonough on the 16th, to Jackson, the county seat of Butts County, and thence to Planter's Factory, on the Ocmulgee River, which was successfully crossed on the 20th, thus leaving Macon on our right and rear, distant about twenty-five miles. This crossing of the Ocmulgee was uncontested. It was the first indication that Sherman would pass by Macon, which is in Bibb County, without an effort to take it. The feint was admirably made by our cavalry, which pressed the rebel forces hotly from Forsyth, and then veering around to the east of Macon, attacked a force of rebels at a point known as East Macon, where we captured a battery, which the rebels claim they retook. This was on the 20th, and on the same day our cavalry advanced to Griswoldville, eight miles east of Macon, where they captured a lumber train, burned a foundry and the chemical works, tore up the railroad and cut the telegraph. At the same time a part of General Howard's command moved rapidly through Monticello, the county seat of Jasper County, where the court house was burned, via Hillsboro', in the southern part of the same county, to Clinton, the county seat of Jones County, for the purpose of striking the Georgia Central Railroad at Gordon, the junction of the branch road to Milledgeville. Having left Cobb's forces in Macon, now in his rear, Sherman sent an infantry force to act as rear-guard to Griswoldville, while he moved toward Oconee, occupied Milledgeville and destroyed the railroad.

"Sherman entered Milledgeville, November 21, having made the march

from Atlanta in just seven days, with no haste on the part of any of his columns. Average distance by the route marched, ninety-five miles. On the 22d, the rear-guard at Griswoldville was attacked by a force of rebels from Macon, under General Phillips, composed of three brigades of militia, two regiments of State line troops, and the Augusta and Athens battalions. The rebel account of the battle says that it lasted several hours, and that the gallant Georgia militia charged across an open field, and drove our troops from their line of works. During the night, they say, our troops *retired*—that is, continued their *advance*. As this was but a mere skirmish with the rear-guard of the right wing, the truth of the rebel claim to success may be estimated in the fact that they acknowledge a loss of 614 in killed and wounded, and one of their commanders, General Anderson, was censured for his reckless exposure of the tender militia. He was also severely wounded in the fight. This was the most considerable engagement in the whole march.

"The left wing, under General Slocum, left Atlanta November 14, moving out by the Decatur road a short distance and then branching off to the right and passing through De Kalb County, by way of Flat Rock and Snapping Shoals, to Covington, the county seat of Newton County, which point the advance reached on the 17th, the cavalry pushing on as far as Social Circle, in Walton County, a station on the railroad fifty-two miles east of Atlanta, where the railroad buildings were burned. Covington is situated in the midst of a very fertile country, and foraging was carried on to an extensive degree. A party from one of the brigades of the Twentieth Corps, while out foraging some distance north of the railroad, at Oxford, were fired upon by bushwhackers and one of their number killed. Here the order for relentless

devastation of the country was carried out, with a degree of severity which resulted in the destruction of Emory College, at Oxford. It was the property of the Methodist Church, had several fine libraries, a mineralogical cabinet, a fine chemical apparatus, and cost nearly half a million dollars before the war. The plantations in this (Newton) county were thoroughly stripped, and our troops lived on the fat of the land. They were much surprised at the richness of the country they passed through. From Covington General Slocum moved directly east to Madison, the county seat of Morgan County, his cavalry covering his left flank, and destroying the railroad thoroughly. At Madison the railroad buildings, the jail, several warehouses and the market-house were burned. From Madison the left wing moved almost due south upon Eatonton, which is the northern terminus of the Milledgeville branch railway. This point was reached November 21, the same day General Howard's right flank reached Gordon, the southern terminus of the same railroad. General Slocum reached Milledgeville on the 22d, which place proved to be a general point of rendezvous for the two wings. Our army occupied Milledgeville for three days, November 21st to the 24th, when the rear-guard left. General Sherman occupied the executive mansion for his headquarters. Very little property, either public or private, was destroyed. The State House was left standing, though the rebels declare that it was much mutilated. The sudden absquatulation of the rebel legislature disgusted our troops. The members, with Governor Brown, left in great haste on the 18th, some for Macon, some for Augusta, and many on foot, there not being Confederate currency enough in Milledgeville to hire a conveyance. Two members paid \$1,000 to be carried a distance of eight miles. Governor Brown took the public funds, the public archives, his

private carriage and his 'garden sass' (so said the *Savannah Republican*), and fled to Macon, where he opened headquarters in the City Hall, and issued a proclamation. He left 3,000 muskets and several thousand pounds of powder belonging to the State of Georgia, which our troops destroyed. Some of our troops perpetrated a very handsome travestie upon the proceedings of the fleeing legislature. They met at the State House, elected a speaker and clerk, and were introducing bills and resolutions at a fabulous rate, when a courier rushed in, breathless with haste, and shouted 'the Yankees are coming!' whereupon the members dispersed in the most panic-stricken manner, causing an immense deal of amusement. Milledgeville was pretty thoroughly stripped of provisions, as the main portion of the army encamped in that vicinity three days. Every horse and mule that could be found were taken, and the rebels said that there was no use in hiding anything, for 'the Yankees would be sure to find it.' The exhortations of the rebel papers, politicians and others who had nothing to lose, to burn and destroy supplies, had no effect. Every body waited to see his neighbor begin, and entertained the hope that he, at least, might possibly escape without loss. On November 25, the Mayor of Milledgeville sent by courier to Macon, a dispatch begging the people there to send the citizens of Milledgeville meat and provisions, as they were utterly destitute. Sherman's army consumed just one week in moving from Atlanta to Milledgeville, the average distance being ninety-five miles. The movement was deliberate, and fully up to the marching orders. The only resistance met with was that on the right flank of Howard's column, where Cobb and Wheeler were steadily pushed back by Kilpatrick. General Slocum's column was unresisted, and even unmolested save by an occasional guerrilla,

and the retaliation against the citizens in such cases was very severe.

"The army left Milledgeville November 24, en route to Millen, through which place it passed on the evening of December 2, camping in the vicinity. The distance from Milledgeville to Millen, the way Sherman marched, is about seventy-four miles, and the distance was accomplished in eight days. The main body crossed the Oconee at Milledgeville, destroying the bridge over that river, and the Railroad bridge over Fisher's Creek, south of the city. A large force of cavalry demonstrated at the Central Railroad bridge over the Oconee, twenty-five miles south-east of Milledgeville, which was defended by earth-works, by the rebel General Wayne, who commanded an improvised brigade of stragglers and militia which had been picked up between Milledgeville and Augusta. This road here runs for several miles through a swamp, which borders the west bank of the Oconee. Wheeler, who had been left in the rear at Macon, took a swift circuit southward, through Twiggs, Wilkinson and Laurens Counties, and crossed the Oconee to Wayne's assistance at Buckeye bridge, eighteen miles below the Railroad bridge. But this availed nothing, for Howard's column, in moving upon Sandersville, in Washington County, marched down the east bank of the Oconee, and Wayne, hearing of it, imagined he was flanked, and on the twenty-fifth retired in precipitate haste to Davisboro, and thence in the direction of Louisville, the county seat of Jefferson County. The advance of Howard's column reached Sandersville November 26. The railroad was cut again, and the depot burned, at Tenille station, immediately south of Sandersville. General Slocum's column crossed the Oconee simultaneously with the right wing, but bore to the northward in its march, aiming for Sparta, a flourishing village, and the county seat of Hancock County.

On the evening of the 24th, General Slocum's advance encamped at Deveaux, seven miles west of Sparta, and the cavalry scoured the whole county, one of the most fertile and thickly settled in the whole State, and vast quantities of forage and provisions, many horses and mules were obtained, and much cotton burned. The Georgia Railroad, on General Slocum's left flank was not neglected. While the army lay at Milledgeville, a portion of the cavalry force were roaming unresisted through Morgan, Green and Putnam counties, striking the railroad repeatedly, burning the bridge over the Oconee at Blue Spring, and the buildings at Buckhead in Morgan county, Greensboro in Green county, and Crawfordsville in Talliaferro county.

"When it was demonstrated to a certainty that Sherman was east of the Oconee, the rebels in Savannah and Augusta became greatly frightened. Up to that time many of them were consoled with the idea that after all, Sherman was only on a great raid into the heart of the State, or would yet turn and move westward upon Columbus, Montgomery and Mobile. But such hopes were dispelled when his cavalry were discovered in Washington and Hancock counties. At Augusta, then deemed the object of Sherman's march, preparations for defence went on vigorously. Bragg was summoned from Wilmington, and came, the Augusta papers said, with ten thousand men. Troops came from Charleston, Hampton's cavalry came from Virginia, and the entire population of the city was put under arms, and all the slaves in the surrounding country were impressed to work upon the fortifications. Then began, also, a vigorous system of rebel *brag*. Wheeler was put to his trumps, and required to whip Kilpatrick three times a day, and to invariably close the report of his victory with the announcement, 'after this glorious success *we fell back!*' All

this Wheeler most valiantly did, but on one occasion, in a fight near Gibson, the county seat of Glascock County, being required to bring in Kilpatrick's head as a trophy, he humbly apologized with his hat observing that in his haste to fall back, he had left Kilpatrick's head on its shoulders. It was through this march from Milledgeville to Millen, occupied a little over a week, that the movements of Kilpatrick were so vigorous, and his cavalry so ubiquitous, that the position of Sherman's infantry was wholly unknown to the enemy. Howard's column passed through Sandersville November 26, and Louisville November 30. Slocum marched through Sparta, in Hancock County, to Gibson, in Glascock County, and then moved upon Louisville, converging with the right wing near the latter place. The whole army appeared in the vicinity of Millen, December 2. Until it was fully ascertained that Sherman had reached Millen, the rebels believed that he was passing down between the Ogechee and Oconee Rivers, aiming to reach the coast of Darien or Brunswick. Very adroit strategy was necessary at this juncture to conceal the real direction of the march, for had the rebels known in time that Augusta was certainly to be avoided, the entire force there could have been sent down to Millen, and thus thrown in Sherman's front, and resisted or delayed his march upon Savannah, and in the end would have proved a formidable addition to the garrison of that place. Kilpatrick, therefore, pressed Wheeler more vigorously than ever, and the latter fell back toward Augusta, which put him out of Sherman's way most effectually, again leaving him in the rear of the very army whose advance he was endeavoring to resist. It was during these cavalry operations that the fight took place at Waynesboro', December 3d, where Wheeler attacked Kilpatrick, and reported that he had 'doubled him up on the main body.' But Kilpatrick wouldn't stay 'doubled up.'

On the next day Wheeler was compelled to make his usual report that he had 'signally repulsed Kilpatrick,' but was 'obliged to *fall back*,' the result of which was that he was driven back through Waynesboro' and beyond Brier Creek, the railway bridge over which was destroyed, within twenty miles of Augusta, which was the nearest approach of our forces to that city. Kilpatrick then took up a position to guard Sherman's rear, and while doing so, his force loaded their wagons with the forage and provisions of Burke County, for use in the less fertile counties in the region of the coast.

"It has been shown that General Sherman's army occupied about eight days in moving from Milledgeville to Millen, an average distance of seventy-five miles. This is only a trifle over nine miles per day, but there is no evidence that he was in motion all the time. On the contrary, the rebels discovered, after he had passed Millen, the real object of his leisurely progress. Fully aware that the resistance at Savannah might be formidable, and that communication with the fleet and the procurement of supplies from Port Royal, might be attended with difficulties consuming considerable time, he paid more attention than usual to foraging in the fertile counties of Jefferson, Washington, Burke, Glascock, Warren and Hancock, all immediately west or southwest of Augusta. The rebels said he stopped to 'grind corn.' But the corn didn't need grinding. The animals ate it in the ear, and the men were not reduced to that article of diet. They brought hard tack enough in their wagons from Atlanta to last them through the journey, and the commissaries issued mainly fresh beef, mutton, pork, poultry, sorghum, etc., obtained in the country. Another object of Sherman's moderate progress, which the rebels were not so ready to acknowledge, was the destruction of the railroads. The

railroad bridge over the Oconee was burned after the rebels, under Wayne, had been forced back; and that over the Ogeechee, near Sebastopol Station, twenty-five miles west of Millen, shared a like fate. The track was also destroyed in many localities for miles, extending all the way from Griswoldville to Millen, on the Georgia Central, ninety-seven miles, and from Covington to Crawfordsville, on the Georgia State Road, a distance of sixty miles. Kilpatrick, after driving Wheeler beyond Waynesboro, in the direction of Augusta, December 3d, also tore up the track and burned the bridges over Brier Creek, Buckhead Creek, and several smaller streams. This was on the Waynesboro Branch Railroad, connecting Savannah with Augusta *via* Millen. The object of Sherman's cautious march through Washington and Jefferson Counties, and the point at which he had resolved to strike, which was never for a moment undecided in his own mind, only became apparent to the rebels when it was too late to prevent it. Macon had been threatened, and Cobb's forces shut up in its intrenchments, leaving them useless and in the rear, when Sherman moved on. Augusta was threatened, and all the troops that could be gathered were put in the fortifications. Charleston and Wilmington were denuded for Augusta's defence, and the South Carolina militia were assembled at Hamburgh, opposite to Augusta, to co-operate, if necessary. Thus Savannah was almost overlooked, and when Sherman headed his columns directly and rapidly for the city, which he did on the 4th of December, he left all the rebel forces gathered for his defeat well in his rear, and found a feebly garrisoned city in his front. The situation as viewed by the rebels, when they fully realized this fact, was aptly described by one of the Augusta papers thus, on the 3d of December: 'Sherman has not for a moment hesitated, in

our humble judgment, as to the point to be attacked or the road to it. When his forage or provision trains are full he will mass his entire force at Millen; throwing his cavalry to the rear, with his wagon train between the two wings of his army, he will move in compact columns, steadily but cautiously upon the city of Savannah, with no fear of an attack on either flank. The Ogeechee and a few crossings and terrible swamps on his right, and the Savannah river, and its equally swampy banks on his left, both flanks will be most securely covered—a grand desideratum in army movements. And thus situated, he has a march of something over eighty miles to the city of Savannah.' When the Augusta people heard that their city was no longer threatened, they drew a long breath, and congratulated themselves. 'The frowns and sadness with which the countenances of our citizens have been bedecked,' said the *Sentinel*, 'have given way to smiles and mirth.' That is, 'smiles and mirth' because their neighbors in Savannah were to be the recipients of Sherman's favors, and not they.

"From Millen to Savannah is seventy-nine miles. After leaving Millen, General Sherman made rapid and regular marches upon Savannah, and on the 9th General Howard struck the canal which connects the Ogeechee with the Savannah at a point about ten miles in the rear (west) of the city. From this point, and on the evening of the same day, he sent three of his most trusted scouts, Captain Duncan and Sergeants Myron J. Emmick and George W. Quimby, in a small boat down the Ogeechee River, passing Fort McAllister in the night, and communicated on the 11th with the gunboat Dandelion, of Admiral Dahlgren's fleet, off Ossabaw Sound, which immediately took them on board, and arrived at Port Royal harbor on the morning of the 12th. Captain Duncan brought this dispatch from General Howard:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE, }
 NEAR SAVANNAH CANAL, December 9, 1864. }
 "To the Commander of the United States Naval Forces
 in the vicinity of Savannah :

"SIR—We have met with perfect success thus far. The troops are in fine spirits and near by.

"Respectfully,

"O. O. HOWARD, Major-General,
 Commanding Right Wing of the Army."

"This was the first intelligence direct from the army, and completely dispelled all doubts and fears, as well as dissipated an immense amount of rebel bombast and boasting of the impediments and difficulties with which Sherman had met, to say nothing of the repeated total annihilation of Kilpatrick's cavalry, which seems not to have been worthy of mention by General Howard or General Sherman. Wheeler, who at last accounts, was 'hacking away at Sherman's rear,' must have had a dull sabre.

"On the 10th instant, General Sherman had advanced to within five miles of Savannah, where, it was generally understood, the rebels had erected the first of the three lines of defences which protect that city. But with the wise sagacity and the sound military judgment which he possesses, General Sherman made preparations at once, not for an assault upon Savannah, but for the capture of Fort McAllister, thereby opening the Ogeechee River, communicating with the fleet, and making a water base on that river at any point he chose, directly in the rear of Savannah ; and also cutting off all communication between Savannah and the southern part of the State, *via* the Savannah, Albany and Gulf Railroad, which has heretofore been an important avenue of supplies to the rebels from the vast numbers of beef cattle from Florida transported over it. Accordingly, a division of troops from the Fifteenth Corps, under General Hazen, was sent down on the 13th, and at 5 o'clock P. M., the fort was gallantly carried by assault, with its entire garrison

and stores." The loss in this assault was about ninety in killed and wounded, all of Hazen's division ; and that of the enemy, was something less.

"This success was announced to the country in the following dispatch from General Sherman, dated at midnight 'on board Dandelion, Ossabaw Sound,' of the day of the victory : 'To-day at 5 o'clock P. M., General Hazen's division of the Fifteenth Corps carried Fort McAllister by assault, capturing its entire garrison and stores. This opened to us the Ossabaw Sound, and I pushed down to this gunboat to communicate with the fleet. Before opening communication we had completely destroyed all the railroads leading into Savannah, and invested the city. The left is on the Savannah River, three miles above the city, and the right on the Ogeechee, at King's Bridge. The army is in splendid order, and equal to any thing. The weather has been fine, and supplies are abundant. Our march was most agreeable, and we were not at all molested by the guerrillas. We reached Savannah three days ago, but owing to Fort McAllister, could not communicate ; but now we have McAllister, we can go ahead. We have already captured two boats on the Savannah River, and prevented their gunboats from coming down. I estimate the population of Savannah at 25,000, and the garrison at 15,000. General Hardee commands. We have not lost a wagon on the trip, but have gathered in a large supply of negroes, mules, horses, etc., and our teams are in far better condition than when we started. My first duty will be to clear the army of surplus negroes, mules and horses. We have utterly destroyed over two hundred miles of rails, and consumed stores and provisions that were essential to Lee's and Hood's armies. The quick work made with McAllister, and the opening of communication with our fleet, and the consequent independence of supplies, dissipates all their boasted

threats to head me off and starve the army. I regard Savannah as already gained.'"

General Foster now joined General Sherman, having previously sent an expedition from Hilton Head inland towards Grahamsville to engage the enemy's attention on the line of the Charleston and Savannah railroad. He reported, on the 14th, the city as closely besieged; its capture, with the rebel forces there, confidently expected. It was to be summoned in two days, and if not surrendered, Sherman would open his batteries upon it. General Foster further reported Sherman's army in "splendid condition, having lived, on its march, on the turkeys, chickens, sweet potatoes, and other good things of the richest part of Georgia."

General Sherman was in full communication with the fleet under Admiral Dahlgren, who was prepared to bring all his available force into connection with the army. No further military operations, however, beyond the preparations which were going on for an assault were needed. On the evening of the 22d, General Foster had the satisfaction of following up his previous dispatch with this message to General Grant: "I have the honor to report that I have just returned from General Sherman's headquarters in Savannah. I send Major Gray, of my staff, as bearer of dispatches from General Sherman to you, and also a message to the President. The city of Savannah was occupied on the morning of the 21st. General Hardee anticipating the contemplated assault, escaped with the main body of his infantry and light artillery, on the morning of the 20th, by crossing the river to Union Causeway, opposite the city. The rebel iron-clads were blown up, and the Navy-yard was burned. All the rest of the city is intact, and contains twenty-thousand citizens, quiet and well-disposed. The captures include eight hun-

dred prisoners, one hundred and fifty guns, thirteen locomotives in good order, one hundred and ninety cars, a large supply of ammunition and materials of war, three steamers and thirty-three thousand bales of cotton safely stowed away in warehouses. All these valuable fruits of an almost bloodless victory have been, like Atlanta, fairly won. I opened communication with the city with my steamers to-day, taking up what torpedoes we could see, and passing safely over others. Arrangements are made to clear the channel of all obstructions."

The message to the President was from General Sherman in these words: "Savannah, Ga., December 22. To his Excellency President Lincoln: I beg to present to you as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton."

On the 26th, the following order was issued by General Sherman in reference to the military government of the city: "The city of Savannah and surrounding country will be held as a military post and adapted to future military uses, but as it contains a population of some 20,000 people who must be provided for, and as other citizens may come, it is proper to lay down certain general principles, that all within its military jurisdiction may understand their relative duties and obligations. 1st. During war, the military is superior to civil authority, and where interests clash, the civil must give way; yet where there is no conflict, every encouragement should be given to well disposed and peaceful inhabitants to resume their usual pursuits. Families should be disturbed as little as possible in their residence, and tradesmen allowed the free use of their shops, tools, etc. Churches, schools, all places of amusement and recreation should be encouraged, and streets and roads made perfectly safe to persons in their usual pursuits. Passes should not

* Report of Secretary Stanton, Washington, Dec. 17.

be exacted within the line of outer pickets, but if any person shall abuse these privileges by communicating with the enemy, or doing an act of hostility to the Government of the United States, he or she will be punished with the utmost rigor of the law. Commerce with the outer world will be resumed to an extent commensurate with the wants of the citizens, governed by the restrictions and rules of the Treasury Department. 2d. The chief quartermaster and commissary of the army may give suitable employment to the people, white and black, or transport them to such points as they choose, where employment may be had, and may extend temporary relief in the way of provisions and vacant houses to the worthy and needy until such time as they can help themselves. They will select, first, the buildings for the necessary use of the army; next, a sufficient number of stores to be turned over to the treasury agent for trade stores. All vacant storehouses or dwellings, and all buildings belonging to absent rebels, will be construed and used as belonging to the United States until such time as their titles can be settled by the Courts of the United States. 3d. The Mayor and City Council of Savannah will continue and exercise their functions as such, and will, in concert with the commanding officer of the post and the chief quartermaster, see that the fire companies are kept in organization, the streets cleaned and lighted, and keep up a good understanding between the citizens and soldiers. They will ascertain and report to the Chief of Commissary Subsistence, as soon as possible, the names and number of worthy families that need assistance and support. The Mayor will forthwith give public notice that the time has come when all must choose their course, viz: to remain within our lines and conduct themselves as good citizens, or depart in peace. He will ascertain the names of all who choose to leave Sa-

vannah, and report their names and residence to the chief quartermaster, that measures may be taken to transport them beyond the lines. 4th. Not more than two newspapers will be published in Savannah, and their editors and proprietors will be held to the strictest accountability, and will be punished severely in person and property for any libellous publication, mischievous matter, premature news, exaggerated statements, or any comments whatever upon the acts of the constituted authorities; they will be held accountable even for such articles though copied from other papers."

The inhabitants promptly acquiesced in the new state of things. No resistance was offered to the new military authority and good order and discipline were maintained on the part of the soldiers, Brigadier-General Geary being placed in command of the post. A meeting of the citizens was called by the Mayor on the 27th inst., for the purpose of taking into consideration "matters relating to the present and future welfare of the city." It was largely attended and resolutions were adopted "That we accept the position, and in the language of the President of the United States, seek to have 'peace by laying down our arms, and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution,' 'leaving all questions which remain to be adjusted by the peaceful means of legislation, conference and votes.' That laying aside all differences and burying by-gones in the grave of the past, we will use our best endeavors to bring back the prosperity and commerce we once enjoyed. That we do not put ourselves in the position of a conquered city asking terms of a conqueror, but we claim the immunities and privileges contained in the proclamation and message of the President of the United States, and in all the legislation of Congress in reference to a people situated as we are; and while

we owe on our part a strict obedience to the laws of the United States, we ask the protection over our persons, lives and property recognized by those laws. That we respectfully request his Excellency the Governor, to call a Convention of the people of Georgia, by any Constitutional means in his power, to give them an opportunity of voting upon the question whether they wish the war between the two sections of the country to continue."

On the 8th of January, General Sherman from his headquarters at Savannah, issued a congratulatory order to his army in which he briefly alluded to the prominent events of the campaign: "The General commanding announces to the troops composing the Military Division of the Mississippi that he has received from the President of the United States and from Lieutenant-General Grant letters conveying the high sense and appreciation of the campaign just closed, resulting in the capture of Savannah and the defeat of Hood's army in Tennessee. In order that all may understand the importance of events, it is proper to revert to the situation of affairs in September last. We held Atlanta, a city of little value to us, but so important to the enemy that Mr. Davis, the head of the rebellious faction in the South, visited his army near Palmetto, and commanded it to regain it, as well as to ruin and destroy us by a series of measures which he thought would be effectual. That army, by a rapid march, first gained our railroad near Big Shanty, and afterward about Dalton. We pursued, but it marched so rapidly that we could not overtake it, and General Hood led his army successfully far toward Mississippi, in hopes to decoy us out of Georgia. But we were not then to be led away by him, and purposed to control and lead events ourselves. Generals Thomas and Schofield, commanding the department to our rear, returned to their

posts, and prepared to decoy General Hood into their meshes, while we came on to complete our original journey. We quietly and deliberately destroyed Atlanta and all the railroad which the enemy had used to carry on war against us; occupied his State capital, and then captured his commercial capital, which had been so strongly fortified from the sea as to defy approach from that quarter. Almost at the moment of our victorious entry into Savannah came the welcome and expected news that our comrades in Tennessee had also fulfilled, nobly and well, their part; had decoyed General Hood to Nashville, and then turned on him, defeating his army thoroughly, capturing all his artillery, great numbers of prisoners, and were still pursuing the fragments down into Alabama. So complete a success in military operations, extending over half a continent, is an achievement that entitles it to a place in the military history of the world. The armies serving in Georgia and Tennessee, as well as the local garrisons of Decatur, Bridgeport, Chattanooga and Murfreesboro', are alike entitled to the common honor, and each regiment may inscribe on its colors at pleasure the words 'Savannah' or 'Nashville.' The General commanding embraces in the same general success the operations of the cavalry column, under Generals Stoneman, Burbridge and Gillem, that penetrated into Southwestern Virginia, and paralyzed the efforts of the enemy to disturb the peace and safety of the people of East Tennessee. Instead of being put on the defensive, we have, at all points, assumed the bold offensive, and completely thwarted the designs of the enemies of our country."

A few days later, on the 16th, General Sherman, in concert with the Secretary of war, Stanton, who visited Savannah immediately after its capture, issued an important order setting apart the sea islands from Charleston south,

the abandoned rice-fields for thirty miles back from the sea and the country bordering the St. John River, Florida, for the settlement of the negroes made free by the acts of war and the Proclamation of the President of the United States. At Beaufort, Hilton Head, Savannah, Fernandina, St. Augustine, and Jacksonville the negroes were permitted to remain in their chosen or accustomed avocations, but on the sea islands and proposed settlements, no white person whatever, unless military officers and soldiers detained for duty were to be allowed to reside; the sole and exclusive management of affairs being left to the freed people themselves subject only to the United States military authority and the acts of Congress. Regulations were made for the allotment of land and for special settlements assigning to each family forty acres of land. Military enlistments of the young and able-bodied were to be encouraged, and the rights to property of such persons for themselves and families were to be duly protected. The regulations were to be carried out by a general officer to be detailed as "Inspector of settlements and plantations," an office to which Brigadier-General Saxton, who had already rendered important services in these relations, was assigned by General Sherman in his order. Communications were opened with the northern Atlantic cities for the purpose of procur-

ing provisions, and it being understood, that many of the population were in danger of want, liberal contributions were collected in Boston, New York and elsewhere, and shiploads of supplies were promptly sent for their relief. The appeal for this purpose at Boston was seconded by Edward Everett in a speech at a public meeting, on the 9th of January, at Faneuil Hall. It was the last honorable duty in the brilliant record of his many services to his country. He became apparently slightly ill during the week, and on the morning, of Sunday the 15th, died suddenly at his residence of apoplexy. The news of his death was immediately communicated to President Lincoln and the Cabinet at Washington, when the following official announcement was made of the event by the Secretary of State: "The President directs the undersigned to perform the painful duty of announcing to the people of the United States that Edward Everett, distinguished not more by learning and eloquence than by unsurpassed and disinterested labors of patriotism, at a period of political disorder, departed this life at 4 o'clock this morning. The several Executive Departments of the Government will cause appropriate honors to be rendered to the memory of the deceased, at home and abroad, wherever the national name and authority are recognized."

CHAPTER CVII.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS TO CLOSE OF 1864.

IN our retrospect of national affairs, at the close of the previous year, we left the Thirty-eighth Congress just entered on its First Session. That body sat till the 4th of July—seven months, among the most important in the history

of the war. The debates on the general policy of the Government were long, and maintained with energy and perseverance on the part of the members in the "minority," who bent their efforts in particular to ward off the

adds: "We have found in each an Armstrong gun, with the 'broad arrow' on it and the name 'Sir William Armstrong' marked in full on the trunnels. As the British Government claims the exclusive right to use these guns, it would be interesting to know how they came into forts held by the Southern rebels. I find that immense quantities of provisions, stores, and clothing have come through this port into rebeldom. I am almost afraid to mention the amount, but it is enough to supply over 60,000 men. It is all English, and they have received the last cargo; no more will ever come this way. We picked up a telegram from General Lee to his subordinate here, saying that if Forts Fisher and Caswell were not held he would have to evacuate Richmond. He says most truly, and I should not be at all surprised if he left

possession of after the fall of Fort Fisher—a sufficient explanation of the protection given for so long a time to the blockade-runners: Reeves' Point, 2 ten-inch guns; above Smithville, 2 ten-inch guns; Smithville, 4 ten-inch guns; Fort Caswell, 10 ten-inch guns, 2 nine-inch, 1 Armstrong, and 4 thirty-two's (rifled), 2 thirty-two's (smooth), 3 eight-inch, 1 Parrott twenty-pounder, 3 rifled field pieces, 3 guns buried—29 guns. Forts Campbell and Shaw, 6 ten-inch, 6 thirty-two's (smooth), 1 thirty-two (rifled), 1 eight-inch, 6 field pieces, 2 mortars—22 guns. Smith's Island, 3 ten-inch, 6 thirty-two's (smooth), 2 thirty-two's (rifled), 4 field-pieces, 2 mortars, and 17 guns. Reported at the other end of Smith's Island, 6 guns. Total captured, 83 guns.

it at any moment. We find this a better place to catch blockade-runners than outside. I had the blockade-runners' lights lit last night, and was obliging enough to answer their signals, whether right or wrong we don't know. Two of them, the Stag and Charlotte, from Bermuda, loaded with arms, blankets, shoes, etc., etc., came in and quietly anchored near the Malvern, and were taken possession of. The Stag was commanded by Richard H. Gayle, a lieutenant in the rebel navy, and belongs to the rebel Government. A number more are expected, and we will, I hope, catch a portion of them. I intrusted this duty to Lieutenant Cushing, who performed it with his usual good luck and intelligence. These two are very fast vessels, and valuable prizes. They threw a portion of their papers overboard immediately on finding they were trapped. The Charlotte brings five English passengers, one of them an English army officer. They all came over, as they expressed it, 'on a lark,' and were making themselves quite 'jolly' in the cabin over their champagne, felicitating themselves on their safe arrival. The Stag received three shots in her as she ran by our blockaders outside."

CHAPTER CX.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S CAMPAIGN—SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, TO GOLDSBORO, N. C.—FALL OF CHARLESTON AND WILMINGTON, FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1865.

GENERAL SHERMAN did not remain long inactive at Savannah after his brilliant conquest of that city. It was the policy of General Grant to pursue the rebellion to its last extremity without affording its desperate leaders any opportunity to recover from their successive defeats. The proper improvement of time was now fully recognized as the

great means of breaking up the military strength of the Confederacy. Thus there was no longer delay in waiting for the opening of a spring campaign. The great battle was fought steadily on all sides during the winter months. Active operations in the field, indeed, were of necessity somewhat checked by the state of the roads in Virginia; but

there was less occasion for movement in that quarter where General Grant's army was rendering the best service in inexorably holding the forces of Lee—the last strength of the rebellion—in an iron grasp, compelling inaction on the part of the rebel leader, while every day his skillful combinations, as Sherman overran the Carolinas, hastened the inevitable fate of Richmond, and with the fall of its capital secured the ruin of the confederacy. The city of Savannah, after its occupation by General Sherman, was very quiet and orderly. His army, under excellent discipline, was a safeguard to the inhabitants. Secretary Stanton of the War Department, who visited the place in January, on his return to Washington reported, "the peace and order prevailing at Savannah since its occupation by General Sherman could not be surpassed. Few male inhabitants are to be seen on the streets. Ladies and children evince a sense of security. No instance of disorder, or personal injury, or insults has occurred. Laboring men and mechanics, white and black, are seeking employment. The troops are cheerful and respectful toward every one, and seem to feel themselves much at home and on good behavior as if in their native towns." It was, in fact, the constant effort of General Sherman, in pursuance of the wise policy of the Government, to facilitate in every way by the exercise of a sound authority, the return of the State to its loyalty. The general good behavior of his army on its march was admitted, and tales of its cruelties which had been invented and circulated "to fire the Southern heart" were retracted by a portion of the rebel press. The State, pillaged by native marauders, evidently longed for repose, though it was still governed by the evil influences of the rebellion or the remaining power and authority of the rebel leaders. The question, however, of a return to the Union began to

be freely discussed in various quarters. In reply to a citizen of Georgia in the interior, whose name is not given, who had opened a correspondence on the subject, General Sherman wrote from Savannah on the 8th of January:—"Dear Sir—Yours of the 3d inst. is received, and in answer to your inquiries I beg to state I am merely a military commander, and act only in that capacity; nor can I give any assurances or pledges affecting civil matters in the future. They will be adjusted by Congress when Georgia is again represented there as of old. Georgia is not out of the Union, and therefore the talk of 'reconstruction' appears to me inappropriate. Some of the people have been and still are in a state of revolt; and as long as they remain armed and organized, the United States must pursue them with armies, and deal with them according to military law. But as soon as they break up their armed organizations and return to their homes, I take it they will be dealt with by the civil courts. Some of the rebels in Georgia, in my judgment, deserve death, because they have committed murder and other crimes, which are punished with death by all civilized governments on earth. I think this was the course indicated by General Washington in reference to the Whiskey Insurrection, and a like principle seemed to be recognized at the time of the Burr Conspiracy. As to the Union of the States under our Government, we have the high authority of General Washington, who bade us be jealous and careful of it, and the still more emphatic words of General Jackson, 'The Federal Union, it must and shall be preserved.' Certainly Georgians cannot question the authority of such men, and should not suspect our motives, who are simply fulfilling their commands. Wherever necessary, force has been used to carry out that end; and you may rest assured that the Union will be preserved, cost

what it may. And if you are sensible men you will conform to this order of things or else migrate to some other country. There is no other alternative open to the people of Georgia. My opinion is that no negotiations are necessary, nor commissioners, nor conventions, nor any thing of the kind. Whenever the people of Georgia quit rebelling against their Government and elect members of Congress and Senators, and these go and take their seats, then the State of Georgia will have resumed her functions in the Union. These are merely my opinions, but in confirmation of them, as I think, the people of Georgia may well consider the following words referring to the people of the rebellious States, which I quote from the recent annual message of President Lincoln to Congress at its present session: 'They can at any moment have peace simply by laying down their arms and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution. After so much, the Government would not, if it could, maintain war against them. The loyal people would not sustain or allow it. If questions should remain, we would adjust them by the peaceful means of legislation, conference, courts and votes. Operating only in constitutional and lawful channels, some certain and other possible questions are and would be beyond the Executive power to adjust, as, for instance, the admission of members into Congress and whatever might require the appropriation of money. The President then alludes to the general pardon and amnesty offered for more than a year past, upon specified and more liberal terms, to all except certain designated classes, even these being "still within contemplation of special clemency," and adds: 'It is still so open to all, but the time may come when public duty shall demand that it be closed, and that in lieu more vigorous measures than heretofore shall be adopted.' It seems to me that it is time for

the people of Georgia to act for themselves, and return, in time, to their duty to the Government of their fathers."

To give protection to the inhabitants disposed to loyalty and aid in this return to the Union, General Sherman on the 14th of January issued the following order relating to the bands of guerrillas who devastated the State: "It being represented that the confederate army and armed bands of robbers, acting professedly under the authority of the confederate government, are harassing the people of Georgia and endeavoring to intimidate them in the efforts they are making to secure to themselves provisions, clothing, security to life and property, and the restoration of law and good government in the State, it is hereby ordered and made public: 1. That the farmers of Georgia may bring into Savannah, Fernandina or Jacksonville, Florida, marketing, such as beef, pork, mutton, vegetables of any kind, fish, etc., as well as cotton in small quantities, and sell the same in open market, except the cotton, which must be sold by or through the Treasury agents, and may invest the proceeds in family stores, such as bacon and flour, in any reasonable quantities, groceries, shoes and clothing, and articles not contraband of war, and carry the same back to their families. No trade-store will be attempted in the interior, or stocks of goods sold for them, but families may club together for mutual assistance and protection in coming and going. 2. The people are encouraged to meet together in peaceful assemblages, to discuss measures looking to their safety and good government, and the restoration of State and National authority, and will be protected by the National army while so doing; and all peaceable inhabitants who satisfy the commanding officers that they are earnestly laboring to that end, must not only be left undisturbed in property

and person, but must be protected, as far as possible consistent with the military operations. If any farmer or peaceable inhabitant is molested by the enemy, viz. : the confederate army or guerrillas, because of his friendship to the National Government, the perpetrator, if caught, will be summarily punished, or his family made to suffer for the outrage ; but if the crime cannot be traced to the actual party, then retaliation will be made on the adherents to the cause of the rebellion—should a Union man be murdered, then a rebel selected by lot will be shot—or if a Union family be persecuted on account of the cause, a rebel family will be banished to a foreign land. In aggravated cases retaliation will extend as high as five for one. All commanding officers will act promptly in such cases, and report their action after the retaliation is done."

Simultaneously with the date of this order, General Sherman renewed the movement of his forces from Savannah. "I have heretofore explained," says he in his subsequent report at the conclusion of the campaign, "how in the progress of our arms, I was enabled to leave in the West an army, under Major-General George H. Thomas, of sufficient strength to meet emergencies in that quarter, while in person I conducted another army, composed of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth and Twentieth Corps, and Kilpatrick's division of cavalry, to the Atlantic slope, aiming to approach the grand theatre of war in Virginia by the time the season would admit of military operations in that latitude. The first lodgment on the coast was made at Savannah, strongly fortified and armed, and valuable to us as a good seaport with its navigable stream inland. Near a month was consumed there in refitting the army, and in making proper disposition of captured property and other local matters, but by the 15th of January I was all ready to resume the march. Prelimi-

nary to this, General Howard, commanding the right wing, was ordered to embark his command at Thunderbolt, transport it to Beaufort, South Carolina, and thence by the 15th of January make a lodgment on the Charleston Railroad, at or near Pocotaligo. This was accomplished punctually, at little cost, by the Seventeenth Corps, Major-General Blair, and a depot for supplies was established near the mouth of Pocotaligo Creek, with easy water communication back to Hilton Head.

"The left wing, Major-General Slocum, and the cavalry, Major-General Kilpatrick, were ordered to rendezvous about the same time near Robertsville and Coosawhatchie, South Carolina, with a depot of supplies at Pureysburg, or Sister's Ferry, on the Savannah River. General Slocum had a good pontoon-bridge constructed opposite the city, and the 'Union causeway' leading through the low rice-fields opposite Savannah was repaired and 'corduroyed,' but before the time appointed to start, the heavy rains of January had swelled the river, broken the pontoon bridge, and overflowed the whole 'bottom,' so that the causeway was four feet under water, and General Slocum was compelled to look higher up for a passage over the Savannah River. He moved up to Sister's Ferry, but even there the river, with its overflowing bottoms, was near three miles wide, and he did not succeed in getting his whole wing across until during the first week in February. In the mean time General Grant had sent me Grover's division of the Nineteenth Corps to garrison Savannah, and had drawn the Twenty-third Corps, Major-General Schofield, from Tennessee, and sent it to reinforce the command of Major-Generals Terry and Palmer, operating on the coast of North Carolina, to prepare the way for my coming. On the 18th of January I transferred the forts and city of Savannah to Major-General Foster, commanding the De-

partment of the South, imparted to him my plans of operation, and instructed him how to follow my movements inland by occupying in succession the city of Charleston and such other points along the sea-coast as would be of any military value to us. The combined naval and land forces under Admiral Porter and General Terry had, on the 15th of January captured Fort Fisher and the rebel forts at the mouth of Cape Fear River, giving me an additional point of security on the sea-coast. But I had already resolved in my own mind, and had so advised General Grant, that I would undertake at one stride to make Goldsboro', and open communication with the sea by the Newbern Railroad, and had ordered Colonel W. W. Wright, Superintendent of Military Railroads, to proceed in advance to Newbern, and to be prepared to extend the railroad out from Newbern to Goldsboro' by the 15th of March. On the 19th of January all preparations were complete, and the orders of march given. My Chief Quartermaster and Commissary, Generals Easton and Beckwith, were ordered to complete the supplies at Sister's Ferry and Pocotaligo, and then to follow our movements coastwise, looking for my arrival at Goldsboro', North Carolina, about March 15, and opening communication with me from Morehead City.

"On the 22d of January I embarked at Savannah for Hilton Head, where I held a conference with Admiral Dahlgren, United States Navy, and Major-General Foster, commanding the Department of the South, and next day proceeded to Beaufort, riding out thence on the 24th to Pocotaligo, where the Seventeenth Corps, Major-General Blair was encamped. The Fifteenth Corps was somewhat scattered—Woods' and Hazen's division at Beaufort, John E. Smith marching from Savannah by the coast road, and Corse still at Savannah,

cut off by the storms and freshet in the river. On the 25th a demonstration was made against the Combahee Ferry and railroad bridge across the Salkehatchie, merely to amuse the enemy, who had evidently adopted that river as his defensive line against our supposed objective, the city of Charleston. I reconnoitered the line in person, and saw that the heavy rains had swollen the river so that water stood in the swamps for a breadth of more than a mile, at a depth of from one to twenty feet. Not having the remotest intention of approaching Charleston, a comparatively small force was able, by seeming preparations to cross over, to keep in their front a considerable force of the enemy disposed to contest our advance on Charleston. On the 27th I rode to the camp of General Hatch's division of Foster's command, on the Tullafulney and Coosawhatchie Rivers, and directed to be evacuated, as no longer of any use to us. That division was then moved to Pocotaligo to keep up the feints already begun, until we should with the right wing move higher up and cross the Salkehatchie about Rivers' or Broxton's Bridge. On the 20th I learned that the roads back of Savannah had at last become sufficiently free of the flood to admit of General Slocum putting his wing in motion, and that he was already approaching Sister's Ferry, whither a gunboat, the Pontiac, Captain Luce, kindly furnished by Admiral Dahlgren, had preceded him to cover the crossing. In the mean time three divisions of the Fifteenth Corps had closed up at Pocotaligo, and the right wing had loaded its wagons and was ready to start. I therefore directed General Howard to move one corps, the Seventeenth, along the Salkehatchie, as high up as Rivers' Bridge, and the other, the Fifteenth, by Hickory Hill, Loper's Cross-roads, Anglesey Post-office, and Beaufort's Bridge. Hatch's division was ordered to remain at Po-

cotaligo, feigning at the Salkehatchie Railroad Bridge and Ferry, until our movement turned the enemy's position and forced him to fall behind the Edisto.

"The Seventeenth and Fifteenth Corps drew out of camp on the 31st of January, but the real march began on the 1st of February. All the roads northward had for weeks been held by Wheeler's cavalry, who had by details of negro laborers felled trees, burned bridges, and made obstructions to impede our march. But so well-organized were our pioneer battalions, and so strong and intelligent our men, that obstructions seemed only to quicken their progress. Felled trees were removed and bridges rebuilt by the heads of columns before the rear could close up. On the 2d of February the Fifteenth Corps reached Loper's Cross-roads and the Seventeenth was at Rivers' Bridge. From Loper's Cross-roads I communicated with General Slocum, still struggling with the floods of the Savannah River at Sister's Ferry. He had two divisions of the Twentieth Corps, General Williams, on the east bank, and was enabled to cross over on his pontoons the cavalry of Kilpatrick. General Williams was ordered to Beaufort's Bridge, by way of Lawtonville and Allendale, Kilpatrick to Blackville via Barnwell, and General Slocum to hurry the crossing at Sister's Ferry as much as possible, and overtake the right wing on the South Carolina Railroad. General Howard, with the right wing, was directed to cross the Salkehatchie and push rapidly for the South Carolina Railroad at or near Midway. The enemy held the line of the Salkehatchie in force, having infantry and artillery intrenched at Rivers' and Beaufort Bridges. The Seventeenth Corps was ordered to carry Rivers' Bridge and the Fifteenth Corps Beaufort's Bridge. The former position was carried promptly and skillfully by Mower's and Giles

A. Smith's divisions of the Seventeenth Corps, on the 3d of February, by crossing the swamp, nearly three miles wide, with water varying from knee to shoulder deep. The weather was bitter cold, and Generals Mower and Smith led their divisions in person, on foot, waded the swamp, made a lodgment below the bridge, and turned on the rebel brigade which guarded it, driving it in confusion and disorder toward Branchville. Our casualties were one officer and seventeen men killed, and seventy men wounded, who were sent to Pocotaligo. The line of the Salkehatchie being thus broken, the enemy retreated at once behind the Edisto, at Branchville, and the whole army was pushed rapidly to the South Carolina Railroad at Midway, Bamberg, or Lowry's Station and Graham's Station. The Seventeenth Corps, by threatening Branchville, forced the enemy to burn the railroad bridge, and Walker's Bridge below, across the Edisto. All hands were at once set to work to destroy railroad track. From the 7th to the 10th of February this work was thoroughly prosecuted by the Seventeenth Corps from the Edisto to Bamberg, and by the Fifteenth Corps from Bamberg up to Blackville. In the mean time General Kilpatrick had brought his cavalry rapidly by Barnwell to Blackville, and had turned toward Aiken, with orders to threaten Augusta, but not to be drawn needlessly into a serious battle. This he skillfully accomplished, skirmishing heavily with Wheeler's cavalry, first at Blackville and afterward at Williston and Aiken. General Williams, with two divisions of the Twentieth Corps, marched to the South Carolina Railroad at Graham's Station on the 8th, and General Slocum reached Blackville on the 10th. The destruction of the railroad was continued by the left wing from Blackville up to Windsor. By the 11th of February all the army was on the railroad from Midway to Johnson's Station,

thereby dividing the enemy's forces, which still remained at Branchville and Charleston on the one hand, and Aiken and Augusta on the other.

"We then began the movement on Orangeburgh. The Seventeenth Corps crossed the South Fork of Edisto River at Binnaker's Bridge, and moved straight for Orangeburgh, while the Fifteenth Corps crossed at Holman's Bridge, and moved to Poplar Springs in support. The left wing and cavalry were still at work on the railroad, with orders to cross the South Edisto at New and Guignard's Bridges, move to the Orangeburgh and Edgefield road, and there await the result of the attack on Orangeburgh. On the 12th the Seventeenth Corps found the enemy intrenched in front of the Orangeburgh Bridge, but swept him away by a dash, and followed him, forcing him across the bridge, which was partially burned. Behind the bridge was a battery in position, covered by a cotton and earth parapet, with wings as far as could be seen. General Blair held one division (Giles A. Smith's) close up to the Edisto, and moved the other two to a point about two miles below, where he crossed Force's division by a pontoon bridge, holding Mower's in support. As soon as Force emerged from the swamp, the enemy gave ground, and Giles Smith's division gained the bridge, crossed over, and occupied the enemy's parapet. He soon repaired the bridge, and by 4 P. M. the whole corps was in Orangeburgh, and had begun the work of destruction on the railroad. Blair was ordered to destroy this road effectually up to Lewisville, and to push the enemy across the Congaree and force him to burn the bridges, which he did on the 14th; and without wasting time or labor on Branchville or Charleston, which I knew the enemy could no longer hold, I turned all the columns straight on Columbia. The Seventeenth Corps followed the State road, and the Fifteenth crossed the

North Edisto from Poplar Springs at Schilling's Bridge, above the mouth of Cawcaw Swamp Creek, and took a country road which came into the State road at Zeigler's. On the 15th, the Fifteenth Corps found the enemy in a strong position at Little Congaree Bridge (across Congaree Creek), with a *tete-de-pont* on the south side and a well constructed fort on the north side, commanding the bridge with artillery. General Charles R. Woods, who commanded the leading division, succeeded, however, in turning the flank of the *tete-de-pont* by sending Stone's brigade through a cypress swamp to the left; and following up the retreating enemy promptly, he got possession of the bridge and the fort beyond. The bridge had been partially damaged by fire, and had to be repaired for the passage of artillery, so that night closed in before the head of the column could reach the bridge across Congaree River in front of Columbia. That night the enemy shelled our camps from a battery on the east side of the Congaree above Granby. Early next morning, February 16, the head of the column reached the bank of the Congaree, opposite Columbia, but too late to save the fine bridge which spanned the river at that point. It was burned by the enemy. While waiting for the pontoons to come to the front, we could see people running about the streets of Columbia, and occasionally small bodies of cavalry, but no masses. A single gun of Captain De Grass' battery was firing at their cavalry squads, but I checked his firing, limiting him to a few shots at the unfinished State House walls, and a few shells at the railroad depot, to scatter the people who were seen carrying away sacks of corn and meal that we needed. There was no white flag or manifestations of surrender. I directed General Howard not to cross directly in front of Columbia, but to cross the Saluda at the Factory, three miles above, and afterward

Broad River, so as to approach Columbia from the north. Within an hour of the arrival of General Howard's head of column at the river opposite Columbia, the head of column of the left wing also appeared, and I directed General Slocum to cross the Saluda at Zion Church, and thence to take roads direct for Winnsboro', breaking up en route the railroads and bridges about Alston.

"General Howard effected a crossing of the Saluda, near the Factory, on the 16th, skirmishing with cavalry, and the same night made a flying bridge across Broad River, about three miles above Columbia, by which he crossed over Stone's brigade of Wood's division, Fifteenth Corps. Under cover of this brigade a pontoon-bridge was laid on the morning of the 17th. I was in person at this bridge, and at 11 A. M. learned that the Mayor of Columbia had come out in a carriage and made a formal surrender of the city to Colonel Stone, Twenty-fifth Iowa Infantry, commanding Third Brigade, First Division, Fifteenth Corps. About the same time a small party of the Seventeenth Corps had crossed the Congaree in a skiff, and entered Columbia from a point immediately west. In anticipation of the occupation of the city, I had made written orders to General Howard touching the conduct of the troops. These were to destroy absolutely all arsenals and public property not needed for our own use, as well as all railroads, depots and machinery useful in war to an enemy, but to spare all dwellings, colleges, schools, asylums, and harmless property. I was the first to cross the pontoon bridge, and in company with General Howard rode into the city. The day was clear, but a perfect tempest of wind was raging. The brigade of Colonel Stone was already in the city, and was properly posted. Citizens and soldiers were on the streets, and general good order prevailed. General Wade Hampton, who commanded the confederate

rear-guard of cavalry, had, in anticipation of our capture of Columbia, ordered that all cotton, public and private, should be moved into the streets and fired, to prevent our making use of it. Bales were piled everywhere, the rope and bagging cut, and tufts of cotton were blown about in the wind, lodged in the trees and against houses so as to resemble a snow storm. Some of these piles of cotton were burning, especially in the very heart of the city, near the court-house, but the fire was partially subdued by the labor of our soldiers. During the day the Fifteenth Corps passed through Columbia and out on the Camden road. The Seventeenth did not enter the town at all; and, as I have before stated, the left wing and cavalry did not come within two miles of the town.

"Before one single public building had been fired by order, the smouldering fires, set by Hampton's order, were rekindled by the wind, and communicated to the buildings around. About dark they began to spread, and got beyond the control of the brigade on duty within the city. The whole of Wood's division was brought in, but it was found impossible to check the flames, which, by midnight, had become unmanageable, and raged until about 4 A. M., when the wind subsiding, they were got under control. I was up nearly all night, and saw Generals Howard, Logan, Woods, and others, laboring to save houses and protect families thus suddenly deprived of shelter and of bedding and wearing apparel. I disclaim on the part of my army any agency in the fire, but on the contrary claim that we saved what of Columbia remains unconsumed. And without hesitation I charge General Wade Hampton with having burned his own city of Columbia, not with a malicious intent, or as the manifestation of a silly 'Roman stoicism,' but from folly and want of sense, in filling it with lint,

cotton, and tinder. Our officers and men on duty worked well to extinguish the flames ; but others not on duty, including the officers who had long been imprisoned there, rescued by us, may have assisted in spreading the fire after it had once began, and may have indulged in unconcealed joy to see the ruin of the capital of South Carolina. During the 18th and 19th the arsenal, railroad depots, machine-shops, founderies, and other buildings were properly destroyed by detailed working parties, and the railroad track torn up and destroyed down to Kingsville and the Wateree Bridge, and up in the direction of Winnsboro'.**

Columbia, indeed, suffered heavily from her defenders. A correspondent of the *Richmond Whig*, writing from Charlotte, N. C., February 22, describes the pillage of the city by confederate soldiers on the 15th. "A party of Wheeler's cavalry," he writes, "accompanied by their officers, dashed into town, tied their horses, and as systematically as if they had been bred to the business, proceeded to break into the stores along Main Street and rob them of their contents. A detachment of detailed men fired on one party and drove them out. Captain Hamilton, the Provost-Marshal, with another officer, drew swords and pistols on another party, and succeeded in clearing several establishments ; but the valiant raiders still swarmed like locusts, and to-day, a hundred miles away from Columbia, you may see men smoking the cigars and wearing on their saddles the elegant cloths stolen from the merchants of that city. It is said that two of the 'cavalry' drew pistols on General Hampton, who was attempting to protect a store, and threatened his life. Under these circumstances you may well imagine that our people would rather see the Yankees or old Satan himself than a party

of the aforesaid Wheeler's cavalry. The barbarities committed by some of them are represented to be frightful, 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' being perfectly incompatible with their presence. Common rumor says that Sherman's treatment of citizens and private property was uniformly lenient and conciliatory. His headquarters were at Nickerson's Hotel."

Following this scene of pillage came the conflagration of a great part of the city during the night following Sherman's occupation. The enemy, as related by General Sherman, on retreating had fired various buildings and bales of cotton in the streets. The fire spread as the burning masses were carried by the wind, and, notwithstanding the efforts of General Sherman's troops to arrest the flames, nearly the whole city was laid in ashes. The scene as described by eye witnesses, the fierceness of the conflagration, the terror and bewilderment of the inhabitants, aggravated by their mortification and dismay at the presence of the victorious army, was truly appalling. The capital of South Carolina was paying a fearful penalty for her prominent part in the rebellion.

The surprise of the inhabitants and flight from the deserted city are vividly described by the Charlotte, N. C., correspondent of the *Richmond Whig* already cited. "Sherman's advance on Columbia," he writes, "was unexpected. Sudden as surprising, it found all unprepared for the events which followed, and few cool enough in the crisis to yield to any other than the bent of the first impulse. Hence hundreds are to-day exiles from home who would give almost their all to be safely back. They have learned that being a refugee don't pay. Orangeburg and Kingsville were supposed to be the highest points northward on that line at which Sherman would strike. The people who planned his campaign thought from thence he

* General Sherman's Report of the Campaign, Goldsboro, N. C., April 4, 1865.

would branch off toward Charaff and Fayetteville, leaving Columbia untouched. Four days dispelled the illusion. Our troops fell back until the sounds of cannon reverberated through the city. Then public officers for the first time began to think of removing the Government stores. The instructions from Richmond had left many of them no other discretion. Hurry, excitement, and some confusion became the order of the day. Everybody, public and private, wanted a car. The President of the Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad, Colonel William Johnson, his assistants, Captain Sharp, the agent of transportation, and his aids, now bent their energies to the Herculean task before them, and accomplished all that men could do. The trains from the South Carolina and Greenville roads were run upon the Charlotte track, filled and hurried away to return and fill again. Engines shrieked their signal notes, morning, noon and night. The activity was ceaseless. The depots were crowded with goods of every description. Passenger trains were thronged, ladies and families in their fright undergoing the most grievous torments of travel to escape from what they believed was a doomed city. The city resounded with the rumble of a thousand wheels, all bearing their freight to the grand funnel out of which it was to be discharged. Horses, wagons, negroes, every thing that could aid in the removal of property, was brought into requisition, and between force and persuasion, an immense amount of labor was systematically, rapidly and judiciously employed. By Wednesday night the tide was at its height. The enemy were within three miles. The little army in their front had given back step by step until, flanked out of the fortifications on the opposite side of the Congaree, they retired to the limits of the city itself, where a line of battle again re-formed. Three or four shells thrown at the bridge

increased the popular agitation until it became a fever. The stores were closed. Militia and detailed men were at the front. Army trains began to move through, and the truth at last flashed upon the minds of all, that Columbia must inevitably be evacuated. Few slept soundly in their beds during the night that followed. Thursday, the 15th, the enemy opened on the city with shells. Some damage was done, but few casualties are reported. One gentleman only is said to have been killed. The State House, Nickerson's Hotel, *South Carolinian* office, together with some private residences, were paid an iron compliment, and the inmates evacuated with the usual polite formalities of leave-taking. Still the work of removal went bravely forward, and a vast amount was accomplished. The time was too brief, however, to do all, and hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of public and private property remained in and about the depot, as a prey to the Yankee torch and pilferer.

"The scenes up the railroad may be briefly described. Crowds at every depot seeking temporary shelter; some getting off, some getting on; twenty trains thundering one after the other in quick succession; screaming locomotives, crying babies, tearful women, families traveling in box-cars among piles of bacon, salt, handboxes, trunks and bedclothes; a break down near Winsboro; engine off the track; ten hours' delay; enemy reported coming; more consternation; a long night; no wood, no water, no breakfast; ten carloads of ladies of the Treasury Department in most unattractive morning *dis-habille*, with hair unkempt, and hollow, sleepy eyes, shivering about in the red mucilaginous mud; ten or twelve carloads of Yankee prisoners just ahead, likewise at a dead halt; the guards around their camp-fires, and the individuals of a cerulean aspect singing with tremendous energy Union songs; still

ahead, the section-masters and bricklayers, with a gang of laborers repairing the road and holding *post-mortem* consultations over the remains of a deserted engine—finally, a run back three miles, a filling of tanks, a fresh start, and arrival at Charlotte. There an avalanche upon the good people, an appeal to hospitality which is most warmly heeded, and a gradual simmering down of all the elements in agitation. Such, in brief, is a history of our evacuation of Columbia.”

The announcement of the fall of Columbia was first received at the North in the following extract from the *Richmond Dispatch* of February 18, forwarded by General Grant from City Point:

“Columbia has fallen! Sherman marched into and took possession of the city yesterday morning. The intelligence was communicated yesterday by General Beauregard in an official dispatch. Columbia is situated on the north bank of the Congaree River, just below the confluence of the Saluda and Broad Rivers. From General Beauregard's dispatch, it appears that on Thursday night the enemy approached the south bank of the Congaree, and threw a number of shells into the city. During the night they moved up the river, and yesterday morning forded the Saluda and Broad Rivers. Whilst they were crossing these rivers our troops under General Beauregard evacuated Columbia. The enemy soon after took possession. Through private sources we learn that two days ago, when it was decided not to attempt the defence of Columbia, a large quantity of medical stores, which it was thought it was impossible to remove, were destroyed. The female employees of the Treasury Department had been previously sent off to Charlotte, South Carolina, a hundred miles north of Columbia. We presume the Treasury lithographic establishment was also removed, although

as to this we have no positive information. The fall of Columbia necessitates, we presume, the evacuation of Charleston, which, we think likely, is already in process of evacuation.”

That event, the necessity of which was thus declared, was already in process of completion. The capture of Branchville had rendered it inevitable. Charleston, with its supplies cut off, with the army of Sherman in the rear, closely beset on James Island by the forces of the department from the South, with Admiral Dahlgren's powerful navy in front, was no longer tenable as a military post. It was only left to General Hardee, who was in command, to escape while he could by the single northerly coast line of railway still open to him. Prominent citizens had already left, the army and stores were being removed, and on the 18th, the date of General Grant's communication, the city was surrendered. The fact was announced in a dispatch of that day to General Halleck by General Gillmore, who, at the opening of the campaign, had succeeded General Foster in command of the Department. It was as follows: “General—The city of Charleston and its defences came into our possession this morning, with over 200 pieces of artillery and a goodly supply of fine ammunition. The enemy commenced evacuating all the works last night, and Mayor Macbeth surrendered the city to the troops of General Schimmelfennig at 9 o'clock this morning, at which time it was occupied by our forces. Our advance on the Edisto and from Bull's Bay hastened the retreat. The cotton warehouses, arsenal, quartermaster's stores, railroad bridges, and two iron-clads were burned by the enemy. Some vessels in the ship-yard were also burned. Nearly all the inhabitants remaining belong to the poorer classes.”

Intimation of the evacuation of the city was given to the fleet and the

troops in the vicinity during the night by the conflagration and explosion of the rebel guns and rams. The Central Railroad buildings in the upper part of the city, containing a large quantity of provisions and two hundred kegs of powder, were consumed. About half-past 3 in the morning the powder blew up, killing and wounding a considerable number—about 100 it was said—of the poorer citizens who were engaged in gathering for themselves the corn and rice devoted to destruction. The rams in the inner harbor were blown up at daylight. Among the guns destroyed were two 600 - pounders, mounted on the wharf-batteries of the city. They were exploded by being filled with powder, sand, and rock ; the concussion at their being fired, completely shattering the houses in the vicinity. The first of the Union forces who entered the city was Lieutenant-Colonel A. G. Bennett, Twenty-first United States Colored Troops, who arrived about half an hour after the last of the rebel forces left. He was followed by Colonel Ames of the Third Rhode Island Artillery. Troops were sent over to hold the city from James and Morris Islands. General Gillmore arrived about noon from Hilton Head, and on seeing the smoke over the city sailed up the channel, reaching the pier at 2 in the afternoon. Admiral Dahlgren preceded him by about an hour. Captain Henry M. Bregg, of General Gillmore's staff, went over to Fort Sumter in a small boat, and planted the United States flag on the parapet, having for a staff an oar and a boat hook lashed together. He found in the fort four columbiads and five howitzers. The Union troops, on landing at the city, were immediately employed in arresting the conflagration and saving the property of the inhabitants from further destruction. The quantity of cotton destroyed was estimated at about four thousand bales. Much more, it was

said, was left distributed in small lots about the city. Eight locomotives and twelve cars were captured. Several hundred deserters concealed in the houses surrendered. Hundreds of others came in from the country afterward. In a second dispatch forwarded on the 26th, General Gillmore reported the actual capture of over 450 pieces of ordnance, being more than double his first estimate. Hardee retreated in the direction of North Carolina with about 12,000 men.

A correspondent with General Gillmore's army, writing from Charleston on the 21st, describes the general condition of the city. "The confused state of affairs," says he, "which prevailed for the first day or two after the evacuation of the city is rapidly assuming a more quiet and satisfactory condition. The citizens of the place are gradually becoming accustomed and reconciled to the new régime, and do not hesitate to appear on the streets or to visit their places of business. But a few complaints have been made to Provost-Marshal Bennett, by citizens who have sustained some annoyance in the way of having their premises unceremoniously entered by the soldiers, and by other citizens who have had horses, vehicles, and other property suddenly confiscated. In a few days, however, a guard will be organized throughout the city, and the people will be assured of the safety of themselves and their effects. The appearance of the city is desolate in the extreme. While on Morris Island I often heard the report that grass was growing in the streets at the lower end of Charleston, and now I am a witness to the truth of the statement. All along the water front, and in fact, for a long distance up the city, the buildings are either partially or wholly demolished. The walls of some present great, jagged holes, through which a horse and cart could easily pass, and that is the case not only in

one but several streets. No wonder the rebels were solicitous to get beyond the reach of our shells. Such a punishment was never before inflicted upon any city. All of the hotels are closed, the furniture and appointments having been removed by the proprietors to the interior of the State some months ago. The Mills House was struck seventeen times, and at last the guests announced that they would not risk their lives by remaining longer in the building. The Charleston Hotel was also struck several times, so that it became necessary to close it. While walking through the upper wards this morning, I was astonished to find that shells had even reached as far as the Georgia Railroad depot, thus showing that they had traveled a distance of five and six miles.

"The first day of our entry into the city I noticed but few citizens made their appearance. I am told that the more prominent secessionists, and a great many of the Union sympathizers have gone into the country. But within the past few days a number of the latter have returned here, bringing their furniture with them. Unmistakably there is a strong Union feeling in Charleston. There is also a secesh element remaining which in course of time will die a natural death. As to the matter of subsistence the supply is limited, consisting mostly of meal and rice. The entire quantity was seized by our authorities on Saturday, and at noon to-day will be turned over to a committee of the citizens, of which committee Dr. A. G. Mackey, one of the staunchest Union men in the place, is a member, to be distributed among the poor of the inhabitants. It seems to be inevitable that to prevent suffering, similar measures to those taken by the North in the case of Savannah must be adopted in behalf of the people of Charleston. It is contemplated by the citizens to hold a public meeting for the purpose of choosing delegates to repair

to the North and lay before its people an account of the destitute condition to which the rebellion has reduced them. I have taken special pains to inquire of a number of the inhabitants what general view was entertained in the South as to the results thus far of the war, and in every instance I was informed that the South would do well if it held out two months longer. General Hardee and other rebel military officers said before they left the city that their armies must concentrate in Virginia, or all would certainly be lost. Perhaps it will surprise many to learn that there was really a Union League established in Charleston. Such was the case, and it received the support of hundreds of the citizens, and many of the members were of such prominent standing that the military authorities dare not make open arrests. According to the description given, the most inhuman and outrageous acts of cruelty were committed by the rebels when they evacuated. Women and children who had snatched from the flames a few bags of meal or corn, or an apronful of rice, were pursued by the cavalry and cut down with sabres. The rebels were exasperated to the nature of fiends when they approached a man who showed the least desire to share the fate of the city. Had they been allowed to exercise their own will, not a house would have been left standing."

Writing a few days later, on the 26th the same correspondent says: "The citadel, arsenal, and some other public buildings have, until the past two days, been guarded by colored troops. They are now guarded by the Third Rhode Island Artillery and one other regiment. Nearly all of the colored troops have been taken off of patrol duty and sent to the front, where they will doubtless render efficient service. As a natural consequence, the residents felt *hurt* at seeing their houses placed under the surveillance of colored soldiers, who,

perhaps, a short time previous had labored as slaves for the inmates, but, at the same time, they had an opportunity of observing that the colored soldiers were slaves no longer. Since my arrival in this city I have been assured by different parties that their colored servants would not leave them on any account, and that they had become so attached to their homes that no one could entice them away. Within the past twenty-four hours I have learned from a number of the same party that their colored servants had taken 'French leave.' The fact is, the slaves in this city—or those who were formerly slaves—have become imbued with a spirit of freedom, and are determined to bear the yoke no longer. They begin to comprehend the old saying 'that the laborer is worthy of his hire.' From the very first day of the rebellion, there have lived in Charleston men firm and true to the Union. Through evil and good report, reverses and successes, they have always stood on one side—the Union side. Those men are in the city to-day, and we take them by the hand and say, you have done your duty nobly and well. How they managed to meet together and talk over the events of the day, each one giving a free expression to his thoughts, and using his influence to counteract the evil designs of the rebels, is a matter which need not be explained here. It is sufficient to know that they did not fail in their object. Of course we cannot expect to find all the inhabitants of Charleston enlisted in the cause of the Union. We meet rebels daily. We meet rebels who do not hesitate to declare themselves as such, notwithstanding they may be on a mission to the office of the Provost-Marshal for the purpose of asking him to send a guard to protect their property. It is strange how little some people will appreciate the efforts of those who try to render them a service. For four long years have the citizens of

this place submitted themselves to the tyranny of fiends, and how any one of them can be otherwise than grateful to the men who liberated them is one of the mysteries of the times. As a redeeming circumstance, however, I will state that our soldiers have not been grossly insulted in the streets. The citizens are disposed to treat them respectfully at any rate."

Again, on March 5: "Under the new order of things the people of Charleston are gradually coming to their senses, and evince a disposition to make the city once more the leading trading mart for this section of the country. When we first took possession the citizens were shy, and hesitated about making their appearance on the street, but now they come forth in swarms, and of course the majority of them profess to be on the side of the Union. Were it not for Northern enterprise, however, Charleston might remain in the same dormant state in which we found it for years. But happily the new comers have infused a spirit of activity into the old inhabitants, and we shall see the city in a few months' time full of life and gayety. Some of the citizens still cling to the hope that the rebel government will eventually succeed in establishing itself on a firm basis, but the same citizens are laughed and jeered at by their more wise neighbors. . . . King Street is alive with business. One is astonished to see how some sutlers and other traders have taken stores and exposed goods for sale. The stores are doing an excellent business, too. From morning till night they are thronged with customers. The great trouble is that the majority of the citizens have rebel money only. They appreciate the fact that this money is worthless; yet they are very reluctant to part with it without receiving a portion of an equivalent in return. The other day I saw a man who had \$10,000 in rebel notes, and who was willing to

exchange the entire amount for \$500 in greenbacks, and could not find a purchaser. Men who, before the war, were the wealthiest in the city, are now in the condition of the poorest. Yesterday a man who, three years ago, was worth \$2,000,000, confessed to me that he could not raise twenty dollars in current money if it was demanded of him to save his neck from the gallows. I looked at him, and thought he was just the fellow that the gallows had been waiting for during the past four years. A considerable amount of gold and silver is in circulation. It was the practice of the shrewd ones to turn their rebel rag currency into coin as often as an opportunity offered; hence we see many persons attired in soiled and tattered garments with the real stuff in their pockets. In accordance with a general order, issued at the Post Headquarters, a premium of one hundred per cent. is allowed on gold, and seventy-five per cent. on silver. So far as subsistence stores are concerned, the citizens of Charleston appear to have been better off than their neighbors in Savannah. To be sure, they did not have a large quantity of meal, but of rice and corn they had an abundant supply. A large quantity of rice and corn, stored in public buildings, was seized by our authorities, and turned over to a committee of the citizens, to be distributed among the most needy."*

The fall of Charleston was thus a much less dramatic affair than had been anticipated. Though in the successive assaults of the Army and Navy, and the virtual destruction of Fort Sumter, it had been the scene of many acts of great heroism, it was occupied quietly at last without the expected final struggle for which the Navy was prepared and which the Army anticipated. The siege, dating from the establishment of Gene-

ral Gillmore's troops on Morris Island in July, 1863, had lasted 585 days. It would be a curious account—an inventory of the various ammunition, the powder, shot and shell expended during this year and a half of incessant warfare on this ill-fated spot. A Northern "correspondent," writing from the city on the 23d of February, chronicles some of the results of this continuous bombardment. "About 13,000 shells," says he, "have been thrown into the town—nearly a thousand shells a month. Some were filled with the preparation known as 'Greek fire,' others with incendiary fuses, others with powder only. The shells were fired at a great elevation and were therefore plunging shots—striking a house on the roof and passing down from the attic to the chambers, lower stories, ground floor, and basement. Some exploded in the attic, some in the cellars, some in the chambers, others in the walls. The effect has been a complete riddling of the houses. Brick walls have been blown into millions of fragments, roofs have been torn to pieces—rafters, beams, braces, scantlings have been broken and splintered into jack straws. Churches, hotels, stores, dwellings, public buildings, all have been shattered. There are great holes in the ground where cart-loads of earth have been excavated in a twinkling. To present a lively picture of the place I must incorporate personal adventures into my account. The lower half of the city is called Gillmore's town by the inhabitants. I have made a thorough exploration of Gillmore's town, also of that part of the city still inhabited. We visited the old office of the *Mercury* in Broad Street. A messenger sent by the 'Marsh Angel,' had preceded us, entering the roof, passing into the chimney, and exploding within, dumping several cart-loads of brickbats, mortar and soot into the editorial room, smashing all the windows, and splintering the doors. It

* "Whit," Correspondence *New York Times*, February-March, 1865.

was the room where secession had its incubation. The leading rebellious spirits once sat there in their arm chairs and enthroned King Cotton, and demanded homage to his majesty from all nations. The first shell sent the 'Mercury' up town to a safer locality, but when Sherman began his march into the interior, the 'Mercury' fled into the country to Cheraw, it is said, right into the line of Sherman's advance! The 'Courier' office, in Bay street, had not escaped damage. A shell entered through the roof, went tearing down through the floors, ripping up the boards, breaking the timbers, jarring the plaster from the walls, exploding in the second story, rattling all the tiles from the roof, bursting out the windows, smashing the imposing stone, opening the whole building to the sun-light. Another shell had dashed the sidewalk to pieces and blown a passage into the cellar wide enough to admit a six-horse wagon. Near the 'Courier' office was the Union Bank, Farmers' and Exchange Bank, and the Charleston Bank. They were costly buildings, fitted up with marble mantels, floors of terracotta tiles, counters elaborate in carved work, and with gorgeous frescoing on the walls. There, five years ago, the merchants of the city, the planters of the country, the slave-traders assembled on exchange, talked treason, and indulged in extravagant day-dreams of the future glory of Charleston.

"The rooms are silent now. The oaken doors splintered, the frescoing washed from the walls by the rains which drip from the shattered roof, the desks are kindling wood, the highly-wrought cornice work has dropped from the ceiling to the ground, the tiles are plowed up, the marble mantels shattered, the beautiful plate-glass of the windows lies in a million fragments upon the floor. In short the banks have broke! They helped on the rebellion—contributed of their funds to

inaugurate it, and invested largely in the State stock to place the State on a war footing. By a document which has fallen into my hands and which lies before me, I notice that the three banks already named held on January 6, 1862, \$610,000 worth of the seven per cent. State stock, issued under the act of December, 1861. They would sell it dog cheap now. Passing from the banks to the hotel I found a like scene of destruction. The door of the Mills House was open. The windows had lost their glazing and were boarded up. Sixteen shots have struck the building. The rooms where secession had been rampant in the beginning, where bottles of wine had been drunk over the fall of Sumter, echoed only to our footsteps. The Charleston Hotel has several great holes in the walls. The churches have not escaped. St. Michael's, the oldest of all, has been repeatedly struck. The pavement is thick with broken glass, which has been rattled from the windows by the explosion of the shells. All the churches in the lower portion of the city are wrecks. The preachers were early imbued with the spirit of revolt. Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Baptist—all preached secession.

"Warehouses, stores, dwellings alike are shaken to pieces. The family residences overlooking the bay or battery, as it is called, are windowless, some even without doors. The elaborate centre-pieces of stucco-work in the drawing-rooms have crumbled; the marble mantels are defaced; bedrooms are filled with bricks; the white marble steps and mahogany balusters are shattered; owls and bats can build their nests in the coming spring-time undisturbed in the desolate mansions; the esplanade of the battery, the pleasure-ground of the Charlestonians, their delight and pride, is dug into defensive trenches; there is a breastwork in King street. There are masked batteries along the shore, which show that

the determination was fierce for holding the city, even if the iron-clads had succeeded in passing Moultrie. In 1861 the heart of the city was burned out by a great fire, which swept from the Cooper to the Ashley Rivers. Since then there has been no sound of saw or hammer, except in the ship-yards where the gunboats were under construction. Those, like everything else, have been lost labor. Last Saturday they, too, were burned. It is an indescribable scene of desolation and ruin, of roofless, doorless, windowless houses, crumbling walls, upheaved pavements, and grass-grown streets—silent to all sounds of business, and voiceless only to the woe-begone, poverty-stricken, haggard people, who wander up and down amid the ruins, looking to a jubilant past, a disappointed present, and a hopeless future. They are in rags, and their boots are out at the toes, their shoes down at the heels. There is no longer a manifestation of arrogance, lordly insolence, and conscious superiority over the Yankees on the part of the whites.”*

The picture of the occupation of Charleston would be incomplete without a glance at its effects upon the colored race in the city. The correspondent just cited, in another letter gives a sketch of the scene. “It is impossible,” says he, “for me to give a complete representation of the joy of the freedmen of this city over the arrival of the Yankees. On Monday morning last, when the steamer W. W. Coit, with General Gillmore’s flag at the fore and the Stars and Stripes at the stern, steamed up the harbor, with the band playing ‘Hail Columbia,’ there was a sudden gathering of colored people upon the wharves. They were full of ecstasy. Springing upon the pier before the lines were thrown out, I met a gray-bearded old man, who touched his hat, bowed himself to the

ground, and said, ‘Good morning, massa.’ ‘We are Yankees, Uncle. Are you not afraid of us?’ I said. ‘God bless you, no, massa. I’ve prayed for you to come, and God has heard me,’ he said, grasping my hand. He threw his old battered hat upon the ground, looked upward and poured out his gratitude from an overflowing heart. ‘Are you a slave?’ ‘Yes, massa.’ ‘Well, you are a slave no longer. You are as free as I am.’ ‘Is it so, massa?’ he asked with indescribable earnestness, and again raising his eyes toward heaven, he gave thanks to God with an emotion such as I never before witnessed.

“Charleston has been one of the great slave marts of the South. Shē has been the boldest advocate for the re-opening of the slave trade. Her statesmen legislated for it; her ministers of the Gospel upheld it as the best means of Christianizing Africa, and the ultimate benefit of the whole human race. Being thus upheld, as might be expected, the slave-traders set up their auction-block in no out-of-the-way place. A score of men opened offices and dealt in the bodies and souls of men. Among them were T. Ryan & Son, M. M. McBride, J. E. Bowers, J. B. Oaks, J. B. Baker, Wilbur & Son, on State and Chalmers Streets. Twenty paces distant from Baker’s is a building bearing the sign, ‘Theological Library, Protestant Episcopal Church.’ Standing by Baker’s door and looking up Chalmers Street to King Street, I read another sign, ‘Sunday-School Depository;’ also, ‘Hibernian Hall,’ the building in which the ordinance of secession was signed. In another building, on the opposite corner, is the Registry of Deeds. Near by is the guard-house with its grated windows, its iron bars being an appropriate design of double-edged swords and spears. Thousands of poor slaves have been incarcerated there for no crime whatever, except for being out after 9 o’clock, or for meeting in some

* Correspondence of the *Boston Journal*, Charleston, February 23, 1865.

upper chamber to tell God their wrongs, with no white man present. They ought to have obeyed the injunction of the deep-toned bell of old St. Michael's, which, at 8:30 in the evening in its high and venerable tower, opened its trembling lips and shouted, 'Get you home! get you home!' Always that; always that of command; always of arrogance, superiority, and caste; never of love, good-will, and friendship. On Sunday morning it said to the white man, 'Come and sit in your old-fashioned, velvet-cushioned pews, you rich ones! Go up stairs, you niggers!' I heard the old bell last night at half-past eight. A week ago, at 9 o'clock, the horse patrol dashed through the streets, and all negroes abroad without a pass were marched down to the guard-house. Now, freedmen walk the street at all hours of day and night, unchallenged even by the dusky sentinels pacing their appointed beats, whose only duty is to keep watch against surprise from those who would bring chains and slavery once more to this people. The guard-house doors are wide open. The jailor has lost his occupation. The last slave has been incarcerated within its walls, and St. Michael's curfew shall be sweetest music henceforth and forever. It shall ring the glad chimes of freedom—freedom to come, to go, or to tarry by the way—freedom from sad partings of wife and husband, father and son, mother and child. The brokers in flesh and blood took good care to be well buttressed. They set up their mart in a respectable quarter, with St. Michael's and the guard-house, the Registry of Deeds and the Sunday-School Depository, the court house and the Theological Library around them to uphold and sustain them, and make their calling respectable. But the 'Marsh Angel' has rattled all the glass from the windows of St. Michael's, splintered the pews, and smashed the pulpit. Its messengers have howled over the grave of

Calhoun, the apostle of secession, whose bones are moldering in the adjoining cemetery. The same 'Angel' has made a record of its doing in the Registry building. At one stroke it opened the entire front of the Sunday-School Depository to the light of heaven. There is a mass of evidence in the court-room—several cart-loads of brick and plaster introduced by General Gillmore, which the advocates of secession here thought admissable. I entered the Theological Library building through a window from which General Gillmore had removed the sash. A pile of old rubbish lay upon the floor—sermons, tracts, magazines, books, papers, damp, musty, and moldy—turning into pulp beneath the rain-drops which came down through the shattered roof.

"Amid these surroundings was the Slave Mart—a building with a large iron gate in front, above which, in large gilt letters, was the word 'Mart.' The iron gate opened to a hall about sixty feet long by twenty broad, flanked on one side by a long table running the entire length of the hall, and on the other by benches. At the further end a door, opening through a brick wall, gave entrance to a yard. The door was locked. I tried my boot heel, but it would not yield. I called a freedman to my aid. Unitedly we took up a great stone. We gave a blow. Another, and the door of the Bastile went into splinters. Across the yard is a four-story brick building, with grated windows and iron doors—a prison. The yard is walled by high buildings. He who entered there left all hope behind. A small room adjoining the hall was the place where women were subjected to the lascivious gaze of brutal men. There were the steps, up which thousands of men, women and children have walked to their places on the table, to be knocked off to the highest bidder. The thought occurred to me that perhaps Governor Andrew, or Wendell Phil-

lips, or William Lloyd Garrison, or Drs. Kirk, Stone, or Rev. Mr. Manning would like to make a speech from those steps. I determined to secure them. While doing so a colored woman came into the hall to see the Yankees. 'I was sold there upon that table two years ago,' said she. 'You never will be sold again; you are free now and forever,' I replied. 'Thank God! Oh, the blessed Jesus, he has heard my prayer. I am so glad, only I wish I could see my husband. He was sold at the same time into the country, and has gone I don't know where.' Thus spake Dinah Moore. In front of the mart was a gilt star—I climbed the post and wrenched it from its spike to secure it as a trophy. A freedman took down the gilt letters for me, and knocked off the great lock from the outer iron gate and the smaller lock from the inner door. The steps and lock are on their way to Boston. The key of the French Bastille hangs at Mount Vernon; the staircase of the temple of Jerusalem, up which the Saviour walked, has been transplanted to Rome; and so, as relics of the American prison-house now and forever being broken up, I have secured these relics that all who love freedom, who have worked and prayed through long and weary years for the overthrow of slavery, who have laid down their sons upon the battlefield to save the land, may behold them. These steps have been wet by many tears; men and women have tottered upon them with trembling limbs and broken hearts. Upon them there has been such weeping and sorrow and sighing as slavery alone of all things on earth can give, weeping which has been, but which shall be no more."

Simultaneously with the news of the fall of Columbia and Charleston came the report of further conquests in the Department of North Carolina where General Schofield with reinforcements, had taken command at the beginning of February. After the capture of Fort

Fisher and its dependencies the chief obstacle hindering an advance by water to Wilmington was Fort Anderson on Cape Fear River guarding the immediate approach to the city. It was described as a work of immense strength and great extent, "its sea-front like that of Fort Fisher, being a series of large mounds or traverses rising twenty-five to thirty feet above the water of Cape Fear River, in which it fronts to the North East, and extending in alternating mounds, traverses, angles, embrasures and ditches, enclosing an area of about four square miles. Its object was to cover a system of river obstructions, *Chevaux de frise*, torpedoes, etc., which it would have been impossible to pass while held by the enemy, and it also commanded the right of the enemy's strong line of works on the opposite bank of the river.*" The movement up the river commenced on the 11th of February with a reconnoissance in force by Ames' and Paine's divisions of General Terry's command which was pushed to the enemies lines on the left bank of the river opposite Fort Anderson about twelve miles from Wilmington. There was some sharp skirmishing at the enemy's outposts, General Hoke being in command of the confederate forces, in which the Union colored troops were actively engaged while the Monitor Montauk bombarded the Fort. These preliminary movements were followed up on the 16th by the transfer by General Schofield of General Cox's division of the Twenty-third Corps across from Federal Point to Smithfield whence they advanced on the right bank of the river through swampy and difficult ground to the rear of Fort Anderson. The sequel is related in the dispatch of Admiral Porter on the 19th to the Navy Department. "I have the honor," he writes, "to report the surrender or evacuation of Fort Anderson. General Schofield advanced

* "Army and Navy Gazette," February 25, 1865.

from Smithville with 3,000 men on the 17th inst. At the same time I attacked the works by water, placing the Monitor Montauk close to the works, and infiltrating them with the Pawtucket, Lenafee, Unadilla and Pequot, the tide and wind not allowing more vessels to get under fire. The fort answered pretty briskly, but quieted down by sunset. On the 18th, at 8 o'clock, I moved up closer with the Montauk, leaving the following by the Mackinaw: Huron, Sassacus, Pontoosuc, Maratango, Lenafee, Unadilla, Pawtucket, Osceola, Shawmut, Seneca, Wyack, Chippewa and Little Ada, and kept up a heavy fire during the day until late in the afternoon. The enemy's batteries were silenced by 3 o'clock, though we kept up the fire until dusk. We also fired through the night. In the meantime General Schofield was working in the rear of the rebels, to cut them off. The latter did not wait for the army to surround them, but left in the night, taking five or six pieces of light artillery with them, and everything else of any value. At daylight this morning some of our troops that were near by, went in and hoisted the flag on the ramparts, when the firing ceased from the monitors. There were ten heavy guns in Fort Anderson, and a quantity of ammunition. We lost but three killed and five wounded."

In addition to the dispatch of Admiral Porter in relation to the surrender or evacuation of Fort Anderson, information was received at the same time at the Navy Department that Lieutenant Wm. B. Cushing constructed a mock monitor so closely resembling one of those vessels that no difference could be detected at the distance of 100 yards. On Saturday night, the 18th, at about 11 o'clock, this vessel was taken up to within four hundred yards of the fort, and set adrift. As there was a strong flood tide, she moved up the river and passed the fort as if under

slow steam. At this time the army had worked about two-thirds of the distance around and in the rear of the fort, and the rebels, no doubt thinking their communications would be cut off both by land and water, hastily escaped by the only avenue open to them, leaving their guns unspiked, their magazines uninjured, etc.

The abandonment of Fort Anderson was speedily followed by the evacuation by General Hoke of Wilmington. The naval and military operations leading to the capture of the city on the 22d, are related in a dispatch of Admiral Porter of that day, to Secretary Welles: "I have," he writes, "the honor to inform you that Wilmington has been evacuated, and is in the possession of our troops. After the evacuation of Fort Anderson, I pushed forward the gunboats up as far as the water would permit. The army pushed up at the same time on the right and left banks of the river. After sounding and buoying out the middle ground at Big Island, I succeeded in getting the gunboats over, and opened fire on Fort Strong, the work commanding the principal obstructions, where the rebels had also sank a barge steamer—the North Eastern. Our fire soon drove the rebels away from the fort. Now and then they would fire a shot, one of which struck the Sassacus below water-mark, and set her leaking badly. She was struck once or twice more, but met with no loss in men. That night (the 20th) the rebels sent down 200 floating torpedoes, but I had a strong force of picket-boats out, and the torpedoes were sunk with musketry. One got in the wheel of the Osceola, and blew her wheelhouse to pieces, and knocked down her bulkhead inboard, and there was no damage to the hull. Some of the vessels picked up the torpedoes with their torpedo-nets. The next morning I spread two fishing nets across the river. Yesterday evening,

General Ames, with his division, moved within a short distance of the fort, and had a sharp encounter with the rebels. On hearing the musketry, and seeing where our troops were, I opened a rapid fire on the fort, and ere long the enemy's line and fort responded with three or four shots, but was soon silenced. This morning we heard that General Terry was within their works, and the road was clear to Wilmington. The Montauk could not get across the shoals without lightening, which was a work of some labor, I had the pleasure of placing the flag on Fort Strong, and at 12 o'clock noon, to-day, we all fire a salute of thirty-five guns, this being the anniversary of Washington's birthday."

The night previous to the evacuation, the enemy destroyed about 1,000 bales of cotton, 15,000 barrels of rosin, an extensive cotton shed and presses, an unfinished iron clad, three large turpentine works and various bridges. About 700 prisoners were captured and some thirty or forty pieces of artillery left in the city.

The capture of Wilmington at this time was of the utmost importance as a base of supplies for the Army of General Sherman in its advance into North Carolina, where he was threatened with considerable opposition by the concentrated forces of the enemy, the retreating forces of Beauregard from Columbia, of Hardee from Charleston, the troops of the Department and reinforcements from Richmond, the whole being now under command of General Joseph E. Johnston.

In accordance with an act of the Richmond Congress passed in January, providing for the appointment of a general-in-chief of the armies of the Confederate States, General Lee was early in February called to that command. His headquarters remained with the army of Northern Virginia at Richmond. The Congress also resolved "That if the President will assign General Joseph

E. Johnston to the command of the Army of Tennessee, it will, in the opinion of the Congress of the Confederate States, be hailed with joy by the army and receive the approval of the country." This likewise was accomplished, General Johnston succeeding General Beauregard in command at Charlotte, N. C., on the 25th of February, of "The Army of the Tennessee and all the troops in the Departments of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida." General Beauregard, at his own request, received a subordinate command in Johnston's army. We now resume the narrative by General Sherman of his military operations subsequent to the occupation of Columbia on the 17th of February. "At the same time," says he, "the left wing and cavalry had crossed the Saluda and Broad Rivers, breaking up the railroad about Alston, and as high up as the bridge across Broad River on the Spartanburgh road, the main body moving straight for Winnsboro, which General Slocum reached on the 21st of February. He caused the railroad to be destroyed up to Blackstakes depot, and then turned to Rocky Mount, on the Catawba River. The Twentieth Corps reached Rocky Mount on the 22d, laid a pontoon bridge, and crossed over during the 23d. Kilpatrick's cavalry followed, and crossed over in a terrible rain during the night of the 23d, and moved up to Lancaster, with orders to keep up the delusion of a general movement on Charlotte, N. C., to which General Beauregard, and all the cavalry of the enemy, had retreated from Columbia. I was also aware that Cheatham's corps, of Hood's old army, was aiming to make a junction with Beauregard at Charlotte, having been cut off by our rapid movement on Columbia and Winnsboro. From the 23d to the 26th we had heavy rains, swelling the rivers and making the roads almost impassable. The Twentieth Corps reached Hanging Rock on the 26th, and waited there for the

Fourteenth Corps to cross the Catawba. The heavy rains had so swollen the river that the pontoon bridge broke, and General Davis had very hard work to restore it and get his command across. At last he succeeded, and the left wing was all put in motion for Cheraw. In the meantime the right wing had broken up the railroad to Winnsboro, and thence turned for Peay's ferry, where it was crossed over the Catawba before the heavy rains set in, the Seventeenth Corps moving straight on Cheraw *via* Young's Bridge, and the Fifteenth Corps by Tiller's and Kelly's Bridges. From this latter corps detachments were sent into Camden, to burn the bridge over the Wateree, with the railroad depot, stores, etc. A small force of mounted men, under Captain Duncan, was also dispatched to make a dash and interrupt the railroad from Charleston to Florence, but it met Butler's division of cavalry, and, after a sharp night's skirmish on Mount Elon, was compelled to return unsuccessful. Much bad road was encountered at Lynch's Creek, which delayed the right wing about the same length of time as the left wing had been on the Catawba. On the 2d of March, the leading division of the Twentieth Corps entered Chesterfield, skirmishing with Butler's division of cavalry, and the next day, about noon, the Seventeenth Corps entered Cheraw, the enemy retreating across the Pedee and burning the bridge at that point. At Cheraw we found much ammunition and many guns, which had been brought from Charleston on the evacuation of that city. These were destroyed, as also the railroad trestles and bridges down as far as Darlington. An expedition of mounted infantry was also sent down to Florence, but it encountered both cavalry and infantry, and returned, having only broken up in part the branch road from Florence to Cheraw.

"Without unnecessary delay the columns were again put in motion, directed

on Fayetteville, North Carolina, the right wing crossing the Pedee at Cheraw, and the left wing and cavalry at Sneedsboro. General Kilpatrick was ordered to keep well on the left flank, and the Fourteenth Corps, moving by Love's Bridge, was given the right to enter and occupy Fayetteville first. The weather continued unfavorable and roads bad, but the Fourteenth and Seventeenth Corps reached Fayetteville on the 11th of March, skirmishing with Wade Hampton's cavalry, that covered the rear of Hardee's retreating army, which, as usual, had crossed Cape Fear River, burning the bridge. During the march from the Pedee, General Kilpatrick had kept his cavalry well on the left and exposed flank. During the night of the 9th of March his three brigades were divided to picket the roads. General Hampton detecting this, rushed in at daylight and gained possession of the camp of Colonel Spencer's brigade, and the house in which General Kilpatrick and Colonel Spencer had their quarters. The surprise was complete, but General Kilpatrick quickly succeeded in rallying his men, on foot, in a swamp near by, and by a prompt attack, well followed up, regained his artillery, horses, camp, and everything save some prisoners whom the enemy carried off, leaving their dead on the ground. The 12th, 13th, and 14th were passed at Fayetteville, destroying absolutely the United States arsenal and the vast amount of machinery which had formerly belonged to the old Harper's Ferry United States arsenal. Every building was knocked down and burned, and every piece of machinery utterly broken up and ruined by the First Regiment Michigan engineers, under the immediate supervision of Colonel O. M. Poe, Chief Engineer. Much valuable property of great use to the enemy was here destroyed or cast into the river.

"Up to this period I had perfectly succeeded in interposing my superior

army between the scattered parts of the enemy. But I was then aware that the fragments that had left Columbia under Beauregard had been reinforced by Cheatham's corps from the West, and the garrison of Augusta, and that ample time had been given to move them to my front and flank about Raleigh. Hardee had also succeeded in getting across Cape Fear River ahead of me, and could therefore complete the junction with the other armies of Johnston and Hoke in North Carolina. And the whole, under the command of the skillful and experienced Joe Johnston, made up an army superior to me in cavalry, and formidable enough in artillery and infantry to justify me in extreme caution in making the last step necessary to complete the march I had undertaken. Previous to reaching Fayetteville I had dispatched to Wilmington, from Laurel Hill Church, two of our best scouts, with intelligence of our position and my general plans. Both of these messengers reached Wilmington, and on the morning of the 12th of March the army-tug *Davidson*, Captain Ainsworth, reached Fayetteville from Wilmington, bringing me full intelligence of events from the outer world. On the same day this tug carried back to General Terry, at Wilmington, and General Schofield, at Newbern, my dispatches, to the effect that on Wednesday, the 15th, we would move for Goldsboro', *feigning* on Raleigh, and ordering them to march straight for Goldsboro', which I expected to reach about the 20th. The same day the gunboat *Eolus*, Captain Young, United States Navy, also reached Fayetteville, and through her I continued to have communication with Wilmington until the day of our actual departure. While the work of destruction was going on at Fayetteville, two pontoon bridges were laid across Cape Fear River—one opposite the town, the other three miles below.

General Kilpatrick was ordered to move up the plank-road to and beyond

Averasboro. He was to be followed by four divisions of the left wing, with as few wagons as possible; the rest of the train, under escort of two remaining divisions of that wing, to take a shorter and more direct road to Goldsboro'. In like manner, General Howard was ordered to send his trains, under good escort, well to the right, toward Faison's depot and Goldsboro', and to hold four divisions light, ready to go to the aid of the left wing if attacked while in motion. The weather continued very bad, and the roads had become more quagmire. Almost every foot of it had to be corduroyed to admit the passage of wheels. Still time was so important that punctually, according to order, the columns moved out from Cape Fear River on Wednesday, the 15th of March. I accompanied General Slocum, who, preceded by Kilpatrick's cavalry, moved up the river or plank-road that day to Kyle's Landing, Kilpatrick skirmishing heavily with the enemy's rear guard about three miles beyond, near Taylor's Hole Creek. At General Kilpatrick's request, General Slocum sent forward a brigade of infantry to hold a line of barricades. Next morning the column advanced in the same order, and developed the enemy, with artillery, infantry and cavalry, in an intrenched position in front of the point where the road branches off toward Goldsboro' through Bentonville. On an inspection of the map it was manifest that Hardee, in retreating from Fayetteville, had halted in the narrow swampy neck between Cape Fear and South Rivers, in hopes to hold me to save time for the concentration of Johnston's armies at some point to his rear, namely, Raleigh, Smithfield, or Goldsboro'. Hardee's force was estimated at twenty thousand men. It was necessary to dislodge him that we might have the use of the Goldsboro' road, and also to keep up the feint on Raleigh as long as possible. General Slocum was therefore ordered to press and carry

the position, only difficult by reason of the nature of the ground, which was so soft that horses would sink everywhere, and even men could hardly make their way over the common pine barren.

The Twentieth Corps, General Williams, had the lead, and Ward's division the advance. This was deployed, and the skirmish line developed the position of a brigade of Charleston heavy artillery armed as infantry (Rhett's,) posted across the road behind a light parapet, with a battery of guns enfilading the approach across a cleared field. General Williams sent a brigade (Case's,) by a circuit to his left that turned this line, and, by a quick charge, broke the brigade, which rapidly retreated back to a second line better built, and more strongly held. A battery of artillery (Wininger's) well posted, under the immediate direction of Major Reynolds, chief of artillery of Twentieth Corps, did good execution on the retreating brigade, and, on advancing Ward's division over this ground, General Williams captured three guns and 217 prisoners, of which 68 were wounded, and left in a house near by with a rebel officer, four men, and five days' rations; 108 rebel dead were buried by us. As Ward's division advanced, he developed a second and a stronger line, when Jackson's division was deployed forward on the right of Ward, and the two divisions of Jeff. C. Davis (Fourteenth) corps on the left, well toward the Cape Fear. At the same time Kilpatrick, who was acting in concert with General Williams, was ordered to draw back his cavalry and mass it on the extreme right, and in concert with Jackson's right to feel forward for the Goldsboro' road. He got in a brigade on the road, but it was attacked by McLaws' rebel division furiously, and though it fought well and hard, the brigade drew back to the flank of the infantry. The whole line advanced late in the afternoon, drove

the enemy well within his intrenched line, and pressed him so hard that next morning he was gone, having retreated in a miserable stormy night over the worst of roads. Ward's division of infantry followed to and through Averasboro', developing the fact that Hardee had retreated not on Raleigh but on Smithfield. I had the night before directed Kilpatrick to cross South River at a mill-dam to our right rear and move upon the east side toward Elevation. General Slocum reports his aggregate loss in the affair known as that of Averasboro', at 12 officers and 65 men killed, and 477 wounded. We lost no prisoners. The enemy's loss can be inferred from his dead (108) left for us to bury. Leaving Ward's division to keep to a show of pursuit, Slocum's column was turned to the right, built a bridge across the swollen South River, and took the Goldsboro' road, Kilpatrick crossing to the north, in the direction of Elevation, with orders to move eastward, watching that flank. In the meantime the wagon-trains and guards, as also Howard's column, were wallowing along the miry roads towards Bentonville and Goldsboro'. The enemy's infantry, as before stated, had retreated across our front in the same direction, burning the bridges across Mill Creek. I continued with the head of Slocum's column, and camped the night of the 18th with him on the Goldsboro' road, 27 miles from Goldsboro', about five miles from Bentonville, and where the road from Clinton to Smithfield crosses the Goldsboro' road. Howard was at Lee's store, only two miles south, and both columns had pickets three miles forward to where the two roads came together, and became common to Goldsboro'.

"All the signs induced me to believe that the enemy would make no further opposition to our progress, and would not attempt to strike us in flank while in action. I therefore directed Howard

to move his right wing by the new Goldsboro' road, which goes by way of Falling Creek Church. I also left Slocum and joined Howard's column, with a view to open communications with General Schofield, coming up from Newbern, and Terry, from Wilmington. I found General Howard's column well strung out, owing to the very bad roads, and did not overtake him in person till he had reached Falling Creek Church, with one regiment forward to the cross roads near Cox's Bridge across the Neuse. I had gone from General Slocum about six miles, when I heard artillery in his direction, but was soon made easy by one of his staff officers overtaking me, exclaiming that his leading division (Carlin's) had encountered a division of rebel cavalry (Dibbrell's), which he was driving easily. But soon other staff officers came up, reporting that he had developed, near Bentonville, the whole of the rebel army under General Johnston himself. I sent him orders to call up the two divisions guarding his wagon trains, and Hazen's division of the Fifteenth Corps, still back near Lee's store, to fight defensively until I could draw up Blair's Corps, then near Mount Olive Station, and with the remaining three divisions of the Fifteenth Corps come up on Johnston's left rear from the direction of Cox's Bridge. In the mean time, while on the road, I received couriers from both Generals Schofield and Terry. The former reported himself in possession of Kinston, delayed somewhat by want of provisions, but able to march so as to make Goldsboro' on the 21st; and Terry was at or near Falson's depot. Orders were at once dispatched to Schofield to push for Goldsboro' and to make dispositions to cross Little River in the direction of Smithfield as far as Millard's; to General Terry to move to Cox's Bridge, lay a pontoon bridge, and establish a crossing; and to Blair to make a night march to Fall-

ing Creek Church; and at daylight the right wing, General Howard, less the necessary wagon guards, was put in rapid motion on Bentonville. By subsequent reports I learned that General Slocum's head of column had advanced from its camp of March 18, and first encountered Dibbrell's cavalry, but soon found his progress impeded by infantry and artillery. The enemy attacked his head of column, gaining a temporary advantage, and took three guns and caissons of General Carlin's division, driving the two leading brigades back on the main body. As soon as General Slocum realized that he had in his front the whole Confederate army, he promptly deployed the two divisions of the Fourteenth Corps, General Davis, and rapidly brought up on their left the two divisions of the Twentieth Corps, General Williams. These he arranged on the defensive, and hastily prepared a line of barricades. General Kilpatrick also came up at the sound of artillery, and massed on the left. In this position the left received six distinct assaults by the combined forces of Hoke, Hardee, and Cheatham, under the immediate command of General Johnston himself, without giving an inch of ground, and doing good execution on the enemy's ranks, especially with our artillery, the enemy having little or none.

"Johnston had moved by night from Smithfield with great rapidity, and without unnecessary wheels, intending to overwhelm my left flank before it could be relieved by its co-operating columns. But he 'reckoned without his host.' I had expected just such a movement all the way from Fayetteville, and was prepared for it. During the night of the 19th, General Slocum got up his wagon-train, with its guard of two divisions, and Hazen's division of the Fifteenth Corps, which re-inforcement enabled him to make his position impregnable. The right wing found rebel cav-

ary watching its approach, but unable to offer any serious opposition until our head of column encountered a considerable body behind a barricade at the forks of the road near Bentonville, about three miles east of the battle-field of the day before. This body of cavalry was, however, quickly dislodged, and the intersection of the roads secured. On moving forward, the Fifteenth Corps, General Logan, found that the enemy had thrown back his left flank, and had constructed a line of parapet, connecting with that toward General Slocum, in the form of a bastion, its salient on the main Goldsboro' road, interposing between General Slocum on the west and General Howard on the east, while the flanks rested on Mill Creek, covering the road back to Smithfield. General Howard was instructed to proceed with due caution until he had made strong connection on his left with General Slocum. This he soon accomplished, and by 4 P. M. of the 20th a complete and strong line of battle confronted the enemy in his intrenched position, and General Johnston, instead of catching us in detail, was on the defensive, with Mill Creek and a single bridge to his rear. Nevertheless we had no object to accomplish by a battle, unless at an advantage, and therefore my general instructions were to press steadily with skirmishers alone, to use artillery pretty freely on the wooded space held by the enemy, and to feel pretty strongly the flanks of his position, which were as usual covered by the endless swamps of this region of country. I also ordered all empty wagons to be sent at once to Kinston for supplies, and other impediments to be grouped near the Neuse, south of Goldsboro', holding the real army in close contact with the enemy, ready to fight him if he ventured outside his parapets and swampy obstructions. Thus matters stood about Bentonville on the 21st of March. On the same day Gen-

eral Schofield entered Goldsboro', with little or no opposition, and General Terry had got possession of the Neuse River at Cox's Bridge, ten miles above, with a pontoon bridge laid and a brigade across, so that the three armies were in actual connection, and the great object of the campaign was accomplished.

"On the 21st a steady rain prevailed, during which General Mower's division of the Seventeenth Corps, on the extreme right, had worked well to the right around the enemy's flank, and had nearly reached the bridge across Mill Creek, the only line of retreat open to the enemy. Of course there was extreme danger that the enemy would turn on him all his reserves, and it might be let go his parapet to overwhelm Mower. Accordingly I ordered at once a general attack by our skirmish line from left to right. Quite a noisy battle ensued, during which General Mower was enabled to regain his connection with his own corps by moving to his left rear. Still he had developed a weakness in the enemy's position of which advantage might have been taken; but that night the enemy retreated on Smithfield, leaving his pickets to fall into our hands, with many dead unburied, and wounded in his field hospitals. At daybreak of the 22d pursuit was made two miles beyond Mill Creek, but checked by my order. General Johnston had utterly failed in his attempt, and we remained in full possession of the field of battle.

"General Slocum reports the losses of the left wing about Bentonville at 9 officers and 145 men killed, 51 officers and 816 men wounded, and 3 officers and 223 men missing, taken prisoners by the enemy; total, 1,247. He buried on the field 67 rebel dead, and took 338 prisoners. General Howard reports the losses of the right wing at 2 officers and 35 men killed, 12 officers and 239 men wounded, and 1 officer and 60 men

missing ; total, 399. He also buried 100 rebel dead, and took 1,187 prisoners. The cavalry of Kilpatrick was held in reserve, and lost but few, if any of which I have no report as yet. Our aggregate loss at Bentonville was 1,646. I am well satisfied that the enemy lost heavily, especially during his assault on his left wing during the afternoon of the 19th ; but as I have no data save his dead and wounded left in our hands, I prefer to make no comparisons. Thus, as I have endeavored to explain, we had completed our march on the 21st, and had full possession of Goldsboro', the real 'objective,' with its two railroads back to the seaports of Wilmington and Beaufort, North Carolina. These were being rapidly repaired by strong working parties, directed by Colonel W. Wright, of the railroad department. A large number of supplies had already been brought forward to Kinston, to which place our wagons had been sent to receive them. I therefore directed General Howard and the cavalry to remain at Bentonsville during the 22d, to bury the dead and remove the wounded, and on the following day all the armies to move to the camps assigned them about Goldsboro', there to rest and receive the clothing and supplies of which they stood in need. In person, I went on the 22d to Cox's Bridge to meet General Terry, whom I met for the first time, and on the following day rode into Goldsboro', where I found General Schofield and his army. The left wing came in during the same day and next morning, and the right wing followed on the 24th, on which day the cavalry moved to Mount Olive Station, and General Terry back to Falson's. On the 25th the Newbern Railroad was finished, and the first train of cars came in, thus giving us the means of bringing from the depot at Morehead City full supplies to the army.

"It was all-important that I should have an interview with the General-in-

Chief, and presuming that he could not at this time leave City Point, I left General Schofield in chief command, and proceeded with all expedition by rail to Morehead City, and thence by steamer to City Point, reaching General Grant's headquarters on the evening of the 27th of March. I had the good fortune to meet General Grant, the President, Generals Meade, Ord, and others of the Army of the Potomac, and soon learned the general state of the military world, from which I had been in a great measure cut off since January. Having completed all necessary business, I re-embarked on the navy steamer Bat, Captain Barnes, which Admiral Porter placed at my command, and returned via Hatteras Inlet and Newbern, reaching my own headquarters in Goldsboro' during the night of the 30th. During my absence full supplies of clothing and food had been brought to camp, and all things were working well. I have thus rapidly sketched the progress of our columns from Savannah to Goldsboro', but for more minute details must refer to the reports of subordinate commanders and of staff officers, which are not yet ready, but will in due season be forwarded and filed with this report. I cannot, even with any degree of precision, recapitulate the vast amount of injury done to the enemy, or the quantity of guns and materials of war captured and destroyed. In general terms, we have traversed the country from Savannah to Goldsboro', with an average breadth of forty miles, consuming all the forage, cattle, hogs, sheep, poultry, cured meats, corn meal, etc. The public enemy, instead of drawing supplies from that region to feed his armies, will be compelled to send provisions from other quarters to feed the inhabitants. Of course, the abandonment to us by the enemy of the whole sea-coast from Savannah to Newbern, North Carolina, with its forts, dock-yards, gunboats,

etc., was a necessary incident to our occupation and destruction of the inland routes of travel and supply. But the real object of this march was to place this army in a position easy of supply, whence it could take an appropriate part in the spring and summer campaign of 1865. This was completely accomplished on March 21, by the junction of the three armies and the occupation of Goldsboro'.

"In conclusion, I beg to express in the most emphatic manner my entire satisfaction with the tone and temper of the whole army. Nothing seems to dampen their energy, zeal, or cheerfulness. It is impossible to conceive a

march involving more labor and exposure, yet I cannot recall an instance of bad temper by the way, or hearing an expression of doubt as to our perfect success in the end. I believe that this cheerfulness and harmony of action reflects upon all concerned quite as much real honor and fame as 'battles gained' or 'cities won,' and I therefore commend all, general, staff, officers, and men, for these high qualities, in addition to the more soldierly ones of obedience to orders and the alacrity they have always manifested when danger summoned them 'to the front.'"

* General, Sherman to General Halleck, Goldsboro', April 4, 1865.

CHAPTER CXI.

NATIONAL EVENTS—PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, ETC.—THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN, JANUARY TO MARCH, 1865.

THE month of January witnessed a renewal of the attempts at Peace Negotiations leading to a more direct communication on the subject between the Government at Washington and the rebel authorities at Richmond. The way was paved for the subsequent proceedings by an informal visit of Francis P. Blair, Senior, to Richmond. He received an order from President Lincoln on the 26th of December "to pass our lines, go South and return," but received no authority to speak or act for the Government, nor was the President "informed of anything he would say or do on his own account or otherwise." On his arrival at Richmond Mr. Blair had an interview with Jefferson Davis, and received from him the following letter dated January 12th: "Sir,—I have deemed it proper, and probably desirable to you, to give you in this form the substance of the remarks made

by me, to be repeated by you to President Lincoln, etc., etc. I have no disposition to find obstacles in forms, and am willing now, as heretofore, to enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace. I am ready to send a commission whenever I have reason to suppose it will be received, or to receive a commission if the United States Government shall choose to send one. Notwithstanding the rejection of our former offers, I would, if you could promise that a commissioner, minister or other agent would be received, appoint one immediately, and renew the effort to enter into a conference with a view to secure peace to the two countries."

On our return to Washington Mr. Blair communicated this letter to President Lincoln, who, in turn on the 18th addressed this letter to Mr. Blair; "Sir,—You having shown me Mr. Davis' letter to you of the 12th inst.,

CHAPTER CXV.

CONCLUDING EVENTS OF THE WAR. APRIL—JUNE, 1865.

THE surrender of Lee's army to General Grant proved as had been anticipated, the virtual extinction of the military power of the rebellion. Other armies, indeed, remained in the field, Johnston's in North Carolina, the remains of Taylor's forces in Alabama, Maury's fugitives from Mobile, and a considerable force under Kirby Smith in Texas ; but these, one after another at short intervals, followed the precedent which had been set by General Lee, laid down their arms and surrendered to the United States authorities. The process was slightly interrupted in the first instance, that of General Johnston, by a negotiation between that officer and General Sherman, the particulars of which were communicated to the country on the 22d of April, in an official dispatch from Secretary Stanton at the War Department. From this it appeared, that on the 18th of April "an agreement for a suspension of hostilities and a memorandum of what is called a basis for peace" had been entered into between Generals Sherman and Johnston, near Durham's Station, North Carolina, the particulars of which were as follows :

"*First*,—The contending armies now in the field to maintain their *statu quo*, until notice is given by the Commanding General of either one to its opponent, and reasonable time—say forty-eight hours—allowed. *Second*,—The Confederate armies now in existence to be disbanded and conducted to their several State capitals, there to deposit their arms and public property in the State arsenals, and each officer and man to execute and file an agreement to cease

from acts of war, and abide action of both State and Federal authority. The number of arms and munitions of war, to be reported to the Chief of Ordnance at Washington City, subject to future action of the Congress of the United States, in the meantime to be used solely to maintain peace and order within the borders of the States respectively.

Third,—The recognition by the executive of the United States of several State Governments, in their officers and legislatures, taking oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, and where conflicting State Governments have resulted from the war, the legitimacy of all shall be submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Fourth,—The re-establishment of all Federal courts in the several States, with powers as defined by the Constitution and laws of Congress. *Fifth*,—The

people and inhabitants of all States to be guaranteed, so far as the Executive can, their political rights and franchise, as well as their rights of persons and property, as defined by the Constitution of the United States and of States respectively. *Sixth*,—The executive authority of the Government of the United States, not to disturb any of the people by reason of the late war, so long as they live in peace and quiet, and abstain from acts of armed hostility, and obey laws in existence at any place of their residence. In general terms, war to cease ; a general amnesty, so far as the executive power of the United States can command, or on condition of disbandment of the Confederate armies, and the distribution of arms and resumption of peaceful pursuits by officers and men

as hitherto composing the said armies. Not being fully empowered by our respective principals to fulfil these terms, we individually and officially pledge ourselves to promptly obtain necessary authority, and to carry out the above programme." On receipt of this memorandum a cabinet meeting was immediately held, at which the action of General Sherman was disapproved by President Johnson, by the Secretary of War, by General Grant, and by every member of the cabinet. General Sherman was ordered to resume hostilities immediately, and was directed that the instructions given to General Grant by President Lincoln on a previous occasion,* directing him "not to decide, discuss or confer upon any political question" were approved by President Johnson, and "were reiterated to govern the action of military commanders." The following comment was appended to the memorandum of negotiation in the dispatch from the War Department. "This proceeding of General Sherman was unapproved for the following among other reasons: *First*,—It was an exercise of authority not vested in General Sherman, and on its face shows that both he and Johnston knew that he (General Sherman) had no authority to enter into any such arrangement. *Second*,—It was a practical acknowledgment of the rebel government. *Third*,—It undertook to re-establish the rebel State government, that had been overthrown at the sacrifice of many thousand loyal lives, and an immense treasure, and placed arms and munitions of war in the hands of the rebels at their respective capitols, which might be used as soon as the armies of the United States were disbanded, and used to conquer and subdue the loyal States. *Fourth*,—By the restoration of the rebel authority in their respective States, they would be enabled to re-establish slavery. *Fifth*,—It might furnish a ground of responsibility by the Federal

Government to pay the rebel debt, and certainly subjects loyal citizens of the rebel States to the debt consummated by the rebels in the name of the State. *Sixth*,—It put in dispute the existence of loyal State Governments, and the new State of Western Virginia, which had been recognized by every department of the United States Government. *Seventh*,—It practically abolishes the confiscation laws, and relieved rebels of every degree, who had slaughtered our people, from all pains and penalties for their crimes. *Eighth*,—It gives terms that had been deliberately, repeatedly and solemnly rejected by President Lincoln, and better terms than the rebels had ever asked in their most prosperous condition. *Ninth*,—It formed no basis of true and lasting peace, but relieved rebels from the pressure of our victories, and left them in condition to renew their effort to overthrow the United States Government, and subdue the loyal States, whenever their strength was recruited, and any opportunity should offer."

The immediate circumstances which led to this "negotiation" and the motives which influenced him in making it are narrated by General Sherman in the subsequent final report of his campaign. On the 14th of April, the anniversary of Sumter, when General Sherman had established his head quarters at Raleigh, the enemy being between Greensborough and Hillsborough, he received a communication from General Johnston inquiring "whether in order to stop the further effusion of blood and devastation of property you are willing to make a temporary suspension of active operations, and to communicate with Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding the armies of the United States, the request that he will take like action in regard to other armies, the object being to permit the civil authorities to enter into the needful arrangements to terminate the existing war. To this General Sherman

* Ante p. 562.

replied that he was willing to enter into a conference with regard to a suspension of hostilities, and accordingly, says he in his report, "I agreed to meet General Johnston in person, at a point intermediate between our pickets, on the 17th, at noon, provided the position of the troops remained *statu quo*. I was both willing and anxious to secure a few days, as it would enable Colonel Wright to finish our railroad to Raleigh. Two bridges had to be built, and twelve miles of new road made. We had no iron, except by taking up the branch from Goldsborough to Weldon. Instead of losing by time I gained in every way, for every hour of delay possible was required to reconstruct the railroad to our rear and improve the condition of our wagon road to the front, so desirable in case the negotiations failed, and we be forced to make the race of near 200 miles to head off or catch Johnston, then retreating towards Charlotte. At noon of the day appointed I met General Johnston for the first time in my life, although we had been exchanging shots continually since May, 1863. Our interview was frank and soldier-like, and he gave me to understand that further war on the part of the Confederate troops was folly; that the "cause" was lost, and that every life sacrificed after the surrender of Lee's army was the highest possible crime. He admitted the terms conceded to General Lee were magnanimous, and all he could ask; but he did want some general concessions that would enable him to allay the natural fears and anxieties of his followers, and enable him to maintain his control over them until they could be got back to the neighborhood of their homes, thereby saving the State of North Carolina the devastation inevitably to result from turning his men loose and unprovided on the spot, and our pursuit across the State. He also wanted to embrace in the same general proposition the fate of all the Confederate arms that remained

in existence. I never made any concession as to his own army, or assumed to deal finally and authoritatively in regard to any other, but it did seem to me that there was presented a chance for peace that might be deemed valuable to the United States, and was at least worthy the few days that would be consumed in reference. To push an enemy whose commander had so frankly and honestly confessed his inability to cope with me, were cowardly and unworthy the brave men I led. Inasmuch as General Johnston did not feel authorized to exercise power over the armies in Texas, we adjourned to the next day at noon. I returned to Raleigh, and conferred freely with all my general officers, *every one* of whom urged me to conclude terms that might accomplish so complete and desirable an end. All dreaded the necessary laborious march after a fugitive and dissolving army back toward Georgia, over the very country where they had toiled so long. There was but one opinion expressed, and, if contrary ones were entertained they were withheld, or indulged in only by that class who shun the fight and the march, but are loudest, bravest and fiercest when danger is past.

"I again met General Johnston on the 18th, and we resumed the conversation. He satisfied me then of his *power* to disband the rebel armies in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, as well as those in his immediate command, viz.: North Carolina, Georgia and Florida. The points on which he expresses especial solicitude were lest their States were to be dismembered and denied representation in Congress, or any separate political existence whatever; and the absolute disarming of his men would leave the South powerless and exposed to depredations by wicked bands of assassins and robbers. 'The President's (Lincoln) Message of 1864; his Amnesty Proclamation; General Grant's terms to General Lee, substantially extending

the benefit of that Proclamation to all officers above the rank of Colonel; the invitation of the Virginia Legislature to re-assemble in Richmond, by General Weitzel, with the supposed approval of Mr. Lincoln and General Grant, then on the spot; a firm belief that I had been fighting to re-establish the Constitution of the United States; and last, but not least, the general and universal desire to close a war any longer without organized resistance, were the leading facts that induced me to pen the 'memorandum' of April 18, signed by myself and General Johnston. It was designed to be, and so expressed on its face, as a mere 'basis' for reference to the President of the United States and constitutional Commander-in-Chief, to enable him, if he chose, at one blow, to dissipate the power of the Confederacy which had threatened the national safety for years. It admitted of modification, alteration and change. It had no appearance of an ultimatum, and by no false reasoning can it be construed into an usurpation of power on my part. I have my opinions on the questions involved, 'but this forms no part of a military report.'

"Immediately on my return to Raleigh I dispatched one of my staff, Major Hitchcock, to Washington, enjoining him to be most prudent and careful to avoid the spies and informers that would be sure to infest him by the way, and to say nothing to anybody until the President could make known to me his feelings and wishes in the matter. The news of President Lincoln's assassination on the 14th of April (wrongly reported to me by telegraph as having occurred on the 11th), reached me on the 17th, and was announced to my command on the same day, in Field Order No. 56. I was duly informed with its horrible atrocity and probable effect on the country. But when the property and interests of millions still living were involved, I saw no good reason

why to change my course, but thought rather to manifest real respect for his memory by following after his death, that policy which, if living, I felt certain he would have approved, or at least not reject with disdain. Up to that hour I had never received one word of instruction, advice or counsel as to the plan or policy of the government, looking to a restoration of peace on the part of the rebel States of the South. Whenever asked for an opinion on the points involved I had always avoided the subject. My letter to the Mayor of Atlanta has been published to the world, and I was not rebuked by the War Department for it. My letter to Mr. —, of Savannah, was shown by me to Mr. Stanton, before its publication, and all my memory retains of his answer is that he said, like my letters generally, it was sufficiently emphatic and would not be misunderstood. Both these letters asserted my belief that, according to Mr. Lincoln's proclamation and messages, when the people of the South had laid down their arms and submitted to the lawful powers of the United States, *ipso facto*, the war was over as to them, and furthermore, that if any State in rebellion would conform to the Constitution of the United States, cease war, elect Senators and Representatives to Congress, if admitted, (of which each House of Congress alone is the judge,) that State became instantaneously as much in the Union as New York or Ohio. Nor were I rebuked for these expressions though it was universally known and commented on at the time. And again, Mr. Stanton in person at Savannah, speaking of the terrific expense of the war, and the difficulty of realizing the money for the daily wants of government, impressed me most forcibly with the necessity of bringing the war to a close as soon as possible for *financial reasons*.

On the evening of April 23, Major Hitchcock reported to Morehead City

with dispatches, of which fact General Johnston, at Hillsborough, was notified so as to be ready in the morning for an answer. At 6 o'clock, A. M. on the 24th, Major Hitchcock arrived accompanied by General Grant and members of his staff, who had not telegraphed the fact of his coming over our exposed roads for prudential reasons. I soon learned that the memorandum was disapproved, without reasons assigned, and I was ordered to give the 48 hours' notice, and resume hostilities at the close of that time; governing myself by the substance of a dispatch then inclosed, dated March 9, 12 M., at Washington, D. C., from Secretary Stanton to General Grant, at City Point; but not accompanied by any part of the voluminous matter so liberally lavished on the public in the New York papers of the 24th April. That was the first and only time I ever saw that telegram, or had one word of instructions on the important matters involved in it, and it does seem strange to me that every bar-room loafer in New York can read in the morning journals 'official' matter that is withheld from a General whose command extends from Kentucky to North Carolina. Within an hour a courier was riding from Durham's Station toward Hillsborough, with notice to Gen. Johnston of the suspension of the truce, and renewing my demand for the surrender of the armies under his immediate command, (see two dispatches of April 24, 6 A. M.,) and at 12 M. I had the receipt of his picket officer. I therefore published my orders No. 62 to the troops, terminating the truce at 12 M. on the 26th, and ordered all to be in readiness to march at that time, on the routes prescribed in Special Field Orders No. 55, of April 14, from the positions held April 18. General Grant had orders from the President to direct military movements, and I explained to him the exact position of the troops, and he approved of it most emphatically; but he

did not relieve me, or express a wish to assume command. All things were in readiness, when, on the evening of the 25th, I received another letter from General Johnston asking another interview to renew negotiations. General Grant not only approved, but urged me to accept, and I appointed a meeting at our former place at noon of the 26th, the very hour fixed for the renewal of hostilities. General Johnston was delayed by an accident to his train, but at 2 P. M. arrived. We then consulted, concluded and signed the final terms of capitulation. These were taken by me back to Raleigh, submitted to General Grant, and met his immediate approval and signature. General Johnston was not even aware of the presence of General Grant at Raleigh at the time. There was surrendered to us the second great army of the so-called Confederacy; and though undue importance has been given to the so-called negotiations which preceded it, and a rebuke and public disfavor cast on me wholly unwarranted by the facts, I rejoice in saying that it was accomplished without further ruin and devastation to the country; without the loss of a single life to those gallant men who had followed me from the Mississippi to the Atlantic; and without subjecting brave men to the ungracious task of pursuing a fleeing foe that did not want to fight." The terms of capitulation were the same which had been concluded upon between General Grant and General Lee in Virginia. The army of Johnston, which General Sherman at the beginning of April had estimated, infantry and artillery, at 35,000, cavalry from 6,000 to 10,000, reduced by escape, desertion or other causes, to about 30,000, thus laid down its arms, the soldiers returning to their several homes, while the main portion of the army of General Sherman leisurely made its way to the national capital. There, on the 30th May, on the eve of its disbandment,

General Sherman took farewell of his well-trying companions in a brilliant special order, in which he briefly alluded to the prominent incidents of the honorable campaigns in which he had led them from victory to victory.

On the 4th of May, General Richard Taylor, on terms similar to those granted to Lee and Johnston, surrendered his entire command to General Canby at Citronella, Alabama, some twenty-five miles above Mobile, and a few days after, on the 9th the rebel naval squadron, which had taken refuge in the Tombigbee river, was surrendered by Commodore Farrand to Acting Rear Admiral Thatcher. Other surrenders by Jeff. Thompson in the West, Mosby in Virginia, and others, were meantime made, leaving Texas the only foothold of an insurgent army. The supposed number of forces in the field and their comparatively unimpaired strength, with the avowed purposes of their leader, Kirby Smith, and various desperate resolves promulgated by his associates, now seemed to threaten further though ineffectual hostilities. General Sheridan was consequently assigned to the command of the Southwest for their subjugation, and reinforcements were ordered to the region; but before any new campaign was organized the influence of the failure of the Rebellion in the East was felt beyond the Mississippi; the army of Kirby Smith was rapidly falling to pieces in consequence of the desertion of his troops, and he was compelled to follow the precedents of his brother officers in timely submission. On the 23d of May arrangements were made at Baton Rouge for the surrender of his forces to General Canby. On the 30th General Kirby Smith, at Houston, issued a final address to his soldiers on abandoning the war. "My purpose," says he, "was to concentrate the entire strength of the department, await negotiation, and, if possible, secure terms alike honorable

to soldiers and citizens. Failing in this I intended to struggle to the last; and with an army united in purpose, firm in resolve and battling for the right, I believe God would yet give us the victory. I reached here to find the Texas troops disbanded and hastening to their homes. They had forsaken their colors and their commanders; had abandoned the cause for which we were struggling, and appropriated the public property to their personal use. SOLDIERS: I am left a commander without an army—a General without troops. You have made your choice. It was unwise and unpatriotic, but it is final. I pray you may not live to regret it. The enemy will now possess your country and dictate his own laws. You have voluntarily destroyed our organizations, and thrown away all means of resistance. Your present duties are plain. Return to your families. Resume the occupations of peace. Yield obedience to the laws. Labor to restore order. Strive both by counsel and example to give security to life and property. And may God in his mercy direct you aright, and heal the wounds of our distracted country."

One of the first duties of the government after the assassination of President Lincoln was to pursue and bring to punishment the authors and actors of that great crime. Investigations were at once held, testimony was taken, the military and police were everywhere on the alert. The haunts of the actor Booth, the assassin of the President, were explored, and every step taken to ferret out the plot, the existence of which was evident from the simultaneous attack upon the President and the Secretary, and other circumstances of the case. On the night of the 17th of April, while the officers of the War Department were engaged in arresting the inmates of the house, in Washington, of a Mrs. Surratt, who was suspected of being cognizant of the conspiracy, a man, calling himself Louis Payne, dis-

guised as a laborer, came to the premises, who was also detained, and who was presently identified as the person who had attempted the assassination of Secretary Seward. Another of the persons implicated, George A. Atzeroth, to whom had been assigned the assassination of Vice-President Johnson, was arrested on the 19th in Montgomery County, Maryland. For some days Booth and his accomplices evaded detection. On the 20th of April, six days after the assassination, Stanton, the Secretary of War, issued the following proclamation and offer of reward:

"The murderer of our late beloved President, Abraham Lincoln, is still at large. Fifty thousand dollars reward will be paid by this department for his apprehension, in addition to any reward offered by municipal authorities or State Executives. Twenty-five thousand dollars reward will be paid for the apprehension of G. A. Atzeroth, sometimes called "Port Tobacco," one of Booth's accomplices. Twenty-five thousand dollars reward will be paid for the apprehension of David C. Herrold, another of Booth's accomplices. Liberal reward will be paid for any information that shall conduce to the arrest of either of the above-named criminals or their accomplices. All persons harboring or secreting the said persons, or either of them, or aiding or assisting their concealment or escape, will be treated as accomplices in the murder of the President and the attempted assassination of the Secretary of State, and shall be subject to trial before a military commission, and the punishment of death. Let the stain of innocent blood be removed from the land by the arrest and punishment of the murderers. All good citizens are exhorted to aid public justice on this occasion. Every man should consider his own conscience charged with this solemn duty, and rest neither night nor day until it be accomplished."

Secretary Stanton had, meanwhile,

employed Colonel L. C. Baker, of New York, as a special detective of the War Department, to ferret out the conspiracy and arrest the persons implicated. It was soon ascertained that Booth, with his accomplice, Herrold, had taken the route of the lower counties of Maryland, whither they were followed up. At Surratt's tavern, about ten miles from the city, on the road to Bryantown, it was found that Booth and Herrold had been present on the 22d. Booth was, at this time, suffering from the injury to his leg, the fracture of one of the small bones, which he experienced in falling upon the stage at the time of the assassination, and was consequently unable to carry one of the carbines which had been provided there for him and his fellow-traveler, under the direction of Mrs. Surratt, an accomplice, in whose house at Washington the conspirators had been in the habit of meeting. Herrold took one of the carbines, and the two proceeded on horseback towards Bryantown, where Booth found it necessary to call into requisition the services of a former acquaintance, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, to relieve the pain he was suffering from his leg. The fugitives then passed on, escaping with precarious assistance through a swamp to Swan Point, where they crossed the Potomac into King George County, Virginia. Word was brought of their crossing the river to Colonel Baker, at Washington, by a telegraph operator, on detached service to make observations, with a party of soldiers, who came upon a negro who had noticed the passage of the two men. A detachment of the 16th New York cavalry, mustering about twenty-five, was immediately, on the 24th, dispatched from Washington under direction of Colonel Baker, in command of Lieutenant Doherty, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Conger, to proceed to Port Royal, and intercept the fugitives on their way through Virginia. The cavalry proceed-

I want you to get well.' I then took what things he had in his pocket, and tied them up in a paper. I had previously sent for a physician, who came there to see him. He was not quite dead. He would once, perhaps, in a few minutes gasp. His pulse would almost die out, and then there would be a slight motion again. I left him, with the prisoner Herrold, in charge of Lieutenant Baker, saying that if Booth recovered again to wait an hour, and if likely to recover, to send over to Belle Plain for a surgeon from one of the gunships; if not, to get the best conveyance he could, and bring him over, dead or alive."

The pistol shot which ended the life of Booth was fired by Sergeant Boston Corbett, who at the trial gave the following testimony, narrating his part in the transaction. After Herrold had left the barn, as just stated, "Detective Lieutenant-Colonel Conger," says he, "came over to the side where I was and directed the barn to be fired. I had been previously standing before a crack in the boards large enough to put in your hand; I knew that Booth could see us and could have picked us off, and he in fact once made the remark, 'I could have picked three or four of your men off. Just draw your men off fifty yards and I will come out.' He used such words many times. When the fire was lighted, which was almost immediately after Herrold had been taken out of the barn, I could see him distinctly in about the middle of the barn. He started at first toward the door, and I had a full front dress view of him. I could have shot him much easier than at the time I did, but as long as he made no demonstration I did not shoot him. I kept my eye on him steadily. He turned toward the other side. He brought his piece up to an aim, and I supposed he was going to fight his way out. I thought the time had come, and I took a steady aim upon him and shot him.

The ball entered his head a little back of the ear, and came out a little higher on the other side of the head." Thus miserably perished, by a pistol wound similar to that which he had inflicted, the assassin of Abraham Lincoln. His remains were carried in a rough country cart to Washington and placed on board a vessel of war in the river, where, after being fully identified, they were consigned to an unknown and ignominious burial. Other arrests were made, and on the 10th of May, Herrold, Atzeroth, Payne, Michael O'Laughlin, Edward Spangler, Samuel Arnold, Mary E. Surratt and Samuel A. Mudd, were put upon trial as parties to the conspiracy of assassination before a Military Court at Washington, presided over by General David Hunter. O'Laughlin was charged with lying in wait with the intent to kill General Grant; Spangler, one of the persons employed at Ford's Theatre, was charged with assisting Booth in obtaining access to the President's box the night of the assassination; Arnold was arraigned as a participator in the plot. The charges against the other parties have been indicated in the statement already given. The trial, which was conducted with great deliberation, and in the course of which various testimony was brought forward bearing upon the conduct of Jefferson Davis and other leaders in the Rebellion, occupied the remainder of May and the month of June. On the 6th of July the verdict of the Court was published, with the approval of President Johnson. Herrold, Atzeroth, Payne and Mrs. Mary E. Surratt were sentenced to be hung; O'Laughlin, Arnold and Dr. Mudd to imprisonment at hard labor for life, and Spangler to be confined at hard labor for six years. By order of President Johnson the execution of the four condemned prisoners was fixed for the following day, Friday, the 7th, and at the appointed time was carried into effect.

The capture of Jefferson Davis, early in May, completed the destruction of what remained of the civil organization of the vaunted Southern Confederacy. After the fall of Richmond Davis fled to North Carolina, and at Danville, on the 5th of April, issued a proclamation, in which he declared that "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. 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, 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." Such were still the dreams of the rebel chieftain which, a few days after, must have been effectually dissipated by the surrender of Lee's army to General Grant. Upon this event Davis retired with a considerable body-guard through North Carolina, lingering for some time in the State, and pursued thence into South Carolina. On the second of May, President Johnson issued a proclamation to the effect that "*Whereas*, It appears in the Bureau of Military Justice, that the atrocious murder of the late President, Abraham Lincoln, and the attempted assassination of Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, were incited, concerted and procured by and

between Jefferson Davis, late of Richmond, Va., and Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George N. Sanders, W. C. Cleary and other rebels and traitors against the Government of the United States, harbored in Canada; now, therefore, to the end that justice may be done, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do offer and promise for the arrest of said persons, or either of them, within the limits of the United States, so that they can be brought to trial, the following rewards: One hundred thousand dollars for the arrest of Jefferson Davis—twenty-five thousand dollars each was offered for the arrest of the others, excepting Cleary, for whom ten thousand dollars was offered." The Provost Marshal General of the United States was directed to cause a description of said persons, with notice of the above rewards, to be published. This, of course, stimulated the pursuit. Davis was closely pursued through Georgia by detachments of General Wilson's cavalry corps and finally captured at daylight on the 10th of May, in the vicinity of Irvinville, in Wilkinson county, Georgia, about seventy-five miles Southeast of Macon. Deserted by the cavalry escort with which he left North Carolina, Davis was now endeavoring to make his escape to the coast with a small party, consisting of his wife and family, Postmaster-General Reagan of the Confederate cabinet; his private secretary, Colonel Harrison, Colonel Johnson, Aid-de-Camp on Davis' Staff, Colonel Morris and others. His train consisted of five wagons and three ambulances. They were encamped for the night in the woods when they were captured. Lieutenant-Colonel Pritchard, commanding a detachment of the Fourth Michigan Cavalry, of Wilson's Cavalry Corps, took the party by surprise at daylight in their tents. Davis attempted to escape into the woods disguised as a female, by wearing a waterproof cloak as a skirt, and a shawl be-

longing to one of the ladies of the party but the thin concealment was at once detected, and he was compelled to surrender. An accidental encounter marred the proceedings. Another detachment of cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel Harden's First Wisconsin, also in pursuit that night, coming up in the darkness was mistaken for the enemy, and in the conflict which ensued two men were killed and four men and an officer wounded. Davis was brought a prisoner to Savannah, and thence carried by sea to Fortress Monroe, where he was confined as a prisoner of state. Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederacy, who had been arrested in Georgia, was also brought to the North at the same time, and similarly confined at Fort Warren in Boston Harbor. With these events the war was fully terminated. The Confederate armies had surrendered, and the heads of the rebel government were prisoners or fugitives. The military and civil organizations of the great revolt had alike perished. As an immediate consequence, the leading armies of the United States were disbanded or greatly reduced to a force simply adequate for the maintenance of order in the late insurgent districts; the naval equipments were in like manner curtailed; restrictions were removed from foreign and internal trade; the new state of affairs were recognized by foreign governments, and before the 4th of July, 1865, with the important exception of the regulations affecting the restoration or reconstruction of civil government in the late rebel States, and the position of parties engaged in the rebellion, the administration of the national affairs had mainly returned to its accustomed channels.

President Johnston entered upon his administration of affairs with declarations of his sentiments on the subject of the revolt, the tendency of which was that while the great mass of offenders should be treated with lenity, the lead-

ers of the rebellion should be punished and the nation taught the heinousness of the crime of Treason. His most important action in the matter at this early period was the issue of the following Amnesty Proclamation on the 29th of May, which indicated his policy towards individuals:

"*Whereas*, The President of the United States, on the 8th day of December, A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and on the 26th day of March, A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty-four, did, with the object to suppress the existing rebellion, to induce all persons to return to their loyalty, and to restore the authority of the United States, issue proclamations offering amnesty and pardon to certain persons, who had directly or by implication participated in the said rebellion; and *Whereas*, many persons, who had so engaged in said rebellion, have, since the issuance of said proclamations, failed or neglected to take the benefits offered thereby: and *Whereas*, many persons, who have been justly deprived of all claim to amnesty or pardon thereunder, by reason of their participation, directly or by implication, in said rebellion, and continued hostility to the Government of the United States since the date of said proclamation, now desire to apply for and obtain amnesty and pardon; To the end, therefore, that the authority of the Government of the United States may be restored, and that peace, order and freedom may be established, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do proclaim and declare that I hereby grant to all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, amnesty and pardon, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and except in cases where legal proceedings under laws of the United States providing for the confiscation of property of persons engaged in rebellion have been instituted; but on the condition, never-

theless, that every such person shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate, and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit :

"I, ———, do solemnly swear or affirm, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder. And that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves, so help me God."

"The following classes of persons are excepted from the benefits of this proclamation : *First*—All who are or shall have been pretended civil or diplomatic officers, or otherwise domestic or foreign agents of the pretended Confederate Government. *Second*—All who left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion. *Third*—All who shall have been military or naval officers of said pretended Confederate Government above the rank of Colonel in the army or Lieutenant in the navy. *Fourth*—All who left seats in the Congress of the United States to aid the rebellion. *Fifth*—All who resigned or tendered resignations of their commissions in the army or navy of the United States, to evade duty in resisting the rebellion. *Sixth*—All who have engaged in any way in treating otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war persons found in the United States service, as officers, soldiers, seamen, or in other capacities. *Seventh*—All persons who have been or are absentees from the United States, for the purpose of aiding the rebellion. *Eighth*—All military and naval officers in the rebel service who were educated by the Government in the Military Academy at West Point, or the United States Naval Academy.

Ninth—All persons who held the pretended offices of Governors of States in insurrection against the United States. *Tenth*—All persons who left their homes within the jurisdiction and protection of the United States and passed beyond the Federal military lines into the so-called Confederate States, for the purpose of aiding the rebellion. *Eleventh*—All parties who have been engaged in the destruction of the commerce of the United States upon the high seas, and all persons who have made raids into the United States from Canada, or been engaged in destroying the commerce of the United States upon the lakes and rivers that separate the British Provinces from the United States. *Twelfth*—All persons who at the time when they seek to obtain the benefits hereof by taking the oath herein prescribed, are in military, naval, or civil confinement, or custody, or under bonds of the civil, military or naval authorities or agents of the United States, as prisoners of war, or persons detained for offences of any kind either before, or after conviction. *Thirteenth*—All persons who have voluntarily participated in said rebellion, and the estimated value of whose taxable property is over twenty thousand dollars. *Fourteenth*—All persons who have taken the oath of amnesty as prescribed in the President's Proclamation of December 8th, A. D., 1863, or an oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States since the dates of said proclamation, and who have not thenceforward kept and maintained the same inviolate—provided that special application may be made to the President for pardon by any person belonging to the excepted classes, and such clemency will be liberally extended as may be consistent with the facts of the case and the peace and dignity of the United States. The Secretary of State will establish rules and regulations for administering and recording the said amnesty oath so as to insure its benefit to the

people and guard the Government against fraud."

A few days after this Proclamation of Amnesty, Lient-General Grant on the second of June issued the following congratulatory address to the armies of the United States previous to their disbandment :—

"Soldiers of the Armies of the United States :—By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, your magnificent fighting, bravery and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and the Constitution, overthrown all opposition to the enforcement of the laws and of the proclamations forever abolishing slavery, the cause and pretext of the rebellion, and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges and battles, in distance, duration, resolution and brilliancy of results, dim the lustre of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in defence of liberty and right in all time to come. In obedience to your country's call, you left your homes and families and volunteered in its defence. Victory has crowned your valor, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts ; and with the gratitude of your countrymen and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duty of Ameri-

can citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs, and secure to yourselves, your fellow countrymen and posterity, the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen, and sealed the priceless legacy with their lives. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears, honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families."

In closing this melancholy record, one of the most sad in human history, of four years of civil war, it is hardly needed to point its moral. That is written in letters of fire in the disasters of the period, and in the utter ruin of the gigantic revolt. We have endeavored to trace the course of the rebellion with calmness and truth, the avoidance of unnecessary comment, leaving facts, so far as they were at hand, while the rebellion was in progress, to tell their own significant story. Such a record is necessarily imperfect. Every day is contributing fresh material for its exhibition. Indeed, a full narrative of these most extraordinary events must be left to the labors of the historian in another generation. But enough, surely, is here recorded to warn faction, in future, of its crime and danger, and to strengthen with an invincible resolve for the preservation of the Nation, the hearts of all true patriots and lovers of their country, consecrated anew by the voluntary labors, the sacrifices, sufferings and death of so many Martyrs.

THE END.