THE CIVIL WAR IN KENTUCKY

CENTENNIAL 1861-1961

The Courier-Journal

NOVEMBER 20, 1960

THE CIVIL WAR IN KENTUCKY

CENTENNIAL 1861-1961

The Courier-Journal

NOVEMBER 20, 1960

The Courier-Journal
NOVEMBER 20, 1960

THE CIVIL WAR IN KENTUCKY

CENTENNIAL 1861-1961

"The Civil War In Kentucky" came into being because the nation is being swept again by an outbreak of Civil War fever, this time with temperance and understanding instead of blindness and anger.

Furthermore, nowhere is there a book that shows Kentucky's place in the war as a whole. This is most peculiar, because repeatedly both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis spoke of Kentucky, their native state, as the crucial one. Lincoln said that if Kentucky had seceded with its mother state of Virginia, the war might have been fought on the other side of the Ohio River. Davis proclaimed that losing Kentucky would mean losing "the whole game."

Nor was Kentucky's part in the least a passive one, though some suppose the border states to have been practically neutral. The state was represented by a star on both flags. It had representatives in both Congresses. Its people and politicians were so divided that two Legislatures, two Governors and two Cabinets functioned at the start. Even after Union troops forced the Southern legislators into Tennessee, a government-in-exile carried on.

Whichever way the battles went, Kentucky had tears to shed. For the state sent more draftees to the Union than Ohio, and more volunteers to the South than Virginia. The splits among families and friends were both deeper and wider than anywhere else.

Nor were things patched up quickly afterward; for the postwar blunders of Northern commanders in Kentucky turned the stomachs of even such Unionists as Robert J. Breckinridge, who proposed recalling Kentucky troops to drive out the Yankees.

With such heat in the past of Kentuckians—the effects are often dominant today in Kentucky politics—the Civil War is very much a live issue here. Hence this permanent memento.

For its origin, see Page 11.

CONTRIBUTORS

THOMAS D. CLARK

Dr. Clark ("The Mirage of Neutrality," Page 30; "Lincoln Guns," Page 36; "Bushwhackers and Bandits," Page 104 and "Civil War Books," Page 110) needs no introduction to Kentuckians. Head of the history department at the University of Kentucky since 1942, his book "A History of Kentucky" is used as a text across the state. In 1946, he was named Outstanding Professor of the year by his colleagues and two years later he was named Distinguished Professor by the trustees. He has taught overseas in the Army's educational program and in 1952 toured India for the State Department. He is the author of 11 books on a variety of subjects. He was principal consultant on this section.

J. WINSTON COLEMAN, JR.

A man of many talents and interests is Coleman ("The End of Slavery, Page 98). He is a farmer, historian, author, photographer and bibliographer, to mention a few fields in which he has worked. Known as the Squire of Winburn Farm, his home near Lexington, he is an authority on many facets of Kentucky history. He is the author of "Stagecoach Days In The Bluegrass," "The Rowan-Chambers Duel," "Slavery Times In Kentucky" and eight other books. He has written some 33 pamphlets, on subjects from Freemasonry to old iron furnaces. His collection of old Kentucky photographs is regarded as perhaps the best in the state.

JOE CREASON

The author of "The Mutter Of A Distant Storm," Page 7; "Politics And Action Over Four Years," Page 10 and "The Screwballs Were There," Page 92 is a veteran writer for The Courier-Journal Sunday department who for years has been collecting Civil War books. Those he has reviewed number in the hundreds. Thus he draws on broad study as well as lifelong interest. The places mentioned in this section are familiar to him, since he covers 30,000 miles and reaches all of Kentucky's 120 counties every year. He is a native of Benton, Ky., and a University of Kentucky journalism graduate. He took a leading part in shaping this section.

More contributors listed on Page 4

JOHN P. DYER

Dr. Dyer ("Kentuckians Who Led," Page 50) comes by his interest in the Civil War naturally since he is the grandson of a Confederate soldier who served in General Nathan B. Forrest's cavalry. Dean of the Tulane University College and a professor of history, he has turned his interest into two well received books about the war—"Fightin' Joe Wheeler" and "The Gallant Hood." He also is author of "Ivory Towers And The Market Place" and "Small In The Saddle," a new book due out this winter. He is a native of Mississippi and holds degrees from Bryson College, George Peabody College and Vanderbilt University.

CLEMENT EATON

An expert on Southern history, Dr. Eaton ("Part Wisdom, Part Luck," Page 60 and "The Civil War; A Problem In Problems," Page 102) is a professor of history at the University of Kentucky. Born in North Carolina, he holds degrees from the University of North Carolina and Harvard. He has held a Guggenheim Fellowship, has been a Fulbright professor in England and Austria, and in 1956 was named Distinguished Professor at U. K. His books include "Freedom Of Thought In The Old South," "A History Of The Old South," "Henry Clay And The Art Of American Politics" and "The Growth Of Southern Civilization." He also has written many articles.

WILL D. GILLIAM, JR.

The contribution of Dr. Gilliam ("Family Friends and Foes," Page 38) fitted in exactly with work he presently is doing for a book. The book will be a biography of Robert J. Breckinridge, whose family was divided by the war. A native of Scottsville, Ky., he studied at Centre College and Indiana University. Before coming to the University of Kentucky, where he is associate professor of history, he was dean of men and head of the history department at Centre. At one time, Dr. Gilliam taught at Male High School in Louisville. He long has studied the Civil War as a hobby.

HOLMAN HAMILTON

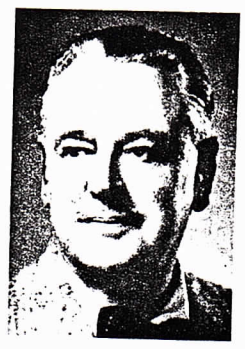
A former newspaperman turned historian and teacher, Dr. Hamilton ("Trying To Stem The Tide," Page 13) is associate professor of history at the University of Kentucky. For 10 years he was a reporter and editorial writer for The Fort Wayne (Ind.) Journal-Gazette. In 1942 he enlisted in the army as a private and rose to the rank of major. His interest in teaching history came after the war. He joined the U. K. faculty in 1954 and since has written a two-volume biography of Zachary Taylor and completed a major study of the Compromise of 1850. He completed work on his doctor's degree at Kentucky.

CECIL F. HOLLAND

Now a Washington, D. C., newspaperman, Holland ("John Hunt Morgan; Horse Thief And/Or Hero," Page 79) is one of the nation's leading authorities on the career of the famed Kentucky Confederate cavalry general. His study of Morgan began when he found a large collection of the raider's papers at the home of a relative in Middle Tennessee. His book "Morgan And His Men" was published in 1942. Holland, a Tennessean by birth, reports politics and national news for The Washington Star. During World War II, Holland was with the Army Air Force in Europe. Pictures illustrating his article are from his own collection of Morgan shots.

ALBERT D. KIRWAN

Former head football coach, dean of men and professor of history, Dr. Kirwan ("Kentuckians Who Bled," Page 46 and "The Orphan Brigade," Page 95) now is dean of the Graduate School at the University of Kentucky. An all-time football great at U. K., Dr. Kirwan gave up coaching after a successful tenure to go into teaching. He is author of three Civil War books —"The Confederacy," "Revolt Of The Rednecks" and "Johnny Greene Of The Orphan Brigade." At the present time he is working on a biography of John J. Crittenden, the Kentucky senator who strove so valiantly to head off the Civil War through compromise up until hostilities started.



HUDSON STRODE

Authorities all across the nation recognize Strode ("Jefferson Davis," Page 22) as the No. 1 expert on the life and times of the Kentucky-born Confederate president. His recent two-volume study "Jefferson Davis: Confederate President" has been hailed as the best work ever done on the subject. Born in Alabama, he now is professor of English literature at the University of Alabama, where he conducts a nationally famous class in novel writing. In addition, he is in great demand as a Shakespearean lecturer and dramatic reader. Besides his Davis books, he is the author of works on Mexico, Cuba, South America, Bermuda and Finland.

HAMBLETON TAPP

Having grown up within 18 miles of the battlefield, some of the earliest recollections of Dr. Tapp ("The Road Back," Page 83, and "Perryville: Blood Bath," Page 88) are of stories pertaining to the 1862 battle fought at Perryville. As a boy he roamed over the area, and his collection of Perryville relics—guns, bullets, equipment—is undoubtedly the best in Kentucky. Formerly a member of the University of Kentucky Department of History and administrative assistant to the president, he now is curator of Waveland, the Kentucky Life Museum. He is chairman of the Kentucky Civil War Centennial Commission.

WILLIAM H. TOWNSEND

Few men rank higher as an authority on Lincoln than does Townsend ("Abraham Lincoln," Page 16). As a young man, he knew Robert Lincoln and from him secured many personal items which belonged to his father, including the watch he wore when he was assassinated. A Lexington attorney by profession, he has written books, the best known of which is "Lincoln And The Bluegrass." His home near Lexington once was the residence of Mrs. Ben Hardin Helm, half-sister of Mrs. Lincoln and the widow of the Confederate general. Widely known as a wit and lecturer, he is president of the Lexington Civil War Round Table.

ALLAN M. TROUT

More people perhaps are familiar with the name of Trout ("Louisville: A Foot in Both Camps," Page 75) than that of any other man in Kentucky. A member of The Courier-Journal staff since 1929, he is an expert on problems, techniques and history of state government, education and finance; in addition, he is the author of "Greetings," a daily column of homely humor, earthy sayings, barnyard science, cracker barrel wisdom and folklore. Collections of his columns have been put into two books—"Greetings From Old Kentucky" and "Greetings From Old Kentucky, Volume II." He is a native Tennessean and a Georgetown College graduate.

BENNETT H. WALL

The author of three articles in this section ("The Confederates Move In," Page 66; "The Line That Failed," Page 69, and "Victory Without Peace," Page 107) Wall is an associate professor of American history at the University of Kentucky. A Southerner by birth, he is a graduate of Wake Forest College and the University of North Carolina. He has written articles for various historical journals and reviews, and currently is the secretary-treasurer of the Southern Historical Association. Dr. Wall is 45 years of age and one of the many author-teachers now on the history department faculty at Kentucky.

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

Another eminently qualified as an authority on the subjects he describes in this section is Dr. Williams ("Kentucky, The Hard School of Experience," Page 53, and "Grant Moves In," Page 73). Among the books he has written is "Lincoln and His Generals" and "P.G.T. Beauregard." Some years back he was selected by the editors of the "Cambridge Modern History" to contribute a chapter on the Civil War to a new series it has published. He holds the rank of professor of history at Louisiana State University and his courses include Civil War, reconstruction and military history. He now is doing a biography on the late Huey P. Long.

THE MUTTER OF A DISTANT STORM

Kentucky, torn by divided loyalties, faced a grim future sadly

By JOE CREASON

THE ANGRY CLOUDS of civil war were boiling about and beginning to gather ominously on the American horizon a century ago.

Abraham Lincoln, the Kentucky-born rail-splitter, had been elected President. In the wake of that event, some Southern states were poised to secede rather than risk further surrender of institutions they regarded as their constitutional right.

In the North, radicals and abolitionists were angrily demanding "total war against slavery and the whole social system of the South."

The problems which for four decades had been worsening and threatening to split the nation apart were rapidly moving toward the point beyond which compromise and peaceful negotiation no longer would be possible.

That point of no return was reached at 4:30 a.m. on April 12, 1861, when, after receiving a refusal of surrender, Confederate batteries opened a bombardment against Fort Sumter, a Federal fort in Charleston, S. C., harbor.

With the angry act of Sumter, the war no sensible person wanted, in either North or South, was upon the nation.

600,000 Men Killed

Four eternity-long, bloody and tragic years were to follow the bombardment of Sumter before the quiet of peace came again to the land. During those years, more than 3,000,000 men were in arms; more than 600,000 of them were killed in 6,000 different battles and skirmishes, or died of wounds or disease in the bloodiest civil war the world had known.

Those who fought generally were unable to agree why they fought. A sense of duty to family and home, loyalty to tradition, devotion to honor were intangible emotions shared by soldiers of the North and South alike. Both parts of the warring nation were sustained likewise by the same firm conviction that theirs, and only theirs, was a just cause in the sight of God.

Lincoln touched upon what was, perhaps, the only truly clear-cut issue involved in the war when, in his first inaugural address, he said: "One section of the country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while another believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute."

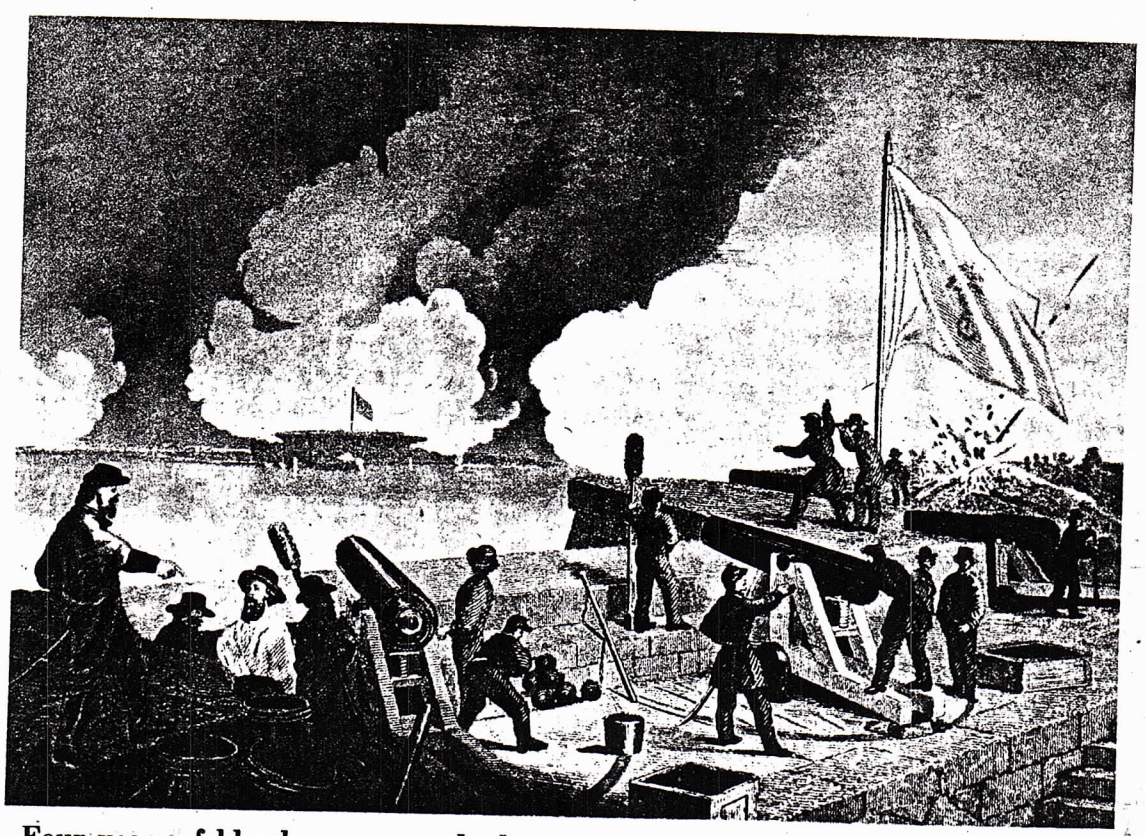
Although all parts of the nation were touched in some way when this dispute turned into war, no state occupied a more unusual or strategic position than did Kentucky in events that were acted out long before the guns began to roar.

Wanted By Both Sides

Nor was any state more coveted by both sides or more tragically divided in sentiment once the fighting started.

For Kentucky was the true border state, a 450-mile-long region lying squarely between North and South and with strong ties to both sections. The state was drawn to the South through sentimental, cultural and family connections; much of its commerce was north of the Ohio River and

Continued on following pages



Four years of bloody war started when Confederate guns fired on Fort Sumter.

INDEX

Both sides had a desperate need for Kentucky

its citizens cherished an almost passionate feeling about the binding power of the national union.

As a consequence, Kentucky became a state divided against itself. The division of sentiment was mirrored in the ironic fact that the Presidents of the warring sections—Lincoln of the North, Jefferson Davis of the South—had been born only 100 miles and one year apart in Kentucky.

The split was mirrored also in the 65 native Kentuckians who served as Union generals and the 38 who were Confederate generals; in the massive scale in which fathers and sons, brothers and cousins were split on the issues which divided the nation; in the fact that more men were drafted into federal army service from Kentucky (90,000) than from Ohio while more volunteered from the state for Confederate duty (40,000) than from Virginia; in that it was one of only two states to have an official government that remained loyal to the Union and a paper-only provisional government which turned to the South, and in the fact that, even though the state did not stray from the Union, there was such a strong anti-Federal undercurrent late in the war in Kentucky that it was regarded by Washington in many ways as being a rebel state.

Louisvillian Was Hero

There was further irony in Kentucky's house-divided posture in that the state was the locale of a seemingly insignificant event which led to publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the inflamatory denunciation of slavery which cemented feeling in the North so solidly against the institution that war became inevitable. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author, was inspired to write the book after visiting relatives in Kentucky in 1851 and seeing an aged slave sold away from his family. The novel was published the following year.

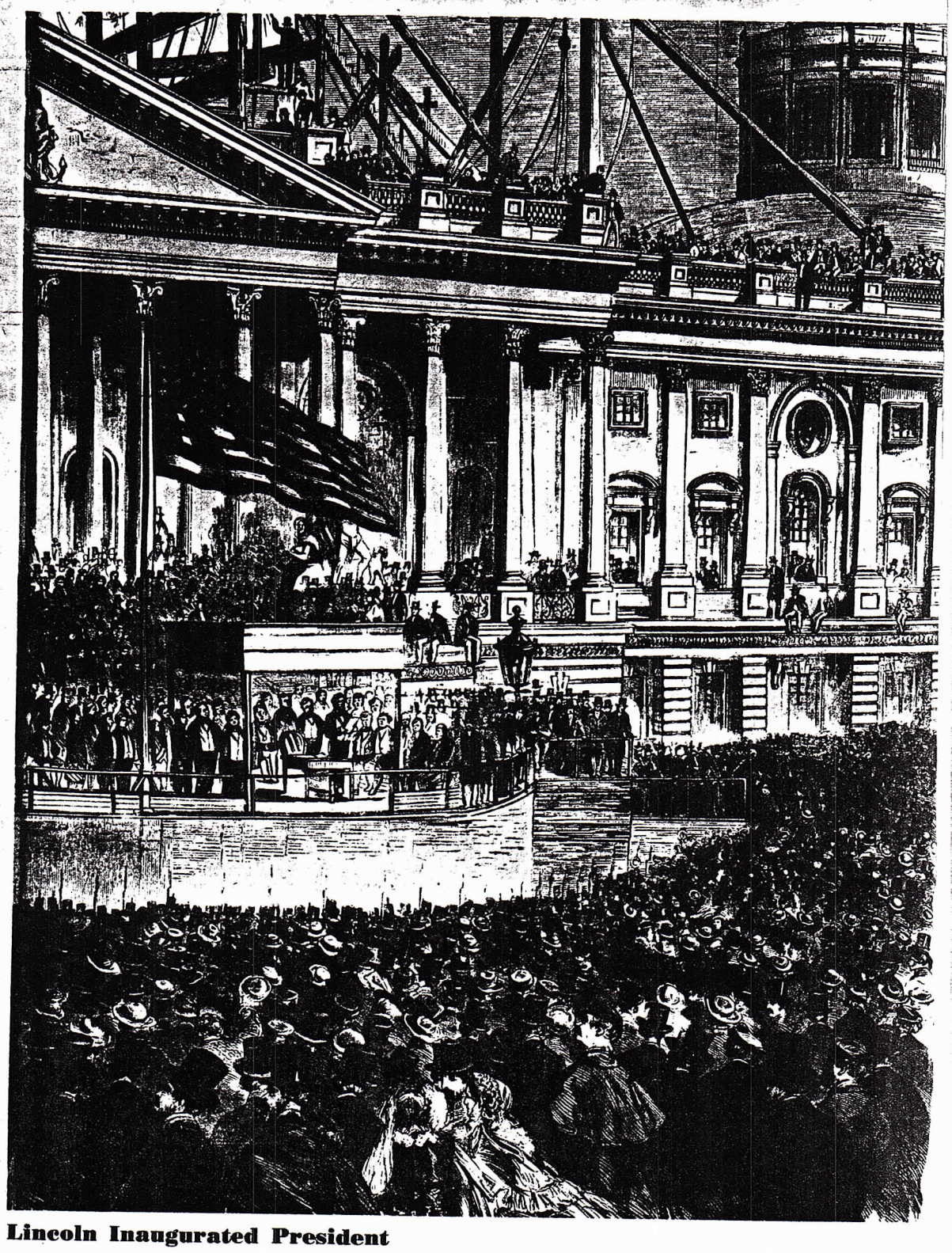
Moreover, the first of the many heroes to emerge in the war, Maj. Robert Anderson, the 54-year-old career soldier whose refusal to surrender Fort Sumter brought on the initial shot of the war, was a native of Louisville.

In the weeks between Lincoln's election and his inauguration, Kentucky's two U. S. senators, Lazarus W. Powell and John J. Crittenden—the latter, incidentally, was to have one son serve as a Union general, another as a Confederate general—maneuvered frantically behind scenes in an effort to effect a compromise. But their work, like the later efforts of Governor Beriah Magoffin to form the border states into a neutral buffer zone that would keep the belligerents apart, failed.

The mood was for war.

And once war came, Kentucky was needed by both sides. Deep, unfordable rivers on the north and west and difficult mountains on the east made it a natural protective zone for the South. For that very reason, it was an area the North could not allow the Confederates to occupy.

What is more, the navigable Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, which meet the Ohio in Kentucky, led straight into the heart of the cotton states, a factor not overlooked by either side.



Lincoln Inaugurated President

The inauguration into office of Abraham Lincoln on March 4, 1861, caused other Southern states to join South Carolina in secession. The firing on Sumter came five weeks later.

After failing to draw other states into a neutral alliance, Kentucky proclaimed its own policy of neutrality. Both sides at first welcomed this avowed position, but it lasted only during the first four months of war. Reality quickly melted the myth of neutrality.

Late in August, over the protests of pro-Southern Governor Magoffin, a Union recruiting and training station, the first south of the Ohio, was established at Camp Dick Robinson in Garrard County.

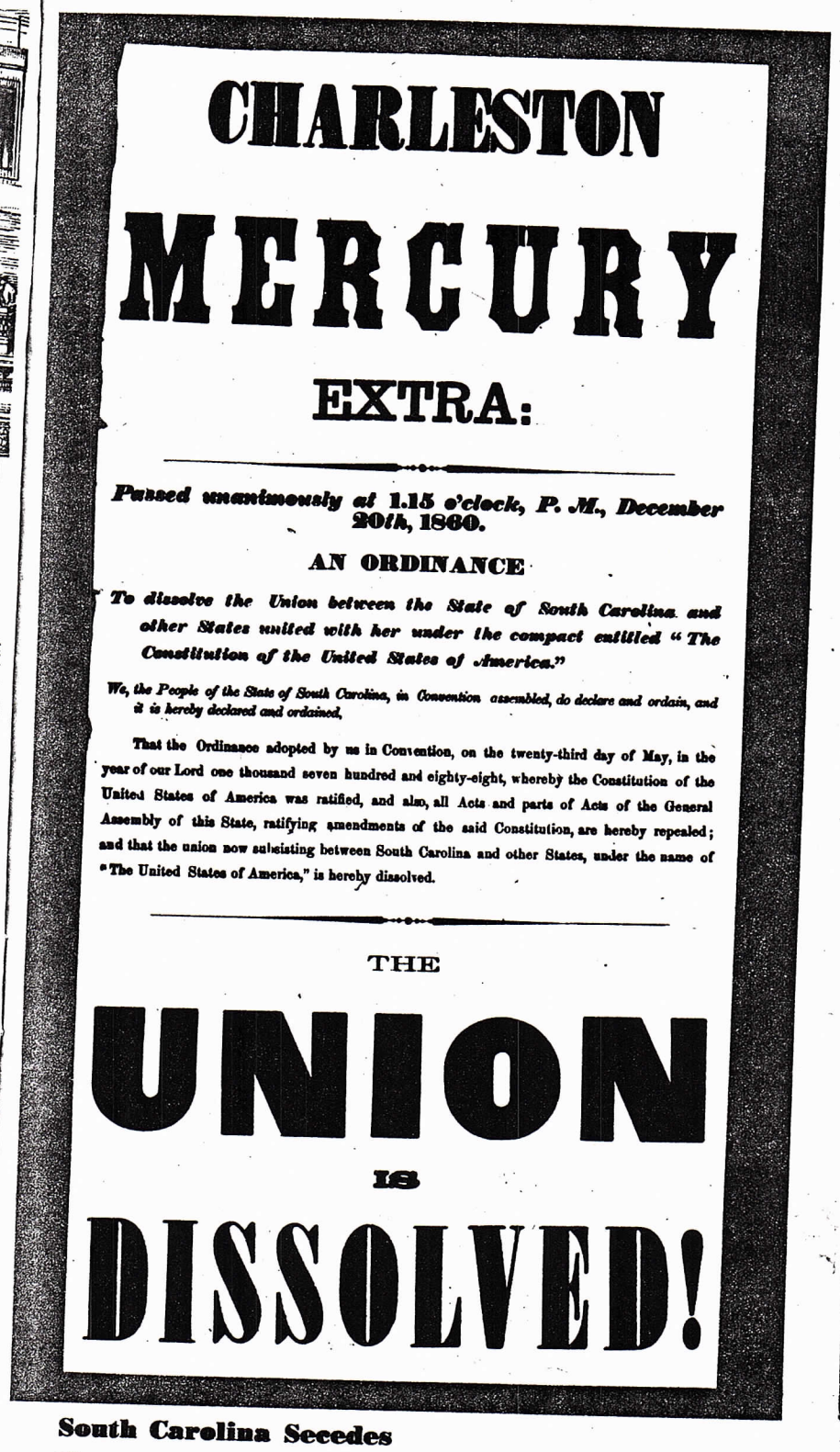
On the heels of that, Confederates occupied Columbus. Five days later, Union forces under Brig. Gen. U. S. Grant, fresh out of retirement, entered Paducah. Still other Federal troops moved into the Big Sandy country.

By late 1861, Kentucky was split down the middle. Confederates held fortified positions stretching from Cumberland Gap on the east, along the upper Cumberland and across to Columbus on the West. The Union occupied the state north of that line.

Pro-Unionists Win

The first dent in the long, loose Confederate line came early in 1862 when Mill Springs, on the Cumberland, fell. In quick order, other points collapsed until it was necessary for the Confederate forces to evacuate the state entirely.

They were gone from Kentucky by March. Even before that, Kentucky had shown where, when the chips were down, its real sympathies lay by electing a pro-Union Legislature. Eventually, Governor Magoffin, convinced the feeling of the Legis-



CHARLESTON

MERCURY

EXTRA:

Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December 20th, 1860.

AN ORDINANCE

To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

THE

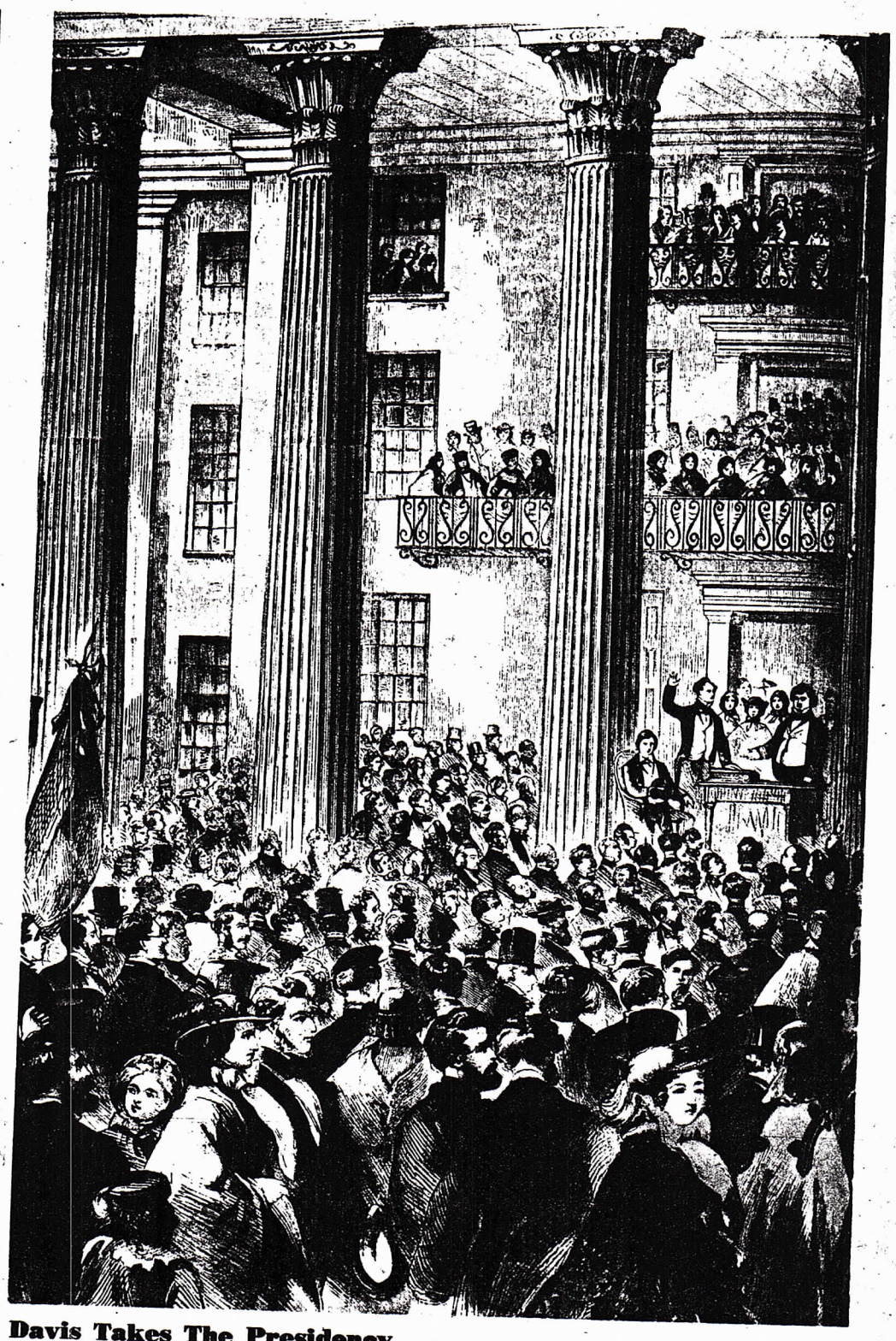
UNION

IS

DISSOLVED!

South Carolina Secedes

The story of the secession of South Carolina was told in glaring headlines in the Charleston Mercury on December 20, 1860.



Davis Takes The Presidency

The Confederate States of America officially came into being on February 4 when Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as the nation's first, only president.

lature was opposed to his own, resigned his office. But the Davis government did not give up the conviction that, strategically and logically, the northern border of the Confederacy ought to be the Ohio River.

That conviction, along with the desire to relieve mounting Union pressure on Tennessee, led to a Confederate reinvasion of Kentucky in the early fall of 1862. This re-entry, among other successes, resulted in the capture of Frankfort, making it the only capital of a loyal state to fall to the Confederates during the war. The invasion failed at the bloody Battle of Perryville on October 8, 1862, and a second retreat from Kentucky followed.

After Perryville, the Confederates did not seriously threaten Kentucky again. Except for hit-and-run cavalry raids and guerrilla strikes, the war in the state thereafter was more political than physical. During the course of the four war years, more than 400 battles and skirmishes had been fought in the state.

Thus it was that Kentucky played a prominent role in the early war as well as in events leading up to the struggle. It was, however, a role which has been largely overlooked by those who have written the more than 36,000 books, histories and pamphlets produced about the war.

It is because of Kentucky's generally untold but distinctive and important position that this Magazine section is published. A date five months before the 100th anniversary of the firing on Fort Sumter was chosen in order to point up those events which occurred in the state or which were directed by Kentuckians in the pulse-pounding months before war came.

Typography And Layouts By Our Staff Artists

Type styles and heads for the stories in this section, and layouts for individual articles, were the responsibility of Louis Dey, editorial art director, assisted by artists Maurice Tillman and Ben Ramsey.

Most of the advertisements in this section have a Civil War motif, provided through research by our Advertising Copy and Art Department. They hunted for material through old newspapers, periodicals, city directories, the Filson Club collection, and even private collections such as one belonging to Herman A. Erhart, Jeffersontown.

Action And Politics Over Four

DURING THE FIRST two years of the Civil War—or until its participation as a Union or a Confederate state was determined definitely—Kentucky was the setting for momentous events which, to a marked degree, influenced the outcome of the struggle.

These events took place in legislative chambers and on battlefields alike. Eventually Kentucky chose the Union, a choice that was tested by fire at Perryville where the Confederate reinvasion of the state ground to a bloody halt.

The war did not end in Kentucky at Perryville. But after that decisive battle, fighting in the state was restricted to minor skirmishes on the battlefield and major battles in various political arenas.

In the end, however, political developments of the last two years of the war were perhaps as decisive overall as the fighting of 1861-62. The declaration of martial law, suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, military meddling in elections and other high-handed measures taken after the Union assumed firm control of the state so infuriated citizens that, once free voting was possible, they turned against the Republicans and gave the Democrats the top-heavy political allegiance which holds to this day.

The chronology of the more important war dates in Kentucky follows:

1861

Feb. 4—Seceded states form Confederate States of America; elect Kentucky-born Jefferson Davis President.

Feb. 5—Washington peace conference arranged by Kentucky leaders fails.

March 4—Kentucky-born Abraham Lincoln inaugurated President.

April 12—Louisville-native Major Anderson refuses to surrender Fort Sumter; Confederate batteries bombard, force surrender of fort.

April 15—Governor Magoffin refuses to furnish four regiments of militia as Kentucky's part in call from Lincoln for 75,000 troops.

May 20—Governor warns all states " . . . and especially the 'United States' and the 'Confederate States,' to abstain from any movement upon the soil of Kentucky;" militia alerted to enforce policy of neutrality.

May 24—Legislature appropriates $1,600,000 for arming militia to enforce state's avowed neutrality.

May 28—Lincoln creates Military Department of Kentucky, with headquarters in Louisville.

June 24—Colonel Tilghman and six companies of State Militia take up duty at Columbus to preserve neutrality of area.

Amateur's War

Numerous reasons account for the great and growing interest in the Civil War, among them these:

The 100th anniversary of the start of the war is only five months away. It was the last great war fought for a cause—both sides were firmly convinced God was with them. It was the last war in which entire armies marched in line into the very mouths of the cannon.

It was fought by amateurs. At the outset, the regular U. S. Army numbered only 16,000 officers and men, while the Confederacy had no armed forces as such.

July 1—William Nelson establishes himself in southeastern end of state to enlist infantry for Federal service; is assured of 5,000 stands of "Lincoln Guns" by Washington.

July 5—Confederates establish Camp Boone across Kentucky line in Tennessee to enlist recruits.

Aug. 1—Nelson violates state's neutrality by setting up Camp Dick Robinson in Garrard County for enlisting and training Union soldiers.

Aug. 19—Kentucky's demand to Washington that Camp Dick Robinson be removed refused on grounds it was "established at the urgent request of many Kentuckians."

Sept. 4—Confederates under Polk occupy and fortify Columbus.

Sept. 7—General Grant occupies Paducah.

Sept. 15—General Buckner, with brigade of Confederates, takes Bowling Green and starts fort overlooking Barren River.

Sept. 18—Legislature passes resolution asking Federal help in expelling Confederate troops; resolution vetoed by Governor Magoffin, but his veto over-ridden 24-10 in Senate, 69-21 in House.

Oct. 21—First pitched battle in state fought at Camp Wildcat in Rockcastle County.

Oct. 26—Battle at Canton, Trigg County, between Confederates under Nathan B. Forrest and Union gunboat "Conestoga."

Nov. 18—Delegates from 64 counties meet in Russellville and create Provisional Confederate Government of Kentucky; George W. Johnson elected Governor.

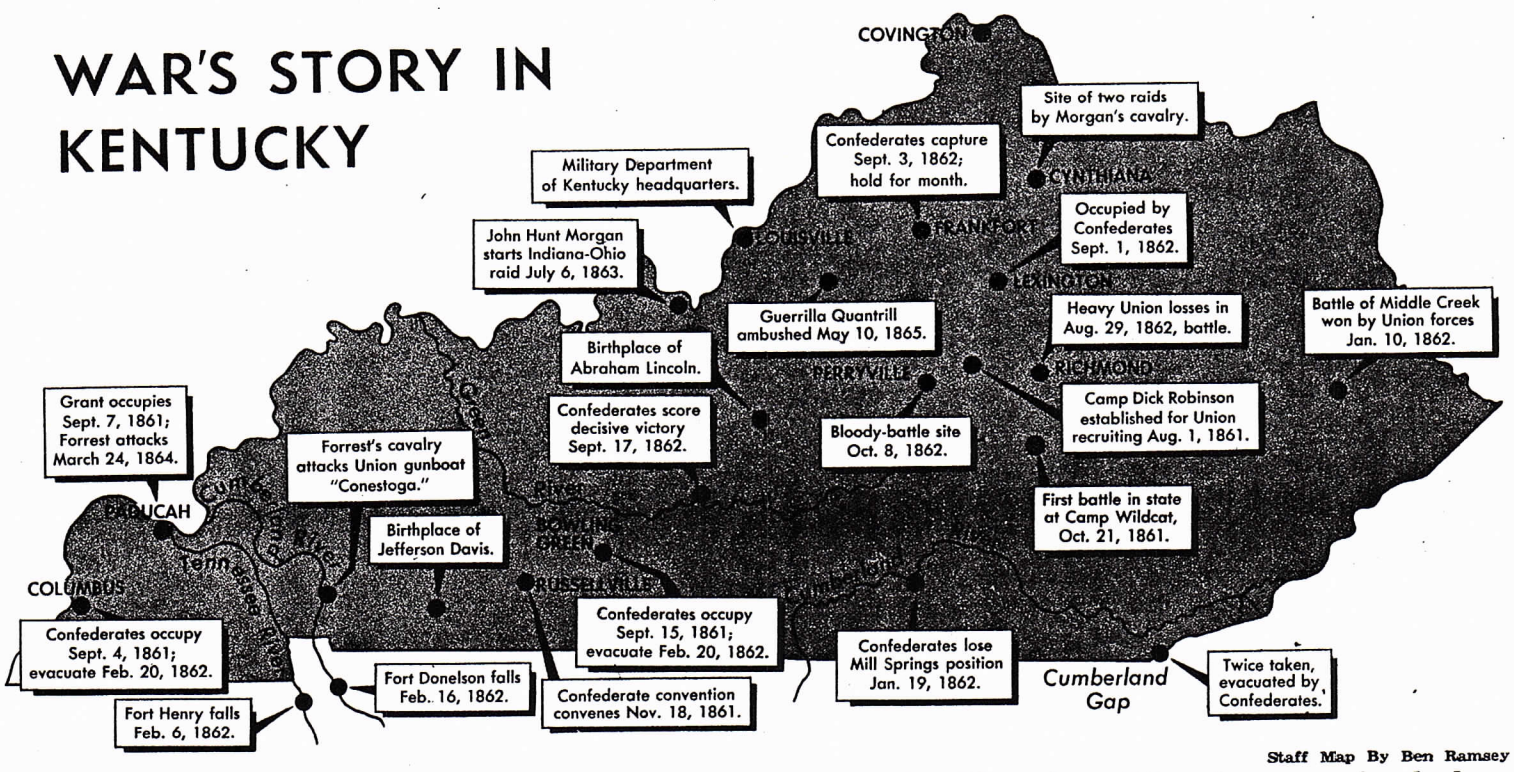
Nov. 22—Bowling Green selected as seat of Confederate government.

Dec. 10—Confederate Congress admits Kentucky as 12th state.

1862

Jan. 10—Unions under Colonel Garfield defeat Confederates at Middle Creek in Floyd County, gain control of Big Sandy River valley.

Jan. 19—First crack in Confederate defense line across state comes when Union wins Battle of Mill Springs; Confederate General Felix Zollicoffer slain.



Staff Map By Ben Ramsey

Areas indicated show only high lights of the Civil War in Kentucky. More than 400 actions were fought here.

...ur Years Of Civil War In Kentucky

Feb. 6—Fort Henry on Tennessee River falls to Union.

Feb. 16—Union captures Fort Donelson on Cumberland River.

Feb. 20—Confederates start evacuation of Bowling Green and Columbus.

April 16—Kentucky-born General Albert Sidney Johnston and Confederate Governor Johnson killed at Battle of Shiloh.

July 8—John Hunt Morgan's Confederate cavalry steps up raids in state.

Aug. 1—Large Confederate armies enter Kentucky via Cumberland Gap and Glasgow.

Aug. 15—Legislature passes law automatically expatriating any person sympathizing with Confederacy.

Aug. 18—Convinced sentiment of majority of Legislature is opposed to his, Governor Magoffin resigns office; is succeeded by James F. Robinson, speaker of the Senate.

Aug. 29—Battle of Richmond; Confederates score smashing victory.

Sept. 1—E. Kirby Smith's Confederates occupy Lexington.

Sept. 3—Confederate troops seize Frankfort; State Government already had fled to Louisville.

Sept. 17—Confederates continue successes with capture of two forts on Green River at Munfordville.

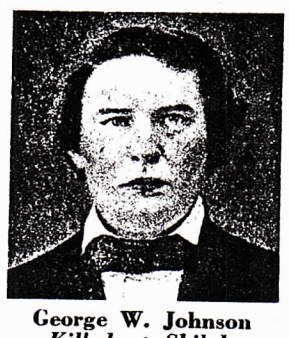
Oct. 4—Confederates inaugurate Richard Hawes as Governor of Kentucky in Frankfort; leave city during ceremony when large Union forces reported nearing city.

Oct. 8—Battle of Perryville, bloodiest battle in Kentucky; neither side scores decisive victory, but Confederates pull back from field.

Oct. 10—Confederates begin retreat from Kentucky, moving southeastward toward Cumberland Gap and Tennessee.

Dec. 27—Morgan and his raiders slash at Glasgow and Elizabethtown; burn Louisville & Nashville Railroad trestles over Bacon Creek and at Muldraugh Hill.

Bennett Young
Led Vermont Raid.



George W. Johnson
Killed at Shiloh.

1863

Jan. 1—Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation, but Kentucky, being a loyal state, is not effected.

July 6—Morgan crosses Ohio River at Brandenburg with 2,000 Confederates and starts invasion which terrifies Indiana, Illinois and Ohio; later captured and imprisoned at Columbus, Ohio.

Aug. 3—Military interference makes state-wide elections little more than formality as Col. T. E. Bramlette, Union officer, elected Governor.

Nov. 28—Morgan escapes from prison and rejoins his command.

1864

Jan. 4—Arrest of five citizens sympathetic to Confederate ordered for every Union loyalist molested by guerrillas.

March 24—General Forrest attacks Paducah and demands surrender of Fort Anderson; heavy property loss results before Confederate retreat.

April 18—Enlistment in U.S. Army of able-bodied Negroes in Kentucky ordered.

July 5—Martial law declared and writ of habeas corpus suspended in Kentucky on orders from Washington.

Sept. 4—Morgan ambushed and slain at Greenville, Tenn.

Oct. 19—Kentuckian Bennett H. Young and 21 Confederates strike St. Albans, Vt.; take $223,000 from bank, force citizens to take oath of allegiance to Confederacy, and escape into Canada.

Nov. 4—Lincoln re-elected; Kentucky gives his opponent, General George B. McClellan, 36,000-vote majority.

1865

Jan. 1—Guerrilla leader William C. Quantrill and 25 of his band enter Kentucky from Missouri near Hickman.

April 9—Lee surrenders to Grant at Appomatox Courthouse, Va.

April 14—Lincoln assassinated by John Wilkes Booth.

May 10—Quantrill, called "bloodiest man in Amerian history," ambushed and mortally wounded in Spencer County.

May 16—Sue Mundy, Kentucky-born guerrilla, hanged by Union forces in Louisville.

Oct. 12—Martial law revoked, writ of habeas corpus restored in state.

Dec. 18—Although Kentucky does not ratify, 13th Amendment becomes operative and all slaves are freed who previously had not enlisted in Union Army.

Our Thanks To Dr. Thomas D. Clark And Our Contributors

THE PRINCIPAL consultant for this section was Dr. Thomas D. Clark, head of the University of Kentucky history department. From the beginning he showed an interest in the project; he listed topics to be covered, in conference with our staff. Moreover, with his personal knowledge of the field, he was able to tell us who, on each subject, would be readable and at the same time beyond criticism as an authority.

As the list of contributors on Pages 2 and 4 will prove, we ended with a roll of writers of whom both Dr. Clark and The Courier-Journal can be proud. Without exception, the outside authorities whom we and Dr. Clark induced to write for us are the authors of distinguished books on their subjects.

Most of the work of assembling the material was done by Joe Creason, veteran writer for The Courier-Journal Sunday Magazine, whose absorption in the Civil War since boyhood has led to scores of articles besides his three in this section. Many have been reprinted, notably in The Civil War Times of Mechanicsburg, Pa., which has also asked Creason for original contributions. His talks on the war to schools and clubs are beyond calculation, and his countless reviews of Civil War books have already been referred to on Page 2.

The actual editing of the section was in the hands of Joseph Landau, like Creason a World War II veteran and a Civil War buff (though on the other side).

The first proposals for this section came in 1955, after Creason and H. Harold Davis, our chief color photographer for a quarter of a century, had been on a visit to the Perryville battlefield. There they photographed members of the present-day 2d Kentucky Cavalry, who had been carrying out authentic Confederate drill routines of the Confederacy for our camera. Creason made this report:

After seeing the interest the Civil War hobbyists have in the war, I wonder if maybe we might not be justified in thinking about a special Magazine devoted to the Civil War. I have found that articles we have about the war seem to draw more interest than just about any other kind. . . .

This is just some wild thinking on my part, but I feel pretty sure we will be seeing an awful lot of books and magazines being turned out on the war as the 100th anniversary date gets nearer. I sure would like to see us get on the band wagon and get one of our own out.

Other notes were exchanged in the following years, enough to make a book in themselves. Today we have the result, issued just after Lincoln's election made war seem inevitable.

Our Pictures

The cover, showing the battle for the bridge over the Licking at Cynthiana, is part of a mural painted in 1938 for the taproom of the present Capital Hotel in Frankfort, by George Gray. It was presented to the Kentucky Historical Society in 1949, and now hangs in the Confederate Room of the Old State House.

Most of the wartime sketches in this section were taken from Leslie's Illustrated Weekly, which we borrowed through the courtesy of the University of Kentucky Library.

The color photographs were made by H. Harold Davis, who also reproduced the cover painting. Those on Pages 87 and 101 were made especially for this section (on one of the hottest days of the year) on the actual scene of the Battle of Perryville, the bloodiest fought in Kentucky. The Civil War buffs who marched and posed were dressed in authentically styled uniforms, with genuine Civil War buttons. All the rifles and sidearms, not to mention the cannon, were actually used in the war.

The Confederate troops in our picture are members of the 2d Kentucky Cavalry, of which E. D. Price of Covington is sergeant major (their highest rank). The original 2d Kentucky was General John Hunt Morgan's outfit (Page 79).

Federals in these pictures belong to the 1st Ohio Light Artillery, originally mustered into service in December, 1861; the reincarnation is headed by Robert Henry of Cincinnati. Members of both groups live in the Greater Cincinnati area.

By the time they had finished struggling over the battlefield in their tightly buttoned outfits, all were perspiring as freely, perhaps, as the men who fought there on another hot day 98 years earlier.

The battle scene on Page 82 was photographed by Davis in 1956, when Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer brought actors and technical crews to the Danville area to film part of the action for "Raintree County."

Trying To Stem The Tide

For a decade before the battle, moderation was Kentucky's ideal

By HOLMAN HAMILTON

IN THE 1850-1860 decade, Kentucky and Kentuckians were every bit as prominent in national affairs as they were during the Civil War itself.

Today there may be a tendency to forget that had it not been for the Compromise of 1850, the Civil War might have broken out in the latter part of that critical year instead of in the spring of 1861. Just as the Kentuckian Abraham Lincoln and the Kentuckian Jefferson Davis led the U.S.A. and the C.S.A. amid the triumphs and disasters of a bloody brothers' war, so President Zachary Taylor and Senator Henry Clay, both Kentuckians, represented conflicting points of view when Lincoln was an obscure ex-congressman practicing law in Springfield, Ill., far from the drama in Washington.

Henry Clay of Lexington was supported on most counts by his senatorial colleague of 1850, Bowling Green's Joseph Rogers Underwood, and by members of the Kentucky delegation in the House of Representatives. Pitted against Clay at that time, however, was Taylor who (like Clay) was a native of Virginia but who had been brought as an infant to what soon became Jefferson County, Kentucky, and grew to manhood at his father's farm on the northeastern periphery of Louisville.

Boyd Influential

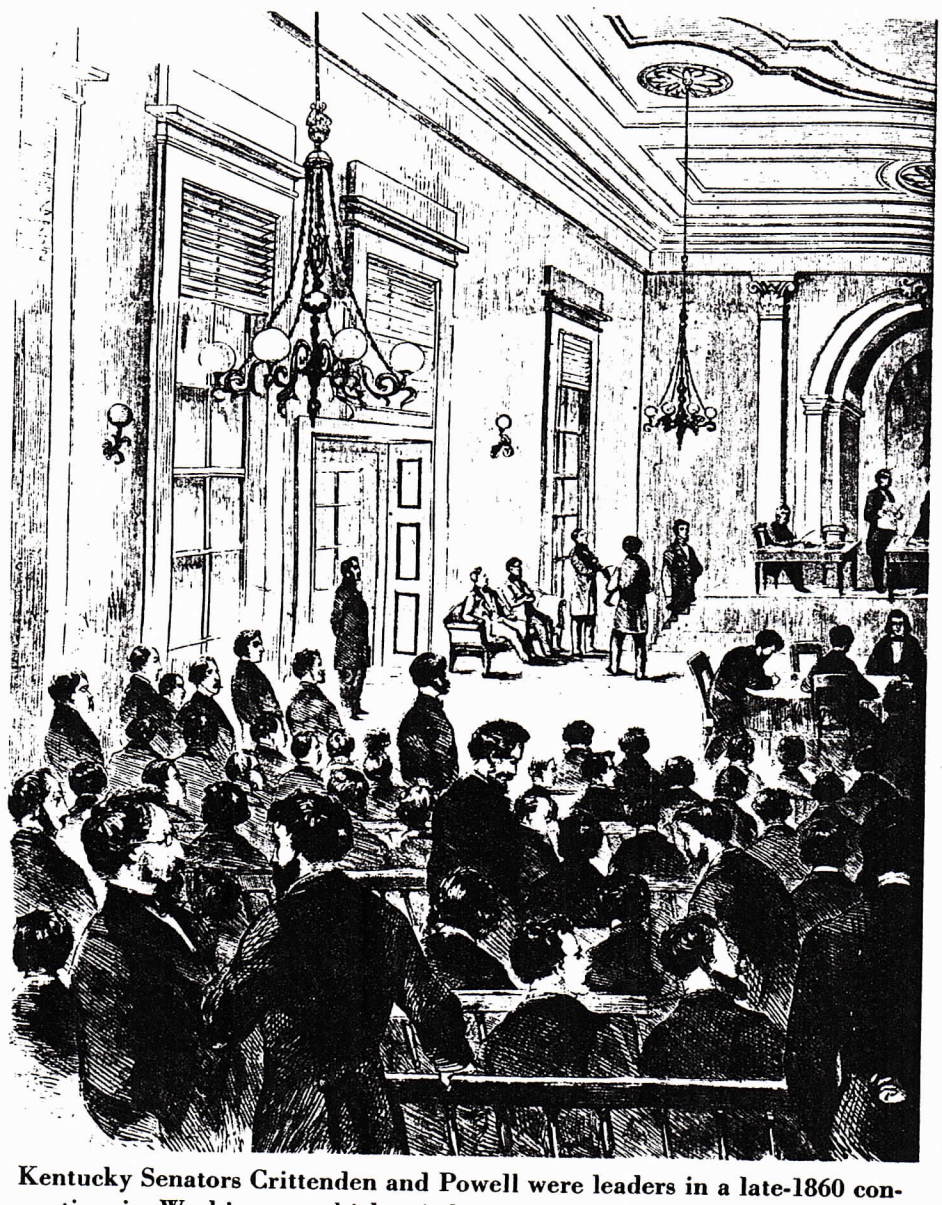
Taylor's 1850 position on South-North differences bore a striking resemblance to Lincoln's in 1861, despite Taylor's ownership of cotton and sugar lands and slaves in Mississippi and Louisiana. However, when "Old Rough and Ready" died in the White House at the height of the earlier crisis, the road to compromise at last lay open.

It was at this juncture that, with the ailing Clay's assent, Lincoln's future rival Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois guided California, New Mexico, Utah, Fugitive Slave, and related measures to victory on Capitol Hill. Daniel Breck of Richmond, Humphrey Marshall of Drennons Lick, Finis E. McLean of Elkton, Richard H. Stanton of Maysville, and John B. Thompson of Harrodsburg were among the Kentucky congressmen who approved. Particularly influential in the House was Linn Boyd, the hardy perennial of Cadiz (subsequently of Paducah), who served as chairman of the Committee of the Whole and proved himself an expert legislative tactician. Although most historians have given Clay a lion's share of credit for the passage of the Compromise, the constructive accomplishments of Boyd (for whom Boyd County is named) should not be overlooked in any careful reckoning.

Throughout the 10 years that followed 1850, Kentucky's reputation as a habitat of men of moderation in the sectional controversy was sustained with but few exceptions. Even before Clay's death in 1852, middle-road Americans looked upon John J. Crittenden of Frankfort and originally of Woodford County as one of their outstanding leaders. When the Compromise was still embryonic, Crittenden resigned the governorship of Kentucky to become Attorney General of the United States for the second time. His official interpretation of the Fugitive Slave Law was widely endorsed, and he was regarded by numerous Northerners and Southerners as an important Whig presidenital possibility.

Other noteworthy national figures of the '50's were Boyd, William O. Butler, Lazarus W. Powell, James Guthrie and John C. Breckinridge. During Boyd's last four years in Washington, from 1851 to 1855, he was Speaker of the House at a time when much significant legislation was enacted. Butler of Carrollton, like Taylor a hero of the Mexican War as well as the War of 1812, loomed briefly as a Democratic presidential hope. Boyd enjoyed a vice-presidential boomlet and was also mentioned for the presidency. Powell of Henderson, elected Governor in 1851, served a full term and then, in 1859, became a United States senator; in that capacity, he stood for the neutrality of his state.

Guthrie of Louisville, prominent real-estate investor and railroad promoter, served as Secretary of the Treasury through Franklin Pierce's administration. In 1857, at the age of 36, the magnetic Breckinridge of Lexington became the youngest Vice President in American annals. At the outset of his political career, and even in mid-course, Breckinridge seemed far from sectionalistic. Like some other Kentuckians, nevertheless, he resented Northern Republican sectionalism and finally took an adamant pro-Southern stand in his efforts to oppose it. In 1860, as the nominee of the Southern Democrats, he divided the popular Democratic presidential vote with Douglas and ran second to Lincoln in the Electoral College.



Kentucky Senators Crittenden and Powell were leaders in a late-1860 convention in Washington which tried to avoid war through compromise.

Many Unionists

In the 1850's, many Kentuckians consistently made strenuous efforts not only to thwart North-South dissidence wherever possible but also to keep themselves and their followers on the broad highway of the Union. Sometimes their efforts went awry, as when Senator Archibald Dixon of Henderson contributed tellingly to the form and substance of the highly controversial Kansas-Nebraska Law. At other times, like other states, Kentucky rolled up substantial majorities for the so-called "Know-Nothing" or American Party, whose nominee—Charles S. Morehead of Frankfort—won the gubernatorial contest of 1855 and headed the executive branch of the State government for the four succeeding years. If intolerance was prominent in Know-Nothingism, and if the bigotry that bred it also produced such shameful episodes as Louisville's "Bloody Monday" of August, 1855, it is to be recalled that another cause of its ephemeral success was the hope of avoiding one set of controversies by the agitation of a new one—a dangerous expedient at best. Here, as in virtually everything else it aimed at, the Know-Nothing movement eventually failed.

Following the Know-Nothing transition, Kentucky voters elected Beriah Magoffin of Harrodsburg as Governor Morehead's successor. The knowledge that Magoffin in 1861 secretly permitted Confederate agents to recruit in Kentucky, coupled with Vice President Breckinridge's 1860 emergence as the Deep South's standard bearer, may cause some readers to leap to the conclusion that anti-Union sentiment predominated in the Bluegrass State on the eve of the Civil War.

By the same token, there is a temptation to exaggerate the backing and influence of such antislavery extremists as John G. Fee of Berea and the flamboyant Cassius Marcellus Clay of Lexington and Madison County. Caution dictates, however, that four pertinent points be borne in mind.

First of all, it is to be remembered

Continued On Page 14

It was a Union candidate, John Bell, who carried Kentuckys' vote in 1860

that not Lincoln or Douglas or Breckinridge carried Kentucky in the famous four-way 1860 election in that campaign, the Commonwealth's electoral vote went to John Bell of Tennessee—candidate of the Constitutional Union Party, a Whig of many years' standing, and in certain ways the most conservative of the aspiring quartet.

Secondly, as should always be recalled, the elderly Crittenden became the chief sponsor of the ill-fated "Crittenden Compromise" which was turned down in Washington because of Northern intransigence in the secession winter of 1860-61. It is at least arguable, and happens to be the opinion of this writer, that the 73-year-old statesman's pacific effort reflected the true Kentucky majority viewpoint.

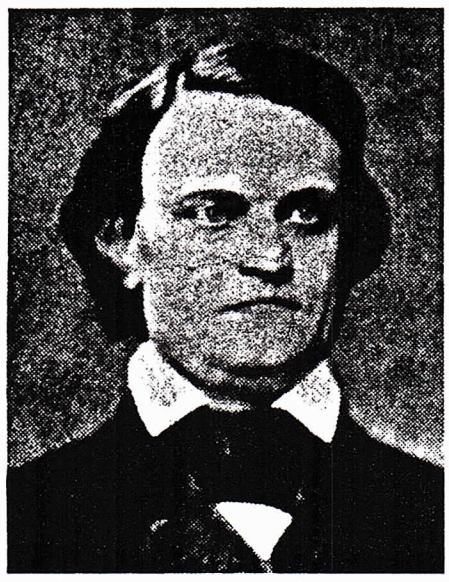
Thirdly, one would find it no more useful than beating a dead horse to present statistics substantiating the obvious truth that the thinking and actions of the Fees and the C. M. Clays failed to command the approbation of their neighbors.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all these considerations, the word "Union" was subject to more than a single interpretation in the 1850-60 decade, and resentment of Northern sectionalistic aggression was not necessarily synonymous with Southern secessionism. While large, moderate minorities existed both in the North and in the Deep South, moderation was unquestionably the keynote of majority sentiment in Kentucky and elsewhere on the border.

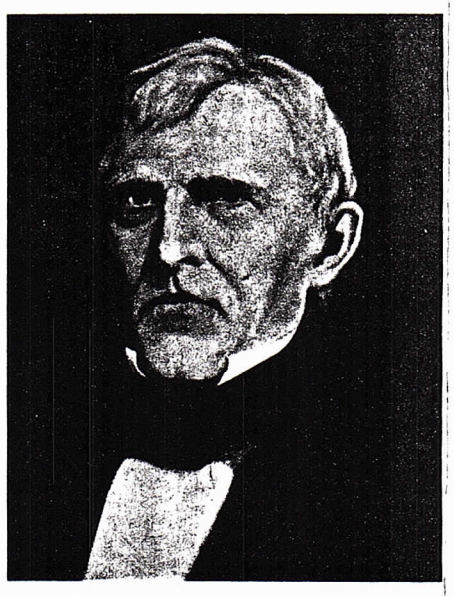
Although Missouri's Civil War history may have been more involved, Kentucky's course was tangled enough. Many a student becomes puzzled by the ramifications and seeming contradictions. Not a few of the complexities, however, become crystal clear when episodes of wartime Kentucky are linked to those preceding them.

Basically, in the 20 months from the surrender of Fort Sumter until the date of the Emancipation Proclamation, Kentucky's and Kentuckians' positions were reached as logical sequiturs of the leadership, events, and attitudes of the 10 previous years.

It was only after January 1, 1863, when Emancipation was proclaimed, that a new ingredient of vital significance was added—with the result that Kentucky opinion now veered into a new and equally logical path. The John J. Crittenden who in 1863 strenuously opposed the military regime in Kentucky and the enlistment of Negro troops as well as the Emancipation Proclamation, was the same veteran conservative who had exclaimed 15 years before: "The dissolution of the Union can never be regarded—ought never to be regarded—as a remedy, but as the consummation of the greatest evil that can befall us."



John C. Breckinridge was a spokesman for the Southern sectionalism.



John J. Crittenden was regarded as champion of middle-road advocates.

Those were also the sentiments of Henry Clay, whom Crittenden had deserted to support Taylor; of Taylor, who fought Clay's "ways and means" until he breathed his last; of Boyd, the Democrat, who sided with Clay, the Whig, in promoting the Compromise of 1850; and of Powell, the Democrat, whom Crittenden once defeated for the governorship but who in 1860 headed the Senate Committee of Thirteen and strove gallantly for the Crittenden Compromise. Partisan commitments and factional loyalties pale alongside the basic political moderation, which, with exceptions that have been noted, was the Commonwealth of Kentucky's hallmark in the decade before the Civil War.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN *In heart, he was always with Kentuckians*

By WILLIAM H. TOWNSEND

TODAY, the whole free world venerates Abraham Lincoln. Kentuckians, however, are entitled to think of him in a very special way as a fellow Kentuckian—as one of her greatest sons who, as chief figure in that tragic drama of smoke and flags, bowed down by the woes of a divided nation, never forgot the state of his birth and early boyhood and loved her to the very last day of his life. During his political career, when Lincoln first appeared on the stump at places outside of Illinois, the newspapers noted that "Mr. Lincoln speaks with the accent peculiar to his native Kentucky."

Marse Henry Watterson, famed editor of The Courier-Journal, always proclaimed proudly his firm conviction that "once a Kentuckian, always a Kentuckian," and Ralph Waldo Emerson found that—at least as to Lincoln—this proverb holds true.

In February, 1862, Emerson visited Washington to deliver a lecture at the Smithsonian Institution. There he called at the White House and, that night, wrote in his Journal: "Mr. Lincoln impressed me more favorably than I had hoped. A frank, sincere, well-meaning man, with a lawyer's habit of mind—good, clear statement of his facts; correct enough, not vulgar, as described, but with a sort of boyish cheerfulness. When he has made his point, he looks up at you with great satisfaction and shows all of his white teeth and laughs. When I was introduced to him, he said: 'Oh Mr. Emerson, I once heard you say in a lecture that a Kentuckian seems to say by his air and manners: "Here am I, if you don't like me, the worse for you!"' The point of this, of course," wrote Emerson, "is that Lincoln himself is a Kentuckian."

Tried To Help Old Friend

Long before he became President we find Lincoln interested in the problems and aspirations of Kentuckians. Near the end of his single term in Congress, he tried to obtain the Louisville Postoffice for his old roommate, Joshua Speed. While engaged in this effort, Speed wrote Lincoln that he ought to have something himself from the new administration, since he had stumped New England and the Middle West for the new President, Zachary Taylor, himself a Kentuckian. But Lincoln replied: "There is nothing about me which would authorize me to think of a first-class office; and a second-class one would not compensate me for being snarled at by others who want it for themselves."

Wanted Kentuckians To Know

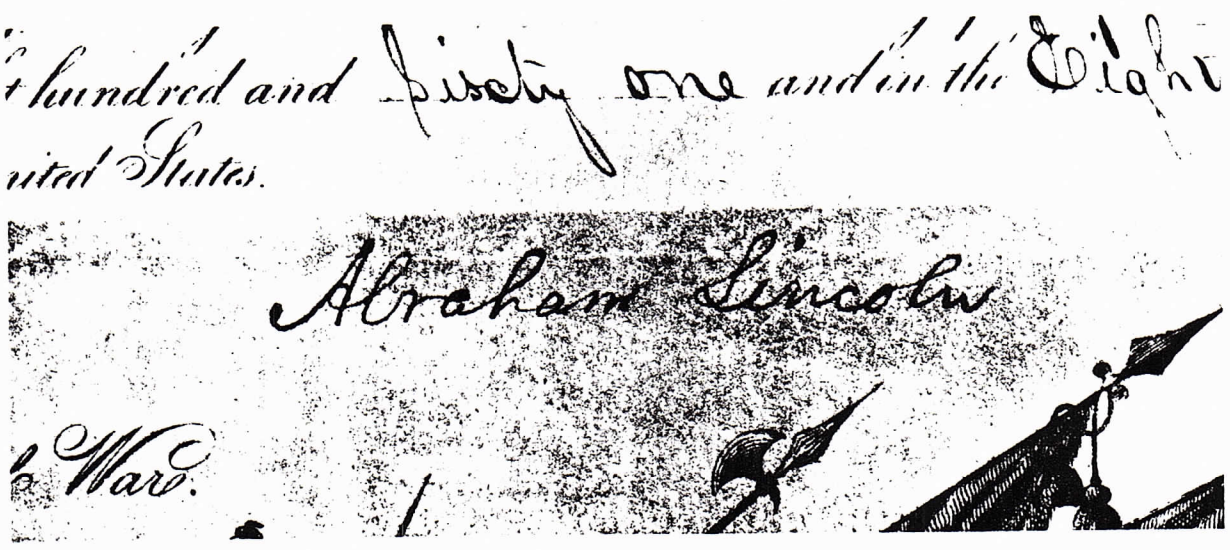
When the issue of slavery became acute and he emerged before the people as the ablest apostle of fredom, Lincoln was especially anxious that the people of his native state should understand his position and earnestly hoped that some of them might be convinced of the justice of it. When he spoke on Market House Square in Cincinnati, September 17, 1859, more than half of his speech was addressed to those he called his "brother Kentuckians" just across the river. He pointed out that "the issue between you and me is that I think slavery is wrong and ought not to spread, and you think it is right and ought to be extended and perpetuated. "If," said Lincoln, "there was a necessary conflict between the white man and the Negro, I would be for the white man as much as anyone, but I say there is no such necessary conflict. *I say that there is room enough for us all to be free.*" (Italics added by writer.)

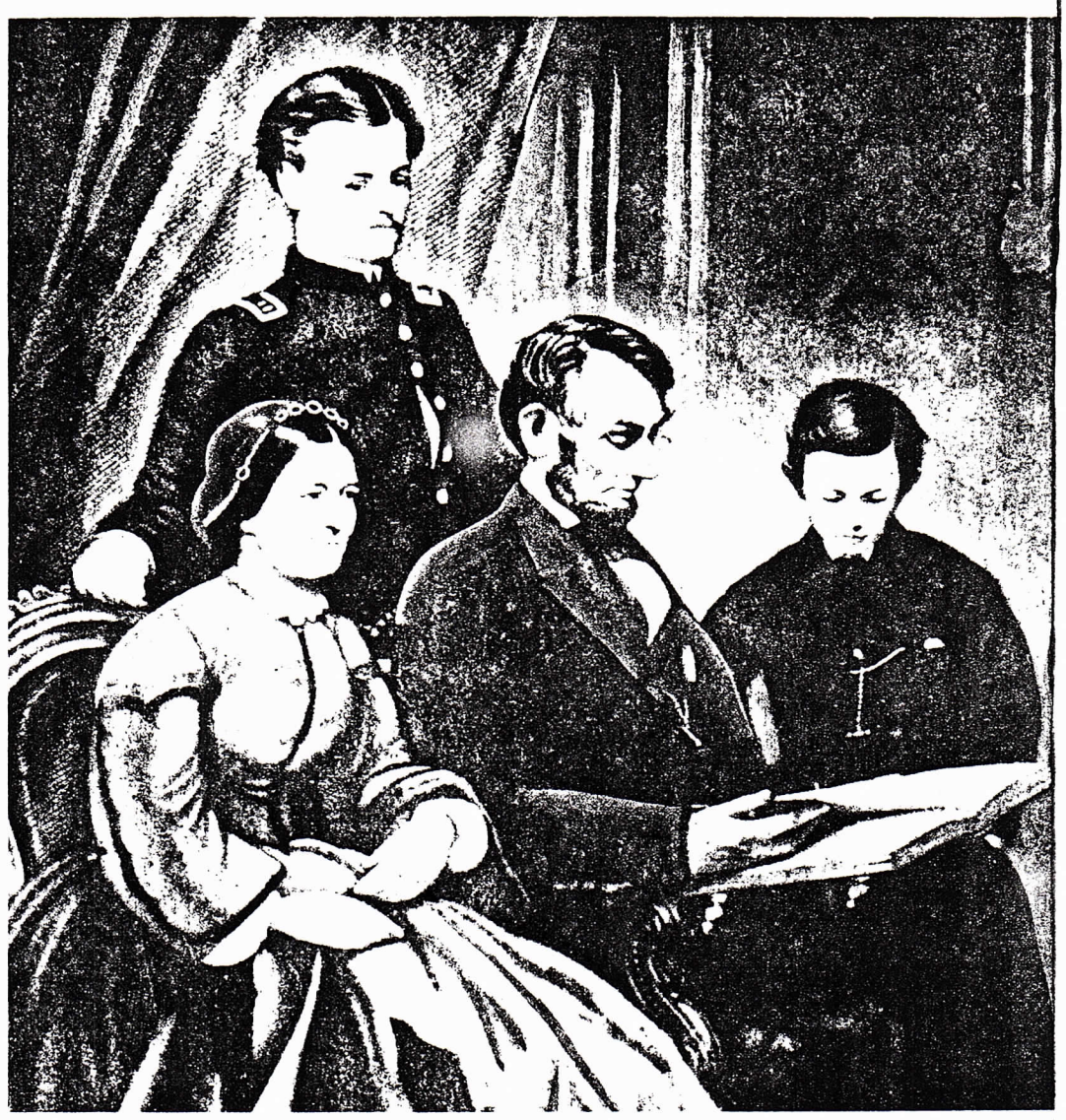
In a little more than a year from that date, the man who spoke those words was President-elect of the United States, but not by the vote of his "brother Kentuckians." They had given his opponents, Breckinridge, Douglas and Bell, 150,000 votes. They had given Lincoln fewer than 1,400 votes. Up in the Bluegrass, in Fayette County, he had received the grand total of five votes, two of which came from the City of Lexington.

Yet, speaking from the balcony of the Burnett House in Cincinnati on his way to Washington, on February 12, 1861—his 51st birthday—it was apparent that he held no bitterness or ill feelings toward those "brother Kentuckians," who had voted almost solidly against him. On the contrary, he reminded them of what he had said in his previous

Continued On Page 18

This statue of Lincoln stands in the rotunda of the Capitol at Frankfort. Left is a rare full-name signature ("A. Lincoln" was usual) on papers commissioning Louisvillian Charles S. Lovell (later a general) major in the Army.





The Lincoln family looked like this in late 1862. Seated is the Lexington-born Mary Tod Lincoln; at left is Robert and Tad. Lincoln grew his beard after being elected Presiden

Kentuckians rushed to Washington to take advantage of Lincoln's partiality

speech in Cincinnati on September 17, 1859: "There is no difference between us, other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as any other people and shall treat you accordingly." When, standing there, silhouettted in the dim lamp light—with arms outstretched, he exclaimed: "Fellow citizens of Kentucky—friends—brethren, may I call you in my new position, I see no occasion and feel no inclination to retract a word of this."

When Beriah Magoffin (Page 30), who later resigned as Governor of Kentucky because of sympathy for the Confederacy, wrote the President, protesting his "neutrality," but making demands which would have damaged greatly the Union cause in Kentucky, Lincoln replied in patient, conciliatory, though firm, language, closing his letter by saying: "I most cordially sympathize with Your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my native state, Kentucky, but it is with regret I search, and cannot find, in your not very short letter any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union."

"I think to lose Kentucky, is nearly the same as to lose the whole game," said the President, as he took prompt steps to thwa Magoffin's efforts to lead the state into t Confederacy.

It was not long after his inauguration th Lincoln's partiality for Kentuckians becam so widely known that hundreds rushed Washington to take advantage of it. A Was ington newspaper announced the presence "100 Todds and other Kentuckians, all wan ing office." One native of the old Commo wealth, actually from the county of Lincoln birth, wrote him a weirdly spelled applicatio that took in a lot of territory. It read: "I fe purfickly qualerfied to be Minister to Englan or any other foron post, but if you dont hav one vacant, I will take the Post Office at Buc Snort, Hardin County, Kentucky."

I believe the following incident aptly illus trates Lincoln's flashes of droll humor, whic helped him survive the daily swarm of job hunters and in other ways greatly sustaine him in dark hours of trial and tribulation. I is not generally known that President Lincol was ill with the smallpox when he delivere his immortal prose poem, the Gettysburg Ad dress, yet such is the fact. On the mornin of November 19, 1863, he woke up at Judg Wills' house in the little town of Gettysbur

Continued On Page 2

'Spirit of the plain peopl incarnat

with burning eyes and aching head and back. The long dusty march to the cemetery, the tedious ceremony where Edward Everett spoke over two hours and the reception and hand-shaking which followed, greatly fatigued the President and his symptoms steadily increased.

Going back to Washington that night in his special train, he lay on a couch with compresses on his eyes and forehead. Next morning he was unable to get out of bed and Mrs. Lincoln called Dr. Stone, the family physician.

The doctor came promptly, but had difficulty in pushing his way through the horde of office and favor seekers, who filled the President's reception room and spilled out from the staircase and even jammed the hallway leading to the family apartments—probably a dozen or more men seeking each job or favor the President had to bestow.

When Dr. Stone examined his patient and told him he had a light case of smallpox, Lincoln grinned and drawled:

"Open the door, Doctor, and let 'em in. Now I've got something I can give everybody!"

Lincoln's secretaries prepared daily extracts from important newspapers for the President's perusal, but there were three papers that Lincoln insisted on reading himself. They were The Sagamon Journal, of Springfield, Ill.; The Louisville Journal, predecessor of The Courier-Journal, and The Lexington Observer and Reporter.

Calls For Aid

Joshua Speed, the most intimate friend Lincoln ever had, and James Guthrie, both of Louisville, and Dr Robert J. Breckinridge and William C. Goodloe, of Lexington were trusted advisors on political trends and Union sentiment in Kentucky. Hardly a day went by that the President did not answer one or more calls for aid from her inhabitants: appointments to Civil and Military posts, release from prison of captured Confederate soldiers, revocations of death penalty or other harsh punishments of a court martial, performing acts of kindness to Mrs. Lincoln's girlhood friends and other women of the

Among the staunchest of Lincoln's Kentucky friends was Joshua Speed, here with his wife. Lincoln visited at Farmington, Speed's Louisville home.

Bluegrass State sided with the S ing the loyal b that all would y

A few days a bert G. Hodges, monwealth, wh intimately, but him, wrote in h day as the fin Kentuckian.'

"Not only wa said Hodges, state with a hig all he could t strengthen her He invariably complaints, her considered and the cause was political enemies by him and wh proper, they w no loyal state heaped upon hi was unmercifull persecuted.

"Even to sp to subject one's wicked abuse. the knowledge recollection. It soured the ki toward his er tucky faithfully when he died, friend."

"Such was A spirit of the pl gentlest memo ples as a guide inspire free me that, as he sai of the people, shall not perish

A We By A

THE WAR can North to April 9, 18 ferent names.

The most co War, the title b mission helping the various sta tive programs years.

Other names

War Between War Of Reb War For So Second War The Brother The War The War Be South, And Th States, North.

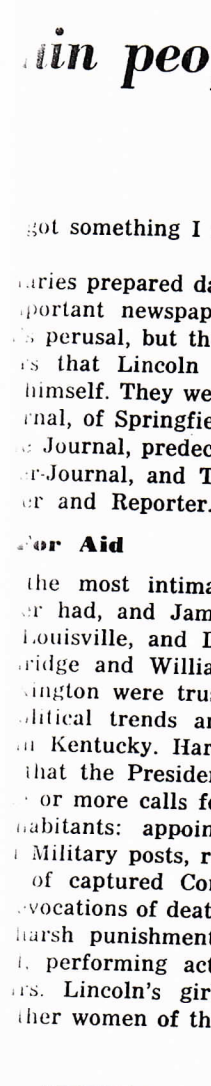
...in peopl incarnate,' an editor described Lincoln

...got something I can

...aries prepared daily ...portant newspapers ...s perusal, but there ...rs that Lincoln in- himself. They were: ...rnal, of Springfield, ...e Journal, predeces- ...r-Journal, and The ...er and Reporter.

...or Aid

the most intimate ...r had, and James Louisville, and Dr. ...ridge and William ...ington were trust- ...litical trends and ...n Kentucky. Hard- that the President ... or more calls for ...abitants: appoint- ... Military posts, re- ... of captured Con- ...vocations of death ...harsh punishments ..., performing acts ...rs. Lincoln's girl- ...ther women of the



Joshua Speed, ...ouisville home.

Bluegrass State whose sons and husbands had sided with the South, and in many ways assuring the loyal but faint of heart everywhere that all would yet be well.

A few days after Lincoln was buried, Albert G. Hodges, editor of The Frankfort Commonwealth, who knew him personally and intimately, but had on occasions differed with him, wrote in his paper what still stands today as the finest appraisal of Lincoln, the Kentuckian.'

"Not only was he one of Kentucky's sons," said Hodges, "but he regarded his native state with a high degree of affection and did all he could to insure her welfare and to strengthen her in her allegiance to the Union. He invariably listened with deference to her complaints, her grievances were attentively considered and where they in reality existed the cause was immediately removed. His political enemies were always kindly received by him and when their requests were just and proper, they were promptly granted. Yet in no loyal state has such personal abuse been heaped upon him—as a man or as a ruler, he was unmercifully maligned and ridiculed and persecuted.

"Even to speak of him with respect was to subject one's self to the same senseless and wicked abuse. Mr. Lincoln knew all this, but the knowledge was never admitted to his recollection. It never kindled malice, it never soured the kindliness of the father's heart toward his erring children. He served Kentucky faithfully and justly to the end. And when he died, she lost her best and truest friend."

"Such was Abraham Lincoln—Kentuckian—spirit of the plain people incarnate, today the gentlest memory of our world whose principles as a guide and whose life as an example inspire free men in every land to high resolve, that, as he said at Gettysburg, 'government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.'"

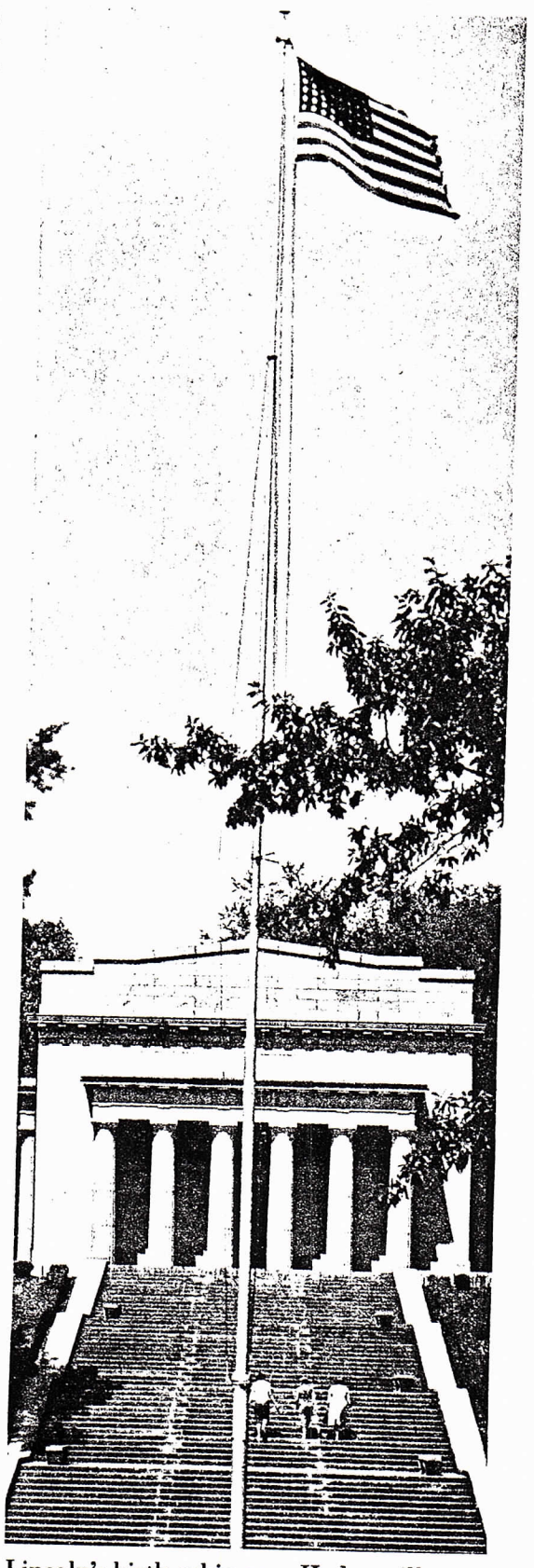
A War By Any Name . . .

THE WAR that raged between the American North and South from April 12, 1861, to April 9, 1865, has been given many different names.

The most common is, of course, the Civil War, the title being used by the national commission helping to co-ordinate the efforts of the various states in setting up commemorative programs during the four centennial years.

Other names given the conflict include:

War Between The States
War Of Rebellion
War For Southern Independence
Second War For Independence
The Brothers War
The War
The War Between The Confederate States, South, And The Federal Union Of The United States, North.



Lincoln's birth cabin near Hodgenville now is enclosed by this National Park building.

JEFFERSON DAVIS His Ideals of honor were born in Kentucky

By HUDSON STRODE

JEFFERSON DAVIS'S ties with Kentucky were deep and heartfelt. It was the state in which he took his first breath in 1808 on a perfect third day of June. The air he sniffed was that of Christian County a few miles east of Hopkinsville and not far from the Tennessee border. It was a beautiful, fertile region with splendid forests. Later, when the longish county was made two, the Davis property lay mostly in Todd. About the home site grew the town called Fairview.

Young Jefferson, named for the President of the United States, was the youngest of five sons and five daughters. He and four of his sisters were born in Kentucky. The elder five children had been born near Augusta, Ga., on a tract the Government had given the father for services in the Revolutionary War. Samuel Davis, of Welsh extraction, removed to Kentucky to breed horses and raise tobacco on 600 acres. He built a simple double-barrelled log house; the distinguishing feature of the house was the glass windows, which he had brought from Georgia and which had never before been seen in that primitive section in Kentucky.

When blue-eyed, gold-haired Jefferson was yet a toddler, his family removed again, and finally settled at "Rosemont" on a large farm just outside Woodville in southwestern Mississippi. But the 20-year-old eldest brother Joseph Emory remained in Hopkinsville reading law.

Back To School

Jefferson Davis's connections with Kentucky were by no means permanently severed, for at 7 he was sent back to his native state for schooling at St. Thomas's near Springfield, a school run by the Dominican Order and noted for its excellence throughout the South. To give his promising youngest born the best education possible, the broad-minded Baptist father was willing to risk Catholic influence. Young Jeff traveled with family friends from Woodville to St. Thomas's 700 miles on pony back. In his most formative period, from 7 to 9 years, he remained in Kentucky. From the British-born friars he learned to speak well and to appreciate order and discipline. During the period of his superior tutelage at St. Thomas's another boy, eight months younger, named Abraham Lincoln, was growing up lanky and wild, without benefit of schooling, along a Hardin County creek hardly 30 miles away.

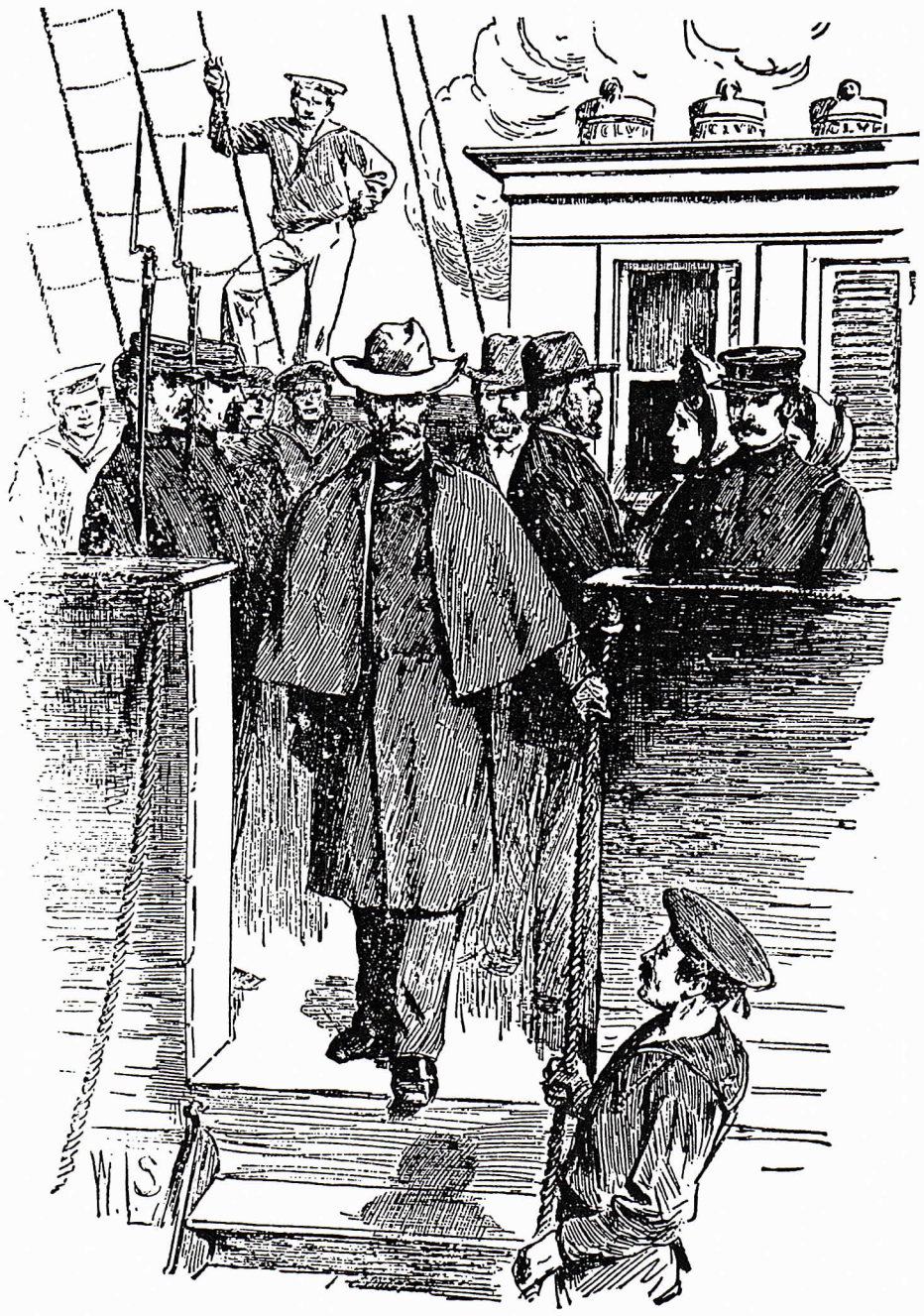
After four subsequent years in Mississippi schools, Jefferson was prepared to enter college at 13. Again he was sent to Kentucky to Transylvania in Lexington, widely known as the "best west of Princeton," which in 1821 had 383 students. Jeff had three wonderfully happy years at Transylvania. He boarded with Postmaster Joseph Ficklin and Mrs. Ficklin at the corner of East High Street and South Limestone and was treated like a favorite son. Written testimony of the period says that he was "amiable," "fun-loving," "the top scholar," and "beloved by teachers and students." He made a most pleasing impression on the townspeople and won "the favorable regard" of Henry Clay. He was often at Ashland as the weekend guest of Henry Clay, Jr., a college mate. He made numerous lasting friends at Transylvania. There he found his ideal of manhood in Albert Sidney Johnston from Washington, Ky., five years his senior and two classes ahead of him.

Was Class Orator

Davis admired exceedingly Horace Holley, one of Transylvania's greatest presidents. From Holley, he imbibed religious tolerance and a broad humanistic attitude. He developed a lifelong habit of discriminative reading. In his third year he was chosen Junior class orator and delivered his first speech on "Friendship." Davis was not graduated from Transylvania, because his family pressed him to accept an appointment to the new United States Military Academy. The warm friendship with Albert Sidney Johnston was renewed at West Point, where he was accepted in his intimate "set", which included Leonidas Polk.

The 16-year-old youth was not forgotten in Lexington. On Washington's Birthday, 1825, when the Union Philosophical Society held its annual dinner, the members, which included Clays and Breckinridges, President Holley and Judge Bledsoe, rose to drink a toast to the absent Jeff. It was composed and proposed by W. B. Reed: "To the health and prosperity of Jefferson Davis, late a student of Transylvania University, now a cadet at West Point. May he become the pride of our country and the idol of our army!"

On his graduation from West Point, Lieutenant Davis was sent to the Wisconsin Territory, his commander was



Following his capture in Georgia, Jefferson Davis was held at Fortress Monroe, Va. This old drawing shows him disembarking on the way to jail.

Kentucky's Col. Zachary Taylor. He became Taylor's aide, and fell in love with the second Taylor daughter, Sarah Knox, a "lovely girl of decided spirit." The father opposed the match: he did not want any of his daughters to marry a soldier because of the "wretched" life his own wife had endured, moving from one frontier post to the other. Taylor had Davis transferred to an outpost in Arkansas. The courtship was continued by correspondence. Finally Sarah Knox announced with decision that she was going to marry Jefferson Davis, "with or without parental permission."

They met at Louisville, and were married on June 17, 1835, at Beachland, Mrs. John Gibson Taylor's home, with almost all the Taylor connections present.

Davis had resigned his commission in the army to start a new life as cotton planter in the Mississippi Delta

This Davis portrait was taken in 1860.

on virgin land given by his brother Joseph, who had become a rich planter. Davis was supremely happy with his Kentucky bride. Then tragedy struck. In September, while they were visiting Davis's eldest sister, Anna Smith, at St. Francisville, La., Sarah Knox died of malarial fever at 21. They had been married only three months. The young husband was so crushed with grief that he became a virtual recluse for almost eight years. Though he married a second time, Sarah Knox was the love of his life.

Met Taylor On Steamboat

Davis did not see his father-in-law Zachary Taylor again until the general was traveling to the Mexican border. They met on a Mississippi River steamer, when Davis was on his way to marry Varina Howell of Natchez. The two men were completely reconciled.

When war with Mexico broke out, Jefferson Davis resigned his seat in Congress to become colonel of the Mississippi Volunteers. Taylor, his commanding general in Mexico, welcomed him warmly. At Buena Vista, with his inspired soldiership, Colonel Davis saved the day for his father-in-law and the United States.

Severely wounded, Davis returned a hero to New Orleans, bringing with him the body of Henry Clay, Jr., who was killed at Buena Vista not far from his side. The elder Clay told Davis on their next meeting: "My poor boy usually occupied about one-half of his letters home in praising you."

When his father-in-law ran for President as the Whig nominee, Davis felt he had to support the Democratic Party. Taylor understood his attitude perfectly, and after his election he even sought Jefferson's and Joseph Davis's advice on his Cabinet. In Washington, while he was a Democratic senator from Mississippi, Jefferson Davis was an intimate of the White House. Taylor continually asked his opinions on matters of state.

Oddly enough, it was in the famous Whig, Henry Clay, that Davis found his chief political opponent. Kentucky's Charles Anderson, youngest brother of Robert, Davis's West Point friend of Fort Sumter fame, when a house guest of the Taylors in Washington, was astounded to learn the extent of the President's faith in Davis's ability to curb the Clay influence. "I was repeatedly amazed at General Taylor's almost in-

Continued On Page 24

With Davis in Washington, friends remarked, Clay couldn't run things the way he used to

fatuation of admiration and esteem for Col. Davis." The President told Anderson, who idolized Clay, "Mr. Clay can't rule in Congress the nation as he used to do. *Now there is Mr. Davis of Mississippi, the Senator.*" (The italics are Anderson's.)

Though Clay did everything he could to win Davis to his side, the forthright senator from Mississippi distrusted his political maneuvers and was sometimes rather sharp in his criticism. Yet Davis confessed on the Senate floor: "Between us there is a tie of old memories, an association running back to boyhood days, near and dear, and consecrated so that death alone can sever it."

Revisited Lexington

In 1852, shortly before he became Secretary of War under Franklin Pierce, Davis took his wife to Lexington. Old Mrs. Ficklin gave them a party. After Senator Davis courteously kissed her hand, she remarked to Mrs. Davis, "Jeff is the same dear boy he was when he was 16."

Jefferson Davis renewed his Kentucky associations when Lexington's John C. Breckinridge became Vice President under John Buchanan in 1856. He supported Breckinridge for the Presidency in 1860, when the Democratic Party split into three parts and brought about the election of Abraham Lincoln, and secession.

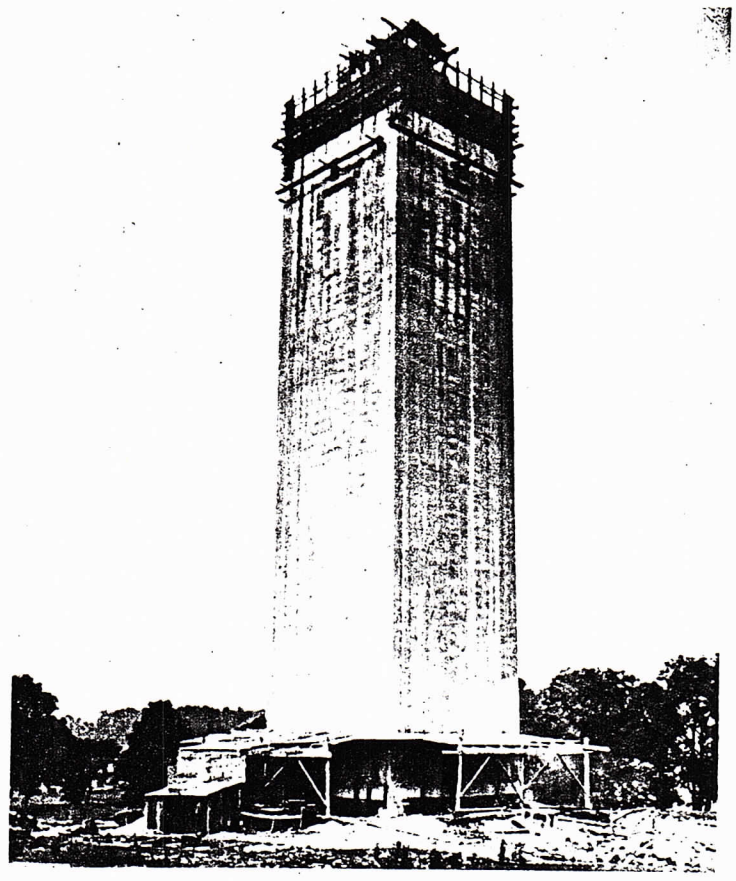
The seceded states formed the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis, a reluctant secessionist, was chosen President against his will. As a Southerner, he best exemplified a combined record for statesmanship and conspicuous service on the battlefield; so the South would have no one else. He was inaugurated in Montgomery on February 18, 1861. A fortnight later Abraham Lincoln (Page 16) became President in Washington. Kentucky could boast that the leaders of the opposing republics were both native sons.

After Sumter, when Lincoln called for volunteers to coerce the South, four more states —Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas—joined the Confederacy. Governor Beriah Magoffin of Kentucky wrote President Lincoln sharply: "I say, emphatically, Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States." Jefferson Davis hoped with all his heart for the border states of Kentucky and Missouri, because he felt that if Kentucky would secede along with Missouri, the nearer balance in strength would prevent the North from its purposed subjugation. President Lincoln drolly remarked that he *hoped* God was on his side, but that he absolutely *had* to have Kentucky.

Because the state was so divided, Governor Magoffin declared for neutrality. The Confederate War Department set up recruiting stations (Page 30) for Kentuckians along the Tennessee border. Lincoln made Robert Anderson a brigadier general and stationed him in Indiana across the Ohio for recruiting. Two of Anderson's brothers joined the Confederate forces.

Continued On Page 27

After the death of his Kentucky-born first wife, Sarah Knox Taylor, Davis was married to Varina Howell, a native of Mississippi, the state he represented in the U. S. Senate.



World War I forced work to halt on monument marking Davis's birth site. The obelisk was 176 feet high then.

Davis knew Kentucky was hopelessly divided

Kentucky was tragically split. Close relatives said farewell to go into opposite camps. Three of Mrs. Lincoln's brothers and all four of her brothers-in-law put on gray uniforms.

Senator Breckinridge was continually writing President Davis about the turmoil in Kentucky, of the midnight arrests of distinguished citizens with Southern sympathies, who were spirited away to Northern prisons. He himself was finally "compelled to leave my home and family, or suffer imprisonment and exile." So Davis made him a brigadier general in the Confederate Army (and in February, 1865, his last Secretary of War).

On November 13, 1861, although Union troops swarmed in Northern Kentucky, delegates from 65 counties convened in rump meeting and passed a secession ordinance. With Missouri seceded, the Confederacy now could put 13 stars in its flag. But Davis knew that Kentucky remained hopelessly divided, and he had almost no arms and equipment to spare from his pitifully inadequate store. Hoping for a surge of enlistments, he gambled on letting Braxton Bragg and Kirby Smith march into Kentucky with Louisville and Cincinnati as goals. In September, 1862, Smith pushed aside an opposing Union army and took possession of Lexington, the town most dear to Davis's heart. At Bardstown, 40 miles southeast of Louisville, in the Lincoln country, a Confederate regiment went into camp for a fortnight, and "sympathetic ladies sent delicious food to load the soldiers tables." Bragg busied himself sending commissary stores, horses and cattle and "a million yards of Kentucky-made cloth" to Tennessee, paid for with Confederate money.

But Davis was disappointed that more Ken-

Continued On Page 29

Today the Davis monument, 351-feet high, is part of Kentucky State park at Fairview.

With a reward of $100,000 on his head for reputed complicity in the assassination of Lincoln, Davis was captured near Irwinville, Ga.

Kentucky's adulation and affection for him astonished Davis

tuckians did not volunteer to fight with the South. Only one new brigade was recruited. On October 4, Bragg detoured to assist in the inauration of a Provisional Confederate Governor, Richard Hawes. The triumphant hour was brief indeed, for Federals began dropping shells in the capital's outskirts before Hawes finished his inaugural address.

After a stalemate battle at Perryville (Page 88), the disconsolate Bragg began a retreat. To Davis he blamed his failure to stir up more Confederate recruits on the Kentuckians' "love of ease and fear of pecuniary loss." Davis now sadly gave up hope of Kentucky's playing a very active part on the side of the Confederacy. He took what consolation he could in the daring accomplishments of Kentucky-born generals like John B. Hood, John Hunt Morgan and Simon Bolivar Buckner. The greatest of them all, the chivalrous Albert Sidney Johnston, had unnecessarily bled to death at Shiloh from a wound in the thigh. Davis always believed that if Johnston had been spared to lead the war in the West, the South would have won its independence.

A decade after the dissolution of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis was persuaded to attend a celebration in his honor at the fairgrounds of Fairview on October 9, 1875. The former President was then 67, and this was his first return visit to his birthplace. He met people who had known him as a baby.

After an all-day demonstration of Kentuckians' esteem, Davis wrote his wife "The reception here has surpassed anything I could have expected . . . a wild burst of affection exceeding anything I ever had before . . . Women who have lost and suffered, and bearded men who have served in battle, melt into tears and vainly try to express their love."

Given Deed To Home

A decade later, in the fall of 1886, as he approached his 80th year, Jefferson Davis paid his last visit to his native state. Admiring citizens had subscribed money to purchase the homesite at Fairview and sent him the deed. He, in turn, gave the land to the Baptists who built a memorial church.

On the condition that he would not have to make a speech, he made the long journey from the Gulf Coast to Fairdale to witness the dedication. But when scheduled orations were completed there was a clamoring for the ex-President to say something. Quite simply then he spoke of his faith in God, "who knew no sectarianism." "I am not a Baptist, but my father who was a better man than I, was a Baptist . . . When I see this beautiful church my heart is filled with thanks . . . The pioneers of this country were men of plain, simple habits, full of energy and imbued with religious principles . . . In their surroundings, it is no wonder they learned that God is love."

Twenty years after his death in 1889, on another perfect June day some 6,000 Americans met in Fairview to dedicate the Jefferson Davis Memorial Park. And later. on the same side of U. S. Highway 68 as the Bethel Memorial Church, an obelisk was erected in his honor. It rises white and dramatic 351 feet above the plain, one of the tallest monuments on the globe. It is a worthy tribute to a great American.

Born in Kentucky, Jefferson Davis formed early attitudes and loyalties in a Kentucky school and a Kentucky college. He fell in love with a Kentucky girl and was married on Kentucky soil. He met his best friend Albert Sidney Johnston, in Kentucky and made other staunch friendships that lasted until death. Though his ashes lie entombed in Virginia, a goodly portion of his spirit and his heart abide in his native state. His unique and honored place in history that looms brighter with each passing year redounds to the glory of Kentucky.

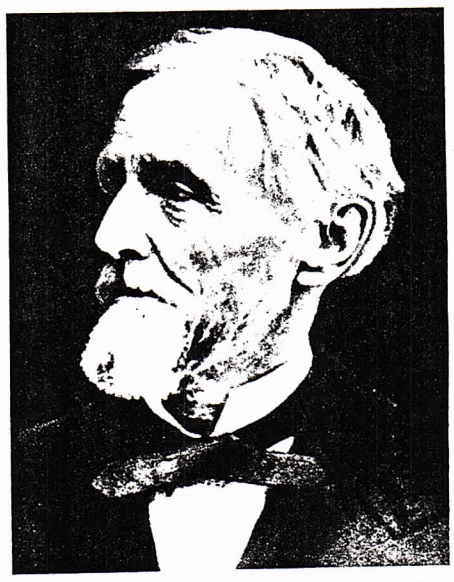
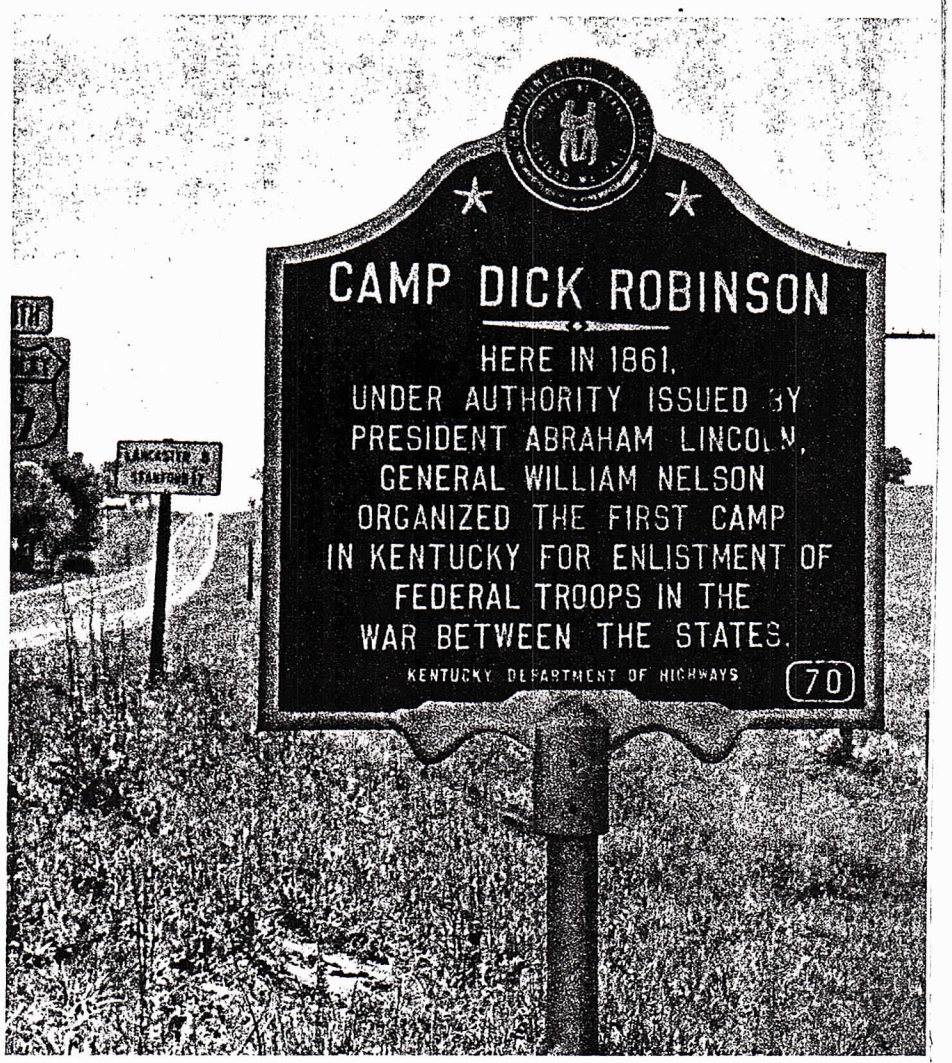


Photo of Davis, made before his last trip to Kentucky in 1886.

The Mirage Of Neutrality

It was impossible that Kentucky, midway between the two warring areas, could remain impartial, yet this its statesmen tried to maintain. These moves prevented its being a major battleground.

By THOMAS D. CLARK



Pro-Southerners held the establishment of Union Camp Dick Robinson violated Kentucky's neutrality, and demanded it be closed.

IN VIEWING the position in retrospect, it seems entirely fallacious today to assume that Kentucky could have hoped to adopt and maintain a neutral position in the troubled nation of 1860-61.

Yet that was what Kentucky tried to do. Before discussing with any intelligence the reasons why there were those in high position who felt neutrality was workable, some consideration must be given to the state's historical background.

From the American Revolution through the Mexican War, Kentuckians had fought for American rights with a passion, if not a ferocity. The annals of Kentucky history are vividly colored by the exploits of individual soldiers and by groups who fought for the Republic. To these sons, the terms liberty and union were as sacred as though they were part of the Ten Commandments.

In every moment of national travail from the adoption of the United States Constitution to the adoption of of the great Compromise of 1850, Kentuckians favored a strong Union. The names of Henry Clay and John Jordan Crittenden (Page 13) were synonymous with this cause. Even earlier, in the War of 1812, Kentuckians had fought with genuine zeal because they felt the fundamental strength of the growing nation was being undermined by British policies.

In a more personal and emotional way, Kentuckians regarded themselves as being largely of Southern origin, but of the Virginian South rather than of the newer sections. It was with genuine emotion that authors of the legislative resolution seeking to preserve the Union used the endearing term "Old Mother Virginia." Had Kentuckians not been otherwise motivated in 1860-1861, they might well have followed rather closely the lead of the mother state.

This, however, was not to be. There were other and stronger influences which bore upon Kentucky in 1860.

First, the state still remained agricultural in its economy. Where manufacturing thrived it was largely in the area of processing agricultural products.

To a major extent these goods were marketed in the South. The great central river system formed an artery of trade. Since 1786 the state's farmers sent a rising volume of produce south to market. With the expansion of the cotton belt, the demand for Kentucky hemp, grain, slaves and livestock grew to large proportions.

Many Moved South

As trade and communication grew with the South, Kentuckians in large numbers moved south to make their homes and fortunes in the rich cotton lands. This established a blood kinship with the region.

Too, Kentucky mineral springs and summer resorts were popular with persons fleeing summer heat and fatal fever epidemics. These annual summer visits developed many sentimental bonds between Kentuckians and Southerners, bonds which never precisely existed between Kentuckians and their neighbors beyond the Ohio.

But economic and sentimental ties, powerful though they were, did not irrevocably bind Kentucky to the South. Kentucky had an enormously important economic stake in both the Northwest and the East. The fact that the state failed to develop its manufacturing facility after 1820 made Kentucky dependent on the Northwest and East. Even the Lower South sought manufactured goods from these regions by way of Kentucky.

Aside from the economic importance of the Northwest, Kentucky found itself bounded by a huge geographical area where people were less excited by the national turn in political events in 1860 than were the Southerners.

Briefly, Kentucky was a geographical keystone in the nation, a fact which threatened to make it a battlefield in a Civil War on the one hand, and kept it surrounded by powerful loyal neighbors on the other.

It was bounded along its northern border by approximately 650 miles of the Ohio River. This vast frontier brought the state into direct association not only with the northwestern states in a political way, but this vast stretch of river was a key to regional economy.

No one in 1861 doubted but what the great inland river system would become a main artery of activity in war. Too, Kentucky would be exposed both to invasion and blockade from the rivers. There was a possibility that the whole river frontier would become a battle line, with Kentucky being caught in the middle of the fight.

The core explanation of why Kentucky adopted a policy of neutrality lies within Kentucky history itself. Since 1828, its people were either strongly influenced by or were under the influence of Henry Clay and the Whig Party. Nearly every major political decision was made within the framework of this strong political leadership. Among the men who spoke for Kentucky were Henry Clay, John Jordan Crittenden, S. S. Nicholas, Joshua Speed, James Guthrie, George D. Prentice, Robert J. Breckinridge, Charles S. Morehead, Charles A. Wickliffe, James B. Clay and William O. Butler. These were important political leaders, and they were ardent Unionists.

Vote Went To Bell

In the election of 1860 the Kentucky electorate voted in a majority for John Bell, but gave Stephen Douglas a good vote. Lincoln received only token support and John C. Breckinridge, a native son, was defeated. On January 8, 1861, after the process of secession was under way in the South, the Bell and Douglas leaders gathered in Louisville in separate meetings, but later joined forces in support of the Union. Again, in August of that year, the people voted overwhelmingly to send staunch Unionists to the legislature.

Any discussion of Kentucky history from early 1860 to 1862 involves complexities which a historian finds difficult both to reveal and to explain. The course to adoption of a policy of neutrality but to remain Unionist in sentiment can be explained with expedition. Though Governor Beriah Magoffin may personally have favored the South and secession, officially he supported the

Continued On Page 32

Two special sessions acted to maintain neutrality

Union; anyway, he was surrounded by too many Unionist to pursue an independent course.

On January 17, 1861, the Governor called the Legislature into special session to discuss Kentucky's course of action. The Assembly adopted five special resolutions. One proposed the calling of a Federal constitutional convention to make adjustments in keeping with Senator Crittenden's proposal to renegotiate North-South differences.

Another compromise proposed the appointment of six commissioners to attend the Washington City Conference called by Virginia for February 4, 1861. In these actions Kentucky still was following Clay's compromise line. Its leaders hoped the great national dispute could be peacably resolved.

The Washington Conference failed to accomplish its purpose as did other attempts at compromise. By May 1861, it was evident that secession had broken the bonds of union, and that Kentucky was to be caught in the middle of the impending war. Many people argued that if war came, the state would be turned into a battleground. Compromise had failed. The only courses now left Kentucky was to secede, remain steadfast in the Union, or to declare itself neutral.

Governor Magoffin on May 20, 1861, issued a proclamation of neutrality. Four days later he called a second extraordinary session of the Assembly to enact a law to allow the State to borrow $1,600,000 to be used in establishing the Kentucky Home Guards to take the place of the State Guards who by this time had gone south.

The law was clear that neither the Guards nor their arms were to be used against the United States or the Confederacy, "unless in protecting our soil from unlawful invasion; it being the intention alone that said arms and munitions of war are to be used for the sole defense of the State of Kentucky."

This was largely the official statement of Kentucky's policy of neutrality. This legislative act, as did the resolutions of the previously called assembly, expressed the majority opinion of the people. Despite excitement over both individuals' and the State Guard's going away to join the Confederacy, Kentuckians wanted peace.

From May 24 to December 31, 1861, the Civil War story in Kentucky was one of violations of the State's neutrality.

Continued On Page 3

Governor Magoffin personally favored the South, but officially upheld the Union.

The struggle for neutrality gave Unionists time to organize

Here the story of neutrality becomes a controversial one. Feelings were intense on both sides. Confederates were anxious to pull Kentucky over to the Southern cause. The Federal government, under the guidance of Lincoln, wished to save the state for the Union at all cost.

The act of May 24 had provided for the purchase of arms for the Home Guards, but individuals clamored for guns. Through the influence of state Unionist leadership, the President was persuaded to supply a consignment of 5000 "Lincoln guns" to be given to loyal Unionists. These guns reached the state in early summer 1861 (Page 36).

In the meantime, Confederate activity had been stepped up in Kentucky and the distribution of the Lincoln guns had threatened to disrupt the state of neutrality. Pro-Southerners, including Governor Magoffin, claimed that the concentration of troops at Union Camp Dick Robinson in Garrard County was a breach of Kentucky neutrality.

Yet most historians, on the basis of objective evidence, consider Maj. Gen. Leonidas Polk's invasion (Page 66) of the state at Columbus on September 3, 1861, as the first direct breach of neutrality. After this date the story of Kentucky in the war becomes one of maneuvers, skirmishes and limited battles.

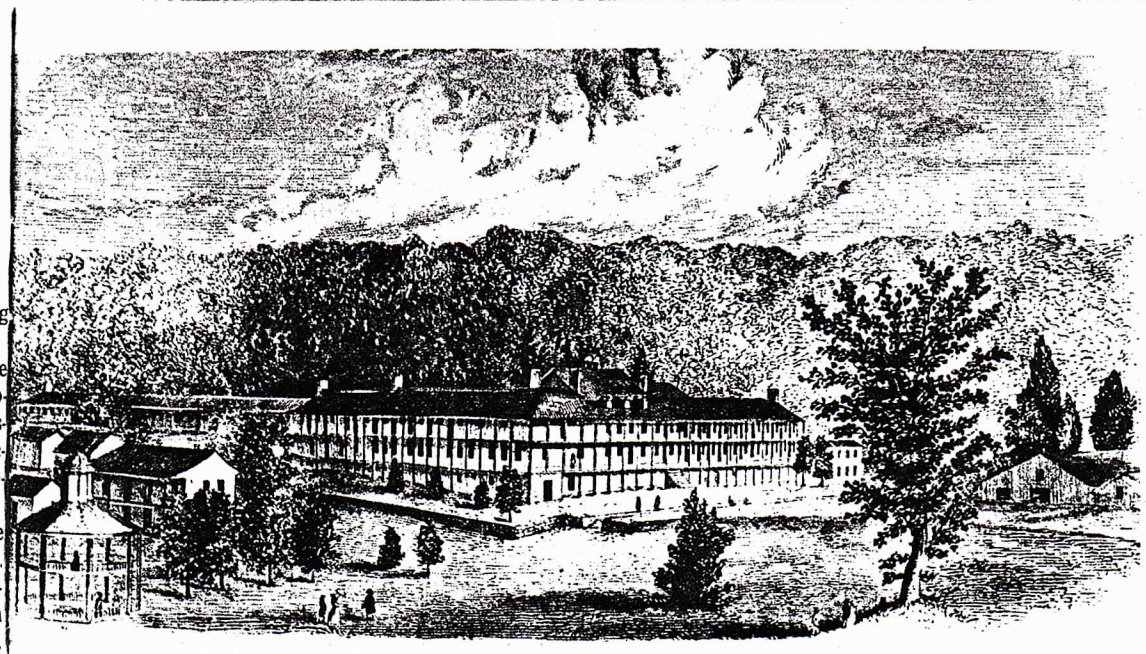
Neutrality as a policy was abandoned.

Kentucky's attempt to assume a neutral position in the troubled Union was a highly complex political maneuver. No one, it now seems certain, really believed neutrality could be maintained. Devoted Unionists, which meant the great majority of Kentuckians, felt that the adoption of a neutral course in early 1861 would stave off a move to get Kentucky to secede. Thus neutrality was more specifically an attempt to gain time than the assumption of a permanent position. Some have contended that if the Legislature had been in session at just the right psychological moment in early 1861 Kentucky might have seceded. It hardly takes a historical wise man to refute this contention. The Legislature met in two extraordinary sessions between January and June. In both sessions the predominant sentiment was for peace and a strong union.

In the election of representatives in August, the voters choose overwhelmingly candidates who supported the Union cause. On the other hand, a historian can only guess at what may have been accomplished by assuming a temporarily neutral position.

No doubt a rapid rush into Kentucky after the firing on Fort Sumter by both sides was delayed. Both sides were lined up around the state, the Confederates at Camp Boone in Tennessee, and Union forces were strung out from Cairo to Cincinnati. It may be said that Kentucky escaped becoming a major battleground because Union military forces had time to concentrate on the borders of the state and Unionists inside the state had time in which to become organized.

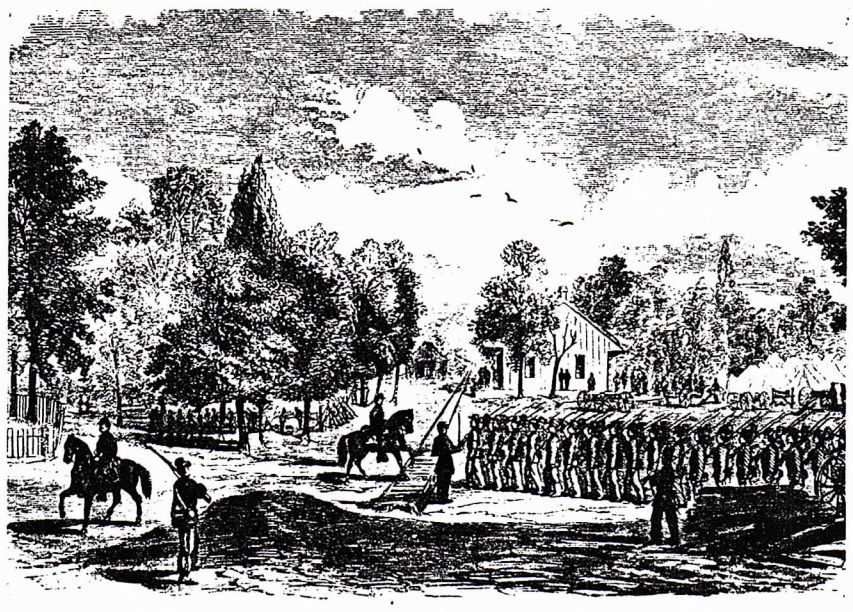
Neutrality, though a failure, did create a psychological image of Kentucky, the border state which prevailed throughout the war. Finally the State was not forced to take rash political action



Spas and summer resorts like Lower Blue Lick Springs attracted many people from the South; this created bonds which drew Kentuckians closer to Dixie than to the North.

in the first half of 1861 which might have resulted in irreparable harm later in the war.

After all this is said, the term "neutrality" as used in Kentucky in 1861 had little kinship with the definition of the word as given in Webster's dictionary. If one of Kentucky's major leaders had been called upon to assess the meaning of the term he no doubt would have said it meant an opportunity to educate the mass of voters in favor of the preservation of the Union. This was effective. In August voters elected Unionist-inclined candidates to the legislature. Never did an issue lend itself so thoroughly to vigorous oratory as did that of preserving Kentucky in the Union in these trouble early months of secession.



Troops under Grant are shown occupying Paduach in an old sketch, move was triggered by General Polk's occupation of Columbus.

When Old Friends Get Together

THE WAR was a testing time not only for national loyalty, but also for family ties and old-time friendships.

One friendship that lasted through the dark days was that of General U. S. Grant, hero of the Union Army, and General Simon B. Buckner, who resigned as head of the Kentucky Militia to serve the Confederacy.

The two had known each other at West Point and in the Mexican War. The irony of war dictated that Buckner should have been in command of Confederate forces at Fort Donelson when it fell to Grant on February 16, 1862. When the formalities of surrender were over, Grant passed a purse filled with gold to Buckner, saying: "I hope you will accept this in the spirit in which I offer it."

After the war, the friendship flourished, even though Grant went on to become Republican President of the United States and Buckner Democratic Governor of Kentucky.

Buckner was on the stand when Grant took his oath of office. He also was the last person outside the immediate family to see him when he died, and then was a pallbearer at the funeral.

Lincoln Guns

Arrival of 5,000 weapons gave Unionists in Kentucky something to counter the Secessionists with

By THOMAS D. CLARK

THOUGH Kentucky pursued a course of neutrality in 1861, there was a great deal of militant feeling within the state, with individuals actively supporting one side or the other in the struggle.

Governor Beriah Magoffin was thoroughly suspect (Page 30) in the eyes of the Unionists, while generally it was assumed that the State Guards were on the verge of joining the Confederacy. What is more, Simon Bolivar Buckner and John Hunt Morgan were considered to be operating a Confederate training camp in Kentucky, and at State expense in the drilling and equipping of the Guards.

With this condition prevailing, the Unionists felt that they had to bestir themselves if they were to prevent the pro-Confederates from taking Kentucky out of the Union.

Maj. Gen. William Nelson, a former naval officer, called on President Lincoln early in the summer of 1861 to give him a picture of what was happening in Kentucky. He persuaded the President to abandon his policy of "hands off" in Kentucky and to supply Union sympathizers with 5,000 guns. These guns were to be placed in the hands of trusted Unionists selected by a committee of Kentucky citizens. The arms were to be shipped from Washington to Louisville and Cincinnati, and from these places were to be sent into Central Kentucky.

Historians have long accepted the account that General Nelson was the man who promoted this idea. A letter from Congressman Robert Mallory of Louisville to Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, however, indicates that the Union members of Congress from Kentucky had something do with securing the guns. Congressman Mallory's letter was in fact instructions to Secretary Cameron to have the guns shipped to Joshua F. Speed.

Planned All Night

In Kentucky a committee comprised of James Harlan, John J. Crittenden, Garrett Davis, Charles A. Wickliffe, Thornton F. Marshall, James Speed, Joshua F. Speed and William Nelson met in Frankfort and spent a night making plans for distributing the guns. The areas in which there was intense Confederate activity were Louisville and Central Kentucky. Activity was greatest in Bourbon, Clark, Montgomery, Fayette, Jessamine, Garrard and Boyle Counties.

Distribution of the Lincoln guns to the Kentucky Unionists was one of the highly dramatic episodes of the war years. The guns were first sent to Cincinnati where the shipment was divided. Those going to Louisville were sent on by steamboat; those intended for Central Kentucky were placed aboard a Central of Kentucky train for Cynthiana, Paris and Lexington. Word of the coming of the guns was sent up and down the railway. By the time the train was under way there was considerable excitement in several of the towns. An organized band at Cynthiana planned to seize the guns from the train crew, but the conductor realized what was happening and backed his train away from the town, returning to Covington.

After the Cynthiana incident, the committee again divided the shipment and had part of the guns sent to Maysville and the others to Louisville by boat. The Maysville guns were sent on to Central Kentucky by wagon train. The guns from Louisville were sent to Lexington by rail.

ns

gave
hing
with

neutrality in
eling within
ing one side

spect (Page
rally it was
e of joining
Buckner and
ating a Con-
tate expense

elt that they
nt the pro-
nion.
ficer, called
1861 to give
ky. He per-
"hands off"
with 5,000
s of trusted
itizens. The
uisville and
t into Cen-

at General
letter from
imon Cam-
the Union
ng do with
er was in
the guns

es Harlan,
Wickliffe,
Speed and
ht making
hich there
d Central
rk, Mont-
unties.
Unionists
war years.
shipment
nt on by
re placed
Paris and
nt up and
way there
owns. An
uns from
s happen-
urning to

n divided
ville and
ns were
ns from

General Nelson helped obtain guns.

Camp Dick Robinson, in Garrard County, a Federal camp, was the eventual destination of some weapons.

By the time the boat docked in Maysville with its shipment of guns, nearly everybody in Central Kentucky knew about them. Pro-Confederates plotted to capture them. Home Guards were alerted to receive the guns. Col. Leonidas Metcalfe, son of former Governor Thomas Metcalfe, was placed in charge of the wagon train and started for Lexington by way of the Maysville Pike. From the Blue Licks on, Colonel Metcalfe had to be constantly on guard.

Colonel Metcalfe discovered one of his drivers was a Southern sympathizer. At Millersburg this man dismounted and dashed into a house to report the progress of the wagon train. Again in Paris he did the same thing. Colonel Metcalfe took over the driving of the team himself. The guns, surprisingly, were hauled through Lexington and Nicholasville without incident. At the forks of the road south of the Kentucky River and in front of Richard Robinson's farmhouse, the guns were divided and forwarded to Lancaster and Danville.

The second shipment that arrived by boat in Louisville was after careful planning forwarded by train to Lexington. The arrival of the train in Lexington was planned for a specific time. In the meantime H. K. Milward was hastened away in the night to Camp Dick Robinson to inform General Nelson that the guns would be in Lexington the next morning. Nelson sent Col. Thomas E. Bramlette and 400 men to receive the guns.

In Lexington the local State and Home Guards were alerted and came near fighting a battle in the city. Both groups were assembled, but John C. Breckinridge and Madison C. Johnson counseled the State Guards to allow the guns to be delivered without incident. Too, the appearance of Bramlette's command had something to do with cooling the ardor of the State Guards.

Delivery of the "Lincoln Guns" to Union forces in Kentucky was no doubt a technical invasion of the state. This act reflected a determination on the part of the Lincoln administration to keep Kentucky out of the Confederacy. For Kentucky Unionists in 1861 the delivery of the guns was an active show of force to offset pro-Confederate activities in the state.

FAMILY FRIENDS AND FOES

The Crittenden and Breckinridge families, with members fighting on both sides, point up the serious divisions the state faced

By WILLIAM D. GILLIAM, JR.

THE DELEGATES to the Baltimore convention of the National Union Party which nominated Abraham Lincoln for re-election in 1864 listened intently to their keynote speaker, Robert J. Breckinridge of Lexington and Danville, Ky.

"The only enduring, the only imperishable cement of all free institutions has been the blood of traitors . . ., he said. "It is a fearful truth, but we had as well avow it at once; and every blow you strike, and every rebel you kill, every battle you win, dreadful as it is to do it, you are adding, it may be, a year . . . it may be a century—it may be 10 centuries to the life of the Government and the freedom of your children."

Perhaps many of the delegates knew—then again they may not have known—that among those stigmatized by the words "traitors" and "rebel" where the two oldest of the speaker's sons, Robert, Jr., and William Campbell Preston, officers in the Confederate Army. Included, too, in his arraignment was a nephew, John C. Breckinridge, Vice President of the United States from 1857-61, to whom the uncle gave his vote for President in 1860, but now a high-ranking Confederate. Few on the convention floor were aware that back home in Kentucky the speaker gave the shelter of his home to a daughter whose husband, Dr. Theophilus Steele, was a physician in Confederate service. A third son, Joseph, was a lieutenant in the Union Army, and Charles, the youngest of eight living children, was in his last year at West Point.

Upheld The Union

Then 64 years old, for more than 30 years Robert J. Breckinridge had been a powerful figure in the Presbyterian Church. As Kentucky's superintendent of public instruction (1847-53) he established the State's public-school system. He founded (1853) and headed the Danville Theological Seminary. Throughout the war he used the widely circulated Danville Quarterly Review to uphold the Union, though he did not invariably agree with Lincoln's policies and freely expressed dissent.

All this is to say that Breckinridge's name and his public career were well known beyond Kentucky as the state tortuously moved from so-called neutrality to commitment to the Union.

The Civil War caused sharp sometimes bitter, differences in many other Kentucky families. Understandably, the political and personal disagreements of prominent families attracted more notice than those of the far greater number little known beyond their immediate neighborhood.

No Kentuckian was more devoted to the Union than Henry Clay had been, but his son, James Brown, was pro-Confederate, and four Clay grandsons were in the Confederate Army.

John J. Crittenden made a futile effort to avert war in 1861 by proposing a compromise to the rival sections; his sons, George and Thomas, were military enemies as general officers in the Confederate and Union Armies, respectively.

Most of Mary Todd Lincoln's family supported the Confederacy, with a brother, three half-brothers, and the husbands of three half-sisters in the Confederate Army. Another half-sister was a Unionist along with Levi Todd, Mary's oldest brother.

Despite the strain and dissension the war brought to these divided families, their members were often, perhaps usually, dominated by affection and concern for each other. The demands of political and military duty and the influence of normal familial loyalties could not always be satisfactorily resolved, but generally an effort was made to meet both sets of obligations.

Robert Breckinridge, Jr., became a Confederate in the summer of 1861, leaving Kentucky without saying goodby to his father. In a letter he asked his parent to be as "lenient as possible" in thinking of him. Possibly Robert hoped that a "lenient" father would pay $187.50 back rent for the house the son's family occupied, as well as an unsecured personal note for $183.04. Rent and note both were paid by the Unionist father.

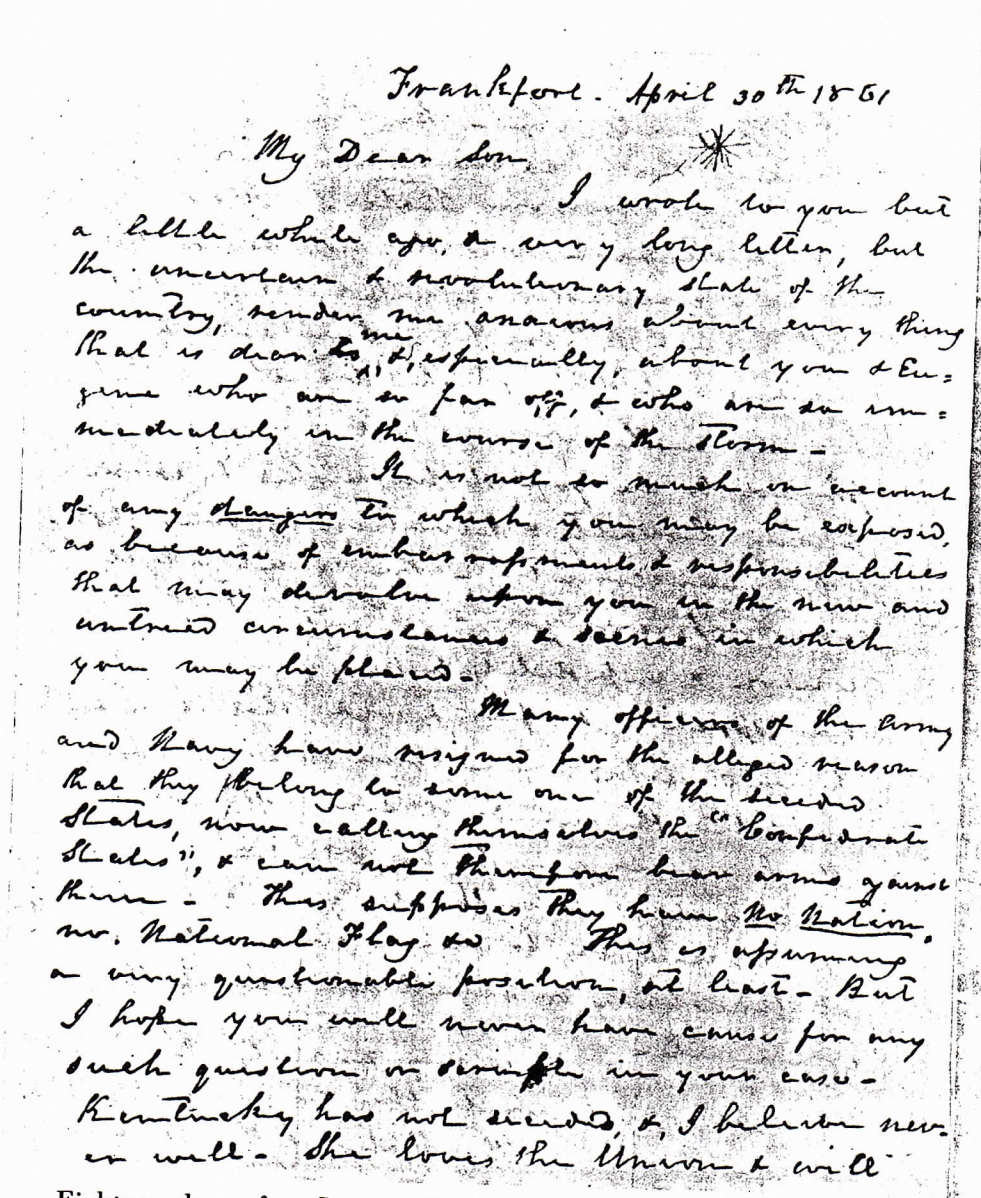
Near the war's end, in February 1865 while in Kentucky, Robert was captured by Federal troops and soon imprisoned in Ohio. His father at once offered his home to Kate Morrison, Robert's wife. Robert himself gave for the answer: "Stay with Pa." His confidence that Kate would be welcomed was substantiated by the notation Breckinridge made in a letter to Kate: "My daughter Kate."

No Lost Affection

William Campbell Preston Breckinridge, born in 1837, an 1855 graduate of Centre College, was trying to establish a law practice in Lexington when the war began. From the outset of the war Willie (the family's name for him) showed his Confederate leanings. His "terrible political opinions" distressed Breckinridge, but caused no diminution of affection. Willie was offered the choice of making his home either at Braedalbane, the farm near Lexington, or in the family home at Danville.

In July 1862 Willie joined John H. Morgan's rebel forces. Issa Desha, Willie's young wife, and their baby daughter, Ella, then were staying at Braedel-

Continued On Page 41



Frankfort. April 30th 1861

My Dear Son

I wrote to you but a little while ago, a very long letter, but the uncertain & revolutionary state of the country, renders me anxious about every thing that is dear to me, & especially, about you & Eugene who are so far off, & who are so immediately in the course of the storm -

It is not so much on account of any dangers to which you may be exposed, as because of embarrassments & responsibilities that may devolve upon you in the new and untried circumstances & scenes in which you may be placed -

Many officers of the Army and Navy have resigned for the alleged reason that they belong to some one of the seceded States, now calling themselves the "Confederate States", & can not therefore have command here - They suppose they have no National Flag to - This is assuming a very questionable position, at least - But I hope you will never have cause for any such question or struggle in your case - Kentucky has not seceded, & I believe never will - She loves the Union & will

Eighteen days after Sumter, John J. Crittenden wrote this letter to his pro-Confederate son, urging him to remain in Union Army.

Georgetown's Whole Student Body Also Divided North And South

KENTUCKY's house-divided status was illustrated by an incident that took place at Georgetown College shortly after the firing on Fort Sumter.

Like the state itself, the college enrollment of 200 students was about evenly divided in sentiment between North and South.

The night after the fall of Sumter, pro-Southern students hoisted a Confederate flag to the top of Giddings Hall, the main building.

Next day Union-minded students stormed the hall to take down the banner. They were met by pro-Confederates. A pitched fist fight resulted.

Once order was restored, the college president lined Confederate sympathizers up on the south side of the lawn in front of the building, Unionists up on the north side.

At a signal, the two groups about-faced, and the entire student body marched off to war.

One Crittenden son, Thomas L., stayed with Union and rose to rank of major general.

The father's influence helped save his son

bane. Issa resented criticism of Willie made by his sister Mary, wife of William Warfield and a decided Unionist. Willie expected the Union adherents at the farm to have him arrested, and insisted to his father that he had tried to avoid differences and was innocent of anything that could justify his arrest. He tolerated Mary's critical accusations only because of the peculiarity of the times, he said, and the Unionists of the family would be responsible if he did not hold to his original intention to remain "aloof" from the war.

The Unionist reminded Willie there were enough Federal troops in and near Lexington to destroy a force four times the size of Morgan's invaders, and that, no matter what occurred, Willie must use everything at the farm for the comfort of all who were there. The father's prime concern was the welfare the families of Willie and his daughter, Sophonisba Steele, irrespective of their and his disagreement over the war. Willie probably did not need to be told that the respect of Federal authorities for his father's wishes provided his chief protection from arrest.

Met Granddaughter On The Street

Willie reciprocated his father's warm regard. Perhaps the most expressive letter he wrote during the war was that of March 11, 1864, the 41st anniversary of his parents' marriage. Explicitly, he told Issa, who was sharply hostile to her father-in-law, that they should be grateful for his father's "love & kindness & influence." The same day in a letter to Breckinridge the son regretted that his "imperative" conscience had compelled him to make the "terrible but unavoidable" sacrifice of taking up arms against his family.

Meantime, Breckinridge never saw Willie's young daughter except by chance on the streets of Lexington in the care of her nurse, Jane. The grandfather always embraced and blessed the child and at least once asked Jane to teach Ella to love him.

Joseph Breckinridge, 21-year-old Union lieutenant, was taken prisoner in Georgia in July 1864. Willie was about 12 miles away and, as soon as he heard his brother was a captive, he rode through darkness to see and assist him. His aid included a loan of $120 in United States currency, a considerable sum in the inflation-ridden Confederacy. Willie suggested that their father undertake to have Joseph exchanged for a Confederate of equal rank.

Continued On Page 44

But after the war, the family divisions slowly healed

As soon as Breckinridge learned of Willie's kindness to Joseph, he wrote his thanks and assured Willie that his prayers were for both sons to "long survive these terrible times." Then, pain and affection were combined as the Union patriot told Willie that Issa's conduct toward him had made any association with the daughter-in-law impossible. Uncertain whether he and Willie would ever meet again, the father asked his Confederate son to provide that Ella be reared by him in the event her parents died before her grandfather. Were this done, Willie could know that Ella would be treated as he had been. To Robert's young son he would give equal care, if permitted to, and was comforted that both sons now knew his wishes in respect to their children.

The solicitude for his Confederate sons and their families, so evident here, stands in bold contrast to Breckinridge's ceaseless effort to maintain unbroken the country and government the sons were fighting to destroy. Perhaps this contrast exemplifies the struggle in many Kentucky families to reconcile public duty with individual feelings.

The hostile aloofness which Issa sedulously maintained throughout the war did not end with the Confederacy's defeat and Willie's return home. Two years after Appomattox, Breckinridge had seen none of Willie's family except the son himself. Willie, Robert, Joseph and their father enjoyed pleasant relations which had been resumed as soon as the sons returned from the war.

In August, 1867, the birth of a son, Desha, to Issa and Willie caused Breckinridge to write bluntly to Willie about his family. He had seen Willie's oldest child only a few times on the streets; a second daughter, Sophonisba, born in 1866, he had never seen; for what occurred before Willie returned from the army his father did not hold him responsible; no explanation was desired "but such as your conduct will afford."

Willie responded forthrightly. He remembered no intimation that his father wanted to see the children, and reminded his father that when in Lexington he always stayed in the home of his sister, Mary Warfield. Willie had criticized none of his kin for any part they took in the war, he asserted, and hoped that all the unhappy effects of the war might be left in the unmentioned past. Perhaps to this end, some three months later Willie asked his father to visit him and Issa in their new house. The significance Breckinridge gave this letter is suggested by the word he wrote on its envelope—"Important"—a word he used no more than three or four times in the notations he made on envelopes for a quarter century. Then, in October, 1868, Willie read that when his father came to Lexington he would be sure "to go and see you and your wife."

Still another father caught between the divided loyalties of his sons, was Senator Crittenden. Although he had tried to effect compromise (Page 30) to the very end, he was loyal to the Union once war came. Thus, it was a cruel blow when his son, George Bibb, resigned his U.S. Army commission to join the Confederacy and take up arms against another son, Thomas Leonidas. Both rose to the rank of major general.

Crittenden's sentiment was summarized in a letter he wrote George on April 30, 1861, 13 days after the firing on Sumter.

"Many officers of the Army and Navy have resigned for the alleged reason that they belong to some one of the seceded states now calling themselves the 'Confederate States,'" the letter read in part. "This supposes they have no nation, no national flag. . . . But I hope you will never have cause for any such question. . . . Kentucky has not seceded and, I believe, never will. She loves the Union and will cling to it as long as possible.

"And so, I hope, will you. Be true to the government that has trusted in you and stand back of your nation's flag, the stars and stripes. Do not resign under any circumstances without consultation with me. . . ."

Ignoring advice of father, George Crittenden joined the Confederacy.

Union Col. Frank Wolford's Kentucky cavalry is shown attacking a Confederate un in this old drawing sketched at the scene of action. Wolford was active in many section

KENTUCKIANS WHO BLED

Bluegrass soldiers won acclaim of generals

By ALBERT D. KIRWAN

THE MARTIAL SPIRIT had been strong in Kentucky through her first half-century, but the long peace following the War of 1812 turned her people to other pursuits. By the mid-1840's, the state militia had become only a paper army, and probably no state in the Union neglected soldier training more than Kentucky.

The Mexican War was to change this attitude for a time. Only 2,400 Kentuckians were called for in President Polk's proclamation, but 10,000 volunteered so that it became a struggle to see who would get to serve.

With the coming of peace, however, Kentuckians reverted to military lassitude, and for another decade the State militia existed largely as an imaginary force. But as the crisis over slavery intensified and talk of secession grew, the Legislature became alarmed for the safety of the state and commissioned Simon Bolivar Buckner (Page 30) to recruit and train a strong State army. By the time of the attack on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, he had a well-disciplined and well-armed State Guard of 15,000 men. This was the only military force in the state at the time and it had all the serviceable arms available.

But Unionists in the state were becoming apprehensive at the pro-Southern inclinations of most of Buckner's officers, and even of Buckner's own loyalty. The Union majority in the Legislature took control of the State Guard from the secessionist-minded governor, Beriah Magoffin, and placed it under a newly created Military Board. As a further precaution they also created a rival militia force, the Home Guard, made up of Unionists. Through the summer of 1861, as the Union party in the state demonstrated its superiority, thousands of Confederate sympathizers slipped away to Tennessee and Virginia to fight for the Southern cause. Perhaps 10,000 of these were members of the State Guard, some of whom d camped as organized units. Humphrey Ma shall even organized recruits for the Confe eracy in Owen County, within 30 miles of th capital, and John Hunt Morgan took his entir cavalry squadron out of Lexington to Cam Boone in Tennessee. In mid-September Buck ner announced himself as a Confederate an issued a proclamation calling on Kentuckian to rise up and expel the Union invaders wh had just come into the state.

Families Were Divided

Families were divided, frequently the fathe going one way and his son another, an scarcely a family but contributed sons to both camps. Families, churches, friendships seeme to have little influence in determining the wa men went. James Speed wrote Joseph Holt i October, 1861, that "so many of our gidd young men have gone into the Southern army that almost every man who goes into our army knows that he has to fight a neighbor, a rela tive, a brother, a son or father." Two brother in the Fourth Kentucky Union Infantry Regi ment at Missionary Ridge fought against tw of their brothers in the Fourth Kentucky Con federate Regiment which faced them there

Even before Kentucky had committed her self to the Union, Federal recruiting had been going on at Camp Dick Robinson in Garrard County and at camps set up across the Ohio River in Indiana and Ohio. When William T. Sherman assumed command in September 1861, recruiting was intensified, but with dis couraging results. Sherman noted that Ken tuckians had promised much but that they were "slow in organizing." A month later he wrote that "nobody has rallied to our support," although "hundreds are going to Bowling Green" where the Confederates were en camped. Col. Thomas E. Bramlette, later to

Continued on following page

Most Kentucky soldiers served in the West, fought on both sides

be elected governor of Kentucky, agreed with Sherman in the early backwardness of Kentuckians in rallying to their country's call.

Despite this early disillusionment Union sentiment soon made amends. By October 1, 1861, 20,000 Kentuckians were in Federal service, and by the end of the year there were almost 30,000. Six months later this number had grown to more than 40,000. Some sections leaned more strongly to one side than did others. Certain counties in the Bluegrass and in Western Kentucky furnished more to the Confederacy than to the Union. Bourbon County, for instance, midway of the war had sent 700 men to the South but only 200 to the North, and Fayette, with more than 1,500 men of military age, sent only 380 to the Union Army. Garrett Davis, a prominent Bourbon County Unionist, admitted that disloyalty was greatest in the Bluegrass.

11,000 Negroes Used

About 11,000 Kentuckians in the Union Army were Negroes, and their recruitment was the source of much discontent among the people who generally thought Negroes were inferior people not to be dignified with military duty. For a time, bowing to Kentuckians' protests, Lincoln delayed ordering Negro enrollments in the state. But as white Kentuckians failed to fill Kentucky's quota in April, 1864, General Burbridge ordered the enlistment of Negroes, both slave and free, with limited compensation to loyal masters.

This order created much discontent which extended over into the army. "Their is a great stir in camp about the Negro question Or Lincoln proclimation," wrote one soldier. "I am not in favor of fiting for Negro freedom I did not start out on that platform. I hope he will modify Or drop the negro business give me the Union as it was that suites me." Col. Frank Wolford, a fearless cavalry leader from Casey County, in a speech in Lexington, denounced Lincoln as a tyrant and usurper. He was dismissed from the army.

Enrollment of Negroes in Kentucky tended further to discourage enlistment of white Kentuckians. Both Confederate and Union governments had been forced to resort to draft laws in the second year of the War, but Kentuckians, who regarded the draft with special repugnance, were able to avoid it by meeting thir quota of volunteers until the beginning of 1864. By March of that year, however, this was no longer possible and the first call was made at that time. The law provided that a draftee might avoid service by furnishing a volunteer substitute or by the payment of $300 commutation money. The March call was for 9,186 men. Of this number 321 served personally, 531 furnished substitutes, and 3,241 paid commutation money. The remaining 5,000 were unaccounted for. Four months later a second call was made, this time for 16,805. Of this number 1,439 actually served, 1,981 furnished substitutes, and the remaining 13,000 were unaccounted for.

The draft law actually had the effect of increasing Confederate forces, for when service became inevitable some chose to serve in the Confederacy, especially after the Negro issue arose. In October, 1864, 300 men from Breckinridge, Meade and Hardin Counties and nearly an equal number from neighboring counties, passed through Henderson on the way to join the Confederacy. In Hardin County a Baptist minister who was drafted raised a company and joined the Confederates. On the other hand, the draft stung the pride of Kentuckians so that it was reported that many former Confederates who had returned to Kentucky for one reason or another, enlisted in order to save the state from what they considered a stigma. Nevertheless, the draft in Kentucky must be reckoned as a failure.

Despite embarrassments and difficulties by the beginning of 1865 the state's quota of troops had been met. At that time the State Adjutant General reported that out of a total enrollment of 133,500 males between 18 and 45, Kentucky had furnished more than 76,000 soldiers, while another 7,000 were enlisted but not mustered in, and 10,000 more were engaged as Home Guards. This was approximately 10 per cent of the state's entire population. Add to this number 25,000 men in Confederate service and Kentucky's per capita contribution to the manpower of the war was probably as great as that of any state. Nathaniel Shaler, Harvard anthropologist and historian, said that "No other State in the Union gave proportionately so much or so freely . . . to the cause of the Union."

Were Kentuckians typical of troops recruited from other states? Very likely they were although from measurements carefully made and preserved by the United States Sanitary Commission, the Union medical corps, Kentuckians were better physical specimens than Union troops from any other state. Average height of the Kentucky soldier was 5 feet 8½ inches, half an inch taller than his counterpart from any other state, and an inch taller than the average New Englander. The average Kentuckian weighed 149.85 pounds, four

Recruiting Negroes by the Union in Kentucky discouraged enlistmnet of whites.

Among more famed Kentucky fighting groups were various Confederate cavalry units tied loosely to command of John Morgan. This painting shows how they dismounted to fight.

and a half pounds more than the typical soldier of any other state, and a full 10 pounds heavier than the average New Englander.

More than 10,000 Kentuckians died in the war of battle wounds, and probably another 20,000 of disease during the War. Add to this the tens of thousands of maimed and diseased who did not die, and it is not unlikely that half of the Kentuckians who attained maturity in the decade of the 1850's and 1860's were either swept away or rendered unserviceable to the commonwealth by the war.

Kentuckians in both armies distinguished themselves as soldiers of ability, although those of the Confederacy gained more glamour in retrospect. The brilliance and daring of the Orphan Brigade (Page 95) and of Morgan's Cavalry (Page 79) are stories of their own.

But the Kentuckians who made up the rank and file of George Thomas's Army of the Cumberland were equally valiant. This army drove Braxton Bragg's Army of Tennessee from what seemed an impregnable position on Missionary Ridge, then slogged on with Sherman to Atlanta, to the sea, and through the Carolina swamps to final victory at Durham Station in May, 1865.

Much has been written of Morgan's mad dash through Indiana and Ohio in the summer of 1863. It was, indeed, a daring and an astonishing performance. It called for courage and endurance extraordinary. In one 24-hour period, the party covered 90 miles, and men literally slept in the saddle.

But what is to be said of the men of Shackelford, Hobson and Wolford, who pursued, overtook and captured the Morgan raiders? These were Kentucky troopers, and the real laurels of that contest must be awarded them.

But all commanders were not of one mind as to the valor of Kentucky troops. Morgan's men were never the same after their capture, exchange and reorganization. One of their own number charged that they acted like "a band of professional burglars" after the Mount Sterling raid in July, 1864. In order to avoid being captured with his plundering comrades he took desperate chances and escaped. "I would almost as soon have been killed as caught in such company," he said.

We have already seen with what a jaundiced eye Sherman regarded the prospect of fighting a war with Kentucky troops. This view was shared by General Thomas at the time. Thomas wrote that if a regiment stationed at Irvine "is no better than those I have with me, I shall be so much the more embarrassed by having it with me. If I could get four additional regiments of Ohio and Indiana volunteers, I would be perfectly willing to dispense with all the Kentucky regiments I have." But Thomas and Sherman were both to have their opinions of their Kentucky troops changed in the next few years.

Fought Each Other

Most Kentucky soldiers, both Union and Confederate, served in the western campaigns, often facing each other in battle. The first engagement was at Wildcat Mountain in Eastern Kentucky in October, 1861. Here the Seventh Kentucky checked a Confederate Army of 7,000 under Felix Zollicoffer. The Union victory served as an inspiration to the raw Kentucky troops, for up until that time it was generally believed that all true fighting men had left the state to fight for the Confederacy. With Grant at Shiloh were 14 Kentucky regiments facing half as many Kentuckians in Johnston's army. Some of the Union regiments went down the Mississippi with Grant to Vicksburg, while others turned off the Don Carlos Buell and fought with him in northern Alabama, eastern Tennessee, and back to Kentucky, where eight Kentucky regiments faced Bragg at Perryville (Page 88) in October. Thirteen fought with Rosecrans at Murfreesboro and nine with Burnside in East Tennessee. At Chickamauga, in September, 1863, 15 Kentucky regiments fought, most of them under Thomas. Later nine of these stormed up Missionary Ridge.

Morale seemed never a problem among Kentuckians, if their contemporary writings truly reflect their sentiments. A Kentuckian in the Orphan Brigade wrote on the night before his army was to be surrendered of his sublime confidence in ultimate victory. A few months before, a Union soldier from Kentucky was writing of the wonderful weather which permitted games of the new sport of baseball, and of purchasing chickens in North Carolina for a quarter and a goose for 50 cents. Another Kentuckian wrote from Lynchburg in March, 1865, that "We have learned to accept war as our normal condition and are perfectly satisfied. I am not at all impatient for its close." Yet, after the surrender he accepted defeat philosophically. Since the contest was over, he wrote, "I think it the utmost folly for Kentuckians to keep up a factious and unavailing opposition, and I for one am only glad to get the amnesty."

KENTUCKIANS WHO LED

One tenth of all generals in both armies were either from the state, had lived here, or were here when commissioned

By JOHN P. DYER

IF FURTHER PROOF of Kentucky's tragically divided position during the Civil War is needed, it can be founded in a study of the state's contribution of general officers to the Union and Confederate Armies.

Between 1861 and 1865, a total of 105 Kentucky officers held the rank of brigadier general or above in the combined armies, roughly 10 per cent of the total of all the states. All of these except two were natives of the Bluegrass State, but not all were living here at the time war broke out.

Perhaps this brief statistical breakdown will best clarify these two statements:

UNION ARMY

Kentuckians living in the state at the time of of their service as Union generals	31
Kentuckians living in other states from which they served as Union generals	34
Natives of other states who were citizens of Kentucky while serving as Union generals	2
Total	67

CONFEDERATE ARMY

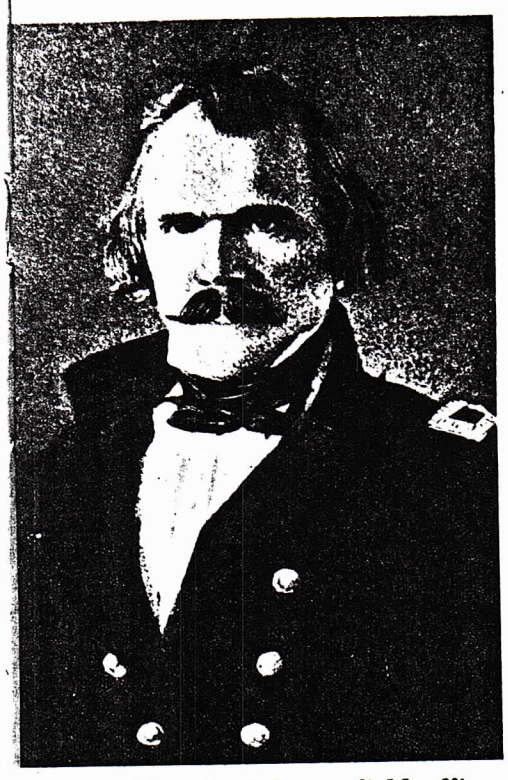
Kentuckians living in the state at the time of their service as Confederate generals	22
Kentuckians living in other states from which they served as Confederate generals	16
Total	38

Whichever set of figures one uses (the figure of 31 Union and 22 Confederate generals is probably most representative) it is obvious that Kentucky furnished more Union generals than Confederate. This quantitative preponderance, however, is somewhat offset by the quality and fame of some of the state's Confederate generals.

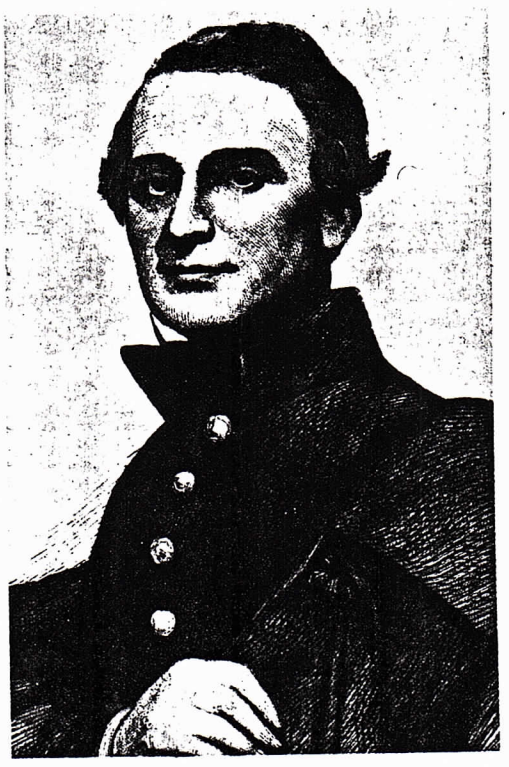
This is not to imply that Kentucky's Union generals were wholly a mediocre, unknown or inferior lot. Major (later brigadier general) Robert Anderson, commanding officer of Fort Sumter at the outbreak of the war, was born near Louisville. Maj. Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau, who commanded a division at Shiloh, Perryville, Chickamauga and Nashville, was born in Lincoln County and practiced law in Louis-

Simon B. Buckner declined general's rank with Union Army to fight in South.

John Bell Hood led South forces during the bitter Atlanta fighting.



Ranking Confederate field officer at start of war was A. S. Johnston.



Robert Anderson, later a general, was the Union's first hero after Fort Sumter.

ville. Judge Joseph Holt of Breckinridge County served as Secretary of War during the closing months of John Buchanan's administration and then became Judge Advocate General of the Union Army. In this capacity he prosecuted the people who allegedly conspired with Booth to assassinate President Lincoln. Later he prosecuted Henry Wirz, the Confederate officer who commanded Andersonville prison. Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, born in Russellville, later becoming a Louisville merchant, led his division at Shiloh, Murfreesboro and Chickamauga. Then there was Brig. Gen. Napoleon Bonaparte Buford of Woodford County who, if he enjoyed no other distinction, must be credited with the most grandiloquent name of any other Union officer save Maj. Gen. Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana of Maine. General Buford, however, did have one other distinction. He served on the court martial which convicted General Fitz-John Porter.

(Porter was blamed by General John Pope for loss of the Second Battle of Bull Run.)

But the most ardent Union partisan would have to confess that these names hardly compare favorably with such famous ones as Albert Sidney Johnston, John Hunt Morgan, John Bell Hood, John C. Breckinridge and Simon Bolivar Buckner of the Confederacy.

Of these, Johnston and Hood became full generals commanding an entire army. Johnston was one of the five full generals appointed by President Davis at the beginning of the war and Hood held the temporary rank of general during the Atlanta campaign and the subsequent disastrous invasion of Tennessee in the fall of 1864. It was General Johnston who led the Army of Tennessee in its first baptism of fire at Shiloh and Hood who led the same army to its destruction on the icy slopes of Nashville in December, 1864. There are those, of course, who believe with some reason that had Albert Sidney Johnston survived his wound at Shiloh, the fate of the Army of Tennessee would have been a different one.

Johnston was a native of Washington, Ky., and Hood was born at Owingsville. From the heart of the opulent Bluegrass region around Lexington came John Hunt Morgan, the cavalry leader whose raids into enemy territory have become almost legendary. Perhaps no leader on either side has so challenged the imagination as Morgan (Page 79).

Less spectacular, but none the less useful, was Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge, also from Lexington. Vice President of the United States at 35, United States Senator from Kentucky and candidate for President on the Southern Democratic ticket in 1860, he became a Confederate brigadier in 1861 and was shortly promoted major general. He commanded the reserve corps at Shiloh. He distinguished himself at Murfreesboro, Vicksburg and Chickamauga and in February, 1865, President Davis appointed him Secretary of War. Upon his re-

Continued On Page 52

Lovell H. Rousseau commanded Federals at Perryville, Shiloh, Chickamauga.

Artist Frank Vizetelly did this on-the-spot sketch of the wounding of John B. Hood at Chickamauga. The general previously had been hit at Gettysburg.

Buckner later became Governor

GENERALS ***Continued***

turn to Lexington after the war, he became one of Kentucky's most popular figures.

The fifth of Kentucky's Confederate generals to be mentioned in this article is Simon Bolivar Buckner, a native of Hart County.

After declining a brigadier's commission in the Union Army he accepted a similar one with the Confederacy. Shortly thereafter he was left "holding the bag" in the Fort Donelson surrender. Exchanged, he fought at Perryville, commanded the Department of East Tennessee and then saw service in the Trans-Mississippi area where he was chief of staff to Kirby Smith. Upon his return to Kentucky he became editor of The Louisville Courier and subsequently was elected Governor in 1887.

Five Federals and five Confederates—that is all this article will accommodate; but they symbolize the divided and sorrowing Kentucky which looked in two directions and sent her sons to serve where a man's conscience showed the way. Brother fought brother and neighbors turned their backs on each other, but this was a day when honor counted—honor and the individual's freedom of choice.

Perryville Was A Nightmare To Polk

FEW men had more surprises during the course of the entire war than Confederate General Leonidas Polk had in one afternoon at the Battle of Perryville on October 8, 1862.

In the fury of the fighting, with troops advancing and retreating rapidly, many units became intermingled — not only Gray with Gray, but also Blue with Gray.

This proved particularly advantageous to Polk in one instance.

The commander of one of the Union brigades sent to reinforce the hard-pressed men of General Alexander McCook approached an imposing-looking officer to ask for instructions in the posting of his troops. The officer hardly could believe his ears when the Union commander shouted above the uproar, "I have come to your assistance with my brigade."

He hardly could believe his ears because he was Polk, the man directing the assault on the Union lines.

"Never mind posting your troops, sir," he said. "You are my prisoner."

Later in the day, as dusk was descending across the rolling hills, Polk played a befuddled role in still another comic incident of confused identity.

In the fading light, Polk saw a body of men whom he took to be Confederates firing into the flank of one of his brigades. He rode up to the erring commander and demanded what he meant by shooting his own troops.

"But I am sure they are the enemy," the commander replied.

"Cease firing, sir," Polk ordered. "What is your name?"

"Colonel Shryock of the 87th Indiana," came the answer. "And who are you?"

"I'll soon show you who I am," bluffed Polk, suddenly realizing his mistake. "Cease firing at once!"

With that he turned his horse and slowly rode toward his own lines, afraid to ride fast because he might give his own identity away.

It was not until he was screened by a clump of trees that he spurred his horse and galloped to safety.

It was in Kentucky at the Battle of Middle Creek that Col. (later President) James A. Garfield had his baptism of fire. His Union force won the struggle.

KENTUCKY

The Hard School Of Experience

Some of the most prominent generals in the war exercised their first commands in this state

By T. HARRY WILLIAMS

"BY GOD," cried the angry general, "Don Carlos won't do!"

The speaker was one of a group of officers gathered at a house near Lebanon, Ky., to discuss ways of getting rid of their departmental commander, Don Carlos Buell. His remark serves to introduce a facet of the Civil War often not adequately appreciated —that some of the most prominent generals on both sides got their first real experience in the border area of Kentucky.

In addition to Buell, three other future Union Army commanders served in Kentucky in the early phases of the war: W. T. Sherman, George H. Thomas, and Philip Sheridan. U. S. Grant, destined to be not only an army commander but eventually general-in-chief of all Union armies, won his first fame in Kentucky. Here, too, a future President of the United States had his baptism of fire: James A. Garfield.

On the Confederate side, the most important leader in Kentucky was Albert Sidney Johnston, one of the South's full generals, who commanded the sprawling Western theater. Two of his corps generals went on to carve out solid records: Leonidas Polk and William J. Hardee. Nathan Bedford Forrest, the cavalry genius, had his first taste of war in Kentucky. And it was in Kentucky that Edmund Kirby Smith, later commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, first exercised independent command as leader of the Army of Kentucky in the Confederate offensive of 1862.

When the war began, Kentucky was included in the Department of the Cumberland. The first commander of the department, Robert Anderson, had to resign because of bad health. His second in command, William T. Sherman, succeeded to the post. Sherman had led a brigade to the field at Manassas (Bull Run), but Kentucky was his first independent command. He soon gave a classic example of what the responsibility of command could do to a good officer. Like so many officers of

Continued On Page 54

Buell succeeded Sherman and fought at Perryville

HARD SCHOOL *Continued*

both sides placed in such a position, Sherman began to worry about the safety of his line, about the numbers of the enemy. Finally he cracked under the strain. At a famous conference with Secretary of War Simon Cameron at the Galt House in Louisville, he made some impossible demands for reinforcements that caused his transfer. It was rumored that he was crazy. He was not, but he had undergone a nervous breakdown of some kind. Later he would return to Kentucky and the Western theater under Grant and act with a new stability. As Sherman admitted, Grant gave him confidence.

Was Good Organizer

To succeed Sherman in what now was called the Department of the Ohio came Buell. Despite his romantic first names, Buell was a serious, even rather pompous man. He was a good organizer and trainer but he lacked the aggressive instincts of a great battle captain. He was like his friend General George B. McClellan but without the latter's color or dash. Almost from the beginning Buell had trouble. He antagonized the troops with his rigid discipline and President Lincoln with his refusal to move into East Tennessee. He irritated some of the Western governors and many of the Western officers and men in his army by announcing that the war should not be directed against slavery. Even with all these strikes against him, Buell might have saved himself with a military success. But the Battle of Perryville (Page 88) and its aftermath ruined him. The Confederate offensive was turned back, but Buell gave no indication that he meant to follow up his success. Lincoln removed him from command. The President's perfect definition of McClellan also applied to Buell: "He has the slows." Ironically, after the war Buell settled in Kentucky, the scene of his failure, and died at Rockport.

First independent command for Confederate Kirby Smith was in state.

U. S. Grant, later general-in-chief of Union, won initial fame in Kentucky.

George Thomas, the Virginian whose family disowned him because he went with the Union, served as a division commander in Buell's Army of the Ohio. In January, 1862, he won the battle of Mill Springs (Page 73), one of the first Northern successes of the war. The victory gave the Federals a hold in Eastern Kentucky. Buell's caution and transportation difficulties stalled an advance into East Tennessee. Thomas went on to always greater distinction in the army that eventually became the Army of the Cumberland, finally becoming its commander after his sturdy stand at Chickamauga.

Sheridan had served elsewhere in the West before he came to Buell's army as a division commander. But his first big battle was at Perryville, where he demonstrated some of the traits that would distinguish him as a cavalry leader and as commander of the Federal forces in the Shenandoah Valley in 1864. Garfield, the future President, was a brigade commander under Buell. He fought in the Big Sandy country at Middle Creek and Pound Gap. Although Garfield never attained the eminence of Thomas or Sheridan, he exemplifies the citizen soldier who became a good subordinate officer. Without such men, the army could not have functioned.

In the Confederate gallery of generals

Continued On Page 58

William T. Sherman cracked under the strain of running Department of the Cumberland, located in Louisville.

Johnston, Polk, Hardee tangled with Grant in Kentucky

HARD SCHOOL *Continued*

tested in Kentucky the figure of Albert Sidney Johnston looms large. A handsome and impressive man, Johnston was expected to be one of the South's great generals. But he never justified the high hopes held of him. Commanding a department stretching from the Alleghenies to Arkansas, he remained at Bowling Green where he was hardly in a position to supervise his long line. The truth seems to be that Johnston was a fine troop or combat leader but lacked the capacity and temperament for army command. His death at Shiloh while gallantly inspiring a charge reveals both his virtues and his defects.

Two of his subordinates were among the better corps commanders of the war. W. J. Hardee, author of a manual on tactics, was solid, competent, the kind of officer a general could always depend on. Leonidas Polk, the fighting bishop, was a little slow, but ever reliable. It was he who technically broke Kentucky's neutrality (Page 30) by seizing Columbus. It was said that he thought profanity stimulated troops but could not bring himself to use it. Leading his men into battle and pointing at Frank Cheatham, a noted cusser, he would shout: "Give em what Cheatham says, boys."

In the brief time that Forrest, "Old Bedford," served in Kentucky there was not much opportunity for effective cavalry action. Nevertheless, Forrest demonstrated, notably at Fort Donelson when he led his men out of a trap, the daring that would later make him the greatest cavalryman of the war.

Invaded Kentucky

Kirby Smith came to the Western theater from Virginia with a fine reputation. Commanding an independent army that eventually united with Bragg in Kentucky, Smith displayed boldness and skill in the offensive that ended at Perryville. Curiously enough, he was never that good again. It may be that the Confederate failure took something vital out of him.

The supreme military figure on the Kentucky scene is Grant. His Henry and Donelson campaign was one of the decisive movements of the war. But perhaps more important, in this action which must be considered as part of the war in Kentucky a crucial moment in Grant's career, in his development as a general occurred. At Donelson he learned something that remained with him. The Confederate attempt to break out had just been stopped. Now Grant ordered his own men to attack. He realized then that there is always a decisive moment in a battle when the decision sways in the balance and that the victory will go to him who has the moral courage to act. That conviction born at Donelson would play a large part in assuring the final victory for the Union.

Staff Photo By Chief Color Photographer H. Harold Davis

A cavalry troop charges across a field under heavy cannon fire in this posed picture which emphasizes the role of the horse soldier.

Foot Soldiers On Horseback

Many of the famed cavalry leaders of the Civil War, including Morgan, Forrest, Wolford and others, were in action in Kentucky early. Charges like the attack above, simulated for a movie shot in the state, took place at Cynthiana, Mt. Sterling, Perryville, Richmond and elsewhere. Troops used horses for fast movement from place to place, then fought as foot soldiers once at the scene of battle. It was General Morgan who replaced the cavalryman's saber with a carbine.

Part Wisdom, Part Luck

That's what saved Kentucky from becoming a bloody field

John Hunt Morgan's raids caused little damage after Perryville. Drawing shows a raid at Paris in 1864.

By CLEMENT EATON

KENTUCKY FACED the real prospect in the spring of 1861 of becoming the blood-stained battlefield of the Confederate and Union armies. The state avoided this fate partly by wise policy and partly by luck.

The people of Kentucky had long been indoctrinated with the duty of upholding the Union by a remarkable group of Whig political leaders and editors, and it was this feeling for the Union that dictated the policy of neutrality.

Moreover, Lincoln from the beginning of his administration pursued an astute policy with regard to his native state of not "forcing the issue" of taking sides. The refusal of Kentucky to join the Confederacy (Page 30) was a great blow to the cause of Southern independence, for it deprived the Confederacy of the Ohio River as a natural frontier of defense. Luck also intervened to keep the state free from major conflicts (with the exception of the Bragg-Smith invasion of 1862) as a result of the decision of the Confederate government to adopt a defensive military policy.

Thus the frontier of fighting was moved to Tennessee. Railroads played a significant part in the War for Southern Independence, and Kentucky's Louisville & Nashville Railroad was of tremendous benefit to the Union cause. One of the few Southern railroads whose direction ran North and South, the L. & N. became an indispensable supply line for the Union armies that invaded the South's back door.

Another important railroad that traversed the state in a north-south direction was the Mobile & Ohio, which

Continued On Page 62

Want Additional Copies of This Section?

SEE PAGE 102

for complete details

Railroads played a vital role in the success of Northern armies in parts of Kentucky. But in the mountains horses and men teamed to move supplies.

Confederate troops were good, bu

had its terminus on the Mississippi River with ferry connections to Cairo. The strategic importance of this outpost was so great that the Confederacy violated the neutrality of the state by sending General Leonidas Polk on September 3, 1861, to capture it.

In the following January, Confederates under Crittenden and Zollicoffer clashed with Federal troops under General George Thomas in the battle of Mill Springs (Page 64). Kentucky troops led by Col. Speed Fry and Frank Wolford played an important part in the Confederate defeat.

The surrender in February, 1862, of Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River near the Kentucky-Tennessee border (Page 73) had a profound bearing on the military situation in Kentucky. Albert Sidney Johnston had been sent to take command of the Confederate defense in the Western Department. He was regarded by many, including President Davis, as the South's finest general. He established his headquarters at Bowling Green, Ky., a station on the L. & N. with rail connections with Memphis and Columbus as well as Nashville.

The selection of this place seemed an advantageous choice; it was near the center of his long, thinly-manned line of defense extending from the Cumberland Gap to the Mississippi. It would make an excellent base from which to recruit Kentucky volunteers and to advance to Louisville.

But it became untenable after the fall of Fort Donelson, and both Polk at Columbus and Johnston at Bowling Green retreated to Nashville. Johnston has been severely condemned for not going to Donelson when affairs became critical there and taking personal charge. I think this criticism to be just, especially since the two ranking officers at the fort, Former Governor John Floyd and Gideon Pillow, were primarily politicians and not military men. The fall of this strategic fort, with its 12,000 prisoners, was one of those accidents which saved Kentucky from becoming a continuous battlefield. The disaster chilled enthusiasm among pro-Confederates in Kentucky and discouraged enlistments in the Confederate army.

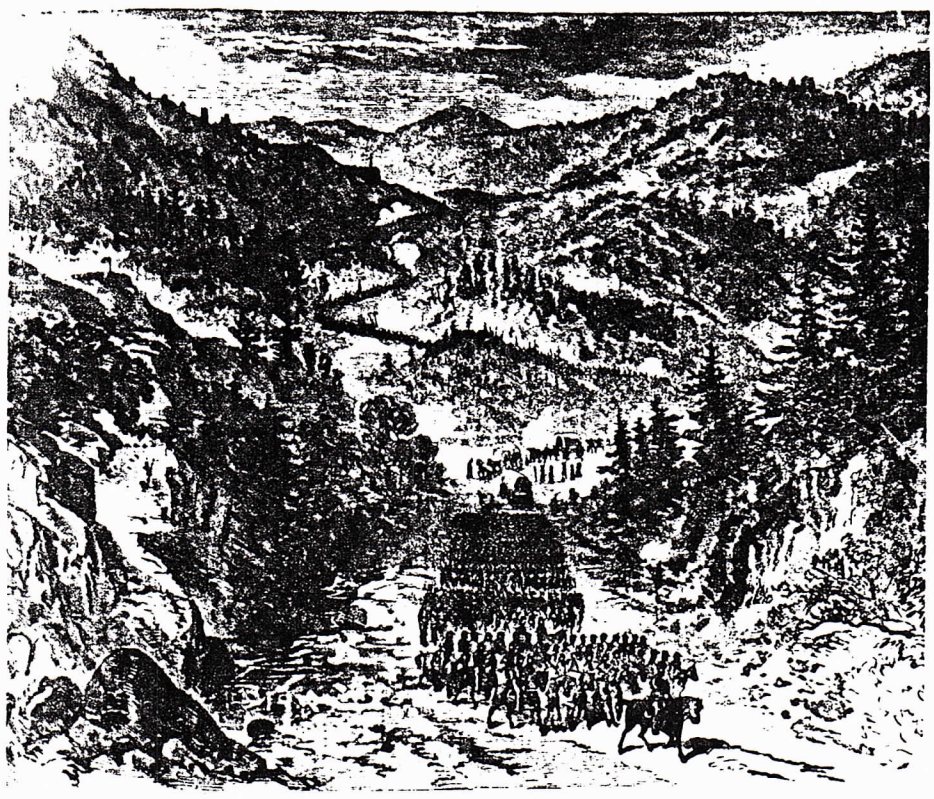
Furthermore, it led to the virtual abandonment of Kentucky by the Confederacy.

The Gap Was Vital

Cumberland Gap on the eastern edge of Kentucky was vital military position both for the Northern and Southern forces. It was imperative for the Confederacy to hold it to protect the tremendously important railroad line between Richmond and the lower South running through eastern Tennessee and the railroad junction at Chattanooga.

Lincoln continually urged an invasion of Eastern Tennessee through this gap in order to protect the Tennessee Unionists as well as to destroy the railroad.

At the beginning of the war it was occupied by Confederate troops under the command of General Felix Zollicoffer. In June, 1862, Federal General George W. Morgan took the Gap without fighting. A feint of a portion of



Cumberland Gap was wanted by both armies. Confederates, shown in this drawing took the Gap in 1861; it changed hands three times in two years.

...d, but their generals failed them

Buell's army in Tennessee toward Chattanooga caused the Confederate troops to withdraw. The Federal forces gathered enormous military supplies here for an invasion of East Tennessee.

But the movement of Kirby Smith toward Richmond, during the Perryville campaign imperilled Morgan's position and forced him to retreat. The splendid opportunity which was given to the Confederates to capture Morgan's division and seize valuable military supplies was squandered by the ineptitude of the Confederate commanders and the resolution of the Union general.

Morgan managed to destroy his supplies and escape over a mountainous country to Greenup on the Ohio River, accomplishing this feat, according to his account, without the loss of a gun or wagon and with the loss of only 80 men. "Not only that," he boasted, "but as General Bragg states in his report, we had detained General Kirby Smith, and thus prevented the junction of the Confederate armies in Kentucky long enough to save Louisville."

The Battle of Perryville (Page 88) in the fall of 1862 marks the collapse of Confederate hopes of winning the state. The campaign of Bragg and Kirby Smith, failed not only because of lack of poor planning and unity of command but because of the failure of leadership. The Confederate troops had the spirit of combat, but their leader lacked decisiveness, resolution, and the fighting instinct.

It is only fair to say, however, that Don Carlos Buell, the Union commander, also displayed poor generalship despite the fact that he did save Louisville from capture.

After the retreat of Bragg, the state was disturbed by bitter guerrilla warfare on a small scale and by John Hunt Morgan's forays. These raids, although spectacular, caused relatively little damage.

Many people in the state, former Union supporters, became disillusioned by the Federal act of emancipation and by the enlistment of Kentucky slaves as soldiers. Public opinion in the state changed so strongly that at the close of the war, and during the early days of the reconstruction period, it became pro-Confederate in feeling.

As Prof. James G. Randall has observed: "It was as if Kentucky retroactively and sentimentally joined the Confederacy after Appomattox."

A Clerk's Error Gave Grant His Initials

A clerical mistake made on his Congressional appointment to West Point gave General Grant the initials U. S. which, once his Union Army successes started, earned him the nickname "Uncle Sam."

Although his correct name was "Hiram Ulysses," an error on his appointment papers made it read "Ulysses Simpson."

Rather than try to untangle the yards of red tape which, even in Civil War times, stood in the way of correction, he simply let his true name go and took the new one, "U. S. Grant."

Confederates occupied Bowling Green in September, 1861, and started fortifying hill on which Western Kentucky College now is located.

The Line That Failed

By BEN WALL

ONCE Kentucky's avowed neutral stand proved to be impossible, Confederate troops were the first to move into the state in force in the fall of 1861.

Because Kentucky lay as a natural buffer protecting the heart of the southland, Confederates were quick to take advantage of this situation by setting up a long, loose line of fortifications.

In order, these steps were taken:

On September 4, General Leonidas L. Polk and his forces occupied Columbus (Page 66).

Five days later, from his headquarters in Knoxville, General Felix Zollicoffer set troops in motion to take Cumberland Gap.

Then on September 18, on orders from Albert Sidney Johnston, Simon Bolivar Buckner moved up to Bowling Green and filled what was to be the center of the Confederate line.

Thus in two weeks time a Confederate line of defense had been established across Kentucky with Columbus as the left anchor, Bowling Green in the center and Cumberland Gap on the right.

From the standpoint of defense, this line presented major difficulties. The topography of the country in itself was a major obstacle to effective troop movements and communication. There was no direct rail route between the various centers. Dirt roads and ferries hampered effective reconnaissance and patrol activity. The number of Confederate troops was inadequate for so extended a front, and the commanders were unable to get arms and ammunition adequate for sorties in force or defense.

Only the Cumberland Gap area provided terrain adequate for defense in depth. Columbus, unquestionably the best defensive point on the Mississippi River between Cairo and Memphis, was the easiest of the three positions to supply, fortify and defend. All three positions, however, were highly vulnerable to flanking movements.

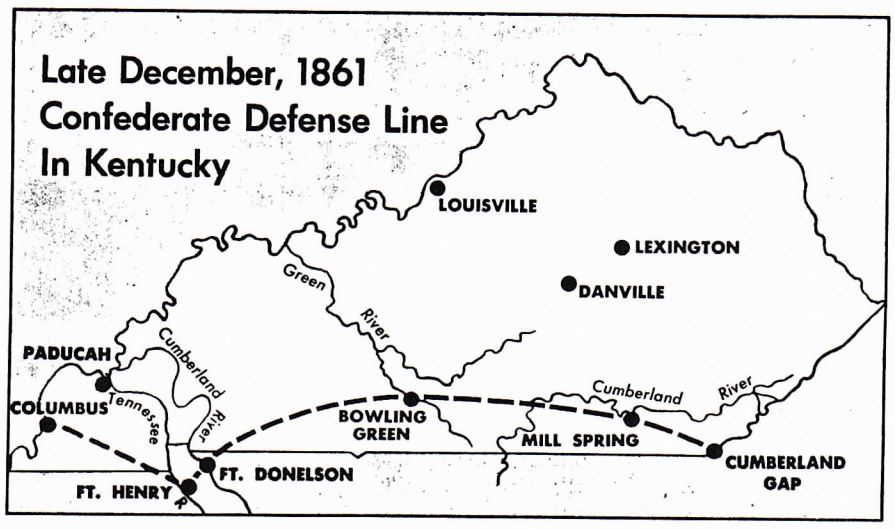
General Polk had more time to erect defenses than did either General Zollicoffer or General Buckner. As soon as he occupied Columbus, he began to fortify the heights. That he did this thoroughly is attested by the fact that there is little evidence that Union commanders ever seriously considered attacking Columbus.

General Henry W. Halleck and his Union engineers felt that the Columbus fortifications had "immense strength." In fact, Polk so thoroughly fortified Columbus that it influenced the decision of the Union command to flank Columbus and to drive up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. Not only were Fort Henry and Fort Donelson more vulnerable to attack, but Polk's position at Columbus would, in their opinion, be untenable if they succeeded.

When Johnston assumed command of the department embracing Kentucky, Polk sought to be relieved of the command of the defenses on the Tennessee and the Cumberland. He had previously ordered Col. Adolphus Heiman, an able Swiss-born engineer, to construct defenses. Polk, also, suggested Col. Lloyd J. Tilghman as an officer qualified to supervise the building of adequate works at Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. For some reason there was delay in decision at Confederate headquarters. The results were drastic for the Confederacy.

Some historians believe that the Confederate commanders made a grave error in deciding where to defend the Tennessee. On the Kentucky side, Colonel Heiman began to build a fort on a high, narrow plateau later caller Fort Heiman. Here mounted cannon could have swept the entire Tennessee River channel. Fire could be directed against boats approaching upriver as well as broadside as they passed the fort. The Confederates did emplace cannon and construct some fortifications there. Fort Heiman was a far better position than the river-threatened bottomland hole that was Fort Henry.

When General Ulysses S. Grant moved up the Tennessee, he found Fort Heiman evacuated. The defenders had been ordered to Fort Henry. There is no doubt that the Kentucky



The Confederate defense line reached across Kentucky, with the western end anchored at Columbus and terminus in the east at Cumberland Gap.

located.

Remains of the trenches and breastworks constructed on the mountain overlooking Cumberland Gap have been preserved in the new national park.

Not having the defendable Ohio River, the Confederates quickly lost Kentucky

fort was a superior defense point than was Fort Henry.

Fort Outflanked

Fort Henry, caught between Grant's forces on land and sea and rising flood waters, surrendered on February 6, 1862. Donelson, a far better position with much better defenses, surrendered on February 16. Only Fort De Russey on the Confederate left remained secure. That position was now outflanked. On March 1 within two weeks after Donelson, it too was evacuated. Thus the two strongest posts on on the Confederate left were turned over to the Union forces without a struggle.

In the center of the line at Bowling Green was the redoubtable Simon B. Buckner. Buckner dug in rifled guns at Baker Hill on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad approach to Bowling Green. This point was inside the loop of the Big Barren River and was exposed on three sides to the fire of Federal gunboats. Directly south of Baker Hill at the river, he placed smaller guns and rifle pits. Across the river, sweeping both the bridge across the Big Barren and the railroad, other guns were placed. Other cannon and rifled guns were placed at Webb's Hill on the west, Hine's Bluff on the southwest, Bald Bluff south of the city, Grider's Hill to the southeast and Underwood Hill on the northeast flank.

His heaviest guns were at College Hill where he set up his command post. A force of 500 men was sent north to Munfordville to control the L. and N. bridge over the Green River.

The Confederate defeat at Fort Donelson (Page 73) doomed the position at Bowling Green. Once again Confederate forts were handed over to the enemy with only a token struggle.

Zollicoffer Killed

General Zollicoffer, on the right of the Confederate line, never was able to erect permanent fortification of any consequence.

On October 21 he attacked Union troops entrenched at Camp Wild Cat in the Rockcastle Hills. Both sides claimed victory. Both armies retreated. Soon thereafter Zollicoffer's command post was moved from the Cumberland Gap region to Monticello. On January 19 the Confederates on the right were defeated at Mill Spring by General George H. Thomas in an engagement in which Zollicoffer was killed. This forced the Confederate right to withdraw beyond Cumberland Gap.

The defeats of the Confederates at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson and earlier at Mill Spring forced them to leave Kentucky.

This and the defeat at Mill Spring lost Kentucky for the Confederacy. It further opened West Tennessee to the Union armies and gave them control of the eastern passes Southward. Grant, Sherman and Thomas could now begin to mount their wedge offensives that when completed was to destroy the Confederate hope of victory and with it the Confederate States of America.

The Confederates Move In

Neutrality went by the boards when Polk occupied Columbus

By BENNETT H. WALL

Leonidas Polk led a Confederate force into Columbus, Ky.

THE NEUTRALITY GAME of bluff, brag and bargain was short lived in Kentucky.

The unrealistic visions of Kentuckians that their state could remain neutral were to be replaced in a few short months by actual armies in motion across the state.

Along the Ohio River, unguarded on the Kentucky side, thousands of Federal troops were poised, ready to move southward. In Kentucky, General William Nelson had directed the distribution of more than 5,000 stand of the so-called "Lincoln Rifles" (Page 36) to Union Home Guardsmen, and at Camp Dick Robinson he was whipping his recruits into a semblance of military units.

At Camp Boone, on the Tennessee border, Kentucky volunteers daily swelled the ranks of the Confederates. General Gideon J. Pillow, in command of the Confederate troops on the Mississippi, was keenly aware of the importance to the Kentucky interior south of Columbus, Paducah and Smithland. Only General Simon B. Buckner's persuasion and Governor Beriah T. Magoffin's dispatching of six companies of the State Guard to Paducah kept Pillow from occupying Columbus in the summer of 1861.

Then on September 1, General Leonidas Polk commanding the Confederate forces along the Kentucky border sought to determine the real intentions of Kentucky. He was firmly convinced that the Confederate situation for the West required that he occupy Paducah and Columbus before the Federals did. Polk's anxiety was heightened by General John C. Fremont's statement on August 28 that he intended to occupy Columbus. On the same day Fremont placed Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant in command of the Federal troops in that sector. On September 2, five days later, Grant moved to occupy Belmont, Mo., directly across the Mississippi from Columbus.

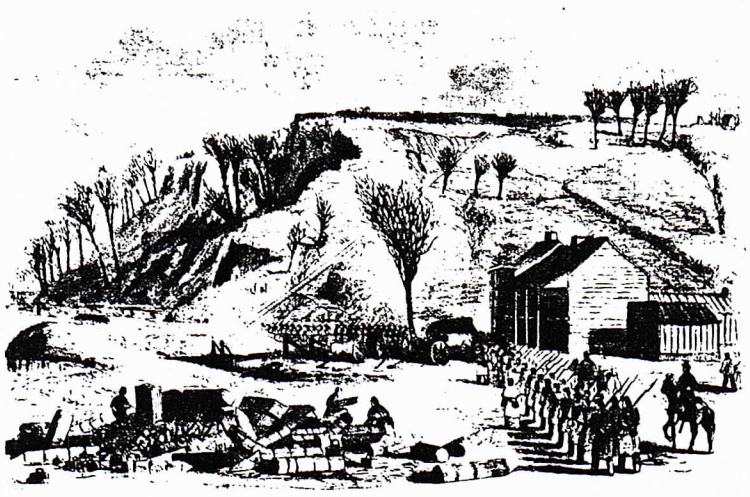
When Polk learned of the occupation of Belmont, he directed General Pillow to occupy Columbus. Confederate units marched overland from Union City and on September 4 occupied Columbus. Records show that Grant had planned to occupy the town on the night of September 5; thus, Polk's move anticipated Union strategists by more than a day.

Triggered by the Confederate move on Columbus, on September 5, Grant occupied Paducah. It should be pointed out that Grant and Fremont had decided to occupy Paducah and Columbus prior to the Confederate move and that the occupation of Paducah was in no sense related to Confederate strategy.

Listening to protests from Governor Magoffin and Governor Isham G. Harris of Tennessee, the Confederate War Department ordered Polk to withdraw from Kentucky. Polk, however, refused and appealed to President Jefferson Davis who overruled his War Department.

Kentucky authorities and the State Legislature still vigorously protested Polk's invasion of Kentucky. In his reply to their requests to withdraw, Polk listed numerous unprotested Union violations of Kentucky neutrality. General Albert Sidney Johnston, to whom the final decision regarding withdrawal was entrusted, backed Polk. In his note to President Davis relating these requests and other facts, Johnston stated, "The

Continued On Page 69



The drawing from a newspaper of the times shows Polk's Confederate soldiers fortifying "iron bluffs" at Columbus.

Triggered by Polk's move, Grant seized Paducah

POLK'S INVASION ***Continued***

troops will not be withdrawn." Even Buckner could not persuade Confederate authorities to withdraw.

Soon the whole state was involved with onpouring armies from the North and South. The State Guard, virtually *en masse*, followed their former commander, Buckner, into Tennessee. Union Generals Thomas L. Crittenden and George H. Thomas began to organize Nelson's forces and other units preparatory to invading that state. General Felix Zollicoffer with his Confederate troops moved into the Cumberland Gap Region. Louisville became a maelstrom of Federal activity.

Kentucky was in the war.

Polk and Pillow, bitterly at odds over policy, did move in concert to fortify Columbus. The quarrel of the two officers became so bitter that Polk as well as prominent Tennesseans requested President Davis to assign some other officer to command. Davis, acting on these requests on September 10, assigned Albert Sidney Johnston to command Confederate Military Department No. 2, which embraced Tennessee and included military operations in Kentucky.

Johnston, a native of Washington, Ky., had resigned his regular army commission and had ridden 1,700 miles on horseback from San Francisco to Austin, Tex., on his journey to Richmond. There he received his orders and had moved westward to his command headquarters in Nashville.

Under the direction of Polk, Fort De Russey, termed by the Confederates the "Gibraltar o fthe West," was erected atop the steep bluff above the river at Columbus. Some 140 cannon were planted to command the Mississippi for more than five miles.

But the Confederate lines were overextended. Not only were the troops outnumbered, but great difficulty was experienced in both supply and communication. Polk was not able—nor was Johnston—to secure river craft sufficient to restrict the movements of the Federal boats on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers. He could only struggle to control traffic on the Mississippi below Columbus.

Furthermore, while time well served the Union commanders as the United States poured both supplies and men into Kentucky, delay could only frustrate Polk, Pillow and Johnston. Men there were for the Confederates; boats could be built, but guns and ammunition were not available. Dirt roads and several small boats were the only means of communicating and Federal patrols were increasingly more numerous. The Confederate situation, while not desperate, was far from sound.

Movement Ordered

On September 21 Johnston assigned to Polk the defense of the Mississippi River.

These events started falling into place on November 1 when Fremont ordered Generals Grant and C. F. Smith to begin operations along the river, with a demonstration in force toward Columbus. This movement ostensibly was designed to force the Confederates out of southeast Missouri. On November 7, Grant set 3,500 men in motion toward Columbus on the Missouri side of the river. General Smith from Paducah sent 2,000 men in that direction.

Polk, divining the real intentions of Fremont and Grant, realized that they planned to drive him and his 17,000 men from Columbus. As the Federal movement increased, 7,000 additional troops were set in motion.

Across the river from Columbus near Belmont, Polk had established an observation post and had placed

Continued On Page 72

Henry and Donelson ended Polk's stay

there a regiment of infantry, a battery of artillery, and a squadron of cavalry. Other than trenches, the only defenses were trees cut so as to slow down the approach of an enemy. It was against this position that the first attack came.

Grant disembarked his troops five miles below Belmont and moved to attack the Confederate position. Meanwhile, Polk dispatched General Pillow with four regiments totaling 2,700 men to the aid of his post. He later sent 500 more men who landed just as the attack commenced.

Though the forces were nearly equal Grant stubbornly pushed forward and dorve the Confederates to the river bank, capturing the observation post on the way. Only the well-directed fire of the heavy guns from Fort De Russey kept the Union forces from achieving a complete victory.

Sensing that his real opponent was Grant and the movement of Smith from Paducah was a feint, Polk promptly moved to the relief of his entrapped forces. With reinforcements, he attacked from the river bank and forced the Union forces to retreat to their boats about seven miles away.

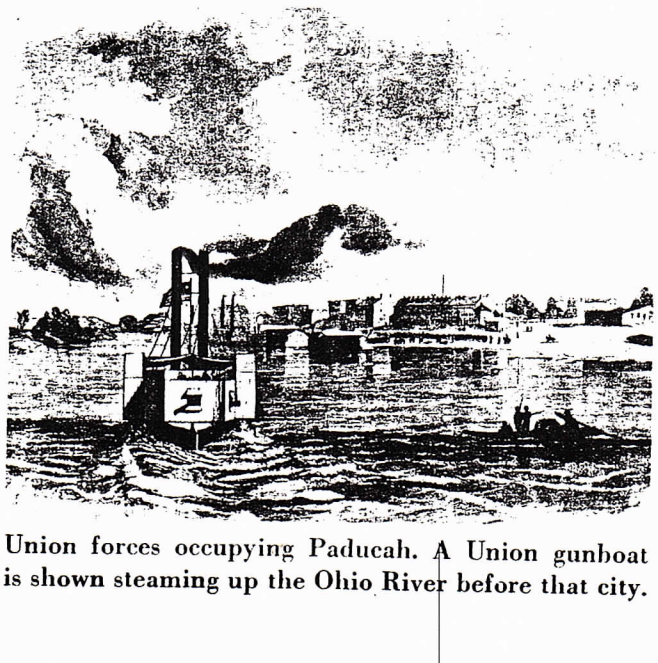
Belmont was a sharp and harsh battle. The Confederates lost 642 men killed, wounded and missing. The Union forces lost almost as many. Grant had failed in his effort to drive the Confederates from Belmont. Furthermore, if the real purpose was to drive the Confederates from Southeastern Missouri, he failed in that also.

For some time after Belmont, Polk and Grant negotiated exchange of prisoners. As winter came, preparations for defense of Columbus were rushed. Troops drilled, provisions were gathered, the defense works were improved and extended, and quarters adapted. Polk added to his defenses the heavy hand-wrought chain stretched across the river, and several underwater mines.

So thorough were the Confederate defenses prepared that Union General Henry W. Halleck decided not to attack Columbus. He decided to move up the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers against Fort Henry and Fort Donelson instead. As Halleck expressed it to McClellan, "Columbus cannot be taken without an immense siege-train and a terrible loss of life. But it can be turned...."

This the Union forces proceeded to do. Fort Henry and Fort Donelson fell. The road South was opened. Polk's flank was turned. The evacuation, itself a major Confederate achievement since they removed virtually all guns and stores, was completed on March 1, 1862. By March 3 Union forces were in motion to occupy Columbus.

Polk's invasion of Kentucky had ended.



Union forces occupying Paducah. A Union gunboat is shown steaming up the Ohio River before that city.

Once the Confederate defense line began to buckle, positions fell thick and fast. Grant's taking Fort Donelson was a decisive blow.

GRANT Moves In

His campaign against the two forts was a disaster for the Southern cause

By T. HARRY WILLIAMS

EVEN A VERY amateur strategist could look at the Confederate line in the West at the beginning of 1862 and see that something was wrong.

Across Kentucky it stretched in a great arc from Columbus on the Mississippi to Cumberland Gap. Not only was it too long (Page 64) for the thin forces holding it, its location was faulty. The two wings or flanks were thrown forward from the center at Forts Henry and Donelson, fortifications just below the Tennessee border which had been constructed in the period of Kentucky's neutrality.

Moreover, the forts were situated on two rivers—Henry on the Tennessee and Donelson on the Cumberland—readily commanded by Northern sea power. If the Federals, operating with land and water forces, could break the center at the forts, the two Confederate wings would have to pull back or be smashed. Whatever they did, the whole Confederate line in the West would collapse.

In January, the Confederate line was involuntarily shortened when a small Federal force defeated an equally small Confederate force at Mill Springs in Southeastern Kentucky. Although the Northern high command hoped that this victory would pave the way for an advance into East Tennessee, nothing practical followed. Bad roads and lack of supplies bogged down the invaders in this area.

The main result of Mill Springs was to cause a regrouping of Confederate forces. Now the right flank rested at Bowling Green, also the central command post. Even with this shift the Confederate line was highly vulnerable. Its length from Bowling Green to Columbus was 150 miles. The flanks still jutted forward, the rivers still commanded the center, and the defending forces were still too small.

The Confederates, the inferior force, were trying to man the exterior or longer line of a defensive circle. All this should have been evident to Albert Sidney Johnston, commander of Confederate forces in the West on both sides of the Mississippi. If it was, Johnston did not act on the knowledge. As a theater commander, he should have stationed himself at some central point where he could supervise the whole of his line. Instead he remained in Bowling Green, acting very much like a troop or corps leader.

Under Johnston were approximately 48,000 troops—25,000 in and around Bowling Green, 5,500 at Henry and Donelson, 17,000 at Columbus. West of the Mississippi in Arkansas were 20,000 Confederates, theoretically but not practically at Johnston's disposal.

Poised opposite these far-flung forces was a menacing array of Fed-

Grant's first effort to crack the Columbus defenses came November 7, 1861, when he tried—and failed for the time—to take Belmont, Mo., across river.

After Henry and Donelson fell and Columbus was evacuated, the Union gunboats moved down the Mississippi to bombard Island No. 10, shown here.

Grant's famous message showed warfare had changed

eral armies. In Missouri, the department of Henry W. Halleck, 30,000 Federals were preparing for a drive into Arkansas. In Western Kentucky, also in Halleck's department, were 20,000 troops based on Cairo and Paducah and commanded by U. S. Grant. North of Bowling Green, in still another department, stood Don Carlos Buell with 70,000 men.

The situation was full of peril for the Confederates. If the Federal armies moved simultaneously, or even if only one of them moved, a break would almost certainly result some place in the Confederate line.

Grant Moves

It so happened that it was Grant who forced the issue. He secured permission from Halleck to attack Fort Henry with help from the Navy. Henry fell on February 6 with almost no resistance.

Grant then asked to strike Donelson, and again Halleck assented. The army marched across the 12 miles between the forts, while the Navy steamed up the Tennessee and came down the Cumberland. Grant advanced with only 17,000 men, although he was ultimately reinforced to 27,000. He expected another easy conquest, but Donelson proved a harder nut to crack. The defenders handled the gunboats roughly, and then attempted a sally that might have won them a way out and damaged the Federals severely in the process.

Unaccountably the Confederates abandoned the ground they had won and retired into the fort, fast becoming a trap.

The strange withdrawal of the Confederates resulted from the tangled command situation in the fort. John B. Floyd and Gideon Pillow were the two ranking officers. They were not particularly competent, and neither was exactly sure who should exercise the command. At a conference, it was decided to surrender the fort, but Floyd and Pillow announced they were getting out. Floyd feared reprisal for his political record before the war, and Pillow did not want to become the first Southern general to be made a prisoner. Their departure left the third ranking officer, Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky, to negotiate the surrender.

Buckner was an old friend of Grant's and a gentleman of the old school who believed in doing things right. So, although he knew his cause was hopeless, Buckner wrote Grant asking for an appointment to settle terms. Back came a blunt reply that was to catch the imagination of the Northern public: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

The exchange symbolized something new in war—the chivalry of an older age was meeting the cold, objective spirit of modern warfare and was about to go down before it. Feeling aggrieved, but accepting the inevitable, Buckner surrendered Fort Donelson on February 16.

While Grant was driving at the forts, strange things were happening in the councils of the Confederate high command. General Johnston, who never fulfilled the high estimates held of him, seemed to be for the moment paralyzed by the crisis.

After the fall of Henry, he held a conference with his generals in the Covington House in Bowling Green. There it was agreed that as Donelson could not be held the two wings of the army would have to fall back.

But then Johnston ordered 12,000 reinforcements into Donelson, which he believed to be untenable. Apparently he thought that the strengthened garrison would hold off Grant while he got to Nashville and then extricate itself. Johnston has been criticized for not going to Donelson with the bulk of his force and making the fight for Kentucky there. Such a move was open to him, but he feared it would leave Bowling Green open to an advance by Buell.

As it turned out, the sending of reinforcements to Donelson only increased Grant's bag of prisoners. Perhaps 3,000 of the garrison escaped but 12,000 to 15,000 were captured.

It turned out, too, that the Confederate withdrawal had to be more precipitate and distant than originally intended. With Grant and the Federal navy astride the rivers and with Buell approaching Bowling Green, the two Confederate wings were in dire danger. Finally they were united but not until they had pulled back to Corinth in northeastern Mississippi. The retirement exposed Confederate strong points on the Mississippi River to capture, and in succession New Madrid, Island No. 10, Fort Pillow, and eventually Memphis fell.

First link in the Confederate Kentucky defense line to fall was Mill Springs. Picture shows area, including remains of breastwork at left.

A Disaster

By any standards the campaign was a disaster for the South. When it began, the Confederate line in the West rested in Kentucky, a state that presumably might have joined the Confederacy if the situation remained constant. The Confederates had a base from which they might have launched an offensive over the Ohio River. When the campaign ended, the Confederates had been thrown out of Kentucky and a good part of Tennessee. Never again would the Confederate cause in the West be as bright as it was in the first months of 1862. Henry and Donelson, Columbus and Bowling Green—they were like a huge gate guarding the interior of the Confederacy.

Once the Kentucky gate had been swung open, it would never close again.

LOUISVILLE
A Foot In Each Camp

Spared the hurt of war, it got fat on commerce, both legal and illegal

By ALLAN M. TROUT

Louisville was panicked by Bragg's 1862 invasion. But Buell's Union force, which moved to meet the threat, pulled back and is shown entering the city.

LOUISVILLE did not start the Civil War. If a magic wand could have stopped the shooting, the city would have waved it. But Louisville was in the right place at the right time to get rich trading with both sides.

Louisville not only waxed fat from illicit trade, but was the channel through which legitimate traffic of all sorts flowed North and South.

Moreover, the city was spared the ruin of war. No battle was fought here. While the city teemed with Southern sympathizers, it remained under political and economic control of the North through the four years of hostilities.

The city was a hotbed of intrigue, the mecca of spies, saboteurs and bushwackers. A river town, it had the wide-open appeal to soldiers seeking the diversions of bar, brothel and gaming table.

The lush Galt House, rich in bed and food, was a favorite rendezvous for the bigwigs and their ladies from both sides. General U. S. Grant, General William T. Sherman—in fact all the Union brass south of the Ohio—frequently met there to plan strategy.

Until Kentucky abandoned neutrality in the late fall of 1861, North-South commerce through Louisville was legal. After the state cast official lot with the Union, the city became:

1. A busy depot for the transfer of Rebel prisoners to Yankee prisons north of the river. This traffic reached the peak of 1,650 men a week.

2. One of the North's biggest centers for the care of wounded. By February, 1863, a staff of 50 surgeons and 272 nurses was busy with the maimed on 2,400 cots in 19 military hospitals in Louisville, eight in New Albany, and one in Jeffersonville.

3. A principal city of entry for Union armies and supplies headed southward. In 1862, Louisville was the base of supplies for the Army of the Cumberland. From 1863 onward, it was the base for the campaigns of Tennessee, Georgia and Northern Alabama.

4. At war's end, a bustling center for the break-up of Union armies. General Sherman, for example, brought his army back from Georgia to disband at Louisville. So many of his men used the reservoir of the city waterworks for a swimming pool the irate citizens refused to use the water.

All this meant hard United States cash to the traders, bankers, merchants, tavern hosts, Black Marketeers, brothel keepers, blockade runners, and business tycoons. Many family fortunes in Louisville today had their beginnings in this rich economy of the Civil War.

Lots Of Everything

In the matter of making money, it turned out precisely as The Louisville Democrat editorialized April 16, 1861: "Let Kentucky stand by Kentucky. Let her refuse to go with either the North or the South; let her look after her own interests alone; let her stand as umpire between the sections."

At outbreak of the war, Louisville was the largest city of the Ohio valley on the Confederate side of the river. Down river came goods from the industrial East, up river came food from the fertile flatlands of the Midwest.

These two mighty streams of traffic merged on the waterfront, then surged overland to the South via the Louisville & Nashville Railroad and the turnpikes now known as U.S. 31-E, and U.S. 31-W.

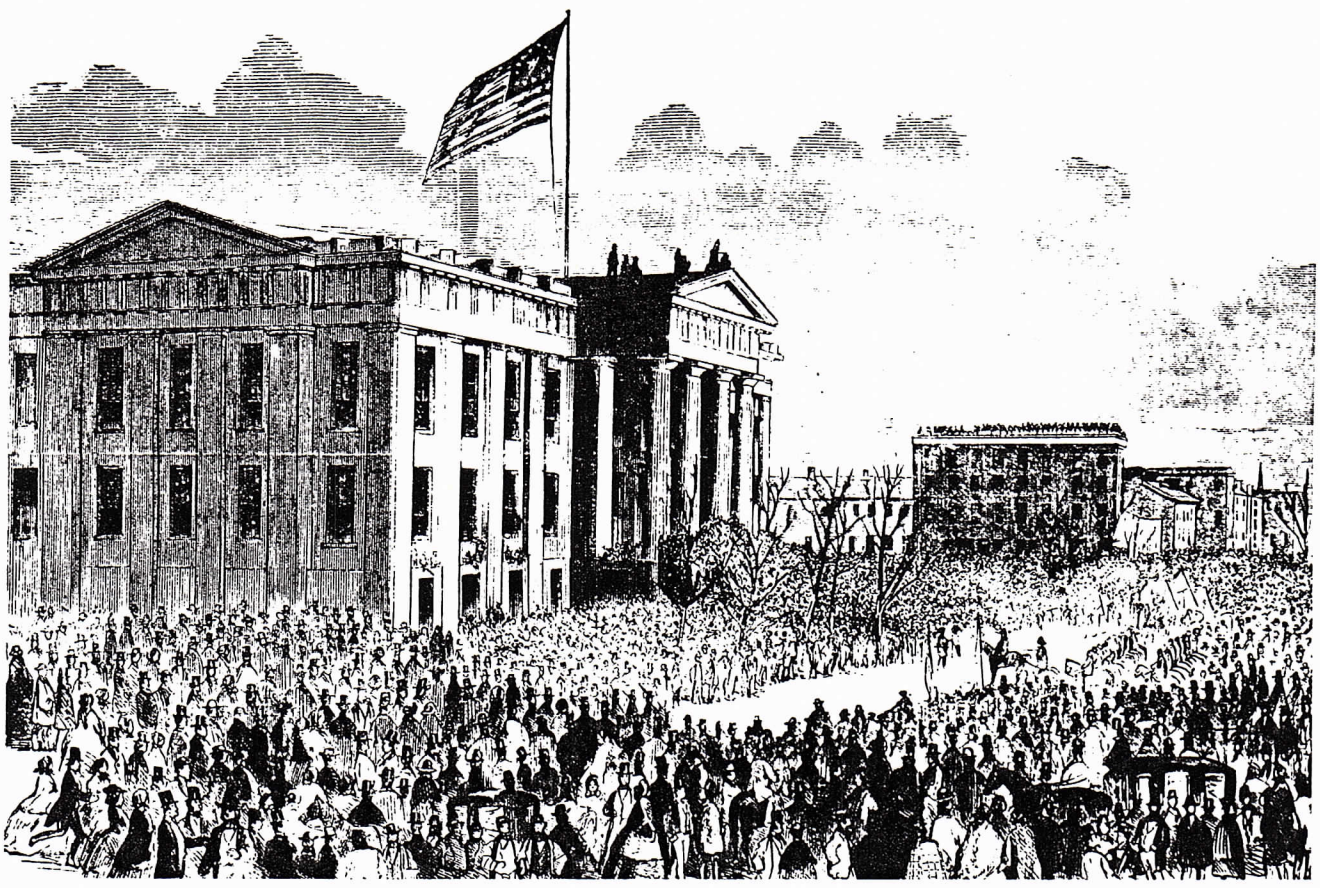
The Louisville that heard news of Fort Sumter was a city of 62,888 whites, 1,948 free colored, and 4,903 slaves—a total of 69,739. Capital of $5,023,491 was invested in 436 business establishments employing 7,393 workers and in 1860, producing goods valued at $14,135,517.

The shot at Fort Sumter was discussed in 200 saloons and coffee houses; in well-to-do homes on 60 miles of paved streets, and frame cottages on 40 miles of paved alleys. By that year, 220 streets had been named and, for the first time, the houses were being numbered.

Perhaps the leading citizen — certainly the most influential—was James Guthrie, president of the L. & N. It was Guthrie who steered the officialdom of Kentucky to the first unworkable year of neutrality.

Guthrie, an able man, was impelled by two massive fears; that if Kentucky sided with the South, the North would

Continued on following pages



Louisville never was in Confederate hands; it was a point through which traffic between North and South flowed. The drawing shows the U. S. flag being raised atop the Jefferson County Courthouse early in 1861.

Louisville had a number of scares as

LOUISVILLE *Continued*

confiscate his entire line; that if the state sided with the North, the South would sever his line at Nashville, at the best, or at Bowling Green, at the worst.

As it worked out, the North safeguarded Guthrie's railroad as its lifeline to land operations south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. Hence, Louisville's high wartime profits are reflected in this table of net profits accruing to the L. & N.:

YEAR	NET
1861	$ 461,970
1862	508,591
1863	1,062,165
1864	1,803,953
1865	2,172,515

The L. & N. southward, of course, was fed from the levee at the foot of Fourth Street. That teeming wartime traffic is reflected in this table of tolls collected by the Louisville & Portland Canal:

YEAR	TOLLS
1861	$ 42,650
1862	69,936
1863	152,937
1864	164,476
1865	175,515

Expansion of the tobacco economy was typical of the city's commodity market. From 1861 to 1864, hogsheads handled on Louisville floors increased from 20,823 to 63,326.

In 1863, three new banks erupted from the bursting economy. Eighty-four Louisvillians made more than $10,000 that year, of whom nine topped $50,000.

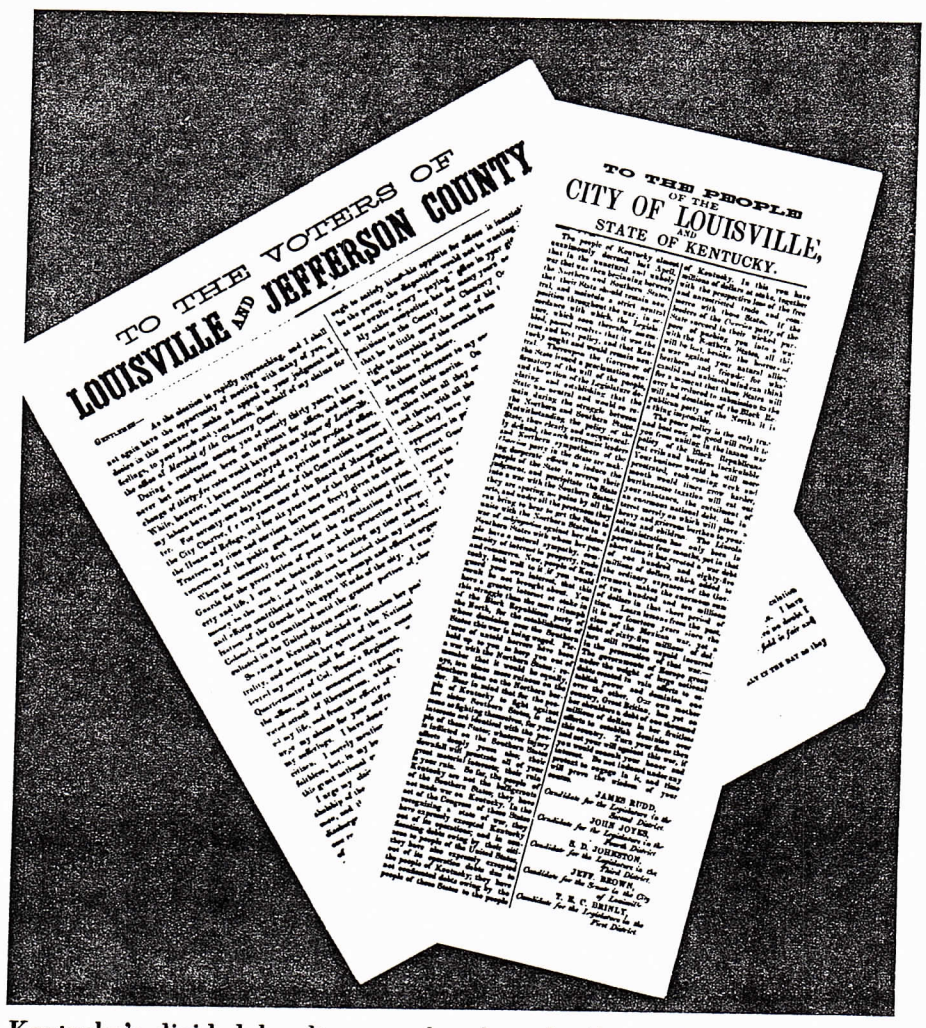
Two Bad Scares

While Louisville escaped destruction of actual warfare, the city experienced one nightmare of horror and, toward the end, a spell of bad dreams. The nightmare was compounded from these fearful ingredients:

In early fall of 1862, two Confederate armies invaded Kentucky from the south. General Kirby Smith left Knoxville and headed for Lexington by what is now U.S. 25. General Braxton Bragg left Chatanooga and headed for Louisville by what is now U.S. 31-E. They had three broad purposes in mind:

1. To rally tens of thousands of Kentuckians to enlist in the Confederacy.
2. To inaugurate a Confederate Governor at Frankfort.
3. To combine their armies, capture Louisville and Cincinnati, then consolidate a Confederate position the length of the Ohio Valley on the Kentucky side.

Ge
at Ri
Ge
his l
move
Gene
It
betwe
early
in th
Ge
Munfo
Lousi
Gene
Louis
and C
It
the pi
Gener
defen
on tr
Nelson
trained
home
bums
Soutl
the st
and ch
Jeffers



Kentucky's divided loyalty was played on by Louisville office seekers. The 1862 campaign leaflet at right is pro-South, the other pro-Union.

...es as armies neared

...ille ... the ...ians ...hom ... of ...one ...i, a ...was ...nts: ...ies ...ral ...for ...ral ...led ...hey ...ians ...nor ...nis- ...on- ...hio

General Smith moved ahead, won a battle at Richmond, and occupied Lexington.

General Bragg moved ahead, too. But to his left, on what is now U.S. 31-W, there moved parallel to him the Union army of General Carlos Buell.

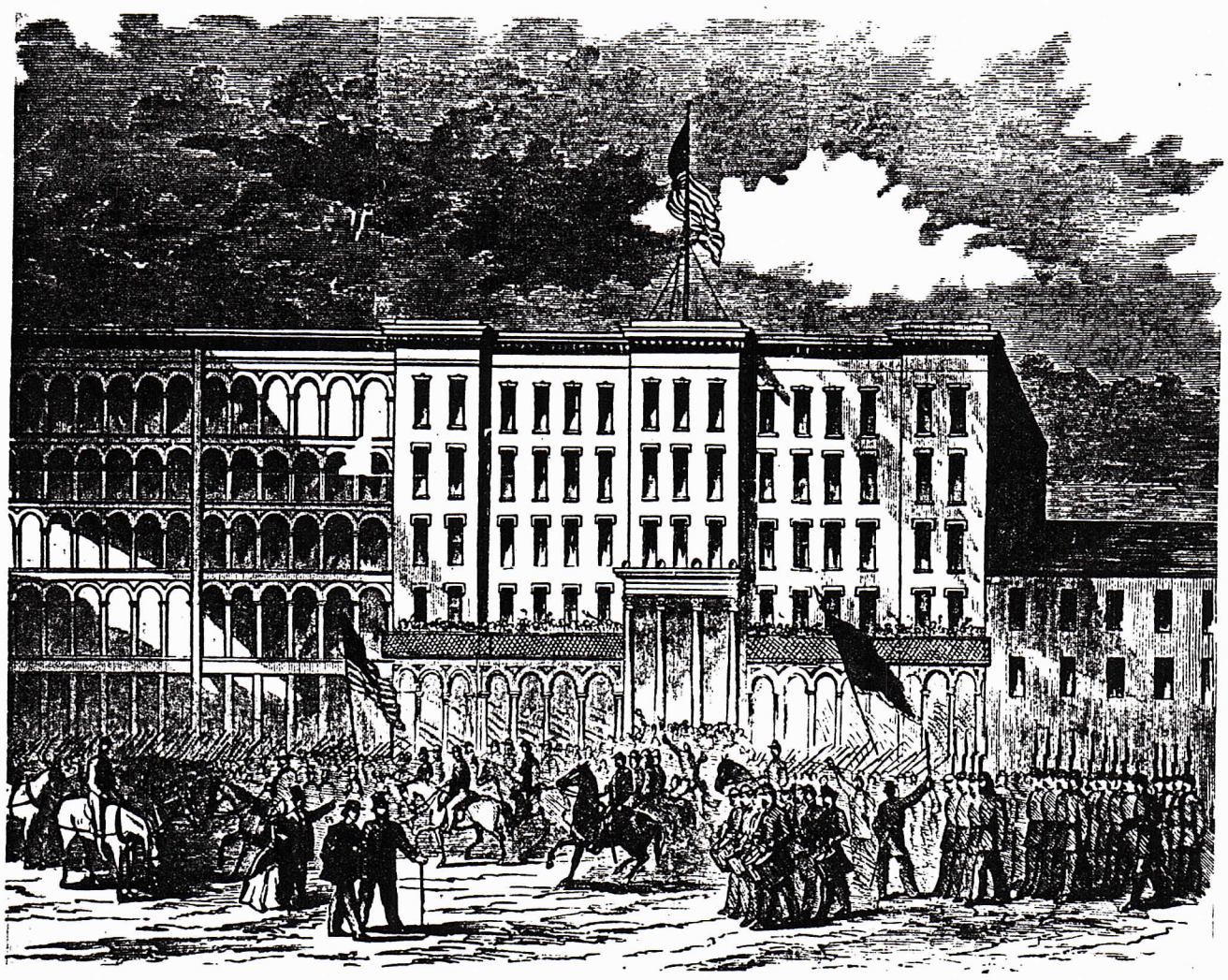
It was General Buell's purpose to keep between General Bragg and Nashville in the early stages, and between him and Louisville in the final stages.

General Bragg, however, won the battle of Munfordville. That gave him a clear road into Lousiville. To the east, Rebel cavalry from General Smith's command was nibbling at Louisville, penetrating to what is now 18th and Oak.

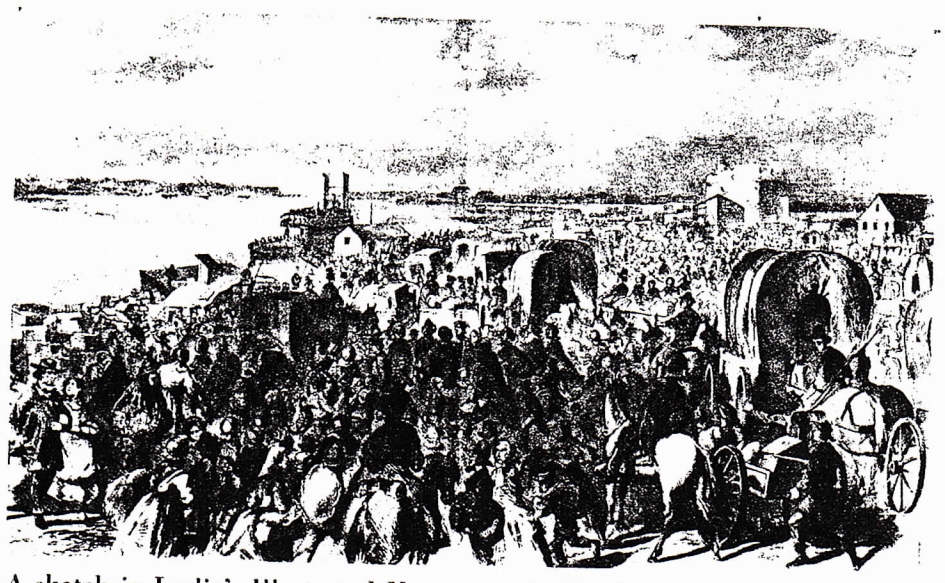
It looked as if Louisville were caught in the pincers of General Smith in the east, and General Bragg in the south. The city had no defenses to speak of, as the accent had been on trade and commerce. General William Nelson, in command, had nothing but untrained Union troops, plus even less desirable home guards hastily put together with boys, bums and old men.

Southern sympathizers swaggered through the streets in triumph anticipated. Women and children were moved to New Albany and Jeffersonville by the thousands. Pandemonium

Continued on Page 78



Federal troops marching up and down the streets were a familiar sight. The famed Galt House, shown here, was a favorite place for conferences between such Union bigwigs as Grant, Sherman and others.



A sketch in Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper in October, 1862, was captioned: "Civilians fleeing the city preparatory to the expected rebel bombardment."

A ring of forts went up about city

LOUISVILLE ***Continued***

paralyzed business. The politicians applied cruel pressure to President Lincoln for relief.

The relief, however, was afforded by General Bragg. Instead of occupying Louisville, he marched east from Munfordville, camped his army at Bardstown, then rode with his staff to Frankfort.

Inaugurated Governor

There he joined General Smith and his staff from Lexington to inaugurate Richard Hawes, Paris, as Confederate Governor of Kentucky on October 4, 1862. In point of view of political urgency, a friendly government in Kentucky was of more immediate importance to the Confederate States of America than the occupation of Louisville.

Meanwhile, with General Bragg out of his path at Munfordville, General Buell had marched triumphantly into Louisville, to the hosannas of a delirious populace. But he withdrew after he and his army had enjoyed a few days of lavish hospitality.

His movement ended in the terrible Battle of Perryville (Page 88) where, on October 8, the blue of Buell met the combined gray of Smith and Bragg. Both armies, cruelly crippled, limped back to Tennessee. As another has written:

"Louisville was safe. Now her businessmen, both Union and Confederate sympathizers, could resume their search for the rich plums of government contracts and war-made fortunes. Though the wounded thronged the city, it celebrated All Hallows Eve, as usual, with a masquerade ball."

But the hysteria of making money was never quite high enough to allay the civilian fears of a city without military defenses. General Simon Bolivar Buckner gave Louisville its first scare in 1861, but his thrust was stopped at Elizabethtown. We already have noted the Bragg-Smith scare of 1862.

The big scare of 1863 was General John Hunt Morgan's Indiana raid (Page 79) that barely skirted Louisville to cross the Ohio at Brandenburg. It was General Morgan again in 1864, this time halted at Cynthiana. In the fall of 1864, General John B. Hood began operations in Tennessee against General Sherman's line of communication from Louisville to Georgia.

Nothing would do but that the city had to be fortified!

Accordingly, between August, 1864, and the end of the war, 11 forts and 12 batteries were built by the Union Army, with the city contributing $12,000 of the cost and a vast amount of forced labor. Bums, vagrants, loiterers, free Negroes, etc., were arrested upon sight and sentenced to terms of work on the fortifications.

The line was about 10 miles in length, sweeping from Beargrass Creek and the Ohio on the east, to Paddy's Run and the Ohio on the west, angled to cover with overlapping fire every turnpike leading into the city.

The forts were named for Union officers killed in battle. Fort McPherson, the key works in the center, was built to accommodate up to 1,500 infantrymen and 300 artillerymen. It was in the Preston Street locality bounded by Barbee, Brandeis, Hahn and Fort Streets.

The forts flanking McPherson were built to accommodate up to 600 infantrymen and 150 artillerymen. Beginning at the Beargrass, Fort Elstner was between Frankfort Avenue and Brownsboro Road in the vicinity of Bellaire, Vernon and Emerald Avenues.

Fort Engle was in the vicinity of Spring Street and Arlington Avenue. Fort Saunders was in Cave Hill Cemetery, and Fort Hill was between Goddard Avenue and St. Louis Cemetery. Fort Horton was at the juncture of Shelby and Merriweather Streets.

Now A Sewage Plant

After McPherson came Fort Philpot, in the vicinity of Seventh Street Road and Algonquin Parkway. Fort St. Clair Morton was at 16th and Hill, Fort Karnasch was on Wilson Avenue between 26th and 28th Streets. Fort Clark was at 36th and Magnolia and Fort Southworth, the last in line, was on Paddy's Run a short distance from the Ohio.

The forts were completed, but Appomattox made it needless to man them. They became playgrounds for generations of boys.

Bullets were found at Fort Horton as late as 1915. The new city incinerator is on top of this site. Fort Southworth was largely intact as late as 1936. The city built its new sewage disposal plant on top of Fort Southworth.

John Hunt Morgan

Horse Thief And/Or Hero

Writer says his reputation is based on solid achievements

By CECIL F. HOLLAND

Photograph of the controversial John Hunt Morgan; the original is in William Townsend's collection.

ON THE NIGHT of September 20, 1861, with war passions just beginning to flame in Kentucky, Capt. John Hunt Morgan of the Lexington Rifles, then virtually unknown outside his own Bluegrass circles, spirited his men and arms from under the eyes of a Federal force and marched off to join the Confederate Army.

With this bit of provocative daring Morgan began his career as the Confederate raider. Not quite three agonizing years later, in the crumbling edifice of the Confederacy, that career came to an end. When he was shot and killed on a rainswept Sunday morning in an obscure engagement in the little town of Greeneville, in East Tennessee, the South mourned him as "one of the brightest ornaments of the Confederate service."

And indeed he was. Within six months he was a full colonel and within 15 months he had earned his stars as a brigadier general. Along with Jeb Stewart and Nathan Bedford Forrest he was idolized as one of the South's great cavalry leaders. For his Southern admirers he was "the great raider," "Our Marion" and in the unrestrained adulation of his day "the Thunderbolt of the Confederacy."

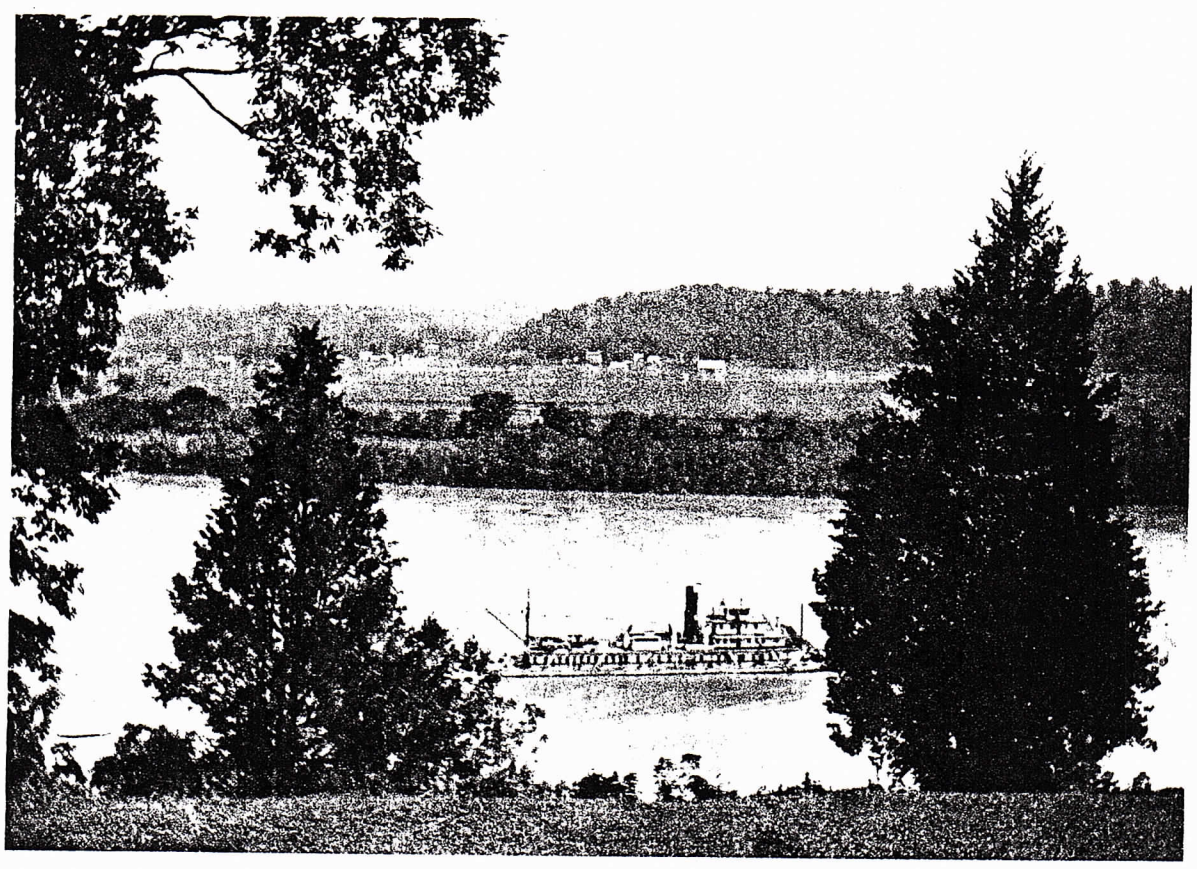
In the North he was well-known, too. With chilly admiration they called him "the great freebooter," "the guerrilla chieftain," and with some reason "the King of Horse Thieves."

For the most part, history has not dealt kindly with Morgan and his men, mostly Kentuckians—an impetuous command, often wild, always independent, ever courageous

Continued On Page 81

Morgan led his men into Kentucky four times. This sketch shows a battle at the Licking Bridge, Cynthiana, Ky., between Morgan's raiders and Federal troops. Once he almost rode into Lexington itself.

Morgan originated the idea of raiding the enemy's home



Above, a view from the Buckner Home in Brandenburg, Ky., showing Marvin Landing, Ind., where Morgan crossed on his Indiana raid. At left is the house in Greenville, Tenn., outside of which he was killed on September 4, 1864, by Union troops.

JOHN HUNT MORGAN ***Continued***

and devoted to Morgan. While he has come down through the years as one of the romantic figures of the war, Morgan too often has been denied the credit he richly earned. In fact, his reputation as one of the South's most glamorous cavalry leaders was based on solid military achievements.

Appraised in the perspective of nearly 100 years, Morgan's career seems even more remarkable. Untrained as a soldier except for brief service in the Mexican War, he evolved methods of fighting which revolutionized the use of cavalry.

In the Morgan papers that came to light long after his death was a scrap of a letter saying, "Sabers will be furnished as soon as they can be provided." There is no record that they were ever furnished. But if they were they were soon discarded. Morgan armed his men with pistols and light rifles, and when it came to fighting he dismounted them and fought as infantry. The cry, "Horses to the rear," was often heard in Morgan's command, and they were always held near for pursuit or escape as the fortune of a battle dictated.

But more important was the idea originated by Morgan of the raid deep within the enemy's lines to disrupt communications, destroy supplies and pin down opposing troops that might better have been employed elsewhere. It was example, as cavalry historians have noted, that was soon followed by other leaders, Union and Confederate, who were quick to see the value of a striking force of great mobility.

Raised South's Spirits

Four times Morgan led his horsemen on long raids into Kentucky—and once across the Ohio River into the North beyond. Some of his operations, while exciting, were not successful, and his venture into Indiana and Ohio, a grand if futile gesture, ended in disaster. But on the whole his raids served a useful purpose militarily and they were a boon to flagging Southern spirits.

His first major raid into Kentucky in the summer of 1862, pushing almost into Lexington itself, paved the way for the invasion by the combined forces of Braxton Bragg (Page 83) and Edmund Kirby Smith. With Bragg astride the Federal line of retreat into Louisville, Morgan, even then, was thinking of crossing the Ohio and carrying the war into the North. It must be put down as one of the great "ifs" of the war that fortune decreed otherwise.

When Bragg timidly turned back and began the long retirement that led to Stones River, Chickamauga and beyond, Morgan quite lost heart. His brother-in-law and second in command, Basil W. Duke, who afterwards lived in Louisville and wrote fruitfully of the war, would pen bitter words five years later that "All the subsequent tremendous struggle was but the dying agony of a great cause and a gallant people."

Bragg's withdrawal, when so much had been promised and so little was accomplished, left an abiding impression with Morgan. Ever afterwards he looked afar and sought to get away on independent operations. He covered the Confederate withdrawal from Kentucky and won time for the regrouping of Bragg's forces at Murfreesboro.

In operations around Nashville while the opposing armies mustered strength Morgan was almost constantly on the move. He scored a signal victory at Hartsville, not far from Nashville, and won promotion to brigadier general. Soon afterwards in a brilliant wartime wedding, with Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk in the robes of an Episcopal bishop over his uniform performing the rites, Morgan was married to Martha Ready, the daughter of a Tennessee member of Congress.

The marriage was thought by some to have affected adversely Morgan's zeal as a raider. Yet within two weeks he was off on his Christmas raid into Kentucky. He had orders to break the Federal supply lines; he missed the battle of Stones River as the new year began, and for that Bragg never forgave him. There was a long winter of picket duty, skirmishes and minor battles and of Federal pressure that never relented. It was not until the summer of 1863 that Morgan was off again—and this was his famed raid into Indiana and Ohio.

For the purposes of this appraisal there is no need to recite the details of that operation. Fiction and song, as well as historical studies, have chronicled the circumstances of the raid itself—the consternation it produced, the gathering Union opposition, the days and nights of riding and fighting without sleep and rest. Finally it came to an end, never East Liverpool, Ohio, the farthest point north reached by any armed Confederate force, when Morgan and the remnant of his command surrendered.

Two questions are of interest even now in connection with Morgan's gallant effort. One was whether he violated orders in crossing the Ohio; the other whether he was operating in conjunction with the Copperhead conspiracy in the North and expected an uprising to welcome him and his command.

In the first place, Morgan's raid was intended as a diversionary movement and was authorized as such. Morgan sought from Bragg and was refused permission to cross the Ohio. The best he could obtain was authority to try to capture Louisville. So it seems that in crossing the Ohio, at Brandenburg downstream from Louisville, Morgan "stretched" his orders, as his survivors were wont to say.

No substantial evidence has ever been supplied to support the theory that Morgan was working hand-in-glove with the Copperhead movement. The weight of evidence is all on the other side. In the

Continued On Page 82

Statistics, important as they are, don't tell the whole story

JOHN HUNT MORGAN *Continued*

first place, the role of a plotter hardly fits the image of Morgan. Basil Duke's "History of Morgan's Cavalry" affords detailed testimony that the raid was a military operations, perhaps a foolhardy one, and nothing more. From the time Morgan crossed the river his command met opposition. They traded horses at will, helped themselves to an abundance of food, and carried away idly many things they could never use. In short, they conducted themselves as raiders.

Morgan was involved in speculation about the conspiracy because, undoubtedly, one or more of his officers were. One of these was the redoubtable Capt. Thomas H. Hines, later a Kentucky supreme court justice. After a foray into Indiana, Hines was waiting for Morgan when he reached the Brandenburg crossing.

Hines was involved in many missions and possibly some of them were connected with the Copperhead movement. But he seems to have been operating on orders of the Confederate War Department and not from Morgan. In the Morgan papers, overlooked until recently, there is a revealing letter on this score.

In response to an inquiry from Morgan about Hines and what he was doing, the raider's Richmond correspondent said: "Good information leads me to believe that Captain Hines is about to proceed on a mission of some importance . . . if you would give him some document testifying . . . of his honesty . . . it would be more important than all the Secretary of War's recommendations." In a matter involving another one of his officers sent on secret missions Morgan wrote bitterly in protest. Somehow his words just carry no ring of a conspirator.

The raid through Indiana and Ohio was the flood tide of Morgan's own career. After his capture and imprisonment in the Ohio Penitentiary and his mysterious escape, all his subsequent activities are but a dreary postlude. There was time for one more raid into Kentucky, with lamentable results and the disgraceful sacking of the Mount Sterling bank.

And after that came Greeneville, Tenn., on a Sunday morning.

What Morgan and his command accomplished is not easy to evaluate. In cold military terms it has been estimated that his command killed or wounded 4,000, captured more than 15,000, and destroyed Federal supplies running into untold missions.

But such statistics, whatever they are, hardly measure what Morgan meant to the South. In some way he became identified with Southern aspirations; his successes and his failures became those of the South itself.

This was noted by The Richmond Dispatch when Morgan was finally captured in Ohio. "This is a distressing blow upon the South," The Dispatch said. "It has stood, and can still stand, a harder. But the pride of the people was very much interwoven with the achievements of Morgan."

Perhaps this is an accolade enough for any soldier.

GENERAL ORDER.

Head Quarters, Morgan's Cavalry,
Knoxville, August 4th, 1862.

Soldiers:

Your country makes a fresh appeal to your Patriotism and Courage!

It has been decided that Kentucky must be freed from the detested Northern yoke. and who so fit to carry out this order as yourselves?

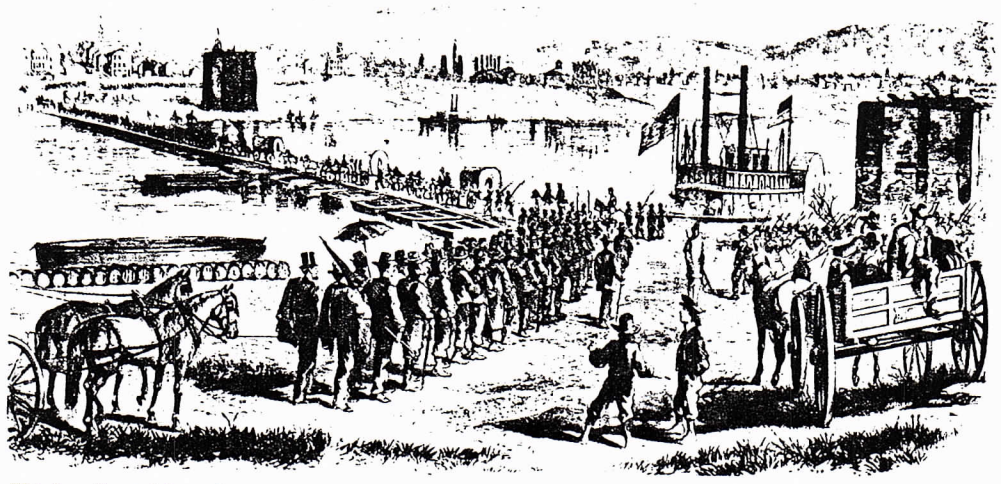
The road is well known to you! You have already taught the Tyrants at Tompkinsville, Lebanon and Cynthiana that where Southern hearts nerve Southern arms, our Soldiers are invincible.

To an enemy be as Tigers, to our Southern brethren be as Lambs! Protect their homes, respect their property! Is it not that of your Fathers, Mothers, Sisters and Friends!

Soldiers: I feel assured that you will return with fresh laurels to enjoy in peace the fruits of your glorious victories! In the meantime, let your avenging Battle-cry be "*Butler!*" but shout "*Kentucky*" to your kindred and friends.

JOHN H. MORGAN,
Colonel Cavalry, C. S. A.

Copy of an order issued to his men before leading them to take part in the invasion.



Kirby Smith's adventure into Kentucky threw Cincinnati into a panic. Union volunteers from Ohio crossed the Ohio on a bridge of coal barges to fight him off.

THE ROAD BACK

The Confederate Armies Again Move Into Kentucky

By HAMBLETON TAPP

BY LATE SUMMER of 1862, west of the Appalachians, the Confederate fortunes of war had reached a low ebb, with practically the whole of Tennessee, Northern Georgia and Northern Alabama being held by Union armies.

Hoping for an upswing, Southern military leaders reasoned that a bold move into Kentucky might bring relief. A successful stroke should pull Federal armies northward, might gain the rich Bluegrass State for the South, bring about the enlistment of thousands of Kentucky men, gain needed supplies of all kinds, and raise slumping morale everywhere.

Invasion of Kentucky was a most enticing prospect. The colorful cavalry leader, John Hunt Morgan (Page 79), had proved it. His July, 1862, raid was highly romantic. It had brought to the Bluegrass State a great emotional upheaval; women were thrilled; Union officers and men baffled; town after town captured; communication lines cut; a million dollars worth of Federal property destroyed. Morgan, jubilant and sanguine, sent glowing reports to the victory-hungry Confederate leaders in Tennessee.

On August 1, Maj. Gen. Edmund Kirby Smith, commander of the independent Department of East Tennessee, and Maj. Gen. Braxton Bragg, commander of the Army of Tennessee, conferred in Chattanooga. Fourteen days later, Smith moved northward out of Knoxville with a veteran army of 12,000 men, ostensibly to take Cumberland Gap.

The lure of rich Central Kentucky affecting him, Smith struck boldly for the heart of the fabulous Bluegrass. Bragg halfway promised to follow. Bypassing Cumberland Gap, Smith slipped through Rogers Gap to the west and on August 18 occupied Barbourville.

From there, moving through a rocky, barren section of Southeastern Kentucky, his lean, bearded, shoeless, though irrepressible, veterans marched 90 miles in three days, sustained mostly by green corn. On August 30, in three battles immediately south of Richmond, Smith virtually annihilated a Union army of 7,000 raw recruits, hastily collected by Maj. Gen. William Nelson, who had greatly underestimated Smith's speed of movement and strength. Two days later, the ragged yet proud victors marched down Lexington's Main Street, greeted by the cheers of hundreds of overjoyed citizens.

Time being of the essence to him, Smith ordered units of his army to fan out quickly. His dashing cavalry leader, Col. John S. Scott, seized Frankfort, the State capital, shortly after the State officials under Union Democrat Gov. James S. Robinson had escaped with priceless archives to Louisville.

Soon contingents of Scott's squadron were in the vicinity of Shelbyville, and Louisville was in the throes of panic. Maj. Gen. Henry Heth's fresh division rapidly marched northward on the road toward Cincinnati, and outposts were knocking at the gates of Covington. The populace of old "Porkopolis"

Continued On Page 84

From Ansco Collection reprinted in The American Heritage Picture History of The Civil War

Buell, at first not knowing whether to defend Nashville or make for Louisville, moved into Kentucky. Here are his troops crossing the Big Barren.

The Confederates seized Frankfort

THE ROAD BACK *Continued*

across the river rapidly developed wild excitement.

So bright did prospects look to Edmund Kirby Smith that he believed only the presence of Bragg was needed to achieve complete victory. Actually, Bragg, with a splendid army of 28,000 veterans, had begun the move northward from Chattanooga on August 28. Feinting toward Nashville to bewilder Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell and his Union army of perhaps 35,000 men, Bragg, on September 7, swung right at Carthage, Tenn., and struck boldly for Glasgow, Ky., 50 miles away.

Having escaped from Richmond during the evening of his disastrous defeat, William Nelson, wounded and furious, hastened to Louisville to organize into a fighting force the raw levies rapidly being sent in from Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The Falls City (Page 75) was the great Union transportation hub, supply depot and concentration center of the Ohio Valley. Obviously any Confederate general meaning to hold Kentucky must take Louisville.

The hopes of the Union in the West now were pinned upon the taciturn, slight-built Don Carlos Buell, who was at considerable disadvantage in the initial stages of the Bragg-Buell race for Louisville. Not until the 7th was Buell certain that Kentucky, not Nashville, would be Bragg's destination. Certain at last, Buell set his advanced columns in motion from the vicinity of Murfreesboro, Tenn., approximately 100 miles from Glasgow. Thoroughly alert to the serious situation, he demanded rapid and sustained marching. His superb army, veterans of Shiloh, responded magnificently, even though reduced to half rations. On Septmeber 15, his advanced units reached Bowling Green, 65 miles distant. That day the slow-moving Bragg reached Glasgow.

Meanwhile, Buell, refusing to be deterred by local activities, grimly pressed forward toward the teeming, tumultous metropolis on the Ohio. It is remarkable that Bragg did not realize that, in possession of Louisville, Buell would be invulnerable and the chances of the Confederates' holding Kentucky greatly diminished. But he was beset at Glasgow and Munfordville by many problems, not the least of which were chronic migraine headaches, but perhaps most of all indecision. At last, despairing of luring Buell into attacking him in a virtually impregnable position behind Green River, the haggard Bragg turned off the Louisville road to the right and took his army to Bardstown for rest, recuperation and supplies.

From Bardstown, Bragg issued a grandiose proclamation to the people of Kentucky. The document declared that the Confederates had come to the state to free the people, that they should rise to the Southern standard, and, with his help, free the state from the tyrant's yoke of bondage.

But the sons of the "Dark and Bloody Ground" failed to enlist. All the while they poured into Union recruiting stations. Bragg, bitterly disappointed and greatly dispirited, sadly declared: "The people here have too many fat cattle and are too well off to fight."

Smith, in similar vein, concluded: "Their hearts are evidently with us but their blue-grass and fat grass are against us."

Bragg, having established his army near Bardstown, became obsessed with political matters. He spent precious time attempting to establish a Confederate government at Frankfort; actually inaugurated the venerable Richard Hawes (of Bourbon County) as Governor—a hollow and meaningless gesture, as it proved. He did not seem to realize that the initiative had been lost, and that his army was actually in danger.

Buell's leading division reached Louisville on September 25, to the great relief of the city's frightened populace. On the 29th, the last division, accompanied by the stentorian-voiced George H. Thomas, came up—a remarkable march of 170 miles in less than 14 days from Nashville! Regrouping, outfitting, equipping and provisioning completed, Buell's entire army—61,000 strong—was ready to take to the field by September 30.

A part of the Union general's strategy was to deceive Bragg into believing that the Federal attack would fall on Smith near Frankfort. To accomplish this ruse, Buell

Continued On Page 86

The Battle of Munfordville, September 14, 1862, was one of the actions that took place when Buell and Bragg were racing into Kentucky along adjacent lines.

The stage was set for Perryville

THE ROAD BACK *Continued*

dispatched Brig. Gen. Joshua W. Sill's division (7,000 troops), of McCook's corps, from Louisville through Shelbyville and ordered the independent division of Brig. Gen. Ebenezer Dumont to follow. The plan worked admirably —so well, indeed, that Bragg later detached an entire division (James M. Withers') from Polk's corps and sent it to the aid of Smith.

With his three corps, Buell set out on October 1. Because of the scarcity of water, he sent the First Corps, that of Maj. Gen. Alexander McDowell McCook, by way of Taylorsville, Bloomfield and Mackville; the Second (Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden), accompanied by second in command, Gen. Thomas, marched by way of Mount Washington, Bardstown and Lebanon; the Third (Maj. Gen. Charles C. Gilbert moved by way of Shepherdsville, Bardstown, Springfield and Perryville.

On the other side, General Bragg, upon the firm insistence of his two corps commanders, Polk and Hardee, at last agreed that the army might retreat from Bardstown to Harrodsburg, there to form a junction with Kirby Smith.

The Confederate movement from Bardstown was very slow because of a huge wagon train of supplies collected in opulent Kentucky. The rear guard was dislodged by Buell's advanced cavalry units during the late afternoon of October 4. On the march, there was frequent skirmishes, while the ponderous wagon train creaked along.

Beyond Springfield, skirmishing between Confederate cavalry and the van of Gilbert's corps was continuous, becoming more spirited as the pursuing blue column gained. So spirited had it become by early afternoon of October 7 that Hardee, whose advance brigade was entering Perryville, concluded that a halt to give battle was necessary. He dispatched a message to Polk in Harrodsburg requesting reinforcements.

Bragg, having reached that town from Lexington on the 6th, ordered Polk, late in the afternoon of the 7th, to form Wharton's cavalry and Cheatham's division, hasten back to Perryville, and attack immediately with vigor. Maj. Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner, whose division camped on Salt River between Harrodsburg and Perryville, was ordered back to Hardee's aid, also.

A sharp skirmish had occurred on the Springfield Pike 2½ miles west of Perryville on the afternoon of the 7th when the head of Gilbert's column, under Brig. Gen. R. B. Mitchell, dislodged Confederate troops guarding a few pools of precious water in the otherwise dry bed of Doctor's Creek.

During the night, Brig. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's division, also of Gilbert's corps, moved in front of Mitchell on the Springfield Pike toward Perryville. After an energetic skirmish at daylight, Federal troops were in possession of a high ridge beyond Doctor's Creek. Two hours later, however, Confederate Brig. Gen. St. John Liddell's brigade (of Buckner's division) hotly pressed Sheridan, who opened with rifle and artillery fire. The arrival of McCook's corps on the Old Mackville Pike, between 10 and 11 a.m., caused Hardee to recall Liddell, preparatory to a shift of position.

During the night of the 7th, Buell, from his headquarters about three miles west of Perryville on the Springfield Pike, dispatched couriers to McCook (believed camping near the village of Mackville about 10 miles from Perryville) and to Thomas (with Crittenden's corps on the Lebanon Road near the village of Haysville, seven or eight miles from Perryville) with orders to move at 3 a.m. and be prepared in every respect for battle. The necessity of finding water had forced Thomas to leave his course to reach Rolling Fork, delaying delivery of Buell's message. However, Crittenden reported that his corps reached the vicinity of Perryville before noon of the 8th. Buell's orders were for McCook's and Crittenden's corps to form on the left and right of Gilbert respectively.

The stage was set for the bloodiest battle ever fought in Kentucky, and one of the severest clashes of the entire Civil War for the size of the forces involved.

Focal p

Staff Photo By Chief Color Photographer H. Harold D

Focal point of repeated charges at Perryville was the knoll on which the Confederate monument now stands. This posed picture was made the

Perryville: End Of Invasion

The late 1862 Confederate reinvasion of Kentucky, which was started in an effort to relieve pressure against the lines in Tennessee, moved fast at first. Richmond, Lexington and Frankfort were won, Louisville was threatened. But the bid ground to a bloody halt on a hot October day at Perryville. Although neither side could claim a clear-cut victory, Southern forces started retreating from the state two days later. Soldiers who fought there called Perryville one of the most savage battles of the entire war, with Confederate losses slightly less than Union.

Story of the Battle of Perryville follows

Much of the more violent action at Perryville was in the vicinity of this Confederate Memorial in the State park.

Many dead of both sides were left unburied at Perryville. Losses of Union forces were slightly higher.

Bragg miscalculated on the size of the Union forces.

The Blood Bath

By HAMBLETON TAPP

THE Battle of Perryville, the almost chance encounter that brought the Confederate reinvasion of Kentucky to a violent halt, sometimes is called also "The Battle of Chaplin Hills."

The reason for that double name, as well as perhaps the clearest description of the terrain over which the struggle raged, is this account by Confederate Corps Commander William J. Hardee:

"The country near Perryville is boldly undulating, bordered by native forests. A creek called Chaplin Fork flows northwardly through the village unites four or five miles beyond it with another little stream called Doctor's Fork. The space between the two from east to west is about 1½ miles. . . . The position of Perryville is strong, and offered many tactical and strategical advantages. The key to the enemy's position was at a point where the (Old) Mackville Road crosses Doctor's Fork. . . . The autumnal drought left the streams almost dry, only pools of water being found here and there along their channels."

That was the setting in which the most fierce battle of the war in Kentucky was about to be contested that hot, dry October 8 in 1862.

Lines Formed

At 1:30 in the afternoon the Confederate line of battle (perhaps a mile west of Perryville) extended roughly north and south a distance of approximately 3½ miles from the Lebanon Pike to and across what is now the New Mackville Pike. Brig. Gen. Joseph Wheeler's cavalry brigade, on the extreme left, guarded the Springfield, Lebanon and Danville Roads. To his right stood two brigades of Brig. Gen. J. Patton Anderson's division (Samuel Powell's and Daniel W. Adams'), and to Anderson's right were posted two brigades of General Buckner's division (Brig. Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson's and Brig. Gen. Patrick R. Cleburne's). These two brigades —Cleburne's behind Johnson's—formed the Confederate center. Brig. Gens. Daniel S. Donelson's, Alexander P. Stewart's and George Maney's brigades of Maj. Gen. B. F. Cheatham's division held the right, with Brig. Gen. John A. Wharton's cavalry standing on the extreme right flank, immediately to the right of the New Mackville Pike.

To fill a gap, between Buckner's right and Cheatham's left, the brigades of John C. Brown and Thomas Jones, of Anderson's division, and the brigade of S. A. M. Wood, of Buckner's division, were detached and moved in.

At the same time, on the west side of Doctor's Creek, the Union lines were being rapidly formed. Gilbert's corps, utilizing the best terrain possible, was in line of battle soon after noon. Sheridan's division was deployed across, but mostly to the left of, the Springfield Pike, a mile and a half west of Perryville. The right wing of his division connected with Michell's left, which extended in the direction of the Lebanon road. Brig. Gen. Albion Schoepf's division was in reserve behind Sheridan.

General McCook's corps, coming in on the Old Mackville Pike, reached the vicinity of Doctor's Creek between 10 and 11 a.m. His leading division, that of Brig. Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau, deployed across the road, mostly to the right. In selecting a good protective position, Rousseau left a gap of from 300 to 400 yards between his right and Sheridan's left, with Lytle's and Harris' brigades, immediately to the right and left respectively of the old Mackville Pike, somewhat more forward than Sheridan's line and exposed, forming an obtuse angle with the road crossing of the creek at the apex. His position was between the H. P. Bottom residence (at the foot of a hill and to the right of the road near the Creek) and the Russell house (same side of road and at the summit of a slope gradually ascending from Doctor's Creek). Hardee, in his report, stated that this was the key position in the battle.

Many Raw Recruits

The division of Brig Gen. James S. Jackson, as it came up, connected its right with Rousseau's left and extended to the left on a commanding ridge almost to the New Mackville Pike, with Brig. Gen. William R. Terrill's brigade forming the extreme left, the end of which following the ridge (curving forward), formed a crochet to the rear, dangerously exposed—and his troops were mostly raw recruits. Col. John C. Starkweather's brigade took position on a commanding ridge in the rear of and to the left of Terrill.

On high ground, near the junction of Rousseau's and Jackson's lines, Lt. Charles C. Parsons' battery of eight guns was unlimbered. The batteries of Capt. Cyrus O. Loomis and Capt. Peter Simonson (Rousseau's) were placed in front of and near the Russell house. Bush's and Stone's batteries were with Starkweather.

By 1 o'clock, large numbers of McCook's men were moving forward toward Chaplin River and Doctor's Creek on reconnaissance and in search of desperately needed water.

The entire country side was quiet except for the wind. The Confederate batteries, lively as McCook took position, were completely silent. Not a sound came from the valley of Doctor's Creek. General Buell, who had believed that an attack by the "rebels" would be made before 10 a.m., if made that day, was, at 1:30 p.m., apparently under no apprehension. Little did he dream of the feverish activity across the valley.

(He had been thrown from his horse early that morning and obliged to remain at headquarters.)

Nature Conspired

The hills, the woods, and the wind—all nature, it seems—conspired to prevent sounds from reaching the Union lines. The day, which had broken clear and calm and unseasonably hot, was troubled toward noon by a rising wind from the west. By 1 p.m. a "mild gale" was sweeping the ridges, scattering dust and dry leaves everywhere. The wind cooled the hot, swarthy cheeks of the Confederate soldiers, who, across the valley, gripped their rifles and muskets and silently awaited the order to rush forward.

The battle opened at 2 p.m. with a fierce

Bragg's Invasion Ground To A Violent Halt At The Village of Perryville

charge from the Confederates' extreme right wing by Wharton's cavalry. Terrill's reconnaissance party was taken completely by surprise and driven back to its former ill-formed position. The gray cavalrymen having opened the way, Cheatham's entire division plunged forward. Soon the attack became general along the entire line.

Cheatham's men were obliged to climb bluffs immediately west of Doctor's Creek and Chaplin Fork and race over the undulating spaces immediately to the west—the ground near which the Confederate Monument now stands. Then they plunged into a narrow wooded strip to form for the immediate assault. This wooded strip was bounded on the west by a rail fence, and only about 120 yards intervened between it and Jackson's Federal line. The space between was smooth and barren of trees. Parson's battery, as the Confederates were plunging into the wooded strip, was playing havoc.

Rain of Shells

Near the fence, when the Confederate line was in full view, a rain of shell, grape, Minie ball and canister was turned loose such as troops, it is said, scarcely ever before encountered. It was at the fence, when a pause was made, that Cheatham suffered perhaps his greatest loss. Men were dropping by the scores; there was nervousness and uncertainty.

During that trying time Brig. Gen. George Maney rode along the lines. His gallant bearing and encouraging works steadied the faltering men. At his orders they leaped the fence, dressed their lines, and, yelling like demons, impetuously charged over the bullet-swept open space.

The charging Confederate lines withheld small fire until within a few yards of the Union positions and then a death-dealing volley was poured forth on Terrill's raw troops holding the exposed flank. Unable to withstand the desperate assault, the Union troops reeled and gave way, rushing to the rear in headlong panic. Terrill made valiant efforts to reform the broken line, but to no avail.

Terrill, in a last desperate effort to rally the remnant of his command, a mile to the rear in a cornfield, was struck by a shell fragment and his entire left lung shot away. The attack on this part of the field was effectively checked late in the afternoon by Col. John Starkweather whose 28th Brigade was so well posted behind a cornfield that the advancing Confederates were taken both in front and in flank by his murderous fire.

General Gilbert had dined that day with General Buell at the latter's headquarters. Owing to the peculiar conformation of the terrain, and to the direction of the wind, no sound of the battle reached their ears until late afternoon. It was, in fact, about 4 o'clock when the sound of rapid artillery firing, coming up the valley of Doctor's Creek, caused Buell to take serious notice.

Mounting his horse, Gilbert rode rapidly in the direction of the firing, and about a mile down the road he encountered Capt. Horace Fisher galloping at full speed, bearing a message for help from General McCook.

General Rousseau had been fighting desperately before 3 p.m. A part of his line, near where the Old Mackville Road crossed Doctor's Creek, held the spot Hardee had designated the key position. Hardee had ordered the brigades of Johnson and Cleburne massed in front of it. Immediately following Cheatham's forward movement, Johnson's brigade began a furious attack, soon supported by Cleburne's. A portion of Rousseau's troops had taken position behind a rock fence immediately above the Bottom house and were pouring in a deadly fire until a headlong assault, aided by enfilading battery fire, enabled the Confederates to dislodge and drive them up the hill toward the Russell house.

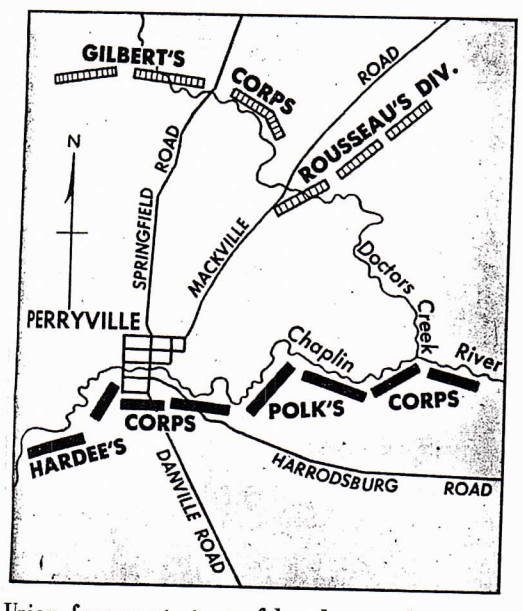
Troops Worn Out

The fighting along the hill was particularly sanguinary. Both Johnson and Cleburne were wounded, Cleburne being borne from the field. The fire from Loomis' Union battery before the Russell house was murderous, but the desperate gray charge continued, although at times halted momentarily. The Federal troops were driven to their original position near the Russell house, before which was an open field. The Confederates quickly moved forward and unlimbered a battery (of the famous Washington Artillery) in plain view of, and only a short distance from, their adversaries.

From this position a storm of canister was poured into the faces of Rousseau's troops. Col. Curran Pope's 15th Kentucky Regiment replied with a withering fire from near a hay-filled barn, until a bursting shell from the newly-placed Confederate battery set fire to the barn, and the heat forced his Union troops to retire.

The fire from Johnson's brigade now became more destructive, visibly thinning Rousseau's ranks at every volley. Not only were his blue ranks becoming decimated, but his troops, in repeated counter-charges, had fought to exhaustion. He could not hold his position. On his left, Jackson's division had been driven

Continued on following pages



Union forces at start of battle are shown in light blocks, Southerners in dark blocks.

The battle had been raging for nearly two hours before Don Carlos Buell, Union leader, realized a major engagement was developing in the area.

General Philip H. Sheridan received his baptism of fire at Perryville.

The final charge of the day was made by the Confederates

back, and his own right, not being in close contest with Sheridan, was being flanked. The remnant of Rousseau's division, being relieved, retired in good order beyond the Russell house, a distance of nearly a mile.

Col. Curran Pope, commander of the gallant 15th, earlier in the struggle had received a mortal wound. Both Lt. Col. William P. Campbell and Maj. George P. Jouett, son of the famous artist, Matthew Jouett, were killed.

General Sheridan, on the Union right, found himself hard-pressed soon after the opening of the battle, and after 4 o'clock his division seemed about to be dislodged at the point of the bayonet, when aid arrived and saved it.

It was late in the afternoon when Col. Michael Gooding and the 30th Brigade (Mitchell's division), accompanied by Capt. Oscar F. Pinney's Fifth Wisconsin Battery, marched at double-quick time from behind Sheridan's line to the support of General McCook. It was toward dusk that Gooding took position to the left of the Russell house and across the Old Mackville Pike. He was entirely unsupported except for Pinney's battery, posted on high ground above. The beginning of Gooding's action marked the beginning of perhaps the bloodiest contest of the day.

"One after one," runs Gooding's report, "my men were cut down. . . . Almost hand-to-hand they fought five times their number, often charging upon them with such fearlessness and impetuosity as would force them to reel and give way, but as fast as they were cut down their ranks were filled with fresh ones."

The last charge of the day was made by Confederate General St. John R. Liddell, who rushed forward from behind the left of Cheatham's lines to attack McCook's broken contingents. In the confusion following, many Federal soldiers—with their arms, colors, and baggage, even the papers and baggage of General McCook—were captured.

At last, due to intense darkness, firing gradually ceased. Confederate sentries were posted 50 yards from the Union lines, fires were lighted at intervals, and everything indicated that the Confederate attack would be resumed at daybreak.

But Bragg at long last realized he was facing almost the whole of Buell's army. Convinced that Thomas and Crittenden had arrived and taken position, and knowing that the Federal leader would be on hand with a fresh and powerful array at daybreak, Bragg decided to withdraw to Harrodsburg. The movement began at midnight.

In number of men engaged and the proportionate number of losses, the advantage at the close of the battle was in Bragg's favor. The number of Confederates engaged was 16,000. Of this total, 3,396 casualties were sustained: 510 killed; 2,635 wounded; 251 missing. The Federals, who had used only 22,000 of their

...rates; then darkness enveloped the bloody field

...to reel
...ere cut
...n ones."
...ade by
...ell, who
left of
broken
...g, many
...rs, and
...age of

...firing
...s were
...s, fires
...ng indi-
...uld be

...was fac-
...y. Con-
...had ar-
...g that
...with a
Bragg
...The

...propor-
...at the
...r. The
16,000.
...tained:
...g. The
...f their

approximate 61,000, had sustained a loss of 4,241: 845 killed; 2,851 wounded; 515 captured or missing 515.

The comparison of casualties is significant when it is remembered that the Confederates were the aggressors. However, Bragg had the selection of the ground and had made the most of it, although his troops were obliged for the most part to charge up steep hills.

The Union divisions forming the left wing under McCook were badly cut up and not fit for immediate service, a condition which helped to delay the Federal army's moving for four days—until October 12. According to Buell's account of the battle, all the Union force engaged had "a good number of new regiments."

Bragg was bitterly assailed in the South for his failure to hold Kentucky. Buell not only was the recipient of wholesale abuse in the North, but was so far held responsible for the Confederate army's safe exit from Kentucky that he was relieved of his command.

Many strange traditions have grown from the battle. One story of long standing and accepted as true by many is to the effect that the two generals were brothers-in-law; and another, widely accepted in certain sections of Kentucky, is that Buell and Bragg, on the night preceding the battle, slept together at Harrodsburg. Neither of these rumors has the slightest basis of fact.

Before the engagement began, the frightened folk of Perryville had fled. On the day following the battle, they returned to behold a ghastly spectacle. Many found their houses torn to pieces; some of those fit for occupancy were crowded with dead and wounded. They heard groans of pain and anguish rise from the throats of the wounded. They saw the physicians and surgeons, who had been summoned from all the surrounding towns, wearily rendering aid and plying their work of amputating legs and arms.

Unburied Dead

A spectator who was at Perryville on that day thus recalled the scene: "I can remember seeing Dr. J. P. Hughes of Springfield at the old Jordon Peters home, in the yard under trees, at a large table assisting in amputating limbs, and my! what a pile of arms and legs!"

At Harrodsburg, the homes, churches, and hotels were converted into hospitals; sympathetic matrons and girls of the neighborhood served as nurses.

The most gruesome sight was seen west of Perryville along the hills and in the ravines. A fallen army, the bodies twisted, blood-stained and mangled, dotted the surface of that countryside. The day following the battle most of the Union slain were buried along the Springfield Pike. Shortly thereafter most of them were disinterred and reburied in the United States Military cemeteries at Camp Nelson and Lebanon. Most of the Confederate dead were left on the battlefield. Three days after the conflict a traveler passing through the field was shocked at seeing their bodies lying around, twisted and blackened.

The Confederate retreat was by way of Crab Orchard, London, Barbourville and Cumberland Gap. If anything could extenuate Bragg's withdrawal, it was the immense amount of booty carried out of Kentucky.

"It is said that his spoils loaded nearly 4,000 wagons with the plunderings of dry-goods stores, groceries, etc.," it was reported.

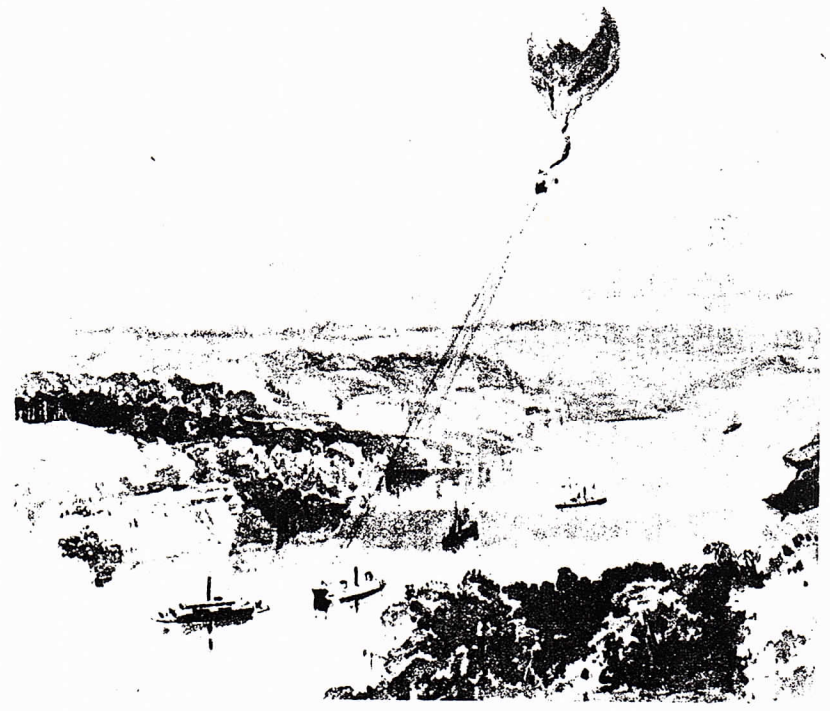
40 Miles Of Loot

The Richmond, Va., Examiner boasted that his train was 40 miles long, and brought a million yards of jeans, boots and shoes, clothing, bacon. From one house in Lexington more than $100,000 worth of jeans and linseys were taken. Trains of wagons were moving out of the various towns of Central Kentucky day and night, and Lexington furnished the richest harvest the Confederates had during the war.

General Buell followed the Confederates cautiously, scarcely able to believe that Bragg was retreating from the state. Thanks to Joe Wheeler, the "rebel" withdrawal was ably screened and the rear adequately protected. Once the tired, discouraged grays reached the hill country, Buell dared not risk a battle, claiming that the topography of the land from Crab Orchard southward placed a pursuing army attacking hill positions selected by a retreating army at a distinct disadvantage. He continued as far as London, then, anticipating Bragg's moving into Middle Tennessee, swung southwestward and had reached Bowling Green by October 30, the day on which he was ordered by the War Department to turn over his command to Maj. Gen. W. S. Rosecrans.

Jefferson Davis, in the teeth of universal opposition, kept Bragg in command after the failure in Kentucky; however, no "friends in court" were available to defend Buell. "Radical" politicians clamored for his removal. Morton, Stanton and Hallock sought his "scalp," and Lincoln was ready to listen; moreover, Buell had been associated with the War Department during Buchanan's administration, and he was a Democrat! Finally he had not won a "signal victory with great slaughter"—one that would help win elections for Administration men.

Perryville was a sleepy village until the armies came to grips nearby.



South's first balloonist wanted new duty after first flight but was denied on grounds he was the only experienced man in army.

The Screwballs Were There, Too

By JOE CREASON

EVEN though it was one of the bloodiest and bitterest fratricidal struggles in history—with nearly 600,000 total deaths—the Civil War was not without its flashes of humor, its lighter side.

Incidents arose at the most unexpected times to break tensions and to prove that, regardless of circumstances, the American sense of humor shines through even the black clouds of war.

For instance, there was the time Humphrey Marshall, who only recently had resigned as a general to serve in the Confederate Congress, was addressing the colorful Fourth Cavalry Regiment.

"We must," he orated, "push the war to a successful conclusion even if we have to wade waist deep in blood."

"General," a trooper called from the back of the group, "that's too damn deep for me—I only contracted to go in up to my knees."

Many Kept Diaries

The soldiers who fought in the war were great hands at keeping diaries in which they recorded the most intimate details. Perhaps the finest description of the reaction of raw recruits in going into battle for the first time was entered in his log by George D. Mosgrove, a Louisvillian with the Fourth Kentucky Confederates when the regiment saw its initial action in 1862.

"Finding we were close upon the enemy, with a chance of intercepting him," Mosgrove wrote, "the command dashed forward at a trot.

"It was here that, for nearly a mile, the road was strewn with playing cards which the boys, believing they were going into bloody battle, had thrown away, not wishing to ushered into the presence of God with t condemnatory cards in their pockets."

However, the men of the Fourth Kentuc matured quickly for the many battles that l ahead, Mosgrove explained in his next ent

"As a faithful chronicler, I must state th after the 'scrimmage' was over, the bo gathered up the cards and never threw the away again."

The most casual bit of diary reporting mu be credited to Col. Irving A. Buck, the a jutant on the staff of Confederate Gen. Patri Cleburne at the Battle of Richmond, Ky., August, 1862.

"A rifle ball," Buck noted off-hand in wr ing of the battle, "entered Cleburne's le cheek, carrying away his teeth on that sid and emerging through his mouth which, fo tunately, happened to be open in speaking the time."

"Mudwall" Jackson

Like soldiers in wars before and sinc Civil War troops had some leaders th idolized, some they despised. They were e tremely salty in their remarks about tho they disliked.

Confederate Gen. Alfred E. Jackson w nicknamed "Mudwall" because, as one soldi explained, ". . . he was slow and of an i ferior, vacillating mind and was called 'Mu wall' in contradistinction to the immort 'Stonewall.' "

The Union Army general staff, too, had i leaders who weren't held in highest esteer One was Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks, another i decisive type who, because of the characte

Continued On Page 9

Longer bayonets were suggested to Grant

istic, had his initials changed by his men to stand for "Nothing Positive."

Incidentally, Banks was the recipient of one of the strangest messages sent in the war. It was he who headed ground troops that were part of a 28,000-man Union army-navy force which, in 1864, set out to push up the Red River from Alexandria to Shreveport, La., in an effort to divide the Confederacy west of the Mississippi River.

In the 20-mile-long column of men and supplies, Banks took along two wagons loaded with paper collars for his officers.

The force was set upon by Confederates under Kentucky-born Gen. Richard Taylor, son of President Zachary Taylor and brother-in-law of Jefferson Davis. The first things captured were the two wagons of paper collars. That consignment was returned immediately to Banks with this note:

"We have baked, boiled and fried them and find they cannot be eaten."

Solid Comfort

While it was war and supposedly hell, some men believed in roughing it in solid comfort. When an Alabama regiment went on foot from Richmond to the First Battle of Manassas, one corpulent corporal led his troops shaded by a large umbrella carried by a Negro slave.

Many notable firsts—first organized medical care, rifled artillery, machine gun, ironclad naval vessels, to name a few—came from the war. It also marked the first time aerial reconnaissance with balloons was used.

The first Confederate balloonist was subjected to heavy enemy fire and numerous close calls on his maiden flight over Union lines. Back on the ground, he asked to be relieved of the dangerous duty.

"Absolutely not," said Gen. Joseph Johnston. "You're the only experienced balloonist in the Confederate Army."

Numerous crackpot schemes were offered Lincoln, Grant and other Union leaders for conquering the Confederacy. Two were especially fantastic.

One lady wrote Lincoln suggesting that a high wall be built around Richmond, and then enough water pumped inside the enclosure from the James River to drown all citizens and soldiers.

Grant was offered this advice: supply Union soldiers with bayonets a foot longer than those of the Confederates, who, then, in theory, would be unable to reach them.

War In The Raw

Occasions of great bravery were numerous. But Civil War soldiers sometimes knew fear. A Confederate soldier was being questioned about the claim that he ran away in the Battle of Chickamauga.

"Hell, yes, I ran," he admitted. "Those who didn't still are there."

The gentle nature of Lincoln showed many times during the dark war years. He was especially averse to approving the death penalty for cowardice — "legs cases," he called them—in which soldiers ran away in battle. His aversion was illustrated in the remark he made in remitting the death sentence set against one young man.

"It," he opined, "would frighten the poor fellow too terribly to kill him."

One of the truly unusual battles of the war occurred at Burkesville, Ky., in 1863. Confederates under Capt. Tom Quirk, a scout for John Hunt Morgan, were on the opposite side of the flooded Cumberland River from elements of Kentucky-born Frank Wolford's Union cavalry.

In an effort to surprise the Yanks, the Confederates lashed canoes together with fence rails, removed all their clothing and loaded it with rifles and ammunition on the crude rafts, and started across the river under cover of darkness.

The raiders were detected at about the moment they touched ashore. The men snatched their arms and rushed into battle without having time to dress.

As far as is known, it was the only time during the war that nude soldiers participated in a battle.

The Orphan Brigade

The First Kentuckians were just about the best troops that the South could find

By ALBERT D. KIRWAN

After leaving Kentucky, the "Orphans" did not return. Here they are shown in camp.

ONE OF THE most celebrated bands of fighting men in the Civil War was the First Kentucky, or Orphan Brigade.

The origin of its name is uncertain. One veteran, writing many years later, stated that the name was given the brigade by its division commander, John C. Breckinridge, at the battle of Stone's River in January, 1863. According to this account Breckinridge, contemplating his broken unit after its bloody repulse on the afternoon of January 2, exclaimed, "My poor orphans!"

But the official historian offers a more plausible explanation. "Its attitude toward its native state," he said, "expatriated by reason of identification with a cause which Kentucky had not formally approved; its complete isolation from its people; its having been time and again deprived of its commander by transfer to other service or death in battle—these . . . may have suggested the name." Whether this adequately explains the origin of the name or not, certain it is that during almost its entire existence the Brigade was "orphaned" from home. After its retreat from Bowling Green in February, 1862, its members never set foot on their native soil again until after the surrender.

The Brigade was organized on October 28, 1861, at Bowling Green from the various independent regiments of Kentucky volunteers which had been raised during the summer of 1861 in southern Kentucky and across the border in Tennessee. Originally it consisted of the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth (later the Ninth), and Sixth regiments of infantry,

Continued on following pages

Once it left Kentucky, the brigade never came back into this state

Graves' and Cobbs' batteries of artillery, and the First Kentucky cavalry together with John Hunt Morgan's cavalry squadron. John C. Breckinridge, the brigade's first leader, assumed command on November 16, 1861.

After the promotion of Breckinridge to major general in the spring of 1862, Roger W. Hanson of Winchester, Ky., colonel of the Second Regiment, was made commander of the brigade. He was mortally wounded at Stone's River in January, 1863, and Lincoln's brother-in-law, Ben Hardin Helm, of Elizabethtown, Ky., succeeded to the command. Helm soon became the idol of his men, and was probably the best loved of all their leaders. But he was killed at Chickamauga in September, 1863, and Col. Joseph H. Lewis, of the Sixth Regiment, succeeded to the command and held it until the end of the war.

Far-Flung Service

It is doubtful if any other brigade in the Confederate Army saw such continuous and far-flung service as did the Orphans. Starting out from Bowling Green in the autumn in 1862 they fought in every major engagement in the West from Shiloh to Atlanta. During the intervening years they had marched, fought, and bled from one end of Tennessee to the other, through the burning hot sands of Mississippi and Louisiana, over the rough foothills and mountains of north Alabama and Georgia to the sea, and in the dying months of the war through the swamps of the Carolinas.

This closing chapter of the war in the West is a story of blind, unreasoning, almost superhuman courage and fortitude on the part of the men who fought on for what had for some time been a hopeless cause. Yet they seemed until the very end unable to grasp the meaning of defeat. The surprise and shock with which the Orphans received news of the surrender was indeed pathetic. They were sure, even on the last day, that right was on their side and that, somehow, in some way, right would triumph. The surrender was, one of them wrote, "the darkest day of our lives."

The saga of the Orphan Brigade reveals that it was no ordinary body of men, even in such a worthy company as the Army of Tennessee. The men of the Orphan Brigade were volunteers in the purest meaning of that term. In the beginning all Confederate, as all Union soldiers, were volunteers. But as the early romantic impressions of war and early enthusiasm of patriotism waned conscription became necessary. The Confederate states began conscripting early in 1862, and from that time on as attrition depleted the ranks of the old volunteer units, they were refilled with the fruits of the Conscription Act.

One of the most popular commanders of the "Orphans" was Brig. Gen. Hardin Helm.

But the Orphans had all joined up in the first year of the war. Kentucky at the time had declared her neutrality, and sentiment in the state was pro-Union, soon to become overwhelmingly so. There was, therefore, little pressure on them, even of sentiment, impelling them to enlist. Indeed, they went in many cases in opposition to the wishes of their families and friends and the opinion of their community. Whether they went from constitutional conviction or from emotional attachment to a cause matters little; they were determined and devoted men, the circumstances of whose enlistment were quite different from those whose states had seceded. Furthermore, the Confederacy was without power to enforce the draft in Kentucky. Consequently, as battle and disease took their toll in the Brigade, the vacant places were not filled with unwilling draftees; they were simply left vacant, and the survivors closed ranks and carried on. The regiments comprising the Brigade at their organization had counted approximately 5,000 men. When they left Dalton in May, 1864, this number had dwindled to 1,420. At the time of the surrender there were fewer than 300.

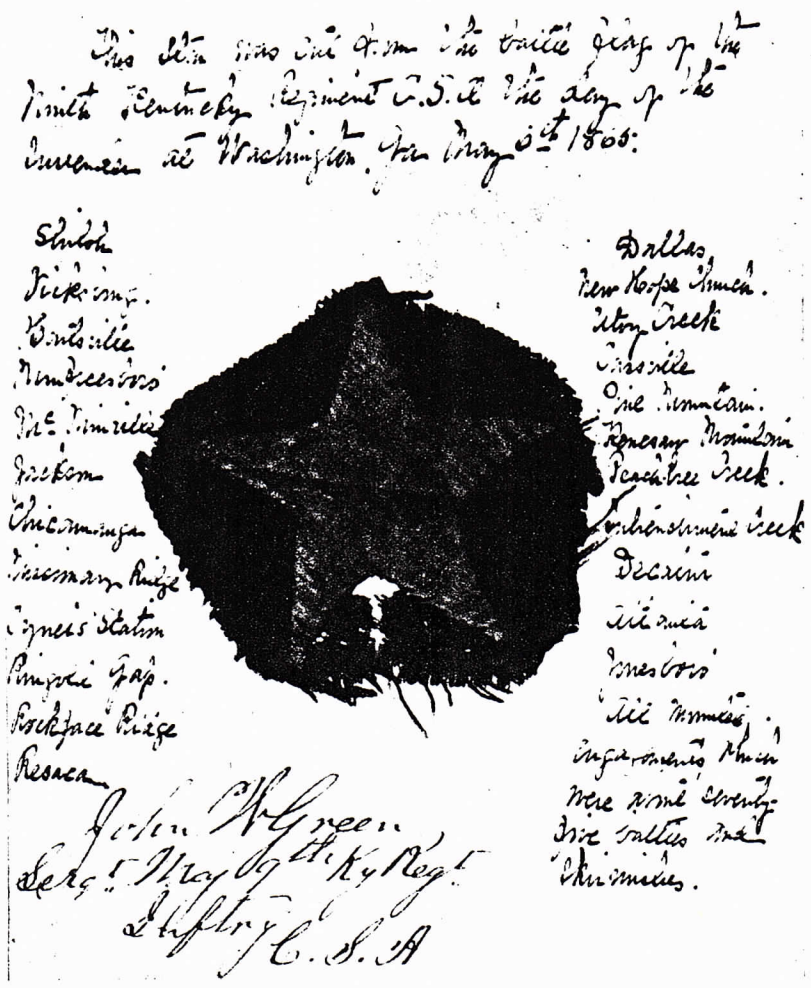
Ever Enthusiastic

Despite this heavy attrition the enthusiasm and discipline of the Orphans never waned. General Joe Wheeler, under whom they served in the Savannah campaign, wrote, "No men in the Confederate States have marched more, fought more, suffered more, or had so little opportunities for discipline; yet they are today as orderly and as well disciplined as any cavalry in the Confederate service. . . . I must particularly commend my Kentucky troops, who . . . I brought from the Coosa River to Savannah without a single desertion."

Braxton Bragg was never popular with the Orphans and saw little of them before the winter of 1862-63. They had fought, of course, at Shiloh, but not in his corps. Shortly thereafter they had been sent to Mississippi and were there during his Kentucky campaign (Page 83) and he did not see them again until he reached Murfreesboro in November, 1862. Yet two months later at Stone's River he carefully selected them as "our best troops" for the climactic but disastrous charge on the Union left on January 2. Bragg's chief-of-staff called the brigade "the elite of the Confederate Army."

General D. H. Hill saw the Orphans in battle only once, at Chickamauga. Hill had commanded a famed division of his own the year before in Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, and had been associated with such noted units as Jackson's Stonewall Brigade, Hampton's Legion, and Hood's Fighting Texans. But after watching Ben Hardin Helm's troops repulsed as they threw themselves again and again on General George Thomas's barricaded position his admiration was unbounded and he thought he had never seen their equal. Years later he recalled their "unsurpassed and unsurpassable valor" and credited them with setting the stage for Longstreet's great victory on the other flank. It was their incessant pressure on Thomas, he said, which convinced Rosecrans that the bulk of the Confederate Army was concentrated there and caused him to weaken his own right to meet it, thus opening the gate for Longstreet's sweep. "Never," he said, had he seen "noble troops led on a more desperate 'forlorn-hope'

The Orphan Brigade fought at Shiloh. The drawing shows John C. Breckinridge, third from left, then the unit commander, conferring with other officers the night before the bloody struggle.



This star was cut from the battle flag of the Ninth Kentucky, part of the brigade, on May 6, 1865, the date of its surrender.

against odds in numbers and superiority in position and equipment," than Helm's and Cleburne's that day.

General Joseph E. Johnston, on the other hand, had seen the Orphans tested over a long period. They had been with him in Mississippi in the summer of 1863. They had spent the next winter with him at Dalton and were to be daily with him in the eight weeks of almost constant battle from that place to Atlanta. When Breckinridge was transferred to Virginia early in 1864, he asked Johnston to let him take the Kentuckians with him on the understanding that President Davis would replace them with an "equivalent" brigade. "The President has no equivalent for it," Johnston replied. "It is the best brigade in the Confederate Army." Years later Johnston stated that the Orphan Brigade was the finest body of men and soldiers he ever saw in any army anywhere. And when Secretary of War James A. Seddon suggested, in January, 1864, converting the Orphans into cavalry and sending them on a mission into Kentucky in order to bring out a large body of new recruits Johnston vetoed the suggestion. He wrote that he would not exchange the Brigade for "the 7,000 or 8,000 mounted men it is proposed to raise by abolishing it." At the time the brigade numbered only 1,065 effectives.

Probably the greatest tribute paid the Orphans came from a distinguished scientist, Nathaniel Shaler, the noted Harvard geologist and anthropologist, himself a native Kentuckian whose sympathies were with the Union during the war. He had made an intensive study of the history of the Orphan Brigade, and he concluded that it was "as trustworthy a body of infantry as ever marched or stood in the line of battle." He pointed out that in the hundred days of the Atlanta campaign it was almost continuously in action or on the march. More than 1,100 strong at the beginning of that campaign, the brigade suffered 1,860 fatal or hospital wounds. At the end of that time "there were less than 50 men who had not been wounded during the hundred days." Yet 240 men were present for duty and fewer than 10 had deserted.

"A search into the history of warlike exploits," Shaler wrote, "has failed to show me any endurance to the worst trial of wars surpassing this. . . . The men of this campaign were at each stage of their retreat going farther from their firesides. It is easy for men to bear great trials under circumstances of victory. Soldiers of ordinary goodness will stand several defeats; but to endure the despair which such adverse conditions bring for a hundred days demands a moral and physical patience which, so far as I have learned, has never been excelled in any other army."

From Chicago Historical Society, reprinted in The American Heritage History of The Civil War

This old print shows slaves being sold at Jamestown, Va., in 1852. Slavery came over the mountains into Kentucky early; in 1800 there were 40,000 here.

An End To Slavery

Although slaves in Kentucky were treated well, thousands deserted their masters as soon as Civil War guns boomed a note of freedom

By J. WINSTON COLEMAN

NEGRO SLAVERY existed in all the American colonies, and when Kentucky was admitted into the Federal Union in June, 1792, the "peculiar institution" was firmly written into the state's new constitution.

It spread naturally from Virginia into Kentucky. As settlers poured over the Wilderness Road and over Smith's wagon road to Central Kentucky, eager to acquire the rich virgin lands, build homesteads and cultivate the fertile fields, they brought along their human chattels, livestock and household goods.

In the spring of 1777, Capt. John Cowan, a visitor at Harrod's Fort, made the first census ever taken into the Western country, which showed there were 19 slaves in a total population of nearly 200 people, in the first principal organized settlement in Kentucky. Few families, however, had in this pioneer period more than one or two slaves, since the plantation system had not yet been developed; they were used more in the manner of free laborers. Master and slave often fought side by side in the defense of their homes and loved ones against their common enemy, the red man.

With the closing of the American Revolution, large numbers of settlers flocked into Kentucky, bringing their household goods, their slaves, their domestic animals and, later their books and even their printing presses.

By 1790, Kentucky's slave population numbered around 12,000 out of a total population of 75,000 whites. Here, in the newly opened up country of Kentucky, the patriarchal type of slavery prevailed and it appears that this system of bondage was the mildest among any of the Southern States.

By 1800 there were fully 220,000 inhabitants of Kentucky, of whom 40,000 were "persons held to service" for life.

During the antebellum days, the population of Kentucky was divided, generally, into slaveholders, nonslaveholders on principle, wage earners, poor whites, slaves, and free Negroes. Of the slaveholder class there were various grades, ranging all the way from the modest master of only one slave to the "quality folks" who were known far and wide for their wealth and position, as well as for the number of their slaves.

A Kentucky plantation was a compact and practically self-sustaining unit. It had its own labor supply, with its carpenters, blacksmiths, farm hands, cobblers, weavers and other manufacturing artisans. Here in such a community the Negroes were well fed and clothed and when ill, were cared for by the neighborhood doctor, usually the same, indeed, who attended the planter's own family. There were gardeners, coachmen, hostlers, nurses, chambermaids, butlers, washerwomen, ironers, seamstresses and a cook with one or two assistants.

From an economic point of view, Kentucky was not suited to the development of slavery. Agricultural conditions and the climate of the state were not suited to the profitable all-the-year-round employment of slave labor. There were few large plantations. By far the larger number of slave owners held less than five slaves each. Out of 38,456 slaveholders in Kentucky in 1850, only 53 owned from 50 to 100 slaves, and only five owned more than 100 blacks. It was more of a domestic than a commecial institution.

Prices of slaves in Kentucky varied according to age, physical condition, sex, color and qualifications. During the 1840's, slaves in Fayette County brought from $100 to $850 for males from 3 years to 60; females from $100 to $650. Highly skilled blacksmiths or bricklayers often sold for $1600 to $2,000, and even higher. For the decade preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, Kentucky-bred slaves rose higher in price than at any other period, many individuals commanding prices of $1,000 to $1,200 each.

When convinced that slavery in Kentucky had outlived its usefulness, the problem arose among the slaveholders of disposing of their excess slaves without financial loss. After the War of 1812, there grew a large demand for slaves to work the great cotton and sugar-cane plantations of the Deep South. This followed a slow decline in the price of tobacco, and a rapid increase in prices of cotton and cane. Numerous Kentucky slave owners now realized a chance to sell their slaves down the river, beginning as early as 1816.

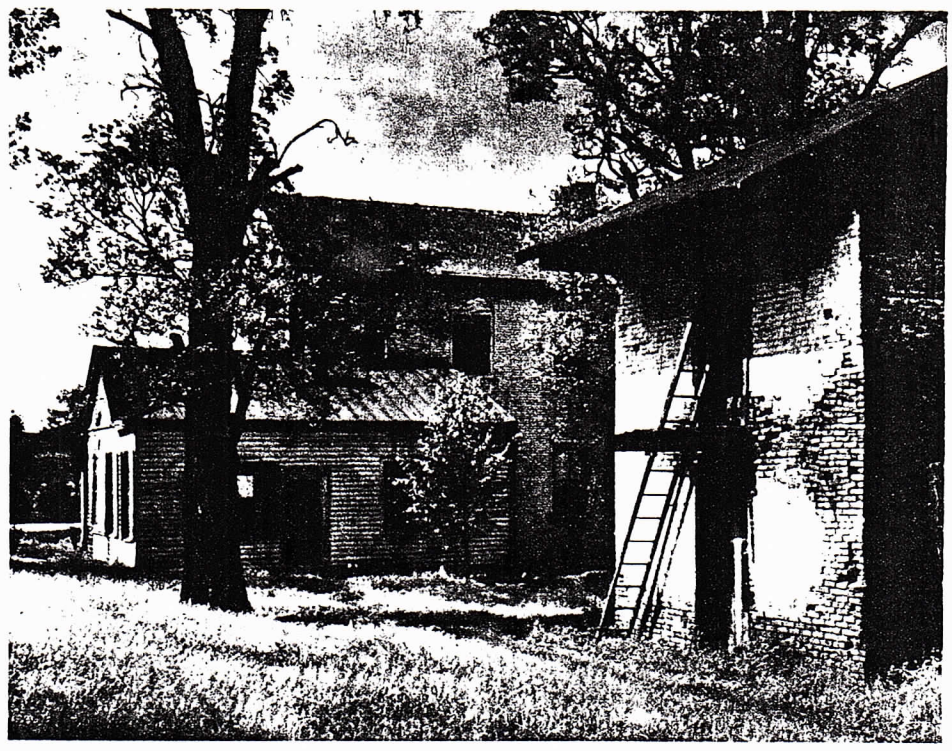
Although most Kentucky slaveholders were adverse to selling slaves to the Southern markets, the great profits realized overcame the scruples of many men, and the traffic between Kentucky and the lower South in the years 1840-1860 reached a tremendous volume. One Kentucky historian estimated that over 3,000 slaves from this state were sold annually to the Southern markets. The Nonimportation Act of 1833 prohibited the bringing of slaves into Kentucky for the purposes of sale. Slave dealers had to depend up on the natural increase of slaves to satisfy the ever-growing Southern demand. In 1849, however, the act of 1833 was repealed and Kentucky again became an active slave-selling state.

By 1800, there were fully 1,700 free Negroes in Kentucky; those who had been emancipated by wills of their owners and those who purchased their freedom from their masters by money saved working on various jobs. The "free man of color," was a serious misfit in any slaveholding community. In 1829, the Kentucky Colonization Society was formed for the disposal of the liberated blacks to transport them to far-off Liberia on the western coast of Africa. A colony was formed in Liberia called "Kentucky in Liberia" with "Clay Ashland" the capital, in honor of Henry Clay and his Fayette County home. But the efforts of the Society in transplanting the freed blacks to Africa ended in a dismal failure; only 658 emigrants from Kentucky were sent over to Liberia during the years 1829-1859, a little less than 22 a year.

Despite the benign treatment given Ken-

Continued On Page 100

Harriet Beecher Stowe saw a slave sold on the steps of the old Courthouse at Washington, Ky., and wrote her famous book "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to protest all slavery.



The building on the right was believed to have been the house in which the Negro who became "Uncle Tom" lived when Mrs. Stowe visited the state.

A general named Palmer did much to end slavery in this state

SLAVERY *Continued*

tucky slaves, freedom and liberty were often the bondsmen's uppermost thoughts. From soldiers returning from the War of 1812, they learned that there was freedom beyond the Great Lakes in Canada. To help the slaves escape from their Kentucky masters and reach Canada, there were numerous people who banded together to form the mysterious Underground Railroad. This "railroad" was a highly developed and thoroughly organized transportation system by means of which hundreds of Kentucky slaves were secretly spirited northward in their frantic escape to freedom.

Its personnel comprised hundreds of men and women who were willing to fight slavery with their lives and property and, despite the drastic laws which made the road illegal, the system grew from an obscure trickle of private humanitarianism into a powerful interstate organization. Once they crossed the Ohio River, they were oftentimes in the hands of friends, and well on their way to freedom. Kentucky, it was estimated, lost "as much as $200,000 annually" by the Underground Railroad, and a New Orleans paper reported in 1860 that "1,500 slaves have escaped annually for the last 15 years, at a loss to the South of at least $40,000,000."

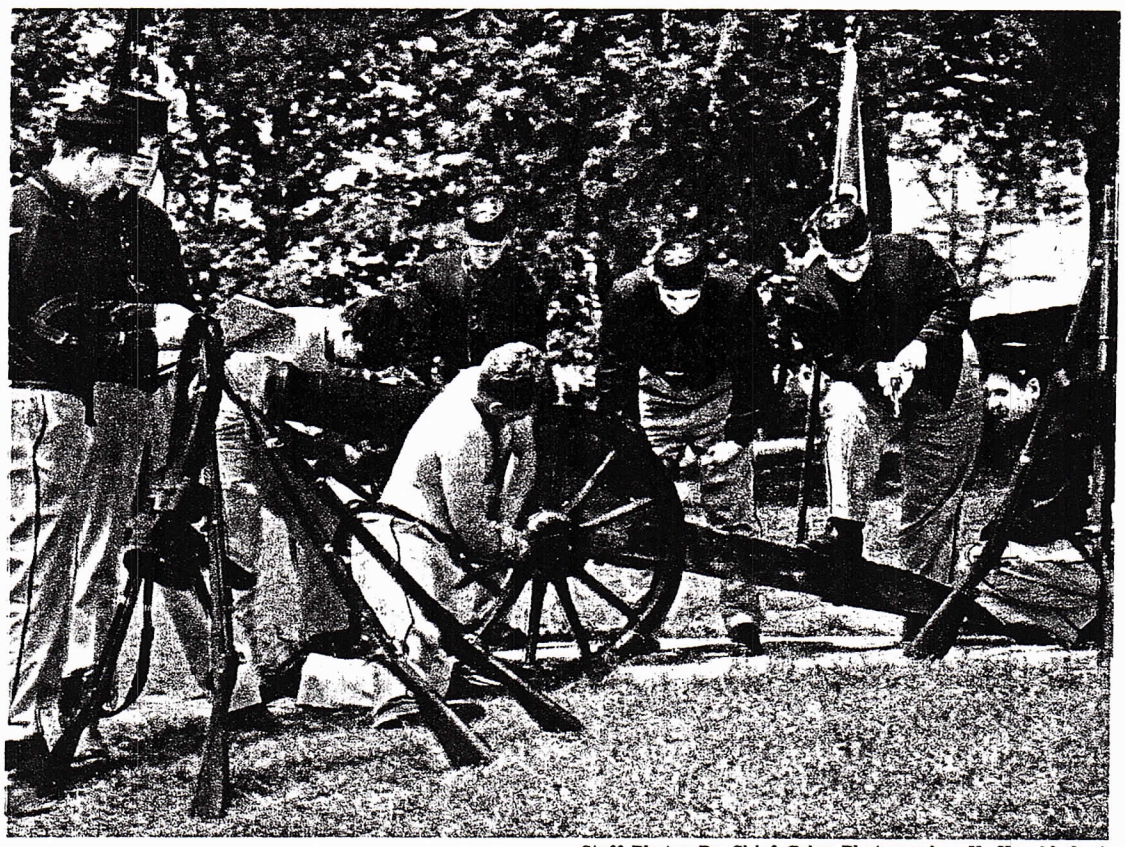
With the coming of the Civil War, numbers of Kentucky slaves deserted their masters and flocked to the Federal camps around the larger cities. They were looked upon as contrabands of war. On January 1, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued his famous Emancipation Proclamation which applied only to the states in rebellion; it did not apply to Kentucky. But from that time on slavery in Kentucky was practically de-moralized, although not yet legally abolished.

Efforts on the part of Kentucky to abolish slavery during the war had ended not only in failure but in bitter dissention. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which was to end human slavery throughout the nation, was submitted to the states by Congress in February, 1865, and remained a subject of controversy until it was finally passed on December 18, 1865, when 27 of the 36 states ratified it.

Following General Lee's surrender at Appomattox in April, 1865, great crowds of Negroes, with their wives and children poured into Louisville, with the notion that they would then and there be formally set free. Many had left the plantations where they had been raised and had no means of support. Their presence created quite a public hazard. General John M. Palmer, military commander for the District of Kentucky, issued a number of passes, one of which (General Orders No. 32) permitted the Negroes and slaves an all-out freedom, allowing them to go where they pleased, to cross over the Ohio River into Ohio and Indiana, and to seek employment wherever they wished. He was charged with having issued 20,000 passes, for which he collected various sums of money. General Palmer's "passes" created undue rest among the citizens and slaveholders; several suits were entered against the Federal general and one for $70,000 for the loss of slaves leaving their masters on the passes to go into Ohio territory.

Palmer did much, however, to hasten the end of the "peculiar institution" and to rid the state of the system of human bondage which had been in existence in Kentucky for well over three-quarters of a century.

Latter-day members of the 2d Kentucky Cavalry, John Hunt Morgan's outfit, pose around a bivouac campfire. Serious students of the war, the men of the group meet regularly to drill and to study the history of the troubled times. Most of them reside in the Covington-Greater Cincinnati area.



Staff Photos By Chief Color Photographer H. Harold Davis

Another group of Civil War hobbyists, members of the 1st Ohio Artillery, pose for this just-before-the-battle shot by polishing a cannon at Perryville Battlefield State Park.

It Wasn't All Grim

The Civil War was a fierce fratricidal struggle which claimed some 600,000 lives overall. But it wasn't all fighting. Interspersing the more than 400 battles and skirmishes in Kentucky were long days and weeks of watching and waiting. In such times the troops checked and cleaned their equipment, wrote letters home and prepared for the decisive struggle for control of Kentucky, a key state in the plans of both warring sections.

THE CIVIL WAR: A

A new type of war, delusions as to cotton, and poor civil leadership harmed the South

By CLEMENT EATON

WHEN the Southern Confederacy entered the Civil War the people had a very unrealistic view of the problems ahead of them.

They held firmly to the illusions that, since cotton was king, the European customers would come to the aid of the young nation; that the Northern people would make poor soldiers; that the Southern spirit would enable them to win despite their great inferiority in manpower and industrial resources, and that the war would be short.

In fact, college boys hastened to quit their books and join the army, fearful that the war would be over before they could gain glory.

Although the preponderance of advantage was with the North, the Confederacy had some formidable assets. Many of the Southern men were hunters, accustomed to firearms and to riding horses; the Negroes, instead of rebelling as many Northerners anticipated, were loyal and rendered invaluable service; the long coastline was difficult to blockade, and the Union navy never completely closed the Southern ports.

Perhaps most valuable of all was the military tradition in the South that produced a superior set of officers. It may seem preposterous today that the South could have hoped for success when the white manpower of the section was approximately one-fourth the manpower of the nation and the industrial capacity only 10 per cent of that of the United States. Yet any country has a spiritual advantage over a foe when it is defending the homeland, as the South was doing. Moreover, there are many imponderables in the game of war. One of these is leadership.

Defensive War

The Confederacy, in my opinion, had the more brilliant military leaders (Page 50) of the two combatants, but the North had far superior civil leadership in the person of President Lincoln. Although Lincoln made many bad decisions in military matters during the first years of the war, he possessed great political skill and kept the Union a team during the struggle. Jefferson Davis, on the other hand, seriously lacked the political art, did very little to prevent the home front from crumbling.

Davis's policy of fighting a defensive war, a strategy that gave the North the initiative, has been severely criticized by modern students. It has been argued that the only chance that the Confederacy had for victory was to have waged an offensive war in order to bring about an early decision.

It seems to me, however, that the Davis policy was the only practical one in view of the inherent weakness of the South. My principal criticism of Davis as commander-in-chief, rather, is that he neglected the Western front.

It must be conceded that at the beginning of the war he sent to the West the officer that he regarded as the ablest in the Confederate army, Albert Sidney Johnston. If Johnston had not bled to death at Shiloh while leading his victorious troops the story of the Western front might have been different.

But after the death of Johnston, the Confederacy made mistake after mistake in the conduct of the war in the West, culminating in the loss of Vicksburg, and with it the closing of the Mississippi River and the severing of the Trans-Mississippi West from the rest of the Confederacy.

Three times the Confederacy abandoned its defensive policy and each time with tragic results.

1. In the fall of 1862, the eastern army invaded Maryland under Lee, fought the indecisive battle of Antietam and withdrew below the Potomac.

2. In that same fall, Bragg invaded Kentucky and also fought a draw battle (Page 88) and retreated.

3. In the summer of 1863, Lee again invaded the North and was turned back in the crucial battle of Gettysburg.

After Gettysburg and the fall of Vicksburg, Confederate military action was largely a holding and delaying operation, concentrated on the defense of the Confederate capital. The only hope for the Confederacy now lay in the political realm, the possibility that the Northern people might become so war-weary that they would consent to a negotiated peace. That possibility was ended in the presidential election of 1864 when Lincoln defeated General McClellan, the peace candidate.

Last Romantic War

The War for Southern Independence was truly the last romantic war and at the same time the beginning of modern realistic warfare. For this reason alone it will always have a tremendous appeal. In the last year of the conflict a new spirit and a new technique was introduced—the beginnings of total war, or the war of attrition against the civilian population as well as against organized armies.

Three great exponents of this type of war arose—Sherman, Grant and Sheridan, and if Jackson had lived I believe that he also would

Fearing war might end soon, Southern students left schools to enter army.

R: A Problem In Problems

have been a practitioner of this type of ruthless warfare.

The most striking example of the 1863-65 version of total war was Sherman's campaign in Georgia, a campaign that was designed not simply to destroy armies but to break down civilian morale and demolish the economic capacity of the Confederacy to wage war. The war was the first important military conflict in which railroads played an important role. Sherman specialized in wrecking railroads, but Union military policy in general was aimed at paralyzing the transportation system of the enemy.

After the great traumatic blows of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, Southerners as a whole lost the will to fight. Tragically, from the Southern viewpoint, the Confederacy became no longer a team with an *esprit de corps.* Desertion from the army became alarming; the states began to quarrel with the central government over state rights, conscription, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus,* the impressment of supplies and slaves, financial policy, and the divisive personality of President Davis.

So much discord resulted that an eminent student of Southern history, Professor Frank Owsley, has written with much insight that the proper epitaph of the dead Confederacy is, "Died of State Rights."

Sherman's wrecking of railroads, shown in this Library of Congress picture, paralyzed the transportation system of the South.

Bushwackers And Bandits

Guerrilla forces that operated in Kentucky cost the State millions and prevented the orderly return to peace

By THOMAS D. CLARK

KENTUCKY, the border state with a population divided in its loyalties between the Union and the Confederacy, was an ideal place for the outbreak of guerrilla warfare.

It was only natural that by 1862 there would be general confusion among the various armed groups. The State Guard had gone South with Simon Bolivar Buckner and John Hunt Morgan. After May 24, 1861, there had arrived in Kentucky the shipment of Lincoln Guns (Page 36) which were distributed to individuals unattached to a military service. On top of this complex situation the State government created a second military arm of the Commonwealth called the Home Guards.

Under the provisions of the Constitution Governor Beriah Magoffin was responsible for control of the militia of the state. The Home Guards, however, were largely under the administrative management of the pro-Union Military Board.

Theoretically the Home Guards were Union men who were drawn together into an informal organization for the purpose of protecting the localities from both invasion and domestic lawlessness. Because members of this citizens army were certified by the county judges, the Home Guards were not without deeper local political implications. This was especially true in view of the fact that there were $750,000,000 of public funds to be expended for the Guards.

Poor Discipline

Even had there been the strictest nonpolitical control put on the Guards by the most loyal of governors, the state could not have avoided complications. There was friction between the State and Home Guards which bordered on civil war itself. Lack of careful selection and discipline of the Home Guards meant that a good number of cutthroats and rascals quickly found opportunities to secure free guns and license to prey upon their fellow Kentuckians. They had little fear of being disciplined and almost none of retribution.

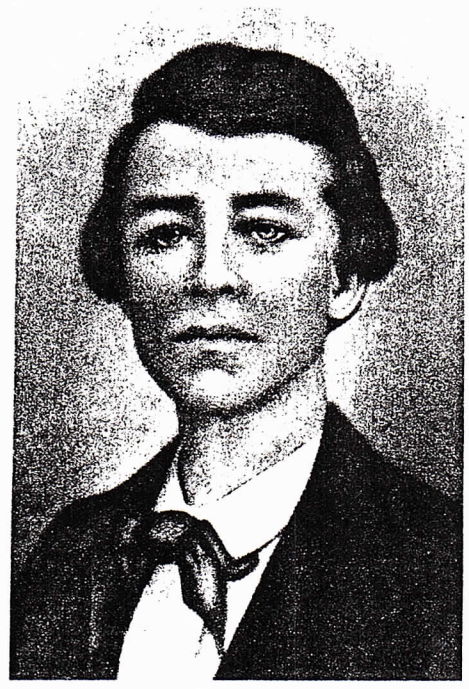
Because the Kentucky people were divided in their loyalties, it was difficult to identify at all times who did and who did not come under the conditions of the code of war as bona fide soldiers of one of the armies. This confusion was made greater because the guerrillas attacked troops of both armies, leaving the impression always that they belonged to the opposing forces.

This resulted in the exercise of stern measures, especially by the Union officers, Generals Jeremiah Boyle and Stephen Burbridge. Union forces charged that the guerrillas were operating as an arm of the Confederate Army. Judah P. Benjamin, Confederate Secretary of War, emphatically denied this statement.

By 1863 it seemed that every rascal, deserter, robber, and outlaw had begun operation in Kentucky. Among the best known of these brigands were M. Jerome Clarke (Sue Mundy), "One Arm" Berry and Champ Ferguson. Bailey and Sue Mundy were active in the state over an extended period of time. The latter developed a reputation for crime which no doubt far exceeded his actual deeds. "One-Arm" Berry was especially active in the western part of the state where he became one of the best-known characters in the war.

Joined Quantrill

In the spring of 1865, the handsome young Franklin County lad, Sue Mundy, came to an evil end. He had joined forces with William C. Quantrill, who had come into Kentucky from Missouri, in robbing and pillaging Midway. They also had been active in the central part of the state around Bardstown, Hodgenville and Taylorsville. It is impossible to tell how much damage this freebooter and his gang caused in Kentucky, but his reputation was well-known even as far away as Kansas.



Guerrilla leader William C. Quantrill operated in Kentucky late in the war.

Quantrill's bloodiest raid was against Lawrence, Kan., in 1863 when 450 of his guerrillas burned the town and killed nearly 200 persons.

and Missouri where Quantrill had been operating.

On May 12, 1865, Sue Mundy and two of his desperado companions were captured at Webster in Breckinridge County. They fell captive to troops from Wisconsin. Mundy refused to surrender, however, until he was assured that he would be treated as a prisoner of war and not as a renegade. He claimed he was a Confederate soldier who had fought in Tennessee, and was with John Hunt Morgan in the battle of Cynthiana. He said he was wounded at Cynthiana and was separated from his company.

Not Much Of A Trial

In Louisville, Federal authorities gave Mundy a trial in form only. He was not allowed to produce witnesses or to make any defense for himself. He was sentenced to be hanged. On Wednesday May 16, 1865, at 4 p.m., Sue Mundy was dropped through the trap door of gallows erected at Broadway and 18th Street.

The Louisville Journal of May 17 carried a dramatic story of Mundy's imprisonment and execution. He was said to be a member of a good Frankfort family and had gone morally astray. While awaiting execution, he was attended by the Rev. Mr. Talbott of St. John's Episcopal Church. He embraced the faith and went to the gallows almost immediately after his baptism. On the gallows Mundy denied that he had committed more than a tenth of the crimes attributed to him. This doubtless was true.

Most dramatic but least destructive of the famous guerrillas in Kentucky was William Clark Quantrill. Quantrill came to Kentucky early in 1865 by way of Missouri. His first appearance in this state was at Hartford. Behind him in Kansas he left a record of brutal murder, robbery, and destruction of towns and property. In the Massacre of Lawrence, Kan., he and his men caused a reported 200 deaths. Homes and business houses were destroyed, and household goods were scattered over the countryside.

When the notorious western badmen entered Kentucky, they pretended they were Union cavalrymen. Thus they worked their way into Central Kentucky before they were detected. Wherever this gang went they left terror behind. Time, however, ran out for this border ruffian. He never achieved the notoriety in Kentucky which was his in Kansas.

On May 10, Capt. Edwin Terrill followed Quantrill's trail out of Bloomfield toward Taylorsville. The Kansan and his men stopped by the Wakefield farm to get some sleep in the hay loft. Captain Terrill's troops were able to surprise the guerrillas. Quantrill was unable to mount his own horse and was attempting to climb up behind Clark Hockensmith when he was shot. He was removed by wagon to the Louisville military hospital where he died of his wounds.

The real damage done in Kentucky by guerrillas was the work of nameless bands of terrorists and spite peddlers who prowled over the state. An enormous amount of evidence of this aspect of the war is contained in the bulging files of court records, especially in Eastern Kentucky. From 1865 to 1872 there appeared with monotonous regularity cases seeking to recover damages from guerrillas. They were charged with stealing horses, cattle, hogs, and other property.

Looted Store

In Pike County, a guerrilla band, one of whom was a McCoy, robbed a country store. The brigands took everything in sight, and scattered a generous stock of goose feathers all over the place. Like a medieval vandal, one of the party loaded his horse down with the stock of the store. He put several sets of skirt hoops around his neck and crowned himself with

Continued On Page 106

Quantrill finally was cornered and mortally wounded in Kentucky. The ambush occurred at a barn which stood at this site in Spencer County.

Severe retaliations were the rule

BUSHWACKERS ***Continued***

two or three ladies' hats, and declared to his companions that "I'm going home to my Ducky!"

Court records reveal not only the ravages executed against innocent people, they document the beginnings of several of the mountain blood feuds. In the testimony recorded in these post-war trials are the explosive materials which stirred neighbors into rows with neighbors for two generations.

Get-Tough Policy

Both State and military officials were forced to take stern steps to check the ravages of guerrillas. On September 14, 1864, General Burbridge said that "squads of Federal soldiers and companions of men, styling themselves 'State Guards,' 'Home Guards,' 'Independent Companies,' etc., are roving over the country, committing outrages on peaceable citizens, seizing without authority their horses and other property, insulting and otherwise maltreating them."

This statement was to preface a period of severe action. Governor T. E. Bramlette said rebellious persons were coming to Kentucky as a haven of refuge and freedom of lawless action. Both civil and military authorities operated on the assumption that the guerrillas were either under Confederate commands or were sympathetic to the Confederate cause.

In October, 1863, Governor Bramlette proclaimed that Kentucky would be freed of the murderous freebooters who were roving the land unchecked. Both the General Assembly and the army followed this proclamation with "blood and iron" policy. On January 4, 1864, the Governor again issued a proclamation. This time he proposed to hold Confederate sympathizers personally responsible for all guerrilla raids. He requested military authorities in cases where a loyal citizen was kidnaped to arrest five of the most active rebel sympathizers in the area to be held as hostages. Disloyal relatives of Confederate soldiers also were to be arrested.

The iron-handed policy of dealing with guerrillas was further strengthened by General Burbridge's general order No. 59. He proposed to go further than the Governor and the law and arrest rebel sympathizers living within a five mile radius of the scene where a crime was committed. Rebel property w to be seized and, where a loyal citizen l his life, five guerrilla prisoners were to taken out and publicly shot.

By October, 1863, Burbridge had beco more aroused over the rising guerrilla m ace. He ordered his officers to receive guerrillas as prisoners of war subject to t rules of war, which meant they would be s without trial as traitors.

In keeping with the uncompromising B bridge policies, four men, on their way join the Confederate Army, were shot Pleasureville. Six days later four guerril were shot to death near Midway for t murder of a Mr. Harper by Sue Mundy's ga Eight prisoners were sent from Louisville be shot at Munfordviile. There were num ous other cases where retaliation executio were carried out.

Despite the stern measures exercised governor and general, the guerrillas beca bolder and more threatening. Scarcely Kentucky town escaped some harm, and t state as a whole was almost forced to for the bigger war in its efforts to combat t undercover enemy at home.

Cost Was Great

The cost of guerrilla warfare to Kentuc was great. No historian can possibly kn the total destruction of property and loss life. Nor can the continuing destruction community peace and harmony be apprais Much of this story is yet untold because t court records remained unused by historia

Thirteen courthouses were burned. Tow were plundered and business houses we robbed and destroyed across the state. Ma the greatest cost of all was the shooting innocent and legitimate prisoners of war the passionate retaliatory executions.

The hidden war in Kentucky in many spects had more to do with the demoralizati of the people than did the disruption of th lives by the Civil War itself. Because of t monstrous activity on the part of ruffians a marauders, the state was left with a rec struction problem which bore little kinsh to the reconstruction evils of the Low South.

VICTORY WITHOUT PEACE

Loss of men, widespread destruction and the carry-over of bitter hatred cost Kentucky years of development

By BENNETT H. WALL

Harper's Weekly used this drawing to show Negroes celebrating their new freedom.

MOST of the effects of the Civil War on Kentucky and Kentuckians will ever remain either disputed or difficult to appraise. While it is not too difficult to list some physical and financial damages, the intangible effects were more lasting and more severe.

One direct result of the war, military occupation, martial law and related actions was that trade in most areas of Kentucky languished. Stores closed, and stocks of good disappeared in many places. Only in the Louisville and Covington areas was trade extensively stimulated by the war contracts.

Generally manufacturing declined because of the uncertainties of materials, labor and transportation. Those plants manufacturing consumer goods were either converted to the production of war materials or abandoned. Raiding troops and local guerrillas plundered and burned these plants at will. Much capital loss resulted from both lack of production and destruction. Except for the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, transportation systems either were worn out through constant use, no repairs, or because invading armies and raiders found bridges, dams, locks and passes excellent military targets.

The agricultural losses in the state were incalculable. Despite the stimulus given to the livestock industry by fat war contracts, there was an actual decrease in the number of cattle, sheep and hogs in the four years of war. The number of horses and mules also showed a sharp decline.

Not only did farm livestock decline in actual numbers, but there was a decline in the number of acres of land under cultivation. Farms in all areas were in poor repair and necessary equipment not to be found. Many were abandoned completely.

One of the major calculable losses resulting from the war was the capital invested in slaves. The 230,000 slaves of 1860 were freed by the 13th

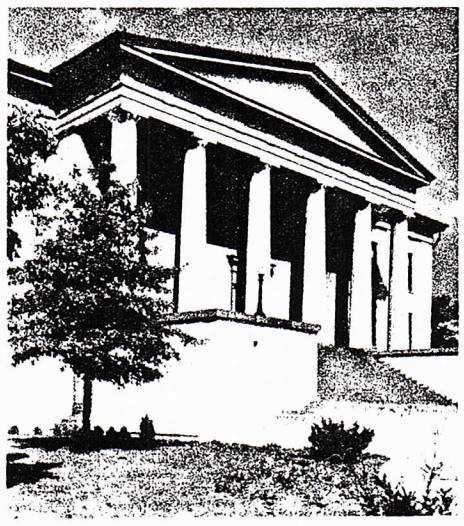
Continued on following pages

The destruction of schools bred illiteracy; f

Amendment, an action which wiped out a capital investment in Kentucky of at least $115,000,000.

Furthermore, wartime impressment of slaves with $300 compensation for each disrupted agricultural labor. The claims of Kentuckians for services of such slaves were disallowed. The resulting shortage of labor in agricultural areas and the surplus of unskilled labor in the cities created long-range economic problems.

Property values everywhere dropped, with farm property showing the sharpest rate of decline. Only in the three main cities did building lots increase in value. Taxes in 1865 showed a real increase of more than 70 per cent, but salaries and wages rose only 25 per cent. The purchasing power of the wage earner naturally dropped.



Transylvania's Morrison Hall was put into service as a wartime hospital.

However, the State remained solvent and its debt was reduced considerably during the war years, probably due to forced economy. Yet the treasury would have shown a much larger surplus had valid and legitimate claims against the United States been promptly paid. Kentucky turned over to the Union Army equipment and supplies valued at several million dollars. Long litigation and constant appeal finally brought partial payment.

It might well be pointed out that few payments were made to those private citizens whose property was confiscated or destroyed by military order.

Perhaps the most difficult of all the effects of the war on Kentucky to assess was lost manpower potential. Since there are no accurate figures on the number of Kentuckians who enlisted in either Army, the number of casualties cannot be obtained. Nor can any reasonable approximation be located of the number of Kentuckians bushwhacked and murdered during the struggle.

Furthermore, there are not data on the number who died from disease and malnutrition.

But in 1865 there were 21,000 fewer white men in the state than in 1861. The best available figures on war casualties indicate that four out of every 10 Kentuckians who participated in the struggle either were killed, died of disease, or were seriously disabled—a total of more than 50,000 men.

Just what this loss of manpower meant will never be known. Certainly many of those who did not return, had they lived, would have added direction and energy to the course of the Commonwealth. Equally appalling was the number of those who returned, became dissatisfied and migrated.

Because of the lack of police power and the collapse of the transportation in widespread districts of the state, schools were closed. In some cases squatters or raiders accidentally or deliberately ruined or burned them. Textbooks were not available; teachers were not to be found and in many counties no serious effort was made to provide schooling during the war period.

Higher education was seriously damaged. Far-famed Transylvania University was closed by Federal order, converted into a hospital, and its library, collections of materials and equipment inadequately stored and cared for, if cared for at all.

Berea College, which was started in 1856 as a school open to all students regardless of color, had been closed prior to the start of the war when sentiment forced its founder, the Rev. G. Fee, to leave the state.

Georgetown College, which was 32 years old when the war began, was open off and on during the struggle. Centre did not officially close its doors, but faced a division immediately afterwards which threatened its existence. The Presbyterian Church, with which it was affiliated, was split wide open by the war. When the Kentucky appellate court awarded jurisdiction of the college to the Northern branch of the church, the Southern branch withdrew and set up its own college, Central, in Richmond. Central opened in 1874 and functioned until 1901 when the bitter feelings were healed enough to unite the schools again in Danville.

Churches Hurt, Too

Elsewhere academies and seminaries closed their doors or functioned on a limited basis. Certainly this interruption to education was a factor in the high rate of illiteracy and aggravated other problems in the last quarter of the 19th century. The damage the war did to Kentucky's one-time famed educational system defies estimation.

Like the schools, the churches were victims of the war. Pulpits were unfilled; congregations split asunder in loyalties; church publications suspended, and ministers ordered from the pulpit by the occupying armies. Many church buildings were in disrepair and some were abandoned. The wrangles in the Presbyterian and Methodist churches were especially bitter and long lasting.

To most Kentuckians of 1861-65, President Lincoln, his war department, his field commanders and the Republican Radicals, were all either indifferent toward or unable to comprehend their peculiar problems. Lincoln and those responsible for preservation of the Union could not always afford adequate explanations of measures necessary to the war effort. Necessarily it was the nation that came

...acy; force replaced the ballot box in politics

first. But to the native Kentuckian, proud of his state, bitterly contentious of all centralized power, local decisions of Union commanders became part of a scheme designed to degrade the state and to reduce its population to the status of the conquered. From an overwhelmingly Unionist state in 1861, Kentucky in four years approached in sentiment the mutinous, if not the actually rebellious.

Among the principal effects of the war in Kentucky was the accentuation of the pride of Kentuckians in their state.

Suffering, worry and misery forged a common bond. There was no victory in the peace that came for the Unionist. Nor was there for any Kentucky rebel peace in the Union victory. However divided their loyalties, virtually all Kentuckians had joined in protesting the seemingly unfair acts of Generals E. A. Paine, Kirby Smith, S. G. Burbridge, Jere T. Boyle, and Col. E. A. Gilbert. Nor were they all happy over the raids of General John Hunt Morgan. However necessary to the conduct of the war, the arbitrary imprisonment of such Unionists as Frank Wolford and Richard T. Jacobs, the proclamation of martial law, the infamous hogsteal, the handling of the problem of Slavery, the enrollment of Negro troops (Page 46) and kindred actions all served to confuse local issues and to cloud the national picture. Confederate and Yankee military orders and actions tended to force all Kentuckians toward a uniform view of Federal-State relations. The states' rights doctrine enunciated in the famed Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and appealed to in 1861 became the core plank of all political parties.

The war and plagues of marauding irregular troops had convinced Kentuckians in many sections that neither state nor federal authorities cared to—or would—protect the citizen in his property or his home.

With the formal ending of hostilities, there came the plagues of guerrillas (Page 104) in large portions of the state. Justice became a matter of "side," family and faction. Where individuals had defied majority opinion in the community, pressures, usually illegal, were often employed to drive them out.

No Free Elections

The election process, war controlled by troops or by military pressure, was not to be free for years. Regional loyalties, family and factional ties came to replace issues and principles as the basis for political action. Defeated Rebel and victorious Unionist joined to fasten rigidly state rights Democratic Party control on Frankfort. This tendency manifested before the national elections of 1864 so alarmed the Northern Republican leaders that they debated whether to reconstruct Kentucky as conquered territory.

More than five years elapsed before the State Guard brought order to the sections plagued by irregulars, guerrillas, vigilantes and self-styled regulators. Governors Preston Leslie and John W. Stevenson unhesitatingly used the state guard to restore order.

But the cleavages of war coupled with postwar brigandage, reaffirmed the faith of the average Kentuckian in the judgment and justice of his personal weapon. For at least a generation resort to individual and group violence was widespread in all sections of the state. Force became the basis for control of local government in many counties. Those not in favor with the entrenched Courthouse ring could yield, fight or leave. Far too many fought and died over questions that however real to them were still ridiculous to those outside.

Louisville was one of the few areas in state where war stimulated trade.

The Confederates, defeated in war, won in politics and society. Their dominance of state affairs began in 1865, was affirmed in 1867 and continued without interruption to 1895. As in most of the South, Unionist and neutralist Whigs joined the victorious Rebels and through their political machinations exerted an influence in the Democratic party far out of proportion to their actual numbers. This joint stewardship, politically unrealistic, served to provide Kentuckians with little in the way of enlightened government. Despite pressing local problems and burning economic questions, the new political masters of Kentucky utilized only national issues and played up personalities of candidates to stay in power. In elections far too often the supply of potables outweighed stated party principles.

Socially the heroes of the Orphan Brigade (Page 95) and those who rode with Morgan became the elite. The ties of the struggle against great odds and ultimate defeat forged a tie that not only provided a fulcrum for political action but also a yardstick to measure gentility. Balls, dances, parties, and other social events were dominated by the well-sung heroes of the Confederacy.

Kentucky as a result of the war was left far behind the nation and was even slower recovering than most of the seceding states. Certainly those who ruled Kentucky after 1865 found it difficult to push through necessary changes. Twenty-five years passed before a constitutional convention was called; state aid for improvements to its highways and waterways virtually ceased, the state almost turned its welfare program over to private agencies and citizens and for all intents and purposes came to regard the education of its youth as a private affair. Certainly it was more than half a century before a new generation was able to lead the state into the Twentieth Century.

HERE ARE BOOKS ABOUT THE CIVIL WAR IN KENTUCKY

THIS LIST of books relating to the Civil War in Kentucky is hardly all-inclusive, omitting as it does many regimental histories and specialized books. However, it does include books which will give the modern reader a clear concept of Kentucky's role in the war.

These are books such as W. Merton Coulter's *Civil War And Readjustment In Kentucky;* Kenneth Williams's *Lincoln Finds A General;* Cecil Holland's *Morgan And His Raiders;* Basil W. Duke's *History Of Morgan's Cavalry.*

Good recollections of the war are *Johnny Green And The Orphan Brigade,* edited by Albert D. Kirwan; Ed Porter Thompson's *History of The First Kentucky Brigade;* and George D. Mosgrove's *Kentucky Cavaliers In Dixie,* edited by Bell I. Wiley.

Included are four sources of contemporary nature which give not only the official views of the war, but likewise popular pictorial views, sources often used by authors writing about the war.

ANGLE, Paul M. and Miers, E. S., **Tragic Years: 1860-1865.** New York.

BLANKENSHIP, Lela McDowell, **Fiddles In The Cumberland.** New York.

BOATNER, Mark M. III, **The Civil War Dictionary.** New York.

BOTKIN, B. A., **A Civil War Treasury of Tales.** New York.

BOYKIN, Edward, **Beefsteak Raiders.** New York.

BURCH, John P., **Charles W. Quantrill.** Vega, Tex.

CASTLEMAN, John B., **Active Service.** Louisville.

CATTON, Bruce, **American Heritage Picture History of The Civil War.** New York.

COLLINS, Lewis and R. H., **History of Kentucky,** 2 vols. Covington.

COLEMAN, J. Winston, Jr., **Lexington During the Civil War.** Lexington.

COMMAGER, H. S. **The Blue and the Gray,** 2 vols. Indianapolis.

CONNELLEY, W. H., and Coulter, E. M., **History of Kentucky,** 2 vols. New York.

CONNELLEY, W. E., **Quantrill and the Border Wars.** Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

COULTER, E. Merton, **The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky.** Chapel Hill, N. C.

DORRIS, Jonathan T., **Old Cane Springs.** Louisville.

DOWDEY, Clifford, **Lee's Last Campaign.** New York.

DOWNEY, Fairfax, **Storming the Gateway of Chattanooga.** New York.

DUKE, Basil W., **History Of Morgan's Cavalry.** Cincinnati.

DUPUY, R. E. and T. N., **Compact History of The Civil War.** New York.

DYER, John P., **"Fighting" Joe Wheeler.** Baton Rouge.

EATON, William C., **A History of the Southern Confederacy.** New York.

FISKE, John, **The Mississippi Valley In the Civil War.** Boston.

HARWELL, R. B., **The War They Fought.** New York.

HOLLAND, Cecil, **Morgan and His Raiders.** New York.

HEADLEY, John W., **Confederate Operations In Canada And New York.** New York.

JOHNSON, John H., **The Partisan Rangers.** Louisville.

KIRWAN, A. D., ed., **Johnny Green and the Orphan Brigade.** Lexington.

LEWIS, Lloyd, **Captain Sam Grant.** New York.

LONGSTREET, Gen. James, **From Manassas To Appomattox.** New York.

LYTLE, Andrew N., **Bedford Forest and His Critter Company.** New York.

MITCHELL, Margaret, **Gone With The Wind.** New York.

MOSGROVE, George D., **Kentucky Cavaliers In Dixie.** Louisville. Ed. a new edition by B. I. Wiley, Jackson, Tenn.

NALL, Arthur H., **General Kirby Smith.** Sewanee, Tenn.

NEVINS, Allan, **The War for the Union: The Improvised War 1861-1862.** New York.

NEWMAN, Ralph, **Lincoln For The Ages.** New York.

PALMER, John M., **Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer: The Story of An Earnest Life.** Cincinnati.

RANDALL, J. G., **The Civil War and Reconstruction.** New York.

RANDALL, J. G., **Lincoln, the President: Springfield to Gettysburg,** 4 vols. New York.

SEITZ, Don C., **Braxton Bragg, General of the Confederacy.** Columbia, S. C.

SENOUR, Rev. F., **Morgan and His Captors.** Cincinnati.

SENSING, Thurman, **Champ Ferguson, Confederate Guerrilla.** Nashville.

SHALER, N. S., **Kentucky a Pioneer Commonwealth.** Boston.

SHERMAN, W. T., **Memoirs,** 2 vols. New York.

SILBER, Irwin, **Songs of The Civil War.** New York.

SMITH, Edward Conrad, **The Borderland In the Civil War.** New York.

SMITH, Z. F., **History of Kentucky.** Louisville.

SPEED, Thomas, **The Union Cause In Kentucky, 1860-1865.** New York.

STEWART, George R., **Pickett's Charge.** New York.

STICKLES, Arndt M., **Simon Bolivar Buckner.** Chapel Hill, N. C.

SWIGGETT, Howard, **The Rebel Raider.** Indianapolis.

TARRANT, S. E., **The Wild Riders of the First Kentucky Cavalry.** Louisville.

THOMAS, Benjamin P., **Abraham Lincoln.** New York.

THOMPSON, Ed Porter, **History of the First Kentucky Brigade.** Cincinnati.

TOWNSEND, William H., **Lincoln And The Bluegrass.** Lexington.

VANDIVER, Frank E., **Jubal's Raid.** New York.

VANDIVER, Frank E., **Mighty Stonewall.** New York.

WILEY, B. I., **The Life of Billy Yank.** Indianapolis.

WILEY, B. I., **The Life of Johnny Reb.** Indianapolis.

WILLIAMS, Kenneth, **Lincoln Finds A General: A Military Study of the Civil War,** 4 vols. New York. Vol. II and III especially useful for Kentucky.

WYETH, John A., **That Devil Forrest.** New York.

YOUNG, Bennett H., **Confederate Wizards of the Saddle.** Boston.

Sources

Leslie's Illustrated Weekly, 1860-1865. 5 vols. New York.

Harper's Weekly, 1860-1865. 5 vols. New York.

Battles And Leaders of the Civil War. 4 vols. New York.

Official Records of the War of The Rebellion. Washington.